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# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 105th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 143 WASHINGTON, MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1997 No. 161

# House of Representatives

## APPOINTMENT BY THE SPEAKER AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the provisions of section 4021(c) of Public Law 105–33 and section 3 of House Resolution 311, 105th Congress, the Speaker on Monday, December 1, 1997, did appoint the following Members on the part of the House to the National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare:

Mr. THOMAS of California.

Mr. GANSKE of Iowa.

Mr. BILIRAKIS of Florida.

Mr. Samuel H. Howard of Nashville, TN.

On Friday, December 5, 1997, the Speaker did also appoint the following members on the part of the House:

Mr. DINGELL of Michigan.

Mr. MCDERMOTT of Washington.

## APPOINTMENT BY THE SPEAKER AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to the provisions of section 8131(a)(2) of Public Law 105–56 and section 3 of House Resolution 311, 105th Congress, the Speaker on Friday, November 21, 1997, did appoint the following members on the part of the House to the Panel To Review Long-Range Air Power:

Mr. Donald B. Rice of California.

Mr. John S. Foster, Jr., of California.

## COMMUNICATION FROM THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
OFFICE OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER,
*Washington, DC, December 1, 1997.*

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
*Speaker of the House,*
*U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to section 955(b)(1)(B), Public Law 105–83, I hereby appoint the following Member to the National Council on the Arts: Mrs. Lowey, NY.

Yours very truly,
RICHARD A. GEPHARDT.

## RESIGNATION FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. FLAKE submitted the following resignation from the House of Representatives:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, DC, November 7, 1997.*

Hon. ALEXANDER TREADWELL,
*Secretary of State,*
*Albany, NY.*

DEAR SECRETARY TREADWELL: Pursuant to section 31 of the Public Officers law, I hereby inform you that I am resigning from the United States House of Representatives. My resignation will become effective at midnight on November 16, 1997.

As you and the citizens of New York are well aware, I am returning to my pastorate at the Allen A.M.E. church in Jamaica, Queens. Although I have been called back to Allen to devote my energy and full-time attention to its congregation, I am proud of my service in Congress. It has been my distinct privilege to represent the people of the 6th Congressional District of New York, and an honor to serve the people of the United States of America.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

FLOYD H. FLAKE,
*Member of Congress.*

## COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, DC, November 14, 1997.*

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
*Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 5 of Rule III of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on Friday, November 14, 1997 at 1:30 p.m.: that the Senate PASSED without amendment H.J. Res. 106.

With warm regards,
ROBIN H. CARLE, *Clerk,*
*U.S. House of Representatives.*

## COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

OFFICE OF THE CLERK,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
*Washington, DC, November 14, 1997.*

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
*Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 5 of Rule III of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on Friday, November 14, 1997 at 2:15 p.m.:

S. 476—Agreed to House amendment.
S. 738—Agreed to House amendment.
H.R. 1254—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 1493—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 1604—Receded from amendment 61.
H.R. 2159—Agreed to Conference Report.
H.R. 2265—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 2267—Agreed to Conference Report.
H.R. 2476—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 2607—Agreed to House amendments.
H.R. 2626—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 2796—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 2979—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 3025—PASSED without amendment.
H.R. 3034—PASSED without amendment.
H.J. Res. 95—PASSED without amendment.
H.J. Res. 96—PASSED without amendment.

ROBIN H. CARLE, *Clerk,*
*U.S. House of Representatives.*

## ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Oversight subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the 1st session, 105th Congress did on the following dates report that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker pro tempore:

On November 13, 1997:

H.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

☐ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., ☐ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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On November 17, 1997:

H.R. 2607. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

H.R. 867. An act to promote the adoption of children in foster care.

On November 19, 1997:

H.R. 2159. An act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 24, 1997:

H.R. 2267. An act making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 25, 1997:

H.R. 1254. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 1919 West Bennett Street in Springfield, Missouri, as the ''John N. Griesemer Post Office Building.''

H.R. 1493. An act to require the Attorney General to establish a program in local prisons to identify, prior to arraignment, criminal aliens and aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2626. An act to make clarifications to the Pilot Records Improvement Act of 1996, and for other purposes.

On December 4, 1997:

H.R. 1604. An act to provide for the division, use, and distribution of judgment funds of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan pursuant to dockets numbered 18–E, 58, 364, and 18–R before the Indian Claims Commission.

H.R. 1658. An act to reauthorize and amend the Atlantic Stiped Bass Conservation Act and related laws.

H.R. 2265. An act to amend the provisions of titles 17 and 18, United States Code, to provide greater copyright protection by amending the criminal copyright infringement provisions, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2476. An act to amend title 49, United States Code, to require the National Transportation Safety Board and individual foreign air carriers to address the needs of families of passengers involved in aircraft accidents involving foreign air carriers.

H.R. 2796. An act to authorize the reimbursement of members of the Army deployed to Europe in support of operations in Bosnia for certain out-of-pocket expenses incurred by the members during the period beginning on October 1, 1996, and ending on May 31, 1997.

H.R. 2977. An act to amend the Federal Advisory Committee Act to clarify public disclosure requirements that are applicable to the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Public Administration.

H.R. 2979. An act to authorize acquisition of certain real property for the Library of Congress, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3025. An act to amend the Federal charter for Group Hospitalization and Medical Services, Inc., and for other purposes.

H.R. 3034. An act to amend section 13031 of the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985, relating to customs user fees, to allow the use of such fees to provide for customs inspectional personnel in connection with the arrival of passengers in Florida, and for other purposes.

H.J. Res. 95. Joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to the Chickasaw Trail Economic Development Compact.

H.J. Res. 96. Joint resolution granting the consent and approval of Congress for the State of Maryland, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the District of Columbia to amend the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Regulation Compact.

## SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The Speaker pro tempore, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the 1st session, 105th Congress, announced her signature to enrolled bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

On November 17, 1997:

S. 1026. An act to reauthorize the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

S. 1139. An act to reauthorize the programs of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

S. 1228. An act to provide for a 10-year circulating commemorative coin program to commemorate each of the 50 States, and for other purposes.

S. 1354. An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide for the designation of common carriers not subject to the jurisdiction of a State commission as eligible telecommunications carriers.

S. 1378. An act to extend the authorization of use of official mail in the location and recovery of missing children, and for other purposes.

S. 1417. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing and equipping of a Center for Performing Arts within the complex known as the New Mexico Hispanic Cultural Center and for other purposes.

S. 1505. An act to make technical and conforming amendments to the Museum and Library Services Act, and for other purposes.

S. 1507. An act to amend the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998 to make certain technical corrections.

S. 1519. An act to provide a 6-month extension of highway, highway safety, and transit programs pending enactment of a law reauthorizing the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991.

On November 19, 1997:

S. 156. An act to provide certain benefits of the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin program to the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, and for other purposes.

S. 476. An act to provide for the establishment of not less than 2,500 Boys and Girls Clubs of America facilities by the year 2000.

S. 738. An act to reform the statutes relating to Amtrak, to authorize appropriations for Amtrak, and for other purposes.

S. 819. An act to designate the United States courthouse at 200 South Washington Street in Alexandria, Virginia, as the Martin V.B. Bostetter, Jr. United States Courthouse.

S. 830. An act to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and the Public Health Service Act to improve the regulation of food, drugs, devices, and biological products, and for other purposes.

S. 833. An act to designate the Federal building courthouse at Public Square and Superior Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio, as the Howard M. Metzenbaum United States Courthouse.

S. 1161. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to authorize appropriations for refugee and entrant assistance for fiscal years 1998 and 1999.

S. 1193. An act to amend chapter 443 of title 49, United States Code, to extend the authorization of the aviation insurance program, and for other purposes.

S. 1559. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing, and equipping of a Center for Historically Black Heritage within Florida A&M University.

S. 1565. An act to make technical corrections to the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act.

S.J. Res 39. A joint resolution to provide for the convening of the second session of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

## BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Oversight, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the 1st session, 105th Congress, did on the following date present to the President for his approval bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On November 14, 1997:

H.J. Res. 103. Joint resolution waiving certain enrollment requirements with respect to certain specified bills of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

H.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 17, 1997:

H.R. 867. An act to promote the adoption of children in foster care.

H.R. 2607. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 19, 1997:

H.R. 2159. An act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 24, 1997:

H.R. 2267. An act making appropriations for the Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 25, 1997:

H.R. 1254. An act to designate United States Post Office building located at 1919 West Bennett Street in Springfield, Missouri, as the ''John N. Griesemer Post Office Building.''

H.R. 2626. An act to make clarifications to the Pilot Records Improvement Act of 1996, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1493. An act to require the Attorney General to establish a program in local prisons to identify, prior to arraignment, criminal aliens and aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States, and for other purposes.

On December 4, 1997:

H.R. 2476. An act to amend title 49, United States Code, to require the National Transportation Safety Board and individual foreign air carriers to address therneeds of families of passengers involved in aircraft accidents involving foreign air carriers.

H.R. 2265. An act to amend the provisions of titles 17 and 18, United States Code, to provide greater copyright protection by amending criminal copyright infringement provisions, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1604. An act to provide for the division, use, and distribution of judgments funds of the Ottawa and Chippawa Indians of Michigan pursuant to dockets numbered 18–E, 58, 364, and 18–R before the Indian Claims Commission.

H.R. 3034. An act to amend section 13031 of the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985, relating to customs user fees, to allow the use of such fees to provide for customs inspectional personnel in connection with the arrival of passengers in Florida, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2796. An act to authorize the reimbursement of members of the Army deployed to Europe in support of operations in Bosnia

for certain out-of-pocket expenses incurred by the members during the period beginning on October 1, 1996, and ending on May 31, 1997.

H.R. 1658. An act to reauthorize and amend the Atlantic Striped Bass Conservation Act and related laws.

H.R. 2977. An act to amend the Federal Advisory Committee Act to clarify public disclosure requirements that are applicable to the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Public Administration.

H.R. 2979. An act to authorize acquisition of certain real property for the Library of Congress, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3025. An act to amend the Federal charter for Group Hospitalization and Medical Services, Inc., and for other purposes.

H.J. Res. 95. Joint resolution grating the consent of Congress to the Chickawan Trail Economic Development Compact.

H.J. Res. 96. Joint resolution granting the consent and approval of Congress for the State of Maryland, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the District of Columbia to amend the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Regulation Compact.

## HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT PRIOR TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On November 7, 1997:

H.J. Res. 101. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 9, 1997:

H.J. Res. 104. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 10, 1997:

H.J. Res. 105. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2013. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 551 Kingstown Road in South Kingstown, Rhode Island, as the ''David B. Champagne Post Office Building.''

On November 12, 1997:

H.R. 2464. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to exempt internationally adopted children 10 years of age or younger from the immunization requirement in section 212(a)(1)(A)(ii) of such Act.

On November 13, 1997:

H.R. 79. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain land in the Six Rivers National Forest in the State of California for the benefit of the Hoopa Valley Tribe.

H.R. 672. An act to make technical amendments to certain provisions of title 17, United States Code.

H.R. 708. An act to require the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study concerning grazing use and open space within and adjacent to Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming, and to extend temporarily certain grazing privileges.

H.R. 2264. An act making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

## SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT PRIOR TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills of the Senate of the following titles:

On November 10, 1997:

S. 1227. An act to amend title I of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to clarify treatment of investment managers under such title.

On November 12, 1997:

S. 587. An act to require the Secretary of the Interior to exchange certain lands located in Hinsdale County, Colorado.

S. 588. An act to provide for the expansion of the Eagles Nest Wilderness within the Arapaho National Forest and the White River National Forest, Colorado, to include land known as the Slate Creek Addition.

S. 589. An act to provide for a boundary adjustment and land conveyance involving the Raggeds Wilderness, White River National Forest, Colorado, to correct the effects of earlier erroneous land surveys.

S. 591. An act to transfer the Dillon Ranger District in the Arapaho National Forest to the White River National Forest in the State of Colorado.

On November 13, 1997:

S. 931. An act to designate the Marjory Stoneman Douglas Wilderness and the Ernest F. Coe Visitor Center.

## HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the 1st session, 105th Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On November 14, 1997:

H.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution making further appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2107. An act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 18, 1997:

H.R. 1119. An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1998 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2160. An act making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 19, 1997:

H.R. 282. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 153 East 110th Street, New York, New York, as the ''Oscar Garcia Rivera Post Office Building.''

H.R. 681. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 313 East Broadway in Glendale, California, as the ''Carlos J. Moorhead Post Office Building.''

H.R. 867. An act to promote the adoption of children in foster care.

H.R. 1057. An act to designate the building in Indianapolis, Indiana, which houses the operations of the Indianapolis Main Post Office as the ''Andrew Jacobs, Jr. Post Office Building.''

H.R. 1058. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service under construction at 150 West Margaret Drive in Terre Haute, Indiana, as the ''John T. Myers Post Office Building.''

H.R. 1377. An act to amend title I of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to encourage retirement income savings.

H.R. 1479. An act to designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 300 Northeast First Avenue in Miami, Florida, as the ''David W. Dyer Federal Building and United States Courthouse.''

H.R. 1484. An act to redesignate the United States courthouse located at 100 Franklin Street in Dublin, Georgia, as the ''J. Roy Rowland United States Court.''

H.R. 1747. An act to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize the design and construction of additions to the parking garage and certain site improvements, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1787. An act to assist in the conservation of Asian elephants by supporting and providing financial resources for the conservation programs of nations within the range of Asian elephants and projects of persons with demonstrated expertise in the conservation of Asian elephants.

H.R. 2129. An act to designate the United States Post Office located at 150 North 3rd Street in Steubenville, Ohio, as the ''Douglas Applegate Post Office.''

H.R. 2367. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide a cost-of-living adjustment in the rates of disability compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for survivors of such veterans.

H.R. 2564. An act to designate the United States Post Office located at 450 North Centre Street in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, as the ''Peter J. McCloskey Postal Facility.''

H.R. 2607. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On November 20, 1997:

H.J. Res. 91. Joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint River Basin Compact.

H.J. Res. 92. Joint resolution granting the consent of Congress to the Alabama-Coosa-Tallapoosa River Basin Compact.

H.R. 1086. An act to codify without substantive change laws related to transportation and to improve the United States Code.

H.R. 2813. An act to waive time limitations specified by law in order to allow the Medal of Honor to be awarded to Robert R. Ingram of Jacksonville, Florida for acts of valor while a Navy Hospital Corpsman in the Republic of Vietnam during the Vietnam conflict.

On November 21, 1997:

H.R. 1090. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to allow revision of veterans benefits decisions based on clear and unmistakeable error.

H.R. 1840. An act to provide a law enforcement exception to the prohibition on the advertising of certain electronic devices.

H.R. 2366. An act to transfer to the Secretary of Agriculture the authority to conduct the census of agriculture, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2731. An act for the relief of Roy Desmond Moser.

H.R. 2732. An act for the relief of John Andre Chalot.

On November 26, 1997:

H.J. Res. 103. Joint resolution waiving certain enrollment requirements with respect to certain specified bills of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

H.R. 2159. An act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and

related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2267. An act making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

On December 2, 1997:

H.R. 1254. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 1919 West Bennett Street in Springfield, Missouri, as the ''John N. Griesemer Post Office Building.''

On December 5, 1997:

H.R. 1493. An act to require the Attorney General to establish a program in local prisons to identify, prior to arraignment, criminal aliens and aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2626. An act to make clarifications to the Pilot Records Improvement Act of 1996, and for other purposes.

## SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the 1st session, 105th Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

On November 19, 1997:

S. 813. An act to amend chapter 91 of title 18, United States Code, to provide criminal penalties for theft and willful vandalism at national cemeteries.

On November 20, 1997:

S. 669. An act to provide for the acquisition of the Plains Railroad Depot at the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site.

S. 858. An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1998 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government, the Community Management Account, and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes.

S. 1231. An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1998 and 1999 for the United States Fire Administration, and for other purposes.

S. 1347. An act to permit the city of Cleveland, Ohio, to convey certain lands that the United States conveyed to the city.

S. 1377. An act to amend the Act incorporating the American Legion to make a technical correction.

On November 21, 1997:

S. 714. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise, extend, and improve programs for veterans.

S. 830. An act to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and the Public Health Service Act to improve the regulation of food, drugs, devices, and biological products, and for other purposes.

S. 923. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to prohibit interment or memorialization in certain cemeteries of persons committing Federal or State capital crimes.

S. 1258. An act to amend the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970 to prohibit an alien who is not lawfully present in the United States from receiving assistance under that Act.

On November 26, 1997:

S. 1026. An act to reauthorize the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

On December 1, 1997:

S. 819. An act to designate the United States courthouse at 200 South Washington Street in Alexandria, Virginia, as the ''Martin V.B. Bostetter, Jr. United States Courthouse.''

S. 833. An act to designate the Federal building courthouse at Public Square and Superior Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio, as the ''Howard M. Metzenbaum United States Courthouse.''

S. 1228. An act to provide for a 10-year circulating commemorative coin program to commemorate each of the 50 States, and for other purposes.

S. 1354. An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide for the designation of common carriers not subject to the jurisdiction of a State commission as eligible telecommunications carriers.

S. 1378. An act to extend the authorization of use of official mail in the location and recovery of missing children, and for other purposes.

S. 1417. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing and equipping of a Center for Performing Arts within the complex known as the New Mexico Hispanic Cultural Center and for other purposes.

S. 1505. An act to make technical and conforming amendments to the Museum and Library Services Act, and for other purposes.

S. 1507. An act to amend the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998 to make certain technical corrections.

S. 1519. An act to provide a 6-month extension of highway, highway safety, and transit programs pending enactment of a law reauthorizing the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991.

On December 2, 1997:

S. 156. An act to provide certain benefits of the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin program to the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, and for other purposes.

S. 476. An act to provide for the establishment of not less than 2,500 Boys and Girls Clubs of America facilities by the year 2000.

S. 738. An act to reform the statutes relating to Amtrak, to authorize appropriations for Amtrak, and for other purposes.

S. 1139. An act to reauthorize the programs of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

S. 1161. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to authorize appropriations for refugee and entrant assistance for fiscal years 1998 and 1999.

S. 1193. An act to amend chapter 443 of title 49, United States Code, to extend the authorization of the aviation insurance program, and for other purposes.

S. 1559. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing, and equipping of a Center for Historically Black Heritage within Florida A&M University.

S. 1565. An act to make technical corrections to the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act.

S.J. Res. 39. Joint resolution to provide for the convening of the Second Session of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

## OMISSION FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF NOVEMBER 13, 1997

### SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1371. An act to establish felony violations for the failure to pay legal child support obligations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## OMISSION FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF NOVEMBER 13, 1997, PAGES 10899 AND 10900

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SHUSTER] and the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. OBERSTAR] each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SHUSTER].

Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, at long last we have an Amtrak reform bill here on the floor which has strong bipartisan support. It is a bill which has the reforms in it which are so necessary. It is a bill which provides for the board, which is the creation of a new board which is constitutional and which has the degree of independence necessary to make the tough decisions. It provides for the management to be able to make decisions with regard to the route configuration. Indeed, it gives Amtrak a fighting chance to succeed and survive.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of our colleagues to support this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 738, the Amtrak Reform and Accountability Act of 1997.

Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased that we have been able to reach a bipartisan agreement on an amendment to S. 738. Over the past 24 hours, we have been able to reach consensus with our colleagues on the other side of the aisle on the issue of the Amtrak board of directors. This amendment will provide Amtrak with the reforms it so badly needs, as well as release of the $2.3 billion in capital funds that were provided in the Taxpayer Relief Act.

The amendment adopts the basic principles and reforms of S. 738, the bill passed by the Senate last Friday by unanimous consent, and makes limited but important changes that will ensure successful implementation of long overdue Amtrak reforms.

This amendment contains the labor, liability, and contracting-out provisions that were included in the Senate bill with no changes.

I am pleased that the reforms in this amendment will allow Amtrak, for the first time in its 26-year history, to operate more like a business and cut costs.

On the issue of labor protection, the Senate bill contains a provision that is almost identical to reforms that were included in the House bill, H.R. 2247. The provision will repeal the statutory guarantee that Amtrak provide up to 6 years of labor protection to any employee who is laid off due to a route elimination or frequency reduction to below three times per week. This issue would be sent to collective bargaining, under a 180-day accelerated bargaining process.

The current ban on contracting out any work other than food and beverage service if it would result in the layoff of a single employee would also be repealed in the Senate bill. This issue would be sent to collective bargaining, but would not be negotiable until the next round of contract negotiations, unless the parties mutually agreed to take it up before then.

The Senate bill also provides for a global cap of $200 million on tort liability for death or injury to a passenger, or damage to property of a passenger. It also includes a requirement

that Amtrak maintain insurance of at least $200 million.

Further, the Senate bill would clarify that a provider of rail passenger transportation may enter into contracts that allocate financial responsibility for claims. This provision is not to be construed to impair or call into question the enforceability of existing contracts between Amtrak and other rail carriers that allocate financial responsibility for claims. It also should not be construed to affect pending cases. In addition, it should not be construed to eliminate existing State limits on liability for commuter operators.

Again, on these important issues . . . labor protection, liability and contracting out . . . we are accepting the Senate compromise and making no change to it.

The one significant departure from the Senate bill in this amendment relates to the board of directors. The House amendment would replace the existing board with a new, 7-member reform board to be appointed by the President in consultation with House and Senate majority and minority leadership. New members would be required to have expertise in transportation or corporate or financial management.

The purpose of this provision is to provide a fresh start for Amtrak, and to ensure that only qualified professionals are permitted to serve on the board of directors. The amendment also allows the President to select the Secretary of Transportation as a board member. It also designates the president of Amtrak as an ex-officio, non-voting member of the board.

Mr. Speaker, these changes to Amtrak's board bill are necessary to allow the Senate-passed reforms to work.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Senate bill as modified by this amendment provides meaningful reform of Amtrak that will go a long way toward restoring financial viability and improving rail passenger service. It will also release the $2.3 billion that was provided in the Taxpayer Relief Act, allowing Amtrak to make much-needed capital investments.

I urge a ''yes'' vote on S. 738, as amended.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

United States of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 105th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 143 WASHINGTON, MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1997 No. 161

# Senate

## REPORT OF THE CANCELLATION OF DISCRETIONARY BUDGET AUTHORITY (97–75)—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SENATE—PM 82

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate on November 20, 1997, received a message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; referred jointly, pursuant to section 1022 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, to the Committee on Appropriations, and to the Committee on the Budget.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington, DC, November 20, 1997.*

Hon. ALBERT GORE, Jr.,
*President of the Senate,*
*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with the Line Item Veto Act, I hereby cancel the dollar amounts of discretionary budget authority, as specified in the attached reports, contained in the ''Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1998'' (H.R. 2107). I have determined that the cancellation of these amounts will reduce the Federal budget deficit, will not impair any essential Government functions, and will not harm the national interest. This letter, together with its attachments, constitutes a special message under section 1022 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, as amended.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

## REPORT OF THE CANCELLATION OF DISCRETIONARY BUDGET AUTHORITY (97–78)—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SENATE—PM 83

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate on November 20, 1997, received a message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; referred jointly, pursuant to section 1022 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, to the Committee on Appropriations, and to the Committee on the Budget.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington, DC, November 20, 1997.*

Hon. ALBERT GORE, Jr.,
*President of the Senate,*
*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with the Line Item Veto Act, I hereby cancel the dollar amounts of discretionary budget authority, as specified in the attached reports, contained in the ''Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1998'' (H.R. 2160). I have determined that the cancellation of these amounts will reduce the Federal Budget deficit, will not impair any essential Government functions, and will not harm the national interest. This letter, together with its attachments, constitutes a special message under section 1022 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, as amended.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

## REPORT OF THE CANCELLATION OF DISCRETIONARY BUDGET AUTHORITY (97–82)—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SENATE—PM 81

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate on December 2, 1997, received a message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; referred jointly, pursuant to section 1025 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, to the Committee on Appropriations, and to the Committee on the Budget.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
*Washington, DC, November 20, 1997.*

Hon. ALBERT GORE, Jr.,
*President of the Senate,*
*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with the Line Item Veto Act, I hereby cancel the dollar amounts of discretionary budget authority, as specified in the attached report, contained in the ''Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1998'' (H.R. 2267). I have determined that the cancellation of these amounts will reduce the Federal Budget deficit, will not impair any essential Government functions, and will not harm the national interest. This letter, together with its attachment, constitutes a special message under section 1022 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, as amended.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

## MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 14, 1997, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the House has passed the following bills and joint resolution, each without amendment:

S. 156. An act to provide certain benefits of the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin program to the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, and for other purposes.

S. 819. An act to designate the United States courthouse at 200 South Washington Street in Alexandria, Virginia, as the ''Martin V.B. Bostetter, Jr. United States Courthouse.''

S. 833. An act to designate the Federal building courthouse at Public Square and Superior Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio, as the ''Howard M. Metzenbaum United States Courthouse.''

S. 1161. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to authorize appropriations for refugees and entrant assistance for fiscal years 1998 and 1999.

S. 1193. An act to amend chapter 443 of title 49, United States Code, to extend the authorization of the aviation insurance program, and for other purposes.

S. 1559. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing, and equipping of a Center for Historically Black Heritage within Florida A&M University.

S. 1565. An act to make technical corrections to the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act.

● This ''bullet'' symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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S.J. Res. 39. Joint resolution to provide for the convening of the Second Session of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolutions, each without amendment:

S. Con. Res. 68. Concurrent resolution to adjourn sine die the First Session of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

S. Con. Res. 70. Concurrent resolution to correct a technical error in the enrollment of the bill S. 1026.

The message further announced that the House has passed the following joint resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2267) making appropriations for the Department of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled joint resolutions:

H.J. Res. 103. Joint resolution waiving certain enrollment requirements with respect to certain specified bills of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

H.J. Res. 106. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1998, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the enrolled joint resolutions were signed on November 14, during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 18, 1997, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker pro tempore [Mrs. MORELLA] has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 156. An act to provide certain benefits of the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin program to the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, and for other purposes.

S. 476. An act to provide for the establishment of not less than 2,500 Boys and Girls Clubs of America facilities by the year 2000.

S. 738. An act to reform the statutes relating to Amtrak, to authorize appropriations for Amtrak, and for other purposes.

S. 819. An act to designate the United States courthouse at 200 South Washington Street in Alexandria, Virginia, as the Martin V.B. Bostetter, Jr. United States Courthouse.

S. 833. An act to designate the Federal building courthouse at Public Square and Superior Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio, as the Howard M. Metzenbaum United States Courthouse.

S. 1161. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to authorize appropriations for refugee and entrant assistance for fiscal years 1998 and 1999.

S. 1193. An act to amend chapter 443 of title 49, United States Code, to extend the authorization of the aviation insurance program, and for other purposes.

S. 1559. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing, and equipping of a Center for Historically Black Heritage within Florida A&M University.

S. 1565. An act to make technical corrections to the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act.

S.J. Res. 39. Joint resolution to provide for the convening of the second session of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the enrolled bills and joint resolutions were signed on November 18, during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 18, 1997, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker pro tempore [Mrs. MORELLA] has signed the following enrolled bills:

S. 1026. An act to reauthorize the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

S. 1139. An act to reauthorize the programs of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

S. 1228. An act to provide for a 10-year circulating commemorative coin program to commemorate each of the 50 States, and for other purposes.

S. 1354. An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide for the designation of common carriers not subject to the jurisdiction of a State commission as eligible telecommunications carriers.

S. 1378. An act to extend the authorization of use of official mail in the location and recovery of missing children, and for other purposes.

S. 1417. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing and equipping of a Center for Performing Arts within the complex known as the New Mexico Hispanic Cultural Center and for other purposes.

S. 1505. An act to make technical and conforming amendments to the Museum and Library Services Act, and for other purposes.

S. 1507. An act to amend the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998 to make certain technical corrections.

S. 1519. An act to provide a 6-month extension of highway, highway safety, and transit programs pending enactment of a law reauthorizing the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the enrolled bills were signed on November 18, during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 14, 1997, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker pro tempore [Mrs. MORELLA] has signed the following enrolled bills:

S. 830. An act to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and the Public Health Service Act to improve the regulations of food, drugs, devices, and biological products, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2159. An act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the enrolled bills were signed on November 19, 1997 during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 24, 1997, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 2267. An act making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the enrolled bill was signed on November 24, 1997 during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 25, 1997, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 1254. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 1919 West Bennett Street in Springfield, Missouri, as the ''John N. Griesemer Post Office Building.''

