Following this extraordinary mission, William Shade and the crew flew 12 more times until their 25th mission when their B–17 was shot down over France on April 13, 1944. Mr. Shade was then arrested and sent to Frankfurt, Germany. He was finally transported by cattle-car to Stalag 17B in Austria were he was a prisoner of war from April 13, 1944 to May 2, 1945.

Mr. Speaker, Americans have always answered the call of duty to defend our freedom. The history of our Nation is full of actions of individual heroism.

William Shade may not have received the medal he deserved, but three men have him to thank for saving their lives and it is never too late to recognize the bravery of those who have defended our freedom.

It is with great pride that I honor William Shade and ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing this true American hero.

□ 2145

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MCCOLLUM] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. MCCOLLUM addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GUTIERREZ] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. GUTIERREZ addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. HORN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. HORN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PETE GEREN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. PETE GEREN of Texas addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. POMEROY] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. POMEROY addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

AN ALTERNATIVE TO WELFARE REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, today we have completed the first segment of the debate on the welfare reform legislation. This legislation is a key part of the Contract With America, or the Contract Against America. But I would like to place it in the context of the evolving budget development process. More important than the Contract With America or the Contract Against America, whatever you want to call it, is the budget process that is now under way which really establishes the priorities for both parties. It really indicates the vision of America and where America should be going for both parties and for others within the parties.

I would like to speak this evening as the chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus alternative budget task force. We are preparing an alternative budget to show a vision of America which will encompass all Americans, a vision of America which will speak for the caring majority in America, not just the people in need, but the people who have the good sense to understand that they have to respond to the need of the most unfortunate among us. The caring majority budget sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus would be an alternative to the budget that will be produced by the majority of the House of Representatives. That majority of the House of Representatives really represents the ideas and the interests of an elite minority. The elite oppressive minority has determined they want to prepare a revolutionary budget, a budget with far-reaching consequences, and they have begun that process already.

Stage 1 in that process occurred last week when we passed the rescissions for 1995. It is an ugly word, rescission. Rescission means that for a year that is already in progress, a year that has begun already, a budget that has already begun, a budget that is a result of long deliberations, a budget that is the result of bills and laws passed in the authorizing committees, a budget that is a result of the actions of the last year's Appropriation Committee, Appropriation Committee of the 103d Congress, we went through a long process and a lot of man-hours went into the hearings and the preparation. Finally we voted on the floor the appropriations which went into the budget that began October 1, 1994. That budget was the product of long deliberations in the House and then, of course, the Senate had an equally deliberative process. Then we had to come together, the Senate and the House, long negotiations, a lot of man-hours of very talented people that went into the preparation of that budget. But now the new Committee on Appropriations recklessly come along and they reach into that budget that is in process now and they pull out more than $17 billion in rescissions.

The pattern of the rescissions shows clearly where the budget process will be going when it begins for the next year's budget. The rescissions affect the budget that is in effect right now, the 1995 budget that started October 1 of 1994 and continues until September 30 of 1995. The new budget that will take effect October 1, 1995, this year, that budget process has just begun.

The way in which the rescissions budget was handled gives a key to what will happen in the budget development that will take place over the next 2 months for this budget year.

The snapshot of where the current majority in this House of Representatives wants to go, the preview of coming attractions that is indicated by the controlling party, the Republicans who now control the House, the people who represent the interests of the elite oppressive minority, their preview is not just startling, it is a devastating statement about where they intend to go. It is a dangerous course that they have laid out.

One cannot say that the oppressive elite minority that is in control, the people who are moving forward in the interest of a very small group of Americans, one cannot say that they are guilty of some kind of secret conspiracy. The conspiracy is not secret at all. It is right there in the open. You can see clearly where they are going. If you can see clearly, then the reaction for those of us who would be the victims has to be a more profound and a more energetic reaction in my opinion. I don't think we should sit still and throw figures and numbers around in a theoretical way.

What the rescissions budget did that was passed last week with the Republican votes—they have the majority and they voted the rescissions budget that they had the numbers to put in place. What that statement that it made with $7 billion in cuts in HUD, housing programs, most of it aimed at low-income housing, most of it aimed clearly at low-income housing, $7 billion, the largest hunk that came out of the existing budget was housing, housing for poor people. That is a clear message that was sent.

Did we have to, even if you wanted to reach a goal of $17 billion, you wanted to cut the budget by $17 billion, did you have to in such an overwhelming way take so much from one particular department or one particular function like housing? Did they have to do that?

And then there are cuts in education which amount to almost $2 billion, almost $2 billion from education, and most of the education programs that are cut are directed at the inner city poor, programs to help poor children.

Then you have cuts like the zeroing out, complete wiping out of the summer youth employment program. Zero. An indication that not only are we going to take the money out of this year's budget, but zero for next year.

