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- 6 MARKUP OF
- 7 THE BUILD BACK BETTER ACT:
- 8 SUBTITLE A: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 9 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO AIR POLLUTION;
- 10 SUBTITLE B: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 11 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO HAZARDOUS MATERIALS;
- 12 SUBTITLE C: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 13 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO DRINKING WATER;
- 14 SUBTITLE D: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 15 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO ENERGY;
- 16 SUBTITLE E: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 17 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO DRUG PRICING;
- 18 SUBTITLE F: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 19 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT;
- 20 SUBTITLE G: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 21 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO MEDICAID;
- 22 SUBTITLE H: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 23 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO CHIP;
- 24 SUBTITLE I: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 25 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO MEDICARE;

- 26 SUBTITLE J: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 27 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO PUBLIC HEALTH;
- 28 SUBTITLE K: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 29 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO NEXT GENERATION 9-1-1;
- 30 SUBTITLE L: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 31 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO WIRELESS CONNECTIVITY;
- 32 SUBTITLE M: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 33 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO DISTANCE LEARNING;
- 34 SUBTITLE N: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 35 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO MANUFACTURING SUPPLY CHAIN;
- 36 SUBTITLE O: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 37 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO FTC PRIVACY ENFORCEMENT; AND
- 38 SUBTITLE P: BUDGET RECONCILIATION LEGISLATIVE
- 39 RECOMMENDATIONS RELATING TO DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE INSPECTOR
- 40 GENERAL
- 41 WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 2021
- 42 House of Representatives,
- 43 Committee on Energy and Commerce,
- 44 Washington, D.C.

45

- The committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 a.m., via
- 47 Webex, Hon. Frank Pallone [chairman of the committee]
- 48 presiding.

49

Present: Representatives Pallone, Rush, Eshoo, DeGette,

- 51 Doyle, Schakowsky, Butterfield, Matsui, Castor, Sarbanes,
- 52 McNerney, Welch, Tonko, Clarke, Schrader, Cardenas, Ruiz,
- 53 Peters, Dingell, Veasey, Kuster, Kelly, Barragan, McEachin,
- 54 Blunt Rochester, Soto, O'Halleran, Rice, Craig, Schrier,
- 55 Trahan, Fletcher; Rodgers, Upton, Burgess, Scalise, Latta,
- 56 Guthrie, McKinley, Kinzinger, Griffith, Bilirakis, Johnson,
- 57 Long, Bucshon, Mullin, Hudson, Walberg, Carter, Duncan,
- 58 Palmer, Dunn, Curtis, Lesko, Pence, Crenshaw, Joyce, and
- 59 Armstrong.

60

- Staff present: Shana Beavin, Professional Staff Member;
- 62 Jacquelyn Bolen, Health Counsel; Waverly Gordon, Deputy Staff
- 63 Director and General Counsel; Jessica Grandberry, Staff
- 64 Assistant; Tiffany Guarascio, Staff Director; Perry Hamilton,
- 65 Clerk; Fabrizio Herrera, Staff Assistant; Stephen Holland,
- 66 Health Counsel; Zach Kahan, Deputy Director Outreach and
- 67 Member Service; Saha Khaterzai, Professional Staff Member;
- 68 Mackenzie Kuhl, Press Assistant; Una Lee, Chief Health
- 69 Counsel; Meghan Mullon, Policy Analyst; Juan Negrete, Junior
- 70 Professional Staff Member; Kaitlyn Peel, Digital Director;
- 71 Caroline Rinker, Press Assistant; Tim Robinson, Chief
- 72 Counsel; Chloe Rodriguez, Clerk; Kylea Rogers, Staff
- 73 Assistant; Samantha Satchell, Professional Staff Member;
- 74 Andrew Souvall, Director of Communications, Outreach and
- 75 Member Services; Kimberlee Trzeciak, Chief Health Advisor;

- 76 Caroline Wood, Staff Assistant; C.J. Young, Deputy
- 77 Communications Director; Alec Aramanda, Minority Professional
- 78 Staff Member, Health; Kate Arey, Minority Content Manager &
- 79 Digital Assistant; Sarah Burke, Minority Deputy Staff
- 80 Director; Michael Cameron, Minority Policy Analyst, CPC,
- 81 Energy, Environment; William Clutterbuck, Minority Staff
- 82 Assistant/Policy Analyst; Theresa Gambo, Minority Financial &
- 83 Office Administrator; Seth Gold, Minority Professional Staff
- 84 Member, Health; Grace Graham, Minority Chief Counsel, Health;
- 85 Jack Heretik, Minority Press Secretary; Nate Hodson, Minority
- 86 Staff Director; Sean Kelly, Minority Press Secretary; Peter
- 87 Kielty, Minority General Counsel; Emily King, Minority Member
- 88 Services Director; Bijan Koohmaraie, Minority Chief Counsel,
- 89 O&I Chief Counsel; Clare Paoletta, Minority Policy Analyst,
- 90 Health; Kristen Shatynski, Minority Professional Staff
- 91 Member, Health; Olivia Shields, Minority Communications
- 92 Director; Michael Taggart, Minority Policy Director; and
- 93 Everett Winnick, Minority Director of Information Technology.

95 \*The Chairman. The Committee will reconvene. 96 So last night we finished -- we ended with the CHIP 97 title, and this morning we will begin with the public health 98 title. 99 The chair calls up the Committee Print Subtitle J, 100 Budget Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to 101 Public Health, and the clerk will report the title of the 102 bill. 103 \*The Clerk. Committee Print Budget Reconciliation 104 Legislative Recommendations Relating to Public Health. 105 \*The Chairman. And without objection, Madam Clerk, the 106 first reading of the bill will be dispensed with. The bill 107 is now considered as read. And without objection, the bill 108 is considered as read and open for amendment at any point. 109 [Subtitle J follows:] 110 111 \*

112

- 113 \*The Chairman. I understand that we do have an
- 114 amendment in the nature of a substitute from Ms. Eshoo.
- 115 Ms. Eshoo?
- \*Ms. Eshoo. Good morning, Mr. Chairman. Good morning,
- 117 colleagues.
- 118 \*The Chairman. I know what time it is there. I
- 119 apologize.
- 120 \*Ms. Eshoo. It is still dark out. It is still dark
- 121 out. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment in the nature of a
- 122 substitute at the desk. The amendment is --
- 123 \*The Chairman. Okay.
- \*Ms. Eshoo. -- titled AINS FCD 01.
- 125 \*The Chairman. I can see that it is still dark. Wow.
- 126 I didn't realize that.
- 127 The clerk will report the amendment.
- 128 \*The Clerk. Amendment in the nature of a substitute to
- 129 the Committee Print for Subtitle J offered by Ms. Eshoo of
- 130 California. Strike all and insert --
- \*The Chairman. And without objection, Madam Clerk, the
- 132 reading of the Eshoo AINS or amendment will be dispensed
- 133 with, and the gentlewoman from California is now recognized
- for 5 minutes.
- 135
- 136
- 137

138	[The amendment offered by Ms. Eshoo follows:]
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140	**************************************
141	

- \*Ms. Eshoo. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This amendment,
- 143 colleagues, make historic investments in biomedical research,
- 144 public health infrastructure, and pandemic preparedness that
- 145 will really change the way we fight disease going forward.
- 146 First, we are funding ARPA-H, and this is -- this is
- 147 something that is new. It is something that the President
- 148 has advanced and we will take on.
- 149 It will develop transformative breakthroughs in how we
- 150 detect and treat the deadliest diseases that we are -- we
- 151 have yet to conquer. This legislation is a very important
- 152 first step in setting up ARPA-H, but our work on this won't
- 153 be completed today. I will hold hearings on how the ARPA-H
- 154 will operate out of best foster dynamic culture within HHS.
- 155 And I know Chairman Pallone is going to continue to work
- 156 closely with me to ensure that ARPA-H has the structure and
- 157 the resources it needs.
- The bill also includes \$15 billion for CDC and ASPR, to
- 159 ensure they are ready to respond to future public health
- 160 emergencies. This funding will help public health
- 161 departments invest in their workforce, health information
- 162 systems, and disease surveillance.
- I am also very pleased that this bill specifically
- 164 includes my priority to invest \$2 billion to secure our
- domestic supply chain for essential drugs and for API, active
- 166 pharmaceutical ingredients.

- 167 All of you know that China dominates the world market as
- 168 the manufacturer of API, which we are -- we are dependent
- 169 upon to make drugs. It is an essential ingredient. The
- 170 funding in this bill takes very important steps to bring the
- 171 manufacturing -- to bring manufacturing back to the United
- 172 States where it should be.
- The amendment provides \$30 million for school-based
- 174 mental health services for our Nation's children through
- 175 SAMHSA's Project AWARE. Pediatric mental health is in
- 176 crisis. Through this funding, we will meet children where
- 177 they are -- in their schools -- and provide the help and the
- 178 services they need to be well.
- The subtitle also provides \$10 billion each in support
- 180 for community health centers and hospital infrastructure
- 181 projects. It investments \$6 billion into the Teaching Health
- 182 Center GME Program, provides grant programs for medical and
- 183 nursing schools in underserved areas, and funds the
- 184 Children's Hospital GME Program and Nurse Corps.
- 185 Finally, I do have a concern, Mr. Chairman, where is the
- 186 FDA in this bill? There isn't anything. It is silent. The
- 187 FDA's work has essentially doubled during this pandemic, only
- 188 exacerbating the fact that FDA is chronically underfunded and
- 189 under resourced, in my view.
- 190 So I hope, Mr. Chairman, that -- well, I know that you
- 191 will work with me to correct this oversight, so that the FDA

- 192 has the funding it needs to continue its lifesaving work. It
- 193 really is the workhorse agency, together with the CDC, during
- 194 this pandemic.
- So, overall, this amendment that I am offering,
- 196 colleagues, I think prepares our Nation for a healthier,
- 197 safer future, thanks to the historic investments in public
- 198 health. I urge my colleagues, obviously, to support this
- 199 subtitle in the AINS, so that we can move on, and I think
- 200 really fill the gaps that we have experienced during this
- 201 pandemic.
- Both key leaders in the previous Administration, as well
- 203 as this one, have testified before our Committee, saying that
- 204 our public health agencies across the country have not
- 205 received the investments that they should. That is a key
- 206 part of this.
- 207 ARPA-H -- imagine, through that kind of a limber
- 208 undertaking where you test, and if something fails, you just
- 209 keep moving on. We saw how it worked with DARPA, and I think
- 210 that that model is a very exciting one to pursue the diseases
- 211 that really --
- \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman's time --
- \*Ms. Eshoo. -- us. And when someone receives the
- 214 diagnosis, it is a death sentence. So I will yield back.
- 215 look forward to our debate, and I thank all of my colleagues
- 216 for their input and their attention to these great needs of

- 217 our country and important issues that are attached to them.
- 218 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 219 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman. I see that it
- 220 is starting to get light in the background there, just
- 221 barely. But thank you.
- Does anyone on the Republican side want to address the
- 223 AINS or the underlying bill? We could go to a Democrat and
- 224 come back if you want. All right. Ms. DeGette, you are
- 225 recognized for 5 minutes.
- 226 \*Ms. DeGette. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. And I
- 227 want to thank the health chair, Ms. Eshoo, for all the hard
- 228 work she has done on the public health title. You are so
- 229 right about everything that needs to be done.
- I am particularly excited about the inclusion of the
- 231 Biden Administration's \$3 billion to create the new agency,
- 232 ARPA-H, that the chair talked about. As the Committee knows,
- 233 this is one of the top priorities of the Biden
- 234 Administration, creating a research agency modeled on DARPA
- 235 that will be lean and mean and be able to look at innovative
- 236 approaches to curing some of the most difficult diseases,
- 237 like cancer, diabetes, Alzheimer's, and more.
- Congressman Fred Upton and I, some of you know, have
- 239 been working on updating our landmark 21st Century Cures
- 240 legislation with Cures 2.0, and we are about to introduce the
- 241 bill. We have been working on ARPA-H as part of this effort,

- 242 along with others like Ms. Eshoo, to make sure that the
- 243 agency works, to make sure that it is independent, and to
- 244 make sure that it really has the ability to be just as
- 245 successful as DARPA has been.
- 246 If we are going to be able to cure these diseases, we
- 247 have to be serious about putting the full force of the
- 248 Federal Government behind it. And so the legislation Fred
- 249 and I are working on will provide the full -- authorization
- 250 for the full \$6.5 billion the Administration says that it
- 251 needs. But I will reiterate: this bill is a good start
- 252 towards that.
- 253 And like our plan, like DARPA, ARPA-H will put together
- some of the best minds in this country, and then set them
- 255 free to try to find some of this -- some of these cures. But
- 256 I want to give one caveat, and this is a caveat many of us on
- 257 this Committee share.
- The authorizing language in this bill is essential. It
- 259 is critical to making sure that the agency is set up to do
- 260 the work in the way it needs to do it. But because of budget
- 261 constraints -- and Ms. Eshoo is nodding because she agrees --
- 262 because of budget constraints, the language is not as robust
- as it will need to be.
- 264 And so, Mr. Chairman, I look forward to working with
- 265 you, to Chair Eshoo, and to everyone else on this Committee,
- as we move forward after today, to doing what we can to make

- 267 sure that ARPA-H is a success and that it really does what it
- 268 is intended to do.
- With that, Mr. Chairman, I would like to yield the
- 270 balance of my time to my compadre and co-sponsor, Fred Upton.
- \*The Chairman. Mr. Upton? You may be on mute,
- 272 Mr. Upton.
- 273 \*Mr. Upton. I might ask to strike the last word when
- 274 your time has expired, because I might go beyond 2 minutes,
- 275 so --
- 276 \*The Chairman. You don't want to use this --
- 277 \*Mr. Upton. -- and then I will come back.
- 278 \*Ms. DeGette. Mr. Chairman, I will yield --
- 279 Mr. Chairman, oops.
- \*The Chairman. Mr. Cardenas?
- \*Ms. DeGette. I will yield back.
- 282 \*The Chairman. Mr. Cardenas is going to take
- 283 Ms. DeGette's time?
- \*Ms. DeGette. Oh, I yield to Mr. Cardenas.
- 285 Mr. Cardenas, I will yield to you.
- 286 \*Mr. Cardenas. Thank you so much for all of the
- 287 wonderful work you are doing, and I look forward to the work
- 288 that you and our colleague, Upton, will be coming up with
- 289 sooner than later.
- I just wanted to mention about Children's Hospitals. It
- 291 is really important that we understand that their

- 292 infrastructure has not been met, and we appreciate everything
- 293 that the Committee is doing. And, Madam Chairwoman Eshoo,
- 294 you have been doing a phenomenal job, and we really
- 295 appreciate all of the attention that you are paying to all of
- 296 the things that we need to cover. But we never have enough
- 297 time and never have enough legislative hours to get it all
- 298 done.
- 299 But when it comes to Children's Hospitals, the school
- 300 year is beginning, and the delta variant continues to spread,
- 301 and as more children contract COVID-19, Children's Hospitals
- 302 have been unable to keep up with the need for specialized
- 303 pediatric care, including pediatric intensive care units.
- 304 Despite our previous attempts to bolster our hospitals,
- 305 in many cases pediatric hospitals without an attached adult
- 306 facility have often been unable to receive previously
- 307 designated rescue funds. This is likely to continue unless
- 308 we specifically include investments geared towards pediatric
- 309 facilities.
- I urge my colleagues to ensure that we do not exclude
- 311 pediatric hospitals from our efforts to improve hospital
- 312 infrastructure. And, once again, thank you all for all of
- 313 your wonderful work, and I look forward to some conclusive
- 314 matters today.
- 315 And with that, I yield back to Ms. DeGette.
- 316 \*Ms. DeGette. And, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

- \*The Chairman. Thank you. I thank the gentlewoman.
- 318 Are we now going to move to Mr. Upton? All right.
- 319 Mr. Upton, you are recognized for 5 minutes.
- 320 \*Mr. Upton. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I
- 321 appreciate all of the work that everyone did on this
- 322 Committee as we enacted 21st Century Cures with a 53-0 vote
- 323 in this Committee. It took a couple of years for Diana and I
- 324 to shepherd this bill through, and everyone of us had a piece
- 325 on that bill. And, man, what an impact we had, not only on
- 326 the U.S. but the rest of the world, particularly as we
- 327 expedited the approval of drugs and devices.
- 328 So we have been working -- Diana and I have been working
- 329 for the last 2 years on a 2.0 version of 21st Century Cures.
- 330 We met with the President back in March, a number of us did.
- 331 We have been outreaching to the Senate -- staff has been
- 332 terrific -- as we try to improve what we did, knowing that we
- 333 literally started in about 2014 on 21st century Cures.
- 334 So it has been 7 years, and a major part of that is
- 335 called ARPA-H, in essence patterned after what happened with
- 336 DARPA starting back with the 1950s, back in the 1950s with
- 337 the defense side of things. In fact, Diana and I met on Zoom
- 338 last week with some of the former DARPA heads, offering us
- 339 advice as to how we can make this new entity work. How do we
- 340 preserve its nimbleness? How can we really take initiative
- 341 new breakthroughs with this agency, or with this department I

- 342 will call it, knowing that the appropriators have already
- 343 spent -- have already approved billions of dollars for it,
- 344 but we are going to do the tough part. We are going to do
- 345 the authorization for it.
- 346 Whereas this language is not perfect. It is in there.
- 347 It is a good -- it is certainly more than a placeholder.
- 348 There are a number of things that I think that our Committee
- 349 needs to do with bipartisan input that will avoid -- which
- 350 would improve this language. But, quite frankly, if we were
- 351 to do those initiatives now, today, they are likely to be
- 352 vertical. In other words, they would be struck by the
- 353 parliamentarian in the Senate, so we can't do that.
- But what ARPA-H will do, it will be a major part of what
- 355 we are going to do in 2.0. It will be a major driver for us
- 356 to get this done. We are intending to introduce this -- the
- 357 overall version. I will be coming back to all of you --
- 358 Diana and I -- to get everybody on board if we can.
- 359 But we are planning to introduce this legislation this
- 360 month, and actually get it to the President's desk before the
- 361 end of the year, so that it will be part of the funding
- 362 stream that in fact the appropriators have already done. But
- 363 because it won't be into the CR, it will be into the final
- 364 version that we get later on this year, we have some time to
- 365 do it right. And that is what we intend to do.
- 366 So I appreciate the hard work of everyone. Anna Eshoo

- 367 has been on board in terms of looking at this ARPA-H as well.
- 368 We want to make it work. We are anxious to get everybody's
- 369 input and look forward to seeing ultimately this become a
- 370 fact of law.
- 371 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I will yield back my time.
- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- 373 Mr. Schrader is now recognized for 5 minutes.
- 374 \*Mr. Schrader. I won't take 5 minutes, Mr. Chairman. I
- 375 just want to point out to the group that we have made a lot
- 376 of investments in public health over the last year and a
- 377 half. The original CARES\* package put a lot of money into
- 378 the CDC.
- The ARP went into making sure that our community health
- 380 centers and other providers had the wherewithal to change
- 381 some of their facilities, make them more pandemic prepared,
- 382 shall we say, and we also put a lot of money -- billions of
- 383 dollars -- into workforce. That doesn't mean we couldn't put
- 384 more in. I get that. Sure would be nice to have had some
- 385 hearings along those lines, so we could actually feel very
- 386 comfortable about the amounts of money that we are putting
- 387 out.
- 388 Last comment I will make is: big fan of ARPA-H. I know
- 389 the chairwoman has put a ton of effort into that. It would
- 390 also have been nice to have some hearings on that, so we
- 391 could make sure that we are getting that amount of -- the

- 392 billions of dollars we are putting in that right also.
- 393 So I am just concerned about the process, sir.
- 394 Hopefully we can do better going forward. And I yield back.
- 395 \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Schrader.
- 396 Mr. Guthrie is now recognized for 5 minutes.
- 397 \*Mr. Guthrie. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And on the
- 398 public health section, there are a lot of noble causes and
- 399 noble ideas in the public health section. I think that we
- 400 have seen most all of us have been dedicated to NIH over the
- 401 years, the things we have done with Cures over the years.
- 402 This is areas where we can work together if we want to work
- 403 together to move forward, and we do want to work together.
- If you look at some of these programs -- this is one of
- 405 the comments -- is that a lot of it is duplicative from the
- 406 American Rescue Plan, and a lot of money was appropriated in
- 407 the American Rescue Plan. Not all of it has been spent.
- 408 Some of it has been spent. I think it would be wise to do
- 409 oversight on how the money has been spent, where it has gone,
- 410 and what effect it has had before we do it again so soon.
- And then, on ARPA-H, I was involved with the White House
- 412 meeting that Mr. Upton talked about. I was there. We met
- 413 with the President. We met with the Vice President. We had
- 414 the Senators from the appropriate committees in there as
- 415 well. And I think we all walked out of the Oval Office
- 416 saying this is an area where we think we can all work

- 417 together to try to move things forward. And I will have to
- 418 say, the White House has reached out to staff.
- They designated the lead White House scientist that we
- 420 could work with, and there has been effort to move forward,
- 421 but now we have this bill which is going through a
- 422 reconciliation bill, which is necessarily a partisan process.
- 423 I mean, that is why you are doing reconciliation.
- And I think we have the opportunity to really do things
- 425 with ARPA-H, but not through this process. If you think
- 426 about it, my friend, Mr. Upton, and Ms. DeGette, they both
- 427 were in the White House meetings. So they have had Zoom
- 428 meetings, they have had hearings, they have worked on
- 429 Cures 2. What a Herculean task for Cures 1, to keep
- 430 everybody on board working together.
- And they have done that, but we haven't had a
- 432 subcommittee hearing on ARPA-H, which I think would be one of
- 433 the President's legacies. The moonshot on cancer is kind of
- 434 -- if you want to -- if people are listening in, what is
- 435 ARPA-H? What does it stand for? Really, it is moonshot on
- 436 cancer. But when we are in the Oval Office, it is not just
- 437 about cancer. I think all of us are concerned about
- 438 Alzheimer's and degenerative diseases and things that are
- 439 moving forward.
- So I just think that we haven't really spent the time
- 441 that we needed to flesh out ARPA-H. I know that it is part

- of this in Cures 2, but we haven't really had a hearing and
- 443 had the Committee move forward. I remember when we walked
- 444 out of the Oval Office, they went kind of around the room,
- 445 and some of them there might remember this, they said, "Any
- 446 kind of last comments?''
- 447 And what I said to the President, I said this, I said,
- 448 "I am tired.'' And I think most of -- I was speaking for
- 449 people in the Oval Office are tired, and I certainly think
- 450 the American people have tired of everything passing out of
- 451 the House -- this was probably last March that he said -- 218
- 452 to 213.
- There needs to be things that we can work together and
- 454 show the American people we can work together and move
- 455 forward. And great improvements in health, the moonshot on
- 456 cancer, the brain program trying to fight Alzheimer's, it is
- 457 something that we can show the American people we can work on
- 458 together and just disappointed that we haven't pursued it
- 459 through the subcommittee, we haven't pursued it through the
- 460 full committee, and the decision was to put it in a process
- 461 that is designed from the inception because of the way that
- 462 they have done it through the budget reconciliation to be a
- 463 partisan exercise.
- 464 And I think that we are better than that. I think this
- 465 Committee is better than that, and I wish that we had really
- 466 focused on working together to make ARPA-H what it can be.

- 467 And I know we are still going to follow this with
- 468 authorization language, but I am just disappointed ARPA-H is
- 469 going down this path when it could be so much better and we
- 470 could have the same accomplishments.
- Every time we talk about Cures 1, we always talk about
- 472 how Energy and Commerce Committee came together to do big
- 473 things that launched -- essentially was the platform for the
- 474 launching of Operation Warp Speed to give the emergency
- 475 authorizations that were there.
- And this is something that we can always point to, those
- of us who served on the Committee during that era, as really
- 478 good legislating. And this could have been really good
- 479 legislating on a bipartisan basis. Unfortunately, we have
- 480 gone down this path, and I regret that, and hopefully we will
- 481 still be able to work together to do oversight on the public
- 482 health, on the American Rescue Plan, on this bill, and ARPA-H
- 483 if this bill doesn't get signed into law. Hopefully, we can
- 484 still work together to make that happen.
- And I yield time to anybody who wants it.
- 486 \*Mr. Burgess. Mr. Guthrie, would you yield to me?
- 487 Would you yield to Burgess?
- 488 \*Mr. Guthrie. I will yield to Dr. Burgess, yes.
- 489 \*Mr. Burgess. Thank you. And just very briefly, what
- 490 you have said is exactly right. And why this is so
- 491 troubling, we have had this pattern all through the pandemic.

- 492 We throw a ton of money at a problem, and we never come back
- 493 and do the authorization hearings. We never come back and do
- 494 the work that should go prior to the money going out.
- And I don't know about anybody else, but I can't get a
- 496 call answered by the CDC. I can't get a call answered by the
- 497 FDA. Several career scientists have left the FDA recently.
- 498 We don't know why. Same thing happened to the CDC. It would
- 499 be better to have them in a talk with them before we give
- 500 them the money. That is the way it is supposed to work.
- Thank you. I will yield back to Mr. Guthrie.
- 502 \*Mr. Guthrie. Mr. Chair, I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you.
- And now we are going to go to -- Ms. Clarke is
- 505 recognized for 5 minutes -- is virtual. Ms. Clarke, are you
- 506 there?
- \*Ms. Clarke. Yes, Mr. Chairman.
- \*The Chairman. Are you available?
- \*Ms. Clarke. I am here, Mr. Chairman, and I thank you.
- 510 I move to strike the last word.
- 511 \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman is recognized for
- 512 5 minutes.
- \*Ms. Clarke. I am heartened by the investments the
- 514 Build Back Better Act includes for public health
- 515 infrastructure that would rebuild and modernize public health
- 516 departments. Of particular importance is supporting the

- 517 construction and modernization of healthcare facilities,
- 518 including hospitals and community health centers.
- As you all know, the COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the
- 520 strain on healthcare infrastructure and shed light on the
- 521 important need to modernize the public health infrastructure.
- 522 Hospitals and community health centers in my district of
- 523 Brooklyn were hit particularly hard by the pandemic.
- We must make important capital support available to
- 525 maintain, improve, and modernize the physical infrastructure
- of these providers. It mirrors a pattern of neglect in low
- 527 income communities and neighborhoods across the Nation.
- 528 Simply put, our current healthcare infrastructure is
- 529 inequitable, is inadequate, and is negatively impacting the
- 530 health of our Nation's most vulnerable citizens, particularly
- 531 communities of color and low income neighborhoods and these
- investments are extremely crucial.
- 533 That is why I support these critical investments in our
- 534 public health infrastructure, so we don't continue to
- 535 perpetuate a cycle of disinvestment and neglect that has
- 536 persisted for decades, if not centuries.
- 537 Let me thank you once again and ask if there is any of
- 538 my colleagues who could use some time. I see Ms. Eshoo --
- 539 Ms. Kelly, our vice chair. I want to give her an
- 540 opportunity. I yield to you, Ms. Vice Chair.
- \*Ms. Kelly. Thank you so much, Rep. Clarke. I would

- 542 like to strike the last word. Thank you again, Chairman
- Pallone, for your leadership on public health issues. And my
- 544 chairwoman, Rep. Eshoo, thank you for your leadership.
- Today we are taking a step toward addressing the gun
- 546 violence epidemic in this country because gun violence is a
- 547 public health issue. This is an issue that many families in
- 548 my district face every single day. I cannot stress the
- importance of the \$2.5 billion included to address community
- violence and trauma with a special focus on communities with
- 551 high rates of violence.
- These funds will support a range of evidence-based
- 553 strategies, including trauma and for mental health care,
- violence prevention, hospital-based violence intervention,
- 555 and services for victims of violence. A GAO report I
- 556 requested found that treating firearm-related injuries in the
- 557 U.S. costs more than \$1 million annually, with public health
- 558 programs like Medicaid picking up most of the tab.
- This community violence and prevention funding will help
- 560 reduce the government spending and save lives. I urge
- 561 support from this Committee for this Committee Print and
- 562 yield back to Rep. Clarke.
- \*Ms. Clarke. And I now yield to the chair of the
- 564 Subcommittee on Health. Ms. Eshoo, I have 2 minutes that I
- 565 can yield.
- \*Ms. Eshoo. I thank the gentlewoman. This has been a

- 567 very important discussion with members. First, let me say
- something about the Subcommittee, which I am so proud of.
- The Health Subcommittee has been the workhorse of Energy and
- 570 Commerce -- hearings, markups, bills that have moved through
- 571 -- and members have worked very hard and been extraordinarily
- 572 productive on so many fronts for the jurisdiction of the
- 573 Subcommittee.
- 574 This issue of ARPA-H is something that we are all
- 575 excited about, and of course there will be hearings on it.
- 576 We need to secure the dollars in order to set this -- to set
- 577 this up.
- 578 The meeting that was held at the White House, it was an
- 579 honor to be invited. It was bipartisan. It was bicameral.
- 580 It was a handful of members, maybe eight -- eight members
- 581 that were there with the President. He spoke about his
- 582 vision, and obviously why it is needed, and, you know, the
- 583 potential of what -- this effort, and that the ARPA model is
- 584 essential in this.
- This is not the -- planting the seeds the way we do at
- 586 the NIH, and then keep funding it, and then years and years
- 587 and years it takes -- the time for the seeds to grow. This
- is a different kind of model, and I certainly want the input
- 589 of all members in this, so that we can realize the vision
- 590 that the President has, so that we can conquer these diseases
- 591 that when someone receives the diagnosis it essentially is a

- 592 death sentence.
- So I look forward to working with everyone, certainly
- 594 with Diana and Fred, who have done superb work with the Cures
- 595 Act and the -- you know, the ideas that members have, so that
- 596 this is vetted very well all for the topline reason that it
- 597 be successful. We cannot allow it to have this not succeed.
- 598 So I look forward to that, colleagues, and I thank the
- 599 gentlewoman for yielding to me.
- \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman's time --
- \*Ms. Clarke. Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you.
- We are now going to go to Mr. Palmer is recognized for
- 604 5 minutes.
- \*Mr. Palmer. I thank the chairman. And, you know, this
- 606 is one of the things that I get somewhat excited about but
- 607 then get extremely disappointed about. In the State of
- 608 Alabama, we have lifechanging, world-renowned research in
- 609 health care. And this idea of having an advanced research
- 610 program focused on health care, it really came about because
- of the Operation Warp Speed, but it is something that we have
- 612 needed for years.
- We have got an institute in Huntsville, Alabama --
- 614 HudsonAlpha -- where the Human Genome project, which was once
- 615 at Stanford University, is now located -- and they are doing
- 616 whole genome sequencing that is revolutionizing research in

- 617 health care. In one area, in particular, for newborn
- 618 intensive care units, using this so that they can identify
- 619 disease-causing genetic changes gives parents much greater
- options in choosing their treatment plans for these kids.
- They are doing incredible research in personalizing
- 622 treatment for cancer patients, particularly breast cancer,
- 623 and working alongside entrepreneurial groups that can take
- 624 the research and get it out into the public. They have set
- 625 up a new program with University of Alabama at Birmingham
- 626 that is going to have an enormous impact.
- And, by the way, University of Alabama at Birmingham,
- 628 UAB School, that is where Remdesivir was developed. But they
- 629 have got a joint project on genomic medicine to accelerate
- 630 discoveries that will propel us into whole new areas of
- 631 clinical practice and treatment.
- We have got Southern Research Institute that has five
- 633 FDA approved anti-cancer drugs. That is what we ought to be
- 634 focused on, and it shouldn't be lumped into this bill. If we
- 635 start talking about other things, about -- and I know the
- 636 passion that some of my colleagues have, and I understand and
- 637 appreciate it, about gun violence. But I am not sure that
- 638 this is the place where we ought to be talking about it, and
- 639 we certainly, I don't think, should be talking about it in
- 640 the context of this bill.
- My friend from Kentucky, Mr. Guthrie, talking -- and my

- friend from Texas talking about losing our focus by lumping
- 643 things like this into this bill. My friend from Michigan,
- 644 Mr. Upton, I know how dedicated he is to programs like this.
- This really should have been done separately where we could
- 646 come together at least one time in the 117th Congress and do
- 647 something that really matters in a bipartisan effort, just
- like they did in the 115th Congress under the leadership of
- 649 Mr. Upton.
- And it just -- it is so frustrating, Mr. Chairman, to
- 651 come in here and argue these issues and put on a serious face
- about this stuff when, honestly, I think we -- this is really
- 653 about politics. And I just -- if there were some -- I know
- 654 it is not going to happen because you are not controlling
- 655 what happens here. And with all due respect to you, I think
- 656 if you were, this would be run differently.
- But I think if we really had the opportunity to do this
- 658 the right way, we would separate this under your leadership,
- 659 under the leadership of Ranking Member Rodgers, and the
- 660 Subcommittee chairman and ranking member, and come up with
- 661 something that we could all really be proud of. But we have
- 662 politicized this. We have lumped it into this \$3.5 trillion
- 663 future destroying tax increase, economy killing bill, that
- of you are trying to ram through, and it is very disappointing.
- I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Palmer.

- Now we are going to go to Mr. O'Halleran is recognized
- 668 for 5 minutes. The gentleman -- I think you are muted,
- 669 Mr. O'Halleran. You have to unmute.
- \*Mr. O'Halleran. There we go.
- \*The Chairman. The gentleman from Arizona is
- 672 recognized --
- \*Mr. O'Halleran. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- \*The Chairman. -- for 5 minutes.
- 675 \*Mr. O'Halleran. The public health title of this
- 676 legislation is critical for several reasons. This title
- 677 makes much needed investments in vaccine production capacity
- and improves our supply chain to ensure that we do not see
- 679 shortages in PPE and other important medical supplies. This
- 680 will help ensure that we are better prepared for future
- 681 public health emergencies and potential pandemics.
- The title also includes legislation that I have been
- 683 working on to make \$10 billion in infrastructure investments
- 684 in hospitals located in communities in need. Rural Arizona
- is in need of significant health care as are most rural areas
- 686 of the country. And rebuilding of our hospital
- 687 infrastructure is a first step in finally ensuring that rural
- 688 America and rural Arizonans have access to the same high
- 689 quality health care that communities across the country take
- 690 for granted in many cases.
- I also want to comment on the chairman's DOC Act

- 692 legislation that would invest 6 billion in teaching health
- 693 center graduate medical education, much needed across our
- 694 country with the shortages that we are seeing. This program
- 695 is intended to train doctors in rural and underserved
- 696 communities, and 59 percent of grants issued by HRSA have
- 697 gone to teaching health centers located in medically
- 698 underserved communities.
- More needs to be done to finally address the lack of
- 700 doctors and other medical professionals in rural areas. Even
- 701 though it is in this bill, I believe that more could be --
- 702 have been done to specifically target rural areas that have
- 703 limited access to healthcare providers, especially
- 704 specialists and technicians and nurses.
- 705 Specifically, rural Arizona in America lacks access to
- 706 specialists in maternal care. Many in my district need to
- 707 travel up to 3 or 4 hours, and sometimes longer, each way
- 708 simply to see specialists who are centered in larger cities.
- 709 Rural communities often have worse health outcomes and a
- 710 higher propensity of chronic diseases, like diabetes, than
- 711 others located in other communities.
- 712 Many in both parties have chosen to let this -- these
- 713 issues foster for too long. Because of this, you now -- you
- 714 know, you are seeing vaccine rates in rural communities that
- 715 are dwarfed by counterparts in urban and suburban areas. One
- 716 significant reason for this is lack of access to personal

- 717 doctors, physicians, and other medical specialists who can
- 718 stress the safety and efficiency of vaccines.
- 719 I have worked on these issues for a while, and I am
- 720 currently leading legislation with Congressman McKinley on
- 721 our Committee, and Congressmen Kind and Wenstrup on the House
- 722 Ways and Means, that would allocate 100 million to rural
- 723 hospitals, teaching health centers, and other rural health
- 724 clinics to help address these shortages.
- 725 I expect our Committee to start to pay attention -- much
- 726 closer attention to the needs of rural America, specifically
- 727 the physician and medical professional shortages that are
- 728 being exasperated by the COVID-19 pandemic.
- 729 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I thank you, the staff of
- 730 the Committee, and --
- 731 \*The Chairman. Would the gentleman yield to me? Would
- 732 the gentleman yield to me? Mr. O'Halleran, would you yield
- 733 to me?
- 734 \*Mr. O'Halleran. Yes, sir.
- 735 \*The Chairman. Let me just say I really appreciate your
- 736 comments about the teaching health centers, and I can't
- 737 stress enough how important this part of the bill is. And to
- 738 be perfectly honest, as you know, having visited your
- 739 district, and also Mr. Ruiz's district, where I have seen
- 740 personally a lot of the concerns that you have about the lack
- 741 of medical personnel or professionals in these rural areas, I

- 742 know firsthand from your districts how important this is.
- 743 But as you also point out, the same thing is true in
- 744 many urban or even suburban communities. Even in my district
- 745 in New Jersey, you know, everybody points out how because we
- 746 are between Philadelphia and New York that, you know, there
- 747 shouldn't be a lack of internists and primary care
- 748 physicians, but in fact there often is. And so the phenomena
- 749 of having small towns which often lack sufficient medical
- 750 professionals exists all over, and so that is why this is so
- 751 important.
- 752 Thank you, though, and I yield back to the gentleman.
- 753 \*Mr. O'Halleran. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And just
- 754 quickly, again, I want to thank Committee staff, the staff of
- 755 the Health Subcommittee, and Representative Eshoo for the
- 756 great work they have been doing.
- 757 And with that, I yield.
- 758 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- 759 I think Mr. -- Mr. McKinley is recognized next for
- 760 5 minutes.
- 761 \*Mr. McKinley. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I wanted to
- 762 address Chairwoman Eshoo when she was there, but I thought
- 763 let's do this afterwards. If she would like to comment, that
- 764 is fine.
- One of the things I find attractive in this legislation
- 766 is under the public health provision and public health

- 767 investments, under Section 31.061, is the funding for mental
- 768 health substance abuse professionals. I want to -- I wanted
- 769 to bring this thing up earlier today, or as a kind of
- 770 preemptive strike, Chairman, because I don't know what shape
- 771 I am going to be in after a few more hours of lack of sleep.
- 772 But so I want to just -- I just want to point out in
- 773 West Virginia -- well, actually all through Appalachia -- our
- 774 people throughout the area, all of those states, have been
- 775 struggling as they have tried to make a transition from
- 776 fossil fuels to some other jobs, and many of them there are
- 777 no other jobs. They have had to relocate. Their towns are
- 778 decreasing our population. We are going to lose a
- 779 congressman this time. This transition has really put a
- 780 struggle on our people.
- 781 And then you combine that. It is kind of like a
- 782 football parlance, a piling on. When the COVID hit, not only
- 783 were they struggling first because they didn't have jobs, but
- 784 then COVID hit and they were stuck in their homes.
- 785 So, as a result, in West Virginia -- and, really, I am
- 786 saying all through Appalachia, it just ripped open the wound
- 787 again as they were trying to heal. And we wound up -- so
- 788 many people in Appalachia turned to drugs, and so we have got
- 789 a massive problem expanding again all throughout the
- 790 mountains of the Appalachia area.
- Just some statistics, in western Maryland, in Trone's

- 792 district, it is up over 110 percent, the drug misuse. In
- 793 Kentucky, it is a 50 percent increase. Just in McDowell
- 794 County, one of the southern counties in West Virginia, it is
- 795 up over 110 percent where it was.
- These men and women, they have lost their jobs. They
- 797 are into drugs now. They are losing their self-dignity,
- 798 their respect. Their anxiety, depression, suicides are up.
- 799 Mr. Chairman, we have got counties in West Virginia -- I
- 800 don't mean to just be downing West Virginia entirely, but I
- 801 am -- but we have got counties in West Virginia so rural we
- 802 don't even have a doctor in some of those counties. So
- 803 little low, we don't have a mental health counselor. We have
- 804 no one to get -- help out on substance abuse with this --
- 805 this pain that they are struggling with.
- 806 So I am hoping under this provision that is in the bill
- 807 -- there is \$50 million -- can be set aside to train
- 808 counselors, professional, for mental health and substance
- 809 abuse. And I have had the opportunity to have Paul Tonko and
- 810 Peter Welch come to me and come to West Virginia. They have
- 811 been able to look in the eyes of some of these people and see
- 812 their pain. I think they -- I think they saw tears rolling
- 813 down their cheeks because they don't know what to do. Our
- 814 people didn't what to do, how to respond to this.
- 815 So if this is in the bill, to provide \$50 million, I am
- 816 hoping that Peter and Paul and John will -- that they will

- 817 stand with us and try to get language in this bill that will
- 818 allow those communities that have been hard hit by the drugs
- 819 and the transition from fossil fuels, that you will give them
- 820 a chance to stand at the front of the line to get some of
- 821 this grant money.
- And so I know -- I don't see them in their room yet on
- 823 this, but I am hoping that you will allow them -- that this
- 824 language can be inserted, somewhere can be worked in to give
- 825 these communities a chance to get some help. We are going to
- 826 put \$50 million in. Give us a chance.
- 827 So with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield -- let me yield back
- 828 to my friend from Virginia, Morgan Griffith.
- \*Mr. Griffith. That guy from Virginia.
- \*Mr. McKinley. Yeah. Whatever his name is.
- \*Mr. Griffith. Thank you. I just want to let everybody
- 832 know that particularly for those that have been to your
- 833 district that in Central Appalachia your district is actually
- 834 a little bit above the waterline, so to speak. That when you
- 835 look at West Virginia 3, Kentucky 5, Virginia 9, some of the
- 836 others, they have even less money and more distraught than
- 837 West Virginia 1, and we can use your help any way we can. We
- 838 appreciate whatever you are doing to put us that area to get
- 839 that assistance.
- Thank you. I yield back.
- \*Mr. McKinley. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

- \*The Chairman. You represent such beautiful areas,
- 843 though, I must say.
- Is there another Democrat? If not, we will move to
- 845 Mr. Bucshon is recognized for 5 minutes.
- \*Mr. Bucshon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I just want
- 847 to make a few comments about public health. I mean, we found
- 848 out through the pandemic that our public health system had
- 849 some substantial deficits. You know, we found those out kind
- 850 of on the fly, and I am disappointed that we are trying to
- 851 now maybe address that in a reconciliation package because I
- 852 think some of my other colleagues have talked about this.
- But this is the type of thing that needs to be done
- 854 right. And all of the money in the world is not going to
- 855 help a system that is structurally deficient. So when you --
- 856 and the question is, is do we know exactly and specifically
- 857 where our deficiencies are? I would argue we don't because
- 858 we haven't had hearings to find out.
- You know, substantial problems like this, like our
- 860 public health system, trying to address it, could take two or
- 861 three congresses to sort out and to do it right. But instead
- 862 we are going to do that in, well, probably about 3 or 4 hours
- 863 here. And we are going to do that in a couple of days in
- 864 Energy and Commerce when, really, it could -- it could take
- 865 us years to really figure out exactly what we should be
- 866 doing.