H.R. 1493. An act to require the Attorney General to establish a program in local prisons to identify, prior to arraignment, criminal aliens and aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2626. An act to make clarifications to the Pilot Records Improvement Act of 1996, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 7, 1997, the enrolled bills were signed on November 25, 1997 during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

## ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that he had presented to the President of the United States, the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

On November 17, 1997:

S. 156. An act to provide certain benefits of the Pick-Sloan Missouri River Basin program to the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, and for other purposes.

S. 476. An act to provide for the establishment of not less than 2,500 Boys and Girls Clubs of America facilities by the year 2000.

S. 738. An act to reform the statutes relating to Amtrak, to authorize appropriations for Amtrak, and for other purposes.

S. 819. An act to designate the United States courthouse at 200 South Washington Street in Alexandria, Virginia, as the Martin V.B. Bosteller, Jr. United States Courthouse.

S. 833. An act to designate the Federal building courthouse at Public Square and Superior Avenue in Cleveland, Ohio, as the

Howard M. Metzenbaum United States Courthouse.

S. 1161. An act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to authorize appropriations for refugee and entrant assistance for fiscal years 1998 and 1999.

S. 1193. An act to amend chapter 443 of title 49, United States Code, to extend the authorization of the aviation insurance program, and for other purposes.

S. 1559. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing, and equipping of a Center for Historically Black Heritage within Florida A&M University.

S. 1565. an act to make technical corrections to the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act.

S.J. Res. 39. Joint resolution to provide for the convening of the second session of the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

On November 19, 1997:

S. 830. An act to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act and the Public Health Service Act to improve the regulation of food, drugs, devices, and biological products, and for other purposes.

S. 1026. An act to reauthorize the Export-Import Bank of the United States.

S. 1228. An act to provide for the 10-year circulating commemorative coin program to commemorate each of the 50 States, and for other purposes.

S. 1354. An act to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide for the designation of common carriers not subject to the jurisdiction of a State commission as eligible telecommunications carriers.

S. 1378. An act to extend the authorization of use of official mail in the location and recovery of missing children, and for other purposes.

S. 1417. An act to provide for the design, construction, furnishing, and equipping of a Center for Performing Arts within the complex known as the New Mexico Hispanic Cultural Center and for other purposes.

S. 1505. An act to make technical and conforming amendments to the Museum and Library Services Act, and for other purposes.

S. S. 1507. An act to amend the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1998 to make certain technical corrections.

S. 1519. An act to provide a 6-month extension of highway, highway safety, and transit programs pending enactment of a law reauthorizing the Internodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991.

On November 21, 1997:

S. 1139. An act to reauthorize the programs of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

## ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

### ASIAN ELEPHANT CONSERVATION ACT OF 1997

● Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, on November 7, 1997, the Committee on Environment and Public Works filed a report (S. Rept. 105–142) to accompany S. 1287, a bill to assist in the conservation of Asian elephants by supporting and providing financial resources for the conservation programs of nations within the range of Asian elephants and projects of persons with demonstrated expertise in the conservation of Asian elephants. The bill is known as the Asian Elephant Conservation Act of 1997. The bill was placed on the Senate Calendar.

An identical companion bill, H.R. 1787, subsequently was passed by the Senate on November 8, 1997.

Under the Senate rules, a cost estimate prepared by the Congressional Budget Office must be submitted with the filed report. Because the cost estimate was not available when the report was filed I ask that the letter from the Director of the Congressional Budget Office, received on November 21, 1997, be printed in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
*Washington, DC, November 21, 1997.*

Hon. JOHN H. CHAFEE,
*Chairman, Committee on Environment and Public Works, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Congressional Budget Office has prepared the enclosed cost estimate for S. 1287, the Asian Elephant Conservation Act of 1997.

If you wish further details on this estimate, we will be pleased to provide them. The CBO staff contact is Deborah Reis.

Sincerely,

JUNE E. O'NEILL, *Director.*

Enclosure.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE COST ESTIMATE

*S. 1287.—Asian Elephant Conservation Act of 1997*

Summary: S. 1287 would establish a new fund to support the conservation of Asian elephants. The bill would direct the Secretary of the Interior to use amounts in the new fund to finance eligible conservation efforts, which may include specific projects such as research and education as well as ongoing activities such as law enforcement. For this purpose, S. 1287 would authorize appropriations to the fund of $5 million for each of fiscal years 1998 through 2002. Also, the Secretary would be authorized to accept and use donated funds without further appropriation.

Assuming appropriation of the authorized amounts, CBO estimates that implementing S. 1287 would result in additional discretionary spending of about $10 million over the 1998-2002 period (with the remainder of the authorized $25 million estimated to be spent after 2002). The legislation would affect direct spending and receipts by allowing the Secretary to accept and spend donations; therefore, pay-as-you-go procedures would apply. Any such transactions, however, would involve minor, offsetting amounts. S. 1287 contains no intergovernmental or private-sector mandates as defined in the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act of 1995 (UMRA) and would have no impact on the budgets of state, local, or tribal governments.

Estimated Cost to the Federal Government: For purposes of this estimate, CBO assumes that the entire amounts authorized by S. 1287 will be appropriated for each of fiscal years 1998 through 2002. Outlay estimates are based on obligation patterns for similar programs, which indicate that the rate of spending over the first few years of the new program would be slow. The estimated budgetary impact of S. 1287 is shown in the following table.

SPENDING SUBJECT TO APPROPRIATION

[By fiscal year, in millions of dollars]

| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Authorization level | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Estimated outlays | (1) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

[1] Less than $500,000.

The costs of this legislation fall within budget function 300 (natural resources and environment). Spending for the conservation of Asian elephants would constitute a new program in the federal budget; that is, there is no spending for this activity under current law.

Enacting S. 1287 also would affect both receipts and direct spending by authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to accept and use donations. CBO estimates that this provision would increase federal receipts by less than $500,000 annually once the conservation program has been established. Because these receipts would be offset by additional direct spending, the net impact of this provision on the federal budget would be negligible in each year.

Pay-as-You-Go Considerations: The Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 specifies pay-as-you-go procedures for legislation affecting direct spending or receipts. Although enacting S. 1287 would affect both receipts and direct spending, CBO estimates that the amounts involved would be less than $500,000 annually.

Intergovernmental and Private-Sector Impact: S. 1287 contains no intergovernmental or private-sector mandates as defined in UMRA and would have no impact on the budgets of state, local, or tribal governments.

Previous CBO Estimate: On September 17, 1997, CBO prepared an estimate for H.R. 1787, a similar bill ordered reported by the House Committee on Resources on September 10, 1997. The two estimates are identical.

Estimate Prepared by: Deborah Reis.

Estimate Approved by: James R. Horney for Paul N. Van de Water, Assistant Director for Budget Analysis.●

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE OF IRELAND

● Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on November 11, Mary McAleese was inaugurated as President of Ireland.

President McAleese was elected by the largest majority ever in an Irish Presidential election, and she is also the first President of Ireland who is from Northern Ireland.

Having suffered personally from the troubles in Northern Ireland, President McAleese said in her inaugural address that the theme of her Presidency would be building bridges—between nationalists and unionists in Northern Ireland, and between the North and the South of Ireland.

President McAleese will find many friends in the United States who share her vision of cooperation. We look forward to working with her in the years to come. I believe that all Members of the Congress concerned about these issues will be interested in reading her eloquent inaugural address, and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The address follows:

INAUGURATION SPEECH BY PRESIDENT MARY MCALEESE DUBLIN CASTLE, NOVEMBER 11TH, 1997, DUBLIN, IRELAND

This is a historic day in my life, in the life of my family and in the life of the country. It is a wonderful privilege for me to be chosen as Uachtarán na hÉireann, to be a voice for Ireland at home and abroad.

I am honoured and humbled to be successor to seven exemplary Presidents. Their differing religious, political, geographical and social origins speak loudly of a Presidency which has always been wide open and all embracing. Among them were Presidents from Connaught, Leinster and Munster to say nothing of America and London. It is my special privilege and delight to be the first President from Ulster.

The span of almost sixty years since the first Presidential inauguration has seen a nation transformed. This Ireland which stands so confidently on the brink of the 21st century and the third millennium is one our forbears dreamed of and yeamed for, a prospering Ireland, accomplished, educated, dynamic, innovative, compassionate, proud of its people, its language, and of its vast heritage; an Ireland, at the heart of the European Union, respected by nations and cultures across the world.

The scale of what we have already accomplished in such a short time allows us to embrace the future with well-based confidence and hope.

It is the people of Ireland who, in a million big and small ways, in quiet acts of hard work, heroism and generosity have built up the fabric of home, community and country on which the remarkable success story of today's Ireland is built.

Over many generations there have been very special sources of inspiration who have nurtured our talent and instilled determination into this country. Mnay outstanding politicians, public servants, voluntary workers, clergy of all denominations and religious, teachers and particularly parents have through hard and difficult times worked and sacrificed so that our children could blossom to their fullest potential.

They are entitled to look with satisfaction at what they have achieved. May we never become so cynical that we forget to be grateful. I certainly owe them a deep personal debt and as President I hope to find many opportunities both to repay that debt and to assist in the great work of encouraging our children to believe in themselves and in their country.

Among those who are also owed an enormous debt of thanks are the countless emigrants whose letters home with dollars and pound notes, earned in grinding loneliness thousands of miles from home, bridged the gap between the Ireland they left and the Ireland which greets them today when they return as tourists or return to stay. They are a crucial part of our global Irish family. In every continent they have put their ingenuity and hard work at the service of new homelands. They have kept their love of Ireland, its traditions and its culture deep in their hearts so that wherever we travel in the world there is always a part of Ireland of which we can be proud and which in turn takes pride in us. I hope over the next seven years there will be many opportunities for me to celebrate with them.

At our core we are a sharing people. Selfishness has never been our creed. Commitment to the welfare of each other has fired generations of voluntary organisations and a network of everyday neighbourliness which weaves together the caring fabric of our country. It has sent our missionaries, development workers and peacekeepers to the aid of distressed peoples in other parts of the world. It has made us a country of refuge for the hurt and dispossessed of other troubled places. It is the fuel which drives us to tackle the many social problems we face, problems which cynicism and self doubt can never redress but painstaking commitment can. We know our duty is to spread the benefits of our prosperity to those whose lives are still mired in poverty, unemployment, worry and despair. There can be no rest until the harsh gap between the comfortable and the struggling has been bridged.

The late Cearbhall O Dalaigh, Ireland's fifth president and, dare I say it, one of three lawyers to grace the office, said at his inauguration in 1974:

''Presidents, under the Irish Constitution don't have policies. But * * * a President can have a theme.''

The theme of my Presidency, the Eighth Presidency, is Building Bridges. These bridges require no engineering skills but they will demand patience, imagination and courage for Ireland's pace of change is now bewilderingly fast. We grow more complex by the day. Our dancers, singers, writers, poets, musicians, sportsmen and women, indeed our last President herself, are giants on the world stage. Our technologically skilled young people are in demand everywhere. There is an invigorating sense of purpose about us.

There are those who absorb the rush of newness with delight. There are those who are more cautious, even fearful. Such tensions are part of our creative genius, they form the energy which gives us our unique identity, our particularity.

I want to point the way to a reconciliation of these many tensions and to see Ireland grow ever more comfortable and at ease with the flowering diversity that is now all around us. To quote a Belfast poet Louis MacNeice ''a single purpose can be founded on a jumble of opposites.''

Yet I know to speak of reconciliation is to raise a nervous query in the hearts of some North of the border, in the place of my birth. There is no more appropriate place to address that query than here in Dublin Castle, a place where the complex history of these two neighbouring and now very neighbourly islands has seen many chapters written. It is fortuitous too that the timing of today's Inauguration coincides with the commemoration of those who died so tragically and heroically in two world wars. I think of nationalist and unionist, who fought and died together in those wars, the differences which separated them at home, fading into insignificance as the bond of their common humanity forged friendships as intense as love can make them.

In Ireland, we know only too well the cruelty and capriciousness of violent conflict. Our own history has been hard on lives young and old. Too hard. Hard on those who died and those left behind with only shattered dreams and poignant memories. We hope and pray, indeed we insist, that we have seen the last of violence. We demand the right to solve our problems by dialogue and the noble pursuit of consensus. We hope to see that consensus pursued without the language of hatred and contempt and we wish all those engaged in that endeavour, well.

That it can be done—we know. We need look no further than our own European continent where once bitter enemies now work conscientiously with each other and for each other as friends and partners. The greatest salute to the memory of all our dead and the living whom they loved, would be the achievement of agreement and peace.

I think of the late Gordon Wilson who faced his unbearable sorrow ten years ago at the horror that was Enniskillen. His words of love and forgiveness shocked us as if we were hearing them for the very first time, as if they had not been uttered first two thousand years ago. His work, and the work of so many peacemakers who have risen above the awesome pain of loss to find a bridge to the other side, is work I want to help in every way I can. No side has a monopoly on pain. Each has suffered intensely.

I know the distrusts go deep and the challenge is awesome. Across this island, North, South, East and West, there are people of such greatness of heart that I know with their help it can be done. I invite them, to work in partnership with me to dedicate ourselves to the task of creating a wonderful millennium gift to the Child of Bethlehem whose 2000th birthday we will soon celebrate—the gift of an island where difference is celebrated with joyful curiosity and generous respect and where in the words of John Hewitt ''each may grasp his neighbor's hand as friend.''

There will be those who are wary of such invitations, afraid that they are being invited to the edge of a precipice. To them I have dedicated a poem, written by the English poet, Christopher Logue, himself a veteran of the Second World War.

''Come to the edge.
We might fall.
Come to the edge.
It's too high!
Come to the edge
And they came,
and he pushed
and they flew.''

No one will be pushing, just gently inviting, but I hope that if ever and whenever you decide to walk over that edge, there will be no need to fly, you will find there a firm and steady bridge across which we will walk together both ways.

Ireland sits tantalizingly ready to embrace a golden age of affluence, self-assurance tolerance and peace. It will be my most profound privilege to be President of this beautiful, intriguing country.

May I ask those of faith, whatever that faith may be, to pray for me and for our country that we will use these seven years well, to create a future where in the words of William Butler Yeats.

''Everything we look upon is blest''●

## RECOGNITION OF WILFRED WOODS

● Mr. GORTON. I would like to call attention to Wilfred Woods, who has recently announced he will step down as the publisher of the Wenatchee World newspaper after 47 years. Wilfred is the son of Rufus Woods, who purchased the Wenatchee Daily World in 1907, and was one of the earliest promoters of the Grand Coulee Dam project. Beginning in 1918, Rufus used the pages of the newspaper to promote the concept of using the Columbia River for hydroelectric power as well as for irrigation of the fertile but arid Columbia Basin. Half a million acres are irrigated by the Columbia Basin project. This valuable irrigation project allowed the central Washington desert to bloom and is responsible for producing the valley known as the Apple Capital of the World.

Wilfred Woods and his late father, Rufus, have played significant roles in the development of central Washington during their 90 years of service. Wilfred succeeded his father as editor and publisher in 1950 and has been an active advocate for resource and economic development in central Washington. He served as a State parks commissioner, a trustee for Central Washington University, and in various capacities in countless civic organizations.

Wilfred's son, Rufus, will now become the editor and publisher of the Wenatchee World and carry on the great traditions of his father and grandfather.

Wilfred has been a great personal friend of mine for more than 30 years, dating back to the time I first ran for Washington State attorney general. I have always valued his wisdom, foresight, and the manner in which he and

his father guided the Wenatchee World to become one of the State's finest daily newspapers. Wilfred and his father were truly part of a legendary experience that has forever changed the political and economic landscape of north-central Washington. While the Woods family will be remembered most for their influence over the management of the Columbia River system, I will remember Wilfred as a true friend. During my years of touring Washington State for various political engagements and meetings, I always looked forward to my stop in Wilfred's newsroom and valued our countless conversations, whether we were in agreement or not. I will miss our exchange of ideas and his insights into the central Washington community. I wish him continued success in future endeavors.●

## NEW MEXICO HISPANIC CULTURAL CENTER PERFORMING ARTS FACILITY

● Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, S. 1417, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to provide for the design, construction, furnishing, and equipping of a center for performing arts within the complex known as the New Mexico Hispanic Cultural Center, was introduced and passed the Senate on November 7, 1997.

Because the measure was considered and passed on the same day as its introduction, the Committee on Environment and Public Works was not referred S. 1417, and a report was not filed. Subsequent to the passage of the legislation, however, the Congressional Budget Office issued a cost estimate, as required under the Senate rules. Therefore, I ask that the letter from the Director of the Congressional Budget Office, dated November 17, 1997, be printed in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
*Washington, DC, November 17, 1997.*

Hon. FRANKLIN D. RAINES,
*Director, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. RAINES: The Congressional Budget Office has prepared the enclosed cost estimate for the pay-as-you-go effects of S. 1417, the Hispanic Cultural Center Act of 1997.

If you wish further details on this estimate, we will be pleased to provide them. The CBO staff contact is Christina Hawley Sadoti.

Sincerely,

JUNE E. O'NEILL, *Director.*

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE

PAY-AS-YOU-GO ESTIMATE

*S. 1417.—Hispanic Cultural Center Act of 1997*

S. 1417, the Hispanic Cultural Center Act of 1997, would require the Secretary of the Interior to make a grant to the state of New Mexico to pay for one-half of the costs of the design, construction, furnishing and equipping of a Center for Performing Arts within the New Mexico Hispanic Cultural Center. Based on the amounts S. 1417 would count toward the state share, the federal share of these costs is estimated at about $18 million. However some funds have been appropriated for this purpose for the 1998 fiscal year: $2.5 million in the VA, HUD and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act and $3 million in the Interior Appropriations Act. Because S. 1417 would not restrict this grant to the availability of appropriations, New Mexico would be entitled to receive the remaining costs even if no additional appropriations are made. Enactment of S. 1417 would therefore increase pay-as-you-go spending by about $13 million between fiscal years 1999–2001, as shown in the following table.

SUMMARY OF PAY-AS-YOU-GO EFFECTS

[In millions of dollars]

| | By fiscal year | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 |
| Change in outlays | 0 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Change in receipts | Not Applicable | | | | | | | | | |

The CBO staff contact for this estimate is Christina Hawley Sadoti. This estimate was approved by Paul N. Van de Water, Assistant Director for Budget Analysis.●

## RADIO STATION MERGERS

● Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, during the course of the last several months, the number of broadcast radio station transactions has increased due to the liberalized station ownership provisions contained in the Telecommunications Act of 1996. However, with this increase in transactions has come an increased concern that, in authorizing these assignments, the FCC may try to impose terms and conditions on the assignors or assignees neither contained in, nor intended by, the 1996 act.

Radio mergers must be permitted to go forward when they satisfy the requirements under the plain meaning of the statute. While the Senate is in adjournment, I expect the FCC to follow the law, not rewrite it, when they review radio station mergers.

Given the number of broadcast media outlets available today, traditional concerns about how mergers affect viewpoint diversity are greatly mitigated. This is especially true because, in addition to traditional broadcast media outlets, various multichannel video programming services and online services over the Internet, as well as nonbroadcast media outlets like magazines and newspapers, are available in today's market.

In light of these facts, Mr. President, the FCC should not block sensible radio mergers or approve them only with additional, unwarranted terms and conditions attached.●

## JUDICIAL CONFIRMATIONS IN THE 105TH CONGRESS

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, now that we have concluded the 1st session of the 105th Congress, I want to again focus the attention of the Senate and the American people on the glacial pace of Federal judicial confirmations during this session.

Mr. President, the reluctance of the Senate to confirm the President's nominees to the Federal bench is a carryover from the 2d session of the 104th Congress, during which the Republican-controlled Senate, in an unprecedented display of election-year inaction, confirmed only 17 district court nominees and no circuit court nominees.

This pattern of inaction has continued into the 105th Congress, during which the Senate has confirmed only 36 of the President's judicial nominees—7 circuit judges and 29 district court judges. Admittedly, there was some effort made in the waning days of the session to confirm judges, but the overall numbers remain highly disturbing and worthy of attention.

In the last 2 years, the Senate has confirmed 53 judicial nominees, while a total of 81 seats on the bench continue to lie vacant, and 41 nominees await committee or floor consideration.

In other words, there are still more nominees pending in the Senate than were confirmed this year, and more than twice the number of nominees confirmed last year.

Compare the number of nominees confirmed thus far this year and in the 104th Congress to the number confirmed in the last two Democratically controlled Congresses, one of which featured a Republican President. In the 102d Congress, the Senate confirmed 124 Federal judges, while in the 103d Congress it confirmed 129 Federal judges. In the 104th Congress, the Republicans confirmed but 75 judges, while this year it confirmed 36. In other words, in the last 3 years, the Republican majority in the Senate has confirmed fewer Federal judges than the Democratically controlled Senate did in either the 102d or the 103d Congress.

I ask my colleagues to further compare the figures of the last 2 years with the number of judicial nominees confirmed by Democratically controlled Senates during years when a Republican White House faced a Democratic challenge—when, as in 1996, the party in control of the Senate had an incentive to delay confirmations, in the hopes that the Presidential election would effect a transfer of the White House to its party.

In 1992, when President Bush stood for reelection and the Democrats controlled the Senate, the Senate confirmed 11 circuit court judges and 55 district court judges. In other words, the Democratically controlled Senate in 1992 confirmed almost four times the number of Republican nominees confirmed by the Republican controlled Senate in 1996, and almost 25 percent more judges than the Republican Senate has confirmed in the last 2 years combined.

Similarly, in 1988, when Vice President Bush stood for election, the Democratically controlled Senate confirmed 7 circuit court judges and 33 district court judges—over twice the number of judges confirmed last year, and more judges than were confirmed in this past nonelection year.

Clearly, in the last couple of years, the politicization of the confirmation process has increased. Today, the Republican majority in the Senate is effectively bottling up nominees in committee and on the floor, in stark contrast to the behavior of Democratically controlled Senates over the last decade.

This politicization, Mr. President, has been extended to include the practice of denying nominees an up or down vote on the Senate floor, or even in the Judiciary Committee. If the majority of the Senate opposes a judicial nominee enough to derail a nomination by an up or down vote, then at least the process has been served. Instead, however, the President's nominees are not even receiving that courtesy from this Senate: Some of the individuals whose nominations are pending before the Judiciary Committee or the full Senate have not been allowed a vote on the floor, much less in committee, for close to 2 years. It is especially troubling that of the 14 nominees who have been held up the longest by the Republican majority in the Senate, 12 are women or minorities.

Let me give one example of this phenomenon—that of James Beaty, the President's nominee to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which includes my State of Maryland.

Judge Beaty, currently a district court judge in North Carolina, was nominated by the President to the court of appeals in the 104th Congress, during which he did not even receive a vote in committee. He was renominated on January 7 of this year, and has yet to receive even a hearing in the committee, much less an up-or-down vote there, or on the floor.

Some have argued against Judge Beaty's nomination that, in their view, the fourth circuit does not need an additional judge, and that failure to confirm him would amount to a conservation of taxpayer resources. Assuming for the sake of argument that that is the case—and I would disagree that it is the case—Congress should act affirmatively to eliminate the vacant seat on that court before a nominee comes before it, not stall an individual's nomination into oblivion with arguments created after the fact. When you have a nominee sent to the Senate and then claims are made that the seat is unnecessary, it is simply impossible to divorce the claim that the seat is unnecessary from an ad hominem attack on the candidate himself.

Judge Beaty, if confirmed to the fourth circuit, would be the first African-American to sit on that court. Prior to becoming a district court judge, Judge Beaty maintained a general civil and criminal litigation practice in Winston-Salem, NC, and then served as a State court judge for 13 years. These accomplishments entitle him, at the very least, to an up-or-down vote on the floor of the U.S. Senate. Instead, he has not even received a committee hearing—much less a committee vote, at the hands of the majority.

By any measure, Mr. President, the Congress has become increasingly politicized in the last few years. I submit to my colleagues, however, that if there is one subject that should remain immune from political games and pressure it is our Federal judicial system, which is the envy of the world for its independence and integrity, and which is absolutely fundamental to our system of government.

It is essential for the maintenance of public confidence in this system that the confirmation process be as far removed from politics as possible. Yet we seem to be moving in the exact opposite direction, as we hear Members of the other party calling for impeachment of judges on the basis of decisions with which the Members disagree, and for defeat of judicial nominees deemed to possess liberal or activist tendencies.

This behavior—while perhaps politically advantageous in the short run—betrays a basic and dangerous misunderstanding of the role of the courts in our system of government.

Moreover, on a purely practical level, the Senate's failure to confirm the 42 nominees before it adjourns hamstrings the courts' ability to deal with its ever-increasing caseload—an increase that, I might add, Mr. President, is in large part due to the majority's proclivity for federalizing areas of law that have been historically left to the States.

So we have district judges throughout the country putting aside all civil cases in order to deal with their criminal dockets, because their courts have been left shorthanded by the Senate's inaction. We have courts of appeals canceling oral arguments because of shortages on their courts. We have Chief Justice Rehnquist—hardly the kind of liberal judicial activist that so concerns the majority—calling the problem of judicial vacancies the most pressing problem facing the Federal courts today. And yet we see little in the way of movement by the Senate to alleviate these burdens.

Mr. President, I hope my colleagues—especially my Republican colleagues—will give serious attention to the problems, both practical and philosophical, that will result if the Senate does not revisit its approach to the judicial confirmation process, and that in this area, the second session of the 105th Congress will proceed in a markedly different manner than the last 2 years.

In closing, I would like to commend the efforts of my colleague from Vermont, Senator LEAHY, the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, in this area. He has tried to jog the Senate into acting to resolve this problem: I regret that his calls for action have not been heeded thus far, though I hold out hope that common sense and respect for our constitutional system will prevail in the long run.●

## TRIBUTE TO DAVID EDELSTEIN AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF PELHAM PARKWAY

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, the members of the Jewish Community Council of Pelham Parkway in the Bronx recently celebrated the 20th anniversary of David Edelstein's tenure as their executive director.

Twenty years ago the Bronx was a virtual, albeit not entirely appropriate, synonym for urban decay and middle-class flight. The Jewish Community Council of Pelham Parkway is one of the dynamic grassroots neighborhood groups that have helped bring about a dramatic change in this proud borough.

Much of the credit for the council's success belongs to its indefatigable executive director. David Edelstein came to the Jewish Community Council of Pelham Parkway on September 7, 1977. He helped establish the council's programs of social service, community development, Jewish cultural enrichment, and civic improvement. He pioneered the creation of programs that led to the reinvestment of over $17 million in the neighborhood's multifamily housing stock and played a key role in the creation of programs that helped settle over 3,000 Soviet Jewish immigrants in the Pelham Parkway neighborhood. David's leadership has enabled the council to sponsor programs that assure the availability of Jewish education for all neighborhood youngsters.

David established relationships with New York City's major Jewish organizations, helping to assure that needy families in Pelham Parkway could be helped with the resources available from those agencies. The council distributes over $25,000 in emergency and/or supplemental food to over 500 needy families every year. Hundreds of people have been helped with emergency home care, transportation for the homebound, eviction prevention, and other forms of emergency assistance.

David has helped the Jewish Community Council become the unified voice of the Jewish community in the Pelham Parkway neighborhood. Working with the council's active board of directors and maintaining relationships with the police, medical centers,

elected officials, and others whose decisions impact on the community's quality of life, David has worked to assure cooperation and consensus on issues of community concern.

My childhood friend, the late distinguished New York State Senator Joseph Galiber worked closely with David Edelstein and was fond of noting the Jewish Community Council's many strengths and successes. I know I speak for all of my colleagues in the Senate when I congratulate David Edelstein and the Jewish Community Council of Pelham Parkway on two decades of inspired leadership.●

## STATEMENT ON CURRENT STATUS OF FISCAL YEAR 1998 APPROPRIATIONS BILLS

● Mr. DOMENICI. With the completion of congressional action on the 13 annual fiscal year 1998 appropriations bills, I submit a table to the Senate showing the current status of the bills compared to the most recently filed Section 302(b) allocations by the Senate Appropriations Committee on November 13, 1997.