Clearly the shotgun is aimed at the places where poor people live. Clearly

there is a demonization and there is a targeting of poor people to begin with. Then there is a more specific targeting of poor people who live in urban areas, people in the big cities who are the basic beneficiaries of public housing. People in the big cities are the basic beneficiaries of title I, which was cut. They are the basic beneficiaries of some of the other education programs like the drug-free schools program that was cut. It is aimed at the inner city poor. The more specifically large numbers of the people who are the beneficiaries are minorities. Large numbers more specific than that are people of African decent, black people.

It is no conspiracy that is in secret. It is clear for any student who knows basic arithmetic, it is clear who the target is, it is clear who the victims are already and who the victims will be in the bigger budget. It is quite clear.

One is reminded of what Shakespeare put in the mouth of King Lear at a time when King Lear's two daughters, two of his three daughters had betrayed him, and King Lear states, ''Fool me not to bare it tamely. Touch me with noble anger.''

That is Shakespeare's complicated way of saying, ''It's time to get mad.'' Anger is very much appropriate at this time. Anger is the order of the day. If you are a leader of people of African descent, if you are a leader of poor people, if you are a leader of people who live in the big cities, it is time to get angry, it is time to react, because what is happening is revolutionary. These are very large cuts.

Public housing evolved over many years but in a few years it will be wiped out if we allow a $7 billion cut to take place in the rescission process. Then there is talk of wiping the whole department out, and also at the same time, probably actions generated by some of the targeting of the elite oppressive minority has influenced the White House. The Secretary of HUD, Housing and Urban Development, made a statement yesterday in connection with his reorganization of HUD. They are getting on the bandwagon in too many ways. They are proposing to phase out public housing as we know it, not change it, not reform it, but phase it out. Eventually you will have a system at the end of their process where there will only be vouchers. People will be given vouchers to go out and look for your own housing.

□ 2200

The problem with the vouchers is every year you will probably have a cut in the amount of the vouchers. The problem with most of the programs being offered by the Republicans who are in control of the budget-making process is that everything they set forth and offer as a set amount of money available for a particular function is subject to being cut in the future by the same reckless Appropriations Committee. The same appropriations process will whittle down the vouchers just as it will whittle down the School Lunch Programs and all the other block grant programs.

So my point is, however, it is clear who is the target. It is clear that the 60 years of social programs that have benefited many different types of people but the programs that now benefit a great proportion of people of African-American decent, those programs are the ones they are targeting, starting with the welfare reform.

The welfare reform, of course, I agree with you. You must have welfare reform. We must make adjustments and try to make the welfare program work for the people who are poor, the people who are the intended beneficiaries of the program, try to make it work and try to make it work with the least possible cost.

I agree with the process of reform. Let us go forward with reform. There is not a single function of government or a single department of government or process of government that can't stand some reform. That is our business. We are here to provide oversight for all of the activities of the government. We are here to deal with reform. So welfare reform is very much an appropriate activity.

The problem is that welfare has been under scrutiny for a long time. Welfare, as we call it, when we say welfare it is short for welfare for mothers and children, what in technical terms is called Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

People refer to that as welfare, but it is really Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a part of the whole Social Security Act, a part of what started with Franklin Roosevelt. Aid to Families with Dependent Children is just that. It is money directed to children who have needs. And the mothers of those children are just the overseers of their welfare, and they are the recipients technically. So mothers and children are the recipients of what we call welfare.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should reform welfare, try to make it better, just as it is fitting and proper that we reform any other aspect of government, any other function of government, any other welfare that the government provides.

The government also provides other forms of welfare. Nobody ever calls it welfare, but when it is money being given to either victims, poor people who are victims of the economy and can't find jobs or victims of family breakdowns, many times as a result of the facts that the male can't find jobs, the family does break down.

Poor people are victims. Victims of hurricanes are recipients, also victims of floods, victims of earthquakes. They are all recipients of government help because they are victims.

Then there are other people who are recipients of government help who are not victims. They are recipients of government help because a system has been developed which has made them dependent. You know, welfare for the farmers, for example. Farm welfare, welfare for rich farmers, is an atrocious mutilation of a program that started with the New Deal to help poor farmers.

Poor farmers were helped by the government in many ways. Agriculture is one of our most successful industries as a result of the government helping, but the whole thing has gotten out of hand, and for years now we have had welfare for the farmers which is as great as the legitimate welfare that goes to mothers and children.

I think the illegitimate swindle of welfare that goes to the farmers is what we should be also taking a close look at what we should be scrutinizing very carefully. But that has never happened. Welfare for the farmers is an untouchable in the budget.

You may be interested in knowing that welfare for the farmers in the form of the price supports, just that one form of subsidy is about the same amount of money that is spent for welfare for mothers and children, $16 billion—$16 billion goes to farmers not to grow grain. It goes to farmers, and many of those farmers are very well off. A large proportion of them are not farmers at all in the sense of individuals who are farming. They are people who are on corporate boards of corporations that are agribusinesses.