- Again, I am disappointed with this process because I
- 868 think we all agree that we have to address these problems.
- 869 You know, I represent a large amount of rural Indiana. My
- 870 largest city, Evansville, has 130,000 people. And, you know,
- 871 we have doctor shortages and provider shortages just like
- 872 everybody else does.
- 873 Well, one of the problems is deeper than you would
- 874 think. You know, just throwing money at the system is not
- 875 going to help. You know why? Because it costs so much to go
- 876 to medical school these days, people can't afford to practice
- 877 in rural America or in many times urban -- parts of urban
- 878 America that are underserved because they can't afford to pay
- 879 their student loans back.
- 880 So, but that is a complicated issue in and of itself
- 881 that we could probably have a bunch of hearings on, try to
- 882 sort out. Instead of just saying, well, we are just going to
- 883 throw a bunch of money at rural health clinics and build the
- 884 infrastructure, well, you can build it all you want, but if
- you don't have the human capital in providers there, both
- 886 physicians, nurses, counselors, you are just not going to
- 887 solve the problem.
- 888 So that is another area that just shows how broken the
- 889 process that we are going through is. And I am disappointed
- 890 by that because this is a really, really critical issue. And
- 891 I think others have -- on our side have talked about it.

892 Again, you know, I also want to find out how much money did we put into public health last year in all of the COVID 893 894 bills we did? And then how much money in certain areas that 895 are in the American Rescue Plan, which I did support for a 896 variety of reasons, already addresses some of this -- the 897 funding issues we have here? We need structural changes. 898 There is deficit problems across the country. 899 The last thing I want -- somebody mentioned the gun 900 violence issue as public health issue. And I don't 901 completely disagree with that, but here is the thing. 902 got the same problems in rural America with violence. It may 903 not be with guns. It could be with knives, baseball bats, 904 what have you. And the problem is is it is a deep problem 905 that we need to address. 906 We have educational differences across our country, lack 907 of adequate educational opportunity for many children in 908 rural and urban America. We have lack of economic 909 opportunity in both urban and rural America, very similar 910 situation in rural America, that we don't address. I mean, we have an opportunity to create 25,000 jobs in New York 911 912 City, and that gets blocked because -- I don't know why. 913 You know, a bunch of jobs with an average salary almost 914 in six figures, in an area of the city that could really use them, and we block it because of ideological issues. We need 915

economic opportunity and educational opportunity in our

916

- 917 cities.
- The last thing is we have a horrible drug problem, and
- 919 more Fentanyl is coming across the southern border now than
- 920 any time. So you want to call it a public health issue you
- 921 can, but it is much, much deeper than that. Again, this
- 922 process is broken. We should fix this. We need oversight.
- 923 We need information. We don't just need more money.
- 924 I yield back.
- 925 \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Bucshon.
- Now I am going to go to the -- yes, Mr. Rush, you are
- 927 recognized next for 5 minutes.
- 928 \*Mr. Rush. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I
- 929 just want to -- I am so inspired by these last two moments in
- 930 this markup. You know, it is almost like being in church on
- 931 Sunday, you know, in that we have -- we are finally getting
- 932 to some issues now that are issues of poverty. They are not
- 933 the superficial intervention kind of issues that tend -- that
- 934 we tend to overlook.
- 935 You know, I have had many conversations with my friend
- 936 from West Virginia about the poverty that exists in
- 937 Appalachia. I hear my friend from Indiana talk about the
- 938 problem that exists in Indiana, and it is the same problem
- 939 that I have here in my district. It is the same issues --
- 940 drugs, violence -- whether it comes from the barrel of a gun
- 941 or from the tip of a knife. Same problems -- filing

- 942 unemployment, people who have no hope. And I -- you know,
- 943 and this from -- these from just not having a normal life.
- Mr. Chairman, in my experience, in the 1960s, and a
- 945 member of a militant organization, the Black Panther Party,
- 946 we formed a coalition with Appalachian whites as I have seen
- 947 on -- from the original Rainbow Coalition, with some whites
- 948 who lived in Chicago in a community called Uptown. And they
- 949 all immigrated from Appalachia.
- 950 But they had the same issues that we were experiencing
- 951 on the south and the west side of the city of Chicago. So we
- 952 decided to put aside the differences, the superficial
- 953 experiences and differences, and come and really develop a
- 954 coalition and try to work to solve some of these problems.
- 955 And we created and formed them around -- with Appalachian
- 956 whites around dealing with black lung disease, which was a
- 957 problem -- a pandemic there in Appalachia. And so we put our
- 958 resources, our time, and our energies together.
- 959 So this is a longstanding problem. I have kind of -- I
- 960 am inspired and overwhelmed by the truth that at this
- 961 eleventh hour of our hearing, this truth that emanates from
- 962 the pain and suffering of poor people around the country, in
- 963 Appalachia and south Indiana and L.A., or all over this
- 964 Nation.
- And I think that it is important, and very important,
- 966 particularly around public health, it is very -- it is a

- 967 symptom of those of us who are sick and tired of being sick
- 968 and tired of seeing our people suffering.
- Det's put aside some of these stupid, insane arguments,
- 970 and let us work on the economic viability of our community.
- 971 Let us do the things that we need to do to invest, in a real
- 972 sense, in programs that will elevate our citizens and those
- 973 who are depending on us and those who would need the help.
- 974 Mr. Chairman, let's eliminate these divisive arguments
- 975 about Critical Race Theory and all of that. That is nothing
- 976 but a weapon of the power of those who are in economic -- the
- 977 super rich. That is a weapon that they use to keep poor
- 978 people divided.
- 979 Coalminers in the 20th -- in the early 1920s, they
- 980 united with blacks -- blacks and whites, poor people united
- 981 to fight the coalmining companies. And they were killed
- 982 because some of them -- blacks and whites together were
- 983 killed because of the police assault on the demonstrators,
- 984 both black and white demonstrators, in West Virginia and in
- 985 Appalachia fighting for the health of coalminers.
- 986 It is that kind of spirit that we need in order to have
- 987 the kind of renaissance of the American spirit in our Nation.
- 988 Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.
- 989 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman. I think we --
- 990 oh, Mr. Hudson is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 991 \*Mr. Hudson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I move to strike

- 992 the last word. Listen, we have passed six supplemental bills
- 993 in response to COVID. We are spending trillions of dollars
- over the last year and a half. And after spending nearly
- 995 1.9 million on the American Rescue Plan in March, we are set
- 996 to spend another 1.2 trillion I believe it is just in this
- 997 Committee's part of the \$3.5 trillion reconciliation package.
- 998 The COVID-19 pandemic has affected all of us. I would
- 999 argue it is the most important issue that we are dealing
- 1000 with. It should be our top public health priority, not only
- 1001 looking at the current pandemic but preparing for the next
- 1002 one.
- 1003 Our President just issued the most authoritarian
- 1004 executive order we have seen in our time with this mask
- 1005 mandate. You look at the school system in Los Angeles, this
- 1006 is the top issue that we ought to be dealing with, but we
- 1007 haven't had a single hearing in the Health Subcommittee
- 1008 looking at pandemic preparedness.
- 1009 You know, the CDC has flipflopped on masks. If you are
- 1010 vaccinated, you don't have to wear them. Now you have to
- 1011 wear them. We ought to bring the CDC in for a hearing and
- 1012 talk about this.
- 1013 The FDA doesn't even have a commissioner. We certainly
- 1014 haven't heard from FDA on the pandemic, on what we have just
- 1015 been through, what we need to do to prepare going forward.
- 1016 We don't even have a nominee for an FDA commissioner. We

- 1017 haven't heard from ASPR. We should have had ASPR in. We
- 1018 should have had hearings to talk about what the American
- 1019 people know. We got it wrong.
- 1020 If you look at the national stockpile, we didn't prepare
- 1021 properly for this pandemic, and there is a lot of questions
- 1022 we need to be asking. We need to be examining what we got
- 1023 wrong, but more importantly what we need to be doing going
- 1024 forward. We haven't had a single hearing on this. And yet
- 1025 here we are looking to spend 15 billion on public health
- 1026 preparedness. Is that the right number? Are we spending it
- 1027 in the right places? You know, what are our deficiencies?
- 1028 I think my colleague, Dr. Bucshon, had it right. We
- 1029 should be looking at what our deficiencies are with the
- 1030 national stockpile, the PPE, with our supply chain, with our
- 1031 broken testing system, with our vaccine distribution system.
- 1032 But we also ought to be having hearings. We ought to be
- 1033 examining, what did we get right? What were the emergency
- 1034 measures we took in the last year and a half that we ought to
- 1035 look at making permanent?
- 1036 You look at Operation Warp Speed. What a tremendous
- 1037 victory that was. I mean, it has been described by my
- 1038 colleagues as the Manhattan Project of our generation. I
- 1039 think that is right. I think it will be one of the great
- 1040 legacies of President Donald Trump. And I think there is a
- 1041 lot of lessons we can learn from that, particularly the

- 1042 public-private partnership piece. And I believe we, as a
- 1043 government, ought to be investing more in that.
- These are all of the questions we ought to be asking,
- 1045 but instead we are throwing trillions of dollars. In this
- 1046 case, for preparedness, we are throwing \$15 billion at this
- 1047 problem, yet this Committee hasn't even spent time examining
- 1048 the problem at all.
- 1049 So, you know, this is the wrong way to go about this. I
- 1050 mean, we are rushing this bill through. I have -- you know,
- 1051 I said yesterday this is the most expensive piece of
- 1052 legislation in the history of the United States. We are
- 1053 spending more money in one bill than Canada and Mexico's GDP
- 1054 combined. We are rushing this thing through.
- You know, I thank my colleagues for being here until
- 1056 after 2:00 a.m. the first night and almost 2:00 a.m. last
- 1057 night. Here we are again spending the time to try to
- 1058 understand what is in this legislation. But this is not the
- 1059 right process, you know, and this Committee is better than
- 1060 that.
- I mean, we have got a long history of working together,
- 1062 of asking tough questions, and working together on behalf of
- 1063 the American people, and we need to get back to that. This
- 1064 is the wrong way to do this. I wish the majority would
- 1065 reconsider the path we are on. We can do this in regular
- 1066 order, and I think we will have better policy. I think the

- 1067 American people will be better served. And I think we will
- 1068 save the taxpayers money.
- 1069 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 1070 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- Now I am going to yield to Ms. Schakowsky. I doubt you
- 1072 had any sleep at all, but thank you for all that you have
- 1073 done. I yield you 5 minutes.
- 1074 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you. Yes, I appreciate that. I
- 1075 got back to Chicago in time on a 6:00 plane, so I am happy to
- 1076 be with you.
- 1077 Here is what I -- colleagues, I understand Republicans
- 1078 are frustrated with this process. We have heard it over and
- 1079 over again. But I want to commend Congresswoman Eshoo, and I
- 1080 am going to yield to her in a minute, and Diana DeGette and
- 1081 Fred Upton, who have worked and worked and worked, debated,
- 1082 we have discussed, we have gone through all the -- on the
- 1083 legislation that they are talking about.
- 1084 Well, we have an opportunity to put this into action
- 1085 right now in this bill. I mean, Fred, who was chairman of
- 1086 the Energy and Commerce Committee for a number of years,
- 1087 knows what he is talking about and has worked in a bipartisan
- 1088 way to get the Cures bill but also to work further on the
- 1089 legislation that is before us right now.
- 1090 And so don't pass up this opportunity. I get it. We
- 1091 all get it. You don't like the process. But the outcome,

- 1092 what we can actually accomplish, is so great on this
- 1093 particular AINS.
- 1094 And let me yield now to the chair of the Health
- 1095 Subcommittee, Anna Eshoo.
- 1096 \*Ms. Eshoo. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding to me.
- 1097 This is uncomfortable, and I think that we need to look at
- 1098 why we are doing reconciliation. If in fact -- and, you
- 1099 know, I mean, it is the choice of parties. But I think it is
- 1100 important to state this. If the Republican leadership was
- 1101 willing to work on Build Back Better, we would have gone
- 1102 through a regular order.
- 1103 We are going through reconciliation because it is the
- 1104 only process by which we can move the vision and the
- implementation of that vision of the President of the United
- 1106 States. So that is number one.
- 1107 Specifically on opioids that had been raised, I know,
- 1108 and I think we all have the sad appreciation, that in 2020
- 1109 there were over 93,000 overdose deaths in our country. That
- 1110 is a 30 percent increase, making 2020 the deadliest year for
- 1111 opioids.
- 1112 Our Health Subcommittee considered and passed bills that
- 1113 are going to continue the resources that our local
- 1114 communities -- which was described sadly and eloquently by
- 1115 Mr. McKinley. We held a legislative hearing in March on the
- 1116 issue. That work led to bipartisan markup that

- 1117 unanimously -- unanimously, bipartisan -- unanimously passed
- 1118 five bills to address the crisis, including the State Opioid
- 1119 Response Grant Authorization Act.
- Those bills have to be scheduled to go to the floor. It
- is a little above my paygrade, but I have not ignored the
- 1122 issue, colleagues. These are painful, dreadful things that
- 1123 are taking place in our community. I wish that every single
- 1124 day of the week I could hold hearings and markups. That is
- 1125 not in the cards.
- 1126 And Mr. Pallone and his staff know that I have damaged
- 1127 the door banging on it saying, "I want more. I want more. I
- 1128 want more.'' So we are not ignoring these issues.
- 1129 So I just wanted to get that on the record. I thank the
- 1130 gentlewoman for yielding to me, and I yield back to her.
- 1131 \*The Chairman. All right. Does anyone else want to
- 1132 comment? If not, we are going to start with the amendment
- 1133 process.
- 1134 All right. Do we have an amendment to the AINS? We are
- 1135 on the Eshoo AINS now. Mr. Palmer is recognized. What -- do
- 1136 you have a label for that amendment? Or do you have it at
- 1137 the desk, Madam Clerk? Or we need -- you need a number?
- 1138 \*The Clerk. I will need a number.
- 1139 \*The Chairman. Okay.
- \*The Clerk. I have the amendment.
- 1141 \*The Chairman. Okay. The clerk will report the Palmer

1142	amendment.
1143	*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
1144	a substitute to the Committee Print for Subtitle J offered by
1145	Mr. Palmer of Alabama.
1146	*The Chairman. And without objection, Madam Clerk, the
1147	reading of the Palmer amendment will be dispensed with, and
1148	the gentleman from Alabama is recognized for 5 minutes.
1149	[The amendment offered by Mr. Palmer follows:]
1150	
1151	**************************************
1152	

- 1153 \*Mr. Palmer. I move to strike the last word. I thank
- 1154 the chairman. This amendment would appropriate \$10 million
- 1155 to remain available to award grants and cooperative
- 1156 agreements or contracts to deal with the -- provide
- 1157 counseling, bereavement services, and other supports to
- 1158 families of individuals who have died from Fentanyl or
- 1159 Fentanyl-related substance abuse.
- This is an enormous problem. As my colleague from
- 1161 California, Ms. Eshoo, just mentioned, there are -- over
- 1162 93,000 people died last year from drug overdoses. The
- 1163 previous high was around 72,000. And, Mr. Chairman, that is
- 1164 probably underreported by 15 to 20 percent because so many
- 1165 people -- so many families don't want it on the death
- 1166 certificate that that is -- that their loved one died from a
- 1167 drug overdose.
- 1168 So we could be talking well over 100,000 people, and the
- 1169 surge in this -- among these overdoses is I think largely
- 1170 because of Fentanyl.
- 1171 There is a new study out that shows that the death rate
- 1172 among African Americans has jumped 38 percent from 2018 to
- 1173 2019. Almost half of the drug overdose deaths among African
- 1174 Americans is Fentanyl. All other -- the overdose death rate
- 1175 among all other races and ethnicities remained about the
- 1176 same.
- 1177 Cocaine and methamphetamines are increasingly being

- 1178 tainted with Fentanyl. That is one of the big issues is that
- 1179 you have got these cartels in Mexico. They are getting
- 1180 Fentanyl shipped in from China, and 80 percent of it is
- 1181 crossing our southern border, and they are including it in
- 1182 other drugs that people are taking, unsuspecting that it
- 1183 contains the most powerful opioid in the world.
- When they take these drugs, their bod is not prepared
- 1185 for that, and in some cases it kills them almost instantly.
- 1186 I think many of you are familiar with the rock star from
- 1187 Minnesota, Prince. That is what killed him.
- I think that we haven't given enough attention to this.
- 1189 In a previous Congress, I served on the Oversight and
- 1190 Government Reform Committee, and we had a field hearing at
- 1191 Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore to talk about this.
- 1192 And I asked a question of former Governor Chris
- 1193 Christie, who I think at that time was serving in the
- 1194 capacity as drug czar, if considering the amount of Fentanyl
- 1195 that is being produced in China and being shipped across
- 1196 their southern border, if we had gone from a war on drugs to
- 1197 a war with drugs, and are these people casualties of an
- 1198 intentional act by China, much like what we are dealing with
- 1199 with the COVID crisis, because I think it is becoming more
- 1200 and more evident that the COVID virus was developed by China
- 1201 in the Wuhan lab and one way or another got out.
- 1202 I have heard my colleague, Mr. McKinley, speak with

- 1203 great passion, great compassion, about what is going on in
- 1204 Appalachia. I know what is going on in rural parts of
- 1205 Alabama with this. And I don't think this Committee has
- 1206 spent enough time on this issue. I don't think we have been
- 1207 as serious about it as we need to be. I don't think we have
- 1208 provided the support that families of victims of Fentanyl
- 1209 overdose deaths need. I don't think we have done enough in
- 1210 regard to educating the American public about the dangers of
- 1211 Fentanyl.
- 1212 It is unbelievable. We want to talk about gun violence
- 1213 and the number of people who are dying as a result of gun
- 1214 violence. It pales in comparison to the number of people who
- 1215 are dying in this country from drug overdoses.
- The number of people who are killed in car wrecks pales
- 1217 in comparison to the number of people who are dying from drug
- 1218 overdoses. I literally sat at the kitchen table with my
- 1219 pastor with a mom and dad, with the mom trying to look past
- 1220 me and me trying to block her view, trying to look past me as
- 1221 the county coroner brought their son's body down from the
- 1222 upstairs bedroom.
- 1223 I will never forget that as long as I draw breath, and I
- 1224 think it is issue that this Committee needs to separate from
- 1225 this. This amendment needs to be a part of this bill, and we
- 1226 need to show that we care about these people, that we are
- 1227 serious about this, and we need to make this a priority,

- 1228 Mr. Chairman.
- 1229 My time has expired. I appreciate your indulgence, and
- 1230 I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman. If you -- we
- 1232 still have a number of people whose hands were raised from
- 1233 the last discussion. So if you don't want to speak on
- 1234 Mr. Palmer's amendment on Fentanyl, please lower your virtual
- 1235 hand, so we don't get confused about who wants to speak.
- 1236 Yes. The gentlewoman from New Hampshire is recognized
- 1237 for 5 minutes.
- 1238 \*Ms. Kuster. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last
- 1239 word to address the gentleman from Alabama's amendment. We
- 1240 all --
- \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman is recognized.
- 1242 \*Ms. Kuster. -- know that Americans -- pardon?
- \*The Chairman. You are recognized. The gentlewoman can
- 1244 continue. I didn't want to confuse you. We can hear you.
- 1245 \*Ms. Kuster. Okay. Have I been recognized? I would
- 1246 like to strike the last word.
- 1247 \*The Chairman. Yes. The gentlewoman is recognized for
- 1248 5 minutes, and we can hear you.
- 1249 \*Ms. Kuster. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. We all
- 1250 know that Americans across this country are struggling with
- 1251 opioids and substance use disorder, and this has only
- 1252 increased during the COVID-19 pandemic. I appreciate my

- 1253 colleague from Alabama and his shared desire to address this
- 1254 problem. And as the founder and co-chair of the bipartisan
- 1255 Mental Health and Addiction Task Force, I have always focused
- 1256 on advancing bipartisan solutions to this issue.
- 1257 According to the CDC, 40 percent of adults reported
- 1258 struggling with mental health or substance abuse last year.
- 1259 And as the chairwoman of our Subcommittee pointed out, drug
- 1260 overdose deaths hit a record high of 93,331 just last year.
- 1261 In May, the Biden Administration announced the
- 1262 distribution of \$3 billion in American Rescue Plan funding
- 1263 from SAMHSA's Community Mental Health Services Block Grant
- 1264 Program and the Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment
- 1265 Block Grant Program. This is the largest investment in these
- 1266 programs to date.
- 1267 This funding will allow states and territories to
- 1268 provide comprehensive community mental health services,
- 1269 including the individuals that Representative Palmer's
- 1270 amendment addresses and will address outstanding needs and
- 1271 gaps in this space, allowing states and territories to plan,
- 1272 implement, and evaluate activities to help more people
- 1273 recover from substance use disorder.
- 1274 I recognize that our work is not done. The Committee
- 1275 Print before us would build on the funding provided this year
- 1276 under the American Rescue Plan by making available
- 1277 \$500 million for teaching health centers and substance abuse

- 1278 and mental healthcare facilities to make needed improvements
- 1279 or modernizations. Addressing substance use disorder,
- 1280 including those associated with Fentanyl, remains a high
- 1281 priority for this Committee, and I certainly know for the
- 1282 Health Subcommittee.
- 1283 I agree that we must find a public health-related
- 1284 solution to the Fentanyl crisis. In the coming weeks,
- 1285 Congress must act on the emergency scheduling order related
- 1286 to how we treat Fentanyl. I believe we must work on a
- 1287 holistic solution to the misuse of Fentanyl and
- 1288 Fentanyl-related substances, and it is for this reason I urge
- 1289 my colleagues to oppose this amendment.
- 1290 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back unless there is
- 1291 anyone else that would like to be recognized. I yield back.
- 1292 \*The Chairman. Does anyone -- I thank the gentlewoman.
- 1293 Now we are going to go to Mr. Latta is recognized for
- 1294 5 minutes.
- 1295 \*Mr. Latta. Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
- 1296 And, again, I apologize for my allergies and my voice, but I
- 1297 move to strike the last word.
- 1298 \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized for
- 1299 5 minutes.
- 1300 \*Mr. Latta. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I rise in
- 1301 support of the gentleman from Alabama's amendment. You know,
- 1302 we all know that this opioid epidemic that we are in isn't

- 1303 something that is in another state, another city, another
- 1304 part of town, but it is on our own streets and our own homes.
- 1305 And I know a couple of years ago when I had two major
- 1306 events in my district that the rooms were full to hear from
- 1307 the experts what is going on out there.
- 1308 But as Mr. Palmer mentioned about how heart rendering it
- 1309 is that when parents come up to you and talk about their
- 1310 sons, their daughters, that die from opioids and from
- 1311 Fentanyl deaths, we have to do something as a country.
- And I think it is worth repeating this number again,
- 1313 over and over and over again, that 93,331 reported deaths in
- 1314 2020 alone from overdoses. And it is a staggering number
- 1315 when you think about it. It is up from 71,000 in 2019. So
- 1316 it is the largest increase in the last 50 years. More
- 1317 Ohioans died of an overdose -- opioid overdose during a
- 1318 3-month period last year than any time since the epidemic
- 1319 began.
- 1320 Nearly 75 percent of fatal overdoses are attributed to
- 1321 opioids, an increase of 70 percent in 2019, that was really
- 1322 driven by the Fentanyl crisis. In addition to the first
- 1323 10 months of 2021, Customs and Border Patrol, Fentanyl
- 1324 seizures are already 94 percent higher than they were in
- 1325 2020, and 233 percent higher than in all of 2019.
- In February of 2018, the DEA issued a temporary
- 1327 scheduling order to schedule Fentanyl-related substances to

- 1328 allow our law enforcement to track down on criminals flooding
- 1329 our neighborhoods and communities with this deadly drug.
- 1330 Moreover, the majority has continued to kick the can down the
- 1331 road with short-term extensions and are now approaching
- 1332 another end to the scheduling.
- 1333 That is why Representative Chabot and I reintroduced
- 1334 H.R. 1910, the Fight Fentanyl Act, which would permanently
- 1335 schedule Fentanyl-related substances as Schedule I
- 1336 substances.
- In addition, I am also working with Representative
- 1338 Griffith on a similar bill and hope to have it dropped in the
- 1339 near future. At present, the majority has not been willing
- 1340 to fix this massive problem that we have with Fentanyl in
- 1341 this country. And when you think about what Fentanyl is
- 1342 being used in, when they are lacing it in with marijuana, and
- 1343 people are dying from that, people just don't realize the
- 1344 harm that is out there and it is deadly.
- So, you know, instead of addressing this problem that is
- 1346 taking lives daily, we are focusing our time on a liberal
- 1347 wish list. It is my hope that we can work together in a
- 1348 bipartisan fashion to fix the root of this ongoing opioid
- 1349 epidemic, and I encourage my colleagues to support the
- 1350 gentleman's amendment because, again, when you look at these
- 1351 numbers, they are not getting better. They are getting
- 1352 worse, and so we just absolutely have to do something.

- 1353 And so, Mr. Chairman, I will yield back my time, unless
- 1354 there is someone on our side that would like my time and
- 1355 claim it.
- 1356 \*Mr. Bucshon. Latta, Bucshon.
- 1357 \*Mr. Latta. I recognize my friend, good doctor from
- 1358 Indiana.
- 1359 \*Mr. Bucshon. I support the amendment. Thanks to
- 1360 Mr. Palmer for doing this. You know, my wife is an
- 1361 anesthesiologist, and she uses Fentanyl to put people to
- 1362 sleep. It is actually a drug that is very useful in
- 1363 anesthesia. But when you have it in an uncontrolled and, you
- 1364 know, unquantified amount, it is certainly deadly.
- 1365 And, you know, again, I am going to speak to rural
- 1366 America. You know, we have just -- we have a bad drug
- 1367 problem in rural America. It is really a pandemic, in and of
- 1368 itself.
- 1369 And, again, as my comments earlier on gun violence, why
- 1370 is that? Well, it is a complicated problem. Educational and
- 1371 economic -- lack of educational parity and economic
- 1372 opportunity has a lot to do with it in rural America. And
- 1373 so, you know, we need to address this on a multiprong front,
- 1374 and I think the thing we all need to do is recognize why we
- 1375 have these problems. And it is not going to go away. There
- 1376 is no amount of incarceration or treatment that will fix this
- 1377 problem, unless you address the underlying reasons why people

- 1378 feel that they are in despair and they have to -- they have
- 1379 to find a way to medicate themselves, so to speak. And once
- 1380 they get hooked on this stuff, it is impossible to get off of
- 1381 it.
- So I support the amendment. We need to do everything we
- 1383 can, but we also need a multipronged approach to address the
- 1384 underlying reasons why our citizens feel like they need to
- 1385 lean on these narcotics, and honestly on alcohol the same.
- 1386 So with that, I yield back to Mr. Latta.
- 1387 \*Mr. Latta. Well, thank you very much.
- 1388 Mr. Chairman, my time has expired, and I yield back.
- 1389 Thank you very much.
- 1390 \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Latta.
- Is there a Democrat who wants to speak on this? Is
- 1392 there someone on the Republican side? Mr. Johnson? No.
- 1393 All right. Then we will go to a vote. A recorded vote
- 1394 is ordered. Those in favor of the Palmer amendment will say
- 1395 aye, those opposed to the amendment will say no, and the
- 1396 clerk shall call the roll.
- 1397 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- 1398 \*Mr. Rush. Rush votes no.
- 1399 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes no.
- 1400 Ms. Eshoo?
- 1401 \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes no.
- 1402 \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes no.

- 1403 Ms. DeGette?
- 1404 \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes no.
- 1405 \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 1406 Mr. Doyle?
- 1407 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes no.
- 1408 \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes no.
- 1409 Ms. Schakowsky? Ms. Schakowsky?
- 1410 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes no.
- 1411 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 1412 Mr. Butterfield?
- 1413 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes no.
- 1414 \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- 1415 Ms. Matsui?
- 1416 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes no.
- 1417 \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes no.
- 1418 Ms. Castor?
- 1419 \*Ms. Castor. No.
- 1420 \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes no.
- 1421 Mr. Sarbanes?
- 1422 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes no.
- 1423 \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
- 1424 Mr. McNerney?
- 1425 \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes no.
- 1426 \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes no.
- 1427 Mr. Welch?

- 1428 \*Mr. Welch. No.
- 1429 \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes no.
- 1430 Mr. Tonko?
- 1431 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko of New York votes no.
- 1432 \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes no.
- 1433 Ms. Clarke?
- 1434 \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes no. Clarke of
- 1435 New York votes no.
- 1436 \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes no.
- 1437 Mr. Schrader?
- 1438 \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader of Oregon votes no.
- 1439 \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 1440 Mr. Cardenas?
- 1441 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 1442 no. Cardenas --
- 1443 \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes no.
- 1444 Mr. Ruiz?
- 1445 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes no.
- 1446 \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes no.
- 1447 Mr. Peters?
- 1448 \*Mr. Peters. Peters votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- 1450 Mrs. Dingell?
- 1451 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes no.
- 1452 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes no.

- 1453 Mr. Veasey?
- [No response.]
- 1455 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster?
- 1456 \*Ms. Kuster. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 1457 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 1458 Ms. Kelly?
- 1459 \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes no.
- 1461 Ms. Barragan?
- 1462 \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes no.
- 1463 \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes no.
- 1464 Mr. McEachin?
- [No response.]
- 1466 \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin of Virginia votes no.
- 1467 \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes no.
- 1468 Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- 1469 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 1470 \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 1471 Mr. Soto?
- 1472 \*Mr. Soto. Soto from Florida votes no.
- 1473 \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes no.
- 1474 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 1475 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes no.
- 1476 \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- 1477 Miss Rice?

- 1478 \*Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
- 1479 \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
- 1480 Ms. Craig?
- \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes no.
- 1482 \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes no.
- 1483 Ms. Schrier?
- 1484 \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes no.
- 1485 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes no.
- 1486 Mrs. Trahan?
- 1487 \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes no.
- 1488 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes no.
- 1489 Mrs. Fletcher?
- 1490 \*Mrs. Fletcher. No.
- 1491 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes no.
- 1492 Mrs. Rodgers? Mrs. Rodgers?
- 1493 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Aye.
- 1494 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- 1495 Mr. Upton?
- 1496 \*Mr. Upton. Upton votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes aye.
- 1498 Mr. Burgess?
- 1499 \*Mr. Burgess. Burgess votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 1501 Mr. Scalise?
- 1502 \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta?

- 1503 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes aye.
- 1505 Mr. Guthrie?
- 1506 \*Mr. Guthrie. Guthrie votes aye.
- 1507 \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes aye.
- 1508 Mr. McKinley?
- 1509 \*Mr. McKinley. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes aye.
- 1511 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 1512 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 1514 Mr. Griffith?
- 1515 [No response.]
- 1516 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis?
- 1517 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Bilirakis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 1519 Mr. Johnson?
- 1520 \*Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 1522 Mr. Long?
- 1523 [No response.]
- 1524 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon?
- 1525 \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon from Indiana votes aye.
- 1526 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes aye.
- 1527 Mr. Mullin?

- 1528 \*Mr. Long. Is Long recorded?
- 1529 \*The Clerk. Mr. Long is not recorded.
- 1530 \*Mr. Long. Get my camera turned on here. Long votes
- 1531 aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes aye.
- 1533 Mr. Mullin?
- [No response.]
- 1535 \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson?
- 1536 \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes aye.
- 1538 Mr. Walberg?
- 1539 \*Mr. Walberg. Mr. Walberg votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes aye.
- 1541 Mr. Carter?
- 1542 \*Mr. Carter. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- 1544 Mr. Duncan?
- 1545 \*Mr. Duncan. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes aye.
- 1547 Mr. Palmer?
- 1548 \*Mr. Palmer. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes aye.
- 1550 Mr. Dunn?
- 1551 \*Mr. Dunn. Dunn votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes aye.

- 1553 Mr. Curtis?
- \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes aye.
- 1556 Mrs. Lesko?
- 1557 \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes aye.
- 1559 Mr. Pence?
- 1560 \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes aye.
- 1562 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 1563 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 1565 Mr. Joyce? Mr. Joyce?
- 1566 \*Mr. Joyce. Mr. Joyce votes yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes aye.
- 1568 Mr. Armstrong?
- 1569 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes aye.
- 1571 Chairman Pallone?
- \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes no.
- 1573 \*The Clerk. Chairman Pallone votes now.
- \*The Chairman. Are there any members who have not voted
- 1575 who --
- 1576 \*Mr. Mullin. Mr. Chairman?
- 1577 \*The Chairman. Mr. Mullin?

- 1578 \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin is not recorded.
- 1579 \*Mr. Mullin. Yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes aye.
- 1581 \*Mr. Griffith. Mr. Chairman, how am I recorded?
- 1582 \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith is not recorded.
- 1583 \*Mr. Griffith. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes aye.
- 1585 Mr. Veasey is not recorded.
- 1586 \*Mr. Veasey. Mr. Chairman, I would like to vote no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes no.
- 1588 \*The Chairman. The clerk will report the tally on the
- 1589 Palmer amendment.
- 1590 \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 1591 20 -- excuse me, the yeas were 25 and the nays were 32.
- \*The Chairman. Okay. On the Palmer amendment, the vote
- 1593 is 25 ayes to 32 nays, and the amendment is not agreed to.
- 1594 Do we have another amendment to the amendment in the
- 1595 nature of a substitute? Mr. Carter is recognized for
- 1596 5 minutes. I mean, Mr. Carter's --
- 1597 \*Mr. Carter. I have an amendment at the desk,
- 1598 Mr. Chairman, Amendment Number 21.
- 1599 \*The Chairman. Does the clerk have that amendment?
- 1600 \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- 1601 \*The Chairman. The clerk will report the Carter
- 1602 amendment.

1603	*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
1604	a substitute to the Committee Print for Subtitle J offered by
1605	Mr. Carter of Georgia.
1606	*The Chairman. Without objection, the reading of the
1607	amendment will be dispensed with, and the gentleman from
1608	Georgia is recognized for 5 minutes.
1609	[The amendment offered by Mr. Carter follows:]
1610	
1611	********COMMITTEE INSERT******

1613 \*Mr. Carter. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, 1614 this Committee has a responsibility -- a responsibility this 1615 Committee has -- to ensure a pandemic like the coronavirus never happens again. But to this date, we still don't know 1616 1617 how the coronavirus originated. It could have originated naturally. We don't think it did, but there are -- because 1618 1619 there are clues. 1620 There are enormous clues that also point to a virus that 1621 was released in the world after a lab accident or perhaps even intentionally. And, frankly, the majority has done 1622 1623 nothing to get to the bottom of this. Absolutely nothing. 1624 It is like my friends across the aisle are more 1625 concerned about perceived politics than about leading from 1626 the front and working together to protect our citizens from 1627 the threat China poses to our country and to our health. here is the thing. Whether the virus was naturally occurring 1628 1629 or not, we have a responsibility to figure out where it came 1630 from. 1631 Here is what we do know. The Chinese government engaged 1632 in a massive coverup by ordering the destruction of samples, 1633 taking all genomic sequences databases offline to shield them 1634 from public access, disappearing journalists and scientists 1635 lying about their observations of asymptomatic spread from 1636 person to person, activating their global united work front 1637 to ship personal protective equipment to the China motherland

- 1638 before others even knew of the outbreak.
- 1639 We know that China did and is still leading an organized
- 1640 massive media campaign to manipulate people all over the
- 1641 world to think about China favorably. We know that NIH has
- 1642 not come close to cooperating, nor to answering our questions
- 1643 about its funding to EcoHealth Alliance that supported bat
- 1644 coronavirus research at the Wuhan Institute of Virology.
- 1645 We know that the NIH states it did not fund gain-of-
- 1646 function research at the Wuhan Institute of Virology, yet NIH
- 1647 grant documents for the EcoHealth Alliance research in China
- 1648 bring their claims into question.
- Recently, 900 pages of EcoHealth Alliance grant reports
- 1650 revealed that EcoHealth Alliance reported to the NIH that
- they increased the transmissibility of viruses by 10,000
- 1652 times during their experiments, yet NIH did not pause the
- 1653 funding or the research or have the research undergo any
- 1654 special risk assessment reviews.
- NIH was not forthcoming with their documents. They did
- 1656 not provide them to minority committee leadership, and they
- 1657 did not even provide them when Freedom of Information Act
- 1658 requests were filed. Instead, NIH had to be sued before
- 1659 releasing redacted copies of their grant documents. And
- 1660 guess who footed the bill for the research? The American
- 1661 people.
- Our constituents' money went to China to conduct risky,

1663 dangerous, gain-of-function research. Albert Einstein said 1664 years ago the only thing more dangerous than ignorance is 1665 arrogance. Ladies and gentlemen, gain of function is research arrogance. And this is just one of several 1666 1667 illustrations of conflicting information that surfaced when 1668 the grant research documents were published last week. 1669 Political partisanship, academic group think, and big 1670 tech shutdown any and all mention of the possibility that 1671 COVID-19 emerged from a lab accident at the Wuhan Institute 1672 of Virology. Facebook and Twitter literally deleted posts 1673 that suggested this, and in some cases banned those users. 1674 Mark Zuckerberg and Jack Dorsey are not scientists, and 1675 they should be condemned for pursuing China's lies out to the 1676 world. So what do we do now? Congress must get to the 1677 bottom of this. And while we may never get the answers we 1678 want from the Chinese Communist Party, as the NIH authorizing 1679 committee and the committee with jurisdiction over public 1680 health, we have the responsibility to investigate how the 1681 outbreak occurred, if for no other reason than to figure out 1682 what steps we must take to prevent another pandemic. 1683 We must track every single U.S. taxpayer dollar spent on 1684 this research in China. We must prohibit any U.S. funds from going to the Wuhan Institute of Virology, a lab that the U.S. 1685 1686 State Department declared conducts secret military

experiments with the Chinese Communist People's Liberation

1687

- 1688 Army.
- More importantly, we should pause federal funding for
- 1690 gain-of-function studies into potential pandemic viruses
- 1691 while we investigate and work with the HHS and the NIH to
- 1692 establish a more transparent and thorough risk assessment
- 1693 process for funding this kind of research.
- We have the opportunity to take immediate action today
- 1695 by passing my amendment. It mirrors -- listen to this now:
- 1696 it mirrors almost identically the 5-year moratorium President
- 1697 Obama thoughtfully put in place in 2014 to pause gain-of-
- 1698 function research.
- I urge a yes vote on this amendment, and I urge this
- 1700 Committee to take the virus origin seriously and begin
- 1701 investigation. It is this Committee's jurisdiction. It is
- 1702 this Committee's responsibility, Mr. Chairman.
- 1703 My friends on the other side of the aisle, we have to
- 1704 take this seriously. We should never let this happen again.
- 1705 I yield back, Mr. Chairman.
- 1706 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- 1707 Ms. DeGette is recognized for 5 minutes on the Carter
- 1708 amendment.
- 1709 \*Ms. DeGette. I thank the gentleman for recognizing me,
- 1710 and I would say that Mr. Carter is correct. We have to take
- 1711 this seriously. The Oversight Subcommittee, in working with
- 1712 the Republican side of the aisle, is undergoing some very

- 1713 robust investigation of what happened in Wuhan, and we need
- 1714 to do that to find out what happened, although I will say
- 1715 there is no evidence that this was intentionally released.
- 1716 But even if it was accidentally released from a lab, we need
- 1717 to worry about that.
- 1718 But let's talk about what this amendment does. What
- 1719 this amendment basically does is it stops us from doing gain-
- 1720 of-function research around COVID, which would be a big
- 1721 mistake. And here is why. Gain of research -- gain-of-
- 1722 function research can be useful in helping researchers better
- 1723 understand scientific theories or even to develop new
- 1724 technologies, and not all gain-of-function research poses
- 1725 security risks.
- 1726 An example -- gain-of-function research has been used to
- 1727 create drought-resistant plants as well as research involving
- 1728 modification of bacteria to improve insulin production in
- 1729 humans. But it is true gain of research function also --
- 1730 research also encompasses studying pathogens with pandemic
- 1731 potential like bacteria and viruses.
- 1732 So in projects involving the NIH, this research is
- 1733 appropriately highly regulated and has to adhere to strict
- 1734 biosafety and biosecurity controls developed by health and
- 1735 security experts.
- 1736 The gentleman is correct. In 2014, under the Obama
- 1737 Administration, the NIH recognized that certain gain-of-

- 1738 function research could be risky and paused all federal
- 1739 funding for projects that presented high pandemic potential
- 1740 risk. What the gentleman doesn't say, though, is after
- 1741 significant input from stakeholders, including the National
- 1742 Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine, and the
- 1743 National Science Advisory Board for Biosecurity, in 2017, HHS
- 1744 issued additional guidelines and reporting requirements
- 1745 related to this type of research.
- 1746 And subsequently, because of those guarantees, the NIH
- 1747 lifted the funding pause and moved forward with the new
- 1748 decision framework informed by medical and biosafety experts.
- I also want to know, as I said before, gain-of-function
- 1750 research doesn't always involve high-risk pathogens. The
- 1751 search for the coronavirus -- COVID-19 virus continues. We
- 1752 can't stop research that we are going to need to have to
- 1753 figure out what happened here. We have to follow the
- 1754 science, but we have to have the strictest of protocols, and
- 1755 we have to make sure those strict protocols are followed no
- 1756 matter where the research is done.
- 1757 But this amendment here is a blunt instrument. It
- 1758 doesn't say that. It just says we are not going to do the
- 1759 research, and that will not help us to figure out what
- 1760 happened here.
- 1761 For that reason, I urge my colleagues to reject the
- 1762 amendment, and I yield back.