I note that the Interior and related agencies Appropriations bill under the current 302(b) allocation is over the subcommittee's allocation for both budget authority and outlays. A provision in the final Interior appropriations bill amends the budget resolution to trigger the allocation of an additional $700 million in budget authority and $257 million in outlays to the Appropriations Committee for land acquisition. I have filed that allocation today.

Once the Senate Appropriations Committee revises its 302(b) allocations to reflect the land acquisition funding, the Interior and related agencies appropriations bill will be within the subcommittee's funding allocation.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD the pertinent tables.

The material follows:

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS IN THE SENATE

[Fiscal year 1998, in millions of dollars]

| Subcommittee | Current status | | 302(b) allocation as of Nov. 13, 1997 | | Difference | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BA | Outlays | BA | Outlays | BA | Outlays |
| Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies: | | | | | | |
| Non-Defense | 13,751 | 13,997 | 13,751 | 13,997 | | |
| Mandatory | 35,048 | 35,205 | 35,048 | 35,205 | | |
| Bill total | 48,799 | 49,202 | | | | |
| Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary: | | | | | | |
| Defense | 298 | 340 | 298 | 342 | | −2 |
| Non-Defense | 25,750 | 25,211 | 25,757 | 25,285 | −7 | −74 |
| Crime | 5,225 | 3,400 | 5,225 | 3,401 | | −1 |
| Total discretionary | 31,273 | 28,951 | 31,280 | 29,028 | −7 | −77 |
| Mandatory | 522 | 532 | 522 | 532 | | |
| Bill total | 31,795 | 29,483 | | | | |
| Defense: | | | | | | |
| Defense | 247,485 | 244,167 | 247,485 | 244,232 | | −65 |
| Non-Defense | 27 | 31 | 27 | 31 | | |
| Total discretionary | 247,512 | 244,198 | 247,512 | 244,263 | | −65 |
| Mandatory | 197 | 197 | 197 | 197 | | |
| Bill total | 247,709 | 244,395 | | | | |
| District of Columbia: Non-Defense | 855 | 554 | 862 | 561 | −7 | −7 |
| Energy and Water Development: | | | | | | |
| Defense | 11,540 | 11,897 | 11,600 | 11,897 | −60 | |
| Non-Defense | 9,192 | 8,983 | 9,193 | 8,996 | −1 | −13 |
| Bill total | 20,732 | 20,880 | 20,793 | 20,893 | −61 | −13 |
| Foreign Operations: | | | | | | |
| Non-Defense | 13,147 | 13,079 | 13,147 | 13,083 | | −4 |
| Mandatory | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | | |
| Bill total | 13,191 | 13,123 | | | | |
| Interior:[1] | | | | | | |
| Non-Defense | 13,799 | 13,707 | 13,100 | 13,472 | 699 | 235 |
| Mandatory | 55 | 50 | 55 | 50 | | |
| Bill total | 13,854 | 13,757 | | | | |
| Labor—HHS—Education: | | | | | | |
| Non-Defense | 80,259 | 76,072 | 80,259 | 76,072 | | |
| Crime | 144 | 65 | 144 | 65 | | |
| Total discretionary | 80,403 | 76,137 | 80,403 | 76,137 | | |
| Mandatory | 206,611 | 209,167 | 206,611 | 209,167 | | |
| Bill total | 287,014 | 285,304 | | | | |
| Legislative Branch: | | | | | | |
| Non-Defense | 2,251 | 2,251 | 2,251 | 2,251 | | |
| Mandatory | 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 | | |
| Bill total | 2,343 | 2,343 | | | | |
| Military Construction: Defense | 9,183 | 9,862 | 9,183 | 9,920 | | −58 |
| Transportation: | | | | | | |
| Defense | 300 | 299 | 300 | 299 | | |
| Non-Defense | 12,111 | 36,905 | 12,111 | 36,905 | | |
| Total discretionary | 12,411 | 37,204 | 12,411 | 37,204 | | |
| Mandatory | 698 | 665 | 698 | 665 | | |
| Bill total | 13,109 | 37,869 | | | | |
| Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government: | | | | | | |
| Non-Defense | 12,604 | 12,377 | 12,604 | 12,377 | | |
| Crime | 131 | 118 | 131 | 126 | | −8 |
| Total discretionary | 12,735 | 12,495 | 12,735 | 12,503 | | −8 |
| Mandatory | 12,713 | 12,712 | 12,713 | 12,712 | | |
| Bill total | 25,448 | 25,207 | | | | |

STATUS OF APPROPRIATION BILLS IN THE SENATE—Continued

[Fiscal year 1998, in millions of dollars]

| Subcommittee | Current status | | 302(b) allocation as of Nov. 13, 1997 | | Difference | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | BA | Outlays | BA | Outlays | BA | Outlays |
| VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies: | | | | | | |
| Defense | 128 | 128 | 130 | 129 | −2 | −1 |
| Non-Defense | 68,447 | 79,833 | 68,447 | 79,833 | | |
| Total discretionary | 68,575 | 79,961 | 68,577 | 79,962 | −2 | −1 |
| Mandatory | 21,332 | 20,061 | 21,332 | 20,061 | | |
| Bill total | 89,907 | 100,022 | | | | |
| Reserve—Defense | | | 4 | 4 | −4 | −4 |
| Reserve—Non-Defense | | | 5 | 173 | −5 | −173 |
| Total Appropriations: | | | | | | |
| Defense | 268,934 | 266,693 | 269,000 | 266,823 | −66 | −130 |
| Non-Defense | 252,193 | 283,000 | 251,514 | 283,036 | 679 | −36 |
| Crime | 5,500 | 3,583 | 5,500 | 3,592 | | −9 |
| Mandatory | 277,312 | 278,725 | 277,312 | 278,725 | | |

[1] Reflects 302(b) allocation prior to enactment of Interior appropriations bill, which amended budget resolution to increase 302(a) allocation by $700 million in BA and $257 million in outlays for land acquisition.

Note: CBO/SBC scoring. Details may not add to totals due to rounding.•

## SUBMITTING CHANGES TO THE BUDGET RESOLUTION AGGREGATES AND APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE ALLOCATION

• Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, section 314(b)(3)(B) of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended, requires the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee to adjust the appropriate budgetary aggregates and the allocation for the Appropriations Committee to reflect an amount of budget authority provided that is the dollar equivalent of the special drawing rights with respect to any increase in the maximum amount available to the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to section 17 of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act, as amended from time to time (new arrangements to borrow).

Section 500 of Public Law 105–83, an act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies, requires the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee to adjust the allocation for the Appropriations Committee for Federal land acquisitions and to finalize priority land exchanges.

I hereby submit revisions to the budget authority, outlays, and deficit aggregates for fiscal year 1998 contained in sec. 101 of House Concurrent Resolution 84 in the following amounts:

| | Deficit | Budget authority | Outlays |
|---|---|---|---|
| Current aggregates | 173,512,000,000 | 1,391,098,000,000 | 1,372,512,000,000 |
| Adjustments | | −3,521,000,000 | |
| Revised aggregates | 173,512,000,000 | 1,387,577,000,000 | 1,372,512,000,000 |

I hereby submit revisions to the 1998 Senate Appropriations Committee budget authority and outlay allocations, pursuant to sec. 302 of the Congressional Budget Act, in the following amounts:

| | Budget authority | Outlays |
|---|---|---|
| Current allocation: | | |
| Defense discretionary | 269,000,000,000 | 266,823,000,000 |
| Nondefense discretionary | 255,035,000,000 | 283,036,000,000 |
| Violent crime reduction fund | 5,500,000,000 | 3,592,000,000 |
| Mandatory | 277,312,000,000 | 278,725,000,000 |
| Total allocation | 806,847,000,000 | 832,036,000,000 |
| Adjustments: | | |
| Defense discretionary | | |
| Nondefense discretionary | −2,821,000,000 | 257,000,000 |
| Violent crime reduction fund | | |
| Mandatory | | |
| Total allocation | −2,821,000,000 | 257,000,000 |
| Revised allocation: | | |
| Defense discretionary | 269,000,000,000 | 266,823,000,000 |
| Nondefense discretionary | 252,214,000,000 | 283,293,000,000 |
| Violent crime reduction fund | 5,500,000,000 | 3,592,000,000 |
| Mandatory | 277,312,000,000 | 278,725,000,000 |
| Total allocation | 804,026,000,000 | 832,433,000,000 |

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## STATEMENT ON H.R. 2267, THE COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, AND THE JUDICIARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1998

• Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the final appropriations measure that the Congress passed before adjournment was H.R. 2267, the Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary appropriations bill for fiscal year 1998. I today submit a table displaying the Budget Committee scoring of the final bill.

The conference agreement accompanying the bill provides $31.7 billion in budget authority and $21.2 billion in new outlays to operate the programs of the Department of Commerce, the Department of Justice, the Department of State, the Judiciary, and related Federal agencies for fiscal year 1998.

When outlays from prior-year budget authority and other completed actions are taken into account, the bill totals $31.8 billion in budget authority and $29.5 billion in outlays for fiscal year 1998.

The final bill is within the revised Senate subcommittee's section 302(b) allocation for both budget authority and outlays.

The bill is $7 million in budget authority and $77 million in outlays below the Senate subcommittee's 302(b) allocation.

Mr. President, it was my pleasure to serve on the Appropriations Subcommittee with the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire. I commend Chairman GREGG, for completing the fiscal year 1998 bill. It is not easy to balance the competing program requirements that are funded in this bill.

I thank the chairman for the consideration he gave to issues I brought before the subcommittee, and for his extra effort to address the items in the bipartisan balanced budget agreement.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD a pertinent table.

The material follows:

H.R. 2267, COMMERCE-JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS, 1998

[Spending comparisons—Conference Report, fiscal year 1998, in millions of dollars]

| | Defense | Non-defense | Crime | Mandatory | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conference report: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 298 | 25,750 | 5,225 | 522 | 31,795 |
| Outlays | 340 | 25,211 | 3,400 | 532 | 29,483 |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 298 | 25,757 | 5,225 | 522 | 31,802 |
| Outlays | 342 | 25,285 | 3,401 | 532 | 29,560 |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 257 | 26,114 | 5,238 | 522 | 32,131 |
| Outlays | 286 | 25,907 | 3,423 | 532 | 30,148 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 273 | 25,687 | 5,259 | 522 | 31,741 |
| Outlays | 296 | 25,249 | 3,434 | 532 | 29,511 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 275 | 25,581 | 5,225 | 522 | 31,603 |
| Outlays | 322 | 25,156 | 3,381 | 532 | 29,391 |
| Conference Report Compared to: | | | | | |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | −7 | | | −7 |
| Outlays | −2 | −74 | −1 | | −77 |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 41 | −364 | −13 | | −336 |
| Outlays | 54 | −696 | −23 | | −665 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 25 | 63 | −34 | | 54 |
| Outlays | 44 | −38 | −34 | | −28 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | 23 | 169 | | | 192 |
| Outlays | 18 | 55 | 19 | | 92 |

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. Totals adjusted for consistency with current scorekeeping conventions.

## STATEMENT ON H.R. 2607, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1998

• Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I submit the Budget Committee scoring of H.R. 2607, the fiscal year 1998 District of Columbia appropriations bill.

The final bill totals $855 million, including $835 million for Federal payments to the District of Columbia.

The bill provides $190 million for the Federal contribution to the District of Columbia, $169 million to operate the District's correctional facilities for felons, $302 million to build new correctional facilities to replace the Lorton facility, $151 million to operate the district court System, $12 million to the National Park Service to support U.S. Park Police operations in the District, $8 million to implement management reform initiatives, and $3 million for a Medicare coordinated-care demonstration project.

The appropriation is in addition to the resources allocated to the District by the Balanced Budget Act and the Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997. Combined, the two laws provide tax breaks and mandatory spending worth $4.5 billion over 10 years. Because the cost of taking over the District's $5.8 billion pension liability is largely delayed until after this period, the total bailout is worth substantially more to the District.

The final bill is below the subcommittee's revised 302(b) allocation by $7 million in both budget authority and outlays.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD a pertinent table.

The material follows:

H.R. 2607, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1998

[Spending comparisions—Conference Report, fiscal year 1998, in millions of dollars]

| | Defense | Non-defense | Crime | Mandatory | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conference Report: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 855 | | | 855 |
| Outlays | | 554 | | | 554 |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 862 | | | 862 |
| Outlays | | 561 | | | 561 |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 777 | | | 777 |
| Outlays | | 479 | | | 479 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 828 | | | 828 |
| Outlays | | 527 | | | 527 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 855 | | | 855 |
| Outlays | | 555 | | | 555 |
| Conference Report compared to: | | | | | |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | −7 | | | −7 |
| Outlays | | −7 | | | −7 |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 78 | | | 78 |
| Outlays | | 75 | | | 75 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 27 | | | 27 |
| Outlays | | 27 | | | 27 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | | | | |
| Outlays | | −1 | | | −1 |

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. Totals adjusted for consistency with current scorekeeping conventions.•

## STATEMENT ON H.R. 2159, THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS AND EXPORT FINANCING APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1998

• Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I submit the following table displaying the Budget Committee scoring of the conference report accompanying the foreign operations and export financing appropriations bill for fiscal year 1998.

The conference report provides $13.1 billion in budget authority and $5 billion in new outlays to operate the programs of the Department of State, export and military assistance, bilateral and multilateral economic assistance, and related agencies for fiscal year 1998.

When outlays from prior-year budget authority and other completed actions are taken into account, the bill totals $13.1 billion in budget authority and $13.1 billion in outlays for fiscal year 1998.

The final bill is at the subcommittee's revised section 302(b) allocation for budget authority, and it is $4 million below the revised allocation in outlays.

Mr. President, I note that the final bill is significantly below the Senate-passed version of the bill due to the deletion of $3.5 billion for the New Arrangements to Borrow for the International Monetary Fund. These funds were requested by the President in his fiscal year 1998 budget.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD a pertinent table.

The material follows:

H.R. 2159, FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, 1998

[Spending comparisons—Conference report, fiscal year 1998, in millions of dollars]

| | Defense | Non-defense | Crime | Mandatory | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conference Report: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 13,147 | | 44 | 13,191 |
| Outlays | | 13,079 | | 44 | 13,123 |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 13,147 | | 44 | 13,191 |
| Outlays | | 13,083 | | 44 | 13,127 |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 16,844 | | 44 | 16,888 |
| Outlays | | 13,171 | | 44 | 13,215 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 12,267 | | 44 | 12,311 |
| Outlays | | 13,013 | | 44 | 13,057 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 16,816 | | 44 | 16,860 |
| Outlays | | 13,091 | | 44 | 13,135 |
| Conference Report compared to: | | | | | |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | | | | |
| Outlays | | −4 | | | −4 |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | −3,697 | | | −3,697 |
| Outlays | | −92 | | | −92 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 880 | | | 880 |
| Outlays | | 66 | | | 66 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | −3,669 | | | −3,669 |
| Outlays | | −12 | | | −12 |

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. Totals adjusted for consistency with current scorekeeping conventions.•

## STATEMENT ON H.R. 2264, THE LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES AND EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS BILL, FISCAL YEAR 1998

• Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I submit the Budget Committee scoring of the conference report to accompany, H.R. 2264, the Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and related agencies appropriations bill for fiscal year 1998.

The conference report provides $234.5 billion in new budget authority and $191.1 billion in new outlays for programs of the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education and related agencies.

When adjustments are made for prior-year outlays and other completed actions, the bill totals $287.0 billion in budget authority and $285.3 billion in outlays for fiscal year 1998.

The conference report is exactly at the Senate Subcommittee's revised 302(b) allocation for both budget authority and outlays.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD a pertinent table.

The material follows.

H.R. 2264, LABOR-HHS APPROPRIATIONS, 1998

[Spending comparisons—Conference Report, fiscal year 1998, in millions of dollars]

| | Defense | Non-defense | Crime | Mandatory | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conference Report: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 80,259 | 144 | 206,611 | 287,014 |
| Outlays | | 76,072 | 65 | 209,167 | 285,304 |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 80,259 | 144 | 206,611 | 287,014 |
| Outlays | | 76,072 | 65 | 209,167 | 285,304 |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 80,035 | 60 | 206,611 | 286,706 |
| Outlays | | 76,183 | 48 | 209,167 | 285,398 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 79,998 | 144 | 206,611 | 286,753 |
| Outlays | | 76,043 | 64 | 209,167 | 285,274 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 79,603 | 144 | 206,611 | 286,358 |
| Outlays | | 75,978 | 65 | 209,167 | 285,210 |
| Conference Report compared to: | | | | | |
| Senate 302(b) allocation: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | | | | |
| Outlays | | | | | |
| President's request: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 224 | 84 | | 308 |
| Outlays | | −111 | 17 | | −94 |
| House-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 261 | | | 261 |
| Outlays | | 29 | 1 | | 30 |
| Senate-passed bill: | | | | | |
| Budget authority | | 656 | | | 656 |
| Outlays | | 94 | | | 94 |

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. Totals adjusted for consistency with current scorekeeping conventions.•

## STATEMENT ON THE BALANCED BUDGET AGREEMENT

• Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, with the completion of the 13 annual fiscal year 1998 appropriations bills by the Congress, I believe we can say that Congress lived up to its end of the Balanced Budget Agreement.

The Balanced Budget Agreement had two major assumptions for the appropriated programs. The first was the protection of 13 priority domestic discretionary programs that were assumed to be funded at the level of the President's request. For these programs, Congress was on, or close to, the President's requested funding level with few departures.

The second assumption was the protection of funding for five specific budget functions—International Affairs, Natural Resources, Transportation, Education, and the Administration of Justice. Congress came within $0.3 billion of the overall total of $126.5 billion for these five budget functions, a shortfall of only 0.2 percent.

The funding departures for the 13 priority domestic discretionary programs were largely for items that Congress had not specifically agreed to—Pell grants—for a new program that was advance appropriated and made subject to authorization—Opportunities for Out of School Youth—and where anticipated reform was not enacted—Superfund.

Adjusting for these three items, Congress exceeded by $54 million, the overall $34 billion assumed in the budget agreement for these 13 protected programs. I will submit a table displaying congressional action on these programs at the end of my statement.

Mr. President, the Congress matched the BBA assumptions for bilingual and immigrant education, for BIA tribal priority allocations, and for the Job Corps.

The Congress exceeded the BBA assumptions for the technology literacy challenge fund, for Head Start, for National Park System operations and land acquisition, and for the violent crime reduction trust fund.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD the pertinent tables.

The material follows:

Partially offsetting these increases, Congress provided slightly less than the BBA assumed for the National Institute of Standards and Technology and the Community Development Institutions Fund.

For Pell grants, the commitment made in the BBA was more complicated than simply a funding level. The BBA assumed the President's funding request for Pell grants, which was more than needed to fund the only policy change promised in the BBA—a $300 increase in the maximum Pell grant award. The BBA was silent on other policy changes, such as independent students, that were contemplated in the President's request.

While Congress provided $290 million less than assumed in the BBA for Pell grants, as part of the overall funding increase, the appropriations committees provided an additional $286 million above the base program level, which can be used to increase the income protection allowance [IPA] for independent and dependent students in the needs analysis formula applied in all need-based financial assistance programs. The final conference report makes clear, however, that the maximum Pell grant of $3,000 is to be funded first, before IPA's can be increased.

For the protected training and employment services programs at the Department of Labor, the final appropriations bill fell $307 million short of the BBA. The difference results mainly from Congress delaying $250 million from 1998 to advance 1999 funding for a new program called opportunities for out of school youth, provided that such program is authorized as part of job training consolidation legislation enacted by July 1, 1998. The appropriations bill provides $25 million for pilots and demonstrations for this activity in 1998. The President sought all funds for 1998.

For Superfund, while enacted funding may not be at the President's requested level, Congress abided by the BBA. The BBA incorporated the President's request ''if policies can be worked out'' to reform the program. The President requested $2.094 billion in discretionary budget authority for Superfund, and proposed $200 million in new direct spending, for a total of $2.294 billion in 1998.

The Congress provided $2.15 billion for Superfund in the VA–HUD appropriations bill—$56 million more than the President requested in discretionary funding. Congress approved $1.5 billion in regular program funds, delays the obligation of $100 million of this budget authority until October 1, 1998, and provides that $650 million of the overall appropriation will only be made available if legislation reauthorizing Superfund is enacted by May 15, 1998.

Section 204 of the budget resolution includes a $200 million allowance for direct spending for the Superfund Program, which will be allocated once reform legislation is reported.

Finally, while Congress reduced EPA operating programs by $0.1 billion relative to the BBA, Congress also restored funding reductions proposed by the President to the State and tribal assistance grants—which was not a protected program—providing $3.2 billion compared to the requested $2.8 billion.

For all the suspense at the end of the session, funding levels for these 13 programs were not the issue. The administration and the Congress came to mutual agreement on these funding levels, and other legislative matters held up the completion of the fiscal year 1998 appropriations bills.

Mr. President, I will also submit at the end of my statement a table displaying final action on funding for the five priority budget functions. It is somewhat remarkable that final appropriations action for these functions fell only $0.3 billion short of the $126.5 billion assumed in the BBA, considering that the responsibility for living up to the agreement was dispersed over 11 of the 13 appropriations subcommittees, which do not appropriate funds by function. Again, the President and the Congress came to agreement to depart somewhat from the request on funding for these functions, but the BBA was largely implemented as envisioned.

I ask to have printed in the RECORD the pertinent tables.

The material follows:

BBA: PROTECTED DOMESTIC DISCRETIONARY PROGRAMS

[In billions of dollars]

| Protected item | BBA | Final action | Final +/− BBA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dept of Commerce: | | | |
| Nat Inst of Standards & Tech | 0.693 | 0.678 | −0.015 |
| Dept of Education: | | | |
| Technology Literacy Fund | 0.510 | 0.541 | 0.031 |
| Pell Grants | 7.635 | 7.345 | −0.290 |
| Bilingual & Immigrant Ed | 0.354 | 0.354 | 0 |
| Child Literacy Initiatives | 0.260 | 0.210 | −0.05 |
| Dept of HHS: | | | |
| Head Start | 4.305 | 4.355 | 0.05 |
| Dept of Interior: | | | |
| National Park System | 1.220 | 1.234 | 0.014 |
| Land Acquisition | 0.867 | 0.969 | 0.102 |
| Everglades Restoration | 0.140 | 0.135 | −0.005 |
| Tribal Priority Allocations | 0.757 | 0.757 | 0 |
| Dept of Labor: | | | |
| Training & Employment Service | 4.049 | 3.742 | −0.307 |
| Job Corps | 1.246 | 1.246 | 0 |
| Dept of the Treasury: | | | |
| Community Development | 0.125 | 0.080 | −0.045 |
| EPA: | | | |
| EPA Operating Program | 2.739 | 2.632 | −0.107 |
| Superfund | 2.042 | 1.453 | −0.589 |
| Violent Crime: | | | |
| VCRTF | 5.416 | 5.500 | 0.084 |
| COPS | 1.405 | 1.400 | 0.005 |
| Total | 33.763 | 32.631 | −1.122 |

COMPARISON OF NON-DEFENSE DISCRETIONARY LEVELS IN BALANCED BUDGET AGREEMENT TO ENACTED APPROPRIATIONS

[In billions of dollars]

| | BBA | Enacted | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| International Affairs: | | | |
| Budget authority | 19.038 | 19.021 | −0.017 |
| Outlays | 19.179 | 18.954 | −0.225 |
| Natural Resources: | | | |
| Budget authority | 22.807 | 23.409 | 0.602 |
| Outlays | 21.393 | 21.691 | 0.298 |
| Transportation: | | | |
| Budget authority | 13.556 | 13.520 | −0.036 |
| Outlays | 38.267 | 38.453 | 0.186 |
| Education: | | | |
| Budget authority | 46.721 | 45.978 | −0.743 |
| Outlays | 43.185 | 42.899 | −0.286 |
| Justice: | | | |
| Budget authority | 24.405 | 24.290 | −0.115 |
| Outlays | 22.170 | 21.711 | −0.459 |
| TOTAL: | | | |
| Budget authority | 126.527 | 126.218 | −0.309 |
| Outlays | 144.194 | 143.708 | −0.486 |

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# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## JAPAN'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

**HON. HOWARD L. BERMAN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month two of our colleagues, Mr. MATSUI and Mr. KOLBE, attended an interesting seminar on United States-Japan trade issues. I was unable to attend but received a copy of the remarks presented by Norifussa Kagami, executive director of the Export-Import Bank of Japan.

The seminar, I understand, brought together a range of viewpoints on the bilateral trading relationship between the United States and Japan—a topic of increasing concern to the Congress as we consider the impact of financial problems in Asia, including in Japan, on American markets and economic stability. Both the United States and Japan have an intense interest in resolving the region's economic difficulties. As Mr. Kagami mentions, Japan has already played a very constructive role in assisting Thailand. I imagine that they will be called upon to do much more in the coming months.

As ranking member of the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee of the House International Relations Committee, I welcome efforts at constructive cooperation between Japan and the United States in international financial markets and, of course, efforts taken by Japan to expand American exports to Japan in order to resolve our outstanding trade issues.

I think my colleagues will find Mr. Kagami's remarks of interest and following is an abridged text of his address:

SPEECH BY NORIFUSA KAGAMI, SENIOR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF JAPAN

1. OPENING

My name is Norihusa Kagami and I am from the Export-Import Bank of Japan. It is my great honor to be here. I would like to express my appreciation to Congressman Mel Levine for taking the chairmanship and acting as the moderator today. I am honored to have the presence of Congressmen James Kolbe and Robert Matsui today. They are both playing a leading role in discussion of U.S. trade issues with other countries.

What I would like to do in this presentation is to talk about the role played by JEXIM in U.S.-Japan trade relations. I would also like to touch on our Bank's financial operations in the Americas. But first, I will give you a brief overview of what JEXIM is.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF JEXIM

Our Bank was founded in 1950 with a mandate to provide support to Japan's external economic policy from the financial side. Since then, as a governmental financial institution, with government-owned capital stock of 985.5 billion yen or roughly 8.2 billion US dollars today, JEXIM has responded to Japan's changing political agenda over the years in the ways it has provided loans, guarantees and equity investment.

Our financial resources are obtained mainly through borrowings from the Trust Fund of the Ministry of Finance and bonds issued in the international capital markets. The Trust Fund Bureau manages funds deposited in savings accounts at Japanese post offices and state-sponsored basic pension funds.

Our operational aim is to supplement and encourage the activities of private financial institutions. As an independent bank, our policy is to ensure repayment and cover operational expenses through our income.

JEXIM is authorized to extend the following four main financing instruments. First, ''export credit'' encourages exports of ships and plants. Second, ''import credit'' encourages imports of energy resources and large-scale finished products such as aircraft. Third, our Bank finances Japanese direct investment abroad to help Japanese firms expand their operations overseas. Fourth is untied loans, which are loans that do not require purchase of goods and services from Japan and are provided primarily to the developing countries.

Let me say that, in our total operations, the share of export credit has been on a steady decline. In Japan, export transactions for which our Bank provides some financing accounts for a little less than 1 percent of total exports today.

Now let me take up untied loans. These loans are usually cofinanced with the World Bank, IMF or other multilateral financial institutions and are intended to improve economic infrastructure in developing nations or to strengthen international financial order. Later I will refer to this loan modality when we discuss the financial support JEXIM provided to a new debt strategy for Latin American countries under the Brady Plan.

Very recently, JEXIM has also provided an untied loan in the yen equivalent of 4 billion dollars to Thailand so that it can effectively cope with its currency crisis. This was made amid concerns that the crisis was spilling over to other Asian countries. This loan was extended to support the economic readjustment program drawn up by the Thai government in consultation with the IMF. Its objective was to uphold a stable international financial order.

This untied loan forms part of the international financial package put together by the IMF and participated in by other multilateral institutions as well as Asian countries. JEXIM's contribution was the largest, comparable with the amount committed by the IMF.

3. U.S.-JAPAN TRADE ISSUES—JEXIM'S ROLE IN TRADE FRICTION PROBLEMS

Next, I would like to take this opportunity to address the role played by JEXIM in Japan's trade issues, especially our bilateral trade frictions.

