



## Policy Resolution Group Reconciliation & Infrastructure Update

December 17, 2021

Please find below the latest addition of the Policy Resolution Group's FY2022 Budget Reconciliation & Infrastructure Update.

Included in this newsletter are sections on:

- State of Infrastructure and Reconciliation Negotiations
- Liam Donovan's Bottom Line
- Document Library

### **State of Infrastructure and Reconciliation Negotiations**

As negotiations over the Build Back Better reconciliation package continue, the prospects of passage before the new year only grow bleaker. In a Thursday statement, President Biden acknowledged that negotiations with Senator Joe Manchin (D-WV), the Senate Parliamentarian's review, and assorted procedural adjustments will prevent a quick vote on the bill; however, the President expressed confidence that the bill would be finalized in the coming weeks. These statements come after a week of meetings between President Biden, Senator Manchin, and Senate leadership that aimed to resolve disagreements over various climate provisions, extension of the Child Tax Credit, and the true budgetary impact of the legislation. While intraparty debates have yet to yield any major breakthroughs, Democrats are united in their attempts to achieve a compromise that will accomplish the majority of their climate and social spending priorities, even if it must still be significantly modified by both Senator Manchin and the Senate Parliamentarian.

### **Liam Donovan's Bottom Line**

President Biden and congressional Democrats bowed to an increasingly clear reality this week, acknowledging that consideration of their signature Build Back Better (BBB) legislation would slip into the new year. Loyal readers of this space will not be surprised by the development, as the Christmas goal has been on shaky ground at best since Congress returned from the Thanksgiving break. While the nominal reason for the delay is that the parliamentary process will not conclude in time, the fact is that Democrats do not yet have the consensus needed to move forward. And with longstanding concerns from Senator Manchin made new again in the form of the duration of the expanded Child Tax Credit, agreement remains as elusive as ever.

So what does it mean?

**This should not change your outlook on the likelihood of passage.** The surprise here isn't Joe Manchin, who has been remarkably consistent in his concerns and demands. The idea that he could be pressured into simply going along with the rest of the caucus and settling for minor changes on an abbreviated timetable was always suspect. There is a deal to be had, as ever, but it will be on Manchin's terms. The quicker Biden and the rest of the party come around to this realization, the sooner they'll move a bill.

**Failure is not an option.** Progressives won't love it, and acceptance may require another very public cycle of grief as we saw in the fall, but at this point the House is resigned to passing whatever can clear the Senate; corralling Bernie Sanders (e.g.) as the 50<sup>th</sup> vote for a Manchin-centric bill is a far easier proposition than the inverse. This is the last best chance for Democrats to capitalize on their trifecta, and a (nother) trillion dollar bill is better than nothing, contrary to some of the rhetoric coming from the far left. Manchin is the only Democratic Senator who can abide failure, but if that were his objective, he could have stopped the bill in its tracks at any point throughout the year. The fact that more granular negotiations on specific provisions continue to play out is a good sign that Manchin wants to get to yes and is not seeking to torpedo the effort altogether.

**Congress can (and does) legislate in election years.** One of the biggest tropes in Washington is that nothing gets done in a campaign year, but when the balance of power and circumstances align, Congress has been known to do big things. From the CARES Act just last year, to the Affordable Care Act in 2010, to Welfare Reform in 1996, there is ample evidence that a motivated majority can work its will. Democrats will need time to work their way through the current impasse, but otherwise such calendar considerations are incidental.

**Timing.** The most obvious waypoint on the horizon is the need to fund the government by February 18. Democrats will want to get it done by then, if not well in advance, in order to make room for negotiations on a broader spending package. The White House will also have to navigate the President's first State of the Union address—smooth passage would render the speech a prime time victory lap, while further delay would turn it into an opportunity to make the hard sell, both to the viewing public, and the Members in the room. It should be noted that the timetable also has serious administrative implications, with questions of retroactivity already on the minds of taxpayers.

**Unknown unknowns.** Perhaps the biggest risk in delay is that it allows for events to intercede. The latest COVID surge serves as a good reminder that we remain at the mercy of factors beyond our control.

At the end of the day, there is simply no reason that Democrats can't satisfy Manchin, strike a deal, and take the win. Exactly when that happens is almost entirely up to President Biden, who will need to sign off on the terms and sell them to the rest of the party.

With the Senate likely to head home for the holidays after processing a host of pending nominations, we should be in for a low-key balance of the year, with any discussions happening below the surface. Expect the upper chamber to pick up where it left off upon its return on January 3<sup>rd</sup>, with a New Year's resolution to get things moving.

## Document Library

### Bill Text and Summaries

For the House Committee on Rules information page on the Build Back Better Act, including recordings of committee meetings and proposed amendments click [HERE](#).

House Bill Text and Comparisons:

- For the House Rules Committee Print of the Build Back Better Act released on November 3 click [HERE](#).
- For the 1<sup>st</sup> Manager's Amendment adopted and agreed to on November 6, 2021 click [HERE](#).
- For the 2<sup>nd</sup> Manager's Amendment adopted and agreed to on November 18, 2021 click [HERE](#).
- For a comparative print between the November 3 print and the October 28 print click [HERE](#).
- For a comparative print between the November 3 print and the initial text of H.R. 5376 click [HERE](#).
- For the House Committee on Rules page on the Build Back Better Act, including announcements, videos, bill text, amendments, and votes click [HERE](#).