- 1763 \*Mr. Griffith. Mr. Chairman?
- 1764 \*The Chairman. We are going to go -- yes, who is -- who
- 1765 seeks recognition?
- 1766 The gentlewoman has yielded back. Mr. Griffith is
- 1767 recognized for 5 minutes.
- 1768 \*Mr. Griffith. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I
- 1769 think that the chairman of our Subcommittee, DeGette, is
- 1770 right on some points and wrong on some points. Let's go over
- 1771 the facts.
- We have been trying to get COVID origins for some time.
- 1773 Here is my notebook on all of the letters that we have
- 1774 written trying to get all of the information just available
- 1775 in the U.S. We know the Chinese aren't going to give us
- 1776 everything.
- 1777 This amendment makes sense, and let me tell you why it
- 1778 makes sense, ladies and gentlemen. We have to put a hard
- 1779 stop on what is going on with gain of function, even if it is
- 1780 just close. And of course they say -- some say it is, and
- 1781 some say it isn't. But they have humanized mice that they
- 1782 have been using on this research, and it looks like they have
- 1783 been doing some of that.
- 1784 And the problem is, as Ms. DeGette pointed out, we have
- 1785 to make sure that there are strict guidelines, and HHS came
- 1786 out with even more guidelines. But our investigation has
- 1787 shown that they weren't following those guidelines. And then

- 1788 when we give money to EcoHealth Alliance, they then farm out
- 1789 some of the research to the Wuhan virology lab. They farm
- 1790 that out, and those folks were doing research that everybody
- 1791 agrees should have been doing in safety level 3 lab. They
- 1792 were doing it all in a safety level 2 lab.
- 1793 And then we sit here scratching our heads wondering,
- 1794 huh, I wonder why there might have been an accident there? I
- 1795 wonder why somebody might have made a mistake? Well, I will
- 1796 tell you where the mistake was made is that we weren't
- 1797 careful enough when we gave our federal dollars to EcoHealth
- 1798 Alliance -- and maybe others, but certainly to them -- and
- 1799 didn't do the proper follow up to make sure that they were
- 1800 following the safety protocols that Ms. DeGette talked about.
- 1801 We weren't even doing what we were supposed to be doing in
- 1802 the past.
- 1803 So what makes us think that we are going to follow up in
- 1804 the future? Further, to make -- to add insult to injury, we
- 1805 not only found out this problem, NIH at one point said, "We
- 1806 are going to have to suspend you because you weren't doing
- 1807 everything right. You weren't giving us the data.'' And
- 1808 then we gave EcoHealth Alliance additional money on
- 1809 additional grant proposals.
- 1810 Folks, we need to put a pause on this right now. We
- 1811 need to have the hearings, and I appreciate Chairman DeGette
- 1812 wanting to get hearings done and wanting to get to the bottom

- 1813 of this, get all of the information we can for the American
- 1814 taxpayers and for the world to know.
- 1815 \*Mr. Duncan. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1816 \*Mr. Griffith. But we need to -- hang on just a minute.
- 1817 But we need to make sure we have all of that information
- 1818 first. Put a pause on it now. Stop it now. Pass this
- 1819 amendment now and then we can come back in and we can figure
- 1820 out exactly what we need to do.
- Now I will tell you, I don't want to mislead anybody, I
- 1822 am really worried, and I have a different opinion than
- 1823 Ms. DeGette on gain of function. But there is a battle going
- 1824 on in the scientific community. Let's say stop, pause, and
- 1825 then let us -- in this Committee, the committee of
- 1826 jurisdiction, let us figure out what the right answers are.
- I would be happy to yield for a question, but I don't
- 1828 want to yield my time. I yield for a question to the
- 1829 gentleman.
- 1830 \*Mr. Duncan. Not a question, just some time.
- 1831 \*Mr. Griffith. All right. I will give you a minute or
- 1832 so. I might want to come back.
- 1833 \*Mr. Duncan. Thank you. I think this is an important
- 1834 point. We are spending \$3.5 trillion, the largest spending
- 1835 plan in United States history, but yet the other side of the
- 1836 aisle will not adopt an amendment that looks into the origin
- 1837 of COVID-19? The origin? We are going to spend all of this

1838 money -- of taxpayer hard-earned money, and we can't even 1839 look into the origins of a pandemic? Are you kidding me? 1840 America, you need to realize what the majority party, the Democrats, are saying right here. They are saying that 1841 1842 they don't want to spend money in the largest spending plan to look at something that shut your businesses down, 1843 1844 quarantined you from your family and your loved ones in the 1845 nursing homes, possibly even by moving people into nursing 1846 homes caused the deaths of some of your loved ones, they 1847 don't want to look into the origin of that in Wuhan when, as 1848 Mr. Carter pointed succinctly out, the evidence is there, and you don't want to look at that in the largest spending bill 1849 in American history? Give me a break. 1850 1851 I yield back. 1852 \*Mr. Griffith. I thank the gentleman. I did want to 1853 hit a couple more points. First, let me be completely fair. 1854 Chairwoman DeGette of the Oversight and Investigations 1855 Subcommittee has indicated we are going to have hearings. We need to get those scheduled, but she has been -- she 1856 1857 has been wanting these answers all along. It is not -- it is 1858 not an unwillingness to do some investigation, although I 1859 think we need to move it along, but it is a concern that I 1860 think we need to say hit the brakes. You know, sometimes you

just have to stop and catch your breath and say, wait a

minute, let's stop right now.

1861

1862

- I am not saying we couldn't move forward if we get
- 1864 everything right. This amendment, though, puts the brakes on
- 1865 those pathogens that have a pandemic potential. Doesn't
- 1866 affect everything, just those pathogens that have a pandemic
- 1867 potential. And when you are dealing with coronavirus, one of
- 1868 the reasons they were doing the research is, it has a
- 1869 pandemic potential.
- 1870 And our agencies didn't follow up with the people they
- 1871 contracted with, didn't follow up on the folks who were the
- 1872 third party providers -- in this case, Wuhan lab -- and as a
- 1873 result, we don't -- we had a situation going, whether it
- 1874 caused this problem or not is not the issue. But we do know
- 1875 we had a situation going where we were allowing unsafe
- 1876 practices to happen with American tax dollars in a foreign
- 1877 country, and we weren't doing our homework.
- 1878 And that falls to the responsibility, as I think
- 1879 Ms. DeGette would recognize, of the Oversight and
- 1880 Investigations Subcommittee of this Committee. It is our
- 1881 jurisdiction. We are going to do it. I know with her
- 1882 assurances that we will get it done.
- 1883 \*Ms. DeGette. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1884 \*Mr. Griffith. But we need to do it quickly. I am
- 1885 happy to yield to Ms. DeGette. She is always very good.
- 1886 Yes, ma'am.
- 1887 \*Ms. DeGette. I just want to tell the gentleman, number

- 1888 one, I don't agree with the characterization of what the U.S.
- 1889 has or hasn't done in Wuhan. I do think we need to have an
- 1890 investigation.
- 1891 As I said earlier this summer, we were waiting to get
- 1892 the classified report from the Biden Administration which
- 1893 came out in August. And when we get back, we are going to
- 1894 continue that investigation, but in my opinion, in the
- 1895 meantime, what this amendment does, it is a blunt instrument
- 1896 to stop this important type of research.
- So we are going to have to have a continuing
- 1898 investigation, and we will have hearings, and I thank the
- 1899 gentleman for working with me. He has been great. And I
- 1900 yield back.
- 1901 \*Mr. Griffith. And sometimes, Mr. Chairman, a blunt
- 1902 instrument is necessary to stop things until you can catch
- 1903 your breath and figure out what you are supposed to do.
- 1904 I yield back.
- 1905 \*Mr. Palmer. Mr. Chairman, I have a question.
- 1906 \*The Chairman. The gentleman has yielded back. I
- 1907 believe --
- 1908 \*Mr. Palmer. Mr. Chair, I have a question for the
- 1909 chair.
- 1910 \*The Chairman. Mr. Palmer?
- 1911 \*Mr. Palmer. I have a question.
- 1912 \*The Chairman. Yes.

- 1913 \*Mr. Palmer. And I want to make sure I understood what
- 1914 Ms. DeGette just said. Does the Committee have information
- 1915 about the gain-of-function funding that -- does the chair
- 1916 have that, or does the Subcommittee chair have information
- 1917 about funding for gain of function that the Committee doesn't
- 1918 have?
- 1919 \*The Chairman. Do you want time to address --
- 1920 \*Mr. Palmer. No, I am just asking a question. I can --
- 1921 \*The Chairman. I know. But you have to have -- did you
- 1922 have your 5 minutes yet?
- 1923 \*Mr. Palmer. Not on this. No, sir.
- 1924 \*The Chairman. Well, you can be recognized for
- 1925 5 minutes.
- 1926 \*Mr. Palmer. Striking the last word. I just have a
- 1927 question. I just want to know if the leadership of the
- 1928 Committee has information about gain-of-function funding that
- 1929 hasn't been shared with the Committee.
- 1930 \*The Chairman. No. We have nothing like that.
- 1931 \*Mr. Palmer. I yield back.
- 1932 \*The Chairman. Thank you. And next I have Dr. Burgess
- 1933 based on seniority. Did you want to be recognized?
- 1934 \*Mr. Burgess. Yes. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I move to
- 1935 strike the last word and be recognized on the Carter
- 1936 amendment.
- \*The Chairman. Dr. Burgess is recognized for 5 minutes.

1938 \*Mr. Burgess. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And this is a 1939 good amendment by the gentleman from Georgia and should be 1940 supported by everyone on this Committee. It is, after all, 1941 the responsibility of this Subcommittee -- of this Committee, 1942 this full Committee, to be -- to be the one in charge here in 1943 issues of public health that are so dire. 1944 Look, I had a similar amendment which I am not going to 1945 offer in the interest of time. But the amendment that I had 1946 proposed would require the federal agencies to release all 1947 information requested under Freedom of Information Act by the 1948 Energy and Commerce Committee within 45 business days after 1949 the receipt of that request. 1950 And the reason for that is this past week -- and many of 1951 us were sort of blindsided by reporters. There is a 1952 publication called The Intercept that published 900 pages --1953 900 pages -- of documents related to the U.S-funded 1954 coronavirus research in China through EcoHealth Alliance. 1955 So we, as a Committee, have sent several letters to the 1956 National Institute of Health requesting further information 1957 on the Wuhan lab's biosafety procedures and documents 1958 relating to any grant dollars provided by EcoHealth Alliance. 1959 But instead of providing members of Congress with a briefing 1960 on these requested materials, members of Congress were left 1961 to find out that 900 pages of materials were published by a

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news hub.

- So the NIH really must be transparent about all of the details relating to the origins of the COVID-19 virus. It is beyond critical that we understand exactly what went wrong to prevent this from ever happening again.
- And I so appreciate Ranking Member Griffith's comments 1967 about making certain that viruses with pandemic potential --1968 1969 could we also be sure that viruses with pandemic potential 1970 are not funded for research in countries that are adversarial to the United States? I mean, would this be too much to ask? 1971 1972 Previous Administrations have made good faith efforts to 1973 provide access to information when requested by Congressional 1974 committees. I don't understand why this Administration has 1975 chosen to be so non-transparent in this issue. With 1976 40 million COVID cases in the United States, the pandemic has demonstrated how serious a biologic threat can be. 1977
- And this has affected everyone. Members in this room,
  members of my family, have been affected by this virus. We
  should all be equally concerned about the origins, and we
  certainly should be willing to listen to the arguments of the
  gentleman from Georgia that we not be funding this
  research -- viruses and bacteria with a pandemic potential -in an adversarial country.
- So I want to thank the gentleman from Georgia for offering the amendment. I regret that there was not time to offer the companion amendment on the origins of the

- 1988 coronavirus outbreak.
- 1989 Look, I have been on this Committee for a long time. We
- 1990 have dealt with the People's Republic of China in a number of
- 1991 activities that were certainly questionable. I remember
- 1992 Chairman Dingell when -- back in 2007 and 2008 did multiple
- 1993 investigations on Melamine in pet food that poisoned our dogs
- 1994 and cats.
- 1995 We have had lead paint in our toys that were imported
- 1996 into this country that affected our children several
- 1997 Christmases ago that Jan Schakowsky worked on. The Fentanyl
- 1998 that was brought up earlier by -- in an earlier amendment. I
- 1999 mean, this stuff -- at some point, you begin to ask yourself,
- 2000 is all of this accidental?
- 2001 Oh, and I forgot about the Heparin in 2008 that poisoned
- 2002 our patients in dialysis centers. Is all of this stuff just
- 2003 coincidental, or is there a pattern of practice here by an
- 2004 adversarial country where at the very least we would never
- 2005 again fund pathogenic research in a lab in an adversarial
- 2006 country that has such a track record?
- 2007 Again, I thank the gentleman from Georgia for bringing
- 2008 up the amendment. It deserves an aye vote.
- 2009 And I will yield back.
- 2010 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- 2011 Who seeks time?
- 2012 \*Mr. Dunn. Mr. Dunn of Florida.

- 2013 \*The Chairman. Mr. Dunn is recognized for 5 minutes.
- 2014 \*Mr. Dunn. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I move to strike
- 2015 the last word and speak in support of the amendment.
- 2016 Thank you. I support this much needed amendment and
- 2017 encourage my colleagues to do so as well. I can attest
- 2018 personally to these risks. I worked in the BSL-4 lab at Fort
- 2019 Detrick, Maryland, in the 1970s. We struggled to close down
- 2020 the biological warfare labs in what was then the world's
- 2021 premier isolation lab for the study of infectious agents. It
- 2022 was the only lab in the world certified to do research on
- 2023 recombinant DNA at the time.
- Nonetheless, pathogens from those labs continued to
- 2025 surface periodically, including as recently as 2001 in a true
- 2026 biological attack on civilians in America. I urge you to
- 2027 take some time and Google the rich history of laboratory
- 2028 leaks with infectious diseases around the world.
- 2029 Conducting gain-of-function -- and, by the way, this is
- 2030 not a blunt instrument. This is a very sharp instrument. It
- 2031 is aimed specifically at pathogenicity, not at the medical
- 2032 research that Chairwoman DeGette mentioned. Conducting gain-
- 2033 of-function research in a lab in an adversarial nation is
- 2034 quite simply not a good idea. To do so in a nation that is
- 2035 widely acknowledged to have the world's largest and most
- 2036 advanced biological warfare program is recklessly foolish.
- 2037 Yet this is precisely what NIH did through it surrogate

- 2038 subgrants using EcoHealth Alliance, which funded gain-of-
- 2039 function research in Wuhan Institute of Virology.
- 2040 This is clearly evident in the wake of the worst
- 2041 pandemic to affect our world since 1918. So far over
- 2042 6 million people have lost their lives, and we are still
- 2043 counting.
- 2044 Some will protest that China is a signatory to the
- 2045 Biological Weapons Convention of 1972. They have never been
- 2046 in full compliance, and since 2015 have refused all semblance
- 2047 of compliance, a fact thoroughly reported by the French
- 2048 government to our Department of State.
- 2049 With this amendment, Mr. Carter of Georgia raises an
- 2050 important question. Do HHS and NIH need to do more to
- 2051 protect national biosecurity when funding research projects
- 2052 at home and abroad? And the world's experience with COVID-19
- 2053 is a compelling argument that they should be doing much more
- 2054 concern with national security, biosecurity, and the risks
- 2055 that this type of research poses to the entire world.
- 2056 NIH imposed a moratorium, a complete moratorium on gain-
- 2057 of-function research in the U.S. in 2014, recognizing the
- 2058 special risks of such research, even an American-run BSL-4
- 2059 lab. We know that the Chinese BSL-4 lab was never in
- 2060 compliance with BSL-4 lab protocols. Again, the French kept
- 2061 us informed on that.
- We know that the NIH knowingly funded subgrants using

- 2063 EcoHealth Alliance, and that gain-of-function research was
- 2064 done on coronavirus in the Wuhan Institute of Virology. And,
- 2065 in fact, NIH funding for those efforts goes on today, as we
- 2066 speak. When NIH approved the gain-of-function research in
- 2067 Wuhan Institute, were they or was HHS adequately equipped to
- 2068 assess the risk inherent in that type of research? I am not
- 2069 convinced they were, and I have serious concerns about the
- 2070 NIH funding tied to that institute.
- 2071 Earlier Mr. Guthrie detailed the timeline and definition
- 2072 of "gain of function". Well, it is clear that a re-
- 2073 evaluation of the risks versus benefits of any research into
- 2074 gain of function for pathogenicity is needed as well as a
- 2075 hard stop to our funding of what amounts to biowarfare
- 2076 research in China.
- 2077 Many questions remain, and this committee is getting
- 2078 stonewalled by NIH for more information about all this, and
- 2079 we need to continue our research.
- 2080 This amendment is common-sense. It will afford HSS time
- 2081 and resources to assess the risks of the projects that they
- 2082 are funding currently. \$3 billion is going out the door to
- 2083 the ARPA-H title to supplement existing NIH grant monies, and
- 2084 it would be prudent to take a moment to consider the national
- 2085 security risk of all research conducted in China, and this
- 2086 amendment is one way to do so. I strongly encourage my
- 2087 colleagues to vote yes on this, as you value your life, and

- 2088 as you place a value on the lives of all of the Americans and
- 2089 those around the world who have died from this pandemic
- 2090 caused by this research.
- 2091 With that, Madam Chair, I yield back.
- 2092 \*Mr. Carter. Will the gentleman yield? Will the
- 2093 gentleman yield? Will the gentleman yield?
- 2094 \*Mr. Dunn. You have 13 seconds.
- 2095 \*Mr. Carter. Okay. I just want to thank the gentleman
- 2096 for pointing out something that was very important. This is
- 2097 not a blunt instrument. This is a sharp instrument. And I
- 2098 resent the chairperson of the O&I Committee of this committee
- 2099 of jurisdiction insinuating that it was a blunt instrument
- 2100 that included everything. It does not. It causes a pause
- 2101 only on pathogens and coronavirus, not on plants or anything
- 2102 else. That was intentionally misleading on her part, and I
- 2103 resent that and I yield back.
- 2104 \*The Chairman. I guess I shouldn't have allowed you to
- 2105 go over. Too late now.
- 2106 \*Mr. Dunn. Whistle it back.
- 2107 \*The Chairman. Thank you. Does anyone else wish time
- 2108 on the Carter amendment?
- 2109 All right. If not, we are going to move to a vote.
- 2110 A recorded vote is ordered, and those in favor of the
- 2111 amendment will say aye; those opposed to the Carter amendment
- 2112 will say no. And the clerk shall call the roll.

- 2113 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- 2114 \*Mr. Rush. Rush votes no.
- 2115 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes no.
- 2116 Ms. Eshoo?
- \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes no.
- 2118 \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes no.
- 2119 Ms. DeGette?
- 2120 \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 2122 Mr. Doyle?
- 2123 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes no.
- 2124 \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes no.
- 2125 Ms. Schakowsky?
- 2126 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 2128 Mr. Butterfield?
- 2129 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes no.
- 2130 \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- 2131 Ms. Matsui?
- 2132 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes no.
- 2133 \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes no.
- 2134 Ms. Castor?
- [No audible response.]
- 2136 \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes no.
- 2137 Mr. Sarbanes?

- 2138 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes no.
- 2139 \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
- 2140 Mr. McNerney?
- \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes no.
- 2142 \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes no.
- 2143 Mr. Welch?
- 2144 \*Mr. Welch. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes no.
- 2146 Mr. Tonko?
- 2147 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko of New York votes no.
- 2148 \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes no.
- 2149 Ms. Clarke?
- 2150 \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes no.
- 2152 \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes no.
- 2154 Mr. Schrader?
- 2155 \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader of Oregon votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 2157 Mr. Cardenas?
- 2158 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 2159 no.
- 2160 \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes no.
- 2161 Mr. Ruiz?
- 2162 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes no.

- 2163 \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes no.
- 2164 Mr. Peters?
- 2165 [No response.]
- 2166 \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters?
- 2167 \*Mr. Peters. Peters votes no.
- 2168 \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- 2169 Mrs. Dingell?
- 2170 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes no.
- 2171 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes no.
- 2172 Mr. Veasey?
- 2173 \*Mr. Veasey. Veasey votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes no.
- 2175 Ms. Kuster?
- 2176 \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 2178 Ms. Kelly?
- 2179 \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly votes no.
- 2180 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes no.
- 2181 Ms. Barragan?
- 2182 \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes no.
- 2183 \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes no.
- 2184 Mr. McEachin?
- 2185 [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- 2187 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester votes no.

- 2188 \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 2189 Mr. Soto?
- 2190 \*Mr. Soto. Soto from Florida votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes no.
- 2192 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 2193 \*Mr. McEachin. Madam Clerk, forgive me. McEachin votes
- 2194 no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes no.
- 2196 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 2197 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes no.
- 2198 \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran, can you please repeat your
- 2199 vote? I could not see you on camera.
- 2200 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes no.
- 2201 \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran, can you please turn your
- 2202 video on?
- 2203 \*Mr. O'Halleran. It is on.
- 2204 \*The Clerk. All right. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- 2205 Miss Rice?
- 2206 \*Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
- 2207 \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
- 2208 Ms. Craig?
- 2209 \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes no.
- 2210 \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes no.
- 2211 Ms. Schrier?
- 2212 \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes no.

- 2213 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes no.
- 2214 Mrs. Trahan?
- 2215 \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes no.
- 2216 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes no.
- 2217 Mrs. Fletcher?
- 2218 \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher votes no.
- 2219 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes no.
- 2220 Mrs. Rodgers?
- [No audible response.]
- 2222 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- 2223 Mr. Upton?
- 2224 \*Mr. Upton. Upton votes aye.
- 2225 \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes aye.
- 2226 Mr. Burgess?
- 2227 \*Mr. Burgess. Burgess votes aye.
- 2228 \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 2229 Mr. Scalise?
- 2230 \*Mr. Scalise. Scalise votes aye.
- 2231 \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- 2232 Mr. Latta?
- 2233 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes aye.
- 2235 Mr. Guthrie?
- 2236 \*Mr. Guthrie. Guthrie votes aye.
- 2237 \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes aye.

- 2238 Mr. McKinley?
- [No audible response.]
- 2240 \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes aye.
- 2241 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 2242 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 2243 \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 2244 Mr. Griffith?
- 2245 \*Mr. Griffith. Aye.
- 2246 \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes aye.
- 2247 Mr. Bilirakis?
- 2248 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 2249 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 2250 Mr. Johnson?
- 2251 \*Mr. Johnson. Johnson votes aye.
- 2252 \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 2253 Mr. Long?
- 2254 \*Mr. Long. Aye.
- 2255 \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes aye.
- 2256 Mr. Bucshon?
- 2257 \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon from Indiana votes aye.
- 2258 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes aye.
- 2259 Mr. Mullin?
- 2260 \*Mr. Mullin. Aye.
- 2261 \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes aye.
- 2262 Mr. Hudson?

- 2263 \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes aye.
- 2265 Mr. Walberg?
- 2266 \*Mr. Walberg. Walberg votes aye.
- 2267 \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes aye.
- 2268 Mr. Carter?
- 2269 \*Mr. Carter. Carter of Georgia votes aye.
- 2270 \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- 2271 Mr. Duncan?
- 2272 \*Mr. Duncan. Duncan votes yes.
- 2273 \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes aye.
- 2274 Mr. Palmer?
- [No audible response.]
- 2276 \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes aye.
- 2277 Mr. Dunn?
- 2278 \*Mr. Dunn. Dunn votes aye.
- 2279 \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes aye.
- 2280 Mr. Curtis?
- 2281 \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes aye.
- 2282 \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes aye.
- 2283 Mrs. Lesko?
- 2284 \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko votes aye.
- 2285 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes aye.
- 2286 Mr. Pence?
- 2287 \*Mr. Pence. Pence votes aye.

- 2288 \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes aye.
- 2289 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 2290 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes aye. No? Crenshaw votes
- 2291 aye.
- 2292 \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 2293 Mr. Joyce?
- 2294 \*Mr. Joyce. Joyce from Pennsylvania votes aye.
- 2295 \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes aye.
- 2296 Mr. Armstrong?
- 2297 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes yes.
- 2298 \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes aye.
- 2299 Chairman Pallone?
- 2300 \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes no.
- 2301 \*The Clerk. Chairman Pallone votes no.
- 2302 \*The Chairman. Do we have anyone, Madam Clerk, who
- 2303 hasn't voted?
- 2304 \*The Clerk. No, sir.
- 2305 \*The Chairman. All right. Then the clerk will report
- 2306 the tally on the Carter amendment.
- \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 2308 26 and the nays were 32.
- 2309 \*The Chairman. Okay. On the Carter amendment, the vote
- 2310 is 26 ayes to 32 noes, and the amendment is not agreed to.
- 2311 Do we have additional amendments to the amendment in the
- 2312 nature of a substitute?

- 2313 \*Mrs. Lesko. Mr. Chairman, it's Representative Lesko.
- \*The Chairman. Yes, Mrs. Lesko.
- 2315 \*Mrs. Lesko. Yes, I have an amendment at the desk. It
- 2316 is FCR 38.
- 2317 \*The Chairman. Does the clerk have that Lesko
- 2318 amendment?
- 2319 \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- 2320 \*The Chairman. All right. The clerk will report the
- 2321 amendment.
- 2322 \*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 2323 a substitute to the Committee Print for Subtitle J, offered
- 2324 by Mrs. Lesko of Arizona.
- 2325 \*The Chairman. Without objection, the reading of the
- 2326 amendment will be dispensed with and the gentlewoman from
- 2327 Arizona is recognized for five minutes.
- 2328 \*Mrs. Lesko. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2329 My amendment prohibits taxpayer dollars from being used
- 2330 to pay for abortions with any funds associated with the
- 2331 public health programs created by Subtitle J. As I said last
- 2332 night when we discussed this issue previously, many, many,
- 2333 probably half of America has strong moral objections to
- 2334 ending the lives of babies within the womb, and they
- 2335 certainly do not want their hard-earned income in the form of
- 2336 taxpayer dollars being used to end the lives of babies in a
- 2337 woman's womb.

- 2338 Prior to this Congress, there used to be bipartisan
- 2339 agreement that at the very least, taxpayer dollars should not
- 2340 be used for abortions. Many of my colleagues agree. The
- 2341 Hyde Amendment has been included in spending bills for over
- 2342 40 years. However, the current reconciliation bill under
- 2343 consideration intentionally leaves out nearly all pro-life
- 2344 protections, and for someone that's pro-life, that is just
- 2345 sad to me. It is very sad.
- I know many of my colleagues on the other side of the
- 2347 aisle will say that abortion is healthcare. Let me share
- 2348 with you a Supreme Court decision from 1980 in Harris versus
- 2349 McRae.
- 2350 In that case, the Supreme Court made it very clear that
- 2351 prohibitions on taxpayer funding of abortions are
- 2352 constitutional. The Court said, and I quote, "Abortion is
- 2353 inherently different from other medical procedures, because
- 2354 no other procedure involves the purposeful termination of a
- 2355 potential life.''
- 2356 Mr. Chairman, I am saddened that the majority has thrown
- 2357 out 40 years of bipartisanship by refusing to include the
- 2358 Hyde Amendment and instead allow federally funded abortions.
- 2359 Mr. Chairman, I urge a yes vote on this amendment, I ask
- 2360 for a recorded vote, and I yield back.
- 2361 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman.
- Next we yield to recognize Ms. Schakowsky for five

- 2363 minutes.
- 2364 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Thank you. We did discuss this
- 2365 somewhat yesterday, and I do understand the painful
- 2366 differences that people who oppose abortion feel and feel
- 2367 compelled to do that, to limit the ability under the law for
- 2368 women to have abortions. And of course, Roe v. Wade made
- 2369 very clear that abortion in the United States was legal.
- 2370 It's not a matter of being pro-abortion or not. It is
- 2371 about freedom to determine, for women to determine their
- 2372 future.
- Now, understand, too, that when we talk about the Hyde
- 2374 Amendment, we are talking not only -- and we talk a lot about
- 2375 it, and we should, about low-income women because women of
- 2376 any -- of means and mobility are able to get abortion
- 2377 services. But it also applies to all federal employees.
- 2378 Imagine being a woman overseas in a war zone, for example,
- 2379 and you get pregnant. The medical facilities there are not
- 2380 available to her to end an unplanned pregnancy. Or if you
- 2381 are in the Peace Corps and you are in a country where
- 2382 healthcare may not be healthily available.
- 2383 Because let's -- you know, actually in terms of danger
- 2384 to women, physically, abortion done in a timely way is less
- 2385 dangerous a physical state than pregnancy. But we have also
- 2386 seen, particularly in this pandemic, that women of color,
- 2387 low-income women face maternal and infant mortality much

- 2388 more, I mean tremendously more, than white women.
- 2389 And there's a sea change now in this country going on
- 2390 where women are saying, this is the ultimate freedom that it
- 2391 determines the rest of my life, and if I can avoid it with
- 2392 birth control, great, but if I haven't -- and now we have got
- 2393 laws that are saying even after six weeks, when most women
- 2394 are not even aware, that it's illegal.
- Now, you are getting at the point of whether or not we
- 2396 should all say that it should be covered, that abortion
- 2397 services are healthcare and that -- but you say no, and it
- 2398 shouldn't be paid for. You know, there is a lot of things,
- 2399 like war, for example; there are people who don't want to pay
- 2400 money that goes to war. There is people that don't want to
- 2401 pay taxes for all kinds of reasons.
- 2402 That is not how we operate in this country. We make
- 2403 decisions about what our priorities are. And I would suggest
- 2404 that the ability of women -- women and their families, their
- 2405 god, their doctor -- should be free to make that decision and
- 2406 able to do it and not prohibited because they don't have the
- 2407 money.
- 2408 There is now a majority in this country who think that
- 2409 women should be able to make that decision on their own, have
- 2410 the freedom to make that decision on their own, regardless of
- 2411 their income, of any other -- their ZIP code, their -- that
- 2412 it is their decision. And so I think it makes perfect sense

- 2413 now to say that no one has to have an abortion -- of course
- 2414 not -- and no one is prohibited from believing that it is the
- 2415 wrong thing to do. I get that. And that is a privilege that
- 2416 we have in this country. But it is not a privilege to impose
- 2417 that on women, and in the case of low-income people or women
- 2418 overseas that work for the government, to have it forced on
- 2419 them to carry a pregnancy to term.
- 2420 And I yield back.
- 2421 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman.
- 2422 Mr. Dunn had his hand up previously, but I don't know if
- 2423 he wants to speak on this. Is there any Republican who does?
- 2424 All right. Then we will go to Ms. DeGette is recognized
- 2425 for five minutes.
- 2426 \*Ms. DeGette. I just would -- I thank the gentleman. I
- 2427 just want to point out, I said this last night and I will say
- 2428 it again. Not only have the opinions in Congress shifted
- 2429 about who pays for women being able to get the freedom to
- 2430 have the full range of their healthcare, but also the public
- 2431 opinion has changed on this.
- 2432 Last night I referred to a poll that was done in July
- 2433 2021, just two months ago, and basically by a huge majority,
- 2434 by a 38-point margin, Americans in battleground congressional
- 2435 districts think that public funding should be used for
- 2436 abortions because it is a part of women's healthcare. And in
- 2437 fact, that same poll showed that voters think that if a

- 2438 candidate for Congress believes that a woman should be able
- 2439 to have the full range of her healthcare options paid for by
- 2440 however she has her healthcare, it will make them more likely
- 2441 to vote for that candidate.
- 2442 Public opinions have changed in this country because
- 2443 people realize all women should have access to the full range
- 2444 of healthcare. And if it's okay, Mr. Chairman, I would be
- 2445 happy to yield the balance of my time to Ms. Schrier.
- 2446 \*The Chairman. Yes, Ms. Schrier is recognized.
- 2447 \*Ms. Schrier. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I just want to point out that this section of the bill
- 2449 is about research, and that the (audio malfunction) here. I
- 2450 think this is (audio malfunction) and an attempt to
- 2451 politicize research, and that my colleagues vote no. Simple
- 2452 as that.
- 2453 \*The Chairman. Ms. DeGette has the time. Would you --
- 2454 \*Mrs. Rodgers. I do.
- 2455 \*The Chairman. Does anyone else want her time? We are
- 2456 going to move --
- 2457 \*Ms. DeGette. I yield back. Thank you.
- 2458 \*The Chairman. All right, you yield.
- 2459 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Someone needs to yield.
- 2460 \*The Chairman. You yield back. All right.
- 2461 On the Republican side?
- 2462 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Yes, I would like to speak.

- 2463 \*The Chairman. Miss -- the ranking member is recognized
- 2464 for five minutes.
- 2465 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you,
- 2466 Chairman.
- I suppose we all have our polls that we can point to. I
- 2468 have also seen the polls that suggest that public opinion,
- 2469 especially among young people, is changing on this issue.
- 2470 Because of technology today -- amazing technology, again --
- 2471 we can look into the womb and we can watch the development of
- 2472 a baby day by day, week by week. It is changing public
- 2473 opinion because it is hard to turn your back and not
- 2474 recognize that when you look at technology and look into the
- 2475 womb, what actually is happening.
- 2476 Also, we hear a lot on this committee about science and
- 2477 following the science. Science does evolve. We continue to
- 2478 learn. We continue to explore the limits of science. We
- 2479 were having the conversation about gain-of-function research.
- 2480 We have a couple of scientists in this country, Dr. Fauci and
- 2481 Dr. Collins, that are all about exploring the limits of
- 2482 science. There is no limit.
- 2483 But as we explore the limits of science, I think we all
- 2484 need to open our hearts and our minds to what we are
- 2485 learning, and that applies to all of us, Republicans and
- 2486 Democrats. And on this issue, the science is pretty clear as
- 2487 to when life begins.

- 2488 So I would just submit to open your hearts to the
- 2489 science, to what research has -- what we are discovering, and
- 2490 to what technology has allowed us to see when it comes to
- 2491 life. And let's be defenders of life, life at the beginning,
- 2492 of when it starts, at conception. This is the United States
- 2493 of America. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for
- 2494 all.
- 2495 I yield back.
- 2496 \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman yields back.
- Do we have another Democrat? Ms. Castor is recognized
- 2498 for five minutes.
- 2499 \*Ms. Castor. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2500 Colleagues, every American deserves to live a safe and
- 2501 healthy life, and that means ensuring that everyone has
- 2502 access to healthcare, and that includes contraceptives,
- 2503 checkups, abortion care, cancer screenings, prenatal visits,
- 2504 the full range of healthcare.
- 2505 But too often in America, access to high-quality,
- 2506 affordable healthcare has been limited due to racial
- 2507 disparities or economic disparities or where someone lives.
- 2508 Now, I'm really proud of what this committee has done over
- 2509 the decades to improve the lives of American families and
- 2510 improve their healthcare -- Medicare, Medicaid, the
- 2511 Affordable Care Act, children's health insurance. But we're
- 2512 in a moment in time where there is a radical fringe trying to

- 2513 take over these decisions.
- Remember that the decision about when, whether, how to
- 2515 become a parent is a deeply personal life decision. It is a
- 2516 decision for a woman and her family, and sometimes in gut-
- 2517 wrenching medical cases of distress for doctors and medical
- 2518 professionals. It is not a decision for politicians. We
- 2519 Americans do not want to outsource these important,
- 2520 fundamental life decisions to politicians.
- 2521 And I hope we can agree that we should not treat people
- 2522 differently just because they're working to make ends meet or
- 2523 the color of their skin or where they live. Because
- 2524 fundamental human dignity means being able to make decisions
- 2525 about your pathway in life, being able to determine your
- 2526 pathway in life.
- 2527 And I have to say, it is so alarming to see this radical
- 2528 move by Republicans here and in the recent extreme new law in
- 2529 Texas that would ban abortion even when a girl or woman is
- 2530 raped or is the victim of incest. I mean, that's
- 2531 reprehensible for politicians to inject themselves and say
- 2532 that the girl or the woman has to carry that pregnancy to
- 2533 term.
- 2534 And just so folks know what's been going on here, there
- 2535 was an amendment filed by the GOP that struck family planning
- 2536 care. They didn't bring it up but they filed it. And at the
- 2537 same time, they want to eliminate the right to abortion care.

- 2538 It is radical and it is wrong. Maybe we should page Margaret
- 2539 Atwood. Maybe we are heading into the dystopian Handmaid's
- 2540 Tale. They are trying to turn the Handmaid's Tale into
- 2541 reality. And for my colleagues that haven't read this novel,
- 2542 the main character is a young woman who is forced to bear
- 2543 children for the ruling class of men.
- We are not going there. We are not going there. We are
- 2545 going to do our job as members of Congress to put people's
- 2546 health, safety and real needs first. We have got to ensure
- 2547 that all people, no matter who they are and where they live
- 2548 and how much they make and the color of their skin, they have
- 2549 access to reproductive healthcare that they need and they
- 2550 deserve.
- 2551 What are we doing here? We are doing everything we can
- 2552 to improve the public health in the middle of the worst
- 2553 pandemic in our lifetimes, because we know that COVID-19 has
- 2554 shaken this country to its core. Our public health system
- 2555 was not equipped for the full force of a global pandemic.
- 2556 And we are building back better. We are investing in people.
- 2557 We are investing in Americans. We are investing in the
- 2558 healthcare workforce.
- We have a shortage of up to 122,000 physicians over the
- 2560 next decade. We have got to hire hundreds of thousands of
- 2561 nurses. That is where we are investing. Nursing schools are
- 2562 turning away applicants; we want to help the nursing schools

- 2563 be able to educate the healthcare workforce.
- Over the past decade, the public health workforce has
- 2565 shrunk while the country has grown. They are short 56,000
- 2566 positions due to lack of funding. We are going to build back
- 2567 better and invest in people.
- 2568 State health departments. Gosh, in Florida we are so
- 2569 far behind. We need an infusion of resources to avoid the
- 2570 next pandemic, to help us get out of this one and build back
- 2571 better. We need to support our public health system dig us
- 2572 out of this pandemic, but do it in a way that respects the
- 2573 fundamental rights of everyone.
- I urge my colleagues to join me in voting against this
- 2575 amendment and focusing instead on how we can expand and
- 2576 improve healthcare access for all Americans.
- 2577 I yield back.
- 2578 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman.
- 2579 Mr. Crenshaw has asked for time. Mr. Crenshaw is
- 2580 recognized for five minutes. And went back down, so you
- 2581 don't want to be recognized.
- Is there anyone else on either side who seeks
- 2583 recognition? If not, we will go to a vote.
- 2584 All right. We'll do a recorded vote is now ordered
- 2585 on the Lesko amendment. Those in favor of the amendment will
- 2586 say aye. Those opposed to the Lesko amendment will say no.
- 2587 And the clerk shall call the roll.

- 2588 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- 2589 \*Mr. Rush. Rush votes no.
- 2590 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes no.
- 2591 Ms. Eshoo?
- 2592 \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes no.
- 2593 \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes no.
- Ms. DeGette?
- 2595 \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes no.
- 2596 \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 2597 Mr. Doyle?
- 2598 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes no.
- 2599 \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes no.
- Ms. Schakowsky?
- 2601 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes no.
- 2602 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 2603 Mr. Butterfield?
- 2604 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes no.
- 2605 \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- 2606 Ms. Matsui?
- 2607 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes no.
- 2608 \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes no.
- 2609 Ms. Castor?
- [No audible response.]
- 2611 \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes no.
- 2612 Mr. Sarbanes?

- 2613 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes no.
- 2614 \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
- 2615 Mr. McNerney?
- 2616 \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes no.
- 2617 \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes no.
- 2618 Mr. Welch?
- [No audible response.]
- 2620 \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes no.
- 2621 Mr. Tonko?
- 2622 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko of New York votes no.
- 2623 \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes no.
- 2624 Ms. Clarke?
- 2625 \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes no.
- 2627 Mr. Schrader?
- 2628 \*Mr. Schrader. Mr. Schrader from Oregon votes no.
- 2629 \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 2630 Mr. Cardenas?
- 2631 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 2632 no. Cardenas votes no.
- 2633 \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes no.
- 2634 Mr. Ruiz?
- 2635 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes no.
- 2636 \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes no.
- 2637 Mr. Peters?

- 2638 \*Mr. Peters. Votes no.
- 2639 \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- 2640 Mrs. Dingell?
- 2641 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes no.
- 2642 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes no.
- 2643 Mr. Veasey?
- [No response.]
- 2645 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster?
- 2646 \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes no.
- 2647 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 2648 Ms. Kelly?
- 2649 \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly votes no.
- 2650 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes no.
- 2651 Ms. Barragan?
- 2652 \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes no.
- 2653 \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes no.
- 2654 Mr. McEachin?
- 2655 [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- 2657 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester of Delaware votes
- 2658 no.
- 2659 \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 2660 Mr. Soto?
- 2661 \*Mr. Soto. Soto from Florida votes no.
- 2662 \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes no.