Most of our farming is done these days by agribusiness. In case you didn't know it, only 2 percent, 2 percent of the population now is involved with farming, only 2 percent. So the $16 billion that goes to the agribusinesses in the name of helping farmers is not going to help large numbers of individuals out there. It is going to help corporations. It is a check that they got. It is a socialist intervention into the farming industry. They are smothered with socialism.

The agricultural industry is probably the most successful industry in the history of America. As a result of government intervention years and years ago, it is successful. If it is so successful, why do we have to continue to provide a government welfare check to farmers or to agribusinesses? That $16 billion there in the budget could go for something else. But they have not targeted, my point is they have not targeted agriculture subsidies.

In the $17 billion rescission budget you won't see any large cuts of agricultural programs. They are not taking a heavy hit like housing or education for the poor or job programs for the poor, summer youth programs. You won't find anything zeroed out for agriculture in the rescission budget.

This is very important to take note of this. Why
is it that an activity which involves only 2 percent of the population is an untouchable activity? How is it that the farm welfare system go on and on? Nobody is talking about ending farm welfare as we know it? How is it that this happens?

The American people ought to take a very close look at the power of the farm lobbyists. We talked a lot about lobbying. We talked about special interests. You should take a close look at how it is done, how 2 percent of the population can go on and on, as long as they want to go, control a whole system of subsidies.

And I have only mentioned $16 billion worth. The Washington Post told us last year that another aspect of the welfare program for farmers, called the Farmers Home Loan Mortgages, $11.8 billion, billion, in loans to farmers was forgiven over a 5-year period. We are not discussing reform in that area.

That appeared on the front page of the Washington Post. There was some scurrying around for a while. There was talk of a committee dealing with that. It didn't happen in any significant way.

Then we know, of course, we failed to reform the savings and loans system. Instead of reforming the savings and loan system, we deregulated it. So the savings and loans program, which said that the government stood behind all of the people who have deposited their money in the savings and loans banks up to $100,000, that collapsed completely, not completely, it collapsed overwhelmingly. And it is costing the American taxpayers as much as $200 billion.

But we are not laboring to reform a program that has cost you $200 billion. You can't even get a good report as to where it is right now. It is still going forward.

They are still trying to salvage the money that was lost via the savings and loan swindle. And there are still people running around who pocketed millions of dollars who have not been even called and interrogated, many others who have been interrogated who have never been prosecuted, and many others who have been prosecuted and they never paid a dime, many others who have spent some time, a few weeks in prison, but never paid a dime also. They come out and were millionaires still.

So if you want to reform a significant portion of the government, we should be looking at reform for the savings and loans program. We should be looking at reform for the agriculture welfare system.

That kind of reform is not on anybody's mind. They would prefer instead to target the programs that are serving the poorest people. And programs that are serving the poorest people, unfortunately, disproportionately large numbers of African-Americans are in those programs.

Now, if there is a 10th grader, a sophomore out there listening, the obvious question is why are so many African-Americans in these programs? Why are so many African-Americans poor? Why haven't African-Americans made it? Why are they vulnerable so that we can be targeted by people who are powerful and that we can become victims again?

African-Americans enjoyed prosperity for a very short period of time during the era of World War II and the 10 years following World War II, 20 years following World War II. There were jobs. Jobs were available in the big cities. That is why you have so many African-Americans in the big cities.

They weren't concentrated there before World War II. African-Americans were spread out all over the country, and most of them were in the South, not all of them, but most of them were in the South.

Why were they in the South? Because the South had the largest slave population. Why did they have the largest slave population? Because the South's primary commodity, its primary income crop, was cotton and a few other items that required a large amount of labor, cheap labor, and you had large concentrations of slaves in the South.

They left the South during World War II, and they came north. They found jobs. And if you look at history, examine the period when they had jobs, African-Americans in the big cities had jobs. You will find that there was a relatively small amount of family disintegration, of family destabilization. There were few families with only one parent. There was work available, and when work was available it was possible to maintain stabilized, good families, stable families, and go forward.

But that was only a brief period. The jobs that existed in Washington, DC, in New York, in Chicago, in all the big cities where African-Americans have accumulated, those jobs began to disappear as the economy was mismanaged more and more. And the people who were in charge of our economy gave away our economic base for manufacturing. They gave it away to Japan and to Germany and to Taiwan.

And you know the jobs that would be there for people normally, even without a war and without defense production, were all gone because the entrepreneurs and the investors and the people who own the plants found that they do make greater profits by using cheap labor somewhere else in the world. And that is a pattern that started then. It started 20 years after World War II. And it escalated, and now it is in full boom.

It is the way to go if you are going to produce a product. You don't invest in America and manufacture in America. You find the cheapest source of labor somewhere in the world, and you bring the product back to America. So for that reason the jobs are not there. You have large numbers of African-Americans along with other poor people in the big cities where they came because there were jobs, and they are trapped there.