Senate Bill Text:

- For the Senate legislative text for "Title I - Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate Legislative Text for "Title III – Committee on Environment and Public Works" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate legislative text for "Title IV - Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate legislative text for "Title V - Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate legislative text for "Title VIII - Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate legislative text for "Title IX - Committee on Indian Affairs" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate legislative text for "Title X - Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate legislative text for "Title XI - Committee on Veterans' Affairs" click [HERE](#).
- For the Senate legislative text for "Title XII - Committee on Finance" click [HERE](#).

Summaries and Fact Sheets:

- For a section-by-section summary of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the agriculture provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the homeland security provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the science, space, and technology provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

- For a fact sheet on the energy & commerce provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the judiciary provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the small business provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the education & labor provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the natural resources provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the financial services provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the oversight and reform provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the transportation & infrastructure provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the veterans' affairs provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a fact sheet on the ways & means provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

### **Budgetary Effects**

For the Congressional Budget Office's summary of the cost estimate for H.R. 5376, the Build Back Better Act, click [HERE](#).

For a December 8 update from the Congressional Budget Office on the budgetary effects of the Build Back Better Act, click [HERE](#).

For the Congressional Budget Office's report on the budgetary effects of making specified policies in the Build Back Better Act permanent, click [HERE](#).

House bill:

- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Homeland Security provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Small Business provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Veterans Affairs provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Science, Space, and Technology provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Transportation and Infrastructure provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Oversight and Reform provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Financial Services provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Energy and Commerce provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Judiciary provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Ways and Means provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office's estimated budgetary effects of the Education and Labor provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Natural Resources provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Agriculture provisions in the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

Senate bill:

- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title I - Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title III – Committee on Environment and Public Works” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title IV - Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title V - Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title VIII - Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title IX - Committee on Indian Affairs” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title X - Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the Congressional Budget Office’s estimated budgetary effects of the Senate’s “Title XI - Committee on Veterans' Affairs” of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

Other Budgetary Estimates:

- For the Joint Committee on Taxation’s Estimated Budget Effects of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For the White House’s preliminary budgetary estimates of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).
- For a Dear Colleague Letter from the Speaker of the House issued on November 4 regarding the preliminary budget estimate of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

**October 28 Text**

For the House Rules Committee Print of the Build Back Better Act released on October 28 click [HERE](#).

For a section-by-section summary of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

For the Build Back Better Framework released on October 28 click [HERE](#).

For the White House fact sheet on the Build Back Better Framework released on October 28 click [HERE](#).

### **September 27 Text**

For the text of H.R. 5376 the Build Back Better Act as reported by the House Committee on the Budget on September 27 click [HERE](#).

For the report from the Committee on the Budget to accompany H.R. 5376 click [HERE](#).

### **Background Material**

For the Congressional Research Service report on “The Senate’s ‘Byrd Rule’” click [HERE](#).

### **Provisional Text**

For a preliminary budget reconciliation framework signed by Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV) and Sen. Majority Leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) on July 28 click [HERE](#).

For the House Committee on the Budget’s full text of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

- For Part 1 of the House Committee on the Budget’s report on the Build Back Better act click [HERE](#).
- For Part 2 of the House Committee on the Budget’s report on the Build Back Better act click [HERE](#).
- For Part 3 of the House Committee on the Budget’s report on the Build Back Better act click [HERE](#).

For the summary of the Senate budget resolution click [HERE](#).

- For the text of the Senate budget resolution click [HERE](#).
- For the committee print to accompany the FY22 budget resolution click [HERE](#).
- For Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer’s (D-NY) dear colleague letter regarding the climate impacts of the budget resolution click [HERE](#).

For the summary of the House budget resolution click [HERE](#).

- For the text of House Resolution advancing the bipartisan infrastructure agreement, the Senate budget resolution, and H.R. 4 the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2021 click [HERE](#).

For a summary of Sen. Ron Wyden’s (D-OR) proposals for tighter tax rules on partnerships and an excise tax on stock buybacks click [HERE](#).

- For the text of Sen. Wyden’s proposals click [HERE](#).

### **Markups**

**Agriculture:** For the text of the House Agriculture Committee print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

- For a summary of the proposals click [HERE](#).

**Education and Labor:** For the text of the House Committee on Education & Labor print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

- For an amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Chairman Bobby Scott (D-VA) click [HERE](#).

**Energy and Commerce:** For a fact sheet of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce markup of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

- For a memorandum on the markup click [HERE](#).
- For Subtitle A on Air Pollution click [HERE](#).
- For Subtitle B on Hazardous Materials click [HERE](#).
- For Subtitle C on Drinking Water click [HERE](#).
- For Subtitle D on Energy click [HERE](#).
- For Subtitle E on Drug Pricing click [HERE](#).
- For Subtitle F on Affordable Care Coverage click [HERE](#).
- For Subtitle G on Medicaid click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle H on CHIP click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle I on Medicare click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle J on Public Health click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle K on Next Generation 9-1-1 click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle L on Wireless Connectivity click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle M on Distance Learning click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle N on the Manufacturing Supply Chain click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle O on FTC Privacy Enforcement click [HERE](#).
- For subtitle P on the Department of Commerce Inspector General click [HERE](#).
- For a full committee action summary click [HERE](#).