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2663
          Mr. O'Halleran?
2664
           [No response.]
2665
           *The Clerk. Miss Rice?
2666
           *Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
2667
           *The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
2668
           Ms. Craig?
2669
           *Ms. Craig. Craig votes no.
2670
           *The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes no.
2671
           Ms. Schrier?
2672
           *Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes no.
2673
           *The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes no.
2674
           Mrs. Trahan?
2675
           *Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes no.
2676
           *The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes no.
2677
           Mrs. Fletcher?
2678
           *Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher of Texas votes no.
           *The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes no.
2679
2680
           Mrs. Rodgers?
2681
            [No audible response.]
            *The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
2682
2683
           Mr. Upton?
2684
           *Mr. Upton. Upton votes aye.
2685
           *The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes aye.
2686
           Mr. Burgess?
```

\*Mr. Burgess. Votes aye.

2687

- 2688 \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 2689 Mr. Scalise?
- 2690 \*Mr. Scalise. Scalise votes aye.
- 2691 \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- 2692 Mr. Latta?
- 2693 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes aye.
- 2694 \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes aye.
- 2695 Mr. Guthrie?
- 2696 \*Mr. Guthrie. Aye.
- 2697 \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes aye.
- 2698 Mr. McKinley?
- [No audible response.]
- 2700 \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes aye.
- 2701 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 2702 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 2703 \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 2704 Mr. Griffith?
- 2705 \*Mr. Griffith. Aye.
- 2706 \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes aye.
- 2707 Mr. Bilirakis?
- 2708 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 2709 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 2710 Mr. Johnson?
- [No audible response.]
- 2712 \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.

- 2713 Mr. Long?
- 2714 \*Mr. Long. Aye.
- 2715 \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes aye.
- 2716 Mr. Bucshon?
- 2717 \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon from Indiana votes aye.
- 2718 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes aye.
- 2719 Mr. Mullin?
- 2720 \*Mr. Mullin. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes aye.
- 2722 Mr. Hudson?
- [No audible response.]
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes aye.
- 2725 Mr. Walberg?
- 2726 \*Mr. Walberg. Walberg votes aye.
- 2727 \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes aye.
- 2728 Mr. Carter?
- 2729 \*Mr. Carter. Carter of Georgia votes aye.
- 2730 \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- 2731 Mr. Duncan?
- 2732 \*Mr. Duncan. Mr. Duncan of South Carolina votes aye.
- 2733 \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes aye.
- 2734 Mr. Palmer?
- 2735 \*Mr. Palmer. Aye.
- 2736 \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes aye.
- 2737 Mr. Dunn?

- 2738 \*Mr. Dunn. Mr. Dunn votes aye.
- 2739 \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes aye.
- 2740 Mr. Curtis?
- 2741 \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes aye.
- 2743 Mrs. Lesko?
- 2744 \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko of Arizona votes aye.
- 2745 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes aye.
- 2746 Mr. Pence?
- 2747 \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes aye.
- 2749 Mr. Crenshaw?
- [No response.]
- 2751 \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce?
- 2752 \*Mr. Joyce. Joyce from Pennsylvania votes aye.
- 2753 \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes aye.
- 2754 Mr. Armstrong?
- 2755 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes yes.
- 2756 \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes aye.
- 2757 Chairman Pallone?
- 2758 \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes no.
- 2759 \*The Clerk. Chairman Pallone votes no.
- 2760 \*The Chairman. Madam Clerk, who do we not have recorded
- 2761 that would like to be?
- 2762 \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey is not recorded.

- 2763 \*The Chairman. Is Mr. Veasey available?
- 2764 \*Mr. Veasey. Mr. Chairman, how does the clerk have me
- 2765 recorded?
- 2766 \*The Chairman. Does not.
- 2767 \*Mr. Veasey. Mr. Chairman, would you please instruct
- 2768 the clerk to vote me as a no.
- 2769 \*The Chairman. Thank you.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes no.
- 2771 \*The Chairman. Is there anyone else who, Madam Clerk,
- 2772 who is not recorded?
- 2773 \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin.
- 2774 \*The Chairman. Mr. McEachin.
- 2775 \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes no.
- 2777 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 2778 \*The Chairman. Mr. O'Halleran?
- 2779 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes no.
- 2780 \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- 2781 \*The Chairman. He's not recorded, Crenshaw.
- 2782 \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw is not recorded.
- 2783 \*The Chairman. We may wait a minute. Let's see.
- 2784 Having technical issues, as this is -- the picture.
- 2785 Here he comes. Mr. Crenshaw?
- 2786 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes age. Sorry about that,
- 2787 Mr. Chairman.

- 2788 \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 2789 \*The Chairman. That includes everyone, Madam Clerk?
- 2790 \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- 2791 \*The Chairman. All right. The clerk will report the
- 2792 tally on the Lesko amendment.
- 2793 \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 2794 26 and the nays were 32.
- 2795 \*The Chairman. Okay. The vote on the Lesko amendment
- 2796 is 26 ayes to 32 noes. The amendment is not agreed to.
- 2797 Are there further amendments to the amendment in the
- 2798 nature of a substitute? No? All right.
- Then we are going to go back to the AINS. The AINS was
- 2800 offered by Ms. Eshoo and we'll voice the AINS and then have a
- 2801 recorded vote on final passage.
- 2802 So the AINS, if there's no further debate or amendments,
- 2803 we will proceed to a vote on the amendment in the nature of a
- 2804 substitute to the Committee Print Subtitle J, Budget
- 2805 Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to Public
- 2806 Health.
- 2807 All those in favor of the amendment in the nature of a
- 2808 substitute to the Committee Print Subtitle J, Budget
- 2809 Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to Public
- 2810 Health, will signify by saying aye.
- 2811 That was weak.
- 2812 All those -- all right. All those opposed will signify

- 2813 by saying no.
- In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it.
- Okay. Now the amendment in the nature of a substitute
- 2816 to the Committee Print Subtitle J, Budget Reconciliation
- 2817 Legislative Recommendations Relating to Public Health, is
- 2818 agreed to. So now we go to final passage, recorded vote.
- 2819 And this is final passage on the public health title.
- The question now occurs on approval and transmitting to
- 2821 the Committee on Budget the Committee Print Subtitle J,
- 2822 Budget Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to
- 2823 Public Health, as amended.
- I move the committee do now approve and transmit the
- 2825 recommendations of this committee and all appropriate
- 2826 accompanying material, including additional supplemental
- 2827 minority or dissenting views, to the House Committee on the
- 2828 Budget, in order to comply with the reconciliation directive
- 2829 included in Section 2002 of the Concurrent Resolution on the
- 2830 Budget for Fiscal 2022, S.Con.Res.14, and consistent with
- 2831 Section 310 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment
- 2832 Control Act of 1974.
- 2833 A recorded vote is ordered. All those in favor of this
- 2834 public -- what is it called? The --
- 2835 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Public health.
- 2836 \*The Chairman. Public health title should say aye.
- 2837 Those opposed will say no. And the clerk shall call the

- 2838 roll.
- 2839 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- 2840 \*Mr. Rush. Rush of Illinois votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes aye.
- 2842 Ms. Eshoo?
- \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes aye.
- 2845 Ms. DeGette?
- 2846 \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes aye.
- 2848 Mr. Doyle?
- 2849 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes yes.
- 2850 \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes aye.
- Ms. Schakowsky?
- 2852 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes aye.
- 2853 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes aye.
- 2854 Mr. Butterfield?
- 2855 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes yes.
- 2856 \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes aye.
- 2857 Ms. Matsui?
- 2858 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes aye.
- 2859 \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes aye.
- 2860 Ms. Castor?
- 2861 \*Ms. Castor. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes aye.

- 2863 Mr. Sarbanes?
- 2864 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes aye.
- 2865 \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes aye.
- 2866 Mr. McNerney?
- \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes aye.
- 2868 \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes aye.
- 2869 Mr. Welch?
- [No audible response.]
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes aye.
- 2872 Mr. Tonko?
- 2873 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko of New York votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes aye.
- 2875 Ms. Clarke?
- 2876 \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes aye.
- 2878 Mr. Schrader?
- 2879 \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader of Oregon votes no.
- 2880 \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 2881 Mr. Cardenas?
- 2882 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 2883 aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes aye.
- 2885 Mr. Ruiz?
- 2886 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes aye.
- 2887 \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes aye.

- 2888 Mr. Peters?
- 2889 \*Mr. Peters. Votes aye.
- 2890 \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes aye.
- 2891 Mrs. Dingell?
- 2892 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes aye.
- 2893 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes aye.
- 2894 Mr. Veasey?
- 2895 \*Mr. Veasey. Veasey votes aye.
- 2896 \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes aye.
- 2897 Ms. Kuster?
- 2898 \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes aye.
- 2899 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes aye.
- 2900 Ms. Kelly?
- 2901 \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly of Illinois votes aye.
- 2902 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes aye.
- 2903 Ms. Barragan?
- 2904 \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes aye.
- 2905 \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes aye.
- 2906 Mr. McEachin?
- 2907 \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin of Virginia votes aye.
- 2908 \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes aye.
- 2909 Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- 2910 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester from Delaware
- 2911 votes aye.
- 2912 \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes aye.

- 2913 Mr. Soto?
- 2914 \*Mr. Soto. Soto from Florida votes aye.
- 2915 \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes aye.
- 2916 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 2917 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes aye.
- 2918 \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes aye.
- 2919 Miss Rice?
- 2920 \*Miss Rice. Rice votes aye.
- 2921 \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes aye.
- 2922 Ms. Craig?
- 2923 \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes aye.
- 2924 \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes aye.
- 2925 Ms. Schrier?
- 2926 \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes aye.
- 2927 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes aye.
- 2928 Mrs. Trahan?
- 2929 \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes aye.
- 2930 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes aye.
- 2931 Mrs. Fletcher?
- 2932 \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher of Texas votes aye.
- 2933 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes aye.
- 2934 Mrs. Rodgers?
- 2935 [No audible response.]
- 2936 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes no.
- 2937 Mr. Upton?

- 2938 \*Mr. Upton. Upton votes no.
- 2939 \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes no.
- 2940 Mr. Burgess?
- 2941 \*Mr. Burgess. Votes no.
- 2942 \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes no.
- 2943 Mr. Scalise?
- 2944 \*Mr. Scalise. Scalise votes no.
- 2945 \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes no.
- 2946 Mr. Latta?
- 2947 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes no.
- 2948 \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes no.
- 2949 Mr. Guthrie?
- 2950 \*Mr. Guthrie. No.
- 2951 \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes no.
- 2952 Mr. McKinley?
- [No audible response.]
- 2954 \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes no.
- 2955 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 2956 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger, no.
- 2957 \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
- 2958 Mr. Griffith?
- 2959 \*Mr. Griffith. No.
- 2960 \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes no.
- 2961 Mr. Bilirakis?
- [No audible response.]

- 2963 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes no.
- 2964 Mr. Johnson?
- [No audible response.]
- 2966 \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 2967 Mr. Long?
- 2968 \*Mr. Long. No.
- 2969 \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes no.
- 2970 Mr. Bucshon?
- 2971 \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon from Indiana votes no.
- 2972 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes no.
- 2973 Mr. Mullin?
- 2974 \*Mr. Mullin. No.
- 2975 \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes no.
- 2976 Mr. Hudson?
- 2977 \*Mr. Hudson. No.
- 2978 \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes no.
- 2979 Mr. Walberg?
- 2980 \*Mr. Walberg. Walberg votes no.
- 2981 \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes no.
- 2982 Mr. Carter?
- 2983 \*Mr. Carter. Carter of Georgia votes no.
- 2984 \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes no.
- 2985 Mr. Duncan?
- 2986 \*Mr. Duncan. No.
- 2987 \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes no.

- 2988 Mr. Palmer?
- 2989 \*Mr. Palmer. Palmer votes no.
- 2990 \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes no.
- 2991 Mr. Dunn?
- 2992 \*Mr. Dunn. Mr. Dunn votes no.
- 2993 \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes no.
- 2994 Mr. Curtis?
- 2995 \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes no.
- 2996 \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes no.
- 2997 Mrs. Lesko?
- 2998 \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko votes no.
- 2999 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes no.
- 3000 Mr. Pence?
- 3001 \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes no.
- 3002 \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes no.
- 3003 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 3004 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes no.
- 3005 \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes no.
- 3006 Mr. Joyce?
- 3007 \*Mr. Joyce. Joyce from Pennsylvania votes no.
- 3008 \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes no.
- 3009 Mr. Armstrong?
- 3010 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes no.
- 3011 \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes no.
- 3012 Chairman Pallone?

- 3013 \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes aye.
- 3014 \*The Clerk. Chairman Pallone votes aye.
- 3015 \*The Chairman. Madam Clerk, is there anyone who has not
- 3016 been recorded who wants to be, or do you have everyone?
- 3017 \*The Clerk. I have everyone recorded.
- 3018 \*The Chairman. All right, then the clerk will report
- 3019 the tally on the public health title.
- 3020 \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 3021 31 and the nays were 27.
- 3022 \*The Chairman. Okay. The vote is 31 ayes and 27 noes,
- 3023 and the committee has approved the Committee Print Subtitle
- 3024 J, Budget Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating
- 3025 to Public Health, as amended, and ordered the legislative
- 3026 recommendations transmitted to the Committee on Budget.
- Now, we have -- oh, I am sorry. Did you want to do
- 3028 that?
- 3029 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Oh, yes, I do. Yes, thank you, Mr.
- 3030 Chairman. I plan to file views and request the usual number
- 3031 of days.
- 3032 \*The Chairman. Without objection, so ordered.
- Now, let me just say to everyone, we have two titles
- 3034 left. We have the one on Medicare and we have one on drug
- 3035 pricing. We said last night that in order to be respectful
- 3036 to the Jewish holidays that we would try to conclude at a
- 3037 reasonable time this afternoon. I would ask everyone to

3038	please stay and participate in these last two titles, which
3039	are important.
3040	And we are going to go to the drug pricing title first
3041	The chair calls up the Committee Print Subtitle E, Budget
3042	Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to Drug
3043	Pricing. The clerk will report the title of the bill.
3044	*The Clerk. Committee Print to Budget Reconciliation
3045	Legislative Recommendations Relating to Drug Pricing.
3046	*The Chairman. Madam Clerk, without objection, the
3047	first reading of the bill will be dispensed with. The bill
3048	is now considered as read. And without objection, the bill
3049	is considered as read and open for amendment at any point.
3050	[Subtitle E follows:]
3051	
3052	**************************************
3053	

- \*The Chairman. I understand we have an AINS from Mr.
- 3055 Welch.
- 3056 \*Mr. Welch. That is correct. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 3057 I'd like to offer an amendment in the nature of a
- 3058 substitute to the underlying Committee Print for Subtitle E,
- 3059 and it is titled Drug Price Cap AINS 01. This amendment
- 3060 incorporates technical assistance throughout the Committee
- 3061 Print.
- 3062 [Audio malfunction.]
- 3063 \*The Clerk. I have the amendment.
- 3064 \*The Chairman. Okay, the clerk will report the Welch --
- 3065 \*The Clerk. Amendment in the nature of a substitute to
- 3066 Committee Print for Subtitle E, Relating to Drug Pricing,
- 3067 offered by Mr. Welch of Vermont. In lieu of --
- 3068 \*The Chairman. Without objection, the reading of the
- 3069 amendment will be dispensed with and the gentleman from
- 3070 Vermont is now recognized for five minutes.
- 3071 \*Mr. Welch. The amendment incorporates technical
- 3072 assistance throughout the Committee Print for a fair-price
- 3073 negotiation program, inflation rebates, as well as the Part D
- 3074 redesign.
- 3075 I would remind my colleagues that the majority of this
- 3076 committee has already considered and voted on this bill
- 3077 previously as well as in the House. This AINS will
- 3078 effectively lower drug prices for the American people,

- 3079 deliver needed relief from the crushing burden of high
- 3080 prescription drug costs, so that many of the people we
- 3081 represent can get access to the medication they need. And it
- 3082 is going to save taxpayers and workers money through the
- 3083 lower premiums and higher wages.
- Mr. Chairman and my colleagues on the committee, one of
- 3085 the concerns that we share is access to healthcare, and the
- 3086 cost of healthcare has exploded and it is beyond reach. It
- 3087 is putting an enormous burden on individuals, an enormous
- 3088 burden on employers who are providing employer-sponsored
- 3089 healthcare, and it is putting an enormous burden on taxpayers
- 3090 with -- and the biggest and fastest rising cost in healthcare
- 3091 has been prescription drugs.
- 3092 As we know, the United States pays the highest prices
- 3093 for prescription medication of any country in the world.
- 3094 According to a RAND study, it is about 344 percent higher for
- 3095 brand-name drugs than countries in Europe and other
- 3096 industrialized countries pay.
- 3097 The burden on taxpayers is immense. The burden on
- 3098 employers is immense. And the pain inflicted on individuals
- 3099 who are trying to get access to the medication they need is
- 3100 immense.
- 3101 Let me give a few examples. Humira, which is used to
- 3102 treat rheumatoid arthritis, is over 500 percent more
- 3103 expensive in the U.S. when compared to the median price in

- 3104 other countries. Insulin, that so many of the people we
- 3105 represent need, that is about \$10.58 a dose in other
- 3106 countries; here it is nearly \$35 a dose. From 2014 to 2019,
- 3107 the average retail price of insulin rose by 47 percent, and
- 3108 that is because of the pricing power of pharma, not because
- 3109 anything was done to change insulin in a way that provided
- 3110 additional benefits to diabetics.
- 3111 Essentially what we have in this country is a situation
- 3112 where pharma has immense pricing power, which it abuses.
- 3113 Now, let me preface my remark by making an acknowledgment.
- 3114 Pharma does some tremendous things. It creates, in many
- 3115 cases, life-extending and pain-relieving drugs. That is a
- 3116 good thing. But what it also does is it kills us with the
- 3117 price.
- 3118 Pharma assets that if we have price negotiation and
- 3119 become the only country that does not continue to buy
- 3120 wholesale and pay retail -- and that is what we do without
- 3121 any kind of price negotiation -- that this will adversely
- 3122 affect them and interfere with the market and be price-
- 3123 setting. That is an argument that they make.
- 3124 The don't want the government to be involved on behalf
- 3125 of the people we represent to lower prescription drug prices
- 3126 to something that is affordable and fair. But let's
- 3127 acknowledge something.
- Pharma gets the enormous advantage of governmental

- 3129 involvement, first of all with the patent protection. I
- 3130 believe in the patent protection. It gives a period of
- 3131 exclusivity for pricing by the inventor of a life-saving or
- 3132 life-extending drug. I don't believe in abusing that power,
- 3133 which pharma has consistently done.
- 3134 Second, pharma consistently abuses the patent system by
- 3135 gaming it, and we all know what those games are -- changing
- 3136 the color of the pill or the dosage or some minor thing that
- 3137 they claim justifies an extended period of exclusivity.
- Next, pharma benefits enormously by governmental action
- 3139 because the government provides a guaranteed market for their
- 3140 medications through the Medicare program, through the
- 3141 Medicaid program, and really, also through employer-sponsored
- 3142 healthcare, which is deductible. And our employers work
- 3143 really, really hard to provide good coverage to the employees
- 3144 who are so valued in those companies.
- Next, pharma takes enormous advantage of the Wall Street
- 3146 practices of merger and acquisition, and in many cases when
- 3147 pharma is claiming that they need the money for the research,
- 3148 it is not so much that they are getting the money for the
- 3149 research; what they are doing is getting the money to buy a
- 3150 company that may have invented a product, then the next day
- 3151 raising the price of that product that they purchased. Let
- 3152 me give a couple of examples.
- Revlimid is a cancer drug that as introduced, created by

- 3154 Celgene, bought by Bristol Myers Squibb. The price went from
- 3155 \$215 in 2005 to \$800 per pill, nearly a 400 percent --
- \*The Chairman. Mr. Welch, you're over your time, if you
- 3157 could wrap up.
- 3158 \*Mr. Welch. Okay. We have to provide relief to the
- 3159 American citizen who is desperately in need of access to
- 3160 these life-saving pain-relieving drugs, and we can do it by
- 3161 finally doing what every other country does, having the
- 3162 government stand up on behalf of its citizens for fair
- 3163 prices.
- 3164 I yield back.
- 3165 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- Does anyone want to speak on the underlying bill or the
- 3167 ATNS?
- 3168 Yes, Mr. Carter.
- 3169 \*Mr. Carter. I move to strike the last word.
- 3170 \*The Chairman. Mr. Carter is recognized for five
- 3171 minutes.
- 3172 \*Mr. Carter. Mr. Chairman, I have got grave concerns
- 3173 about the drug-pricing provisions in this legislation, and I
- 3174 am not the only one. Several of my Democratic colleagues
- 3175 from the committee sent a letter to the Speaker expressing
- 3176 their concerns and a desire to work in a thoughtful way. I
- 3177 suspect that is why we haven't had a markup on the standalone
- 3178 bill, H.R. 3.

- 3179 These drug-pricing provisions that are included in this
- 3180 legislation are an unprecedented act of government aggression
- 3181 on the development of life-saving medicines. In this bill --
- 3182 all this bill would do is to limit access to life-saving
- 3183 medicines and new treatments for serious and rare diseases.
- 3184 As you know, Mr. Chairman, professionally I'm a
- 3185 pharmacist, and I have said often that I have seen nothing
- 3186 short of miracles through the results of research and
- 3187 development in my years of practice as a pharmacist. I can
- 3188 remember when I started practicing back in 1980. I can
- 3189 remember that if you were diagnosed with hepatitis C, you
- 3190 were going to die. That is all there was to it. Now we have
- 3191 a pill -- a pill -- that you can take orally that will cure
- 3192 it. That is phenomenal.
- Now, I get it. I understand that if you can't afford
- 3194 that pill, if it is too expensive, it does you no good. And
- 3195 yes, the pharmaceutical manufacturers need to do a better job
- 3196 with their pricing; there is no question about that. And
- 3197 there are ways that we can help them do that.
- 3198 But ever since I have been here, in the six and a half
- 3199 years that I have been here, I have been preaching that the
- 3200 problem is more with the middlemen, more with those PBMs, the
- 3201 pharmaceutical benefit managers, those who are not putting
- 3202 any money into research and development whatsoever.
- 3203 At least the pharmaceutical manufacturers are putting

- 3204 money into research and development, and that money that they
- 3205 are putting into research and development is extremely
- 3206 important. It is important to have new cures and new drugs
- 3207 for rare and difficult-to-cure diseases. And a lot of those
- 3208 come from small biotech companies that don't have the bank
- 3209 accounts to fall back on.
- 3210 My colleague just mentioned about mergers, and yes, that
- 3211 is the way that this works a lot of times. A small biotech
- 3212 company may come up with a discovery, and yes, they are
- 3213 bought out oftentimes, or at least that discovery is bought
- 3214 out, by the larger manufacturers.
- 3215 But these small companies, they are the medical
- 3216 innovation engines of America. This legislation, and why
- 3217 this legislation is so dangerous, is because it will dry up
- 3218 the capital investments that depend on -- that are dependent
- 3219 on to conduct research and put them out of business, possibly
- 3220 stopping new cures from ever reaching ALS patients, children
- 3221 with pediatric diseases, Alzheimer's, or certain types of
- 3222 cancers.
- 3223 This legislation will also have a disproportionate
- 3224 negative effect on communities of color. I saw many of these
- 3225 patients for everything from heart disease to cancer and
- 3226 Alzheimer's. And today we find this very committee gutting
- 3227 their healthcare after spending months talking about how we
- 3228 can improve access for them.

- I don't know about my friends across the aisle, but I am
- 3230 certainly not willing to vote for legislation that will
- 3231 result in fewer cures and medicines. And that is what this
- 3232 will result in, fewer cures and medicines. There are
- 3233 bipartisan things that we can do to reduce drug prices, and
- 3234 we can do them as soon as our chairman schedules the markup.
- 3235 We can enact DIR clawback reform.
- We can enact H.R. 19, the Lower Costs, More Cures Act.
- 3237 Legislation that is entirely bipartisan, entirely bipartisan.
- 3238 Everything that is in H.R. 19, Mr. Chairman, is bipartisan.
- 3239 It is a bipartisan bill. This is a broad, bipartisan
- 3240 committee. I have often said this is the most bipartisan
- 3241 committee in Congress. I tell everyone that. This is an
- 3242 opportunity for us to prove it, right here. We can pass
- 3243 legislation to bring transparency into the marketplace and
- 3244 reduce the middlemen who gobble up all the profits at the
- 3245 expense of patients.
- Mr. Chairman, this drug legislation that is being
- 3247 proposed here is not the right answer, and I urge you,
- 3248 please, reconsider. Please, reconsider. And I yield back.
- 3249 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman and now recognize
- 3250 Ms. Eshoo for five minutes.
- 3251 \*Ms. Eshoo. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I move to strike
- 3252 the last word.
- 3253 I think as Americans, we love our history once it has

- 3254 been made. But I don't think it is very often that we see
- 3255 the opportunity to make history. I think that this is one of
- 3256 those moments, because this is huge. This is large. And it
- 3257 is an issue that affects just about every single person in
- 3258 our country. That is how sweeping it is.
- 3259 So today, I think we have a historic opportunity to
- 3260 really readjust how seniors and others go into the drugstore
- 3261 and the counter, and then having to walk away because they
- 3262 can't afford what their doctors have said they need to take,
- 3263 whether they're life-saving or dealing with something that is
- 3264 chronic. That is the case for millions of Americans.
- 3265 Price of drugs, prescription drugs, have continued to
- 3266 rise. In so many cases, they have skyrocketed. And there
- 3267 are people that are having to make a choice between other,
- 3268 vital things in their life, like paying rent, buying
- 3269 groceries, or limiting their prescription drugs.
- 3270 One in four diabetes patients report rationing their
- 3271 insulin. That is pretty dangerous to be doing that. This is
- 3272 not like you are rationing cookies. This is something that
- 3273 is vital for people to live. Thirty percent of Americans
- 3274 have skipped a medication due to cost. That is dangerous;
- 3275 that is another red light blinking.
- 3276 Every member of this committee has heard from their
- 3277 constituents about the high cost of prescription drugs. So
- 3278 today is really quite a day because this subcommittee, our

- 3279 subcommittee, has done a great deal of work on this, and the
- 3280 policy before us is to require the HHS Secretary to annually
- 3281 negotiate lower drug prices for drugs without market
- 3282 competition and extend those lower prices to all insured
- 3283 Americans.
- 3284 This legislation is going to cap out-of-spending costs
- 3285 on drugs at \$2,000 for Medicare beneficiaries. Today seniors
- 3286 can pay more than \$15,000 a year for a single prescription
- 3287 drug. The bill before us includes a provision I championed
- 3288 to cap how much seniors with high out-of-pocket costs pay per
- 3289 month to \$250. It stops drug-price hikes like the ones we
- 3290 saw from EpiPen and Martin Shkreli. If a manufacturer raises
- 3291 the price of a drug, including generics, above the rate of
- 3292 inflation, then the manufacturer has to pay the entire price
- 3293 above inflation back to the Treasury.
- 3294 Earlier nonpartisan analysis found these provisions
- 3295 will, one, reduce U.S. prices for negotiated drugs by 40 to
- 3296 55 percent on average; save the Federal Government and
- 3297 taxpayers nearly \$500 billion over 10 years; save patients
- 3298 \$120 billion in lower insurance premiums and out-of-pocket
- 3299 costs; and save private businesses \$43 billion.
- Many members have raised the issue of money and spending
- 3301 during this reconciliation. Look at the savings in this.
- 3302 And with these savings we can expand Medicare coverage to
- 3303 bring coverage not included today in vision, dental, and

- 3304 hearing. And the funding will also kick-start ARPA-H, which
- 3305 we discussed earlier.
- 3306 So all of these provisions are popular. They are
- 3307 bipartisan. Polling shows about 90 percent of Americans
- 3308 support Medicare negotiations. This is not a new idea. For
- 3309 decades there has been negotiations in the VA for their
- 3310 prescription drugs. I have never had a complaint in 29 years
- 3311 about that program, and it applies to TRICARE, the health
- 3312 care system for our military in their families.
- 3313 So I think the moment has come. I think Americans have
- 3314 waited a long time. I think it is time to live up to our
- 3315 promises to lower the cost of prescription drugs for all of
- 3316 our constituents.
- 3317 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of
- 3318 my time.
- 3319 \*Mr. Burgess. Mr. Chairman?
- 3320 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman. Dr. Burgess's
- 3321 hand is up, virtually. He is more senior, right? So we will
- 3322 go to Dr. Burgess. He is recognized for five minutes.
- 3323 \*Mr. Burgess. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and this is an
- 3324 important topic.
- You know, our committee has a pretty significant history
- 3326 on the issue of drug pricing. We, of course, were the
- 3327 committee back in 2003 that passed the Medicare Part D
- 3328 benefit, and many will remember the -- one of the follow-ons

3329 from the Part D benefit was the fact that generic medications 3330 at our country's pharmacies suddenly put 90 different generic 3331 compounds at \$4 and under -- I think Walmart, Walgreens, a 3332 number of pharmacies across the country -- after we had 3333 passed the prescription drug benefit, and it no longer was 3334 valuable to simply raise the prices on commonly-used 3335 medications because they could be ordered from other sources. 3336 The retail pharmacies actually came along and said, 3337 "Look, this is good. We want the traffic through our 3338 pharmacies, we want the traffic through our stores, and we 3339 are going to offer these generic drugs that are at a significantly lower cost.'' And that was this committee that 3340 3341 did that, the Medicare Part D benefit. So we do know how to 3342 lower costs. 3343 Mr. Carter mentioned Sovaldi, the hepatitis C drug, and 3344 that is, obviously, always a favorite of mine, and many 3345 people have heard me talk about it before. Mr. Shkreli had 3346 cornered the market on Daraprim, and many people on this 3347 committee have heard me say over the years that, if you don't 3348 understand the difference between Sovaldi and Daraprim, you 3349 are going to get the answer to this question wrong, because 3350 Sovaldi was a gift, Sovaldi was a way of curing a disease 3351 that was relatively recent in its emergence, hepatitis C. 3352 Now, Daraprim was a medicine that had been around for a 3353 while, and Mr. Shkreli decided, if he cornered the market, he

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      could jack the price up, and he is in jail today. I don't
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      know whether it is because of those efforts or something
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      else, but that is probably the right place for him.
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           But in the meantime, what has happened with medicines
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      for hepatitis C? Well, more have come on the market.
      weren't exactly generics, but they were similar in the
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      pharmacologic pathways that were targeted. And there are now
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      several that are available for a cure for hepatitis C for
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      substantially under $10,000. We can say, well, that is still
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      a lot of money, but he is right. I mean, that was -- that is
      a dreadful diagnosis, with such a dreadful consequence:
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      liver transplant, death, multiple hospitalizations, that that
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      -- the fact that those medicines are available at really
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      remarkably lower prices, that is something we should
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      celebrate. That is not something we should seek to end.
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           Look, we can cap prices, and maybe there is times that
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      that is -- you would get me arguing alongside with you.
      on the other hand, we know the history of Federal price
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      controls in this country, and that is the sort of thing that
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      leads to long lines. No one wants to see someone denied
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      their insulin because it costs too much, but no one wants to
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      see someone denied their insulin because there simply is no
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      insulin for sale on the shelf, because people have simply
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      gotten out of the business because it is too tough to be
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      there.
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           Look, when we marked up H.R. 3 a couple of years ago, I
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      offered you an amendment. I offered you an amendment for
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      insulin that would give the rebate, regardless of whether
      someone was insured, uninsured, Medicare, Medicaid,
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3383
      regardless -- private insurance. If there is a rebate
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      available, then it would just be rebated to the customer, to
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      the patient, to the consumer at the time of purchase. You
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      rejected that along party lines and, for the life of me, I
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      don't understand why you rejected that, but that seems like a
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      pretty plausible way to go about finding a solution for some
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      of these problems.
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            I also need to just talk briefly about the issue of NIH
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      funding. Look, it is private market investment that is
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      largely responsible for the creation and approval of new
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      therapies. A study was done looking at over 23,000 NIH
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      grants in the year 2000, and they were able to follow those
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      along for 20 years, and 18 approved FDA medicines were there
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      by 2020. But none of these medicines reached approval
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      without significant private investment, and the total private
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      investment for these 18 approved medicines was $44.2 billion,
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      compared to 670 million in NIH funding. The return on
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      investment, if we keep the private sector involved, is
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      phenomenal.
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           But it is not to say that we don't have problems. Many
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of the issues that -- or many of the policies in H.R. 19 from

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- 3404 last Congress were actually signed into law, so things
- 3405 actually got done. We could take that same approach this
- 3406 Congress, and actually deliver for the American people.
- I thank the chairman, I yield back.
- 3408 \*The Chairman. Thank you, Dr. Burgess. I was just
- 3409 looking at those books on your shelf, and wondering if those
- 3410 were like the hearings from the ACA. I know in Rules often
- 3411 times you would reference the official transcript of the
- 3412 hearings. Is that what I am looking at, or those are medical
- 3413 journals?
- 3414 \*Mr. Burgess. Yes, those are the Federal regulations
- 3415 pertaining to the ACA.
- 3416 \*The Chairman. I figured as much.
- 3417 [Laughter.]
- 3418 \*The Chairman. I figured as much. All right.
- 3419 \*Mr. Burgess. Actually, it is a virtual bookshelf,
- 3420 Chairman. I don't mean to disappoint you. I am not that
- 3421 smart.
- 3422 \*The Chairman. Okay.
- 3423 [Laughter.]
- 3424 \*The Chairman. All right. Mr. Doyle is recognized next
- 3425 for five minutes.
- 3426 \*Mr. Doyle. I move to strike the last word.
- 3427 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Without objection, I would
- 3428 like to enter into the record the comprehensive plan for

- 3429 addressing high drug prices that was put together by HHS, and
- 3430 sent to the White House Competition Council.
- 3431 This plan lays out some of the misaligned incentives in
- 3432 the prescription drug market, an industry that has led to
- 3433 shockingly high drug prices for many Americans. The report
- 3434 builds upon three guiding principles: lowering the cost of
- 3435 prescription drugs for all Americans; improving competition
- 3436 throughout the industry; and fostering innovation.
- 3437 The report specifically mentions one high-need area,
- 3438 where current market incentives are not aligned to encourage
- 3439 innovation, and that is the antibiotic and antimicrobial
- 3440 market. In fact, in recent years, many of the small,
- 3441 innovative companies working to develop new antimicrobials
- 3442 have filed for bankruptcy after bringing novel and effective
- 3443 drugs to market. And many of the major pharmaceutical
- 3444 companies have shuttered their antibiotic divisions all
- 3445 together.
- 3446 The truth is, the way the market incentivizes R&D right
- 3447 now, sell as many drugs as you can at the highest price you
- 3448 can, simply doesn't work for antimicrobials. Unfortunately,
- 3449 our current health system rewards quantity over quality in
- 3450 almost every aspect. We are working on moving towards a more
- 3451 value-based model, but we just aren't there yet.
- 3452 When it comes to the pharmaceutical industry our system
- 3453 is set up to reward drugs that treat symptoms, not find

- 3454 cures. Effective antibiotics, however, usually provide a
- 3455 cure for the most infections in just five to seven days. The
- 3456 problem is that we are losing our effective antibiotics and
- 3457 antimicrobials to resistance, and there isn't a robust R&D
- 3458 pipeline coming to replace them.
- 3459 Antimicrobial resistant infections are a huge public
- 3460 health concern. A lot of public health experts agree that
- 3461 antimicrobial resistance could be the next public health
- 3462 crisis that we face. This isn't a hypothetical problem. It
- 3463 is already here. In the United States alone, more than 2.8
- 3464 million antibiotic resistant infections occur each year, and
- 3465 more than 35,000 people die as a result.
- 3466 What is really scary is how much worse it could get.
- 3467 Our modern health care system relies on the use of effective
- 3468 antibiotics, surgery, the care of premature infants,
- 3469 chemotherapy, and organ transplants are all dependent upon
- 3470 effective antibiotics and other antimicrobials. We don't
- 3471 want to get to a point where none of our antibiotics work,
- 3472 but that is where we are headed without action and
- 3473 innovation.
- 3474 The White House report also identifies a solution to
- 3475 this growing public health problem, for which -- which is to
- 3476 de-link revenue from sales volume for antimicrobials. A bill
- 3477 that I have been working on with Mr. Ferguson and Senators
- 3478 Bennett and Young would do just that. The PASTEUR Act, which

- 3479 would set up a new, truly value-based payment model for
- 3480 antimicrobials. Instead of focusing on the quantity sold,
- 3481 the bill would provide guaranteed revenue for companies
- 3482 through a contract over the life of the patent for the
- 3483 antimicrobials based on the value they provide. Some refer
- 3484 to this as a subscription model like Netflix, where you pay a
- 3485 set amount each year, and can watch as much or as little as
- 3486 you want.
- 3487 We want to be sure that we aren't overusing
- 3488 antimicrobials, because that also contributes to developing
- 3489 resistance. So the contract simultaneously protects the
- 3490 companies that bring innovative projects to the market, and
- 3491 protects public health. Now, while it may not have fit into
- 3492 the E&C bill today, I believe that the PASTEUR Act is a
- 3493 critical component of efforts to improve competition and
- 3494 foster innovation in the pharmaceutical industry.
- 3495 I am excited to work with you, Mr. Chairman, with
- 3496 Ranking Member Rodgers, and the rest of the committee on
- 3497 moving it forward. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield
- 3498 back.
- 3499 \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Doyle. We are printing
- 3500 -- oh, you asked that the document be entered. We are
- 3501 printing it, and we are going to look at it, and then we will
- 3502 come back to it, Mr. Doyle, for the one that you asked to be
- 3503 entered into the record.

- 3504 \*Mr. Doyle. Thank you.
- \*The Chairman. So I am going to go now to Mr. Griffith,
- 3506 who is recognized for five minutes.
- 3507 \*Mr. Griffith. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
- 3508 First, before I get into this bill, I would suggest to my
- 3509 colleague and Mr. Doyle that he take a look at Steffanie
- 3510 Strathdee and Tom Patterson's book on "The Perfect
- 3511 Predator.'' It is talking about phage therapy. It is a
- 3512 real-life story, a medical mystery story, highly recommended,
- 3513 and it deals with using viruses to attack those -- excuse me,
- 3514 yes, to attack those bacteria that do not respond to our
- 3515 current antibiotics.
- 3516 All right, back to this current subject. As you could
- 3517 probably tell by that, yes, I am a boring, dull kind of guy.
- 3518 And we are going to hear all kinds of stories, and I could
- 3519 come up with some stories, but what I always do is I always
- 3520 try to look at the underlying law. And when this concept
- 3521 first came forward, I believe in 2019, I immediately looked
- 3522 at it and said, "Whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa. This thing is
- 3523 unconstitutional. It violates the takings clause of the
- 3524 Fifth Amendment.'' I raised that in subcommittee. I have
- 3525 been raising it ever since. I am absolutely convinced that
- 3526 it is a violation. And lo and behold, some months later, the
- 3527 Congressional Research Service, in their document dated
- 3528 October 21, 2019, not only said was it likely to be a takings

- 3529 clause violation of the United States Constitution, it may
- 3530 also violate the Eighth Amendment excessive fines provisions
- 3531 in the Constitution.
- Folks, I know that I am, you know, a wet blanket and a
- 3533 killjoy. This bill is unconstitutional. And, you know,
- 3534 sometimes we have to get past the -- all the stories, and all
- 3535 the good politics, and all the things that everybody, you
- 3536 know, wants to talk about in the political world, and take a
- 3537 look at what we can do and what we should do under the United
- 3538 States Constitution. This bill is clearly unconstitutional.
- 3539 I am absolutely convinced of that.
- 3540 And another problem that this bill has -- and I am
- 3541 trying to keep it short, but -- well, let me tell you why it
- 3542 is excessive fines, so that folks back home understand. This
- 3543 bill has a punishment of 95 percent. If you don't accept the
- 3544 government price, and don't agree to do what they tell you to
- 3545 do, they will take 95 percent of your gross revenues, not
- 3546 your net revenues, 95 percent of your gross revenues on the
- 3547 medicine. It is not right, and it is not constitutional.
- 3548 And then another issue that is raised by the CRS report
- 3549 -- and I encourage everybody to look at, it is not that long,
- 3550 there it is -- it talks about taking away, which the bill
- 3551 does, and which we have the right to do, in some cases,
- 3552 taking away the right to access the courts to challenge the
- 3553 maximum fair price.

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            In other words, we got this formula set up in here that
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      sets up the maximum fair price that the government is going
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      to offer you for your drug, and if you don't accept it, we
      are going to take 95 percent of your gross receipts from you,
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      and you can't even challenge how they come up with the
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      maximum fair price. And under the takings clause, that may
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      also be unconstitutional to ban you from going into court.
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           But I will just tell you, even if that one is not
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      unconstitutional, folks, particularly my friends on the other
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      side of the aisle, often love to go to the courts to get
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      redress. The American people, whether somebody on Main
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      Street in Salem, Virginia, or whether some big corporation,
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      has a right to go to an independent arbiter -- and that would
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      be our court system -- and say this isn't right, take a look
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      at it, it doesn't follow the law, it is not fair.
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      something about it. This bill says you can't do that.
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            It is just wrong, folks, it is unconstitutional, it is
      wrong, it is bad policy, we have other ways we can deal with
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      this, some of which -- and some of my Republicans don't agree
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      with me. I think we can look at a strategy for negotiating,
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      but not when you come to it with a club so big that drugs
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      won't be developed because they won't ever be able to get
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      their money back. And that is a problem.
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           And I will tell you, I don't know whether -- I know that
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the drug I take for the blood clots I got as a result of

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- 3579 COVID is probably on -- going to be on that list. I can't
- 3580 tell you whether the research would have been done or not
- 3581 done, but I suspect we wouldn't have two drugs that have been
- 3582 miracle drugs for people who suffer from deep vein thrombosis
- 3583 if this law had been in effect 15 years ago, when all of that
- 3584 was happening. Today I have got some blood clots. I take a
- 3585 pill every morning. No big deal. Twenty years ago, that was
- 3586 a big deal. I wouldn't be able to travel and do my job for
- 3587 the people of the 8th congressional district.
- 3588 This bill is wrong and unconstitutional. I yield back.
- 3589 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman. Next we go to --
- 3590 Ms. Schakowsky is recognized for five minutes.
- 3591 \*Ms. Schakowsky. I move to strike the last word.
- \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman is recognized for five
- 3593 minutes.
- 3594 \*Ms. Schakowsky. As we debate this issue, there are
- 3595 people who lose their lives -- they are losing their lives
- 3596 right now, because they can't afford their prescription
- 3597 drugs. So even as we hear about the magic of the
- 3598 pharmaceutical advances, they mean nothing if you can't
- 3599 afford to buy the drugs.
- 3600 And you -- and our -- all of you colleagues would be
- 3601 hard pressed to find any issue that has more unanimous
- 3602 support than the idea of lowering the cost of prescription
- 3603 drugs. All the recent data tells us that 90 percent of

- 3604 Americans, 90 percent -- that means, certainly, Republicans
- 3605 and Democrats and independents and everybody else -- agree
- 3606 that the cost of prescription drugs is too high, and needs to
- 3607 be reduced.
- 3608 The fact that Americans pay two to three times, maybe
- 3609 even more than three times, the cost of other countries for
- 3610 the very same drugs around the world is deeply offensive to
- 3611 Americans. And we can do something about this right now.
- 3612 You know, we hear from the pharmaceutical industry all
- 3613 the time that the cost of their research and development --
- 3614 number one, then tell us, show us the data. I have
- 3615 legislation. Others have legislation that would require
- 3616 disclosure of how much are you really spending, and how much
- 3617 is really taxpayer dollars that are doing much of the basic
- 3618 research. You know, most of these prescription drugs, these
- 3619 miracle drugs, begin with taxpayer investments into research
- 3620 and development. It is time -- it is beyond time for us to
- 3621 say no one has to die.
- I remember when insulin was hitting the roof, and I
- 3623 think Mr. Welch pointed out that, without any significant
- 3624 change to that drug, that the pharmaceutical companies were
- 3625 raising the price, that insulin, which had been, you know,
- 3626 available almost to everyone, suddenly became so expensive.
- 3627 We have the names of people who died. We know a young man
- 3628 who decided, when the cost went up, he was going to try and

- 3629 take care of himself, a student. And he shortchanged his own
- 3630 dosages, and he lost his life. No one should have to do
- 3631 that.
- I have been behind people at the pharmacy who present
- 3633 their prescription, look at the cost of that, and end up
- 3634 walking away. And often it is the people who are the
- 3635 poorest, because they don't have the kind of insurance, or a
- 3636 Medicare Advantage plan, and have to walk away.
- 3637 We are talking about billions and billions of drugs that
- 3638 could save lives that are inaccessible, period.
- 3639 And I was there. Many of you were there, I think,
- 3640 probably, when we saw the Medicare Part D, and watched how
- 3641 the pharmaceutical industry made sure that the language
- 3642 saying Medicare may not negotiate for lower prices goes into
- 3643 that legislation. And it is still there. Now, the VA, of
- 3644 course, does negotiate and, fortunately, our benefits -- our
- 3645 veterans have lower costs.
- 3646 It is an outrage. It is a scandal. And now we have an
- 3647 opportunity, not only to lower the price, but to then be able
- 3648 to use that money that we are handing over to the
- 3649 pharmaceutical industry to help expand Medicare, to help
- 3650 improve the health care of people in this country. We cannot
- 3651 let this opportunity pass us by. We deserve, like people all
- 3652 over the world, for the very same drugs to pay a reasonable
- 3653 price, and to be able to keep our country healthy.

3654	And with that, I urge a yes vote, and I yield back.
3655	*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman. Mr. Doyle had
3656	asked that we enter into the record a report from the from
3657	ASPE, a report to the White House Competition Council on a
3658	comprehensive plan for addressing high drug prices.
3659	Without objection, so ordered.
3660	[The information follows:]
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- 3664 \*The Chairman. Mr. Upton is next. Mr. Upton is 3665 recognized for five minutes.
- 3666 \*Mr. Upton. Well, thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chair -
- 3667 [Audio malfunction.]
- 3668 \*Mr. Upton. -- debate that a lot of us have been
- 3669 looking for a long time. And certainly, every one of us,
- 3670 every single one of us here on both sides of the aisle, wants
- 3671 to do something about higher drug costs, as it impacts all of
- 3672 our constituents, as we know folks that are in desperate
- 3673 need. So I don't question the motives of any of the members.
- 3674 But you know what? We have been on this drill, on this
- 3675 same page, for the last couple of years. And despite your
- 3676 majority, you don't have the votes, probably, today to move
- 3677 this partisan bill. And like many of us said on this
- 3678 committee on the Republican side in the last Congress, let's
- 3679 not -- let's actually do something about this. Rather than
- 3680 move a partisan bill, let's move something that is
- 3681 bipartisan, that actually does some of these things.
- 3682 And I would credit former chairman Walden, who actually
- 3683 put a bill together. It was called H.R. 19, and we have
- 3684 introduced it again in this Congress, as we did the last one,
- 3685 and it literally took every bipartisan approach on lowering
- 3686 drug prices, every bill that had bipartisan support, and it
- 3687 packaged it together as one. And we haven't been able to get
- 3688 that moving in the last couple of years. And many of us

- 3689 said, "Why are we going through this same drill again, when
- 3690 in fact we could do something, and do it with a bipartisan
- 3691 approach?''
- You know, listening to my good friends on your side,
- 3693 Anna Eshoo said the moment is here. That is right, the
- 3694 moment is here. The moment is now to do something that is
- 3695 bipartisan.
- 3696 Mr. Welch talked about the price of insulin, and the
- 3697 escalating cost. That is in H.R. 19. We can deal with this,
- 3698 as Dr. Burgess just talked about, one of his amendments that
- 3699 was unsuccessful in the last Congress.
- 3700 Mr. Doyle talks about the PASTEUR Act. He is right.
- 3701 That is a really good bill. And guess what? DeGette and I
- 3702 are going to have that as part of our Cures 2.0 legislation,
- 3703 when we introduce it a little bit later this month.
- 3704 Those are some of the things that we can do on a
- 3705 bipartisan basis.
- 3706 And it is not just us, the Republicans, that are saying
- 3707 that we shouldn't go on this partisan approach. I take what
- 3708 the CBO said in the last Congress, that, in fact, drugs are
- 3709 not going to be developed here, or they are going to be
- 3710 developed overseas. They confirmed that report.
- 3711 You know, when we began to develop 21st Century Cures,
- 3712 we all came together on this committee. It was a bill that
- 3713 passed 53 to nothing. All of us, every one of us, listened

- 3714 to people across the country, whether we did town halls,
- 3715 whether we did roundtable discussions, we met with as many
- 3716 experts as we could find, from MD Anderson to the Mayo Clinic
- 3717 to the University of Michigan and Colorado. I mean, so many
- 3718 different folks weighed in to what could we do to expedite
- 3719 the FDA approval of drugs and devices.
- 3720 You and I, Mr. Chairman, sat down with DeGette and
- 3721 others and, rightly so, we included a \$45 billion increase
- 3722 above the baseline over the next 10 years for the NIH
- 3723 research. We sat down with the FDA and we said, "Look, we
- 3724 want you to have the -- we want the same safeguards for these
- 3725 approvals. What is it that you need to make sure that you
- 3726 have the resources to do it?'' And they told us, and we
- 3727 included it in that bill.
- We heard from the venture capitalists. I mean, this,
- 3729 again, is back in 2014, 2015. We learned that 50 percent of
- 3730 the venture capital that was going for new drugs for these
- 3731 discoveries was going overseas because of the approval
- 3732 process here. So we looked to change that.
- 3733 We want these new drugs developed, and we can do that.
- 3734 But for God's sakes, why aren't we doing it on bills that
- 3735 have bipartisan support that could actually get to the
- 3736 President, versus going again on a dead-end circuit on a bill
- 3737 that is not going to get there?