And we have had an anticity policy. Part of the reason that the policy has been anticity is because there are large concentrations of African-Americans and Latinos, minorities who didn't have any political power, large numbers who could not fight for themselves because they didn't have political action committees. They didn't have big contributors.

For many reasons, the kind of power you need in America is not present in the inner city communities of our big cities. So, steadily, from the time of Ronald Reagan's first year to the present, steadily there has been an assault on the big cities. Steadily, the Federal Government has taken away programs that benefited the cities.

The savings and loan money that built the shopping malls and the condominiums and all of the failed projects in the Midwest and the West, most of that money came out of our big cities, by the way, because even in the big cities, with millions of depositors, they accumulated large amounts of money in our banks.

□ 2215

The poorest banks are rich in our big cities because the numbers of people who are depositing are so great. Their deposits were taken out and invested across the country in failed projects, and the savings and loan drain that benefited Texas and California, a large part of the dollars came from the big cities. You had war being made on our big cities, and that war has wrecked the black families, has wrecked teenagers' lives, lives of teenagers, and that war continues.

Instead of the present oppressive elite minority trying to rebuild our cities, as they do across the world, most countries are proud of their cities, and they want to rebuild them, a decision has been made by the oppressive elite minority that they want to destroy our cities, that they are going to build an America where big cities do not count; the populations of big cities can be thrown overboard. There is a triage process that we will follow. After all, so many of them are black, so many are African-American.

And in case we do not complete the process with the budget, they have introduced affirmative action, an attack on that, assault on affirmative action to send the message even more clearly that we are targeting African Americans.

The big cities have large accumulations of African Americans, and I would like to get back to the point I was making. Why are they there? I just told you. They went there seeking jobs. The jobs were there. The jobs have been taken away now. So they are there. They are vulnerable. They are poor.

Why do they have to go to the big cities? Because the economy of the South where they were was even poorer. The wretchedness of black families was greater in the rural South before World War II than it is in any big city now. Starvation and hunger, exploitation, a state which was not too far removed from slavery existed for hundreds of thousands of African Americans, because slavery, getting back to

the topic that upsets so many people, slavery left a heritage.

Why are so many African-Americans poor? Because they are victims of a process that never had any mercy in it. They are victims of a process that never offered any real aid until the Great Society programs, the New Deal and the Great Society programs came along. There was no aid of any kind. You had millions of African-Americans who were set free by the 13th amendment to the Constitution. And the Emancipation Proclamation set some free before, and upon achieving that freedom, they were empty-handed. They had nothing.

If there are any sophomores still listening, remember that slavery existed for 200 years in America. Slavery existed for 400 years in this hemisphere. Slavery in South America and the Caribbean area started long before it started here. But slavery existed in American for 200 years, and some people who says slavery was an institution, slavery was an industry. Slavery was an industry, a vile industry, but an industry.

Slaves were recruited. Slaves were imported to make money. Slaves were brought and sold like property. They were bought and sold like machines for 200 years.

For 200 years slaves were handled in a way which reminded them at every point that they were property. In order to accomplish this, slaves had to be treated in ways which obliterated their humanity.

I used the word ''obliterated''; an attempt was made. I take it back. They did not succeed fortunately. But an attempt was made to obliterate any sense of humanness in the slave in order to make him a more productive machine, a more productive beast of burden.

Their sense of humanity had to be wiped out. So slaves were bought and sold and deliberately families were not allowed to exist. You know, there might have been 1 or 2 percent of the slave owners who were kind enough to let families stay together or to respect the family unit, but basically, in the salve industry, it was counterproductive to have family attachments. So the slaves were for 200 years in a situation which discouraged any family. Any families which we have, any sense of family which we have, which is very strong in the black community, very strong in the African-Americans community, any sense of family is there despite all of the hardships. That sense of family is there because we the people of the African-Americans communities, the victims of slavery, held on to it, made it happen, and kept it happening. But for 200 years there was an attempt made to make us forget all about family ties, forget all about our humanity in every respect, religion, family, art, culture, everything.

If the sophomores are still listening, just try to imagine what it is like for a Mexican person who is very poor, owns very little, who comes across the border from Mexico to California as an immigrant; imagine an immigrant in a whole new world, does not speak the language, is poor, and was poor back home, and try to imagine what I am saying when I say that that immigrant, that poor immigrant coming across the border from Mexico to California, is a millionaire compared to a slave being dumped on a wharf somewhere in America and taken to the auction block. Because that poor Mexican has a village, a family, a culture, associates, people to go back to or to remember, reminisce about, to communicate with even after he arrives here.

That poor Mexican probably has some friends or some associates or a community of people who might not know him individually but will receive him in California if he comes across the border.

They are rich compared to what the slave had. The slaves were deliberately cut off from their culture, from their sense of family, from their societies that had been built up over hundreds of years. They were deliberately cut off, and right away they were put on board ships, and they were arranged in ways to separate slaves who came from the same places, even the same tribe or the same languages, and not allow them to be together, because there was fear of mutiny. They did not want them to have any sense of commonality.