Since late 1960's when the textile trade first posed a problem between the U.S. and Japan, we have had lingering problems with automobiles since 1979 and other issues. In fact, they are still ongoing issues between our two countries. In this context, our Bank takes credit for our contribution toward easing trade friction. We have made available various financing modalities. Among them are facilities for imports of manufactured goods and direct investment abroad. Let me now describe them in detail.

A. Credit Facility for the Import of Manufactured Goods

JEXIM has a credit facility specifically for the import of manufactured goods that helps directly reduce trade and current account surpluses. This facility was set up on November 1, 1983 to foster the imports of manufactured goods to Japan. It was instituted as a result of the Japanese government's comprehensive package of economic measures in October, 1983 and in the context of a more general objective of broadening our economic interactions with other countries and promoting better external relations.

In addition, after our government decided on the emergency economic package on September 16, 1993, this facility was expanded to further increase imports. I am happy to report to you that these efforts, made by JEXIM as well as by the Japanese government, are being reflected in a rising trend of the ratio of manufactured goods to total Japanese imports. It climbed from 28.2 percent in 1983 to 58.9 percent in 1996.

JEXIM has provided financing to Japanese importers of American products to fund a variety of imports, including aircraft and communications satellites, from Boeing, AT&T, Motorola and U.S. companies. In fact, during the period from 1983, the year these loans were first made available, to 1996, imports from the United States accounted for 91 percent of the total cumulative loan commitments from this facility; undoubtedly an overwhelming portion. Further, after the revision of the Export-Import Bank Law in May, 1984 in which this facility was expanded to cover financing to exporters, JEXIM has extended direct loans to foreign exporters. Of eight such commitments, five were given to American corporations to date. One recent example was credit provided to GM and Ford for their capital investments in order to produce right-hand drive automobiles to be exported to Japan.

B. Financing Direct Investment in the United States

JEXIM has contributed to a decrease in the trade surplus not only with import credit but also with financing equity investment. It bolsters overseas operations of Japanese corporations and also induces economic and industrial collaboration in host countries, thereby promoting the international horizontal division of labor. As to investments in the United States, our Bank has helped increase U.S. employment as well as alleviating trade frictions through financial support to direct investments of our domestic automakers and semiconductor and other electronic manufacturers. One recent project involves a 300-million dollar direct loan to a joint semiconductor production venture by American and Japanese firms in Manassas, Virginia.

Currently, JEXIM is reviewing financial support to Amtrak for the Northeast corridor high-speed train project whose aim is to improve the rail linkage between Washington, D.C., New York and Boston. We are now working toward the final signing of the loan agreement.

C. Equity Participation

Another function JEXIM performs is equity participation. The first project of this kind was an investment in the United States. In 1993 our Bank made equity investment totaling 1.5 billion yen or 12 million

dollars together with the port authority of Los Angels and set up a firm that manages a construction project for a coal loading terminal in Los Angels port. The terminal will be used to export coal to East Asian countries including Japan. For our economy, it will facilitate imports of coal, while it will help boost the American coal industry.

As I have described so far, JEXIM has been making numerous cooperative efforts to date to promote projects in the United States to the extent that they are relevant to Japan. We intend to make further efforts in this area.

4. JAPAN-U.S. COOPERATION IN THIRD COUNTRY ECONOMIES

Now I would like to describe our role in third country economies from the perspective of U.S. Japan cooperation.

A. Formulating Projects for Private Infrastructure Development

Globalization is a common trend seen in business activities today, and the same trend has been noticeable in our Bank's trade financing.

The trend has been conspicuous especially in private infrastructure projects. These projects employ project financing, a financing modality where lenders take as security for their loans earning flows to be generated from the completed project and does not require sovereign guarantee of the host country. They have been carried out by international consortia of corporations, banks and consultants. This phenomenon can be accounted for by several underlying factors: a need to share the various risks inherent to such large-scale projects in developing countries that do not have sovereign guarantee; and a need to generate large profits by carrying out the project at low cost, through an optimum combination of the enterprises with their particular comparative advantages in order to emerge as a winner in global competition.

B. Paiton Coal-Fired Thermal Power Project

Japan and the United States have formed a strong cooperative relationship in carrying out private infrastructure development projects in developing countries or more generally projects in third countries. I note that the export-import banks of both countries have played an important role in this process. JEXIM and US Xim Bank entered into a Cooperation Agreement in 1991 and have since taken part in many projects together, mainly in East Asia. The project to build a coal-fired thermal power station by P.T. Paiton Energy Company in Indonesia, for which loan commitments were made in 1995, may be cited as a representative example of joint projects pursued by the two institutions. This was a large-scale project worth 9 hundred million dollars. It attracted world attention. And those who participated in this financing were not only US Xim Bank but also OPIC (the Overseas Private Investment Corporation) and the leading banks of the United States and Japan. I may add that among the American participants in this project are Mission Energy Company as the project sponsor and General Electric as equipment supplier.

C. Sakhalin II Project

The Sakhalin II Project may be cited as another example of US-Japan joint finance projects. This is an ongoing project, now at the final stage toward the signing of the loan agreement in December. In this deal, JEXIM, EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development), and OPIC are collaborating to move forward in Russia a joint oil development project among the United States, Europe, and Japan. We believe it is a significant international cooperative project. Let me mention that Marathon Oil Company is participating in this project as the largest sponsor.

D. 30 Percent Content Rule for Export Credit

Projects undertaken by international consortiums bring out the best of what JEXIM does. While official export credit ordinarily requires a fairly high ratio of home goods content in the export contract JEXIM takes a more flexible position, requiring only about 30 percent Japanese goods content. In other words, the remaining 70 percent that we finance is open to goods and services from other countries.

As I mentioned before, project financing is usually structured by an international consortium. And it is a fact that on numerous occasions, Japanese and American firms form such consortia. That means American participants can obtain financing from our Bank on the same terms and conditions as their Japanese counterparts, provided that the 30 percent content rule is fulfilled. A point I would like to make is that JEXIM is contributing to the expansion of U.S. exports even if it is not apparent on the surface.

5. CONCLUSION

If we want to shape a sustainable good economic relationship between the United States and Japan, collaboration in third country economies is a factor of great significance. In this context, JEXIM recognizes the growing importance of its collaboration with U.S. official financial institutions.

I would like to say now that this is a good occasion for me to hear American perspectives. I will be grateful if you share your thoughts with me on the points I have made. Thank you.

## TRIBUTE TO GABRIEL A. EREM ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ESTABLISHMENT OF LIFESTYLES MAGAZINE

**HON. TOM LANTOS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me in congratulating Gabriel Erem, the publisher of Lifestyles magazine, upon the 25th anniversary of the establishment of his prestigious publication. On its 25th anniversary, Lifestyles features an outstanding governing committee: They are: Mr. Erem, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, Abraham H. Foxman, philanthropist and humanitarian, Mrs. Ludwig Jesselson, philanthropist and community leader, Ambassador Ronald S. Lauder, international business leader, Professor Peter Littman, futurist and best-selling author, Faith Popcorn, international marketing guru and recipient of the French Legion of Honor, Michel Roux, community and business leader, Howard Rubenstein, founder of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, Rabbi Arthur Schneier, violin virtuoso and chairman of Carnegie Hall, Isaac Stern, community leader and philanthropist, Andrew Tisch, international Jewish leader, Peggy Tischman, and Nobel Laureate, Elie Wiesel.

In order to understand why Lifestyles magazine was created, one must first learn about the personal history of its publisher, Gabriel Erem. Mr. Erem was born in Hungary right after the Second World War. During that war, 186 members of his family perished in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Twenty-five years ago, when Mr. Erem started Lifestyles magazine, his goal was to show Jewish contributions to the world. Currently, Mr. Erem serves in a volunteer capacity on the committees of many worthy charities and organizations. One of them is the prestigious Weitzmann Institute of Science in Israel. Mr. Erem related to me that during a recent dinner for the institute in which Lifestyles magazine participated, there were 44 individuals honored for their contributions to medical research. All of these 44 individuals were recipients of the Nobel Prize in their respective fields.

Mr. Erem recently told me of a private talk he had with the late Prime Minister of Israel, Golda Meir, following the Yom Kippur war. Mrs. Meir said to him that ''the world does not understand what it means to lose 6 million human beings to a systematic massacre.'' The Prime Minister then continued, ''The real tragedy is that the world does not seem to understand that it is not only those 6 million human beings that we are missing, but that it is the generations that will never happen after them.'' Steven Spielberg's film ''Schindler's List'' made a similar point when, at the conclusion of the movie, the following words appeared on the screen: ''From the 1,100 human beings Oskar Schindler saved, today there are more than 6,000 descendants alive.''

Remembering what Golda Meir said and using the equation at the end of Schindler's List, Gabriel Erem pointed out to me that during the Holocaust we lost a potential of over 36 million human beings who could have been members of our society. Just ask yourselves a question: How many Einsteins? How many Nobel Laureates? How many great philosophers, doctors, scientists, * * *? We will never know. It is not only a Jewish loss—it is the world's loss as well.

Lifestyles magazine was established to salute Jewish contributions in all arenas of life. Jewish-Americans of all backgrounds, professional and philanthropic interests consider it an honor and a privilege to be included in this most prestigious publication. Over the past 25 years, one could read on its pages exciting, intimate profiles of extraordinary human beings ranging from Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel to the musical giant Isaac Stern and thousands of individuals who excelled in their various fields, making this world a better place. Lifestyles magazine has also treated its subjects with the utmost seriousness, and it has established itself as a respected voice of integrity. Each issue is dedicated to helping humanitarian causes of all kinds. Working hand in glove with virtually hundreds of humanitarian causes, its publication not only serves as a mirror of North American Jewish society for the past quarter century, but also as a beacon of charitable giving. Lifestyles magazine's commitment to advancing the Nation's democratic principles is also underscored by its constant activities in the fields of culture, business and the sciences.

Gabriel Erem, a child of Holocaust survivors, is being saluted for his passionate commitment to teaching Jewish history and culture and preserving the Jewish legacy to the world. Recently, Gabriel Erem made a sizable contribution to Holocaust education in our country by dedicating an entire issue of Lifestyles magazine to describing the goals of Steven Spielberg's Shoah Foundation, an organization committed to teaching future generations about the lessons of the Holocaust.

Mr. Speaker, Gabriel Erem is a man of outstanding commitment and accomplishment in

the noblest of pursuits. His contribution to culture, education, ethnic understanding, and the spreading of democratic and free market principles is truly awe inspiring. Through his vast commitment to preserving and nurturing Jewish communal life, both in the United States and Canada, Gabriel Erem has made a tremendous and enduring gift to the education of future generations about Jewish history and culture.

I commend Gabriel Erem and Lifestyles magazine for their unnumerable contributions to our society and I invite my colleagues to join me in applauding Gabriel Erem and Lifestyles magazine on their continuing mission.

## THANK YOU, HELEN LEMANSKI

### HON. JAMES A. BARCIA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. BARCIA. Mr. Speaker, it is the people who work in local government who make things happen. They deal with the needs of our constituents on a face-to-face basis, each and every day. They are required to deal with difficult problems at work, and because they are so accessible around the community, they often deal with them at times when they are away from the office. Huron County is about to lose a most capable official when Helen Lemanski, the county clerk, retires from her post as county clerk on December 20.

Helen has worked for Huron County for 44 years, having been county clerk for the past 17 years. In fact, Helen's attention to detail and performance have been so daunting that she has been unopposed in her campaign for county clerk in four out of five of her elections.

Helen Lemanski was responsible for computerization of the country's records. The official records of births, deaths, voter registration, the circuit court, and all other public records important to the community were maintained by her, and greatly facilitated by her computerization efforts. If any resident of the county needs official information, they can easily get it because of her.

And, of course, it is also easier to get information because of the type of person that Helen Lemanski has been. No one ever goes without assistance. She always works to be sure that a resident gets the help they need. She assists local township clerks in performing their responsibilities to be sure that there is effective cooperation between township and county offices. The people of Huron County have been fortunate to have had the assistance of Helen and the fine support staff she has trained and nurtured.

Her work for the county has been exemplary, particularly in her record of attendance. Very rarely does Helen ever miss a day of work. And when she does, it is either because she is unquestionably ill, or because she is spending time with her daughter Bobbi, who has returned home for a visit. This woman is truly a model for both a good official, and a good mother.

Mr. Speaker, this institutional memory will surely be missed in the halls of Huron County government. I urge you and all of our colleagues to join me in wishing Helen, and her husband Bob, the very best in her retirement, and good fortune in all that life still holds for her.

## FAST TRACK

### HON. ALLEN BOYD

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. BOYD. Mr. Speaker, today's vote is about the direction we want our economy to take, and there are three crucial issues which must be addressed if future trade agreements are going to be good for America. One, we must ensure our sovereignty is protected. Two, there must be a level playing field for American workers, and three, the promises made to garner support for trade agreements must be kept.

As we enter the global market place, it is important that Congress ensures our sovereignty is protected. Since the World Trade Organization was created, over 20 U.S. laws have been challenged or are currently being challenged. Congress has already changed one law to avoid facing the massive tariffs the WTO can implement when they ruled a U.S. law was actually a barrier to trade. In my home State of Florida, we require foreign agricultural producers to ship crops into our State to pay for inspections when their produce enters our ports. These inspections protect locally grown crops from exposure to foreign-based infestations which could devastate a multibillion dollar agriculture industry. While this State law does not violate any Federal statute, it is being challenged in the WTO.

In addition, this bill does not address the issue of the emerging global labor market. As we move toward the global economy, where our workers will compete with workers from every country in the world, it is important that we address this crucial issue. Given a level playing field, American workers are the most productive in the world and they can compete with any other country's work force. However, the fast track bill we are being asked to vote on today would force Americans to compete against people earning less than a dollar an hour and work 12 hour days. In many cases, our workers are being asked to compete with child and forced labor earning slave wages.

It is important for Americans that trade agreements ensure a level playing field is cultivated by bringing foreign wages and worker safety provisions up to ours, not by allowing our standards to fall to theirs. The fast track bill we are voting on jeopardizes American wage and safety standards.

Finally, I have serious reservations about the promises being made to try and force this agreement through Congress. While I was not in Congress when NAFTA was debated and voted on, I am well aware of the host of promises made to Florida agriculture growers to enlist their support. In reviewing those promises, I am sorry to say that vast majority of them were not kept.

In 1993, the administration made specific promises to assist agriculture producers in my State. Today, we have half as many tomato growers as there were in 1992 and the industry has lost $500 million because Mexican tomatoes were dumped in the United States. Our citrus growers have not fared any better. They have not exported one orange to Mexico since NAFTA became law.

In the last few days, the promises have started to flow again and I have some advice for my colleagues. Listen to the people of Florida who have paid the price for believing the promises in the past. Today, every major agricultural group in Florida opposes this agreement. In short, fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me.

In all three cases, this fast track bill fails hardworking American families. I am a supporter of free trade, but not at the price of American jobs. I urge my colleagues to vote no on fast track and let's get a trade bill which respects American sovereignty, farmers, and workers.

## FAST TRACK

### HON. ROB PORTMAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is unclear whether the House will vote on H.R. 2621, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, this session. I want to reiterate my strong support for the passage of this legislation to permit the negotiation of trade agreements that would then be brought back to the Congress for approval or disapproval.

Some of my colleagues have said that granting this negotiating authority to the U.S. Trade Representative will inevitably lead to a loss of American jobs. This argument is not supported by the facts. In fact, trade agreements to open foreign markets will lead to more and better jobs and help sustain a strong economy.

Obviously, the degree to which any bilateral or multilateral trade agreement affects American jobs will depend on the type of agreement reached and on many external economic factors, such as productivity. But to assert that trade agreements that might be negotiated under this authority will lead to fewer American jobs just doesn't hold up. Since 1993, more than a third of our economic growth has directly come from exports, and the number of export-related jobs has increased by 1.7 million. We have to remember that last year the United States created more new jobs than the other major industrial countries combined. And, jobs related to international trade on average pay 15 percent more than non-trade-related jobs.

My own State, Ohio, is the eighth largest exporter in the country with exports totaling $25 billion in 1996. The products exported from our State, including industrial machinery, cars, electronic equipment, plastic, and agricultural equipment, support many of our high-skilled, high-paying jobs at home. Ohio is the 12th largest agriculture exporting State, shipping $1.6 billion in agricultural exports in 1996. In the Cincinnati region alone, we exported $4.8 billion of merchandise over the last year. By adopting fast track, we will be able to sustain growth by further leveling the playing field and opening new markets to American products.

Mr. Speaker, opening foreign markets through bilateral or multilateral agreements is vital to maintaining a strong economy. Europe, China, Japan, and others are forging preferential commercial alliances with emerging markets, which puts American exports at a disadvantage. These trade alliances also play a vital role in defining strategic relationships between countries and regions. The alternative is to paralyze the ability of the United

States to negotiate such agreements and jeopardize our leadership role in the world. I support H.R. 2621 because I am deeply concerned about the long-term damage this would cause to our economy and to jobs in my district and around this country. Passage of this important legislation would help us ensure we remain leaders in the global economy.

## ADDRESS OF LT. GEN. ROGER G. THOMPSON, JR.

### HON. JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, as the sponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 65, I rise today to bring to my colleagues attention the U.S. military's belief in a strong domestic maritime industry, as well affirmed in a speech last month before the national convention of the Propeller Club by Lt. Gen. Roger Thompson, the deputy commander in chief of the U.S. Transportation Command.

In his remarks, General Thompson reaffirmed support for the Jones Act as a ''proven performer that supported both our nation's military security and its economic soundness,'' further commenting that the cabotage law ''provides its root structure for our strategic transoceanic sealift capabilities.'' In recognizing the valuable insurance the Jones Act fleet presents to the Defense Department, General Thompson noted that 75 percent of ocean going Jones Act vessels of over 1,000 gross tons are militarily useful and some 89,000 domestic mariners are qualified to crew the Government's Ready Reserve Force.

With your approval, Mr. Speaker, I wish to place the full text of his address into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

REMARKS BY LT. GEN. ROGER G. THOMPSON, JR.

It's a pleasure to be here today . . . Admiral Siler, Mr. Joseph, Mr. Myrick, Mr. Bazemore, ladies and gentlemen—no . . . let me make that ''our friends in the Propeller Club of the United States . . . because today we are indeed, all among friends.

It's a wonderful opportunity to be here today with all of you—here in the magnificent city of Savannah. Certainly it's a fitting place for this conclave. It is at the same time rooted deeply in the rich history of our South Atlantic coast and its equally rich maritime traditions; currently of course, a thriving port both for commercial and military activity; and a strategic shipping and logistics location poised to continue its critical economic and military importance unhesitatingly into the 21st century.

I have a particular relationship with Savannah, because in the mid 80s I was stationed in Charleston, SC, in the Military Traffic Management Command, and I was the port commander and our responsibilities were for the entire Southeast coast, so all Department of Defense Cargo that moved through the Southeastern ports was my responsibility. And I spent a lot of hours down on the waterfront at both ocean terminals and of course, the city, where we loaded day and night some ships that were deploying around the world our combat ships for various missions, mostly, I thank goodness, for exercises as opposed to major crises. So I have a lot of days and nights in the Savannah waterfront area.

So it is a pleasure for me to be here today to represent the United States Transportation Command.

A brief word about the Transportation Command . . . it is a joint command, that is part of the Department of Defense. And as a joint command it has three components.

There is the Military Traffic Management Command that is primarily in charge of surface transportation and intermodal transportation . . . and there is Air Mobility Command, which is of course just what the name implies. It provides our airlift, and makes arrangements not only with organic airlift, but also with commercial aircraft . . . and finally there is the Military Sealift Command, with which I'm sure you are very familiar, which is responsible for our over ocean transportation. So that is a quick snap shot of the United States Transportation Command's organization. In total numbers, with active military, civilian and reserve, we have about 163,000 folks who are responsible for orchestrating the Defense Transportation System.

I need to tell you, that since my arrival some six weeks ago at USTRANSCOM, my primarily Army background—although it has included extensive port operations and other involvement with maritime operations—has broadened tremendously. Of course, much of what we do in the military is underpinned by slanguage and jargon—and among other skills, I've been learning additional seagoing terminology! So this story kind of tells how I am learning, and you can be the judge of whether I am learning well, or not.

I was told in my first days at TRANSCOM about a wizened World War II merchant skipper. He was renowned not just for open ocean navigation acumen but especially for his restricted harbor situation maneuvering skills. In fact, he seldom used tugs. But every morning when he arrived on the bridge, he unlocked a drawer, peered into it quickly, concentrated, shut the drawer and then locked it.

As luck would have it, after navigating the worlds oceans for decades, dodging enemy subs and bombers, the aging mariner passed away quietly in his bunk. When the boatswain found him in the morning, although somewhat hesitant, he quickly grabbed the now deceased captain's keys and rushed to the bridge. Breathlessly opening the lock and peering into the drawer, he saw a yellowed, frazzled, neatly lettered: ''Port is Left . . . Starboard is Right.'' So I just want you to know I'm learning.

So I know my left from right now, and I've also learned a little about where the word ''posh'' came from. When I was growing up I thought the word ''posh'' meant elegant. I thought I'd learned my lessons, but wrong . . . it's really a nautical term and derives the sea trade routes between Great Britain and its former Indian subcontinent colonies. In the days before air conditioning, transiting the Mediterranean in the summer, and then the Indian Ocean near the equator, one wanted to be on the north, or left side of the ship, deriving such comfort from the shade as might be possible.

On the return voyage—of course—you wanted again to be on the north, or this time, the starboard side. Thus, using England as a point of reference, the best cabins were on the Port side Outbound, and to the Starboard side coming Home—Port Outbound . . . Starboard Home . . . P-O-S-H . . posh. So I'm learning all kinds of things in my new job.

But I'd like now to shift my course, and talk about the subject of this gathering in Savannah—America's Maritime Lifeline—The Jones Act.

The purpose that has been most commonly ascribed to the Jones Act is of course, the requirement that domestic waterborne commerce—shipping between two points in our nation—shall be conducted in U.S.-crewed and flagged vessels.

Frankly, if that's as far as it went, we at USTRANSCOM probably would not be terribly concerned with its future. We see little prospect of any need to transport our 3rd Armored Division from Beaumont to Boston. We sincerely hope that the unpleasantness some 130 years ago is indeed behind us forever.

And so if I may draw an analogy, if the Jones Act was a tree, the domestic maritime shipment issue would be a trunk—a main structure. But the roots that support that trunk also support another trunk—the strategic sealift that gives our nation much of its capability to project power overseas.

The Jones Act, conceived some 80 years ago as a measure to ensure our domestic maritime base, just as assuredly provides its root structure for our strategic transoceanic sealift capabilities. The Jones Act is truly a ''win-win package'' for our country.

Before I more closely examine the strategic sealift ramifications of the Jones Act, I might note that this is not an exclusive piece of protectionist legislation to favor our nation, nor is it unlike laws that support other forms of commercial road, rail and air transportation in the United States. On the contrary, cabotage laws—derived from the French word, Caboter—which means to sail along the coast or ''by the capes''—are in various forms, the laws of some 56 nations around the world.

Now I'd like to state for the record, that the domestic maritime industry is not some small potatoes special interest group.

Our domestic maritime industry employs some 124,000 taxpayers, either serving in the vessels or in shipbuilding, repair and of course many other related fields, with which you all are very familiar.

The private investment in U.S.-flag domestic shipping investment exceeds $26 billion for some 44,000 vessels and barges.

Domestic shipping moves 30% of United States' cargo at a cost of less than 2% of our nation's total freight bill.

Having clearly defined left from right, port from starboard—just what do our nation's military, strategic sealift interests derive from this piece of domestic legislation? The question is—ladies and gentleman—Where's the ''beef'' for USTRANSCOM?

Surely it has not in recent history been the actual military employment of vessels. During Operations desert Shield and Desert Storm, only 2 of 22 militarily useful dry cargo vessels and 6 of 99 Jones Act Tankers were employed. Although I might add, these 6 tankers delivered more than 20% of U.S. tanker petroleum products deliveries in the course of 40 voyages. But we should never forget the tremendous potential here. We should remember that 75% of ocean going Jones Act vessels of over 1,000 gross tons are militarily useful, as defined by Department of Defense. They in themselves are valuable insurance.

But these vessels don't have to sail to foreign ports to serve our nation, and you know that. Great Lakes ships and inland river barges are vital conduits that move cargoes from the interior of our nation to coastal ports for shipment overseas. And throughout, they contribute to and support our great nation's economy.

Perhaps the most critical contribution of the Jones Act to Desert Shield-Desert Storm activity was the crewmembers—the American merchant mariners—who sailed our Ready Reserve Force of Vessels in harm's way, delivering the tracked and wheeled vehicles, the sustaining supplies, that enabled the United States and its coalition partners

to pulverize Iraq in a 30-day war and then roll over it in a 100 hour ground war.

The Iraqis threatened to mine the seas. The U.S. merchant mariners sailed into the theater at best speed.

The Iraqis threatened to use chemical weapons. What did the U.S. mariners do? They ignored the threats and delivered their cargoes anyhow.

And when the war was concluded victoriously—and we had lots and lots of stuff left over there—and by the way, lots of it was ammunition—U.S. merchant mariners brought the equipment and supplies home.

Of the citizen mariners who crew Jones Act Vessels, some 8,000 are qualified to crew the government's fleet of Ready Reserve Force—or RRF—vessels in time of national need. These 90-plus RRF vessels—designed or modified to carry the outsized and heavy equipment and cargoes that characterize our military force—are core elements of our nation's strategic sealift capabilities.

More recently mariners who work domestic vessels—and in the case of our mission in Haiti, the vessels themselves—have played significant roles. When we activated Ready Reserve Force ships to support Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR in Bosnia, fully 70% of the crews that answered the call had been employed in our domestic fleet—Jones Act vessels—during the five years between the Gulf conflict and operations in Bosnia.

Next, the Jones Act is important to the United States military because it supports a U.S. shipbuilding capability that has turned a corner in recent years, with tonnage under construction increasing to the level that elevates this country from 22nd in the world to 8th.

And the act supports a maritime repair and maintenance capability that might be critical if we were to find ourselves in a protracted conflict and be obliged—as we have been in the past—to repair damaged or worn sealift assets.

Some folks have called the Jones Act a legislative life-support system for an aging, dying creature. I would like to note that over the past three decades:

America's domestic fleet—vessels exceeding 1,000 tons gross weight tonnage—doubled in numbers from 1965 to 95

. . . it tripled productivity during that same period, and

. . . reached the one billion ton cargo threshold for the first time in 1995.

Now I guess I've got to ask you—and myself at the same time—do we hear any death rattles in those statistics. I certainly don't hear any.

And Jones Act vessels are part of our newest initiative—VISA—the Voluntary Intermodal Sealift Agreement, implemented only this year following its development with MARAD.

Many of you here are members of organizations which are participating in the groundbreaking initiative . . . and we want to thank you for your support.

VISA is very similar to the highly successful Civil Reserve Air Fleet—or CRAF—that has served our nation's military airlift needs so well.

VISA—like the Jones Act—is another win-win construct, DOD gains capacity—access actually to capacity—intermodal capacity—vice specific hulls. Contracts are being prenegotiated: we will know what we will have to pay; carriers will know what they will get.

And this is a very important point, we are planning jointly with our industry partners. And I might add on the side, that this planning has received national recognition and the people that have been part of this planning group for the last two years, have been recent recipients of the hammer award. This joint planning means industry representatives—that have security clearances—sit with us as we develop war plans. Now that's unprecedented. And their inputs and suggestions are proving extraordinarily valuable to us. So we are very excited about that.

Industry is learning ahead of time what we will need, which in turn enables them to project accurately and protect their market share. We are not just getting access to specific ships, as I mentioned a minute ago, we are getting access to worldwide intermodal system capacity and expertise. And as you know, by watching what has been going on in the intermodal world, this has become much much more important than even in the past.

I know of few military people—and virtually none who have experienced it—who would seek the opportunity for military confrontation or combat. But as you know, the odds and history don't offer much hope that total peace will break out anytime soon or for long.

Air lift is swift—to be sure. It can move personnel and high priority cargo around the world in only hours. Along with long-range air strikes. It gives us awesome halting power to stop an aggressor's advance. But to mount and sustain a counter attack and drive to victory—as far as we can see into the future—still will require strategic sealift.