- 3738 And for our constituents, who are so frustrated with

- 3739 Washington anyway, here is just another example of not
- 3740 getting things done. That is not what any of us want to see
- 3741 happen.
- 3742 This bill, or these provisions that we are considering
- 3743 today, you know, as they say in some places in the country,
- 3744 this dog don't hunt. It doesn't, because there are many of
- 3745 us that have actually looked at the facts, and see where that
- 3746 is going to hurt and slow down the discovery of these
- 3747 diseases that we want to find cures for. So let's do it
- 3748 right. Let's have a debate on a bipartisan bill. Let's see
- 3749 if we can't get together.
- 3750 You know, I -- part of the Problem Solvers Caucus -- and
- 3751 we have got a prescription drug working group that is there
- 3752 -- we know that it is a bipartisan approach that can actually
- 3753 get the job done. I applaud Mr. Schrader, who has been a big
- 3754 part of that. Together we know that we could find a
- 3755 bipartisan sweet spot to move the bill forward. That is the
- 3756 approach we ought to take, instead of this one.
- 3757 And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 3758 \*The Chairman. The gentleman yields back. Mr. McNerney
- 3759 is recognized for five minutes.
- 3760
- 3761 \*Mr. McNerney. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last
- 3762 word in support of the ANS.
- 3763 \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized for five

- 3764 minutes.
- 3765 \*Mr. McNerney. Well, every week I hear from
- 3766 constituents who are struggling to afford essential
- 3767 prescription medications.
- 3768 Prior to the pandemic, one in four Americans reported
- 3769 difficulty affording their medications. But since this
- 3770 January, there have been over 1,100 price hikes for
- 3771 prescription drugs. That is gut wrenching, to hear so many
- 3772 Americans talk about rationing their medications or their
- 3773 meals because they are not able to afford a refill. About 60
- 3774 percent of prescriptions are abandoned by patients when they
- 3775 cost more than \$500. The fact that some people are forced to
- 3776 choose between health and their ability to feed their
- 3777 families is totally unacceptable.
- 3778 The Build Back Better Act will change that. The
- 3779 legislation will allow the government to negotiate with drug
- 3780 manufacturers for the highest priced and most commonly-used
- 3781 prescription drugs, including insulin. This prescription
- 3782 [sic] will cap out-of-pocket costs at \$2,000 for Medicare
- 3783 Part B deficient -- beneficiaries.
- 3784 It will also stop drug companies from ripping off
- 3785 Americans by limiting the maximum price for any negotiated
- 3786 drug to be no more, no more, than 120 percent of the average
- 3787 price in other countries with similar economies to the United
- 3788 States, where these drug companies charge less for the same

- 3789 drugs, and still make a good profit.
- 3790 The Build Back Better Act will make life better for
- 3791 Americans.
- 3792 And now I would like to yield to my friend from Vermont,
- 3793 Mr. Welch.
- 3794 \*Mr. Welch. I thank the gentleman. A couple of things.
- Number one, Mr. Upton advocates for bipartisan
- 3796 approaches. I am totally for that. I supported all the
- 3797 legislation that he described.
- 3798 But second, the heart of this is the pricing power that
- 3799 is unchallenged by Pharma, and it is abused. It is abused.
- Negotiation works. COVID is an example of a government
- 3801 and pharmaceutical company partnership. The United States
- 3802 Government, through the taxpayers, put billions of dollars
- 3803 into research. The United States Government provided a
- 3804 guaranteed purchasing plan, and alleviated the cost for
- 3805 Pharma, and Pharma came up with a COVID cure. It was a
- 3806 partnership, and the price was set at \$19.50 on the Pfizer
- 3807 cure -- \$26 billion in profit to Pharma. I am fine with
- 3808 that. But it was a partnership. It wasn't whatever they can
- 3809 charge, so it works.
- 3810 Second, there is an absolute unique situation in this
- 3811 Congress. We are the only representative body in all of the
- 3812 industrialized countries that doesn't take action to protect
- 3813 the citizens who elected us from price gouging. We are

- 3814 unique, and we have to take that responsibility, and not just
- 3815 blame it on Pharma. They are doing what they can do because
- 3816 it is more profit for the shareholders and the CEOs, but that
- 3817 is what they do. We have a responsibility to the people we
- 3818 represent, and every single one of us has gotten a call from
- 3819 people who are in enormous pain about what is happening to a
- 3820 person they love.
- 3821 And the third thing I want to say is really what -- at
- 3822 the heart of this is, this myth about how, if there is any
- 3823 action by the government to protect consumers, it is going to
- 3824 interfere with innovation. That is a reasonable concern, and
- 3825 we have got to deal with it. But it is being exploited by
- 3826 the pharmaceutical industry to purchase -- to set whatever
- 3827 price they want.
- 3828 And think about what is happening. The love that
- 3829 Americans have for people in their families, for a child who
- 3830 is ill, for a partner who is ill is such that, whatever it
- 3831 takes, that person, that family, is going to try to do it.
- 3832 And if there is a potential for a cure, and it means they
- 3833 have to get a second job, let's get one. If it means they
- 3834 have to get a mortgage, they will do it. If they have to get
- 3835 a second mortgage, they do it. If they have to liquidate the
- 3836 retirement fund, they will do it, because they love that
- 3837 person in their life, that child or that partner. And this
- 3838 is true in your district and in mine. It is not a partisan

- 3839 thing. It is not whether you voted for Trump or you voted
- 3840 for Biden. It is about this love that people have for those
- 3841 who are close in their lives. Pharma exploits that. They
- 3842 exploit it.
- 3843 There are so many good people in Pharma that are doing
- 3844 such wonderful things to come up with these cures. But when
- 3845 they put the heel of their pricing power and crush those
- 3846 hopes of access to so many Americans, we are the people who
- 3847 have the authority, and we are the people who have the
- 3848 responsibility to make certain that it is fair and
- 3849 accessible.
- 3850 I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. The gentleman's time has expired.
- 3852 Who is that?
- 3853 \*Voice. It is either Bucshon or Bill Johnson.
- 3854 \*The Chairman. I got to make sure that I don't call
- 3855 Carter before the more senior members. So Mr. Johnson is
- 3856 next.
- 3857 \*Mr. Johnson. Thank you --
- 3858 \*The Chairman. You are recognized for five minutes.
- 3859 \*Mr. Johnson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I move to
- 3860 strike the last word.
- 3861 \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized for five
- 3862 minutes.
- 3863 \*Mr. Johnson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I associate

- 3864 myself with the comments of my colleague, Mr. Upton. I think
- 3865 we all want to make sure we have affordable drug prices here
- 3866 in America.
- 3867 And I also associate myself with the comments that were
- 3868 just made by my colleague on the other side of the aisle
- 3869 that, you know, families are -- children, parents, spouses,
- 3870 partners, families worry about the health care of their of
- 3871 their loved ones, and they want to be able to provide them
- 3872 the best that they can. And having access to the drugs that
- 3873 can cure them is so vitally important. But what good does it
- 3874 do you to manage costs for a drug that doesn't exist?
- 3875 Because that is exactly what we are going to be doing here
- 3876 today, if this were to pass.
- Frankly, I am astonished that after all our country has
- 3878 gone through in the past year-and-a-half, that this
- 3879 misquided, socialistic style legislation would rear its ugly
- 3880 head again in front of this committee. We have already
- 3881 debated H.R. 3, albeit unknowingly.
- Just as a once-in-a-century global pandemic was about to
- 3883 make its way to our shores. After what good, old-fashioned
- 3884 American private sector exceptionalism and innovation have
- 3885 pulled off -- that is, the miraculous rapid development of
- 3886 the safe, effective, mass-produced vaccines that will save
- 3887 hundreds of millions of lives worldwide, my Democrat
- 3888 colleagues are now expressing their gratitude by giving

- 3889 American medical innovators a legislative kick in the teeth.
- 3890 Talk about poor timing.
- Honestly, Mr. Chairman, I am surprised that the majority
- 3892 still want to go through with this.
- 3893 Let me be clear. Killing American medical innovation
- 3894 will have deadly consequences. I fear the day that American
- 3895 medical entrepreneurs and scientists, the best in the world,
- 3896 are deprived of the tools they need to get us all out of the
- 3897 next jam. And trust me, it will come.
- 3898 As we have examined on this committee, America is
- 3899 increasingly becoming dangerously reliant on foreign
- 3900 countries for so many things. Are we really going to put
- 3901 American medical innovation on the chopping block, and ask
- 3902 foreign countries like China to do our medical innovation?
- I mean, are we going to put medical innovation on that
- 3904 list?
- 3905 Would we all rather get a dose of Vladimir Putin's
- 3906 Sputnik V vaccine? I don't think I would.
- Put simply, this legislation is going to put barriers up
- 3908 to future cures. You don't have to take my word for it. We
- 3909 had the CBO look at this, specifically on how this bill would
- 3910 affect new cures becoming available. The CBO's analysis
- 3911 shows that this legislation would result in at least 38 less
- 3912 new drugs over the next 20 years. What if you are sick, or a
- 3913 loved one in your family is dying? I pray that the ailment

- 3914 that you or your family member has is not one of those 38
- 3915 that lack a potential cure.
- 3916 But even in light of all of this knowledge and these
- 3917 facts, my colleagues will keep going back to their sales
- 3918 pitch for a European-style health care system. They want to
- 3919 do what other advanced economies do. However, what I see in
- 3920 these other foreign nations is that this is what this
- 3921 legislation would effectuate here.
- 3922 Here is the proof. What the Democrats will conveniently
- 3923 leave out is that the average European enjoys fewer cures
- 3924 right now. Our Democratic friends will brag and say, "Look,
- 3925 this cancer drug in Europe is cheap.'' Well, what they don't
- 3926 tell you is that Americans are taking one that is newer and
- 3927 better, right here. Europeans living under socialized
- 3928 medicine don't get access.
- 3929 I just want to cite a few examples, quickly. The best
- 3930 data we have shows that the average French citizen has access
- 3931 to only 67 percent of the new cancer medicines that we have
- 3932 here; Germans only get 50 percent of the diabetes medicines;
- 3933 and finally, British citizens only get 67 percent of all new
- 3934 medicines, compared to what we get here, in America.
- 3935 So in summary, to my Democrat colleagues, Mr. Chairman,
- 3936 this is what you are voting for: less cures, fewer cures for
- 3937 fewer people. Remember that. It could be one of your
- 3938 family.

- 3939 Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 3940 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman. Mr. Peters is
- 3941 now recognized for five minutes.
- 3942 \*Mr. Peters. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last
- 3943 word.
- 3944 \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized for five
- 3945 minutes.
- 3946 \*Mr. Peters. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. American Life
- 3947 Science is a partnership between the public sector, which
- 3948 funds basic research, and the private sector, which develops
- 3949 drugs. On the public side, I am proud to have worked with
- 3950 many of my colleagues here to increase the annual budget for
- 3951 basic research funding at the National Institutes of Health,
- 3952 from around \$29 billion when I joined Congress in 2013, to
- 3953 \$43 billion today.
- 3954 But as important as that research is, we rely on the
- 3955 private sector to use private capital to create applications
- 3956 for that science. And that makes sense for taxpayers,
- 3957 because drug development is full of risk, and most drug
- 3958 candidates that receive investment never come to market. The
- 3959 median investment required to bring a new drug to market is
- 3960 about \$1 billion. And according to CBO, accounting for
- 3961 failures, cost to bring just one drug or treatment to market
- 3962 could be as high as \$2 billion. Those private investments
- 3963 are substantial.

3964 In 2018 alone, according to Research America, private investment funded \$102 billion of U.S. drug development, 3965 3966 dwarfing the \$40 billion budget of the NIH, plus anything we are talking about for ARPA-H, which I support, and without 3967 risk to the American taxpayer. 3968 3969 Now, what would be the effect on future investment of the price-setting mechanisms in the bill before us today? 3970 3971 Let's listen to the investors themselves. In a September 8th letter to the President and 3972 3973 congressional leadership, over 400 individual biotechnology 3974 investors -- not big biopharmaceutical companies, by the way -- gave us testimony as follows, and I will quote it. 3975 3976 "Congress is considering allowing the government to 3977 dictate the price that a company may charge for a novel drug, with the threat of ruining the company financially with a 95 3978 3979 percent tax, should the company refuse to accept the government's price. Such draconian measures would 3980 3981 immediately halt private funding of drug discovery and 3982 development.'' "As an industry, we would no longer be able to infer 3983 3984 what insurance plans might value and pay tomorrow from what 3985 they value and pay today, which is the premise of a market 3986 economy. Unpredictable government-dictated prices would 3987 supplant the current market-based framework that inspires

biomedical R&D investment. The investors among us would have

3988

3989 to shift our investments toward areas still governed by 3990 markets such as technology and consumer goods. 3991 companies with drug candidates in development would fail to raise more capital, making it pointless for them to spend 3992 3993 existing dollars on ongoing research. The loss of hundreds 3994 of thousands of well-paying jobs would be swift, although it 3995 may take longer for the public to sense the loss of future 3996 treatments and cures.'' 3997 "Some may think NIH funding will be sufficient to fund 3998 continued R&D. The NIH is a crucial funder of basic research 3999 that provides the ideas for what kinds of drugs might be 4000 Translating those ideas into actual medicines is possible. 4001 almost entirely driven by the private sector that makes all 4002 that basic research worth funding in the first place.'' 4003 Now, it is not just investors who have raised the alarms 4004 about lost cures, it is also patient advocates. 4005 Alliance for Aging Research, the American Auto Autoimmune-4006 Related Diseases Association, the American Behcet's Disease 4007 Association, the HIV and Hepatitis Policy Institute, and I 4008 personally heard opposition to the H.R. 3 funding mechanisms, 4009 or taxing mechanisms, from Lupus Foundation of Southern 4010 California, Epilepsy Foundation of San Diego County, 4011 Alzheimer's Association, and Autism Society San Diego. 4012 Another problem with the proposed approach is access.

Other countries save money on medicines by severely limiting

4013

- 4014 who can have access to drugs in order to cut down on costs.
- 4015 That is why the National Council on Disabilities opposes the
- 4016 use of international reference pricing in H.R. 3.
- And, of course, the economic impact. As we discuss in
- 4018 this very markup, reshoring parts of our supply chain back to
- 4019 the U.S., we should avoid scaring off existing jobs in
- 4020 American science. And for me, probably not surprisingly, it
- 4021 hits home. According to the San Diego Economic Development
- 4022 Corporation, the life sciences industry directly employs
- 4023 about 27,000 San Diegans across nearly 1,000 firms, and about
- 4024 two-thirds of those jobs are in research and development.
- We want API to be made here, we said that today. By the
- 4026 same token, we want the talent and know-how that has
- 4027 developed therapies and cures and the amazing COVID-19
- 4028 vaccines right here in America to stay right here in America.
- 4029 People are demanding lower out-of-pocket costs for their
- 4030 medicines. We have promised lower out-of-pocket costs, and
- 4031 we should deliver. I have no disagreement with any of my
- 4032 colleagues on that. But we have to lower out-of-pocket costs
- 4033 for patients, and preserve the American ecosystem of private
- 4034 investment innovation. And that is the proposal I will
- 4035 advance today.
- 4036 If we only lower the cost of existing drugs, and cut the
- 4037 legs out from the private sector ecosystem that develops new
- 4038 medicines, we will be having hearings in the coming years in

- 4039 this committee about how to induce this brainpower, research,
- 4040 and development back to our shores.
- This bill can be fixed. It needs to be. I hope my
- 4042 colleagues on both sides will consider a different approach,
- 4043 one that protects both our patients and our future.
- 4044 And Mr. Chairman, before I yield back, I ask unanimous
- 4045 consent to add to the record a letter of September 8th from
- 4046 approximately 400 investors led by Peter Kolchinsky to
- 4047 President Biden and congressional leadership. Your staff got
- 4048 that yesterday.
- 4049 And I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Peters. If we could get
- 4051 a copy of that, or we already have it, I don't know --
- 4052 \*Mr. Peters. Yes.
- \*The Chairman. And we will look at it, and then come
- 4054 back as to inserting it into the record. Thank you.
- 4055 \*Mr. Peters. Thank you --
- \*The Chairman. Do we have a Republican? Do we -- Mr.
- 4057 Bucshon is next. Mr. Bucshon is recognized for five minutes.
- 4058 \*Mr. Bucshon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And, you know,
- 4059 I am not going to repeat what some of my colleagues have
- 4060 said. I want to associate myself with Mr. Upton, Mr.
- 4061 Johnson, and Mr. Peters. I think all of the salient points
- 4062 have been made.
- 4063 For me, as a physician, access is critical, and I think

- 4064 the point has been made that access to current medications
- 4065 that might go away if you set this type of price-fixing
- 4066 scheme for current medications is frightening. It has been
- 4067 pointed out that other countries in Europe don't have access
- 4068 to these medications, and that will happen here.
- And then again, as was just recently pointed out, future
- 4070 innovation and development of pharmaceuticals by the private
- 4071 sector will be stymied if we use this type of price-fixing
- 4072 scheme.
- 4073 Look, when the Trump Administration proposed
- 4074 international price indexing, I was one of the few
- 4075 Republicans who stuck my neck out against it. Fortunately, I
- 4076 was subsequently followed by most everyone on Capitol Hill,
- 4077 in a bipartisan way.
- 4078 So I am against this proposal, and I think it is
- 4079 unfortunate, because I want to remind everyone we passed
- 4080 unanimously out of our committee three pieces of legislation
- 4081 unanimously by voice vote a number of years ago. And when
- 4082 that stuff was brought to the floor, when those bills were
- 4083 brought to the floor, they were attached to a bunch of
- 4084 Obamacare-related laws that the majority knew that
- 4085 Republicans couldn't support.
- 4086 And so why did that happen? That happened so that, like
- 4087 the next day, we could have ads run against some of our -- my
- 4088 colleagues on our side, saying that we don't support lowering

- 4089 drug prices for Americans, which couldn't be further from the
- 4090 truth. So it is completely political.
- And now, after years of working on this issue in a
- 4092 bipartisan way, now we have a partisan piece of legislation
- 4093 being rammed through Congress that is being written in the
- 4094 Speaker's office, essentially, and ignoring all of the work
- 4095 we have done, really, for years and years. H.R. 19 has been
- 4096 pointed out, I won't continue to belabor that point.
- But these problems can be solved. We all want the
- 4098 prices to go down. But if we do this, the free market, our
- 4099 free market economy, will respond. That is the other thing I
- 4100 think that people don't sometimes realize is, when government
- 4101 makes one move, it is like a chess game. The private sector
- 4102 will not just sit on their hands, they will respond. And in
- 4103 many ways, you found that out with Obamacare.
- 4104 You know, we can mandate insurance companies cover
- 4105 people regardless, and take away all of the work actuaries
- 4106 have done, and not allow insurance companies to assess risk,
- 4107 but they are not just going to sit on their hands. And that
- 4108 is exactly what happened. The premiums went up. And, more
- 4109 importantly for my constituents, the deductibles went through
- 4110 the roof because it is a free market economy, and the free
- 4111 market will react.
- 4112 So, you know, if you put together a price-fixing scheme
- 4113 for pharmaceuticals in the United States without trying to

- 4114 address actual issues that will really, legitimately, lower
- 4115 drug prices without limiting access, don't be surprised what
- 4116 type of result that you get.
- 4117 Again, I think Congressman Johnson pointed out -- that
- 4118 is not my opinion. That is -- the CBO has clearly stated
- 4119 that we are not going to develop lifesaving cures for
- 4120 diseases if we do this.
- And imagine, for example, if we didn't have statin
- 4122 agents today for cardiovascular disease, or some of the newer
- 4123 drugs being used for arthritis today, the biologics that are
- 4124 being developed, or the cure for hepatitis C. Well, here is
- 4125 the thing. We don't know what the next lifesaving or life-
- 4126 changing drug is. You don't know until the research develops
- 4127 it. And so that won't happen under this bill.
- I am strongly opposed to this, and I think all of my
- 4129 colleagues should be, also. I yield back.
- 4130 \*The Chairman. I thank Mr. Bucshon, and I am going to
- 4131 yield myself such time as I may -- I am sorry, I am going to
- 4132 yield myself five minutes to speak.
- Basically, what I want to do is address my colleagues on
- 4134 the Democratic side who have expressed reservations regarding
- 4135 the drug pricing measures we are considering today. And I
- 4136 want to say that I hear your concerns, and I pledge to work
- 4137 with you to address them. But I would urge you to join us
- 4138 today to vote this bill out of committee, and to keep this

- 4139 process moving forward.
- There is a real opportunity here to include drug pricing
- 4141 reform in the bill that the President is asking us to pass.
- 4142 We have elected a Democratic President with a mandate to
- 4143 build back better, to create a more inclusive and equitable
- 4144 economy, one that lifts up working Americans by cutting their
- 4145 taxes and lowering their costs. And House Democrats have put
- 4146 forward an ambitious agenda to meet President Biden's call.
- In the Energy and Commerce Committee a priority is to
- 4148 deliver on prescription drug pricing reform. Last Congress
- 4149 we promised Americans that we would bring about meaningful
- 4150 reforms to reduce drug prices. We all pledged to do this
- 4151 when we passed H.R. 3 three times last Congress, once in this
- 4152 committee, and again twice on the House floor. And I don't
- 4153 think we can fail the American people, who are struggling
- 4154 under the crippling weight of astronomical drug prices that
- 4155 rise year after year.
- 4156 And I really believe the current system is not
- 4157 sustainable. I think we can all agree on that. We can't
- 4158 have a system that continues to allow drug manufacturers to
- 4159 charge whatever they want at the expense of American
- 4160 families.
- Now, I know that Mr. Peters is going to offer a
- 4162 substitute today, and he has agreed to withdraw it after we
- 4163 debate it, and I appreciate that, but I want him to

- 4164 understand why I can't support that alternative. There are
- 4165 many good policies in his proposal, and many areas of
- 4166 commonality. But it, unfortunately, doesn't go far enough to
- 4167 address the unsustainable cost of prescription drugs,
- 4168 particularly for those drugs with no competition.
- We have to have a Medicare drug negotiation for high-
- 4170 cost drugs with no competition, and we have to have a
- 4171 negotiation framework that will get us results. We have to
- 4172 have a bill that will make a meaningful difference in the
- 4173 lives of our constituents by significantly lowering their
- 4174 prescription drug costs.
- 4175 I also think that this committee has a responsibility to
- 4176 help pay for the important health coverage policies included
- 4177 in the other committee prints that we have considered here
- 4178 today and over the last three days. As many members have
- 4179 made clear, we should be reinvesting in our health care
- 4180 system, and offsetting some of the costs related to expanding
- 4181 access to coverage for those who need it.
- So let's not forget that, beyond lowering the price of
- 4183 prescription drugs, we are making important investments in
- 4184 our health care system through this title, and this is a
- 4185 major way to pay for it.
- But beyond these important principles, I just want to
- 4187 stress again I am more than willing to work with my
- 4188 colleagues to strike the right balance. And here is what I

- 4189 propose to my Democratic colleagues who have reservations on
- 4190 the drug pricing measure. Vote for the bill before us today.
- 4191 It is the language of H.R. 3, which, as I said, has
- 4192 previously passed the House many times, and has long been
- 4193 advocated by the Democratic Party, either in our platform, or
- 4194 when we ran previously. Vote to move forward today. Vote to
- 4195 continue the conversation. And in exchange, I pledge to work
- 4196 with you to address your concerns before the floor. My staff
- 4197 stands ready to work with you. I promise that your voices
- 4198 will be heard, either with a seat at the table or through me.
- And ultimately, we all want the same things, which is
- 4200 meaningful drug pricing reform that can pass the U.S. Senate
- 4201 and get sent to the President's desk. I think that is going
- 4202 to be achieved.
- I know my Republican colleagues, you know, don't like
- 4204 the process, and I am not going to, you know, debate that
- 4205 today. But I do believe that we are going to have a
- 4206 reconciliation bill that is going to be -- also move with the
- 4207 Senate bipartisan infrastructure bill. I don't know how big
- 4208 it will be, but I know it is going to have drug pricing
- 4209 reform, and I want that to be achieved. I don't want to lose
- 4210 the opportunity, and I think we can work together to deliver
- 4211 on this. And I want those of you who has -- have
- 4212 reservations to be involved in this. So please consider
- 4213 voting for this committee print today.

- 4214 And with that, I yield back.
- Do we have a Republican who wants to speak on the
- 4216 underlying bill?
- 4217 Mr. Crenshaw is -- wants to strike the last word?
- 4218 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Thank you, Chairman. I move to strike
- 4219 the last word. My question is for counsel.
- \*The Chairman. Okay, go ahead, Dan.
- \*Mr. Crenshaw. Regarding section 1194(b), how much
- 4222 negotiation is allowed by the underlying legislative text?
- \*The Chairman. How much legislation is allowed by the
- 4224 legislative text? Would the counsel answer Mr. Crenshaw's
- 4225 question, if you can?
- \*Counselor. Sure. In terms of 1194(b), the Secretary
- 4227 has the authority to select up to no fewer than 25
- 4228 negotiation-eligible drugs in the first year. That increases
- 4229 to no fewer than 50 in the second price applicability year,
- 4230 in 2026.
- 4231 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Now -- but my question is regarding
- 4232 negotiation, because the legislative text -- define the
- 4233 variables the Secretary shall consider in picking a number
- 4234 between the ceiling and the floor, as far as price is
- 4235 concerned. It also defines how much weight those variables
- 4236 should have, and all the variables are defined
- 4237 quantitatively.
- Now, this isn't surprising because, according to the

- 4239 Administrative Procedures Act, you have to have a very
- 4240 consistent procedure and process by which you deal with
- 4241 companies, by which you deal with outsiders. If you didn't,
- 4242 everybody would sue, based on some kind of unjust or unfair
- 4243 claim. So this, of course, makes sense.
- But I am trying to figure out where the definition of
- 4245 negotiation comes into play there. I mean, we are calling it
- 4246 a negotiation. But how is this a negotiation, given that the
- 4247 definition of a negotiation is both parties trying to
- 4248 persuade one another?
- So my next question to you is, you know, given that it
- 4250 is typical in a negotiation for a party to reject the first
- 4251 offer, I am assuming a company will choose the highest
- 4252 possible option, the government will choose the lowest offer.
- 4253 So what options does the legislative text provide for the
- 4254 company to persuade the government to go for a higher price?
- \*Counselor. Congressman, I would point you to the -- to
- 4256 section 1196, which requires the Secretary to establish
- 4257 procedures to govern the negotiation, but then the
- 4258 negotiation itself will take a -- over a period of time, in
- 4259 which, during that time, the Secretary and the manufacturer
- 4260 can continue to negotiate back and forth over a period of
- 4261 time.
- 4262 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Right, but is there anything in the
- 4263 legislative text that gives these companies an option?

- Again, because, like you said, established procedures
- 4265 and a process, according to the Administrative Procedures
- 4266 Act, you have to do it. But what negotiation is there? What
- 4267 tools does the company have to -- is there anything in the
- 4268 legislative text that would indicate that? Because there is
- 4269 for the government.
- \*Counselor. There is a number of considerations that
- 4271 are laid out in the text under -- considerations on page 28
- 4272 and 29, and it lists manufacturer-specific information,
- 4273 information on alternative products, foreign sales
- 4274 information, and the additional information that the
- 4275 manufacturer would like to provide that could be helpful to
- 4276 the negotiation.
- \*Mr. Crenshaw. Okay, and this is my point. What you
- 4278 are describing is an application process. You are not
- 4279 describing the negotiation. You are describing an
- 4280 application process, which, again, is not surprising, given
- 4281 the Administrative Procedures Act.
- What options does the legislative text provide for the
- 4283 government to persuade the company to go for a lower price?
- Now, here I think there is quite a bit.
- \*Counselor. Again, Congressman, the terms, in terms of
- 4286 the negotiation process, are laid out in the text. Should a
- 4287 manufacturer offer the lowest price available in the six
- 4288 countries applicable, then the Secretary shall accept that

- 4289 price.
- 4290 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Okay. Once the Secretary provides these
- 4291 procedures, and establishes these processes, is there
- 4292 anything in the legislative text that provide the Secretary
- 4293 the ability to deviate from the formula and methodology?
- I mean, obviously, if it is a negotiation, then the
- 4295 Secretary would have the option to deviate, given the
- 4296 subjective nature of a negotiation. So is there anything in
- 4297 the legislative text that would allow them to do that, once
- 4298 the processes are established?
- \*Counselor. I think that would depend on the processes
- 4300 that are established under section 1196, the administrative
- 4301 duties that would be required to be set up through rulemaking
- 4302 beforehand.
- 4303 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Okay, look, the point I am trying --
- 4304 thank you, Counsel.
- 4305 The point I am trying to make here is this is clearly
- 4306 not a negotiation. It is being labeled as a negotiation.
- 4307 And we talked about Pfizer a minute ago where, oh, look, that
- 4308 was a great example of a public-private partnership in a
- 4309 negotiation. Worth noting, it happened without H.R. 3,
- 4310 everyone, worth noting that.
- 4311 Also worth noting, that if Pfizer had not taken that
- 4312 price, the government wouldn't have had the option of taxing
- 4313 them 95 percent of their revenues. That is not a

- 4314 negotiation, that is holding a gun to somebody's head and
- 4315 saying, "If you don't do this, we will put you out of
- 4316 business.'' It is not a negotiation. It is not a fair way
- 4317 to characterize this bill. And yet that is the main
- 4318 characterization that has occurred with H.R. 3. But it is
- 4319 not that at all.
- The legislative text is very clear, that you set up a
- 4321 process, which is basically an application process for these
- 4322 companies to get the price, and for the government to accept
- 4323 it and, if they don't feel like accepting it, well, then they
- 4324 tax 95 percent of the revenues. Not a negotiation.
- 4325 I yield back. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 4326 \*The Chairman. The gentleman yields back. Mr. Sarbanes
- 4327 is recognized for five minutes.
- 4328 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Actually, I am
- 4329 going to restrain myself.
- 4330 I just wanted to observe that the public cannot figure
- 4331 out why we can't get this done. I mean, they have been
- 4332 asking us to do it for 1,000 years. They really think --
- 4333 [Audio malfunction.]
- 4334 \*Mr. Sarbanes. -- and I don't blame them for that. So
- 4335 we have an opportunity here to respond to the great, great
- 4336 majority of people out there who don't buy the argument that
- 4337 they can't get prices at a reasonable price without giving up
- 4338 on good American research and development, because they just

- 4339 don't think that argument holds water.
- Broadly, on the margins, I understand some of the
- 4341 concerns expressed. But structurally, I think that the
- 4342 industry can find a way to keep delivering on good products,
- 4343 even as we take steps to make sure that they are not gouging
- 4344 the consumer.
- And I know we cite these statistics from overseas, but,
- 4346 you know, a lot of that can be misleading. I mean, I heard
- 4347 about Germany, France, the UK not having the same access.
- 4348 They all have life expectancies higher than the United States
- 4349 does. And there is other statistics that you can bring to
- 4350 bear.
- 4351 With that, I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Sarbanes.
- Let me just say we have a number of people that had
- 4354 their hands up, but I -- you know, virtually -- but I think
- 4355 it is from the past. So please lower your hand if --
- 4356 virtually, if you do not want to speak.
- Now, what we are doing now is we are speaking on the ANS
- 4358 and the underlying bill. I don't want to cut anybody off
- 4359 because, you know, like myself and everyone else, we all want
- 4360 to say something. But I will just remind you that we have to
- 4361 get to the amendments. And, you know, we are going to -- we
- 4362 got to move quickly, otherwise we are not going to be
- 4363 respectful of the Jewish holiday, which begins this evening.

- So next I have -- is there no -- there is no Republican?
- 4365 No?
- Okay, then we go to -- then I guess I was addressing
- 4367 that to Democrats.
- 4368 Mr. Soto, you are recognized for five minutes.
- 4369 \*Mr. Soto. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last
- 4370 word.
- \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized for five
- 4372 minutes.
- 4373 \*Mr. Soto. We Americans, by and large, pay more for
- 4374 prescription drugs than any other developed country in the
- 4375 world, even as we make most of these drugs here in the United
- 4376 States. I have been to town halls and pharmacy tours
- 4377 throughout my district in Orlando, St. Cloud, Kissimmee,
- 4378 Haines City, Winter Haven. And seniors across the spectrum,
- 4379 Democrats, Republicans, independents, all have agreed on two
- 4380 points, over and over: they overwhelmingly are
- 4381 unable to afford their medications, and they support Medicare
- 4382 negotiating lower drug prices.
- 4383 We know they can't afford their insulin, heart
- 4384 medications, cancer medications, stroke medications. They
- 4385 are cutting their pills in half and quarters, waiting until
- 4386 the end of the month until they get their Social Security
- 4387 checks. I have heard story after story of tragedy, and many
- 4388 are dying as a result.

- What good is having these prescription drugs, if
- 4390 millions of American seniors can't afford them?
- The VA and Medicaid both negotiate drug prices. So it
- 4392 is good enough for our veterans, for our needy families, to
- 4393 negotiate drug prices, but not for our seniors. It is
- 4394 actually an aberration that Medicare still can't negotiate.
- 4395 And these lower drug prices -- we would have private plans be
- 4396 able to take advantage of them. And so this would apply not
- 4397 just to our seniors, but all private plans, to all Americans,
- 4398 and caps out-of-pocket expenses to \$2,000 a year.
- 4399 Critically, and the best part, it raises nearly a half-
- 4400 a-trillion dollars to help pay for a long-time injustice, to
- 4401 finally expand Medicare to cover hearing, vision, dental,
- 4402 promises we have been making to the American people for many,
- 4403 many years, everybody on both sides of the aisle.
- 4404 So it is time to get this done, to lower drug prices for
- 4405 seniors and all Americans, and I yield back.
- 4406 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman. Do we have
- anyone else on the on either side of the aisle?
- 4408 No? All right. We want -- we will then go to
- 4409 amendments. And I believe the ranking member has an
- 4410 amendment.
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I move to call up
- 4412 amendment 30.
- \*The Chairman. The clerk -- does the clerk have the

Rodgers amendment?
*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
*The Chairman. Okay, the clerk will report the
amendment.
*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
a substitute to committee print for Subtitle E Relating to
Drug Pricing -
*The Chairman. Madam Clerk, without objection, the
reading of the amendment will be dispensed with.
[The amendment of Mrs. Rodgers follows:]
**************************************

- \*The Chairman. And the ranking member is recognized for
- 4428 five minutes.
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr.
- 4430 Chairman.
- Speaker Pelosi's government price control scheme takes
- 4432 yet another massive step toward government-run health care.
- 4433 It allows for the Federal Government to use foreign price
- 4434 controls to determine the cost of prescription drugs. It
- 4435 would make us more dependent upon China, and willingly
- 4436 jeopardize and surrender Americans' leadership in
- 4437 biotechnology investment, investment that will allow foreign
- 4438 citizens increasingly more first access to drugs than
- 4439 Americans.
- It will also devastate innovation here at home.
- 4441 Perhaps worst of all, it also devalues the lives of
- 4442 people with disabilities and chronic illnesses through the
- 4443 importation of the quality-adjusted life years, or QALYs.
- 4444 QALYs undervalue treatments for patients who have a shorter
- 4445 lifespan than others. In short, if a therapeutic treats a
- 4446 condition for patients who are sicker, older, or have
- 4447 disabilities, the treatment is assessed as being less
- 4448 valuable. In countries with QALYs, the most vulnerable get
- 4449 pushed to the back of the line for treatment. People like
- 4450 those with cystic fibrosis, ALS, and people like my son with
- 4451 Down Syndrome. The government says that their lives are not

- 4452 as valuable. They are not equal.
- I want to begin by doing something that hasn't happened
- 4454 often in a markup. I want to agree with the Democratic
- 4455 National Committee and the Biden Administration. As you may
- 4456 know, the DNC platform is against QALYs. Just last week, the
- 4457 President's Department of Health and Human Services came out
- 4458 with its comprehensive plan for addressing high drug prices
- 4459 -- I think we just maybe entered that into the record -- in
- 4460 response to the President's executive order on competition.
- 4461 The report states -- and I quote -- "There are important
- 4462 concerns about the equity implications of certain
- 4463 methodologies, such as quality adjusted life years, QALYs,
- 4464 for people of all ages with disabilities and chronic
- 4465 conditions. Drug pricing reforms should avoid utilization of
- 4466 methodologies that adversely impact access to needed
- 4467 medications for vulnerable populations.''
- 4468 I am grateful that the Biden Administration has taken
- 4469 this position, a position that has long been emphasized by
- 4470 the Citizens Council on Disabilities, who wrote Chairman
- 4471 Pallone in 2019 on this legislation to say, "Many of the
- 4472 nations used to create the average international market price
- 4473 rely on QALYs to determine their coverage and prices. CCD is
- 4474 very concerned that these provisions effectively import a
- 4475 QALY-based and discriminatory system from abroad. These
- 4476 systems are discriminatory against people with disabilities,

- 4477 and do not have a place in the United States health care
- 4478 system.''
- Just this past April, Chairman Pallone got a letter from
- 4480 the National Council on Disability, and I would like to enter
- 4481 it into the record. I have it here somewhere. I will give
- 4482 it to you.
- 4483 \*The Chairman. You can give it to me later.
- 4484 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Okay.
- 4485 \*The Chairman. I will put it in.
- 4486 \*Mrs. Rodgers. The National Council on Disability is an
- 4487 independent executive branch agency dedicated to disability
- 4488 policy leadership. They write, "I write on behalf of the
- 4489 National Council on Disability as your Federal disability
- 4490 policy adviser to urge policy makers not to rely on foreign
- 4491 drug prices set in reliance on the quality-adjusted life
- 4492 year, quality -- QALY. I urge support of my amendment to
- 4493 stop discrimination of people with disabilities and pre-
- 4494 existing conditions.''
- I have some questions for counsel.
- 4496 Counsel, can you affirm that, on page six of the ANS,
- 4497 Australia is an applicable country -- sorry -- used to
- 4498 determine the average international market price to be used
- 4499 by the Health and Human Services Secretary to set prices for
- 4500 U.S. drug prices?
- 4501 \*Counselor. That is right, Ranking Member Rodgers,

- 4502 Australia is one of the six countries.
- 4503 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Thank you. Can you affirm whether or
- 4504 not the country of Australia uses quality-adjusted life years
- 4505 in its determination of prices for coverage of prescription
- 4506 drugs?
- \*Counselor. For the laws and regulations of a foreign
- 4508 country, I cannot confirm. I would refer you to the
- 4509 Congressional Research Service for their laws, with respect
- 4510 to drug pricing.
- 4511 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Thank you. Thank you. Can you confirm
- 4512 that the countries of Canada, France, Germany, Japan, and the
- 4513 United Kingdom are the remaining reference countries on page
- 4514 7, lines 1 through 5?
- \*Counselor. That is right, Congresswoman.
- 4516 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Can you confirm whether or not any of
- 4517 these countries use QALYs to determine prescription drug
- 4518 pricing or coverage in their countries?
- 4519 \*Counselor. Again, I cannot confirm that. I would
- 4520 refer you to the Congressional Research Service for foreign
- 4521 laws and regulations pertaining to drug prices.
- 4522 \*Mrs. Rodgers. So now it is my understanding that all
- 4523 six of these countries use metrics -- oh, my time is expired.
- \*The Chairman. All right, the gentlewoman yields back?
- 4525 \*Mrs. Rodgers. I yield back.
- 4526 \*The Chairman. Do we have anyone else who wants to

- 4527 speak on the Rodgers amendment?
- 4528 \*Mrs. Rodgers. I should have -
- \*The Chairman. Apparently not on either -- oh, yes, Mr.
- 4530 Palmer.
- 4531 \*Mr. Palmer. Mr. Chairman --
- \*The Chairman. You are recognized for five minutes.
- 4533 \*Mr. Palmer. I move to strike the last word.
- \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized.
- 4535 \*Mr. Palmer. I yield additional time to the ranking
- 4536 member.
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. I thank the gentleman. I thank the
- 4538 gentleman for yielding.
- So it is my understanding that all six of these
- 4540 countries -- Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, and
- 4541 the United Kingdom -- use metrics which restrict access to
- 4542 treatments, and this legislation imports those very
- 4543 discriminatory drug pricing policies right here into the
- 4544 United States.
- It is remarkable to me that, despite the consistent
- 4546 opposition from patient advocates, promises from the
- 4547 Democrats' own political arm, and the Biden Administration's
- 4548 recent study on this issue, that my colleagues on this
- 4549 committee continue to pursue a policy that Speaker Pelosi -
- 4550 from Speaker Pelosi that fundamentally bakes quality-adjusted
- 4551 life years, QALYs, into the United States drug pricing

- 4552 system.
- I offer this amendment to provide us all an opportunity
- 4554 to safeguard the dignity and the lives of countless Americans
- 4555 with disabilities and other diseases.
- 4556 And I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman. Oh, Mr. -- I
- 4558 am sorry, Mr. Palmer?
- 4559 \*Mr. Palmer. I thank the gentlelady. I would like to
- 4560 add to this that, in my own research, and what is going on,
- 4561 particularly in the Canadian and British health care systems,
- 4562 as I articulated yesterday, there are certain classes of
- 4563 patients that are denied coverage. It depends on their age,
- 4564 their disabilities, their abilities.
- I mean, they are literally rationing cataract surgeries
- 4566 because of the age of the patients in the United Kingdom.
- 4567 We have examples here, in the United States. There was
- 4568 a lady named Barbara Wagner in Oregon who had cancer. She
- 4569 was able to get the drug she needed. The cancer went into
- 4570 remission. It came back. And when it came back, the Oregon
- 4571 health care system, the plan that she was on, would not cover
- 4572 the drug that she needed to prolong her life, but it would
- 4573 cover the drug for physician-assisted suicide.
- 4574 There was another example in California. A young lady
- 4575 -- I think her name was Stephanie Packer -- a young mother in
- 4576 her early thirties, a mother of three, kids, I think, aged --

- 4577 ranged from 7 to 13, cancer, had a drug that would have
- 4578 prolonged her life. The California health care plan that she
- 4579 was in would not cover the cancer drug, but it would cover
- 4580 the physician-assisted suicide drug, and her co-pay would
- 4581 have only been about \$1.60.
- So to the ranking member, you don't have to look at
- 4583 Europe, the United Kingdom, or Canada. You can look right
- 4584 here to see examples of what you are talking about.
- 4585 And I yield back.
- 4586 \*Mr. Bucshon. Mr. Palmer, this is Bucshon. Can you
- 4587 yield?
- 4588 \*Mr. Palmer. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman
- 4589 from Indiana.
- 4590 \*Mr. Bucshon. Thank you for yielding, I will be brief.
- I just want to say, as a physician, I have a strong
- 4592 moral objection for government bureaucrats to make a decision
- 4593 how valuable your life is or is not, and putting a dollar
- 4594 sign on everyone, and deciding who gets care and who doesn't.
- This is what happens when you have government-run health
- 4596 care to control costs. This is rationing in the worst
- 4597 possible way. I strongly support this amendment. And again,
- 4598 I have a strong moral objection to government bureaucrats
- 4599 deciding whose life is or is not valuable, and making
- 4600 coverage decisions based on it.
- 4601 I yield back to Mr. Palmer.

4602	*Mr. Palmer. I thank the gentleman. Do any of my other
4603	colleagues desire time?
4604	Hearing none, I yield back.
4605	*The Chairman. Thank you. I would like to move on,
4606	because we may have I know we have additional amendments.
4607	And again, as the day wears on, we may start losing people
4608	because of the holiday. And I would like everybody to be
4609	here and voting on everything. We still have the Medicaid
4610	I mean the Medicare title, as well.
4611	So in any case, Mrs the ranking member asked
4612	unanimous consent to include in the record a letter from the
4613	National Council on Disability to the House committees.
4614	So, without objection, so ordered.
4615	[The information follows:]
4616	
4617	********COMMITTEE INSERT******

- \*The Chairman. Now, can we move --
- 4620 \*Mr. Burgess. Mr. Chairman?
- 4621 \*Voice. No.
- 4622 \*The Chairman. Who is that?
- 4623 \*Voice. Move on.
- \*Mr. Burgess. Well, Burgess here. I was wondering if I
- 4625 could ask a question or two of counsel.
- \*The Chairman. Who is asking the question, which
- 4627 member?
- 4628 \*Mr. Burgess. Burgess.
- 4629 \*Voice. Dr. Burgess has a question for counsel.
- \*The Chairman. Dr. Burgess, would you mind -- I mean,
- 4631 we are going to run out of time here, you know, and some of
- 4632 the members who are of the Jewish faith are just going to not
- 4633 be able to vote. I hate to put it that way, but, you know,
- 4634 we still have the Medicare. So could we just move on, if
- 4635 that is all right?
- 4636 \*Mr. Burgess. Well, Mr. Chairman, these are important
- 4637 topics, and --
- 4638 \*The Chairman. I know.
- \*Mr. Burgess. That is -- you are running the committee,
- 4640 you are running the show.
- \*The Chairman. All right, I --
- 4642 \*Mr. Burgess. If that is --
- \*The Chairman. I yield to the gentleman. It is your

- 4644 right --
- \*Mr. Burgess. If that is how you want to do it --
- \*The Chairman. It is your right to ask a question, go
- 4647 ahead. The gentleman is recognized for five minutes.
- 4648 \*Mr. Burgess. Wait a minute. I have got incoming
- 4649 information. Yes? You don't want me to ask questions of
- 4650 counsel anymore?
- Okay. Mr. Chairman, I will reductantly yield back.
- 4652 These were terribly important questions, but we will leave
- 4653 them for the Rules Committee. Thank you, and I yield back.
- \*Mr. Dunn. Mr. Chairman?
- 4655 \*The Chairman. All right --
- 4656 \*Mr. Dunn. Dr. Dunn.
- \*The Chairman. Yes, Dr. Dunn.
- 4658 \*Mr. Dunn. Mr. Chairman, Dr. Dunn. I would like to --
- 4659 I feel moved to speak on this rather important subject.
- 4660 \*Voice. You better call Dr. Dunn.
- 4661 \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized.
- \*Voice. I said you better call Dr. Dunn, because he
- 4663 is --
- \*Mr. Dunn. Yes, I am going to be on -- I won't take all
- 4665 the time. So, Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word
- 4666 to speak in support of the amendment.
- 4667 I wholeheartedly support this amendment, and I encourage
- 4668 my colleagues to do so. Quality-adjusted life years and

- 4669 other similar measures that seek to assign a relative value
- 4670 to an individual's life have no place in the American health
- 4671 care system.
- This is personal to me. I am a surgeon of 35 years.
- 4673 And in nations where QALYs are used to inform coverage
- 4674 decisions of treatment that extends the life in a chronically
- 4675 ill or disabled patient is deemed worthless to society than
- 4676 treatment that restores health to young, healthy patients
- 4677 [sic].
- I remind committee members we are all dying. No one
- 4679 gets out of this life alive, and tomorrow is promised no one.
- 4680 American innovations brought our medical armamentarium,
- 4681 many remarkable therapies. Some are curative, others add
- 4682 longevity or quality of life. American patients should have
- 4683 access to all effective drugs. Our constituents want their
- 4684 doctors to come to their bedside and practice medicine, not
- 4685 public policy. They want the same measure of care for their
- 4686 child born with a disability as they do for a child born
- 4687 healthy. They want it for their mother, as much as they want
- 4688 it for themselves. For a doctor to do less than this is
- 4689 dehumanizing.
- To arbitrarily assign greater value to one person's life
- 4691 than another is a fundamentally anti-American concept, and
- 4692 flies in the face of our most sacred founding principles. We
- 4693 should reject all assessments of the value of human life by

- 4694 bureaucrats, period. Importing this type of socialist
- 4695 thinking is a grave mistake, a denial of our humanity.
- With that, Mr. Chairman, I encourage all of my
- 4697 colleagues in the strongest terms to reject all forms of
- 4698 quality-style metrics, and support this amendment.
- 4699 I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. The gentleman yields back.
- 4701 \*Mr. Cardenas. I would like to clarify for the record,
- 4702 Mr. Chairman.
- 4703 \*The Chairman. Mr. Cardenas?
- 4704 \*Mr. Cardenas. Yes. I would like to clarify for the
- 4705 record. There might have been some miscommunication. I
- 4706 heard you, as the chairman, encouraged Mr. Burgess if he
- 4707 would forego his questions. However, then I heard you
- 4708 recognize him for five minutes and, then I --
- 4709 \*The Chairman. No, no, he -- Mr. Cardenas, look. Let
- 4710 me -
- 4711 \*Mr. Cardenas. I need it clarified for the record.
- 4712 What took place, please?
- 4713 \*The Chairman. This is a free country. You have the
- 4714 right to ask a question if you want to. Mr. Burgess decided
- 4715 not to, because I and -
- 4716 \*Mr. Cardenas. I would like a clarification from Mr.
- 4717 Burgess if she -- if he realized that he was recognized for
- 4718 five minutes, because I heard a dialogue from him as though

- 4719 he was asked not to --
- \*The Chairman. He was asked not to, and he yielded
- 4721 back. But I am not going to preclude anybody who wants to be
- 4722 heard -
- 4723 \*Mr. Cardenas. No, no, I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. I am
- 4724 sorry, Mr. Chairman. I would like Mr. Burgess to clarify.
- 4725 \*Mr. Burgess. Mr. Chairman, just so the gentleman from
- 4726 California is clear, I didn't realize the questions had
- 4727 already been asked by the ranking member. So in order to
- 4728 avoid a duplication, and being embarrassed, I withdrew the
- 4729 questions.
- 4730 \*Mr. Cardenas. Thank you. Thank you so much to my
- 4731 colleague for clarification. Thank you so much. Thank you.
- \*The Chairman. All right, I want everyone to understand
- 4733 we are not stopping you from asking a question. It is just
- 4734 that we are going to run out of time because of Yom Kippur,
- 4735 okay? And then we don't want people to not be able to
- 4736 participate.
- Okay, now I am going to move to the Rodgers amendment,
- 4738 unless anyone else has their hand up, virtually or otherwise.
- 4739 So a recorded vote is ordered on the Rodgers amendment.
- 4740 Those in favor of the amendment will say aye, those
- 4741 opposed --
- 4742 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Aye.
- \*The Chairman. Well, not yet. We are going to record

- 4744 it, right?
- 4745 [Laughter.]
- 4746 \*The Chairman. You want to record it?
- 4747 All right. Those in favor of the amendment will say
- 4748 aye, those opposed will say no, and the clerk shall call the
- 4749 roll.
- 4750 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- 4751 \*Mr. Rush. Rush votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes no.
- 4753 Ms. Eshoo?
- 4754 \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes no.
- 4756 Ms. DeGette?
- \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes no.
- 4758 \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 4759 Mr. Doyle?
- 4760 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes no.
- 4762 Ms. Schakowsky?
- 4763 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 4765 Mr. Butterfield?
- 4766 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- 4768 Ms. Matsui?

- 4769 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes no.
- 4771 Ms. Castor?
- 4772 \*Ms. Castor. [Inaudible.]
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes no.
- 4774 Mr. Sarbanes?
- 4775 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes no.
- 4776 \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
- 4777 Mr. McNerney?
- 4778 \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes no.
- 4780 Mr. Welch?
- 4781 \*Mr. Welch. [Inaudible.]
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes no.
- 4783 Mr. Tonko?
- [No response.]
- 4785 \*Voice. They are going to call me on this.
- 4786 \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke?
- [No response.]
- 4788 \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader?
- 4789 \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader from Oregon votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 4791 Mr. Cardenas?
- 4792 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas, representing California, votes
- 4793 no.

- \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes no.
- 4795 Mr. Ruiz?
- 4796 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes no.
- 4798 Mr. Peters?
- 4799 \*Mr. Peters. Peters votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- 4801 Mrs. Dingell?
- 4802 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes no.
- 4803 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes no.
- 4804 Mr. Veasey?
- [No response.]
- 4806 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster?
- 4807 \*Ms. Kuster. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 4809 Ms. Kelly?
- 4810 \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly is a no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes no.
- 4812 Ms. Barragan?
- 4813 \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes no.
- 4815 Mr. McEachin?
- 4816 \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin of Virginia votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes no.
- 4818 Ms. Blunt Rochester?

- 4819 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 4821 Mr. Soto?
- 4822 \*Mr. Soto. [Inaudible.]
- 4823 \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes no.
- 4824 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 4825 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes no.
- 4826 \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- 4827 Miss Rice?
- 4828 \*Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
- 4830 Ms. Craig?
- 4831 \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes no.
- 4833 Ms. Schrier?
- \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes no.
- 4835 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes no.
- 4836 Mrs. Trahan?
- 4837 \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes no.
- 4838 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes no.
- 4839 Mrs. Fletcher?
- \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes no.
- 4842 Mrs. Rodgers?
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. [Inaudible.]

- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- 4845 Mr. Upton?
- 4846 \*Mr. Upton. Upton votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes aye.
- 4848 Mr. Burgess?
- 4849 \*Mr. Burgess. Burgess votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 4851 Mr. Scalise?
- 4852 \*Mr. Scalise. Scalise votes aye.
- 4853 \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- 4854 Mr. Latta?
- 4855 [No response.]
- 4856 \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta?
- 4857 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes aye.
- 4858 \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes aye.
- 4859 Mr. Guthrie?
- 4860 \*Mr. Guthrie. [Inaudible.]
- 4861 \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes aye.
- 4862 Mr. McKinley?
- 4863 \*Mr. McKinley. [Inaudible.]
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes aye.
- 4865 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 4866 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 4868 Mr. Griffith?

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4869
          *Mr. Griffith. [Inaudible.]
4870
          *The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes aye.
          Mr. Bilirakis?
4871
4872
           *Mr. Bilirakis. [Inaudible.]
4873
           *The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
4874
          Mr. Johnson?
4875
          *Mr. Johnson. [Inaudible.]
4876
           *The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
4877
           Mr. Long?
4878
           [No response.]
4879
           *The Clerk. Mr. Long?
4880
           *Mr. Long. Aye.
4881
          *The Clerk. Mr. Long votes aye.
          Mr. Bucshon?
4882
           *Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon from Indiana votes aye.
4883
           *The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes aye.
4884
4885
           Mr. Mullin?
4886
           *Mr. Mullin. Aye.
4887
           *The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes aye.
4888
           Mr. Hudson?
4889
           *Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes aye.
4890
           *The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes aye.
4891
           Mr. Walberg?
4892
           *Mr. Walberg. Aye.
```