So the obliteration process for slaves started on the ship. It continued at the wharf when they were unloaded and sold. They were sold regardless, irregardless of any attachments that they might have had. If a sister or brother happened to come together, then nobody would recognize that certainly on the wharf, and then it went on and on for 200 years.

The largest number of slaves that existed at any time in the history of slavery in this country, however, were not people who were brought across the sea. You know, millions were brought across the sea. But the largest number were born in this country. They were bred in this country. Slave-breeding was a basic part of the slave industry.

Why am I mentioning the ugly subject of slave-breeding? Why am I bothering to mention that? Because the history of the black family and the disintegration of the black family, the problems of the black family, are rooted in slavery.

An attempt was made to obliterate any sense of family, and when freedom came, no attempt was made to help in any way, economically, socially, culturally, no attempt was made. So when a sophomore asked the question, why so many black people are poor, why are they so vulnerable, why are they all gathered in the big cities? The answer is they are in the big cities because they came looking for jobs, and they found jobs, and they thrived for three or four decades.

But before that they were in the rural South where they were very poor and never had a chance, because nobody ever gave any help to the slaves after they were set free, and before that, of course, they were slaves, and instead of them being helped by anyone, an effort was made to obliterate, block out their humanity, destroy any sense of family, any sense of culture, any sense of religion.

You cannot suddenly, as a nation or a group of civilized people, say that 200 years does not matter. You cannot obliterate and say it did not exist. That is what the Communists used to try to do in Russia, just wipe out segments of history. It did exist.

After we were set free, the 13th amendment and the 14th amendment, 15th amendment, there was another hundred years of oppression, lynchings, denial of all rights.

So we are talking about 300 years before we had a situation where people could get up and leave the South, come to the big cities. There was nothing to fall back on. Nobody has a parent who gave them anything. They did not inherent any land. They did not inherit any bank accounts.

You know, why are they so poor? Why are African-Americans in such large proportions in the big cities poor? Because their ancestors were slaves, their ancestors were victimized. There was nothing to fall back on to build any economic base.

The miracle is that so many, that there are so many middle-class black families, there are so many people who have overcome all of this. There are so many who prosper no matter what.

The cruelest activity that you could perpetuate would be to target this vulnerable bunch, this vulnerable group of people who are the descendants of slaves. We are the victims. We are the descendants of victims, and now we have been targeted again.

Probably many of the people who are targeting the victims are the descendants of the oppressors, the slave-owners and the slave industry, people who participated in the slave industry in many different ways.

It is time to get angry when you see the policies of the Government of the United States being shaped by people who would cut the budget in ways which seek to wipe out the victims of the descendants of slaves. In this budget process that we are about to embark upon, we are told that there is a desire to save $722 billion over a 7-year period. The call is for a balanced budget by the year 2002. They said the budget must be balanced, and that is a criteria that is set.

The Congressional Black Caucus budget would not be allowed on the floor. It will not have a chance of getting past the Committee on Rules unless we can show we can balance the budget by the year 2002. All other budgets, they say, must do the same thing. At least, you must show over a 5-year period that the budget that you are

proposing is on a glide path to a $59 billion deficit in 5 years; $722 billion in savings must be realized over 7 years; $59 billion must be the deficit, no higher than $59 billion in 5 years, and in order to get there, the kinds of cuts that were made last week, $17 billion in the rescission process, will have to be magnified many times over.

They will have to make even more cuts in housing programs for poor people. They will make even more cuts in programs like the school lunch program, in programs like the summer youth employment program, in training programs for welfare mothers. The cuts will be humongous, monstrous, unless we turn aside from the revolution that is being promoted by the oppressive elite minority now in control of this Congress.

It is a very serious situation. Added to the cuts, as I said before, is the attack, the assault on affirmative action, which doubles the victimization.

We see a pattern in the welfare reform bill that will be repeated over and over in the welfare reform process.

In the bill that is being offered, the element of reform I support, as I said before. We all want to reform any Government program and make it work. The human animal is not an administering animal. We do not naturally know how to administer anything.

So any big activity, any complex activity needs to be reformed from time to time, needs to be revised, adjusted, and welfare is no exception. But we should also revise any other aspect of the Government in the same manner. We have no problem with the reform element.

Welfare is also, unfortunately, a vehicle for the demonization of African-Americans. Welfare is a vehicle for the demonization, first, of poor people. It is a vehicle for the demonization of pregnant teenagers, teenage mothers, and it is a vehicle for the demonization of African-Americans.

□ 2230

How does this happen? Because it has become a code word.

When people think of welfare, the media, the political leadership, have handled the problem and issue in ways which have led to an association of welfare with African-Americans, with black people. So it becomes a demonization.

If we want to really reform it, let us take out the demonization. Let us stop talking about welfare in terms that demonize people. Let us look at the problem. They are a set of victims like other victims the government helps, and let us go forward with reforming welfare in that spirit.