Sealift will move the bulk of the unit equipment—what are we talking about?—the tanks, artillery and trucks—that will ultimately uproot an aggressor and defeat him. And it will deliver the sustaining supplies to carry the day. Fully 90 to 95% of all war materials and supplies will be delivered by sealift.

So for the reasons cited—the Jones Act is an important element supporting that requirement. It provides a very important root system that sustains our sealift capability.

In conclusion, the Jones Act is a proven performer that supports both our nation's military security and its economic soundness.

I'd like to thank you for inviting me here today. And I certainly wish you all the best of success with this session that you are having here, but more importantly I wish you continued success in your fields so we can continue making our great nation even greater and even stronger.

## FAST TRACK AUTHORITY

### HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2621, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Authorities Act of 1997, which would provide fast-track authority to the President. While I believe free trade is important, I do not believe Congress should just turn over our constitutional authority on trade to the President whenever he asks. The current version of H.R. 2621 is more restrictive than the past legislation which enabled Presidents Reagan, Bush, and Clinton to negotiate GATT and NAFTA.

Congress must ensure that labor and environmental standards can be raised in the context of trade issues. With increased globalization, these issues are becoming interrelated. Unfortunately, there has been a trend within the executive branch of the United States to delink trade policy with other important foreign policy goals like promotion of fair labor standards, elimination of child labor, improvement in environmental conditions, and the promotion of human rights.

Trade policy has in some cases become the No. 1 priority, with other important issues being put on the back burner and receiving less attention. One such example was the United States willingness to impose trade sanctions against the Chinese for their violation of international standards on intellectual property rights. However, the administration was unwilling to impose sanctions because of restrictions on religious freedom in China which also violated international law. This is not consistent policy.

Mr. Speaker, I review trade agreements on a case by case basis and how they will affect jobs in my district. I supported the Uruguay round of the GATT because I thought it was a good deal for the United States. I opposed NAFTA because I did not think it was the best deal we could have gotten. I argued then that we needed to have high standards for NAFTA because it would be expanded to include Latin and South America. If we pass this version of fast track, the administration could easily expand some of the flawed provisions of NAFTA.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would vote for the President to have expedited trade negotiating authority only if it includes authority to improve labor, environmental, and human rights standards. If fast track fails, the administration still has authority to negotiate trade agreements. The United States-Israel Free Trade Agreement was negotiated without fast track and the Uruguay round of the GATT proceeded for several years without fast track. The United States must take its time to negotiate good trade agreements which will benefit our businesses, our workers, and represent our values.

## COMMENDING KEN ENNS OF ENNS PACKING

### HON. GEORGE P. RADANOVICH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Ken Enns and his company, Enns Packing, who have made major contributions to the underprivileged people of California.

Ken has a strong history of support for California Emergency Foodlink which is a nonprofit organization that provides food to the hungry throughout California. In 1992, his company was a major donor to Foodlink's Donate-Don't Dump program. Donate-Don't Dump assists the U.S. Department of Agriculture's community program by providing private food donations. Enns Packing offered added support to this program in 1997 when it donated close to 3 million pounds of fresh fruit.

Ken and Enns Packing give fresh produce to help feed 1.5 million needy Californians each month during the summer. Ken has also been instrumental in encouraging companies similar to his to support Foodlink. His efforts resulted in Foodlink's distribution of over 32 million pounds of donated food in 1996.

Ken's philanthropy has contributed greatly to help feed the hungry people of California. I congratulate Ken and Enns Packing on their

efforts, as they exemplify the impact the private sector can have on our communities.

Mr. Speaker, this Congress has begun the process of localizing, privatizing, and eliminating outmoded and counterproductive Federal programs. But that isn't enough. The American people—through their families, religious and civic organizations and through their workplace—must make a commitment to be personally responsible for solving the challenges that face us. Ken Enns and Enns Packing have done just that. Ken and Enns Packing serve as a model for each of us. I urge every American to study how Ken has contributed to his community. Most importantly, I urge every American to put into practice in their own lives the lesson that Ken can teach us.

## ATTORNEY GENERAL AWARD TO STEPHANIE BOUCHER

### HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to offer recognition to an individual who recently received an extraordinary honor for her contributions at the workplace. Stephanie Boucher, the wife of one of my legislative assistants, received an Appreciation Award from the Attorney General on September 26, 1997.

What is unusual about this event was the fact that Stephanie is not a Federal employee. She is a contract worker employed at the Executive Office for U.S. Attorneys [EOUSA] in the Department of Justice. I have been informed that it is highly unusual for contract employees to receive any type of official recognition from the Government for their work. Yet, over the past 15 months, Stephanie has shown that she is not the typical contract employee.

Stephanie received this award for ''motivating and stimulating EOUSA's Freedom of Information Act/Privacy Act [FOIA] staff with her team spirit, productive work ethics, and willingness to go the extra mile to reach the Attorney General's goal of reducing the FOIA backlog.'' This backlog, which resulted from Congress' reform and expansion of the FOIA legislation, at one point reached nearly 1,000 requests pending. It was through the hard work, willingness to work extra hours, and dedication to detail shown by Stephanie and three other contract employees, under the direction of Acting Director Bonnie Gay, that the backlog was reduced to zero by the end of fiscal year 1997. I would further note that despite the extraordinary circumstances of receiving recognition for their accomplishments from the Attorney General, none of them received any acknowledgement or congratulations from the contract employer.

What sets Stephanie apart in my mind from her colleagues is the fact that she accomplished all this while attending law school full time in the evenings at the University of Baltimore. I know from personal experience how difficult and demanding law school is, and believe that this underscores this young woman's strong work ethic.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would note that the administration requested funding in the fiscal year 1998 budget for eight additional positions in the Executive Office for U.S. Attorneys to handle FOIA requests. Furthermore, it is my understanding that two of Stephanie's colleagues have been brought on full time with the Government since the issuance of this award. It is my opinion that Stephanie has already shown, through her past performance, that she would make a fine addition to the expanded EOUSA FOIA staff.

## RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENT AUTHORITIES ACT

### HON. THOMAS J. MANTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. MANTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 2621, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Authorities Act. The debate over fast track is not a debate over whether the United States should engage in world trade. Clearly, we should. This debate is about whether our Government will finally adopt trade rules that will put the interests of working families first instead of the rights of corporations to make huge profits at their expense.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that trade agreements must not be considered in isolation of the consequences which might befall workers and the environment. Unfortunately, the bill before us does not require that future trade agreements ensure progress toward ensuring workers' rights and enhancing environmental protections. Instead, the bill limits the labor and environmental issues which can be considered under fast track authority to those that are ''directly related to trade and decrease market opportunities for U.S. exports or distort U.S. trade.'' This wording attempts to hide the continued disregard for American workers behind carefully constructed language that allows trade negotiators to pay lip-service to environmental, consumer, and labor issues without requiring them to do anything about them. Instead, labor and environmental issues will be ignored or relegated to NAFTA-like side agreements which have proven to be wholly inadequate and have made implementation of these provisions virtually unenforceable in the past.

In addition, this fast track legislation grants the President wider authority over trade than given to any previous administration since its inception. And, while lawmakers could vote either up or down on a specific proposal, they would be stripped of their powers to amend, revise, correct, or improve complex, and far-reaching trade agreements, effectively denying Congress its constitutional right to regulate foreign commerce.

Mr. Speaker, the administration has promised that if granted fast track authority, they will use it to expand NAFTA to Chile as the first step toward creation of a Free Trade Zone of the Americas. But, after 3 years of the NAFTA experience, the evidence shows that as both a trade agreement and a trade model, NAFTA has been a failure. We have seen a trade surplus with Mexico transformed into a $16 billion deficit, part of a total United States trade deficit with Canada and Mexico of $48.3 billion dollars. We have seen a net loss of U.S. jobs in all 50 States totaling more than 420,000, including 20,000 in my home State of New York alone.

And, recently Mr. Speaker, the negative effects of NAFTA have struck my own Seventh Congressional District of New York particularly hard. Swingline, a manufacturer of staples and staple products located in Long Island City, recently announced plans to close down their plant and move their operations to Mexico. The Swingline plant has operated in New York for the last 75 years, including the last 40 in Long Island City. Swingline has long been a fixture in the Long Island City community, employing more than 400 workers, a majority of whom have only known that job their entire lives.

In addition, we have seen increased Mexican imports, coupled with restrictive inspection requirements and inadequate funding, combining to overwhelm border inspection systems. This has resulted in an increased volume of tainted foods coming into the United States, most recently demonstrated with the outbreak of 130 cases of Hepatitis-A in Michigan which were traced to strawberries illegally imported from Mexico. We have also seen an increase in unsafe Mexican carrier traffic traveling over United States highways, as NAFTA has provided for neither the financial support nor regulatory incentives to bring Mexican standards up to United States levels. And, Mr. Speaker, we have seen an increase in the flow of illegal drugs from Mexico as NAFTA's new flood of truckloads of imports has provided the means by which these illegal contraband may enter the United States undetected. Recent State Department estimates show that now 70 percent of cocaine, 80 percent of marijuana, and 30 percent of heroin enter the United States through Mexico, up significantly from pre-NAFTA levels.

Mr. Speaker, fast track supporters would have you believe that without this authority, the United States will be shut out from entering into lucrative trade deals in South America. But this is just not true. Indeed, in recent years trade between the United States and South America has moved from a deficit to a healthy surplus, even though we do not have any NAFTA-type free trade agreements with these countries. And, a lack of fast track authority has also not prevented the current administration from having negotiated more than 200 trade agreements with other countries since 1993.

Mr. Speaker, as I stated before, the debate before us is not whether America trades with the world, but what are the rules under which that trade takes place. Workers rights, environmental protections, and food safety must have a place on the negotiating agenda for any trade agreement. Unfortunately, this legislation before us does not adequately provide for their consideration. Therefore, I urge all of my colleagues to reject this fast track legislation and to give all future trade agreements and our overall trade policy the careful scrutiny they require and deserve.

## RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENT AUTHORITIES ACT

### HON. JAY KIM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2621, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Authorities Act, a bill to renew the President's authority to negotiate international trade

agreements through an expedited procedure known as fast track.

Fast track is a tool with which the President can negotiate international trade agreements. It is not a tool for the President to circumvent Congress and implement agreements. Congress retains its constitutional authority to approve any trade agreement brought under fast track, and maintains its responsibility to write and approve legislation to implement that agreement. I want to stress this important point: Congress still must approve or disapprove any new trade agreement reached as a result of fast track negotiations.

Fast track is a tool that the President will use to negotiate trade agreements to open foreign markets for U.S. exports. Exports are a crucial sector of the U.S. economy, particularly in southern California. Last year alone, California exported $104 billion in goods. California exports support 1.5 million jobs, a number which is expected to grow at 100,000 per year. These are high-growth, well-paying jobs, with wages paying 13 to 16 percent more than nontrade related jobs. The President will use fast track to open up foreign markets for our exports, which will, in turn, create even more of these high-paying jobs. This is extremely important to the continued growth of the U.S. economy in general, and California's economy specifically.

The President will use this authority to open foreign markets for U.S. manufactured and agricultural products. These trade agreements will be designed to lower foreign tariff rates and barriers to entry in order to make our products more competitive in foreign marketplaces. If we are unable to negotiate these agreements, tariffs on our goods will remain high, and consumers in foreign markets will be unwilling to buy U.S. products that are made and grown in our districts.

I am extremely disappointed that labor and environmental organizations are erroneously characterizing fast track as a new trade agreement lacking sufficient labor and environmental protections. I cannot repeat enough times: fast track is simply a negotiating process under which the President negotiates trade agreements—with the constant advice and oversight of Congress—that Congress must approve in order to become law.

It is also important to recognize that fast track does not, I repeat does not, preclude the President from addressing environmental and labor concerns in any trade agreement, so long as those labor and environmental concerns are related to trade. The fact is, we encourage the President to address these issues, especially those which hurt the competitiveness of our exports abroad.

I also want to point out that this is not a partisan issue: every President in the last 20 years has had fast-track authority. Democrat-controlled Congresses have granted the authority to Republican Presidents and vice versa. Every president since Gerald Ford has had fast-track authority to negotiate trade agreements. Without this authority, no foreign countries will enter into trade negotiations with the United States.

Finally, I want to make clear that granting fast track does not give the President a blank check to expand NAFTA. Any new trade agreement—including NAFTA parity for countries in Central and South America—must still come before Congress for approval and implementation. If Congress feels that a trade deal is not in the United States' best interest, Congress will vote it down.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this bill. If we do not grant our President fast-track negotiating authority, we will only serve to hurt ourselves. Export markets will dry up, and we will lose all those U.S. jobs associated with exports. Please vote for fair U.S. trade. Please vote for U.S. jobs. Please vote for fast track.

## FORUM ON THE REAUTHORIZATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

**HON. DAVID E. PRICE**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on September 22, I convened a forum on the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act. This legislation, which would renew authority for most Federal higher education programs, will be considered during the next session of the 105th Congress. I invited students, college presidents, financial aid administrators, and business leaders from the Research Triangle area of North Carolina to come together at the Museum of History in Raleigh to discuss the future of student and institutional aid, support services for disadvantaged students, international programs, university-based research, and training for the work force. The participants were divided into four panels: ''The Higher Education Act: Student Perspectives,'' ''Priorities for the Higher Education Act.'' ''The Financial Aid Challenge,'' and ''Higher Education, the Economy and the Global Marketplace.'' Together, they outlined a compelling agenda for education policy and demonstrated the contribution our State is prepared to make to this debate.

I was joined on the moderating panel by David Longanecker, Assistant Secretary for Post-Secondary Education at the U.S. Department of Education, Senator Howard Lee, chairman of both the authorizing and appropriating committees for higher education in the North Carolina Senate, and Senator Wib Gulley, a member of the Higher Education Committee in the North Carolina Senate. Today, I want to summarize who the participants were and what they had to say.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT: STUDENT PERSPECTIVES

Five students from Triangle schools gave us the benefit of their perspectives on student aid. Mohan Nathan, student body president at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, emphasized four significant areas of concern for students: First, the grant-loan imbalance; second, the importance of the State Student Incentive Grant Program in leveraging non-Federal funds; third, the rising cost of graduate school and subsequent student debt; and fourth, how loan indebtedness may affect the career choices students make. Linda Hawkins, a student at Meredith College, spoke to the special needs of nontraditional students and supported more evening and weekend programs that would allow flexibility in family and employment schedules. Kendrick Coble of Shaw University recounted the difficulty of piecing together a financial aid package and called for a modification in the methodology used to determine financial aid eligibility so that those who are working to support themselves are not penalized. Heather Thompson, a student at Durham Technical Community College and single mother of two children, testified in very personal and moving terms to the importance of the Single Parent Program—a program offered at Durham Tech which pays for her children's day care—in attracting more single parents back to school. And Terry Steckowich, a transfer student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, discussed the difficulty in transferring credits from a quarter-based institution—in his case, Durham Technical Community College—to a semester based system.

PRIORITIES FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Leaders from five higher education institutions in the Triangle comprised the second panel. They offered their views on challenges at their institutions and how those challenges should frame the priorities in the renewal of the Higher Education Act. President Molly Broad of the University of North Carolina system called for modification of the College Work Study Program to cover travel and training expenses for students who are participating in cooperative education. She also described the need to develop telecommunications infrastructure and support through expanded partnerships among colleges, primary and secondary schools. President Broad also testified to the importance of policy initiatives that were included as a portion of the Taxpayer Relief Act. She specifically referenced the importance of two items that I and other Members have been working on for 10 years which were included in the education tax relief section of the bill—penalty-free withdrawals from individual retirement accounts and the deductibility of interest on student loans. President Bernard Franklin of St. Augustine's college emphasized the accessibility and cost of a college education, citing the grant-loan imbalance and advocating an increase in Pell Grant levels. Second, he called for greater support of the technological infrastructure for colleges serving a large number of minority students. Third, Dr. Franklin addressed the need for increased funding and flexibility so that money in the Institutional Aid portion of the bill can be used to build endowments at historically black institutions. Chancellor Julius Chambers of North Carolina Central University urged more funding to help develop graduate programs at historically black colleges and universities. He raised questions about the restrictive matching fund component of the law and stressed the difficulty graduate programs have in becoming eligible for Federal funds. He also discussed the need for better outreach to low-income families concerning the Federal funds available for education. Chancellor Chambers went on to argue that the present method for determining the amount of money married students and students with children may obtain for loans and other aid is not sufficient. He argued in favor of increased Federal student loan funding to help single parents cover the expenses necessary to obtain a degree. President Bruce Howell of Wake Technical Community College, with whom I worked a few years ago as we crafted the Advanced Technological Education Program at the National Science Foundation, testified to the value of the grants his and other community colleges across the country have received to upgrade curricula and teaching

methods. He called for more resources, including computers, and increased access to the classroom for the economically disadvantaged, students with disabilities, single parent students, and full-time workers. Because 78 percent of students at Wake Tech work, Dr. Howell advocated the need for classes round the clock and on weekends. He also spoke on the necessity to reach out to workers and older people to make education accessible at all stages of life. The last panelist to present testimony was President Nan Keohane of Duke University. Dr. Keohane echoed the statement of Chancellor Chambers in addressing the lack of knowledge about the availability of student aid. She detailed a number of areas where changes to the Higher Education Act would ''play what you might call a perfecting role.'' These refinements include a sharper focus on needy and moderate income students, strengthening campus-based programs that reduce borrowing, lowering the cost of borrowing to students, allowing institutions with low-loan default rates greater flexibility in the loan packages they may offer, and developing incentives for families to save for college. I believe this last point is particularly important and hope the reauthorization will adjust the formulas to ensure those that have saved are not penalized while ensuring that those with fewer resources are still eligible for aid. Finally, Dr. Keohane called for adequate support of the International Education and Foreign Language Programs and for rethinking of Federal student aid for participants in those programs.

THE FINANCIAL AID CHALLENGE

Financial aid administrators, in both State government and at Triangle educational institutions, discussed the current status of the Federal Financial Aid Program and the challenges they face in administering the program. Steven Brooks, executive director of the North Carolina State Education Assistance Authority, discussed the difficulty aid administrators have in fulfilling their role as student advocates. Mr. Brooks indicated that Federal regulations and decreased flexibility have made his role as an advocate more difficult. Like Drs. Chambers and Keohane, he argued that a better partnership among administrators at the Federal, State, and institutional level would help make financial aid information more available to students. He also addressed the grant-loan imbalance and, like other participants, called for an increase in Pell grant funding. Finally, Mr. Brooks asked that the Congress continue to find ways to support the savings efforts of middle-class families. ''Those who can afford to save for higher education, must be encouraged to do so, and this encouragement must come without cost to those who cannot afford to save.'' Carolyn Braxton, financial aid director at Wake Technical Community College, discussed the need for options other than loans, so students do not have large debt loans upon graduation. She also expressed the need for more child care, especially for the nontraditional student. And like Mr. Brooks, Ms. Braxton would like more focus on low-income families, not just aid for the middle class. She concluded by questioning the role of financial aid administrators in relation to Federal requirements: ''Financial aid professionals are required to be gatekeepers for Federal, State, and local dollars at our colleges, meet the needs of our students and meet regulatory requirements in administering these dollars. Requirements for verifying selective service registration and citizenship are not in sync with our mission to provide funding resources to enable all students to obtain a higher education.'' Julia Rice Mallette, financial aid director at North Carolina State University, brought several issues to the table. She underscored the need to understand the costs of college beyond tuition: books, room and board, food and transportation. She, too, expressed concern about the grant-loan imbalance and called for increased funding for the Pell Grant Program. At the same time, Ms. Mallette called for an increase in loan limits, especially for graduate and professional students, as well as a reduction of elimination of the loan originating fee and insurance premium paid up front. And, finally, Mr. Mallette reiterated the need to clarify and promote financial aid opportunities for students enrolled in distance education programs. Wanda White, financial aid director at St. Augustine's College, discussed the importace of programs such as the recently enacted Hope Scholarship, deductibility of student loan interest, and increases in the Pell Grant and the Work Study Program, since as many as 90 percent of students at historically black colleges and universities receive some sort of financial aid. She also advocated the increased funding to expand the use of technology at institutions that serve minorities and spoke for increased funding for the State Student Incentive Grant Program.

HIGHER EDUCATION, THE ECONOMY AND THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE

Business and education leaders came together in our final panel to discuss the implications of higher education policy decisions for local and global economies. Chancellor Larry Montieith of North Carolina State University highlighted the growing partnership between industry and university research and stressed the importance of these partnerships for future industrial development. This is a subject he is well acquainted with because of his leadership in creating the new Centennial Campus at NCSU, a research and advanced technology community where university, industry, and government partners interact in multidisciplinary programs directed toward the solution of contemporary problems. It serves as a model for how productive partnerships between industry and universities should be formed for the 21st century. Chancellor Monteith expressed his concern that the Higher Education Act not forget research and research institutions: ''If the infrastructure will not support leading-edge research, then we will not generate the technologies that are needed.'' President Phail Wynn of Durham Technical Community College testified that 80 percent of the goods produced in this country are actively competing with foreign-made goods, and he argued that ''the real measure of success between these competing knowledge-intensive economies will be found in the quality of their human resources.'' Postsecondary schooling must address the needs of the workplace, Dr. Wynn stated, especially in terms of being able to adapt quickly to changing circumstances. Steven Hitchner, director of ECPI Technical Institute, a proprietary school which focuses on teaching computer skills, made two important points. The first was the need for an increased numbers of technologically literate workers. He testified that ''increasingly, employers are requiring specialized training and continuing education as system advances are made and new technology is introduced.'' The second was the necessity to give proprietary school students access to Federal student assistance programs. To ensure that schools such as ECPI are able to produce the skilled work force we need quickly, Mr. Hitchner believes proprietary schools must be included in the discussions about reforming the Higher Education Act. He also expressed his appreciation that the recently enacted Taxpayer Relief Act included proprietary schools in the HOPE Scholarship Program and in the Education Affordability Act provisions concerning deductible interest for student loans and penalty-free withdrawals from IRA's. Robert Ingram, President and CEO of Glaxo-Wellcome Incorp., testified from two perspectives: global employer and corporate citizen. As an employer, he stressed the need for ''graduates to help us fulfill our mission of discovering, developing and delivering better medicines to meet the unmet answers in health.'' As a corporate citizen who believes in higher education, Mr. Ingram highlighted Glaxo's commitment to research universities and his company's emphasis on research partnerships. He testified that these partnerships, which are extensive at Triangle institutions, are essential to producing the most qualified and competitive students. He further discussed the need for advanced technical training for the work force to meet the evolving needs of an increasingly complex global business economy. Sandra Babb, advisor on work force preparedness to the Governor of North Carolina, argued persuasively for meeting the requirements of the digital information economy. Ms. Babb testified that educators and students must look to see where business is moving in terms of technology and creativity and must focus on the skills necessary to accomplish those goals. She emphasized that education is not static and that the Higher Education Act needs to realize this fundamental change in how we educate our citizens. She stated ''learning is a lifelong challenge because in the new economy, you've got to reinvent your knowledge base throughout your life.'' The last witness was William Friday, president-emeritus of the University of North Carolina system. Mr. Friday also chaired the National Humanities Center Steering Committee on the Future of the Fulbright Educational Exchange Program. That committee recently produced an excellent report entitled ''Fulbright at Fifty,'' which makes the case for the continuation and enhancement of the Fulbright scholars program. Mr. Friday testified ''if we do not devise the means to utilize the strength of these higher education institutions in helping one culture to understand another, one culture to get along with another, one culture to be unafraid of another, then all that you've heard here will not avail.'' He also paraphrased Senator Fulbright when he said ''knowledge will not produce peace unless there is understanding.'' And to reach that understanding, Mr. Friday passionately advocated the restoration of Fulbright funding to $125 million. Unfortunately, the recently enacted Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Appropriations bill funded the Fulbright program at a much lower level, $94.236 million.

After this full day of presentations and responses to questions posed by Secretary Longanecker, Senators Lee and Gulley, and

myself, I believe we all have a better understanding of the enormity of the challenge of reauthorizing the Higher Education Act and of the major issues that must be addressed. The hearing record will be made available to our colleagues on the Education and Workforce Committee, and I will be eager to work with them to ensure that these excellent ideas from the Research Triangle area of North Carolina are included in the Higher Education Act as reauthorization moves forward next session.

## FAST TRACK AUTHORITY: A FRAUDULENT NAME AND GAME

### HON. JOHN J. LaFALCE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. LAFALCE. Mr. Speaker, the issue most are debating today is whether Congress should give the President fast-track authority to negotiate trade agreements with foreign governments. At least, that is how the issue is usually described and debated.

But there is a real problem in both the description and the debate. And the closer you look at it, the clearer it becomes that the description is misleading and the debate often fraudulent.

First, there is nothing inherently faster about trade agreements reached under this process. In fact, we often spend more time and energy discussing fast track than we do the actual trade agreements. Second, the President does not obtain some new authority from Congress to negotiate trade deals; he has plenary authority under the Constitution to negotiate any agreement he might want with other nations. Indeed, the only question extant is whether Congress will try to relinquish or forfeit its constitutional authority to propose amendments to any proposal that the President might reach with other nations. Hence, the issue is not whether Congress will give the President any authority; it is whether Congress will give up its own constitutional authority.

So what is fraudulent about this debate? First, so-called fast-track authority is constitutionally unenforceable. Congress cannot legislatively give up its constitutional power to make laws or its powers to determine how to go about making laws. Surely, Congress can pass a law purporting to bind itself and future Congresses on a future issue, as fast-track purports to do, but, it cannot be enforced. This Congress and future Congresses could always simply ignore such previous actions and offer amendments at any time to any bill.

Second, even assuming such a limiting law could be enforced, neither this nor any previous fast-track proposal would actually eliminate congressional amendments to proposed trade bills. For every fast-track bill ever considered or proposed contains a glaring exception in the fine print making it say, in essence, that there will be no amendments unless the House or Senate passes a rule permitting amendments. In other words, the fast-track bills basically say that Congress will not consider amendments to a bill unless Congress decides to consider amendments to such a bill. So who's kidding whom? The answer is that just about everyone is fooling everyone. Such a loophole renders the law virtually meaningless, except, of course, to the extent it deceives foreign negotiators and the U.S. Congress.

What is really happening here is a convergence of interests between the U.S. Presidents and foreign governments. Their understandable mutual desire is to minimize the role of that cumbersome, bothersome thing called Congress.

In effect, they would have us say that for purposes of trade our constitutional system of representation does not work, cannot work, and must be circumvented. Instead, they would have us adopt a parliamentary system for trade laws, making the President a de facto Prime Minister and making the de facto parliament's vote really a simple ''yes'' or ''no'' vote of confidence in the Prime Minister's leadership. This would not even be a vote on the merits of the trade deal, or even on support of a given President, but instead on support of the Office of the Presidency. That's not what the Constitution envisioned or envisions.

Lastly, every bill implementing trade agreements submitted under fast-track authority in the past has been put through a rigorous preliminary amendment process in the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees. These sessions have resulted in huge numbers of amendments; then, after the committee members have offered their amendments and voted on them, the amended end product is submitted by the President to the entire Congress. That bill is then brought forward for the ''yes'' or ''no'' vote envisioned under fast track.

Thus, the debate on fast track has been riddled with fraud—fraud on foreign governments, on the Congress and on the body politic. I think we should deal with the issues openly and honestly. We can't give up our constitutional authority; we never have; and if we pass the President's fast-track proposal, we still wouldn't give up our authority. Having come to know this, I have chosen not to participate in the perpetuation of the fraud.

Some will say that a vote against fast track is a vote against global trade; that opposing fast track is putting America last, not first; that a vote against fast track is being protectionist. To those, I say, ''nonsense.'' These ad hominem attacks and false dichotomies sully the debate and are not worthy of a response. One can oppose fast track and still strongly favor global trade. I do. One can object to fast track and also oppose protectionism, seeking to put America first. I do. And one can support constitutional processes and still support enactment of trade agreements, as I supported the Canadian-American Free-Trade Agreement, the continuance of MFN for China, various iterations of GATT, the WTO, and so forth. I'd rather do that than support and perpetuate what is an essentially fraudulent process.

## MEXICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

### HON. JIM KOLBE

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to my colleagues an article concerning the Mexican political system by Mr. C. Allen Ellis, the president of Ellis Interfin Services, Ltd.

MEXICO AT WATERSHED

On July 6 Mexico, with over 30 million of its 52 million registered voters participating, held congressional elections for all 500 members of its Chamber of Deputies, to replace one third of its Senate, and to elect a mayor of its vast capital city for the first time. The result was historic. Mexico's 65 year old one-party political system, led by a one term president having near absolute power, crumbled before an electorate slowly emerging from Mexico's worst political and economic crisis since its Revolution of 1910.

The immediate results have been the end of congressional dominance by the ''Partido Revolucionario Institucional'' (PRI), which now holds a minority of 239 seats in the 500 member lower chamber, and a former party opposition holding 261 seats, which has formed a working coalition at least for the present. The opposition majority is asserting itself in seeking basic prerogatives and is developing fundamental changes in congressional rules and procedures to limit the vast powers held by the president since 1928. In addition, a leftist opposition party, the PRD, has elected Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas, son of a populist former president, to govern as mayor of Mexico City's Federal District for a three year term along with a 40 member Council, of which 38 are members of his party and to which not a single P.I. candidate was elected.

President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, midway through his single 6 year term of office, has emerged as a principal beneficiary of the elections whose fairness and extent of voter participation were unique in Mexico's electoral history. This success was the product of the newly independent Federal Electoral Institute, a vocal and critical press and media, the availability of public funding for all political parties, and, in general, President Zedillo's insistence on a fair and democratic election at the expense of his own presidential powers.

The emergence of a politically significant Congress has been accomplished without formal changes in the Constitution of 1917 or the laws of Mexico. Among the initial political changes that could prove to be more than transient are: limiting of our neighbor's ''spoil system'' whereby sitting presidents, their relatives and close political and private sector associates can amass great wealth, the greater sharing of presidential power with state and municipal governments many led by opposition parties (6 of Mexico's 31 states and hundreds of municipalities), and a stronger Supreme Court no longer serving only at presidential pleasure.

The new political system which is emerging is accompanying an economic recovery from the ''Crisis'' of 1995 and early 1996, led by the export sector principally benefiting approximately 200 major companies and their domestic and foreign suppliers, and, in stark contrast, a slow and painful recovery of its domestic economy. Mexico's two-way trade with its United States and Canada NAFTA partners has increased by 67% in three years from $91 billion to $152 billion in 1996, with Mexico this year expected to supplant Japan as the second most important trading partner of the United States after Canada. This year United States exports to Mexico are once again accelerating after their dramatic fall in 1995 (resulting from the ''Crisis'' and the December, 1994 devaluation of the peso), at $32.7 billion for the first six months running 23% ahead of the same period in 1996.

Thus Mexico's new political system is emerging in tandem with a strengthening economy, and in a North American regional economy where the United States continues its remarkable seven year record of non-inflationary growth with massive job creation,

much of which is due to vastly accelerating exports of goods and services from the United States to developing nations led by Mexico.

One of the principal challenges facing Mexico, which President Zedillo emphasized in his comprehensive annual address to the Mexican people on September 1, is the development of a long-term economic strategy, based on a private sector-led market economy, and acceptable to a political consensus. This has become critical because in each of Mexico's last five presidential terms, beginning in 1970, a financial crisis has been precipitated by differing and often contradictory economic policies. This will be a particularly difficult challenge, as highlighted recently by the highly adversarial response by opposition members to the recent appearance before the Congress of several cabinet officers, urging continuation of President Zedillo's and Treasury Secretary's Guillermo Ortiz's economic recovery and growth program and its required budget.

Another principal issue confronting Mexico involves the escalating threat to the personal security of persons in Mexico, at all levels of society, from a growing crime wave overwhelming an ineffectual and often corrupt criminal justice system and federal, state, and local police forces increasingly led by Mexican Army officers. A leading force in criminal activity are the regional narcotics cartels, which with their vast financial resources are responsible for widespread corruption throughout the public and private sectors of Mexico, as well as in the Army which for years has led the national anti-narcotics campaign.

President Zedillo in his September 1 address emphasized to his country and its citizenry the threat represented by the prevailing climate of insecurity and from narcotics. Fundamental reform of the judicial and public security systems have been a particular priority of his administration, but he acknowledged these programs and policies had to be improved. He vowed to develop and fund additional public security measures and called on the Congress, state, and municipal governments to work closely with executive branch in this vital arena.

In Mexico's economy, the present state of the financial and commercial banking sector remains a principal obstacle to economic growth and development. The public finances of Mexico are strong, having recovered far earlier than expected from the ''Crisis'' thanks to a wise and timely financial assistance package led by the United States and the international financial agencies. Continuing consolidation, led by commercial banks in Spain and Canada, has been required among financial institutions which began to fall shortly after their poorly conceived and implemented privatization by the prior administration. Massive government assistance and debt assumption has been provided to the privatized financial sector, with accompanying widespread public criticism, to confront a bad debt overhang which now exceeds $50 billion and will require many years of continuing economic progress to surmount.

Mexicans traditionally have had a keen awareness and pride in their own extraordinary history. However, this admirable quality has limited development of modern democratic political institutions and the ability to develop the economic and social policies required by a young, ambitious and increasingly restive population.

The crossroads at which Mexico finds itself has been particularly well-stated in a recently published history of Mexico:

''The ordinary Mexican is no longer obsessed by the gravitational pull of the past. Intoxication with history is now more an issue for political and intellectual elites. In the midst of the Crisis, in a national mood of confusion and unease, today's Mexican is turning toward the future. And the man and woman in the street have begun to understand that, even if the lack of democracy is not Mexico's foremost problem, the country's other problems cannot be resolved without democracy. These are the issues of the past and the present and the future, including the ancient social and economic problems that Mexico has endured as ''the land of inequality.'' Without a legitimate division of powers, the President, if he wishes, can reign as an absolute for six years. Without a solidly based and independent system of justice, the corrupted ''Revolutionary Family'' will continue exploiting ''public posts as private property,'' sacking the country as it has from the days of Alemán to Salinas de Gortari. Without a truly efficient and honest civil service, neither a just system of taxation nor a way of delivering benefits directly to the poor are possible, as modes for reducing the enormous inequalities between great wealth and great poverty. Without a reliable and honest police system, the streets will be insecure and the financial influence of drug cartels will grow geometrically. Without true and effective federalism, the capital will continue to exercise a form of imperialism over the provinces and the cities. Without democracy—the ideal of Madero (and less completely of Juárez)—any economic reforms, even if they move in the right direction, will always be fragile and endangered.''[1]

My own view of the road ahead for Mexico, at this watershed in its history, is that our neighbor has found in President Ernesto Zedillo a wise and dedicated leader whose policies, along with the present confluence of events, can produce a presidency sharing power with a representative Congress having real legislative, oversight and budgetary powers, and with an independent judiciary providing the rule of law and the fair administration of justice.

Whether Mexico is continuing on the course this paper has described will become more apparent in its crucial political year 2000 when presidential, state and municipal elections are scheduled. These will constitute a plebiscite on Mexico's emerging political system, on present economic and social policies, and on those to be followed in the next three years.

The course of present and future developments in Mexico will have profound implications for our own country and national interest. A growing and increasingly prosperous Mexico, with responsive and representative political institutions, will remove, or at least substantially reduce, many of the conflicts which have characterized our nation's historic relations with Mexico. This relationship is the most complex and wide-ranging we have with any nation, and in coming years will continue to be among our most important.

[1] Mexico: biography of power: a history of modern Mexico. 1810–1996/ by Enrique Krauze

## OPPOSITION TO H.R. 2621

### HON. BENNIE G. THOMPSON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 2621, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Authorities Act—the so-called fast track authority legislation.

The take it or leave it approach fast track authority brought to the NAFTA and GATT agreements a few years ago led to the acceptance of trade negotiations that have damaged my home State of Mississippi and this Nation's economy, labor force, and environment. This is not an issue of free trade; I support free trade as most Members of both sides of the aisle and the President do. My opposition to fast track authority and that of many of my colleagues is part of an effort to permit Congress to have real input into the negotiation of trade agreements and the ability to properly inform the public of their possible effects.

NAFTA and other trade agreements have severely hampered Mississippi and the Nation's opportunities for faster rates of economic development. Although United States exports have increased by 26 percent to Mexico and Canada since NAFTA's enactment in 1993, imports from those regions have increased by 47 percent according to Bureau of Labor Statistics and Census Bureau data. As a result, the Nation has lost a net total of 394,835 jobs since 1993. In Mississippi alone, major employers have moved across borders, forcing 6,671 people to face unemployment and difficult transitions to lower paying jobs. Moreover, as employers use the threat of moving their businesses overseas, employees are forced to take cuts in their paychecks and health benefits that have led to a 4-percent decline in nationwide median wages since 1993.

Fast track authority would be a blank check for extending NAFTA and other international trade agreements that tend to neglect the delicate economy of small States, like Mississippi, that heavily depend on low-wage labor and manufacturing. In addition, these agreements have encouraged other countries to develop unsafe products and to ignore environmental standards. It is no mystery why the National Consumers League as well as the Nation's premier environmental organizations—the Sierra Club, the Audubon Society, the National Wildlife Federation, the World Wildlife Fund, and others—oppose fast track authority.

Granting fast track authority will send the wrong message to other nations about child labor, the environment, safety standards, and the United States willingness to support its workers. Mr. Speaker, I object to providing new fast track authority on behalf of the 6,671 Mississippians who lost their jobs since fast track was used to pass NAFTA in 1993, and I object to it in the name of my State and this Nation's future.

## SENSE OF HOUSE REGARDING IRAQ

### HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives late today approved House Resolution 322, which places this body on record in favor of using force against Iraq if that is necessary in order to compel Iraq to comply with U.N. Security Council resolutions which call for the elimination of Iraq's capability to produce nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons and missiles capable of delivering

such weapons. While my resolution specifies that efforts should be made to resolve the problems peacefully through diplomatic means, it makes clear that if such efforts fail, the Congress supports the use of military force.

The bottom line, Mr. Speaker, is that we must be certain that we eliminate Saddam Hussein's ability to produce weapons of mass destruction and the missiles which deliver them. Our resolution makes that objective clear. If we can do that peacefully through active diplomacy, that clearly is the course we should take. If diplomacy fails, however, we should use force—through multilateral cooperation with our allies, if that can be done, but unilaterally if that is our only remaining option.

The purpose of this resolution is to make it completely clear and unequivocal to Saddam Hussein and his government that the Congress supports the use of military force if that is required. There must be no doubt about the importance of continuing inspections as called for under U.N. Security Council decisions, and there must be no doubt about the resolve of the U.S. Government and of the support of the American people to take military action if that should become necessary.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the Speaker, the majority leader, and the minority leader for their support and assistance in the adoption of this resolution. I also want to thank my friend and colleague from New York, the distinguished chairman of the International Relations Committee, Mr. GILMAN, for joining me as the principal cosponsor of this resolution and for his bringing this resolution before the International Relations Committee earlier this morning. I also want to thank my friend and colleague from Indiana, the distinguished ranking Democratic member of the International Relations Committee, Mr. HAMILTON, for his strong support of the resolution and for joining as a cosponsor.

Mr. Speaker, also joining as cosponsors of this resolution are a number of our colleagues: Mr. GOSS of Florida, the chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence, Mr. YATES, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. SISISKY, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. HORN, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. FOLEY, and Mr. WAXMAN.

The text of our resolution as it was adopted here in the House is as follows:

H. RES. 322

Expressing the sense of the House that the United States should act to resolve this crisis with Iraq in a manner that assures full Iraqi compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding the destruction of Iraq's capability to produce and deliver weapons of mass destruction, and that peaceful and diplomatic efforts should be pursued, but that is such efforts fail, multilateral military action or unilateral United States military action should be taken.

Whereas at the conclusion of the Gulf War the United States and the United Nations, acting through the Security Council, determined to find and destroy all of Iraq's capability to produce chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and its ability to produce missiles capable of delivering such weapons of mass destruction;

Whereas in pursuit of this goal, the United Nations set up a special multinational commission of experts to oversee the completion of this task (the United Nations Special Commission—UNSCOM), and that task could and should have been accomplished within a matter of months if Iraq had cooperated with United Nations officials;

Whereas sanctions were imposed upon Iraq to insure its compliance with United Nations directives to eliminate its capability to produce weapons of mass destruction;

Whereas for 6½ years Iraq has pursued a policy of deception, lies, concealment, harassment, and intimidation in a deliberate effort to hamper the work of UNSCOM in eliminating Iraq's ability to produce and deliver weapons of mass destruction; and

Whereas recently the Government of Iraq has escalated its policy of noncompliance and continues to breach in a material way United Nations Security Council resolutions by refusing to permit United States citizens who are recognized specialists to participate as members of UNSCOM teams in carrying out in Iraq actions to implement Security Council resolutions: Now therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

(1) the current crisis regarding Iraq should be resolved peacefully through diplomatic means but in a manner which assures full Iraqi compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding the destruction of Iraq's capability to produce and deliver weapons of mass destruction;

(2) in the event that military means are necessary to compel Iraqi compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions, such military action should be undertaken with the broadest feasible multinational support, preferably pursuant to a decision of the United Nations Security Council; and

(3) if it is necessary, however, the United States should take military action unilaterally to compel Iraqi compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions.

## THANK YOU FRED AND CINDY SALEM

### HON. JAMES A. BARCIA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. BARCIA. Mr. Speaker, Our Nation was built on the strength of people's generosity and support for each other. Each year in November we sit down for Thanksgiving dinner with our family and friends to reflect on life's blessings and share our appreciation for those who have given us much love, joy, and support throughout the year.

I would like to take this opportunity to recognize a couple, Fred and Cindy Salem, who, for the past 20 years, have provided much happiness, excitement and entertainment to both the children and adults of Mt. Morris. Although they modestly believe that they are not providing a great service, their kindness has made an enormous positive impact in their community.

For the past two decades, Fred, Cindy, and their daughter Katie have graciously welcomed thousands of people into their hearts and home inviting them to enjoy their 5 acres of land in which they build a spectacular playground. A day at the Salem's playground includes racing go-carts or driving golf carts. If you want to play 18 holes of miniature golf, it is available as well. A couple can ride to the top of a Ferris wheel and even the littlest children can enjoy themselves by taking a ride on a miniature train.

Throughout the year, they invite people to share in their magical playground where children laugh and play and adults remember the freedom and innocence of their childhood. In May and June, school children from the Mt. Morris School District go on field trips to the Salem Home. Between 40 to 80 children visit the Salems on each trip. In the summer they have a picnic and they start off the Christmas season hosting a warm and wonderful party.

At a time when there is turmoil in the world, it is nice to know that there are still people who care about the community and give unselfishly. Both adults and children have a place to get away, relax, play and have fun with their extended family. This gift to the community is priceless. Mr. Speaker, I ask today to pay tribute to a family that has given a unique, and needed gift to the town of Mt. Morris.

## CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2159, FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1998

SPEECH OF

### HON. JOHN E. ENSIGN

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, November 12, 1997*

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of regret that I am unable to vote for H.R. 2159, the 1998 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act. I strongly supported the House passed version that held spending levels to that of fiscal year 1997. The House of Representatives worked very hard to maintain a sense of fiscal responsibility with respect to foreign aid programs, which is why I was so disappointed when this legislation returned from conference with an $880 million increase in spending.

I have always been a critic of foreign aid excess, and I remain strong in my belief that we must find a way to make our international involvement more accountable to the American taxpayers and more responsive to American interests. However, I firmly believe that one of the wisest investments we can make is to the economic viability and national security of Israel. The American-Israel partnership is one that goes beyond the common political and strategic bonds. Both nations share a common set of values—values of freedom, individual responsibility, hope, and opportunity.

For many years, I have watched a determined people build a democracy under extremely difficult circumstances that more than tested their resolve. These past few years have been no exception, with the assassination of Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, repeated terrorist attacks, and a very contentious election. Through it all, the people of Israel have stood strong and I commend them.

The people of the United States stand ready to help the people of Israel as they move down a road of peace, security and economic self-reliance. I strongly support aid to Israel, and was very pleased with the $3 billion appropriated for economic and military assistance to Israel. While I wholeheartedly support this funding for Israel, I cannot support the overall spending package. At a time when we are making difficult choices to balance the

budget and ensure the solvency of our Medicare and Social Security programs, it is difficult to justify increasing foreign aid programs by $880 million.

The majority of the American people have rejected deficit spending, and told Congress to balance the budget and end the bureaucratic spending spree. My constituents in Nevada want dramatic cuts in foreign aid, and we have not done it.

## SUPPORT OF NATO ENLARGEMENT

### HON. CHRISTOPHER COX

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. COX of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to endorse this bipartisan letter in support of NATO enlargement, which was unveiled earlier this autumn by Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, former National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, and Ambassador Richard Perle.

Attachment: Letter, with list of signatories.

NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE STATEMENT ON NATO ENLARGEMENT

(The New Atlantic Initiative, an international network dedicated to revitalizing and expanding Atlantic ties, released the following statement in support of NATO enlargement on September 9, 1997. The statement was released by Richard Holbrooke, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Anthony Lake, and Paul Wolfowitz at the Andrew Mellon Auditorium, where the original North Atlantic Treaty was signed in April 1949. For more information about the NAI call: (202) 862–5850)

NATO was the bulwark of America's successful Cold War strategy of containment. Largely due to NATO, Europe has enjoyed more than fifty years without war among its major powers, the longest such period in modern history.

NATO succeeded not only by providing a shield against aggression from without but also by helping to knit together a community of democracies in which old quarrels faded, the civic culture of democracy sank deep roots, and market economies prospered.

In part because of NATO's success, the Cold War has ended, and with it NATO's original mission. In larger purpose of ensuring peace and freedom in Europe and the Atlantic region endures. To continue to fulfill this purpose NATO is adapting to an undivided Europe. NATO is no longer an anti-Soviet alliance; nor should it engage in the self-fulfilling prophecy of pre-selecting new enemies. Rather it is defining itself in more positive terms: as an alliance aiming to promote peace and stability in the Atlantic region, devoted to the spread and consolidation of democratic ways in Europe, and capable of protecting Western interests against such future threats as may emerge. At bottom, NATO remains a mutual defense pact, and this solemn commitment gives all of its acts a weight and seriousness that distinguish it from other international organizations.

Crucial to this process of adaptation is NATO's willingness to admit new members able to meet meaningful criteria of democracy and military effort. Otherwise it will remain a relic of the Cold War of diminishing relevance to the contemporary world. Admission to NATO will consolidate democratic transitions, and the prospect of admission will spur reform and the resolution of disputes, as indeed has already happened. In addition, NATO has made clear its desire to develop cooperative security relations among all of the states of the Euro-Atlantic region including Russia. Czech President Vaclav Havel has put it: ''NATO expansion should be perceived as a continuous process, in which the nations of Central and Eastern Europe mature toward the meaning, values and goals of the enlarged and revived alliance.''

To those who say that the nations of central Europe face no threat today, we say that the most likely way to preserve this situation, which has been all too rare, is to extend NATO to that region. To those who say that the addition of these new members will somehow dilute NATO, we say that Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, where freedom is dearly cherished having been so recently won, will add strength to NATO. To those who say that expanding NATO will draw new lines in Europe, we say that it will erase old lines, relics of a bitter time, and that NATO's openness to additional accessions means that new lines are not in fact being drawn. To those who worry that Russia will feel threatened, we emphasize that NATO is a defensive alliance that threatens no one and extends a hand of cooperation to Russia.

The decision on NATO expansion is of historic importance. The stakes are high. The issue is clear. Admitting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO will strengthen the alliance, reinforce new democracies, renew the American commitment to Europe, and reaffirm American leadership. To turn back now would be a tragic mistake.

SIGNERS TO NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE NATO ENLARGEMENT STATEMENT

(Organizational affiliation given for identification purposes only. Views reflected in the statement are endorsed by the individual, not the institution)

Richard V. Allen, Former National Security Advisor; Morris B. Abram, Chairman, United Nations Watch, Former Permanent Representative of the U.S. to the United Nations office in Geneva; Elliott Abrams, President, Ethics & Public Policy Center, Former Assistant Secretary of State; David M. Abshire, Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO; Michael H. Armacost, President, The Brookings Institution, Former Undersecretary of State; Richard Armitage, President, Armitage Associates L.C., Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Bernard Aronson, Chairman, Acon Investments, Former Assistant Secretary of State; Norman R. Augustine, Chairman, Lockheed Martin Corp., Former Undersecretary of the Army; James A. Baker, III, Former Secretary of State; Mira Baratta, Vice President for Programs, Freedom House; Dennis Bark, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institute; Michael D. Barnes, Partner, Hogan & Hartson, Former Member of Congress.

Douglas J. Bennet, President, Wesleyan University, Former Administrator, USAID; Lucy Wilson Benson, President, Benson Associates, Former Undersecretary of State; Jeffrey T. Bergner, President, Bergner, Bockorny, Clough & Brain; Coit D. Blacker, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; J. Kenneth Blackwell, Treasurer, State of Ohio, Former U.S. Ambassador to the UNHRC; Joh Bolton, Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute, Former Assistant Secretary of State; David L. Boren, President, University of Oklahoma, Former U.S. Senator; Zbigniew Brzezinski, Former National Security Advisor; Richard Burt, Chairman, IEP Advisor, Inc., Former U.S. Ambassador to Germany; Frank C. Carlucci, III, Former Secretary of Defense; Ashton B. Carter, Ford Foundation Professor, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Hodding Carter, Knight Professor of Journalism, University of Maryland, Former Assistant Secretary of State.

Richard Cheney, Former Secretary of Defense; Warren Christopher, Former Secretary of State; Clark M. Clifford, Former Secretary of Defense; Chester A. Crocker, Research Professor for Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; Ivo H. Daalder, Associate Professor, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland; Arnaud de Borchgrave, Senior Advisor, CSIS, Dennis De Concini, Former U.S. Senator; Midge Decter, Author; James Denton, Executive Director, Freedom House; I.M. Destler, Professor and Director, Center for International and Security Studies, University of Maryland; Paula J. Dobriansky, Vice President, Director of Washington Office, Council on Foreign Relations; Bob Dole, Former U.S. Senator; Pierre S. DuPont, Former Governor of Delaware; Lawrence Eagleburger, Former Secretary of State; J.J. Exon, Former U.S. Senator.

Dante B. Fascell, Partner, Holland & Knight, LLP, Former Member of Congress; Douglas J. Feith, Managing Attorney, Feith & Zell, P.C.; Sandra Feldman, President, American Federation of Teachers; Francis Fukuyama, Hirst Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University; Evan G. Galbraith, Chairman of the Board, LVMH Inc., Former U.S. Ambassador to France; Richard N. Gardner, OF Counsel, Morgan, Lewis & Bockius, Former U.S. Ambassador to Italy; Charles Gati, Senior Vice President, Interinvest; Jeffrey Gedmin, Executive Director, New Atlantic Initiative, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Gary L. Geipel, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute; David C. Gompert, Professor, U.S. Naval Academy, Former Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council; Stephen J. Hadley, Shea & Gardner, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Former Secretary of State; Edward T. Hanley, General President, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, International Union; Marshall Freeman Harris, Director of Publications and Public Outreach, Freedom House.

Carla A. Hills, Chairman and CEO, Hills & Company, Former U.S. Trade Representative; Richard Holbrooke, Vice Chairman, Credit Suisse First Boston, Former Assistant Secretary of State; Walter D. Huddleston, Former U.S. Senator; Samuel Huntington, Weatherhead University Professor, Harvard University; Kenneth Jensen, Executive Director, The American Committees on Foreign Relations; John T. Joyce, President, International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers; Robert Kagan, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Max M. Kampelman, Chairman, American Academy of Diplomacy, Former Counselor, U.S. Department of State; Adrian Karatnycky, President, Freedom House; P. X. Kelley, Gen. USMC (ret.),

Former Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps; Jack Kemp, Co-director, Empower America, Former Member of Congress; Zalmay M. Khalizhad, Director, Strategy and Doctrine Program, RAND Corporation; Lane Kirkland, President Emeritus, AFL–CIO; Jeane Kirkpatrick, Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Henry Kissinger, Former Secretary of State.

William Kristol, Editor, The Weekly Standard; Melvin Laird, Former Secretary of Defense; Anthony Lake, Professor, Georgetown University, Former National Security Advisor; F. Stephen Larabee, Senior Staff Member, RAND Corporation; Arnold G. Langbo, Chairman of the Board/CEO, Kellogg Company; Ronald S. Lauder, Chairman, Central European Media Enterprises Ltd.; Michael Ledeen, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute; I. Lewis Libby, Partner, Dechert, Price & Rhoads, Former Principal Undersecretary of Defense; Robert J. Lieber, Professor of Government, Georgetown University; Seymour Martin Lipset, Hazel Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University; Bette Bao Lord, Chairwoman, Freedom House; Winston Lord, Former Assistant Secretary of State; Will Marshall, President, Progressive Policy Institute; Paul McCracken, Professor Emeritus, University of Michigan Business School, Former Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors.

Dave McCurdy, Chairman, McCurdy Group, Former Member of Congress; Robert C. McFarlane, Former National Security Advisor; John Melcher, Former U.S. Senator; Walter Mondale, Former Vice President of the United States; John E. Moon, Commander in Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States; Joshua Muravchik, Convenor, New Atlantic Initiative Working Group on NATO Enlargement, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute; Michael Nacht, Former Assistant Director, U.S. ACDA; Matthew Nimetz, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, Former Undersecretary of State; James J. Norton, President, Graphic Communications International Union; Michael Novak, George Frederick Jewett Scholar in Religion, American Enterprise Institute, Former U.S. Ambassador to the UNHRC; William E. Odom, Ltg. USA (ret.); Director, National Security Studies, Hudson Institute, Former Director, National Security Agency; Daniel Oliver, Former Chairman, Federal Trade Commission; John O'Sullivan, Founder and Co-chairman, New Atlantic Initiative, Editor, National Review.

William A. Owens, President, COO, Vice Chairman of the Board, Science Applications International Corporation; Charles Percy, Chairman, Charles Percy & Associates, Former U.S. Senator; Richard Perle, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; William Perry, Former Secretary of Defense; Daniel Pipes, Editor, Middle East Quarterly; Norman Podhoretz, Editor-at-large, Commentary Magazine, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute; Colin Powell, Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Former National Security Advisor; Dan Quayle, Former Vice President of the United States; David Rockefeller, Retired banker; Peter Rodman, Director of National Security Programs, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, Former Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State; William Rogers, Former Secretary of State; Henry S. Rowen, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Edward L. Rowny, Ltg. USA (ret.), Former Chief U.S. Negotiator to START talks; Donald Rumsfeld, Former Secretary of Defense.

Jeffrey D. Sachs, Director, Harvard Institute for International Development; Jeffrey T. Salmon; George Shultz, Former Secretary of State; Dmitri K. Simes, President, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom; Paul Simon, Former U.S. Senator; Alan Simpson, Former U.S. Senator; Joseph J. Sisco, Former Undersecretary of State; Leon Sloss, President, Leon Sloss Associates; Stephen Solarz, President, Solarz Associates, Former Member of Congress; Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution, Former Counsellor, U.S. Department of State; Fritz Stern, University Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; Robert S. Strauss, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, Former U.S. Ambassador to Russia; William O. Studeman, Adm. USN (ret.), Former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence; Stephen Szabo, Academic Dean, Johns Hopkins SAIS; Gregory F. Treverton, Director, International Security and Defense Policy, RAND Corporation, Former Vice Chairman, National Intelligence Council.

Cyrus R. Vance, Former Secretary of State; Stephen W. Walker, Director, Balkan Institute; Ben J. Wattenberg, Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Vin Weber, Partner, Clark & Weinstock, Former Member of Congress; William H. Webster, Former Director of Central Intelligence; George Weigel, Senior Fellow, Ethics and Public Policy Center; W. Bruce Weinrod, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense; Ross Williams, President, Secretary/Treasurer, Oklahoma State AFL-CIO; Paul Wolfowitz, Dean, Johns Hopkins SAIS, Former Undersecretary of Defense; Ronald B. Woodard, President, Boeing Commercial Airplane Group; R. James Woolsey, Former Director of Central Intelligence; Dov S. Zakheim, CEO, SPC International Corporation; Robert B. Zoellick, Vice President, Fannie Mae, Former Undersecretary of State; E.R. Zumwalt, Jr., Adm. U.S.N. (Ret.), Former Chief of Naval Operations.