\*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes aye.

- 4894 Mr. Carter?
- 4895 \*Mr. Carter. Carter from Georgia votes aye.
- 4896 \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- 4897 Mr. Duncan?
- 4898 \*Mr. Duncan. Mr. Duncan from South Carolina votes aye.
- 4899 \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes aye.
- 4900 Mr. Palmer?
- 4901 \*Mr. Palmer. [Inaudible.]
- 4902 \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes aye.
- 4903 Mr. Dunn?
- 4904 \*Mr. Dunn. Dunn votes aye.
- 4905 \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes aye.
- 4906 Mr. Curtis?
- 4907 \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes aye.
- 4908 \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes aye.
- 4909 Mrs. Lesko?
- 4910 \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes aye.
- 4912 Mr. Pence?
- 4913 \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes aye.
- 4915 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 4916 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 4917 \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 4918 Mr. Joyce?

- 4919 \*Mr. Joyce. [Inaudible.]
- 4920 \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes aye.
- 4921 Mr. Armstrong?
- 4922 \*Mr. Armstrong. Yes.
- 4923 \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes aye.
- 4924 Mr. Pallone?
- 4925 \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes no.
- 4926 \*The Clerk. Mr. Pallone votes no.
- 4927 \*Mr. Tonko. Mr. Chairman?
- 4928 \*The Chairman. Yes?
- 4929 \*Mr. Tonko. How am I recorded?
- \*The Chairman. Mr. Tonko, how is he recorded?
- 4931 \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko is not recorded.
- 4932 \*The Chairman. Tonko from New York votes no.
- 4933 \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes no.
- 4934 \*The Chairman. Is there anyone else who wants to be
- 4935 recorded?
- 4936 Madam Clerk who is missing?
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke is not recorded, and neither is
- 4938 Mr. Veasey.
- 4939 \*The Chairman. Are they available, to our knowledge?
- No? Those are the only two?
- 4941 \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- 4942 \*The Chairman. All right. The clerk will report the
- 4943 tally on the Rodgers amendment.