Let us talk about jobs and the need for jobs and job training without calling people lazy. ''Lazy'' is a ridiculous term to use with the victims of the descendants of slaves.

In slavery everybody had a job, and they had to do it. In slavery they worked people from dawn to dusk. In slavery they worked them every day, except a few kind slave owners who gave Sundays off. But if there is anybody who knows what work is all about, it is the people who are the descendants of the victims of slavery.

So let us stop the demonization. People are not on welfare who are able-bodied because they are lazy.

In my district certainly, if you have the jobs, for every job you produce there will be 10 or 20 people in line to get the job. There are no jobs, and we have been looking for jobs for decades now.

We have to produce jobs in the Congressional Black Caucus budget, in our vision of what America should be like. We are going to have a job creation program, as we always have had in previous budgets. We are going to have job training. We are going to have job educational programs.

You know, if you give a bright welfare mother a 2-year college education, she can become a part of the middle class, or a degree in nursing, or x-ray technician, or blood work technicians, a number of different jobs that are available for people who have training. But you have to have the money and the budget to provide for that 2 years of training in order to allow this person to bridge the gap and get into the middle class.

When you are demonizing people that are making the assumption that they are lazy, making the charge, then you do not put money in the budget for training and for job creation. There is no money in the welfare program that has been offered by the Republican majority in the House. There is no money, there is no program, for job training. There is no program for job creation.

We started out talking about get off welfare and go to work, and the Democratic alternatives to the welfare program of the Republicans, you are going to find an effort to provide job training. There is money in there for—in the Deal substitute and certainly the Patsy Mink substitute. There is money to provide for training to allow people to get off of welfare, but it is too good a demonization technique and a demonization weapon for the Republicans to seriously deal with jobs and job training and seriously try to reform welfare.

You can have a good election issue if you continue to demonize the people who are on welfare because they are black, because they are teenagers, because they are pregnant. All of a sudden teenage girls become a threat to the moral fiber of the country. As I said before, they are not a threat to the moral fiber of the country. I would like to have fewer teenagers pregnant. I would like to see fewer unwed mothers. The number who are increasing, who are not African American, is great, which means that there is a situation of helplessness and hopelessness that is driving this situation, and we need to correct it before this disease spreads beyond the vulnerable poor populations of our cities and engulfs other groups. We should reasonably examine it and determine that we are going to provide hope for teenagers regardless of their race or color.

We are going to provide hope, and one area you provide hope is through education, providing the best possible education. Next to the cuts in housing that were in the rescission budget last week, Mr. Speaker, the $7 billion in cuts in housing programs for low income people, the cuts in education were the second most vicious groups of cuts because they are targeted to eliminate hope for large numbers of young people. The specific cut of the summer youth employment program and the specific cut of the drug-free schools program, those specific cuts are aimed at programs for young people, and they become, as my colleagues know, the most vicious, among the most vicious of all.

If we are going to continue and repeat those kinds of cuts, then we are going to wipe out hope for more and more young people and end up with more and more being caught up in the web of teenage pregnancies and other social ills. Teenage pregnancies are a problem we are going to resolve. Let us reasonably try to get that kind of hope restored to teenagers so that they will not drift into that kind of situation which hurts both the mother and the child. Babies should not be raising babies. Teenagers should not be raising babies. We do not want it, and we should rationally do everything possible to end it.

But do not demonize pregnant teenagers. Do not demonize them and use the code that there is something wrong with black pregnant teenagers, there is something wrong with black families, there is something wrong with the black community. Do not demonize and gain some kind of political advantage by appealing to the gut racism in certain people. Do not let the welfare reform process drift into that.

Teenagers are not a threat to the moral fiber of America. Teenage pregnancies—there was a time when teenage pregnancy was a threat to the moral fiber of America, and I said it before on this floor, and I repeat it to remind my colleagues that teenage pregnancy was a threat to the moral fiber of America, black teenage pregnancy—during the days of slavery, 200 years of slavery when teenage pregnancy was promoted and teenage pregnancy was a profit-making enterprise. Breeding slaves produced more slaves in America than importing slaves from Africa—breeding. Every teenage slave girl was expected to get pregnant as soon as she was old enough to get pregnant, forced to get pregnant. Terrible things could happen to her if she did not get pregnant, and she did not choose the man who made her pregnant. Part of the breeding process was to select the men who did the impregnation. So, that was a threat, that kind of activity which went on for 200 years

in America as a business, the slave business, the slave industry, that was a threat to the moral fiber of America. Like all other aspects of slavery, the moral fiber of America was challenged by the components of slavery.

Thank G-d for Abraham Lincoln. Thank G-d for all the people who lost their lives in the war to end slavery. America has had that burden taken off its shoulder, been able to go forward as a leader of the Free World as a result of that kind of moral threat being removed. So, when you see or hear people talk about teenage pregnancies, it is a serious matter of today, but is not a threat to the moral fiber of America. These people are not demons. The demons were the people who made an industry out of impregnating black teenagers in the slave system, and the breeding pens and the breeding farms. Those were the people who were the demons.