**Financial Services:** For the text of the House Committee on Financial Services click [HERE](#).

- For an amendment in the nature of substitute offered by Chairwoman Maxine Waters (D-CA) click [HERE](#).
- For the committee Memorandum click [HERE](#).
- For the text of H.R. 5195, the “Native American Housing Assistance and Self-Determination Reauthorization Act of 2021” click [HERE](#).
- For the text of H.R. 5196, the “Expediting Assistance to Renters and Landlords Act of 2021” click [HERE](#).

**Homeland Security:** For the committee print of the reconciliation of the House Homeland Security Committee print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

- For the amendments adopted click [HERE](#).

**Judiciary:** For the text of the House Committee on the Judiciary print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

- For an amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Chairman Jerrold Nadler (D-NY) click [HERE](#).

**Natural Resources:** For the text of the House Natural Resources Committee print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

**Science, Space, and Technology:** For the committee print of the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

- For an amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Chairwoman Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-TX) click [HERE](#).

**Small Business:** For the text of the House Committee on Small Business print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

- For an amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Chairwoman Nydia Velázquez (D-NY) click [HERE](#).

**Transportation and Infrastructure:** For the text of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee print containing legislative proposals click [HERE](#).

- For the amendment in nature of a substitute click [HERE](#).

**Ways and Means:** For a summary of the House Ways and Means Committee markup of the Build Back Better Act click [HERE](#).

- For a memorandum on the markup click [HERE](#).
- For a section-by-section summary of subtitles A-E click [HERE](#).
  - For Subtitle A on Universal Paid Family and Medical Leave click [HERE](#).
  - For Subtitle B on Retirement click [HERE](#).
  - For Subtitle C on Child Care Access and Equity click [HERE](#).
  - For Subtitle D on Trade Adjustment Assistance click [HERE](#).
  - For Subtitle E, Part 1 on Health Careers click [HERE](#). For Part 2 on Elder Justice click [HERE](#). For Part 3 on Skilled Nursing Facilities click [HERE](#). For Part 4 on Medicare Dental, Hearing, and Vision Coverage click [HERE](#).
- For a section-by-section summary of Subtitle F-J click [HERE](#).
  - For legislative recommendations relating to infrastructure financing, green energy, social safety net, and prescription drugs click [HERE](#).
  - For the estimated budgetary effects of the revenue provisions from the Joint Committee on Taxation click [HERE](#).
  - For the estimated distributional effects of the revenue provisions from the Joint Committee on Taxation click [HERE](#).
  - For a description of the Chairman’s Amendment in the Nature of a Substitute from the Joint Committee on Taxation click [HERE](#).
  - For a summary of Subtitle F on Infrastructure from the Joint Committee on Taxation click [HERE](#).
  - For a summary of Subtitle G on Green Energy from the Joint Committee on Taxation click [HERE](#).
  - For a summary of Subtitle H on the Social Safety Net from the Joint Committee on Taxation click [HERE](#).
  - For a summary of Subtitle J on Drug Pricing from the Joint Committee on Taxation click [HERE](#).
- For a section-by-section summary of Subtitle I click [HERE](#).
  - For legislative recommendations relating to Funding Our Priorities click [HERE](#).
- For the Joint Committee on Taxation’s estimated budgetary effects of legislative recommendations relating to infrastructure financing and community development, green energy, social safety net, responsibly funding our priorities, and drug pricing click [HERE](#).
- For the final vote results click [HERE](#).

## **Letters**

For a letter for Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer on the environmental benefits of the infrastructure bill and reconciliation bill see [HERE](#).

For Senator Joe Manchin's Opinion piece calling for a strategic pause on spending click [HERE](#).

For a letter from Rep. Stephanie Murphy (D-FL) and Rep. Henry Cuellar (D-TX) rejecting deficit spending except on climate policy click [HERE](#).

For a letter from Democrats calling for increased support for biofuels click [HERE](#).

For a letter from House Democrats supporting the Polluter Pays Climate Fund Act click [HERE](#).

For a letter from House Democrats supporting an array of international tax provisions see [HERE](#).

For a letter from Democratic governors supporting the budget reconciliation bill click [HERE](#).

For an endorsement of the environmental provisions from a coalition of environmental groups see [HERE](#).

For a letter from the United Mine Workers of America opposing the initial proposal for a Clean Electricity Standard click [HERE](#).

For a letter from America's Power opposing the Clean Electricity Performance Program click [HERE](#).

For a letter from the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association opposing the Clean Electricity Performance Program click [HERE](#).

For a letter from the American Public Power Association opposing the Clean Electricity Performance Program click [HERE](#).

For a letter from America Electric Power opposing the Clean Electricity Performance Program click [HERE](#).

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