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4944
            *The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
4945
      26 and the nays were 30.
4946
            *The Chairman. Okay, the vote on the Rodgers amendment
4947
      is 26 ayes to 30 noes, the amendment is not agreed to.
4948
           Now we have more amendments to the amendment in the
4949
      nature of a substitute.
            *Mr. Guthrie. Mr. Chair?
4950
4951
           *The Chairman. Yes.
4952
           *Mr. Guthrie. I have an amendment at the desk.
           *The Chairman. Mr. Guthrie?
4953
4954
           *Mr. Guthrie. Amendment 28.
4955
           *The Chairman. You have that one, Madam Clerk?
4956
           *The Clerk. Yes, sir.
4957
            *The Chairman. All right, the clerk will report the
4958
      Guthrie amendment.
4959
            *The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
4960
      a substitute to committee print for Subtitle E relating to
4961
      drug pricing, offered by Mr. Guthrie of Kentucky.
4962
            *The Chairman. And Madam Clerk, without objection, the
4963
      reading of the Guthrie amendment will be dispensed with.
            [The amendment of Mr. Guthrie follows:]
4964
4965
```

\*

4966

- 4968 \*The Chairman. And the gentleman is recognized for five
- 4969 minutes.
- 4970 \*Mr. Guthrie. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This amendment
- 4971 is about the rebate rule and insulin.
- We had a hearing last Congress, and we had insulin
- 4973 manufacturers in this room, insulin manufacturers. We had
- 4974 PBMs, we had health insurance companies, we had retail
- 4975 pharmacies. And in the very end we had someone who is
- 4976 diabetic who buys insulin. And the whole hearing was about
- 4977 the rising cost of insulin on the lady at the far -- to my
- 4978 right, far end of the table.
- And as we were having the hearing, there was a whole
- 4980 group of people going back and forth of each level of the
- 4981 industry talking about rebates, discounts, all the other
- 4982 things that go on in the pharmaceutical world. But in the
- 4983 end, the lady that was diabetic said, "Well, I am -- all
- 4984 these discounts are out there, but I am not seeing them.''
- 4985 And then the argument was made by all the other groups
- 4986 sitting there that, if the discounts and the rebates were
- 4987 passed on to the consumer, it would raise the price of health
- 4988 insurance for everybody else, because that money would come
- 4989 out of the system and go to the consumer. And the majority
- 4990 here today is affirming that.
- 4991 So what President Trump did in the Trump Administration
- 4992 is said, not just for people that are diabetics, but rebate.

- The rebates within the pharmaceutical system will go to the consumer.
- So we have had a lot of talk back and forth. I think we
- 4996 had somebody say that one in four diabetics have to ration
- 4997 their medicine. So we have had a lot of talk today about
- 4998 making drug prices affordable for the people using the
- 4999 pharmaceuticals, the prescriptions, and we can do that. So
- 5000 -- but part of this provision is to take \$120 billion that
- 5001 were going to go to the consumers, and put that money back
- 5002 into the system so it can subsidize everything else.
- 5003 So the lady said -- the lady was diabetic -- finally
- 5004 said, "I figured out, sitting here, that, because I am -- the
- 5005 diabetics are subsidizing everything else.'' And that is
- 5006 exactly what the provision in this bill does. It takes the
- 5007 money, the rebates that were going to go to the consumer, and
- 5008 puts them back into the system, and spends it on other
- 5009 things.
- And so I know that Dr. Burgess has worked on this very
- 5011 strongly -- he talked about it earlier. What my amendment
- 5012 does, it doesn't repeal the entire rebate, taking the rebates
- 5013 from the consumers into -- back into the system. But what --
- 5014 it does exempt diabetics, or people who purchase insulin. So
- 5015 insulin is exempted from this undoing of the rebate rule, so
- 5016 it will make insulin more affordable. Money will go into the
- 5017 pockets of the diabetic, and they won't be subsidizing other

- 5018 spending. And that is what my amendment does.
- 5019 And I will -- if nobody wants my time, I will yield
- 5020 back.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Guthrie. Does anyone
- 5022 else want to speak on the Guthrie amendment?
- Hearing none, we will go to a recorded vote.
- \*Ms. Schrier. Mr. Chairman?
- \*The Chairman. Oh, Mrs. Rodgers?
- 5026 \*Ms. Schrier. I would like to strike the last word.
- \*The Chairman. Oh, Ms. -- yes, the gentlewoman is
- 5028 recognized for five minutes.
- 5029 \*Ms. Schrier. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last
- 5030 word and speak in opposition to this amendment.
- You are right, insulin costs way too much, and I am
- 5032 really glad that my Republican colleagues and Mr. Guthrie
- 5033 agree with that sentiment.
- And I get that the goal here is to make insulin more
- 5035 affordable. And, as a person with type one diabetes whose
- 5036 life depends on insulin, I am very grateful. This issue is
- 5037 really personal to me. In fact, the cost of my insulin --
- 5038 and I will show you the size of the bottle here -- this is
- 5039 the same type brand I have used for the past 25 years, and it
- 5040 has increased from less than \$40 a bottle to over 300, and
- 5041 that is for a 10 milliliter bottle. This is two teaspoons of
- 5042 medication, and that is less than one month's supply for most

- 5043 of us.
- Now, as Mr. Welch noted way back at the beginning of
- 5045 this discussion, there is just no plausible reason for such
- 5046 egregious price increases, other than corporate greed. There
- 5047 is no explanation. And that is why the proposal on this
- 5048 amendment is just the wrong way to address insulin pricing.
- 5049 It allows insulin manufacturers to continue to raise prices
- 5050 with impunity, knowing that all of us will just continue to
- 5051 pay it in one form or another. And it rewards that greed, it
- 5052 feeds that greed, rather than stopping it.
- And the underlying bill is the way to bring costs down
- 5054 for patients. It gives Medicare the power to negotiate lower
- 5055 prices, so that Americans can afford the medications they
- 5056 need. And frankly, it slaps the hand of the manufacturers
- 5057 who are gouging American consumers, rather than rewarding
- 5058 them.
- 5059 Insulins, I should note, are at the top of the list for
- 5060 the medications to be negotiated. So I would recommend a no
- 5061 vote on this amendment, and yes on the underlying bill.
- 5062 Thank you, and I yield back.
- 5063 \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman. Is that it?
- 5064 Can we go to a vote on the Guthrie amendment?
- Okay. A recorded vote is ordered on the Guthrie
- 5066 amendment. Those in favor will say aye. Those opposed will
- 5067 say no, and the Clerk shall call the roll.

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*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
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- 5069 \*Mr. Rush. Rush votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes no.
- 5071 Ms. Eshoo?
- \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes no.
- Ms. DeGette?
- 5075 \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 5077 Mr. Doyle?
- 5078 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes no.
- 5080 Ms. Schakowsky?
- \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 5083 Mr. Butterfield?
- 5084 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- 5086 Ms. Matsui?
- 5087 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes no.
- 5089 Ms. Castor?
- 5090 \*Ms. Castor. No.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes no.
- 5092 Mr. Sarbanes?

- [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney?
- \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes no.
- 5097 Mr. Welch?
- \*Mr. Welch. Mr. Welch votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes no.
- 5100 Mr. Tonko?
- 5101 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko from New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes no.
- 5103 Ms. Clarke?
- \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke, I am having trouble seeing you.
- \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke votes no. [Inaudible] there.
- 5107 \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke, I will come back to you.
- 5108 Mr. Schrader?
- \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader from Oregon votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 5111 Mr. Cardenas?
- 5112 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 5113 no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes no.
- 5115 Mr. Ruiz?
- 5116 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes no.

- 5118 Mr. Peters?
- 5119 \*Mr. Peters. Votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- 5121 Mrs. Dingell?
- 5122 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes no.
- 5124 Mr. Veasey?
- \*Mr. Veasey. Veasey votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes no.
- 5127 Ms. Kuster?
- 5128 \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 5130 Ms. Kelly?
- \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes no.
- 5133 Ms. Barragan?
- \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes no.
- 5136 Mr. McEachin?
- \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin of Virginia votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes no.
- 5139 Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- 5140 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 5142 Mr. Soto?

- 5143 \*Mr. Soto. Soto votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes no.
- 5145 Mr. O'Halleran?
- [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Miss Rice?
- \*Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
- 5150 Ms. Craig?
- \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes no.
- 5153 Mrs. Trahan?
- \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes no.
- 5156 Mrs. Fletcher?
- \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes no.
- 5159 Ms. Schrier?
- 5160 \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes no.
- 5162 Mrs. Rodgers?
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- 5165 Mr. Upton?
- 5166 \*Mr. Upton. Votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes aye.

- 5168 Mr. Burgess?
- 5169 \*Mr. Burgess. Votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 5171 Mr. Scalise?
- \*Mr. Scalise. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- 5174 Mr. Latta?
- \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes aye.
- 5177 Mr. Guthrie?
- 5178 \*Mr. Guthrie. Guthrie votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes aye.
- 5180 Mr. McKinley?
- \*Mr. McKinley. McKinley votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes aye.
- 5183 Mr. Kinzinger?
- \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 5186 Mr. Griffith?
- 5187 \*Mr. Griffith. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes aye.
- 5189 Mr. Bilirakis?
- 5190 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 5192 Mr. Johnson?

- 5193 \*Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 5195 Mr. Long?
- 5196 \*Mr. Long. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes aye.
- 5198 Mr. Bucshon?
- 5199 \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon from Indiana votes aye.
- 5200 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes aye.
- 5201 Mr. Mullin?
- 5202 \*Mr. Mullin. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes aye.
- 5204 Mr. Hudson?
- 5205 \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes aye.
- 5207 Mr. Walberg?
- 5208 \*Mr. Walberg. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes aye.
- 5210 Mr. Carter?
- 5211 \*Mr. Carter. Carter of Georgia votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- 5213 Mr. Duncan?
- 5214 \*Mr. Duncan. Mr. Duncan of South Carolina votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes aye.
- 5216 Mr. Palmer?
- 5217 \*Mr. Palmer. Aye.

- \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes aye.
- 5219 Mr. Dunn?
- 5220 \*Mr. Dunn. Dunn votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes aye.
- 5222 Mr. Curtis?
- 5223 \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes aye.
- 5225 Mrs. Lesko?
- 5226 \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes aye.
- 5228 Mr. Pence?
- 5229 \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes aye.
- 5231 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 5232 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 5234 Mr. Joyce?
- 5235 \*Mr. Joyce. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes aye.
- 5237 Mr. Armstrong?
- 5238 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes aye.
- 5240 Chairman Pallone?
- 5241 \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Chairman Pallone votes no.

- 5243 So let's see if --
- 5244 \*Mr. Sarbanes. How is Sarbanes recorded?
- 5245 \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes is not recorded.
- \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke votes no.
- \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
- \*Ms. Clarke. Can you hear and see me now?
- 5250 \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke?
- \*Ms. Clarke. Can you hear and see me now?
- 5252 \*The Clerk. Yes, ma'am.
- 5253 \*Ms. Clarke. Ms. Clarke of New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes no.
- 5255 Mr. O'Halleran is not recorded.
- 5256 \*Mr. O'Halleran. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- 5258 \*The Chairman. Is that everyone, Madam Clerk?
- 5259 \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- 5260 \*The Chairman. All right. So on the Guthrie
- 5261 amendment, would you please report the tally?
- \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 5263 26 and the nays were 32.
- \*The Chairman. So okay. The vote on the Guthrie
- 5265 amendment is 26 ayes to 32 noes, and the amendment is not
- 5266 agreed to.
- 5267 Do we have additional -- Mr. Peters, we will go to a

- 5268 Democratic amendment.
- 5269 Mr. Peters is recognized. Do you have the amendment at
- 5270 the desk?
- \*Mr. Peters. Mr. Chairman, I have amendment PETECA 36.
- 5272 Should I proceed?
- \*The Clerk. I have the amendment.
- \*The Chairman. All right. The Clerk will report the
- 5275 amendment.
- \*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature
- 5277 of a substitute to committee print for Subtitle E relating
- 5278 to drug pricing of the committee print offered by Mr. Peters
- 5279 of California.
- 5280 \*The Chairman. Without objection, the reading of the
- 5281 Peters amendment will be dispensed with, and the gentleman
- 5282 from California is recognized for five minutes.
- 5283 \*Mr. Peters. Mr. Chairman, earlier I voiced the
- 5284 concerns that I have with the existing proposed H.R. 3. I
- 5285 have an amendment that outlines the direction I think we
- 5286 should be going in to strike the balance between
- 5287 affordability, which we all agree about, and maintaining
- 5288 incentive for innovation.
- 5289 It sounds like somebody is unmuted, Mr. Chairman.
- 5290 This amendment is from the bill I introduced with Mr.
- 5291 Schrader and, I think, infers hard work on it.
- 5292 The amendment has three main things to lower drug

- 5293 prices for consumers, which should be our top priority when
- 5294 approaching drug pricing reform, and so I do not forget it,
- 5295 the amendment ensures that no one pays more than \$50 for
- 5296 insulin in a month.
- First, we enable the Secretary of HHS to negotiate
- 5298 discounts between 25 and 35 percent for drugs that no longer
- 5299 have exclusivity for which there is no competition in
- 5300 Medicare Part B.
- 5301 Why Medicare Part B? According to a study by Milliman,
- 5302 patients can face extreme cost for Medicare Part B
- 5303 medications. Among blood cancer patients, lymphoma
- 5304 patients, multiple myeloma patients, their costs are
- 5305 regularly in the tens of thousands of dollars for treatment.
- Spending on Part B anti-cancer therapies is
- 5307 significantly higher than spending on anti-cancer therapy in
- 5308 Part B in the first year after diagnosis. For some of the
- 5309 most expensive leukemia patients, the difference in spending
- 5310 can be more than \$100,000 from Part B to Part D.
- As we continue to see the introduction of biologics to
- 5312 treat and cure cancers and other highly complex diseases, we
- 5313 can expect Part B spending to increase.
- The cure for Hepatitis C, which was mentioned, Sovaldi,
- 5315 came out at \$80,000, a high price tag, yes, but a money
- 5316 saver for the health care system on chronic treatments and
- 5317 liver transplants even at that price.

- And as with Sovaldi, if there is competition, that
- 5319 competition should result in price reduction, in that case
- 5320 from 80,000 to less than \$40,000 to cure Hepatitis C, and
- 5321 that is the way the market is intended to work.
- 5322 When there is no competition, the government should not
- 5323 be held hostage by a market failure. We need to continue to
- 5324 reward innovation and encourage to introduce treatments and
- 5325 cures, but we have to step in and address that market
- 5326 failure.
- 5327 My amendment strikes that balance by allowing
- 5328 negotiations on products that are off-patent and which lack
- 5329 competition.
- 5330 Second, my amendment redesigns the Part B program to
- 5331 limit patients' liabilities along the lines of the \$2,000
- 5332 cap in H.R. 3. We suggest a \$1,200 cap for seniors earning
- 5333 less than 300 percent of the poverty level, 1,800 for
- 5334 seniors earning between 300 and 400 percent of the poverty
- 5335 level, 1,800 for seniors earning between 300 and 400 percent
- of the poverty level, and a \$3,100 cap for those above 400
- 5337 percent of the poverty level.
- Now, for high-cost patients, the ability to smooth
- 5339 those payments over the course of a year, that means that
- 5340 those at less than 300 percent of the Federal poverty, their
- drug costs would be capped at \$100 a month.
- 5342 Third, our proposal changes how patient cost sharing is

- 5343 calculated. Currently, patients with a 25 percent
- 5344 coinsurance pay their share based on a list price of the
- 5345 drugs. Our manufacturers and plans negotiate rebates that
- 5346 can drastically lower the cost of the drug.
- For instance, earlier this year, Eli Lilly, in
- 5348 testimony before this committee, revealed that one of its
- 5349 insulin products has a \$600 per month list price, but with
- 5350 rebates the net cost is about \$135.
- 5351 Under a 25 percent cost share based on the list price,
- 5352 the patient would pay \$150 for their insulin rather than the
- 5353 \$34 they would pay for it based on the net price.
- And, finally, my amendment assures that we control
- 5355 growth in the cost of drugs similar to setting out-of-pocket
- 5356 costs for seniors. There is bipartisan agreement around
- 5357 this principle.
- 5358 The amendment would create an inflation rebate that
- 5359 would require manufacturers to rebate price increases that
- 5360 outpace inflation back to the government beginning in 2016.
- 5361 This creates downward pressure on the rate of growth in
- 5362 drug prices and will help continue to hold manufacturers
- 5363 accountable.
- Additionally, my amendment further holds manufacturers
- 5365 accountable by cracking down on anticompetitive prices like
- 5366 pay for delay, pan ticketing, and product copying to prevent
- 5367 competitors from entering the market and bringing prices

- 5368 down.
- But together this amendment is a good deal for seniors
- 5370 and ensures that they are able to afford their drugs. It
- 5371 holds manufacturers accountable for excessively increasing
- 5372 prices and anticompetitive practices and allows the
- 5373 government to negotiate prices where the market has failed,
- 5374 and it does these things while continuing to allow the
- 5375 investments, incentive in investment and innovative
- 5376 treatments and cures we need.
- I just want to disassociate myself from some of the
- 5378 things I heard Republicans say about socialized medicine. I
- 5379 do not support these things. Some of these things are very,
- 5380 very much opposed by Pharma. In fact, the fallback of
- 5381 profits from 2016 is the thing they hate second most about
- 5382 H.R. 3 after the national reference pricing.
- 5383 But I want to work with my colleagues to get something
- 5384 that we can agree on that makes sense, that lowers drug
- 5385 costs as we have promised as Democrats, and also preserves
- 5386 innovation.
- 5387 Under an agreement with the chairman, after Mr.
- 5388 Schrader speaks to it, I plan to withdraw this amendment,
- 5389 but I am committed to working together with you all to make
- 5390 a real difference for our constituents, while maintaining
- 5391 American innovation and jobs.
- 5392 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5393	[The Amendment	PETECA 36	of Mr.	Peters	follows:]
5394					
5395	*********COMMITTEE	INSERT***	*****		
5396					

- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- And I appreciate he wants to withdraw, but I know that
- 5399 there are other -- well, I could be wrong -- but I think
- 5400 there are some other members that wanted to speak on it.
- 5401 But let's start with a Republican.
- Does anyone on your side before he withdraws?
- Mr. Schrader, you do not have to speak, but I thought
- 5404 your hand was up.
- 5405 \*Mr. Schrader. Well, I kind of would like to, yes.
- 5406 \*The Chairman. All right.
- \*Mr. Schrader. Well, I want to thank you, Mr.
- 5408 Chairman.
- I rise to speak in support of my amendment with Mr.
- 5410 Peters.
- For many years now, I have been committed to addressing
- 5412 drug prices in a meaningful way, and Americans, regardless
- 5413 of political affiliation, have made it clear Congress has to
- 5414 actually act and get something done.
- 5415 The legislative process is intentionally deliberative,
- 5416 and there is demonstrated ability to address the high cost
- 5417 of prescription drugs in a bipartisan, bicameral fashion,
- 5418 and we have done so in a number of areas already.
- In the last Congress, we took a partisan approach in
- 5420 this chamber to pass H.R. 3, despite bipartisan efforts in
- 5421 the Senate from both the Finance and Health Committees.

- 5422 While I reluctantly participated in that process, it was not
- 5423 without making clear my reservations for the mechanisms in
- 5424 the bill.
- Medicare should be able to negotiate drug prices,
- 5426 absolutely. We do so in Medicaid. We do so in the VA.
- 5427 But we should not be using an international pricing
- 5428 index or an excise tax that is so harsh that it hardly
- 5429 qualifies as negotiation, as we have heard, and according to
- 5430 the Congressional Budget Office, stifles innovation.
- 5431 With a 95 percent excise tax, industry would have to
- 5432 abide by whatever the Secretary's determination of price is
- 5433 or face going out of business. We do not have that type of
- 5434 penalty attached anywhere else where we negotiate prices.
- 5435 That is an unacceptable solution to the high cost of
- 5436 drugs, sets up a vicious cycle of killing jobs and
- 5437 innovation that drives cures for these rare diseases that we
- 5438 had no opportunity to deal with before.
- 5439 And it would have prevented us from being at the
- 5440 forefront of the COVID-19 vaccine development.
- 5441 I would also point out that H.R. 3 has failed twice.
- 5442 It has no chance of passing the United States Senate. The
- 5443 amendment before you today reflects an updated version of a
- 5444 bipartisan proposal that came from Senators Grassley and
- 5445 Wyden out of the Finance Committee in 2019.
- And the bill also adds and includes an opportunity to

- 5447 negotiate drug prices on most expensive drugs on the market
- 5448 that Representative Peters talked about, Medicare Part D.
- 5449 HHS has found that over the 2006 to 2017 period,
- 5450 Medicare fee-for-service Part B drug spending per enrollee
- 5451 grew at an eight percent annual level, more than twice as
- 5452 high as Part D and three times as high as the Nation's
- 5453 overall retail drug spending.
- 5454 I believe government should intervene when there is
- 5455 market failure. We cannot sustain that growth rate.
- Medicare currently pays 106 percent of the average
- 5457 sales price for Part B drugs. In our bill, it goes down to
- 5458 65 percent, already a guaranteed discount for those drugs
- 5459 outside of their exclusivity period.
- 5460 Since beneficiaries pay a coinsurance of 20 percent on
- 5461 these drugs, their savings could be life changing for anyone
- 5462 needing to use any of these innovative drugs.
- 5463 Data from 2013 shows that the range of costs that a
- 5464 beneficiary currently pays on Part B drugs ranges from about
- \$2,000 to over \$100,000. That is untenable. We need to
- 5466 act.
- 5467 While my major concerns lie with negotiation provisions
- 5468 in the drug pricing title before us today, I am also very
- 5469 concerned we have not taken advantage of the two-year period
- 5470 to improve policies that were initially rushed through the
- 5471 committee process in 2019. My amendment today addresses a

- 5472 lot of those changes.
- 5473 This amendment includes policy to provide an out-of-
- 5474 pocket cap, as Rep. Peters talked about, Medicare Part D,
- 5475 that offers more help for seniors -- they need it most --
- 5476 than any other proposal out there, including the one before
- 5477 us today.
- 5478 One of my greatest concerns has been with the
- 5479 exorbitant increases in the cost of medications that have
- 5480 long been on the market. In just four years, the cost of
- 5481 insulin has doubled. We heard good testimony to that
- 5482 effect, and that is unconscionable, should not happen. I
- 5483 use it a lot in my veterinary practice. It used to be very
- 5484 affordable.
- 5485 To that end, our amendment tackles insulin directly by
- 5486 capping out-of-pocket cost at \$50 a month, and for the
- 5487 first-time seniors will really benefit with the rebate
- 5488 system and see a significant decrease at the drug counter
- 5489 because we ensure that cost sharing is based on these
- 5490 discounts, not the list price.
- 5491 We also maintain the inflationary rebate provisions
- 5492 like those in Grassley-Wyden that limit price increases to
- 5493 virtually the same as inflation, gaining by the industry to
- 5494 extend patent life, keep generics and biosimilars off
- 5495 markets, and other loopholes in the approval process or the
- 5496 reason we have so many high-cost, single course drugs.

- 5497 The system is broken, but rather than uproot it
- 5498 entirely, we take the necessary steps to fix it. All of
- 5499 these proposals have had bipartisan, bicameral support and
- 5500 are included in our legislation.
- I support Mr. Peters' intention to withdraw today, but
- 5502 I sincerely hope this is generally the beginning of a
- 5503 conversation on drug pricing policy that can actually be
- 5504 signed into law. For too long seniors and families across
- 5505 my home State of Oregon, across America struggle to afford
- 5506 the prescriptions they need to live.
- We were elected to do better, and I think we can do
- 5508 better, Mr. Chairman.
- 5509 And I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. The gentleman yields back.
- Is there anyone on the Republican side who wants to
- 5512 comment on the Peters amendment? I guess it is the Peters-
- 5513 Schrader amendment.
- [No response.]
- \*The Chairman. All right. I am just going to
- 5516 strike --
- \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas.
- \*The Chairman. Yes?
- \*Mr. Cardenas. I request to be recognized.
- 5520 \*Mr. Peters. I would like to withdraw my amendment.
- \*Mr. Cardenas. And strike the last word.

- \*The Chairman. Mr. Cardenas is recognized for five
- 5523 minutes.
- \*Mr. Cardenas. Before you do that, Mr. Peters, thank
- 5525 you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to strike the last word on
- 5526 this amendment. I will be brief, less than 30 seconds.
- I just wanted to concur with everything that Mr. Peters
- 5528 and Mr. Schrader just spoke of and to say that I agree with
- 5529 them that we all want to lower prescription drug costs to
- 5530 all Americans and that we need to be very forthright about
- how we are going to make that happen.
- 5532 And with that I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. I would ask you not to yield back, if
- 5534 that is all right, and yield to me just briefly as well, if
- 5535 that is all right.
- 5536 \*Mr. Cardenas. Yes. Yes, I yield to you, Mr.
- 5537 Chairman.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Cardenas.
- 5539 I just wanted to say again I appreciate the fact that
- 5540 the gentlemen are going to withdraw this amendment.
- 5541 The biggest problem I have with this substitute is that
- 5542 it only allows the Federal Government to negotiate for the
- 5543 Part D Medicare Program drugs. Most of the drugs that we
- are concerned about and that have high cost and no
- 5545 competition are in the Medicare Part D.
- 5546 And the fact of the matter is that, you know, in our

- 5547 meetings with the Senate, they do intend to allow for
- 5548 negotiations with Part D, which is, of course, where the
- 5549 prohibition is. The prohibition when the Part D program was
- 5550 created was in Part D, and that is where most of the drugs
- 5551 are.
- And this substitute does not provide for negotiation of
- 5553 Part D. So in that respect it will be very difficult to
- 5554 support something that does not do that because that is an
- important part of what we are trying to accomplish.
- 5556 The other thing is the amendment also sets a higher
- 5557 out-of-pocket threshold for many Part D beneficiaries than
- 5558 the underlying bill, and depending on your income, that
- 5559 would leave beneficiaries exposed to more cost and also the
- 5560 lack of enforcement.
- But, again, I do not want to get into that. I
- 5562 appreciate the fact that the gentleman is withdrawing it.
- 5563 am just going to make one final plea. I will not say it
- 5564 again, which is that I do believe that we are going to have
- 5565 a provision in this reconciliation bill with the Senate
- 5566 support that will pay us, that will address drug pricing,
- 5567 and I would really like to have you at the table over the
- 5568 next couple of weeks as we negotiate this, and that is why I
- 5569 am asking you to vote with us to move forward on the
- 5570 underlying bill.
- I understand that you have an alternative and you are

- 5572 going to withdraw it, but it would be very helpful to us if
- 5573 we could have your support in moving forward if that were
- 5574 possible.
- And with that I yield back to Mr. Cardenas.
- 5576 Mr. Cardenas, it is your time.
- \*Mr. Cardenas. Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. You yield back.
- Is there any further discussion other than -- well, he
- 5580 is going to withdraw the amendment.
- 5581 Mr. Peters withdraws the amendment at this time?
- \*Mr. Peters. I withdraw the amendment, Mr. Chairman.
- 5583 Thank you.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you.
- Now, Mr. Guthrie, you have an amendment?
- \*Mr. Guthrie. I do have an amendment at the desk,
- 5587 Number 2.
- \*The Chairman. Another Guthrie amendment. All right.
- 5589 \*Mr. Guthrie. May wife's amendment, and I will be
- 5590 brief.
- \*The Chairman. No, I know. I am just kidding. I know
- 5592 what you are doing.
- So let's ask if the Clerk has that, the second Guthrie
- 5594 amendment.
- 5595 \*The Clerk. Yes, sir, I do.
- \*The Chairman. Would the Clerk please report the

- 5597 Guthrie amendment?
- \*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature
- 5599 of a substitute to committee print for Subtitle E relating
- 5600 to drug pricing, offered by Mr. Guthrie of Kentucky. In the
- 5601 section 1192(d)(1) --
- \*The Chairman. Without objection, the reading of the
- 5603 Guthrie amendment will be dispensed with, and the gentleman
- 5604 is recognized for five minutes.
- 5605 \*Mr. Guthrie. Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- I will not use the five. I will use just a few
- 5607 minutes.
- The biggest concern we have with the provisions of this
- 5609 bill is what it will do to innovation, and I do not think I
- 5610 could explain it any better or more eloquently than Mr.
- 5611 Peters just did from California in his previous time. So I
- 5612 will let it stand at that.
- I will say that we had a hearing in this room on
- 5614 neurodegenerative disease. We had Parkinson's. We had
- 5615 Huntington's Disease and all the other people come before
- 5616 us, and we know that these are devastating diseases. We
- 5617 know for particular Alzheimer's it is devastating on the
- 5618 patients. It is devastating on the family that has to care
- 5619 for the patients.
- And by 2050, it is estimated to cost the Federal
- 5621 Government a trillion dollars.

- So if we look at the overall effect on innovation, we
- are opposed to this bill altogether because of its overall
- 5624 effect, but we do know and it has been already explained so
- 5625 I will not re-explain it except to say this.
- We believe we should carve out neurodegenerative
- 5627 diseases. They are complex. The NIH is currently going
- 5628 through the Brain Project that is going to generate all
- 5629 kinds of research that can come to other business and be
- 5630 commercialized.
- And as Mr. Peters said, if there are not investors
- 5632 willing to invest and bring it to the marketplace, we can
- 5633 move forward, and we hear a lot of times talking about, and
- 5634 I agree, all of us are frustrated and it seems like the U.S.
- 5635 taxpayer, the U.S. consumer is subsidizing the world's
- 5636 innovation because other countries do not do it.
- 5637 But the question is do we not do it. If we do not do
- 5638 it, we are not going to have it. And so there needs to be a
- 5639 way to get other countries to participate more, but we do
- 5640 not want to lose what we have because you get what you pay
- 5641 for, and if you want a European style system, you will get
- 5642 European style results and European style innovation.
- So this amendment carves out neurodegenerative diseases
- 5644 from the negotiation process so we can have innovation in
- 5645 that space. That is what this amendment does.
- 5646 And I will yield back.

5647	[The Amendment No. 2 of Mr. Guthrie follows:]
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5649	**************************************
5650	

- \*The Chairman. Does anyone want to speak on the
- 5652 Guthrie amendment?
- \*Ms. Schakowsky. Ms. Schakowsky.
- \*The Chairman. Ms. Schakowsky is recognized for five
- 5655 minutes.
- 5656 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the
- 5657 last word.
- 5658 Okay. And after the subcommittee that Mr. Guthrie
- 5659 referred to where we heard direct testimony from patients
- and also from the FDA and the NIH, and all agreed that more
- 5661 must be done to improve access to safe and effective
- 5662 treatment, particularly for ALS, nobody that was in that
- 5663 hearing room could listen to the powerful testimony of Ryan
- 5664 Wallach and his wife Sandra from the organization I Am ALS
- or any of the other witnesses from the other degenerative
- 5666 diseases and walk away without considering the challenge
- 5667 that is put in front of us in Congress.
- 5668 Unfortunately, this what I see as a partisan "gotcha''
- amendment that gets us no closer to a cure for ALS and these
- 5670 other severe diseases, and I think that we need to reject
- 5671 this amendment.
- My Republican colleagues and the pharmaceutical
- 5673 industry would have you believe that only by continuing to
- 5674 charge whatever they want that we could potentially have
- 5675 future treatment and cures for ALS and other devastating

- 5676 diseases.
- 5677 Under that logic, we have no choice but to thwart
- 5678 [inaudible] whatever the industry demands from those
- 5679 patients, but we know the arguments do not hold water
- 5680 because patients are paying for a lot more than research and
- 5681 development when they fill their prescriptions.
- For example, the House Oversight Committee research
- 5683 found that the leading drug companies have spent more on
- 5684 stock buybacks, dividends to investors, and executive
- 5685 compensation than on research and development.
- 5686 That same report found that the drug companies could
- 5687 maintain or even exceed the current R&D expenditures and any
- 5688 kind of reducing of revenue from that if they reduced the
- 5689 spending on buybacks and dividends.
- And so today we are living in a world that even under
- 5691 the current drug pricing framework in which drug companies
- 5692 can charge whatever they want and rake in every kind of
- 5693 profit that they want and keep needed competition at bay, we
- 5694 will lack good treatment for diseases like ALS.
- Instead of turning toward cynicism like the amendment
- 5696 that has been offered, the Build Back Better plan will move
- 5697 forward toward treatments and cures for ALS and other
- 5698 diseases like it by investing \$3 billion toward the advanced
- 5699 research projects that are available.
- 5700 I also just wanted to mention that one of the major

- 5701 things that the patients were asking for in this very
- 5702 emotional hearing was that these patients, especially Mr.
- 5703 Wallach, are dying, and he wanted to get access to
- 5704 experimental drugs. But what we just learned today is that
- 5705 Amylyx announced that they are planning to apply for FDA
- 5706 approval of this drug for ALS, an ALS treatment, and we just
- 5707 need to ensure that this is going to be affordable.
- 5708 People are dying and waiting, and we are saying that
- 5709 these companies can charge whatever they want. I am sorry.
- 5710 We should reject this amendment.
- 5711 I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman.
- 5713 So we are on the Guthrie amendment. Does anyone else
- 5714 want to speak?
- If not, we will go to a vote.
- 5716 All right. A recorded vote is ordered on the Guthrie
- 5717 amendment. Those in favor will say aye. Those opposed will
- 5718 say no, and the Clerk shall call the roll.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- 5720 \*Mr. Rush. Mr. Rush votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes no.
- 5722 Ms. Eshoo?
- 5723 \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes no.
- 5725 Ms. DeGette?

- 5726 \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 5728 Mr. Doyle?
- 5729 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes no.
- 5731 Ms. Schakowsky?
- 5732 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 5734 Mr. Butterfield?
- 5735 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- 5737 Ms. Matsui?
- 5738 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes no.
- 5740 Ms. Castor?
- 5741 \*Ms. Castor. No.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes no.
- 5743 Mr. Sarbanes?
- \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
- 5746 Mr. McNerney?
- \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes no.
- 5749 Mr. Welch?
- 5750 \*Mr. Welch. No.

- \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes no.
- 5752 Mr. Tonko?
- 5753 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko from New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes no.
- 5755 Ms. Clarke?
- 5756 [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader?
- 5758 \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader from Oregon votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 5760 Mr. Cardenas?
- 5761 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 5762 no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes no.
- 5764 Mr. Ruiz?
- 5765 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes no.
- 5767 Mr. Peters?
- 5768 \*Mr. Peters. Votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- 5770 Mrs. Dingell?
- \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes no.
- 5773 Mr. Veasey?
- 5774 \*Mr. Veasey. Veasey votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes no.

- 5776 Ms. Kuster?
- 5777 \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 5779 Ms. Kelly?
- 5780 \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes no.
- 5782 Ms. Barragan?
- 5783 \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes no.
- 5785 Mr. McEachin?
- 5786 \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin of Virginia votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes no.
- 5788 Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- 5789 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 5791 Mr. Soto?
- 5792 \*Mr. Soto. No.
- 5793 \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes no.
- 5794 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 5795 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- 5797 Miss Rice?
- 5798 \*Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
- 5799 \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
- 5800 Ms. Craig?

- \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes no.
- 5803 Ms. Schrier?
- \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes no.
- 5806 Mrs. Trahan?
- \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes no.
- 5809 Mrs. Fletcher?
- \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes no.
- 5812 Mrs. Rodgers?
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- 5815 Mr. Upton?
- \*Mr. Upton. Upton votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes aye.
- 5818 Mr. Burgess?
- 5819 \*Mr. Burgess. Burgess votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 5821 Mr. Scalise?
- 5822 \*Mr. Scalise. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- 5824 Mr. Latta?
- 5825 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes aye.

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*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes aye.
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- 5827 Mr. Guthrie?
- 5828 \*Mr. Guthrie. Guthrie votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes aye.
- 5830 Mr. McKinley?
- \*Mr. McKinley. McKinley votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes aye.
- 5833 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 5834 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger, aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 5836 Mr. Griffith?
- [No response.]
- 5838 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis?
- 5839 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Bilirakis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 5841 Mr. Johnson?
- 5842 \*Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 5844 Mr. Long?
- 5845 \*Mr. Long. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes aye.
- 5847 Mr. Bucshon?
- \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes aye.
- 5850 Mr. Mullin?

- 5851 \*Mr. Mullin. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes aye.
- 5853 Mr. Hudson?
- \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes aye.
- 5856 Mr. Walberg?
- 5857 \*Mr. Walberg. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes aye.
- 5859 Mr. Carter?
- \*Mr. Carter. Carter votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- 5862 Mr. Duncan?
- 5863 \*Mr. Duncan. Mr. Duncan of South Carolina votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes aye.
- 5865 Mr. Palmer?
- \*Mr. Palmer. Palmer votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes aye.
- 5868 Mr. Dunn?
- 5869 \*Mr. Dunn. Dunn votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes aye.
- 5871 Mr. Curtis?
- 5872 \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes aye.
- 5874 Mrs. Lesko?
- [No response.]

- 5876 \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence?
- \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes aye.
- 5879 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 5880 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 5882 Mr. Joyce?
- 5883 \*Mr. Joyce. Joyce from Pennsylvania votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes aye.
- 5885 Mr. Armstrong?
- 5886 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes aye.
- 5888 Chairman Pallone?
- \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes no.
- 5890 \*The Clerk. Chairman Pallone votes no.
- \*Ms. Clarke. Mr. Chairman?
- 5892 \*The Chairman. Ms. Clarke.
- 5893 \*Ms. Clarke. Mr. Chairman?
- \*The Chairman. Ms. Clarke?
- \*Ms. Clarke. Yes, Ms. Clarke. How am I recorded?
- \*The Chairman. You are not.
- \*Ms. Clarke. Ms. Clarke of New York votes no.
- 5898 \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes no.
- \*The Chairman. Is that everyone recorded, Madam Clerk?
- 5900 Oh, Mr. Griffith.

- 5901 \*Mr. Griffith. Griffith votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes aye.
- 5903 Mrs. Lesko is not recorded.
- \*The Chairman. Mrs. Lesko? Oh, try to use the
- 5905 Facebook or whatever. Whatever works.
- 5906 (Pause.)
- \*Ms. Eshoo. Who are we waiting for, Mr. Chairman?
- 5908 \*The Chairman. Who is that?
- 5909 \*Ms. Eshoo. Anna. What are we waiting for?
- \*The Chairman. Oh. Mrs. Lesko, we can see her on her
- 5911 iPhone, but we cannot see her on the Internet, but as long
- 5912 as the Clerk can see her as she votes even if it is on an
- 5913 iPhone, we are allowing it. We have been doing that all
- 5914 along.
- But I do not know. It may not happen here because we
- 5916 may not be able to get her. So we are going to wait another
- 5917 minute or so, and then we are going to have to move on.
- 5918 (Pause.)
- 5919 \*The Chairman. All right. We are going to have the
- 5920 Clerk call the tally. All right. You can proceed. The
- 5921 Clerk can call the tally on the Guthrie amendment.
- \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 5923 25 and the nays were 32.
- \*The Chairman. All right. So on the Guthrie amendment
- 5925 the vote is 25 ayes to 32 noes. The amendment is not agreed

- 5926 to.
- 5927 Are there further amendments to the amendment in the
- 5928 nature of a substitute?
- 5929 \*Mr. Hudson. Mr. Chairman.
- \*The Chairman. Yes. Mr. Hudson is recognized.
- 5931 \*Mr. Hudson. I have an amendment at the desk.
- 5932 \*The Chairman. Does the Clerk have that amendment?
- 5933 \*The Clerk. What is the name of the amendment?
- 5934 \*Mr. Hudson. Biosimilars.
- \*The Clerk. To confirm, is it Sub E AMD 2001?
- 5936 \*Mr. Hudson. Yes, that is correct.
- \*The Clerk. I have the amendment.
- 5938 \*The Chairman. The Clerk will report the amendment.
- \*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature
- 5940 of a substitute to committee print for Subtitle E relating
- 5941 to drug pricing offered by Mr. Hudson of North Carolina.
- 5942 \*The Chairman. Without objection, the reading of the
- 5943 Hudson amendment will be dispensed with, and the gentleman
- 5944 from North Carolina is recognized for five minutes.
- 5945 \*Mr. Hudson. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 5946 I want to say thank you to my colleagues. This has
- 5947 been a long three days, and we have considered a lot of
- 5948 amendments. Most of these amendments have really
- 5949 demonstrated the difference in approach, the difference in
- 5950 philosophy between the two parties when dealing with some

- 5951 very complex issues.
- But this amendment is different. This amendment,
- 5953 number one, is going to improve this bill. Number two, it
- 5954 actually will reduce drug costs. And, number three, you
- 5955 know, I have complained a lot about what we are spending
- 5956 here today, but this will actually save \$12 billion for
- 5957 Medicare. So this is a pay-for.
- 5958 Why would I want to improve this bill? Because I am
- 5959 passionate about this issue. Mr. Chairman, this amendment
- 5960 aims to increase utilization of lower cost biosimilars by
- 5961 incentivizing providers to prescribe these innovative
- 5962 alternatives.
- 5963 This amendment is based on a Democrat bill introduced
- 5964 by our colleagues Tony Cardenas, Angie Craig, and Lisa Blunt
- 5965 Rochester, who are members of this committee, and it is
- 5966 similar to a bill that I introduced last Congress with Mr.
- 5967 Cardenas.
- 5968 This amendment encourages providers to look to lower
- 5969 cost of biosimilars to treat some of the most complex
- 5970 diseases patients face, in fact, many of the diseases we
- 5971 have talked about in the last day or so.
- 5972 When I talk to patients back in my district, they are
- 5973 concerned about the rising cost of health care. They are
- 5974 not worried about the back-and-forth squabbling between
- 5975 Republicans and Democrats in Washington.

- 5976 And as I mentioned, this bill has a long bipartisan
- 5977 history. So I am bringing it here today in the spirit of
- 5978 bipartisanship.
- I know, again, we have debated maybe hundreds of
- 5980 amendments. Not one amendment has passed, but I believe
- 5981 this is the one because it does not take anything away from
- 5982 the legislation. In fact, it improves the bill.
- I would like to enter for the record, Mr. Chairman, and
- 5984 I will pass this letter down to you, a letter from the
- 5985 Association for Affordable Medicine, dated April 28, 2021.
- 5986 It says that shared savings could save seniors as much as \$4
- 5987 billion.
- But also to my earlier point, it could save \$12 billion
- 5989 to Medicare.
- \*The Chairman. Would you pass that over to me and let
- 5991 me take a look at it?
- 5992 \*Mr. Hudson. Yes, sir. Thank you.
- \*The Chairman. And then we can proceed.
- 5994 \*Mr. Hudson. So I would ask unanimous consent that you
- 5995 will consider that.
- 5996 Look. This is a pay-for. It improves your bill. It
- 5997 helps offset some of the cost. Again, this is Mr. Cardenas'
- 5998 bill. So I could encourage him to maybe speak up.
- But I hope on this what may be the final amendment we
- 6000 will consider that we will finally come together,

6001	Republicans and Democrats, and say yes to reducing drug
6002	prices.
6003	And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
6004	[The Amendment No. Sub E AMD 2001 of Mr. Hudson
6005	follows:]
6006	
6007	**************************************
6008	

6009	*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
6010	As to the letter that Senators Cornyn and Bennet from
6011	the Biosimilars Council, without objection, it will be
6012	entered into the record. So ordered.
6013	[The information follows:]
6014	
6015	**************************************
6016	

- \*The Chairman. Do we have anyone else who wants to
- 6018 speak on this amendment.
- \*Mr. Cardenas. Mr. Chairman, Congressman Cardenas.
- 6020 \*The Chairman. Yes, Mr. Cardenas is recognized for
- 6021 five minutes.
- \*Mr. Cardenas. Thank you so much.
- I want to strike the last word.
- I would like to thank my colleague on the other side of
- 6025 the aisle for the hard work that we have been focused on,
- 6026 and I do appreciate the opportunity to submit this as an
- 6027 amendment at this time, but I am going to continue to work
- 6028 on this.
- I look forward to working with you in the future, and
- 6030 let's continue to work hard to make sure that we bring down
- 6031 those drug prices, and biosimilars is a very important issue
- 6032 that most Americans do not understand, but fortunately,
- 6033 enough of us on this committee do.
- And I look forward for us to make progress on that.
- So with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- Is there anyone else who wants to speak on the Hudson
- 6038 amendment?
- [No response.]
- \*The Chairman. If not, we will go to a recorded vote.
- A recorded vote is ordered on the Hudson amendment.

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6042 Those in favor will say aye. Those opposed will say no, and
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- 6043 the Clerk shall call the roll.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- \*Mr. Rush. Mr. Rush votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes no.
- 6047 Ms. Eshoo?
- [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette?
- \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes no.
- 6052 Mr. Doyle?
- \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes no.
- 6055 Ms. Schakowsky?
- \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes no.
- 6058 Mr. Butterfield?
- 6059 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes no.
- 6061 Ms. Matsui?
- [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor?
- \*Ms. Castor. No.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes no.
- 6066 Mr. Sarbanes?

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*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes no.
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- \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes no.
- Mr. McNerney?
- \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes no.
- 6072 Mr. Welch?
- 6073 \*Mr. Welch. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Welch votes no.
- 6075 Mr. Tonko?
- 6076 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko from New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes no.
- 6078 Ms. Clarke?
- \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes no.
- 6081 Mr. Schrader?
- \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader from Oregon votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 6084 Mr. Cardenas?
- 6085 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 6086 no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes no.
- 6088 Mr. Ruiz?
- 6089 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes no.
- Mr. Peters?

- 6092 \*Mr. Peters. Votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- Mrs. Dingell?
- 6095 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes no.
- Mr. Veasey?
- \*Mr. Veasey. Veasey votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes no.
- 6100 Ms. Kuster?
- \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes no.
- 6103 Ms. Kelly?
- [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan?
- \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes no.
- Mr. McEachin?
- \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin of Virginia votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes no.
- Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Ms. Blunt Rochester of Delaware
- 6113 votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes no.
- 6115 Mr. Soto?
- 6116 \*Mr. Soto. No.

- \*The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes no.
- Mr. O'Halleran?
- \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes no.
- 6121 Miss Rice?
- \*Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
- Ms. Craig?
- \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes no.
- 6127 Ms. Schrier?
- \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes no.
- 6130 Mrs. Trahan?
- \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes no.
- 6133 Mrs. Fletcher?
- \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes no.
- 6136 Mrs. Rodgers?
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes aye.
- Mr. Upton?
- \*Mr. Upton. Upton votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes aye.

- Mr. Burgess?
- \*Mr. Burgess. Burgess votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes aye.
- 6145 Mr. Scalise?
- \*Mr. Scalise. Scalise votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes aye.
- 6148 Mr. Latta?
- \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes aye.
- Mr. Guthrie?
- 6152 \*Mr. Guthrie. Guthrie votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes aye.
- Mr. McKinley?
- \*Mr. McKinley. McKinley votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes aye.
- 6157 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 6158 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes aye.
- 6160 Mr. Griffith?
- 6161 \*Mr. Griffith. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes aye.
- 6163 Mr. Bilirakis?
- \*Mr. Bilirakis. Bilirakis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes aye.
- 6166 Mr. Johnson?

- 6167 \*Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- Mr. Long? Mr. Long.
- 6170 \*Mr. Long. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes aye.
- Mr. Bucshon?
- \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes aye.
- 6175 Mr. Mullin?
- 6176 \*Mr. Mullin. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes aye.
- 6178 Mr. Hudson?
- \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson from North Carolina votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes aye.
- Mr. Walberg?
- 6182 \*Mr. Walberg. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes aye.
- 6184 Mr. Carter?
- \*Mr. Carter. Carter votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes aye.
- 6187 Mr. Duncan?
- 6188 \*Mr. Duncan. Mr. Duncan votes yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes aye.
- 6190 Mr. Palmer?
- \*Mr. Palmer. Palmer votes aye.

- \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes aye.
- 6193 Mr. Dunn?
- \*Mr. Dunn. Dunn votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes aye.
- 6196 Mr. Curtis?
- \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes aye.
- 6199 Mrs. Lesko?
- \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes aye.
- 6202 Mr. Pence?
- 6203 \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes aye.
- 6205 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 6206 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes aye.
- 6208 Mr. Joyce?
- [No response.]
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong?
- \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes aye.
- 6213 Chairman Pallone?
- \*The Chairman. Pallone from New Jersey votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Chairman Pallone votes no.
- 6216 \*Ms. Kelly. Chairman Pallone, Robin Kelly voted no. I

- 6217 am not sure I was heard.
- \*The Chairman. No, you were not. We will take it.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes no.
- 6220 \*Ms. Matsui. Mr. Chairman, this is Doris Matsui. How
- 6221 am I recorded?
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui is not recorded.
- 6223 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes no.
- \*Ms. Eshoo. Mr. Chairman, how is Eshoo recorded?
- \*The Chairman. You are not recorded.
- \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes no.
- 6229 Mr. Joyce?
- \*Mr. Joyce. Joyce votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes aye.
- \*The Chairman. Is that everyone, Madam Clerk?
- 6233 \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- \*The Chairman. All right. So on the Hudson amendment,
- 6235 the Clerk will report the tally.
- \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 6237 26 and the nays were 32.
- \*The Chairman. All right. The vote on the Hudson
- 6239 amendment is 26 ayes to 32 noes, and the amendment is not
- 6240 agreed to.
- Are there further amendments to the amendment in the

- 6242 nature of a substitute?
- [No response.]
- \*The Chairman. No further amendments. Okay. Then we
- 6245 will go back to the ANS, and that was put forward by Mr.
- 6246 Welch. We will have a voice vote on that. A voice vote.
- 6247 Let's see.
- 6248 We will proceed to a vote on the amendment in the
- 6249 nature of a substitute to the committee print Subtitle E,
- 6250 budget reconciliation recommendations relating to drug
- 6251 pricing.
- All those in favor of the amendment in the nature of a
- 6253 substitute to the committee print Subtitle E, budget
- 6254 reconciliation legislative recommendations relating to drug
- 6255 pricing will signify by saying aye.
- All those opposed will say no.
- In the opinion of the chair the ayes have it, and the
- 6258 amendment in the nature of a substitute to the committee
- 6259 print, Subtitle E, budget reconciliation legislative
- 6260 recommendations relating to drug pricing is agreed to.
- 6261 Now we are going to go to final passage on Subtitle E,
- 6262 which is the drug pricing title, and we will have a recorded
- 6263 vote.
- The question now occurs on approval and transmitting to
- 6265 the Committee on Budget the committee print Subtitle E,
- 6266 budget reconciliation legislative recommendations relating

- 6267 to drug pricing, as amended.
- I move the committee to now approve and transmit the
- 6269 recommendations of this committee and all appropriate
- 6270 accompanying material, including additional, supplemental,
- 6271 minority or dissenting views to the House Committee on the
- 6272 Budget in order to comply with the reconciliation directive
- 6273 included in Section 2002 of the concurrent resolution on the
- 6274 budget for fiscal year 2022, S.Con.Res. 14, and consistent
- 6275 with Section 310 of the Congressional Budget and Empowerment
- 6276 Control Act of 1974. We will have a recorded vote. A
- 6277 recorded vote is ordered.
- All those in favor of the drug pricing title final
- 6279 passage signify by saying aye, and those opposed will say
- 6280 no.
- And the Clerk shall call the roll.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- \*Mr. Rush. Rush votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes aye.
- 6285 Ms. Eshoo?
- 6286 \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes aye.
- Ms. DeGette?
- \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes aye.
- Mr. Doyle?

- \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes yes.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes aye.
- Ms. Schakowsky?
- 6295 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes a big aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes aye.
- Mr. Butterfield? Mr. Butterfield, you're muted.
- 6298 \*Mr. Butterfield. Butterfield votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes aye.
- 6300 Ms. Matsui?
- \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes aye.
- 6303 Ms. Castor?
- 6304 \*Ms. Castor. Aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes aye.
- 6306 Mr. Sarbanes?
- \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes aye.
- 6309 Mr. McNerney?
- \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes aye.
- 6312 Mr. Welch?
- 6313 Mr. Welch votes aye.
- 6314 Mr. Tonko?
- \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko of New York votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes aye.

- 6317 Ms. Clarke?
- \*Ms. Clarke. Ms. Clarke of New York votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes aye.
- 6320 Mr. Schrader?
- \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader of Oregon votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 6323 Mr. Cardenas?
- 6324 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 6325 aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes aye.
- 6327 Mr. Ruiz?
- 6328 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes aye.
- 6330 Mr. Peters?
- 6331 \*Mr. Peters. Votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes no.
- 6333 Mrs. Dingell?
- \*Mrs. Dingell. Votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes aye.
- 6336 Mr. Veasey?
- \*Mr. Veasey. Veasey votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes aye.
- 6339 Ms. Kuster?
- \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes aye.