We have been targeted unfairly. I hope that the elite oppressive minority can hear some of these appeals. It is not too late to turn back and look at the process of delivering on the Contract With America, the process on demonstrating that you know how to run the government better than the Democrats. I hope the Republicans will turn aside the game plan that involves demonization and later on an appeal to make it racism.

Candidates who are announcing now for the presidential race in 1996 have placed great emphasis on the fact that they want to destroy affirmative action, affirmative action. When they add affirmative action and the assault on affirmative action to the game plan, as I said before, and my colleagues know that $722 billion is going to have to be saved over 7 years, you can understand that the days ahead, in terms of decisionmaking about the budget and the targeting of programs that hurt minorities and the targeting of programs that hurt poor people has just begun. Between now and 1996 every candidate running for President will be trying to demonstrate, every candidate running for President for the Republican Party will be trying to demonstrate, that they can go after African-Americans in a more overwhelming fashion and a more targeted and precise fashion, in a more damaging fashion, than anybody else. That is going to be the Willie Horton of 1996.

It is time to come to grips with it right now. It is time that we on the floor of this House understood that we do not intend to sit idly by and allow this kind of demonization and appeal to racism to go on. We do not intend to allow the budget to be twisted and distorted in order to accomplish that purpose.

We want to show a vision of America that, I think, the majority of Americans want, and that is a vision where we apply the tremendous wealth of this country with the richest nation that ever existed on the face of the earth. There has never been anything like America. The wealth is not something of the past. The wealth is escalating every day. Wall Street is not suffering. We are not on the verge of bankruptcy. people are getting rich faster and faster. Those who have money, the wealth of America is not absorbed by the fact that there is no frontier anymore. There is no frontier in terms of land.

But it seems we have a lot of wealth above us, the broadcast frequencies above us. The bands up there that are now being auctioned off have brought in close to $9 billion. The people on the air—and we should stop and think about that resource that belongs to us. There are all kinds of ways in which this country can be protected from bankruptcy. There are many ways in which the deficit can be solved once and for all, and you do not have to increase taxes on individuals. We need a whole system of taxation which does not focus on individual income and throw one group of people against another.

In the Congressional Black Caucus budget we shall propose a commission to creatively look at new kinds of tax options, and we should propose some of those tax options to go forward as soon as possible. Why not? As my colleagues know, look at the air waves in a different way, and derive some income through user fees, and let it be known right away. Why not even halt the auctioning process and do some other form of ownership of the frequency bands up there which are going to be very lucrative? And one industry that we know will be very lucrative in the future is the telecommunications industry. One industry that will derive a great deal of profit and revenue will be telecommunications. The industry that the Japanese, and the Germans, and the Taiwanese, nobody in a foreign country can take away from us, is the telecommunications industry.

So, let us look forward to making use of the potential that is in the air above us in ways that benefit all Americans.

Nobody should buy the argument that you have to cut programs for poor people because we are bankrupt. Nobody should buy the argument that we have to cut HUD in order to save money, that is the only place we can save money. Nobody should buy the argument that the summer youth program, which is a relatively small amount of money, has had to cut down to zero in order to balance the budget or in order to save money. We should not buy those arguments. There are many, many ways to cut the budget and adjust the budget. There are many ways to look for new revenue.

All the industries that are based in America that have foreign operations have been let off very lightly in terms of they have taken the jobs away from the workers. The people who own the plants and investors, they reap great profits. There should be some way to get a greater share of those profits and pile them back into the country of origin. There are many, many ways which we should look to new sources of revenue in order to sustain the richest nation that ever existed and to pay for the kind of services, and the programs and the projects that benefit all Americans.

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The caring majority, which I think is the majority of Americans, will insist, I think, that everybody be given an opportunity for an education, eveybody be given decent housing, everybody be given an opportunity to eat well, that children will have free lunches.

I think the caring majority is made up of people out there who need government help. The caring majority is made up of a majority of people who are not people who need government help. They are just people who are wise enough to know that if this society is going to hold together, if you are going to go forward with the maximum civility, go forward and build a society which promotes the common welfare, the prosperity for all, then we are going to have to care about people who do not have housing.

People in the caring majority do not necessarily want to live next to homeless people, have them come to their homes and eat, but they want them to have a home and want them to have food. People in the caring majority may not want their kids to go to school with poor children, but they want every child to have an opportunity to go to school. The people in the caring majority care about health care for everybody, and they do not think we are so poor that we cannot have health care systems which provide decent health care for everybody.