## OPPOSITION TO H.R. 2621

### HON. ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA

OF AMERICAN SAMOA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 2621, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Authorities Act.

Mr. Speaker, I am generally supportive of the concept of giving the Executive broad authority in negotiating treaties and other international agreements. Unfortunately, from my perspective, the granting of this authority by Congress to the Executive has not served the Nation well recently, and I am now reluctant to grant that same authority again.

Those who feel otherwise will say that Congress still retains its complete authority to approve trade agreements because Congress has the final say in passage. Unfortunately, this argument has not proved to be true in recent years.

The North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, is the prime example of this. I am absolutely certain that if Congress had the option to amend the NAFTA agreement when it was presented to it, the agreement would not have been adopted in its current form. Many of the proponents of the legislation we are considering today say that NAFTA has been an unqualified success. To them I say success is not determined by the profit margins of a few successful companies and an increase in the number of low-wage jobs in the United States. I suggest that our trade agreements should do more than line the pockets of the rich, for that does not serve our country well. If we are going to enter into new trade agreements, they should help our Nation as a whole—if not, it is not in our national interest to do so.

Conceptually, Mr. Speaker, I support free trade. No one argues economies are improved or consumers benefit from supporting less efficient producers of any given product. If all countries were equal, free trade would and should be the norm. But, unfortunately, not all nations have equal economies. In general, the more-developed counties are able to pay higher wages, provide more benefits to their workers, prohibit child labor, and place greater restraints on business activities which pollute the environment at a higher rate.

As a result of our economic development and the changes in business activity which we in the United States and the other developed countries value, in purely economic terms, the less-developed countries are able to produce many goods at a lower cost than we can produce them in the United States.

With NAFTA in place, businesses have taken advantage of the disparity between the United States and Mexico, and have moved their manufacturing operations from the United States to Mexico. To keep the costs down of products going to be sold in the United States, these businesses construct new plants along, but on the Mexican side of, our southern border. The net result of this has been the loss of good, well-paying jobs held by Americans.

In return, consumers in the United States can purchase products at a lower price. Economists say this is good: everyone in the United States, except those few who lost their jobs—and their families and the other businesses which supported the now-closed industry—are better off, they say. In a limited economic sense, those people who purchase that product at a lower cost are better off. Except, even those still employed are now paying higher taxes to cover the increased cost of unemployment insurance, food stamps, and other programs available to assist those in need.

In addition to those costs, we have increased pollution in our atmosphere, more chemicals dumped into our earth, and more people working in sub-standard conditions for below poverty-level wages. In the case of Mexico, we also have increased motor traffic from vehicles which do not meet our safety or air pollution standards, and more recently, an increased amount of illegal drugs entering our country with the increased commerce.

The end result of this shift in location is instead of obtaining a product made by someone in the United States making a fair wage

and with reasonable medical benefits, that U.S. employee has lost his or her job and we are offered a product made by a foreigner who is paid a sub-standard wage and who is provided no medical benefits. As an extra benefit, we residents of earth are subjected to increased pollutants added to the planet.

Before NAFTA was adopted, we were told that a secondary benefit of the agreement would be an easing of the immigration problem along our southern border. Have you noticed how no one makes that argument anymore? That's because there has not been an easing of the immigration problem. The theory was that the people entering the United States through Mexico came to the United States solely to seek employment, and that if they could get that employment in Mexico, they would not need to cross our border. Well, what happened? The theory did not prove true. Why not? I submit that the unemployment problem in Mexico is of such a magnitude that the number of jobs added as a result of NAFTA didn't put a dent in the number of people who want to come to the United States. The result has been we lost all those jobs and we still have an immigration problem.

Mr. Speaker, I do not make these statements to be critical of Mexico. Over the decades, in many ways Mexico has been a better neighbor to the United States than the United States has been to Mexico. The root of our immigration problem stems from the different speeds at which our economies have developed. The time will come in the not to distant future, when the Mexican national economy will be as strong and vibrant as ours, and we will be in balance. At that point, free trade will be mutually beneficial for both nations, as it currently is for the United States and Canada.

Mr. Speaker, I also want to take a few moments to talk about my congressional district, American Samoa, and what is happening to us, and the other U.S. territories, in the name of free trade.

I represent the people of the U.S. Territory of American Samoa. We are removed from all major surface and air transportation routes and our annual per capita income is $3,000.

In American Samoa, the largest industry is the processing of canned tuna, most of which is sold in the United States. This has been a staple of the American Samoan economy for the past 30 years. In recent years, however, I have witnessed the repeal of the possessions tax credit—IRC Sec. 936—the implementation of NAFTA, the implementation of tariff reductions under GATT, and the weakening of the dolphin safe label. Each of these actions will make American Samoa less competitive than foreign nations, and there has been nothing on the other side of the ledger to assist American Samoa or the other U.S. territories.

Mr. Speaker, we talk about first- and second-class citizens residing in the 50 States. I am increasingly concerned that we will soon have third-class citizens residing in our territories. There are nearly 4 million of us, and it is past the time for this growing problem to be addressed. This is a major concern to me, and if the past is any indication of what we can expect from future trade agreements, H.R. 2621 will hurt, not help the United States as a whole, and American Samoa in particular.

Mr. Speaker, unlike you, I do not have the privilege of voting on this legislation, even though if it is enacted into law it will more than likely have a direct impact on my congressional district. I wish I had this privilege, for I would certainly vote no, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

## VETERANS' BENEFITS ACT OF 1997

SPEECH OF

### HON. GLENN POSHARD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Sunday, November 9, 1997*

Mr. POSHARD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my strong support for House passage of S. 714, as amended. This bill, much of which was approved by the House earlier in the session, contains several provisions of great importance to America's veterans. Foremost among these is a 4-year extension of the Native American Veteran Housing Loan Pilot Program, created in 1992, which authorizes the Veterans' Administration to make direct home loans to native American veterans living on Indian trust lands. This program eliminated many of the barriers so often encountered by native Americans seeking financing for homeownership, and a 4-year extension will allow the program's success to continue, to the benefit of increasing numbers of native American veterans.

As a veteran, I certainly recognize the indispensable contributions that America's veterans have made in selfless dedication to their country. The Native American Veteran Housing Loan Pilot Program is one significant way in which Congress can express its gratitude for the exceptional service demonstrated by native American veterans, and indeed by all of our Nation's military personnel. With the approach of Veterans' Day, when we remember the millions who have served this country as members of the Armed Forces, I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this legislation, and I applaud the Veterans Affairs Committee for its recognition of the continuing importance of this program.

## VISA WAIVER PILOT PROGRAM

### HON. NEIL ABERCROMBIE

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report on H.R. 2267, the Commerce-Justice-State appropriations bill.

One of the provisions included in the bill is a 6-month extension of the State Department's Visa Waiver Pilot Program [VWPP]. This is the mechanism by which our country allows visitors from approximately 26 nations to enter the United States without visas. Passports are sufficient for entry.

And this is a good program. Obtaining visas is a time-consuming endeavor, from applications, screening, approval, and to issuance. We do not need to require visas of every visitor from abroad, and the Visa Waiver Pilot Program has been a tremendous success for years in expediting foreign visitors, whether for employment, tourism, family, or business purposes.

I have been working closely with Congressmen BARNEY FRANK, JAY KIM, and others with the leadership of the Immigration and Claims Subcommittee, particularly Chairman LAMAR SMITH and ranking Democrat MEL WATT, to resolve a problem—specifically whether Portugal and the Republic of Korea should be included in the visa waiver program. They have exerted tremendous time and energy and effort to identify and resolve problems in the program and we are committed to working together in the months ahead to adjust the program so that citizens of these countries can travel to the United States with only a passport.

Mr. Speaker, during the hearings and committee consideration of the visa waiver program, concerns were raised by some Members and the State and Justice Departments. I do not believe those concerns are insurmountable, and we are working with those agencies to address security and other concerns. We all feel that the current waiver criteria should be reformed, and I will be working in the months ahead with my colleagues to craft a visa waiver system that expands visitor opportunities.

As you know, tourism is the dominant industry in Hawaii, and it is crucially important that we have a visa waiver system for tourists that allows a maximum number of visitors to enter the United States. Thousands of Hawaiian families and individuals are dependent on tourism and on the number of visitors using hotels, restaurants, transportation facilities, and retail businesses. A strong case has been made that citizens of Korea, one of our strongest allies in the world, should be given the waiver consideration that we have afforded 26 other nations.

The 6 months extension of the existing Visa Waiver Pilot Program is a prudent decision, and reflects a good-faith effort being made to address constructively the issues facing the future of the program. I look forward to working with Chairman SMITH, the members of the House Judiciary Committee, and those seeking an expansion of the program to develop an effective and workable program addressing all concerns.

## EXPRESSING OPPOSITION TO THE REPUBLICAN FAST TRACK PROPOSAL

### HON. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I have always been a protrade, proenvironment, and prolabor Democrat. I do not appreciate being placed in a position where I must oppose a free trade bill, in this case H.R. 2621, the Republican fast track trade proposal. I must oppose this particular proposal because it does not include the elementary steps that might have made it acceptable. We could achieve the very same results that H.R. 2621 seeks with a more balanced bill that does not sacrifice the interests of workers here and abroad and environmental quality as well.

I believe strongly in free trade. For those who do not, I would simply say that we have no choice today except to compete in world markets if we are to continue to create high-paying, private sector jobs and to sustain economic growth. However, there are good and ample precedents on how to move to broader,

freer trade without leaving substantial numbers of our residents jobless and workers abroad without basic labor rights. Confronted with a similar situation, the European Economic Community, now the European Union [EU], adopted an aggressive, transitional economic program to bring developing countries, such as Portugal and Spain, to the point where these less developed countries would not be sacrificed for free trade. This transitional aid enabled them to be full partners not only to their benefit but to the greater benefit of free trade in the entire EU.

Supporters of fast track like to point out that since 1992, over 11 million new jobs have been created, that of these, 1.5 million have been high-wage, export-related jobs, and that much of this job growth can be attributed to passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA]. By the administration's assessment, NAFTA has created up to 160,000 new jobs. What supporters of fast track conveniently ignore is that, at the same time, we have lost jobs in other sectors of our economy. The Department of Labor has estimated that NAFTA has led directly to the loss of about 150,000 jobs and has found that two-thirds of Americans who lose their jobs because of foreign trade end up with work that pays less than they earned before. Clearly, this is not a case where a rising tide lifts all boats; while some are cruising along, others are sinking. Transitional assistance has mitigated this inevitable adverse effect in the EU. H.R. 2621 simply leaves the hapless victims to fend for themselves against economic forces they cannot possibly control on their own. Precedents such as the EU assistance, however, show that these forces can be controlled consistent with free trade. Where is the comparable assistance in H.R. 2621?

How wasteful and unnecessary to divide Americans further into economic winners and losers. That is exactly what the Republican fast track proposal will do. In order to ensure that free trade also results in fair trade, fast track must authorize the President to negotiate strong and enforceable labor and environmental standards within the main body of any future trade agreement. Otherwise, businesses have shown that they cannot resist the temptation to move their manufacturing facilities to take advantage of low wages and lax enforcement of environmental standards and labor rights in developing countries. This fast track bill is fundamentally flawed because it allows American manufacturers to exploit foreign workers, to the ultimate detriment of workers here at home. The failure of this fast track proposal to establish protection of worker rights as a central tenet of U.S. trade policy is one of the important reasons why I oppose H.R. 2621.

I am particularly alarmed at how the current fast track proposal would allow U.S. manufacturers to enter into a race to the bottom on the environment. This fast track bill fails to ensure that trading partners compete fairly by requiring all parties to vigorously enforce environmental laws. Indeed, I am puzzled at the administration's failure to insist that environmental issues be addressed squarely in international trade agreements—that position only sends a signal to the world that the United States is not really serious about preserving the environment and will undermine our negotiating position at the upcoming Kyoto summit on global warming. We have fought too hard and come too far to see our fragile environmental progress unravel in trace agreements.

Until fast track explicitly addresses worker rights here and in the countries covered by trade agreements and equally so the substantial environmental issues that beg to be addressed, I cannot support it. I ask the administration and supporters here in Congress to go back to the drawing board. We can do much better.

## COMMENDING RUDY GUNNERMAN OF RENO, NV

### HON. JIM GIBBONS

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend Mr. Rudy Gunnerman for not only living the American dream and creating a future for himself and his family but also for working to create a better future for all Americans. Mr. Gunnerman's entrepreneurial spirit and ingenuity have resulted in a scientific discovery to fight air pollution. This invention will not only assist communities across our country meet clean air standards, but also help them do so in a cost competitive manner. I am proud that he has chosen Reno, my hometown, to be his home and the corporate base of operation for the refinement and potential production of his invention—A–55 Clean Fuels.

Rudy Gunnerman embodies the American dream. In 1949, he emigrated from Germany to the United States. Rudy was raised an orphan during World War II and arrived in America at the age of 21 with $20 and a single suitcase. His first months in America were spent painting houses. From this, he started a string of successful companies honing his entrepreneurial skills.

Rudy's inventive mind was always at work, looking for ways to better our quality of life through science. His initial patent was in heat barrier materials. Rudy utilized his experience in the manufacture of pool toys and began working with lightweight and inexpensive cement-like materials that under extreme conditions would reflect heat through oxidations. The Federal Government applied Rudy's technology for use in rocket engines liners and laser countermeasures. Rudy subsequently founded a company that began making fireproof doors out of the material.

Rudy's big break came in the 1970's while living in Oregon when he noticed how the wood smoke choked beautiful valleys during the winter. In 1976, Rudy opened a small research and development company in Eugene, OR, to produce pelletized industrial boiler fuel from wood paste. The pellets burned hotter and cleaner than raw wood waste, and proved to be economical as well. Ultimately, Rudy's company sold licenses to some of world's largest corporations to produce pellets in several countries. Schools, hospitals, factories, and homes across the Pacific Northwest also switched to pellets.

This was just the prelude. Rudy's most challenging and far-reaching invention brought him to Reno, NV. A–55 Clean Fuels is a water-based petroleum emulsion that 1 day may provide a cleaner, safer, and cheaper primary fuel with a full range of applications—from electricity production to mass transportation. The product is making a difference nationwide and internationally A–55 reduced harmful $NO_X$ emissions from 50 to 80 percent.

For vehicle use, only a minor change in the injection system and an empty fuel tank would be necessary for conversion to A–55 use. A–55 achieves nearly the same miles per gallon with no loss of engine performance. A–55 is safer than conventional petroleum fuels. It will not ignite outside the combustion chamber, and in fact, will often put out an open flame. Many alternative fuels in the past have also been prohibitively expensive compared to traditional fuels.This is not the case for A–55, which is cost competitive with diesel.

With Clean Air Act standards imminent by 2004, A–55 could be the silver bullet to help communities cope with requirements and reduce air pollution without feared economic side effects. A–55 Clean Fuels looks like milk and could very well be the next natural for protecting our environment and promoting economic growth.

Rudy Gunnerman should be applauded for his inventions and the opportunities they may 1 day provide for all of us to assist in the cleanup of air pollution across the country. Rudy Gunnerman's life is a shining example of the opportunities that America can offer and the contributions that one can give back to society through those very opportunities. With all this in mind, Mr. Speaker, I again commend Reno's own Rudy Gunnerman—entrepreneur, inventor, American.

## FAST TRACK

### HON. JAY W. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to lend my voice to those in opposition to fast track trade authority for the President. This fast track legislation provides a procedure for approval or denial of trade treaties, without giving Congress an opportunity to amend the treaties.

I believe strongly in free and open trade, and I have voted for other free trade legislation in this Congress. Trade is often the engine that drives our economy, opening up new markets for our goods and services.

However, too often in our recent trade agreements, like NAFTA and GATT, we have opened the doors of trade for other countries to sell their goods in this country, but slammed shut those doors when our workers and farmers looked to export their products abroad. Currently, dairy farmers in northeast Wisconsin face excessive trade barriers—tariffs as high as 300 percent in some cases—when they trade with Canada. Yet, Canadian dairy products flow freely across the same border. How can Americans compete when the playing field is so tilted to our competitor?

Last month, the Dairy Trade Coalition—comprised largely of Midwestern milk producers—said that the U.S. dairy industry was a big loser under the GATT Uruguay trade talks, and informed U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman that they could not support the fast track legislation without better assurances for agriculture. These assurances have been made and our farmers across America continue to struggle.

Mr. Speaker, after much consideration and many discussions with farmers and workers in northeast Wisconsin, I have concluded that it makes no sense to continue opening trade pacts in this hemisphere when we have faulty trade agreements—like NAFTA and GATT—that are hurting our people back home. Before we set out on a fast track to the bargaining table to negotiate our next trade agreement, the President would do well to fix these recent agreements and level the playing field for the United States.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CONTRACTING PRACTICES

SPEECH OF

### HON. THOMAS M. DAVIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, November 12, 1997*

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the revitalization of our Nation's Capital will require the participation and commitment of both the public and private sectors. Public-private partnerships will be the anchor of any economic revitalization. This goal will be successful only if all participants are assured that this is a sincere effort, with a level playing field, and not simply an extension of the two decades of poor policy decisionmaking that helped spiral Washington, DC into its recent situation.

The Congress has no desire to run the daily affairs of the city. However, the Congress does have a unique constitutional responsibility to the District of Columbia. Without micromanaging the affairs of the city, the Congress does need to ensure that as a matter of Federal policy, it will support public-private efforts designed to assist in the Capital's revitalization; support creative, imaginative, and unique approaches; support the streamlining of the Federal and District of Columbia review and regulatory processes, where appropriate, to encourage revitalization; and exercise appropriate oversight to ensure that the District honors all of its contractual and financial commitments.

It is well understood by the Congress that the District of Columbia containues to suffer from past financial problems. For example, the District of Columbia has experienced issues with a number of its current vendors as a result of its prior reputation of poor payment performance. A recent newspaper article documented that one of the reasons for schools not having textbooks was "* * * twelve textbook companies refused to ship books because the District still owes for previous orders."

Prior negligence in these matters created a ripple effect that has a broad and negative reach. Vendors have been discouraged from responding to District of Columbia RFP's because of concerns over the selection process. Congress can assist in eliminating this perception without direct intervention. Congress can also assure all current and prospective private sector partners and their respective lenders that it will monitor and respond appropriately to any failing by the government of the District of Columbia to meet acceptable Government contracting practices.

## "DEPARTMENTS OF COMMERCE, JUSTICE, AND STATE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1998"

### HON. MAJOR R. OWENS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the census language in the Commerce, Justice, State appropriations bill H.R. 2267, because it would jeopardize a fair and accurate count of the U.S. population. In true Republican form, the majority has once again politicized an issue that is as straightforward as the science behind statistical sampling. In a self-serving and subtle racist effort to maintain control of Congress, some Republicans are hampering the Democratic effort to ensure that all Americans are counted in the Decennial Census.

H.R. 2267 would allow opponents of sampling to file lawsuits in Federal courts to block the use of sampling in the 2000 census. It also gives unprecedented power to the Speaker of the House to sue on behalf of the House to block sampling and to use resources of the House counsel or outside counsel to pursue such litigation. Finally, the bill is plagued with partisan language which states that statistical sampling "poses the risk of an inaccurate, invalid and unconstitutional census."

It is unfortunate and unconscionable that while we have the tools to obtain an accurate count in the 2000 census, some in Congress continue to object to the use of statistical sampling. We can use statistical sampling to transcend socioeconomic barriers that have historically restricted an accurate count. In the last census, almost four million Americans were not counted because of the antiquated counting method that was used. That means that 1.6 percent of our population was not counted. The current counting method relies on a door-to-door count of every person in the Nation. This method is neither the most efficient nor is it cost effective. The Census Bureau estimates that nearly five million Americans will not be counted in the 2000 census if the traditional methods are used.

Faced with past failures, it is only logical that we should use all of our existing resources to achieve a fair and accurate count. Scientists have concluded that it is close to impossible to physically count each and every person in the United States. Statistical sampling has been universally accepted by the scientific community as the best way to conduct the 2000 census. The Census Bureau would simply account for those residents it cannot count. Sampling is a scientific method endorsed by the American Statistical Society, the General Accounting Office, and the National Academy of Sciences.

In light of all of these facts, we must ask ourselves: Why does the Republican majority continue to oppose sampling? The answer lies in who the census undercounts when sampling is not employed. Studies have concluded that the undercount is not uniform across the population. Minorities, particularly in urban areas, are grossly undercounted by traditional methods. This leads me to conclude that race has become an underlying factor in the 2000 census debate and raises more questions about why statistical sampling has come under attack by Republicans. The results from the census determine how Federal funds are allocated to the localities as well as how congressional seats are distributed among States. For instance, census data determines how certain public works funds are distributed, the creation of Federal empowerment zones, the establishment of fair market rent values, and the need for equal employment opportunities programs. Only through sampling can we ensure that States receive their fair share of Federal funds and programs. Since minorities have historically supported the Democratic Party, I believe that Republicans are positioning themselves to maintain power by depriving minorities of scarce Federal funds and representation in the Congress.

It is immoral and undemocratic for anyone to support a proposal that would deny the Census Bureau the vehicle to count each and every American. In a major and unprecedented move to mend the sad state of race relations, President Clinton has created an "Initiative on Race." It is rather ironic that Republicans are trying to turn back the clock by refusing to have a census that counts not just their supporters but every American. While we all know that American history is rampant with instances of prejudice and racism, it is unfortunate that this Commerce, Justice, State appropriations bill will add another pathetic chapter to that piece of history we are trying so hard to heal.

## PRISONER OF WAR/MISSING IN ACTION RECOGNITION DAY

### HON. JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to request unanimous consent to include the following proclamation in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I have always been a strong supporter of efforts to help our POW/MIA's and their families.

The following is the text of the Massachusetts' proclamation declaring September 19, 1997, as Prisoner of War/Missing in Action Day:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS—A PROCLAMATION

(By His Excellency Governor Argeo Paul Cellucci, 1997)

Whereas: In each of our country's wars, American prisoners of war have made tremendous sacrifices for our nation, enduring the burdens of loneliness, trauma, and hardship; and

Whereas: Prisoners of war have at times endured treatment at the hands of the enemy that is in violation of common human compassion, ethical standards, and international agreements; and

Whereas: In a time when we enjoy the blessings of peace, it is appropriate that all citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts recognize the special debt owed to those Americans held as prisoners of war; and

Whereas: It is also appropriate that we remember the unresolved casualties of war and those soldiers for whom we have not yet accounted; and

Whereas: Since the pain and bitterness of war endures for the families, relatives, and friends of those whose fates are unknown, we

must continue to seek a resolution in cases where questions remain;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, ARGEO PAUL CELLUCCI, Acting Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in accordance with Chapter 99 of the Acts of 1986, do hereby proclaim September 19th, 1997, to be PRISONER OF WAR/MISSING IN ACTION RECOGNITION DAY and urge all the citizens of the Commonwealth to take cognizance of this event and participate fittingly in its observance.

## IS CONGRESS FAILING OR IS IT JUST MISUNDERSTOOD

### HON. DAVID E. PRICE

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, on September 13, the Center for the Study of the Congress at Duke University held a roundtable discussion to analyze the low and often hostile opinions of the Congress held by the American people. I participated in the roundtable, which was entitled ''Is Congress Failing, or Is It Just Misunderstood?'' Reflected one of its major objectives—to distinguish between misconceptions people have about how Congress does and might function, on the one hand, and areas in which the institution is failing to satisfy reasonable expectations on the other.

Joining me in the roundtable discussion were U.S. Rep. DAVID DREIER, Elaine Povich of Newsday, Candy Crowley of CNN, survey research expert Peter Hart, and scholars of congressional studies, media and public affairs, Joseph Cappella, John Hibbing, Tom Mann, and David Rohde.

Two bedrock points brought the participants together. First, understanding and responding to Congress' low regard is important for the country. The United States, lacking the relatively homogeneous culture that serves to unite many counties, has grown together around its common Constitution and its political institutions and convictions. Before loss of confidence in our Government threatens our sense of shared identity, we ought to do what we can to restore that confidence. Public opinion polling shows that the public views the Congress as the most powerful of the three branches of Government, so that the general distrust of Government expressed in many surveys gets concentrated on that body.

Second, no one advocated anything beyond trying to restore a healthy skepticism toward the institution, the kind of vigilant attitude that has served the country well. Still, as Tom Mann has pointed out, today this skepticism frequently borders on corrosive cynicism, and sometimes slips over into it. This already-in-place conviction that whatever Congress is going to do will disadvantage ordinary citizens saps Congress' ability to take tough stands on hard issues. We understand that Presidents need the political capital to make the tough decision; the same holds for the Congress.

Continuing research on the public's attitude add considerable detail to the blunt image of angry voters that so dominated the 1994 elections. Recent surveys done by Peter Hart for the Council for Excellence in Government show that five of the top seven reasons for the low public confidence focus on our elected officials failing to assert leadership in addressing the public's concerns, and John Hibbing's studies of public attitudes toward the Congress confirm this. As Hibbing put it, the voice of the average American is getting drowned out of lobbyists trumpeting special interest and by the self interest of Members, whether this can be expressed through pay raises or through an obsession with re-election. Rounding out citizen impressions is the taint of hypocrisy: believing what they do about the real motives of Members, citizens react to Members' defense of their actions in public minded terms as hypocritical attempts to manipulate voters.

None of these characterizations fit the institution and its Members as well as Congress' worst critics assert. Close observers of the Congress continually testify to the dedication, hard work, and public spirit of Members and staff. Most Americans are not close observers, however, and, as Elaine Povich commented, one's sympathy for the institution varies inversely with proximity to the Capitol dome.

Sensibly sizing up Congress' strengths and weaknesses from afar runs into several sources of interference. First, many citizens harbor unrealistic expectations about how smoothly disputes can get resolved in a representative democracy, especially one designed to make blocking action much easier than taking action—OK, so there's some truth in the coffee-and-saucer story.

Second, media coverage of the Congress generates an image of the institution in which its warts, foibles, and inefficiencies loom larger than life and its laudable activity shrinks from view. Numerous analyses have documented the media's emphasis on conflict between Members, strategy over substance, and scandal at the cost of policy. Recent research has begun to link these types of coverage to citizen reactions to them, and the results are not auspicious for the institution. For example, Joseph Cappella's work at the Annenberg School finds a decided connection between stories written using a strategy framework and cynical reactions toward public officials involved. Candy Crowley noted that institutional changes such as more dependence on capsule TV reporting, the decrease in newspaper readership, the advent of tabloid TV journalism, the increase in TV magazine shows, and the explosion in talk radio and TV drive some of these media emphasis.

Third, Members aid and abet both the unrealistic expectations for institutional performance and the media's unhelpful tendencies. Members frequently lead the verbal assault on the institution for its inability to act, and all Members know that hot rhetoric that implicitly treats solutions to problems as obvious and simple is more likely to get coverage than modulated comments that credit the good faith of opponents and acknowledge the difficulties of the issues being debated. When Members refer to the institution as a cesspool, as in a remark recently made to DAVID DREIER by one of his colleagues, it becomes that much harder to criticize journalists for reporting on it that way.

Clear away these sources of interference, and you would still have an institution that needs to reform itself. No one at the Duke conference sought to absolve Congress itself from the obligation to do a better job at governance. I talked about the felt necessities of campaigning exert ever more pressure on governing, reducing Members' willingness to take positions that may be correct, but are difficult to explain. David Rohde pointed out that we need campaign finance reform, if Americans were ever going to feel that interest groups and money are not the real powers in the Congress. More than one person noted that the negative tenor of modern campaigning only exacerbates poor images of Congress.

The responsibility for Congress' low regard can be found in many places—the design of the institution and its process, the behavior of its Members, the operation of the media, the constant and rancorous campaigns, the influence of special interests, and the expectations and knowledge of the citizenry. What is more the way in which each of these contribute to cynicism and low regard seem to mutually reinforcing. For this reason, any attempts at reform must proceed on several fronts at once.