```
6342
           Ms. Kelly?
6343
           *Ms. Kelly. Kelly votes aye.
6344
           *The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes aye.
6345
           Ms. Barragan?
6346
           *Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes aye.
6347
           *The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes aye.
           Mr. McEachin?
6348
6349
           [No response].
6350
           *The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester?
6351
            *Ms. Blunt Rochester. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes aye.
6352
           *The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes aye.
6353
           Mr. Soto?
6354
            *Mr. McEachin. I'm sorry, Madam Clerk, McEachin votes
6355
      aye.
6356
           *The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes aye.
           Mr. Soto?
6357
6358
            *Mr. Soto. Soto votes aye.
6359
            *The Clerk. Mr. Soto votes aye.
           Mr. O'Halleran?
6360
6361
           [No response.]
6362
           *The Clerk. Miss Rice?
6363
           *Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
6364
           *The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
```

6365

6366

Ms. Craig?

\*Ms. Craig. Craig votes yes.

- \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes aye.
- 6368 Ms. Schrier?
- \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes aye.
- 6371 Mrs. Trahan?
- \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes aye.
- 6373 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes aye.
- 6375 Mrs. Fletcher?
- \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes aye.
- 6378 Mrs. Rodgers?
- \*Mrs. Rodgers. Rodgers votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Rodgers votes no.
- 6381 Mr. Upton?
- \*Mr. Upton. Mr. Upton votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes no.
- Mr. Burgess?
- 6385 \*Mr. Burgess. Votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes no.
- 6387 Mr. Scalise?
- 6388 \*Mr. Scalise. Mr. Scalise votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes no.
- 6390 Mr. Latta?
- 6391 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes no.

- \*The Clerk. Mr. Latta votes no.
- 6393 Mr. Guthrie?
- 6394 \*Mr. Guthrie. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes no.
- 6396 Mr. McKinley?
- \*Mr. McKinley. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley votes no.
- 6399 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 6400 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
- 6402 Mr. Griffith?
- 6403 \*Mr. Griffith. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes no.
- 6405 Mr. Bilirakis?
- 6406 Mr. Bilirakis votes no.
- Mr. Johnson?
- 6408 \*Mr. Johnson. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 6410 Mr. Long?
- 6411 \*Mr. Long. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes no.
- Mr. Bucshon?
- \*Mr. Bucshon. Bouchon from Indiana votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes no.
- 6416 Mr. Mullin?

- \*Mr. Mullin. No.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes no.
- Mr. Hudson?
- 6420 \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes no.
- Mr. Walberg?
- 6423 \*Mr. Walberg. Mr. Walberg votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes no.
- 6425 Mr. Carter?
- \*Mr. Carter. Carter from Georgia votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes no.
- 6428 Mr. Duncan?
- 6429 \*Mr. Duncan. Mr. Duncan of South Carolina votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes no.
- 6431 Mr. Palmer?
- 6432 \*Mr. Palmer. Palmer votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes no.
- 6434 Mr. Dunn?
- 6435 \*Mr. Dunn. Mr. Dunn votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes no.
- 6437 Mr. Curtis?
- 6438 \*Mr. Curtis. Mr. Curtis votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes no.
- 6440 Mrs. Lesko?
- \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko votes no. Lesko votes no.

- \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes no.
- Mr. Pence?
- \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indiana votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes no.
- 6446 Mr. Crenshaw?
- \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes no.
- Mr. Joyce?
- \*Mr. Joyce. Joyce from Pennsylvania votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes no.
- Mr. Armstrong?
- 6453 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes no.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes no.
- 6455 Chairman Pallone?
- 6456 Chairman Pallone votes aye.
- \*The Chairman. Do we have anyone, Madam Clerk, who
- 6458 hasn't voted?
- \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran.
- \*The Chairman. Is Mr. O'Halleran available?
- \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes aye.
- \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes aye.
- 6463 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes aye.
- \*The Chairman. Everyone else?
- Mr. O'Halleran is recorded as an aye.
- 6466 Everyone has voted?

- \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- \*The Chairman. All right. So the Clerk will report the
- 6469 tally.
- \*The Clerk. On that vote, Mr. Chairman, the yeas were
- 6471 29, and the nays were 29.
- \*The Chairman. All right. So on the Subtitle E on Drug
- 6473 Pricing, the vote is 29 ayes to 29 noes. The amendment is
- 6474 not agreed to because the vote is tied.
- We are now going to move -- and I would ask everyone to
- 6476 stay -- we are now going to move to the Medicare Title. And
- 6477 that will be the last one today.
- 6478 The Chair calls up the Committee Print Subtitle I,
- 6479 Budget Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to
- 6480 Medicare.
- The Clerk will report the title of the bill.
- \*The Clerk. Do you want me to do it [inaudible]?
- 6483 Committee print Budget Reconciliation Legislative
- 6484 Recommendations Relating to Medicare Coverage of Dental,
- 6485 Hearing, and Vision Services.
- \*The Chairman. Without objection, Madam Clerk, the
- 6487 first reading of the bill will be dispensed with. The bill
- 6488 is now considered as read.
- Is there a member that will offer the ANS on this?
- \*Voice. Yes, Ms. Kelly.
- \*The Chairman. Ms. Kelly? You seek to be recognized to

6492	speak or to offer an ANS?
6493	*Voice. I think she's on mute.
6494	*The Chairman. I think you're on mute, Robin.
6495	*Ms. Kelly. Yes, Mr. Chair, I would like to offer
6496	Amendment MED-CR-DBH-801.
6497	[Amendment No. MED-CR-DBH-801 of Ms. Kelly follows:]
6498	
6499	**************************************
6500	

- \*The Chairman. Does the Clerk have the ANS?
- \*The Clerk. Yes, sir.
- \*The Chairman. All right. The Clerk will report the
- amendment.
- 6505 \*The Clerk. Amendment in the nature of a substitute to
- 6506 Committee Print relating to Medicare Coverage of Dental,
- 6507 Hearing --
- \*The Chairman. And without objection, Madam Clerk, the
- 6509 reading of the amendment will be dispensed with, and the
- 6510 gentlewoman from Illinois is now recognized for five minutes.
- \*Ms. Kelly. Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- As chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Health
- 6513 Braintrust [audio difficulties] to advance health equity.
- 6514 Today, I want [audio difficulties] important health provision
- 6515 that will [audio difficulties] disparities in this country.
- Oral health is a critical health equity issue, and there
- 6517 are racial disparities in all health coverages and outcomes.
- 6518 Seventy-one percent of black beneficiaries, and sixty-five
- 6519 percent of Hispanic beneficiaries went without a dental visit
- 6520 in the past year compared to forty-three percent of white
- 6521 beneficiaries.
- Poor oral health has also been associated with chronic
- 6523 diseases such as diabetes and heart disease. That is why I
- 6524 re-introduce the Medicare Dental Coverage Act with my
- 6525 colleague Representative Horsford. I am thrilled to see

- 6526 Medicare Dental Coverage included in the Build Back Better
- 6527 legislation today.
- This legislation will also include comprehensive hearing
- 6529 benefits to Medicare Part B, including coverage of hearing
- 6530 aids that cannot be purchased over the counter and that are
- 6531 for individuals with severe or profound hearing loss.
- 6532 Finally, the legislation would make investments in
- 6533 comprehensive vision benefits to Medicare Part B, including
- 6534 coverage of routine eye exams, refraction, eyeglasses, and
- 6535 contact lenses, which would begin next year.
- These policies put our country on the path towards
- 6537 ensuring quality healthcare is accessible to all Americans no
- 6538 matter your zip code.
- Thank you, and I yield back.
- \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman yields back. Does
- 6541 anyone want to speak on the ANS or the underlying bill before
- 6542 we move to amendments?
- Mr. Schrader is recognized for five minutes.
- \*Mr. Schrader. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I have got very serious concerns about adding additional
- 6546 programs, services, and costs when Medicare itself is facing
- 6547 insolvency in a mere five years. We have sort of forgotten
- 6548 that fact. Even the Part B program is consuming ever greater
- 6549 numbers and amounts of general fund revenue. We can't afford
- 6550 the current benefits right now. I think it is a little

- 6551 disingenuous, at best, to offer a dental program in 2028 and
- 6552 when the insolvency on the hospital insurance tax occurs in
- 6553 2026.
- I think there is a better alternative out there to
- 6555 provide dental benefits that seniors can actually afford.
- 6556 The current proposal, when fully implemented, will require
- 6557 large out-of-pocket expenditures for these beneficiaries. It
- 6558 will make the cost prohibitive for most low-income seniors to
- 6559 participate since generally one-third of Medicare
- 6560 beneficiaries do not visit the dentist because they just
- 6561 simply cannot afford it.
- For example, under this proposal, even a basic cleaning
- 6563 would require 20 percent out-of-pocket costs to the senior.
- 6564 This becomes even more costly when a senior needs a major
- 6565 procedure done such as, you know, such as say a crown or what
- 6566 have you. I mean, 50 percent out-of-pocket cost to the
- 6567 beneficiary.
- 6568 According to the Dental Association's survey of dental
- 6569 fees, if a senior in Oregon needs even just one crown, it
- 6570 will cost them over \$560 out-of-pocket under this bill.
- I also have concerns about the provider network that
- 6572 will be available for seniors. These are dentists. These
- 6573 are not MDs. They have a different culture, and they have
- 6574 not had the experience of dealing with the federal
- 6575 government.

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6576
            It is clear, I think they are unlikely to join a network
      based on the current Medicare Part B structure due to
6577
6578
      uncertainty about reimbursement fees. They have seen
6579
      problems with the electronic health records, the whole SGR,
      sustainable growth rate, debate we have had for years
6580
6581
      auditing and compliance documentation. All these issues are
6582
      going to make it tough I think for dentists to get on board.
6583
            The amendment that I would like to offer, at some point
6584
      today, would establish voluntary Medicare dental benefits for
6585
      beneficiaries most in need of dental insurance coverage.
6586
            To target a benefit would cover robust dental benefits
      at low cost to enrollees to commercial dental plans required
6587
6588
      to provide broad access to dentists. The benefit is designed
6589
      so it would be physically responsible to ensure it is
6590
      sustainable. It is based on the success of the Medicare
6591
      Advantage market. We call it Medicare Part T, provide
6592
      comprehensive affordable coverage to beneficiaries with the
6593
      greatest need to be available to beneficiaries with incomes
6594
      at or below 300 percent of federal poverty level adjusted by
6595
      the geographic area.
6596
           Notably, the federal government would help pay the
6597
      premium and other cost sharing for enrollees up to a hundred
6598
      and thirty-four percent of the geographically adjusted FBL.
           Part T would also cover standardized affordable set of
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benefits, establishing consultation with the dental

6600

- 6601 profession and other stakeholders. These include evidence-
- 6602 based preventative services such as examinations and
- 6603 cleanings with no cost sharing. All of the coverage services
- 6604 would be 80 percent starting at the first year of the benefit
- 6605 to avoid saddling enrollees with a higher co-insurance
- 6606 opposed to proposals that gradually increase the payment
- 6607 percentage over multiple years.
- By creating a new Part Medicare, this dental benefit
- 6609 would be up and running for seniors in two to three years
- 6610 instead of having to wait until 2028 to have the benefit of
- 6611 under Part B. It would significantly lower the cost of the
- 6612 benefit making it the physically responsible choice for
- 6613 investing in care, and it will pay dividends in improving the
- 6614 health of our seniors.
- So I am not going to offer the amendment. I just wanted
- 6616 to be able to comment on the bill, but this is something I
- 6617 hope we will consider going forward when we are trying to
- 6618 design new additions, new benefits, in a physically
- 6619 responsible way that does not add to the insolvency of the
- 6620 current Medicare system. And I yield back.
- 6621 \*The Chairman. All right. Thank you, Mr. Schrader.
- Anyone want to speak on the ANS or the underlying bill?
- Otherwise, we are going to go to amendments.
- Who is that?
- \*Voice. Mrs. Dingell. Mrs. Dingell.

- \*The Chairman. Mrs. Dingell is recognized for five
- 6627 minutes.
- \*Mrs. Dingell. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I move to strike the last word. I am going to be
- 6630 pretty --
- \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman --
- 6632 \*Mrs. Dingell. -- and I --
- 6633 [Crosstalk].
- \*Mrs. Dingell. I am actually here to speak about the
- 6635 hearing aids, but I want to [inaudible] with my colleague for
- 6636 a moment.
- These issues really matter. My father-in-law was one of
- 6638 the authors of Social Security. It first introduced Medicare
- in the early 1940s, and it took to 1965 for us to get there.
- I know we all know this, but we really don't understand
- 6641 how many seniors are not going to the dentist because they
- 6642 simply cannot afford it. It is virtually almost impossible
- 6643 to walk into someone's office. Most of you know, I have not
- 6644 had a great year because of dental malpractice. I got an
- 6645 infection of my jawbone, and the surgeon said to me in
- 6646 January, "Most people who get what you have die. They don't
- 6647 live.''
- People should not not be going to the dentist. Seniors
- 6649 have a right. We are the only industrialized nation in the
- 6650 world again, and people are simply not going to the dentist

- 6651 because they cannot afford it, and yet it is [audio
- 6652 difficulties] for every American.
- And I am here to thank the Chairman and others for
- 6654 including investments in expanding access to hearing aids as
- 6655 well for seniors in today's markup.
- Nearly 48 million Americans suffer from hearing loss.
- 6657 Left untreated, it leads to dementia, depression, and
- 6658 isolation, and there is no coverage for hearing aids either,
- 6659 and too many Americans simply don't have them because they
- 6660 can't afford them. And the average price of a hearing aid is
- approaching \$2500, and this just means this lack of coverage
- 6662 simply, seniors go without hearing. They are just
- disconnected, and that is why these investments are so
- 6664 critical.
- The funding for the dental, the hearing aids, this is
- 6666 people's lives. Seniors can live for 30 or 40 years if they
- are able to get the quality care that they need. So the
- 6668 funding today would -- this ANS that my colleague introduced
- 6669 will also provide coverage for hearing aids and services for
- 6670 seniors who have that hearing loss.
- These investments are long overdue. They are
- 6672 fundamental to the health and wellbeing of American seniors.
- 6673 As we work to modernize and strengthen our nation's
- 6674 healthcare system, we need to be directing and shoring up
- 6675 these critical gaps in our coverage. We cannot continue to

- ignore this issue, and I strongly urge my colleagues to
- 6677 support these historic investments. I yield back, Mr.
- 6678 Chairman.
- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentlewoman.
- Does anyone else want to speak on the ANS or the
- 0681 underlying bill? Otherwise, we will move to amendments. All
- 6682 right.
- Are there any amendments?
- Mr. Guthrie?
- \*Mr. Guthrie. Yeah, Mr. Chair, I have an amendment at
- 6686 the desk.
- \*The Chairman. Does the Clerk have the Guthrie
- 6688 Amendment?
- \*The Clerk. What's the title?
- \*Mr. Guthrie. Amendment 14.
- \*The Clerk. Yes. I have --
- \*Mr. Guthrie. Medicare Advantage.
- \*The Chairman. Okay. The Clerk will report the
- amendment.
- \*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment and the nature
- 6696 of a substitute to Subtitle I offered by Mr. Guthrie of
- 6697 Kentucky: Add at the end the following --
- \*The Chairman. Without objection, the --
- \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Mr. Chairman, I reserve a point
- 6700 of order.

- \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman from Delaware reserves a
- 6702 point of order, and Madam Clerk, without -- I'm sorry. Let
- 6703 me go over here.
- \*The Clerk. [Inaudible].
- 6705 \*The Chairman. Yeah.
- \*The Clerk. [Inaudible].
- \*The Chairman. Well, now, we are on the amendments --
- 6708 \*The Clerk. Yeah.
- \*The Chairman. -- to the ANS now, correct?
- \*The Clerk. Yes.
- \*The Chairman. Okay. So the Clerk will report the
- 6712 amendment, the Guthrie Amendment. I just got thrown off
- 6713 there a little.
- \*Voice. I think she reported, right?
- \*Voice. It's been reported.
- 6716 \*The Chairman. Oh, it's been reported. Okay. Then
- 6717 without objection, the reading of the amendment will be
- 6718 dispensed with, and the gentleman of --
- \*The Clerk. [Inaudible].
- 6720 The Chairman. -- she reserved a point of order, and the
- 6721 gentleman, Mr. Guthrie, is recognized for five minutes.
- 6722 \*Mr. Guthrie. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you, Mr.
- 6723 Chair, and I will be brief.
- This concerns Medicare Advantage and the benchmarks in
- 6725 the financing of -- the way we finance Medicare Advantage.

6726 So this amendment requires the HHS Secretary to certify in 6727 writing that this bill will not increase premiums for seniors 6728 on Medicare Advantage or result in a reduction of Medicare Advantage dental, hearing, and vision benefits already 6729 6730 received today. 6731 We need to make sure everybody understands that people 6732 in Medicare Advantage already have dental, hearing, and 6733 vision. At 94 percent have dental, hearing, and vision; 94 6734 percent of MA plans have some dental benefit. In 2021, in 96 6735 percent of enrollees in individual MA plans have some hearing 6736 benefits, and 99 percent have some benefits in vision benefits, and it's worth reminding members of this Committee 6737 6738 that MA serves a greater proportion minority female and low-6739 income seniors. Our most vulnerable family members and 6740 neighbors rave about the flexibility and personalize care 6741 they receive through Medicare Advantage. All this amendment 6742 does is certify that no harm -- and you got to know how the 6743 benchmarks work because it could have -- no harm should come 6744 to MA beneficiaries should these new benefits go into effect. 6745 Now, is not the time to limit or hinder programs. We are spending \$3.5 trillion in this bill. We need to make 6746 6747 sure we also support Medicare Advantage; and quite honestly, 6748 we are spending \$3.5 trillion and not addressing that the 6749 Medicare Part A is set to go bankrupt in 2026, but that's for

another argument, and I will yield back.

6750

- \*The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Guthrie.
- So does the gentlewoman -- well, first of all, let me
- 6753 ask if anyone else wants to speak on this? Otherwise, I am
- 6754 going to go to the point of order.
- 6755 Yes, Mr. Bilirakis is recognized for five minutes.
- 6756 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I move to strike the last word.
- \*The Chairman. The gentleman is recognized.
- 6759 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Thank you.
- I want to thank our health committee sub ranking member,
- 6761 my good friend, Mr. Guthrie, for his amendment to protect
- 6762 Medicare Advantage beneficiaries in this bill.
- I am gravely concerned that the proposals being
- 6764 suggested here will inadvertently or not end up reducing
- 6765 Medicare Advantage benefits. Enrollees are so very happy
- 6766 with this Medicare Advantage benefit, particularly, in my
- 6767 district where we have over 50 percent of those seniors
- 6768 enrolled in Medicare Advantage.
- As a strong proponent of Medicare Advantage, I know how
- 6770 important this program is to my constituents, as I said, in
- 6771 providing high quality affordable healthcare. In fact, 42
- 6772 percent of -- well, I think it's a little more than 42
- 6773 percent to tell you the truth -- but seniors are enrolled in
- 6774 Medicare Advantage. Over 2.3 million of those seniors live
- 6775 in Florida, and as I said, about 50 percent are enrolled in

- 6776 Medicare Advantage.
- 6777 This also includes almost two-thirds of the
- 6778 beneficiaries in my district in the Tampa Bay area. Within
- 6779 every senior age group in Florida, Medicare beneficiaries or
- 6780 Medicare Advantage plan spend significantly less than fee for
- 6781 service, and that is because the public/private partnership
- 6782 model incentivizes a whole-health approach focus on clinical
- 6783 outcomes.
- To further compare Medicare Advantage beneficiaries to
- 6785 those on traditional fee-for-service Medicare thus far,
- 6786 during the COVID-19 pandemic, both primary care and vaccine
- 6787 uptake is higher, while those experiencing worse outcomes are
- 6788 lower.
- It is also a myth that Medicare Advantage only serves
- 6790 higher-income seniors. Fifty-one percent of Medicare
- 6791 Advantage beneficiaries had annual incomes of less than
- 6792 \$30,000 and ninety-six percent of beneficiaries have access
- 6793 to at least 1-0 premium Medicare Advantage [inaudible].
- In short, Medicare Advantage works. We had a great
- 6795 opportunity to expand on the success of this very popular
- 6796 program by strengthening and expanding it further to the non-
- 6797 Medicare Advantage senior population, but the majority has
- 6798 decided to go in the exact opposite direction unfortunately.
- One of the important messages in this underlying bill
- 6800 text I want to get across is the Medicare eligible population

- 6801 already has access to dental, hearing, and vision plans
- 6802 through Medicare Advantage. Under Medicare Advantage,
- 6803 seniors get choices to decide what plans work best for them.
- Meanwhile, to provide these incredibly expensive
- 6805 duplicative benefits in fee-for-service, the Democrats' plan
- 6806 is to raid the Medicare trust fund and to do so using budget
- 6807 gimmicks by requiring seniors to pay 90 percent out-of-pocket
- 6808 benefits and slowly implementing decreasing expenses over the
- 6809 course of seven years until 2028, conveniently not far from
- 6810 the ten-year budget window.
- So while you may hear from the majority that these
- 6812 provisions don't explicitly make cuts to Medicare Advantage,
- 6813 at the same time, they do not want to take up this amendment.
- 6814 We must ensure that as a condition of implementing this
- 6815 Medicare spending plan, it does not do so on the backs of
- 6816 Medicare Advantage beneficiaries by raising their premiums or
- 6817 cutting their benefits.
- I urge my Democratic colleagues -- many of those
- 6819 districts have again, Medicare Advantage patients, over 50
- 6820 percent in some cases. We need to protect this very vital
- 6821 Medicare Advantage program, and folks, I know that we have
- 6822 signed letters and we have had just as many Democrats
- 6823 supporting Medicare Advantage and preserving it because their
- 6824 constituents love it. We get quality care with choices.
- So thank you very much, and I yield back, Mr. Chairman,

- 6826 unless somebody else wants my time. Appreciate it.
- \*The Chairman. Thank you. The gentleman yields back.
- 6828 The Chair is prepared to --
- \*Voice. [Inaudible].
- \*The Chairman. No, no. I know, but I was going to ask
- 6831 her if she wanted to insist on her point of order. Does
- 6832 [crosstalk] --
- \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Yes, Mr. Chairman.
- \*The Chairman. -- the gentlewoman insists on a point of
- 6835 order? Okay. Then the gentlewoman will state the point of
- 6836 order.
- \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- The amendment violates the germaneness requirement of
- 6839 Rule 16, Clause 7. The amendment is not germane because the
- 6840 amendment introduces a new subject to the text proposed to be
- 6841 amended. The subject of the introduced bill is Medicare
- 6842 benefits. The subject to the amendment is Medicare premiums
- 6843 in addition to Medicare benefits. Therefore, I urge the
- 6844 Chair to sustain the point of order.
- 6845 \*The Chairman. The gentlewoman, now, does any other
- 6846 member wish to be heard on the point of order? Just on the
- 6847 point of order. All right. Then the Chair is prepared to
- 6848 rule.
- The gentlewoman from Delaware has raised a point of
- 6850 order that the amendment is not germane because it introduces

- 6851 a new subject matter to the underlying text. The Chair finds
- 6852 that the amendment introduces a new subject matter, that is
- 6853 Medicare premiums that is not addressed in the underlying
- 6854 text; and for that reason, the point of order is sustained.
- Now, do we have any other amendments to the ANS on the
- 6856 Medicare Title?
- 6857 \*Mr. Bucshon. Mr. Chairman.
- \*The Chairman. Yes, who is seeks recognition?
- \*The Clerk. Dr. Bucshon.
- \*The Chairman. Mr. Bucshon.
- \*Mr. Bucshon. Dr. Bucshon.
- \*The Chairman. Do you have an amendment?
- 6863 \*Mr. Bucshon. I do have an amendment at the desk,
- 6864 Amendment No. 5.
- \*The Chairman. Amendment No. 5. Does the Clerk have
- 6866 the Bucshon Amendment?
- \*The Clerk. Yes.
- \*The Chairman. Will the Clerk report the amendment?
- \*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 6870 a substitute to Subtitle I offered by Mr. Bucshon of Indiana.
- 6871 \*The Chairman. Without objection the reading of the
- 6872 Bucshon Amendment will be dispensed with, and the gentleman
- 6873 from Indiana is recognized for five minutes.
- \*Mr. Bucshon. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- For over 18 months, our nation's doctors, nurses, and

- other healthcare workers have been on the front lines of the
- 6877 COVID-19 pandemic fighting each day for the health and
- 6878 welfare of our loved ones.
- With the insurgence of the Delta Variant flooding
- 6880 hospitals across the nation with COVID-19 patients, our
- 6881 nation's healthcare workers are once again dealing with
- 6882 overcrowded hospital, staffing shortages, and insufficient
- 6883 amounts of PPE as they work to care for patients. Yet, this
- 6884 bill does little to actually help provide stability and
- 6885 certainty to our doctors. We are set to spend hundreds of
- 6886 billions of dollars for more federal command and takeover for
- 6887 our healthcare system while blatantly ignoring our healthcare
- 6888 workers, specifically, physicians.
- Beginning on January 1, 2022, many specialists,
- 6890 therapists, and other physicians will be faced with a
- 6891 substantial reimbursement cut up to 9 percent for many
- 6892 providers. Where is the relief and support for out
- 6893 healthcare heroes in this bill? I don't think a proper thank
- 6894 you is to be asking our doctors to take a pay cut. That's
- 6895 why I am offering this commonsense amendment today.
- The Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2021 offered a
- 6897 3.75 percent payment adjustment in the 2021 Medicare
- 6898 Physician Fee Schedule. However, it is set to expire at the
- 6899 end of this year. My amendment would extend this 3.75
- 6900 percent payment adjustment for one year to afford some short-

- 6901 term stability for healthcare professionals struggling with
- 6902 the impact of this pandemic.
- And this idea is not partisan. In fact, my colleague,
- 6904 Ami Bera, and I have been leading the efforts for the last
- 6905 two Congresses to provide certainty for doctors and overt
- 6906 these imminent cuts proving bipartisanship on key issues can
- 6907 be done, and that is the way it should be. Both parties
- 6908 coming together to find targeted and meaningful solutions,
- 6909 not this hyper partisan process that quickly checks off
- 6910 partisan wish list items without any constructive committee
- 6911 consideration, and honestly, both parties have been guilty of
- 6912 this.
- As we consider a bill that comes with a high price tag
- 6914 of a trillion dollars, why not set aside a very small
- 6915 fraction of that to say, "Thank you,'' to our healthcare
- 6916 heroes by providing them with the certainty and support they
- 6917 so admirably deserve.
- 6918 That is why I am asking you all today to support this
- 6919 amendment and avoid the end-of-the-year fee schedule payment
- 6920 cuts to providers.
- Thank you, and I yield back the balance of my time.
- \*The Chairman. I thank the gentleman.
- I am going to strike the last word myself in opposition
- 6924 to Dr. Bucshon's amendment. I understand there are several
- 6925 physician payment proposals related to the calendar year 2022

- 6926 Physician Fee Schedule proposed rule that stakeholders have
- 6927 concerns with; however, I cannot support this amendment today
- 6928 because I do not think this is the right time or place to
- 6929 address these issues.
- The common period on the proposed fee schedule rule only
- 6931 recently closed, and the final rule is still under
- 6932 development. But I do think ensuring robust physician
- 6933 payment is an important issue. That's why last Congress who
- 6934 worked in a bipartisan manner to increase payment of the
- 6935 Physician Fee Schedule as has been raised today, and I look
- 6936 forward to working with stakeholders and members on these
- 6937 issues as we go forward.
- 6938 I would urge my colleague from Indiana to withdraw this
- 6939 amendment, and we can examine the issue in bipartisan
- 6940 fashion, and I would yield back.
- \*Mr. Bucshon. Yeah, I -- you know, I am not inclined to
- 6942 withdraw the amendment, but I am certainly willing to voice
- 6943 vote the amendment.
- \*The Chairman. All right. Yes. Is it still my time or
- 6945 does the --
- 6946 [Crosstalk.]
- \*Mr. Bucshon. You asked me to --
- \*The Chairman. I yielded back, so I will ask Mr. Pence
- 6949 -- will yield five minutes to Mr. Pence. Strike the last
- 6950 word.

- 6951 [Pause.]
- Does anyone else want to speak on this, the Bucshon
- 6953 Amendment? I did notice that Mr. Latta's hand is up. Did we
- 6954 pass over you? Do you want to speak on this, or do you want
- 6955 to speak on the underlying bill?
- 6956 \*Mr. Latta. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 6957 desk.
- \*The Chairman. Oh, you have another amendment. Okay.
- 6959 Then we will --
- 6960 \*Mr. Latta. Yes, sir.
- \*The Chairman. -- wait. All right.
- Does anyone else want to speak on the Bucshon Amendment?
- 6963 Hearing none, a recorded vote --
- \*The Clerk. [Inaudible] voice vote.
- \*The Chairman. Oh, we are going to have voice vote.
- 6966 Oh, great. Okay. Thank you for that.
- 6967 If there is no further debate, we will proceed to a vote
- 6968 on the amendment.
- All those in favor of the amendment will signify by
- 6970 saying aye.
- And all those opposed will say no.
- In the opinion of the Chair, the noes have it, and the
- 6973 amendment is not agreed to.
- Now, Mr. Latta, you have an amendment to the amendment
- 6975 in the nature of a substitute? Does the Clerk have the Latta

- 6976 Amendment?
- \*The Clerk. What is the title?
- \*The Chairman. What is the title?
- 6979 \*Mr. Latta. It is 30 01.
- 6980 \*The Clerk. What was the beginning again?
- \*Mr. Latta. A, alpha, Mike, delta, 30\_01. It had been
- 6982 1901.
- \*The Clerk. 1901. Oh. Yes, I have the amendment.
- \*The Chairman. All right. The Clerk will report the
- 6985 Latta Amendment.
- \*The Clerk. Amendment to the amendment in the nature of
- 6987 a substitute to Subtitle I --
- 6988 \*The Chairman. Without objection, the reading of the
- 6989 amendment will be dispensed with, and the gentleman from Ohio
- 6990 is recognized for five minutes.
- 6991 \*Mr. Latta. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- My amendment simply mandates that the Secretary of
- 6993 Health and Human Services can't add conditions [inaudible]
- 6994 participation if they negatively impacts [inaudible].
- 6995 President Biden's plan to force [inaudible] workers [audio
- 6996 difficulties] vaccinated [audio difficulties] is the
- 6997 definition of government overreach. Also, I believe our
- 6998 hospitals [audio difficulties] we put at risk by demanding
- 6999 employers to [audio difficulties] employees to impose
- 7000 mandates on their workers to get vaccinated [audio

- 7001 difficulties]. In addition, this plan subjects 17 million
- 7002 healthcare workers to mandates of employers that participate
- 7003 in Medicare or Medicaid.
- 7004 Our country is already facing a workforce shortage,
- 7005 including in our healthcare sector. This mandate will only
- 7006 exasperate the problem.
- 7007 I have visited numerous healthcare facilities recently
- 7008 during the COVID pandemic, and the number one issue has
- 7009 always been staffing shortages.
- 7010 \*Voice. Chairman, the committee is not in order. The
- 7011 committee is not in order.
- 7012 \*The Chairman. The Committee is not in order? All
- 7013 right. Could we ask everyone to not talk so much, so we can
- 7014 finish up here?
- 7015 Mr. Latta.
- 7016 \*Mr. Latta. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 7017 Employers are traveling from different states to work in
- 7018 my district, and the vaccination policies are different
- 7019 across state lines. In one instance, Northwest Physical
- 7020 Therapy, they contacted me, said they could lose almost 30
- 7021 percent of their staff because of these mandates. I fear
- 7022 these numbers could potentially be higher.
- 7023 I have also heard from the Wood County Commissioners, of
- 7024 which I was one years ago, that we have a nursing home that
- 7025 they are fearful that they would not be able to maintain

- 7026 staffing levels.
- 7027 Also, Memorial Hospital, the same issue; Progressive
- 7028 Therapy Alternatives, same issue; and the Northwest Physical
- 7029 Therapy announced that 50,000 patient visits will have to be
- 7030 absorbed by other organizations even though those two are
- 7031 also short-staffed.
- 7032 Last year, our unvaccinated healthcare workers were
- 7033 considered heroes, and now, they are being cast as villains
- 7034 if they chose not to be vaccinated. I am encouraging my
- 7035 constituents to speak with their doctors as they decide
- 7036 whether the vaccine is right for themselves and their
- 7037 families.
- 7038 I ask for unanimous consent to insert in the record, Mr.
- 7039 Chairman, the four records from the healthcare providers in
- 7040 my district opposing the vaccine mandates. I understand the
- 7041 need to get this crisis under control, but the President's
- 7042 top-down approach does not mean we have to sacrifice our
- 7043 rights for short-term protection. That is why I am offering
- 7044 the amendment, and I would encourage my colleagues to support
- 7045 the amendment.
- 7046 And once again, I apologize for my voice. Thank you,
- 7047 Mr. Chairman.
- 7048 \*The Chairman. Thank you.
- 7049 Does anyone want to speak on the Latta Amendment? If
- 7050 not, we will go to a vote.

- 7051 Did you want a recorded vote, or can we do it by voice?
- 7052 \*Mr. Latta. Mr. Chairman, we can do a voice vote
- 7053 please.
- 7054 \*The Chairman. All right. Thank you.
- 7055 We will proceed to a vote on the Latta Amendment.
- 7056 All those in favor of the amendment will signify by
- 7057 saying aye.
- 7058 And all those opposed to the Latta Amendment will say
- 7059 no.
- 7060 In the opinion of the Chair, the noes have it. The
- 7061 amendment is not agreed to.
- 7062 Are there further amendments to the amendment in the
- 7063 nature of a substitute on the Medicare Title? No? Okay.
- 7064 Then we will go to the ANS on the Medicare Title that
- 7065 was offered by Ms. Robin Kelly. We will voice that, and then
- 7066 we will go to a recorded vote on final.
- 7067 We will proceed to a vote on the amendment in the nature
- 7068 of a substitute to the Committee Print Subtitle I, Budget
- 7069 Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to
- 7070 Medicare.
- 7071 All those in favor of the amendment in the nature of a
- 7072 substitute to the Committee Print Subtitle I, Budget
- 7073 Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to
- 7074 Medicare will signify by saying aye.
- 7075 All those opposed will say no.

- 7076 All right. So the amendment in the nature of a
- 7077 substitute to the Committee Print Subtitle I, Budget
- 7078 Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to
- 7079 Medicare is agreed to.
- 7080 So now, we are going to go to final passage on the
- 7081 Medicare Title, and this is the last bill.
- 7082 The question now occurs on approval and transmitting to
- 7083 the Committee on budget. The Committee Print Subtitle I,
- 7084 Budget Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to
- 7085 Medicare as amended.
- 7086 I move, the Committee do now approve and transmit the
- 7087 recommendations of this Committee and all appropriate
- 7088 accompanying material, including additional supplemental
- 7089 minority dissenting views that the House Committee on the
- 7090 Budget, in order to comply with the reconciliation directive
- 7091 included in Section 2002 of the concurrent resolution on the
- 7092 budget for fiscal year 2022, S.Con.Res 14, and consistent
- 7093 with Section 310 of the Congressional Budget and Empowerment
- 7094 Control Act of 1974.
- 7095 And we are going to have a recorded vote on this
- 7096 Medicare Title final passage.
- 7097 All those in favor will signify by saying aye. Those
- 7098 opposed will say no. And the Clerk shall call the roll.
- 7099 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush?
- 7100 \*Mr. Rush. Finally. Rush of Illinois votes aye.

- 7101 \*The Clerk. Mr. Rush votes aye.
- 7102 Ms. Eshoo?
- 7103 \*Ms. Eshoo. Eshoo votes aye.
- 7104 \*The Clerk. Ms. Eshoo votes aye.
- 7105 Ms. DeGette?
- 7106 \*Ms. DeGette. DeGette votes aye.
- 7107 \*The Clerk. Ms. DeGette votes aye.
- 7108 Mr. Doyle?
- 7109 \*Mr. Doyle. Doyle votes yes.
- 7110 \*The Clerk. Mr. Doyle votes aye.
- 7111 Ms. Schakowsky?
- 7112 \*Ms. Schakowsky. Schakowsky votes yes and thanks,
- 7113 Frank, for his leadership.
- 7114 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schakowsky votes aye.
- 7115 Mr. Butterfield?
- 7116 \*Mr. Butterfield. Safe travels to all. Votes aye.
- 7117 \*The Clerk. Mr. Butterfield votes aye.
- 7118 Ms. Matsui?
- 7119 \*Ms. Matsui. Matsui votes aye.
- 7120 \*The Clerk. Ms. Matsui votes ayes.
- 7121 Ms. Castor?
- 7122 \*Ms. Castor. Castor votes aye.
- 7123 \*The Clerk. Ms. Castor votes aye.
- 7124 Mr. Sarbanes?
- 7125 \*Mr. Sarbanes. Sarbanes votes aye.

- 7126 \*The Clerk. Mr. Sarbanes votes aye.
- 7127 Mr. McNerney?
- 7128 \*Mr. McNerney. McNerney votes aye.
- 7129 \*The Clerk. Mr. McNerney votes aye.
- 7130 Mr. Welch?
- 7131 Mr. Welch votes aye.
- 7132 Mr. Tonko?
- 7133 \*Mr. Tonko. Tonko from New York votes aye.
- 7134 \*The Clerk. Mr. Tonko votes aye.
- 7135 Ms. Clarke?
- 7136 \*Ms. Clarke. Clarke of New York votes aye.
- 7137 \*The Clerk. Ms. Clarke votes aye.
- 7138 Mr. Schrader?
- 7139 \*Mr. Schrader. Schrader of Oregon votes no.
- 7140 \*The Clerk. Mr. Schrader votes no.
- 7141 Mr. Cardenas?
- 7142 \*Mr. Cardenas. Cardenas representing California votes
- 7143 aye.
- 7144 \*The Clerk. Mr. Cardenas votes aye.
- 7145 Mr. Ruiz?
- 7146 \*Mr. Ruiz. Ruiz from California votes aye. Ruiz from
- 7147 California votes aye.
- 7148 \*The Clerk. Mr. Ruiz votes aye.
- 7149 Mr. Peters?
- 7150 \*Mr. Peters. Peters votes aye. Scott Peters votes aye.

- 7151 \*The Clerk. Mr. Peters votes aye.
- 7152 Mrs. Dingell?
- 7153 \*Mrs. Dingell. Dingell votes aye.
- 7154 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Dingell votes aye.
- 7155 Mr. Veasey?
- 7156 \*Mr. Veasey. Veasey votes aye.
- 7157 \*The Clerk. Mr. Veasey votes aye.
- 7158 Ms. Kuster?
- 7159 \*Ms. Kuster. Kuster votes aye.
- 7160 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kuster votes aye.
- 7161 Ms. Kelly?
- 7162 \*Ms. Kelly. Kelly votes aye.
- 7163 \*The Clerk. Ms. Kelly votes aye.
- 7164 Ms. Barragan?
- 7165 \*Ms. Barragan. Barragan votes aye. Barragan votes aye.
- 7166 \*The Clerk. Ms. Barragan votes aye.
- 7167 Mr. McEachin?
- 7168 \*Mr. McEachin. McEachin of Virginia votes aye.
- 7169 \*The Clerk. Mr. McEachin votes aye.
- 7170 Ms. Blunt Rochester?
- 7171 \*Ms. Blunt Rochester. Blunt Rochester of Delaware votes
- 7172 aye.
- 7173 \*The Clerk. Ms. Blunt Rochester votes aye.
- 7174 Mr. Soto?
- 7175 Mr. Soto votes aye.

- 7176 Mr. O'Halleran?
- 7177 \*Mr. O'Halleran. O'Halleran votes aye.
- 7178 \*The Clerk. Mr. O'Halleran votes aye.
- 7179 Miss Rice?
- 7180 \*Miss Rice. Rice votes no.
- 7181 \*The Clerk. Miss Rice votes no.
- 7182 Ms. Craig?
- 7183 \*Ms. Craig. Craig votes aye.
- 7184 \*The Clerk. Ms. Craig votes aye.
- 7185 Ms. Schrier?
- 7186 \*Ms. Schrier. Schrier votes aye.
- 7187 \*The Clerk. Ms. Schrier votes aye.
- 7188 Mrs. Trahan?
- 7189 \*Mrs. Trahan. Trahan votes aye.
- 7190 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Trahan votes aye.
- 7191 Mrs. Fletcher?
- 7192 \*Mrs. Fletcher. Fletcher votes aye.
- 7193 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Fletcher votes aye.
- 7194 Mrs. Rodgers?
- 7195 Mrs. Rodgers votes no.
- 7196 Mr. Upton?
- 7197 \*Mr. Upton. Mr. Upton votes no.
- 7198 \*The Clerk. Mr. Upton votes no.
- 7199 Mr. Burgess?
- 7200 \*Mr. Burgess. Burgess votes no.

- 7201 \*The Clerk. Mr. Burgess votes no.
- 7202 Mr. Scalise?
- 7203 \*Mr. Scalise. Scalise votes no.
- 7204 \*The Clerk. Mr. Scalise votes no.
- 7205 Mr. Latta?
- 7206 \*Mr. Latta. Latta votes no. Latta votes no.
- 7207 \*The Clerk. I'm sorry, Mr. Latta, could you repeat your
- 7208 vote?
- 7209 \*Mr. Latta. Yep.
- 7210 \*The Clerk. I can't see you.
- 7211 \*Mr. Latta. I'm sorry. I'm sorry. Votes no. Having a
- 7212 little problem here. Latta votes no.
- 7213 \*The Clerk. Oh, Mr. Latta votes no.
- 7214 Mr. Guthrie?
- 7215 \*Mr. Guthrie. Guthrie votes no.
- 7216 \*The Clerk. Mr. Guthrie votes no.
- 7217 Mr. McKinley?
- 7218 \*Mr. McKinley. [No response.]
- 7219 Mr. Kinzinger?
- 7220 \*Mr. Kinzinger. Kinzinger no.
- 7221 \*The Clerk. Mr. Kinzinger votes no.
- 7222 Mr. Griffith?
- 7223 \*Mr. Griffith. No.
- 7224 \*The Clerk. Mr. Griffith votes no.
- 7225 Mr. Bilirakis?

- 7226 \*Mr. Bilirakis. Bilirakis votes no.
- 7227 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bilirakis votes no.
- 7228 Mr. Johnson?
- 7229 \*Mr. Johnson. Johnson votes no.
- 7230 \*The Clerk. Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 7231 Mr. Long?
- 7232 \*Mr. Long. No.
- 7233 \*The Clerk. Mr. Long votes no.
- 7234 Mr. Bucshon?
- 7235 \*Mr. Bucshon. Bucshon from Indiana votes no.
- 7236 \*The Clerk. Mr. Bucshon votes no.
- 7237 Mr. Mullin?
- 7238 \*Mr. Mullin. No.
- 7239 \*The Clerk. Mr. Mullin votes no.
- 7240 Mr. Hudson?
- 7241 \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes no.
- 7242 \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson, could you repeat your vote?
- 7243 \*Mr. Hudson. Hudson of North Carolina votes no.
- 7244 \*The Clerk. Mr. Hudson votes no.
- 7245 Mr. Walberg?
- 7246 \*Mr. Walberg. Walberg votes no.
- 7247 \*The Clerk. Mr. Walberg votes no.
- 7248 Mr. Carter?
- 7249 \*Mr. Carter. Carter of New York votes no.
- 7250 \*The Clerk. Mr. Carter votes no.

- 7251 Mr. Duncan?
- 7252 \*Mr. Duncan. Mr. Duncan from South Carolina votes no.
- 7253 \*The Clerk. Mr. Duncan votes no.
- 7254 Mr. Palmer?
- 7255 \*Mr. Palmer. Palmer votes no.
- 7256 \*The Clerk. Mr. Palmer votes no.
- 7257 Mr. Dunn?
- 7258 \*Mr. Dunn. Mr. Dunn votes no.
- 7259 \*The Clerk. Mr. Dunn votes no.
- 7260 Mr. Curtis?
- 7261 \*Mr. Curtis. Curtis votes no.
- 7262 \*The Clerk. Mr. Curtis votes no.
- 7263 Mrs. Lesko?
- 7264 \*Mrs. Lesko. Lesko from Arizona votes no.
- 7265 \*The Clerk. Mrs. Lesko votes no.
- 7266 Mr. Pence?
- 7267 \*Mr. Pence. Pence from Indianan votes no.
- 7268 \*The Clerk. Mr. Pence votes no.
- 7269 Mr. Crenshaw?
- 7270 \*Mr. Crenshaw. Crenshaw votes no.
- 7271 \*The Clerk. Mr. Crenshaw votes no.
- 7272 Mr. Joyce?
- 7273 \*Mr. Joyce. Joyce from Pennsylvania votes no.
- 7274 \*The Clerk. Mr. Joyce votes no.
- 7275 Mr. Armstrong?

- 7276 \*Mr. Armstrong. Armstrong votes no.
- 7277 \*The Clerk. Mr. Armstrong votes no.
- 7278 Mr. Pallone?
- 7279 \*The Chairman. Madam Clerk, Pallone from New Jersey
- 7280 votes aye.
- 7281 \*The Clerk. Mr. Pallone votes aye.
- 7282 \*The Chairman. Do we have anyone who hasn't been
- 7283 recorded?
- 7284 \*The Clerk. Mr. McKinley.
- 7285 \*The Chairman. Mr. McKinley, he was here. That's if he
- 7286 wants to be recorded? He doesn't? All right. He doesn't
- 7287 want to come back? All right. We will leave it alone.
- 7288 Madam Clerk, will report the tally on the Medicare Title
- 7289 final passage.
- 7290 \*The Clerk. On the vote, the yeas were 30, and the nays
- 7291 were 27.
- 7292 \*The Chairman. Okay. So the vote on final passage of
- 7293 the Medicare Title is 30 ayes and 27 noes, and the Committee
- 7294 has approved the Committee Print Subtitle I, Budget
- 7295 Reconciliation Legislative Recommendations Relating to
- 7296 Medicare as Amended and order the legislative recommendations
- 7297 transmitted to the Committee on Budget.
- 7298 And before we all leave, and we thank everybody, this is
- 7299 what we are putting in?
- 7300 \*Voice. Yes. And then you also need to read that --

- 7301 \*The Chairman. Well, maybe I don't have to make
- 7302 everybody stay for this.
- 7303 \*Voice. [Audio difficulties] this. Oh, I need, Mr.
- 7304 Chair --
- 7305 \*The Chairman. Yes.
- 7306 \*Voice. -- a plan to file views and request the usual
- 7307 number of days.
- 7308 \*The Chairman. All right. Without objection, so
- 7309 ordered.
- 7310 But they don't have to stay, or am I going to read all
- 7311 of this?
- 7312 \*Voice. No, no. You are going to read just --
- 7313 \*The Chairman. Oh, all right.
- 7314 \*The Clerk. -- just need to read this [inaudible]
- 7315 thing.
- 7316 \*The Chairman. Okay. So I ask unanimous consent to
- 7317 enter the following staff agreed upon list of documents into
- 7318 the record. These are the documents that members submitted
- 7319 to the email address provided.
- 7320 And without objection, so ordered.
- 7321 Before we adjourn, let me just thank everybody. I know
- 7322 this was long and difficult, needless to say, but you know, I
- 7323 think we all tried hard to make it as congenial as possible
- 7324 under the circumstances, and I know that I would really
- 7325 appreciate the fact that we were able to sleep last night --

- 7326 \*Voice. Me too.
- 7327 \*The Chairman. -- and you know, come back this morning.
- 7328 And as long as you are not flying somewhere, you can probably
- 7329 get to services tonight at dusk if you are Jewish. So
- 7330 everything is good. Thank you so much. And thank the staff
- 7331 for all their hard work.
- 7332 \*Mrs. Rodgers. Well, Mr. Chairman?
- 7333 \*The Chairman. The staff has really worked hard on --
- 7334 \*Mrs. Rodgers. If I --
- 7335 \*Voice. Good job, Mr. Chairman.
- 7336 \*Mrs. Rodgers. A moment of personal privilege, I too,
- 7337 on behalf of all the Republicans and those of us on this side
- 7338 of the aisle, I want to say thank you for working with us
- 7339 over the last three long days as we have been working through
- 7340 this markup, 16 Titles, which is a record. It is a lot. And
- 7341 tensions get high, and we are obviously not going to agree on
- 7342 every issue, but I have appreciated the accommodations that
- 7343 you have made along the way when people were having
- 7344 challenges getting on and making sure that votes were
- 7345 recorded, and I feel like we can be proud of the work that
- 7346 was done here. Well, be proud of the debate. Let us be
- 7347 proud of the debate that took place and not the work that was
- 7348 done here. Got to correct the record here. Proud of the
- 7349 debate and the spirit in which we had the debate. You know,
- 7350 we are not always going to agree, and certainly, this has

- 7351 been -- this is a tough one for us, but this Committee is
- 7352 still a great Committee, and I have a lot of respect for all
- 7353 the members on the Committee.
- 7354 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 7355 \*The Chairman. Thank you so much. And let me just
- 7356 thank, again, the staff.
- 7357 So without objection, the staff is authorized to make
- 7358 technical and conforming changes to the Committee Prints
- 7359 consistent with the actions taken by the Committee today, and
- 7360 this Committee stands adjourned.
- 7361 [Whereupon, at 3:46 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]