Finally, I and other participants at the conference agreed on one point. We all know most, if not all of Congress' failings. However, almost to a person believe that it is much better than perceived. I am proud of the work of the Center for the Study of Congress in attempting to separate the Congress' real problems from the perceived ones and come up with a course of action to deal with both institutions.

[From the Sunday News & Observer, Sept. 14, 1997]

PANEL WEIGHS IMAGE OF CONGRESS—CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS ABOUT CONGRESS ARE DISCUSSED BY 2 CONGRESSMEN, PROFESSORS, A POLLSTER, AND JOURNALISTS

(By Kyle Marshall)

DURHAM.—Those who think Congress feeds off conflict and controversy wouldn't get an argument from Rep. David Dreier, a California Republican.

But to describe today's Congress as a ''cesspool,'' as one Democratic congressman put it to Dreier over lunch this week? That's going too far.

''I happen to love this institution,'' Dreier said of his place of employment. ''And I take umbrage when I have many of my colleagues, who have chosen to be here and have stepped up wanting to be a part of it, maligning it.''

Dreier, vice chairman of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, has spent a lot of time thinking about the role Congress plays in governing—and what needs to change to make it work better. On Saturday, he joined North Carolina Rep. David Price, a Democrat from Chapel Hill, on a panel with academics, pollsters and journalists to hash out the many complaints about Congress from the citizenry.

The forum, at Duke University's Fuqua School of Business, was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Congress, a newly formed arm of the Duke University School of Law.

Polls consistently show a lack of trust in Congress. To many on the panel, that comes as no surprise, because it has always been that way.

Tom Mann of the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank, noted that in the election of 1874, no fewer than 183 incumbents were thrown out of office in the wake of a bribery scandal. And Drier quoted the House speaker in 1925, Nicholas Longworth, who said being a member of Congress had always been an unpopular task and always would be.

What has changed in just the past few years, however, is the amount of outright venom spewed at Congress—much of it inspired by special-interest groups and talk radio, some panelists said.

Dreier added some members of the institution itself to the list of groups responsible for creating hostility toward Congress.

''Many of the problems that are out there, I think have been caused by members in Congress . . , who have made a career of attacking the United States Congress,'' he said.

CNN correspondent Candy Crowley said public apathy represents a more serious threat to the institution's ability to engage in discourse and pass laws.

''I don't think the anger is a problem,'' she said. ''The idea that it's not relevant is a problem.''

The speakers had little time to come up with specific solutions for what ails Congress or for how to restore the Public's confidence. That daunting task will be left to future forums, said Ted Kaufman, a Duke law professor and former Senate staffer who is the center's co-chairman.

Pollster Peter Hart actually had some good news for the two members of Congress taking part in the discussion. His latest poll showed a 48 percent approval rating for the job Congress is doing, one of the highest in recent memory. A booming economy and the lack of a national crisis are two of the big reasons.

However, as if to illustrate that opinion surveys can show just about anything, Hart said the public's confidence in Congress as an institution is still rock-bottom: Only 21 percent say they have a ''great deal'' of confidence.

''That's the difference between performance, which will fluctuate up and down, and the other element, which is, 'How do I feel about the institution as a whole?' '' he said. ''Only the national news media fall below the Congress in confidence.''

## HONORING HELEN WRIGHT OF ZANESVILLE, OH

### HON. ROBERT W. NEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, I commend the following article to my colleagues.

Helen Wright of Zanesville, OH will be retiring on December 19, after 10 years of employment from the Zanesville-Muskingum County Port Authority. Ms. Wright served as the secretary of the Port Authority where she displayed much commitment and devotion to the region.

An achievement of this magnitude requires a great deal of hard work and dedication. Ms. Wright has diligently served mid-eastern Ohio for 10 years and deserves to be commended. It is precisely people like her that makes our community a better place to live and grow.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleagues join me in congratulating Helen Wright for her service to the Zanesville-Muskingum Port Authority. I wish her continued health, success, and prosperity in her retirement. Congratulations Ms. Wright.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CONTRACTING PRACTICES

SPEECH OF

### HON. THOMAS M. DAVIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, November 12, 1997*

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the revitalization of our Nation's capital will require the participation and commitment of both the public and private sectors. Public-private partnerships will be the anchor of any economic revitalization. This goal will be successful only if all participants are assured that this is a sincere effort, with a level playing field, and not simply an extension of the two decades of poor policy decisionmaking that helped spiral Washington, DC, into its recent situation.

The Congress has no desire to run the daily affairs of the city. However, the Congress does have a unique constitutional responsibility to the District of Columbia. Without micromanaging the affairs of the city, the Congress does need to ensure that as a matter of Federal policy, it will: support public-private efforts designed to assist in the Capital's revitalization; support creative, imaginative, and unique approaches; support the streamlining of the Federal and District review and regulatory processes, where appropriate, to encourage revitalization; and exercise appropriate oversight to ensure that the District honors all of its contractual and financial commitments.

It is well understood by the Congress that the District of Columbia continues to suffer from past financial problems. For example, the District of Columbia has experienced issues with a number of its current vendors as a result of its prior reputation of poor payment performance. A recent newspaper article documented that one of the reasons for schools not having textbooks was ''* * * twelve textbook companies refused to ship books because the District still owes for previous orders.''

Prior negligence in these matters created a ripple effect that has a broad and negative reach. Vendors have been discouraged from responding to D.C. RFP's because of concerns over the selection process. Congress can assist in eliminating this perception without direct intervention. Congress can also assure all current and prospective private sector partners and their respective lenders that it will monitor and respond appropriately to any failing by the government of the District of Columbia to meet acceptable government contracting practices.

## PRAIRIE ROSE CHAPTER OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

### HON. VINCE SNOWBARGER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. SNOWBARGER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to make a belated recognition of the efforts of the Prairie Rose Chapter of the Kansas Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution in their continuing effort to remind all Americans of the importance of the U.S. Constitution. This year, in honor of Constitution Day, the DAR published a series of Constitution Sidelights, which I am honored to submit to the RECORD.

These sidelights demonstrate that the Founders were real human beings with individual idiosyncrasies. This forces us to remember that they rose above their individual quirks to develop a political system that led to the freest, most prosperous, and most tolerant society that the world has ever known.

The Constitution's balance of powers, rights, and responsibilities provide the groundwork for this society. But it is only when citizens know their freedoms, rights, and duties that the promise of our Constitution can be realized in our daily lives.

It is groups like the Prairie Rose Chapter of the Kansas Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution that have put in the time and energy to remind our citizens of this. They deserve all of our support and praise for the fine work they do.

NATIONAL SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

CONSTITUTION SIDELIGHTS 1997–1988

1. Author-historian James McGregor Burns characterized the delegates to the Constitutional Convention as ''the well bred, the well fed, the well read, and the well wed.''

2. The final form of the Constitution was put to a vote on September 17, 1787. Thirty-nine of the delegates present voted in favor; three were opposed. Thirteen delegates were absent and of these, seven were believed to favor the Constitution.

3. As acknowledged leader in Pennsylvania and one of the world's most recognized savants, it was Benjamin Franklin's part to entertain the delegates. He wrote to his sister that his new dining room would seat twenty-four. He had a generous hand with the port.

4. During the entire summer of 1787 Washington was a guest in the home of Robert Morris. The Morris family had bought as their summer residence a large mansion on a wooded hill above the Schuykill river. They had an ice house, hot house, stable for twelve horses, and lived in splendid luxury.

5. A rule of secrecy existed during the Convention, for which there was some criticism. It seemed impossible to keep old Dr. Franklin quiet. It has been said that a discreet delegate would attend Franklin's convivial dinners, heading off the conversation when one of the Doctor's anecdotes threatened to reveal secrets of the Convention.

8. The Statehouse was comparatively cool when entering from the baking streets of an unusually hot summer. The east chamber was large, forty by forty with a twenty foot ceiling and no supporting pillars to break the floorspace. Tall, wide windows were on two sides, covered by slatted blinds to keep out the summer sun. Gravel had been strewn on the streets outside to deaden the sound of wheels and horses passing.

7. During an especially difficult week when agreement seemed impossible, Benjamin Franklin suggested that a chaplain be invited to open each morning meeting with prayer. North Carolina's Hugh Williamson bluntly replied that the Convention had no money to pay a chaplain. The state budgets in 1787 were exceedingly slim, and the finances of the delegates were constantly changing.

8. On Monday, May 28th, the last of the eight delegates from Pennsylvania arrived. Jared Ingersoll was to remain silent for the entire four months of the Convention. This was an extraordinary feat for the man often described as ''the ablest jury lawyer in Philadelphia.''

9. Washington was not a facile speaker. ''He speaks with great diffidence,'' wrote a foreign observer, ''and sometimes hesitates for a word....His language is manly and expressive.'' He was rarely seen to smile and his manners were uncommonly reserved. It was felt, however, that power would not turn his head, and he was never overbearing.

10. The fourth of Delaware's five delegates arrived on May 28th. Gunning Bedford, Jr., was tall, sociable, corpulent, and known as an impetuous speaker who did not hesitate to make trouble if trouble was in order. Bedford, attorney general of his state, came to

Philadelphia as a champion of the small states.

11. Convention rules were simple and took into account courtesy as well as convenience. It was a age of formal manners. George Wythe of Virginia, chairman of the rules committee, had a keen eye, a deeply lined forehead, and at age 60 resembled a sinewy old eagle. ''Every member,'' read Wythe, ''rising to speak, shall address the President, and whilest he shall be speaking, none shall pass between them or hold discourse with another, or read a book, pamphlet or paper, printed or manuscript.''

12. Seven states were to make a quorum, and all questions to be decided ''by a greater number of these which shall be fully represented.'' There was an excellent rule providing for reconsideration of matters that had already been passed on by a majority. Young Richard Dobbs Spaight of North Carolina suggested it: ''The House may not be precluded, by a vote upon any question, from revising the subject manner of it when they see cause.''

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS ACT—H.R. 2607

SPEECH OF

### HON. MAJOR R. OWENS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, November 12, 1997*

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, once again the U.S. Congress has exhibited a double standard toward the people of Haiti. The District of Columbia appropriations conference report provides a badly needed resolution to the District's financial problems. This conference report also contains certain immigration policy provisions that are intended to counteract a provision in the extreme, mean-spirited immigration reform legislation passed by the Republican-led 104th Congress. I commend the efforts made by House and Senate conferees to stop the potential deportation of hundreds of thousands of Central American and Eastern European immigrants; however, they specifically left thousands of Haitian immigrants out in the cold. This is tragically unfair and must not be overlooked. The only discernible difference between Haitians and these other refugees is that Haitians are black. I cannot believe that in 1997 the U.S. Congress has chosen to make critical policy decisions in this irrational manner.

The United States Government helped create conditions in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador that resulted in great numbers of people from these countries fleeing their homelands and searching for relief on our shores. In spite of this, Republicans in Congress have attacked immigrants on all fronts, including those from these Central American nations. In addition to cutting back on the types of social services and benefits immigrants could apply for, the ill-conceived Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 created new rules for Central American refugees which would effectively disqualify the vast majority of these immigrants from attaining citizenship and set them up for deportation. Before the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 was passed, these immigrants were permitted to apply for suspension of deportation and then apply for permanent residence if they met several rigorous requirements. They had to follow a painstaking, labyrinthine process to become American citizens. American citizenship is so prized by our Central American neighbors that they were happy to play by these complicated rules. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 changed the rules for these immigrants midstream and would have forced many of them to return to their homelands even though many have established themselves as productive members of our society. The District of Columbia appropriations legislation treats all these groups with compassion.

The conference report even provides relief for refugees from certain Eastern bloc countries in which we did not become involved to create a refugee situation. Inexplicably, Haitians were not afforded the same treatment, even though their plight was just as terrible and their desire to become American citizens is just as great.

The United States must acknowledge that its support for previous Haitian regimes has forced thousands of Haitian refugees to seek relief here in America. Since the military coup in Haiti, the United States has allowed thousands of these refugees to apply for citizenship. Haitians are still endangering themselves, risking death in order to reach our shores. Clearly, the situation in Haiti is not that much better than it is in Central America and the former Eastern bloc countries. The Haitian Government continues to be in disarray. The country's infrastructure continues to decay at a rapid rate while more than $1 billion in foreign assistance remains unspent. More than half the population eligible for work is estimated to be jobless at the same time that the cost of living is rising at an alarming rate. The situation in Haiti clearly calls for more compassionate action by the United States. Unfortunately, a proposal by Congresswoman Carrie P. Meek and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus [CBC] to provide relief for Haitian immigrants was not included in the District of Columbia appropriations conference report. This CBC-backed proposal would simply grant Haitians the same treatment given to Nicaraguans under the District of Columbia appropriations conference report. Like Central Americans and Eastern Europeans, Haitian immigrants have a powerful desire to become American citizens. They have established families and provided American businesses with skilled, dedicated workers. In my district in particular, Haitians are a vital part of the local economy and culture. Why are they not afforded the same treatment by American policy makers? It is unthinkable that Haitians were treated differently solely because they are black; however, the circumstances leave me no choice but to conclude that this Congress considers the suffering of black people to be of less importance.

We have settled in this country refugees from many war-torn nations. The people of Haiti have suffered long enough from the excesses of their former despotic leaders and the shortsightedness of our foreign policy. I plan to dedicate the second session of the 105th Congress to working with my colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus and other Members of Congress to ensure that equal treatment of Haitian immigrants is achieved. I challenge the House leadership and the administration to make justice for Haitians a priority in 1998. It is time that we settle this moral debt that we owe the people of Haiti.

## EAST TIMOR—NEED FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION

### HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, November 13, 1997*

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks, there have been disturbing developments in East Timor, which was invaded and illegally occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and is an area that has long been of concern to me and many of my colleagues. On November 14, the Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, stated that Indonesian security forces had acted with ''incalculable brutality'' against students at the University of East Timor. The security forces are said to have burst into the university, opening fire on a group of students and injuring about five seriously. Six others are still in custody as a result of this incident. Amnesty International has asked that those in custody have proper access to legitimate legal advice, and has also called for an investigation into this incident, involving the excessive use of force by Indonesian military and policy.

This is only the latest in a series of violent incidents since Bishop Belo returned last December from Oslo after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. Only in the past 2 months, there have been brutal actions by security forces or those connected to them, near the towns of Viqueque and Ossu. Paul Moore, Jr., the retired Episcopal Bishop of New York, who recently visited East Timor for the second time since 1989, reports that one paramilitary group under Indonesian control throws rocks nearly every night at the home of Bishop Belo's mother and sister in the town of Baucau. I share Bishop Moore's view that such actions are intolerable. And if they can be directed at the family of someone as prominent as a Nobel Peace Laureate, how many can really be safe?

Bishop Moore attended some of the religious festivities that took place around East Timor's highest peak, Mount Ramelau, on October 6–7. As Bishop Moore puts it, ''What I saw was an entirely peaceful gathering of tens of thousands of people motivated by their faith. But many in the clergy in East Timor affirm that provocateurs under the control of the Indonesian military have dedicated themselves to marring such events at every opportunity.''

This is apparently what happened on Mount Ramelau on October 7, when the stabbing of a young man led to the cancellation of a long-awaited religious procession. As Bishop Moore stated, ''This incident is seen by senior clergy, rightly or wrongly, as a deliberate attempt by those under the control of Indonesian authorities to thwart the aspirations of the East Timorese people—in this instance, ruining a day of piety and peace.''

However, it is clear to Bishop Moore, and especially to Bishop Belo, that the problem in East Timor is not a religious problem but is political in nature, just as the recent incident at the University of East Timor was rooted in the heavy-handed, illegal Indonesian military occupation. The pattern is one of conscious use and creation of violent incidents, religious and otherwise, by security forces. If such incidents

are created by the security forces, who in the end, are subject to official control, they can be stopped by government action. I wish to emphasize that this is not a matter of Moslem versus Christian but rather it is one of the aspiration of a people for self-determination.

All of this points to the need for a just political settlement to this long-festering problem. Bishop Moore calls for serious efforts by the United States to help solve the East Timor tragedy. The Indonesian Government is accepting billions of dollars from the United States to help support their economy. It is not too much for us to ask that there be a just and peaceful solution in East Timor without further delay. I am sure that many of my colleagues would heartily agree.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I have inserted in the RECORD a copy of Bishop Moore's account of his visit and a brief report by Mr. Arnold Kohen from the London-based Catholic weekly, The Tablet, which provides a moving description of what happened on Mount Ramelau on October 7.

REPORT OF BISHOP PAUL MOORE, JR., ON VISIT TO EAST TIMOR, OCTOBER 4–10, 1997

I returned to East Timor almost exactly eight years after my first visit there in 1989. In some fundamental respects there has been little change in the intervening period. The fullscale military occupation continues as before. The level of fear remains profound. What has become stronger, if anything, since 1989, is the desire of the people of East Timor to maintain their own identity and determine their own destiny. In light of everything that has happened since my first visit in 1989—the Santa Cruz massacre, the unrelenting repression and torture, the influx of migrants who take the best opportunities—the determination of the East Timorese people is remarkable.

I was privileged to visit East Timor with my friend, Anglican Archbishop Ian George of Adelaide, Australia, who is also a trained lawyer. We were struck by certain telling details. In meeting with a Catholic priest with whom I was acquainted, we were unable to talk at our hotel but had to go to a nearby beach because of our friend's fear of the authorities. This kind of anxiety was repeated time and again. If a visiting bishop and archbishop have such difficulties in meeting with people in sensitive positions, what does that say about the atmosphere in the territory?

By all accounts, widespread torture continues as I write, as do violent incidents fomented by paramilitary groups of East Timorese under Indonesian control. It is my clear understanding that one such group, known as the Gada Paksi, throw rocks nearly every night at the home of Bishop Belo's mother and sister in the town of Baucau. Such actions are intolerable. And if they can be directed at the family of someone as prominent as a Nobel Peace Laureate, how many can really be safe?

Just after we left, Bishop Belo reported that several homes in the southern town of Viqueque had been burned and several people had disappeared, all of this at the hands of Gada Paksi-type groups with the connivance of the Indonesian military. Incidents like this have continued and grown, especially since Bishop Belo returned from receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo last December. It is not accurate to say, as some in the Administration have done, that there are fewer incidents of violence in East Timor. While such incidents may be cyclical, senior church and other reliable sources, and not only Bishop Belo, made it clear to us that such incidents are most often provoked by people working closely with the Indonesian military, in an effort to justify the continuing occupation of East Timor. I do not mean to suggest that there is bad will on the part of American officials who seem to believe that violence is lessening. Rather, I believe that because of the language barrier, the narrow range of informants and the state of fear in the territory, the information our State Department receives from East Timor is less than adequate. Thus, I was pleased to learn that USAID will be providing support to the Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission and the Dili branch of the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute. One hopes this will lead to an improvement in the quality of information that our government receives from East Timor, at the same time that it gives the United States an added responsibility to protect these institutions from intimidation and harrassment.

I was fortunate to be able to attend some of the religious festivities that took place on Mount Ramelau on October 6–7. What I saw was an entirely peaceful gathering of tens of thousands of people motivated by their faith. But many in the clergy in East Timor affirm that provocateurs under the control of the Indonesian military have dedicated themselves to marring such events at almost every opportunity. The stabbing to death of a young man that took place at the summit of Mount Ramelau on October 7 led to the cancellation of the religious procession. This incident is seen by senior clergy, rightly or wrongly, as a deliberate attempt by those under the control of Indonesian authorities to thwart the aspirations of the East Timorese people—in this instance, ruining a day of piety and peace. The fact that this version of events is given widespread credence by responsible clerics and many others speaks volumes about the atmosphere in the territory.

Finally, let me emphasize the deep seriousness of the problem in East Timor. It cannot be solved without taking into account the domestic aspirations of the East Timorese people. The fact that Bishop Belo received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996 gives the East Timor issue a worldwide currency that it previously lacked. This provides opportunities for people, governments and institutions of good will to help solve the problem over time. We would be seriously remiss and morally negligent if we were to allow such unique opportunities to go by, particularly in view of the initial support of the United States government for Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor.

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[From the Tablet, Oct. 25, 1997]

MURDER ON THE MOUNTAIN

(By Arnold Kohen)

It seemed too perfect, and for beleaguered East Timor it was. Between 20,000 and 30,000 people made the long trek to the top of Mount Ramelau, the territory's highest peak, an exquisitely beautiful site as well as a symbol of the struggle for East Timor's independence. People had travelled in the back of trucks, some for days, in a remarkable outpouring of faith and hope. Many had walked long distances.

This was a singular event in East Timor's history, a two-day gathering uniting the territory's traditional animist religions, which venerate sacred objects known as lulik, with the traditions of the Catholic faith. In the light of the huge number of conversions that have taken place since the Indonesian invasion of the territory—the proportion of Catholics has grown from less than 20 per cent of the population to more than 95 per cent in a little more than two decades—the event had special significance; many of those who have converted continue to worship their lulik and at the same time attend church services that have themselves become a quiet statement of nationalist feeling.

First there was a Mass attended by tens of thousands in the foothills of the mountain range late on the afternoon of 6 October. It was celebrated by Bishop Basilio de Nascimento, who recently joined Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo of Dili when he was appointed to head East Timor's newly-created second diocese. Then for hours the two bishops led a procession in the dark up the long, steep pathways of Mount Ramelau. They were accompanied by a group of elders who had donned ancient symbols of Timorese religion. The culminating event was to be the placing of a statue of the Virgin Mary the next morning at the summit of the mountain, called Tata-Mai-Lau in the local Tetum language. Many thousands, mainly younger people, spent the night outdoors in piercing cold in a clearing dotted by black eucalyptus trees. The excitement was palpable.

The next morning Bishop Belo devoted his homily to themes of peace. The fact that so many people had gathered in a place so difficult to reach as Ramelau, bearing such good cheer and patience, had its own positive message. Spirits were high, as participants took refreshments before making the hour-long climb to the peak. Some had already gone to the top to watch the sun rise.

But only moments after Belo completed the Mass, the bad news arrived. A man, whom some church sources have linked to a military-inspired vigilante group called the Gada Paksi, tried to break through a cordon of Catholic boy scouts who were guarding the pathway to the top, where the statue was to be placed. (There were reports from the Indonesian military that the assailant was a member of the Fretilin independence movement, but no evidence has been produced to support this claim.) The intruder was told to go back, whereupon he stabbed one of the scouts to death; the assailant was in turn beaten to death by the crowd.

Senior clergy had little doubt about the source of the profanation of the event at Ramelau. Something similar had happened only hours after Bishop Belo returned from Oslo on Christmas Eve 1996 after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. They attributed the incidents to crazed East Timorese, possible drug-addicts, in the pay of Indonesian military intelligence. And then there was the rock-throwing by provocateurs when Cardinal Roger Etchegaray visited East Timor in early 1996. Many people, clergy and laity alike, complain bitterly that whenever there is an event reflecting the people's aspirations, the Indonesian military set out to stifle it.

The way Bishop Belo handled the crisis on Ramelau provides graphic illustration of his cohesive role. Immediately he took to the microphone at the altar where he had just finished saying Mass to appeal for calm, and announced that the procession to the top had been cancelled. He had not slept all night, but he coolly led the crowd down steep inclines on a two-hour march that was shadowed by the possibility of further acts of violence. The pathway was rocky and at times perilous, the mood extremely tense (if an individual could come out of nowhere to commit a stabbing, what else might follow?) but Belo reacted with aplomb.

He was sad as well as furious over what he saw as a clear attempt to denigrate the Church, but he would not show it, as people looked to him for inspiration. His soft-spoken, indirect and sometimes enigmatic manner of discourse can baffle some of those who meet him expecting a more militant personage. In fact, Belo is perfectly capable of tough and blunt talk on human rights and the condition of his occupied nation, but sees it as his main role to prevent the kind of mayhem that could easily have ensured on Mount Ramelau on 7 October.

*Monday, December 15, 1997*

# *Daily Digest*

## Highlights

See Résumé of Congressional Activity.

# Senate

The Senate adjourned sine die on Thursday, November 13, 1997. The 2d session of the 105th Congress will convene on Tuesday, January 27, 1998.

# House of Representatives

The House adjourned sine die on Thursday, November 13, 1997. The 2d session of the 105th Congress will convene on Tuesday, January 27, 1998.

# Résumé of Congressional Activity

FIRST SESSION OF THE ONE HUNDRED FIFTH CONGRESS

The first table gives a comprehensive résumé of all legislative business transacted by the Senate and House. The second table accounts for all nominations submitted to the Senate by the President for Senate confirmation.

## DATA ON LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY

January 3 through November 13, 1997

| | *Senate* | *House* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Days in session | 153 | 132 | .. |
| Time in session | 1,093 hrs., 07′ | 1,003 hrs., 42′ | .. |
| Congressional Record: | | | |
| Pages of proceedings | 12,724 | 10,963 | .. |
| Extensions of Remarks | .. | 2,425 | .. |
| Public bills enacted into law | 49 | 93 | 142 |
| Private bills enacted into law | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Bills in conference | .. | 2 | .. |
| Measures passed, total | 385 | 544 | 929 |
| Senate bills | 123 | 50 | .. |
| House bills | 101 | 243 | .. |
| Senate joint resolutions | 5 | 3 | .. |
| House joint resolutions | 16 | 19 | .. |
| Senate concurrent resolutions | 30 | 13 | .. |
| House concurrent resolutions | 19 | 46 | .. |
| Simple resolutions | 92 | 170 | .. |
| Measures reported, total | *248 | *373 | 621 |
| Senate bills | 159 | 4 | .. |
| House bills | 32 | 243 | .. |
| Senate joint resolutions | 2 | 1 | .. |
| House joint resolutions | 2 | 11 | .. |
| Senate concurrent resolutions | 13 | .. | .. |
| House concurrent resolutions | 2 | 9 | .. |
| Simple resolutions | 38 | 105 | .. |
| Special reports | 22 | 13 | .. |
| Conference reports | .. | 20 | .. |
| Measures pending on calendar | 111 | 39 | .. |
| Measures introduced, total | 1,840 | 3,728 | 5,568 |
| Bills | 1,568 | 3,088 | .. |
| Joint resolutions | 39 | 106 | .. |
| Concurrent resolutions | 70 | 200 | .. |
| Simple resolutions | 163 | 334 | .. |
| Quorum calls | 6 | 7 | .. |
| Yea-and-nay votes | 298 | 285 | .. |
| Recorded votes | .. | 348 | .. |
| Bills vetoed | .. | 3 | .. |
| Vetoes overridden | .. | .. | .. |

*These figures include all measures reported, even if there was no accompanying report. A total of 158 reports have been filed in the Senate, a total of 406 reports have been filed in the House.

## DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS

January 3 through November 13, 1997

| | |
|---|---|
| Civilian nominations, totaling 500, disposed of as follows: | |
| Confirmed | 361 |
| Unconfirmed | 124 |
| Withdrawn | 13 |
| Returned to White House | 2 |
| Civilian nominations (FS, PHS, CG, NOAA), totaling 3,105, disposed of as follows: | |
| Confirmed | 3,019 |
| Unconfirmed | 86 |
| Air Force nominations, totaling 8,141, disposed of as follows: | |
| Confirmed | 8,120 |
| Unconfirmed | 21 |
| Army nominations, totaling 6,246, disposed of as follows: | |
| Confirmed | 6,244 |
| Unconfirmed | 2 |
| Navy nominations, totaling 6,157, disposed of as follows: | |
| Confirmed | 6,153 |
| Unconfirmed | 4 |
| Marine Corps nominations, totaling 1,679, disposed of as follows: | |
| Confirmed | 1,679 |
| Unconfirmed | 0 |

*Summary*

| | |
|---|---|
| Total nominations received | 25,828 |
| Total confirmed | 25,576 |
| Total unconfirmed | 237 |
| Total withdrawn | 13 |
| Total returned to the White House | 2 |

*Next Meeting of the* SENATE

12 noon, Tuesday, January 27, 1998

Senate Chamber

Program for Tuesday: Convening of the 2d session of the 105th Congress.

*Next Meeting of the* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

12 noon, Tuesday, January 27, 1998

House Chamber

Program for Tuesday: Convening of the 2d session of the 105th Congress; State of the Union Address.

## Extensions of Remarks, as inserted in this issue

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