In the days ahead, as the Committee on the Budget moves to realize its $722 billion in savings, we have to be on a glide path, they say, showing that the deficit is down to $59 billion in 5 years. The horrible kinds of devastating cuts that they will propose must be resisted. We must show that an F–22 fighter plane that nobody needs will cost us $12 billion over the next 5 years, and if we are really, truly worried about bankruptcy and becoming insolvent as a nation, why are we building an F–22 fighter plane, the most sophisticated fighter plane ever devised by the imagination of man. We have already a very sophisticated fighter plane. Put that on a list. Those Americans who think out there that somebody has to suffer, there has to be some cuts, that is the argument we hear, let us spread the pain.

We are not spreading the pain. Seven billion dollars comes out of HUD, housing for low-income people, and you are going to continue to build the F–22 at a cost of $12 billion over the next 5 years,

and this is a scaled down version of what was proposed originally. If the whole plan was followed and we built all the F–22's that were originally conceived, it would cost us $72 billion. Seventy-two billion dollars. But just over the next 5 years we are looking at $12

billion, and nobody is scrutinizing that expenditure and saying we cannot afford it.

The CIA, $28 billion is the estimate of CIA's budget. If you have to cut something, cut the CIA 10 percent every year for the next 5 years. You will not lose very much. Eldridge Ames and his kind will be taken care of in a less lucrative fashion, but you will not lose any ground in terms of America being secure and competitive. They do not contribute that much at this point. They would still have half of $28 billion, which is $14 billion.

Let us spread the pain where it hurts the least. Let us spread the pain by not building another *Seawolf* submarine, $2.1 billion. If we must make cuts, if we are worried about the future, if you do not want to mortgage our children's future, then there are many ways and places that cuts can be made.

There are a whole list of corporate loopholes that we can start closing. The Committee on Ways and Means has produced a proposal for tax cuts, and one set of analysts has looked at it and spoken to me and told me there is $1 trillion worth of tax cuts, $1 trillion worth of giveaways, loopholes in that proposal. One trillion dollars.

Let us take a close look at that bill and those loopholes. Let us look at the tax expenditures as closely as we look at the other expenditures.

In other words, we are going to resist. The Congressional Black Caucus budget is just a tiny part of the resistance. We will not stand by and allow $722 billion to be saved on the backs of the poorest people in the Nation. We will not allow people who consider themselves revolutionaries to wreck the civility of the Nation, to destroy 60 years of activity and programs. We will not let people go hungry, remain jobless, have less educational opportunity, without putting up the most stringent possible fight.

I appeal to the majority in this House, the people who represent the oppressive elite minority, to turn aside from their effort to create a budget and a game plan, a scheme, that envisages America only for a handful of people, only for a small class of people. We are looking at America for everybody, and we do not seek to throw overboard the most vulnerable. We will not continue to try to throw overboard the poor people in America. We will not continue to try to throw overboard the poor people in the cities. We will not continue to throw overboard the African-Americans among the poor people in the cities. We will not look at the most vulnerable population and attempt to demonize them and use them as a way of guaranteeing the next election.

There is a vicious set of activities in motion, and it is time for us to get angry and call them for what they are. We will challenge the oppressive elite minority, and in representation of the caring majority, we will prevail. The caring majority will counterattack in 1996, and those who are vicious, unyielding, uncivil, who refuse to try to create an America that belongs to everybody, will find that this democracy cannot be hoodwinked, the people cannot be stampeded into voting against their own interest. The caring majority will stand behind the most vulnerable in our society.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4, PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT OF 1995

Mr. SOLOMON, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104–85) on the resolution (H. Res. 119) providing for further consideration of the bill (H.R. 4) to restore the American family, reduce illegitimacy, control welfare spending and reduce welfare dependence, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

MEANINGFUL WELFARE REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, tonight with me are the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYWORTH] and the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS] in support of meaningful welfare reform that will help all of the people of the United States. We are here to speak out for a compassionate system which does not simply hand out cash and create a desperate cycle of dependence, but instead strengthens families, encourages work, and offers hope for the future.

As you can see from this diagram right here, the poverty paradox, the poverty rate and welfare spending. In the years of the Reagan administration, you will see we did not spend as much money on welfare, yet welfare went down. In the last 2 years, in the Clinton administration, more has been spent, and yet it has been a failed system of welfare.

We are offering an alternative here this week in the House of Representatives that we think is going to be meaningful for all families. We must bring an end to our current welfare system, which abuses its recipients. Nothing can be more cruel to children and families than the current failed policies.

Tonight my colleagues and I will discuss various sections of the Personal Responsibility Act which the House is considering this week. The bill addresses cash welfare, child protection, child care, family and school nutrition, alien eligibility, commodities and food stamps, SSI, and child support enforcement. Our bill, when it is passed, will allow millions of Americans to escape the cycle of poverty and learn the freedom, dignity, and responsibility that comes would work.

We need to evaluate the success of welfare, as the gentleman from Oklahoma, Mr. J.C. WATTS has said from our freshman class, not by how many people are on AFDC or on food stamps or in public housing, but how many people are no longer on AFDC, food stamps, and public housing.

In that spirit and with the help our good colleague from Arizona, the esteemed Member of the House of Representatives, J.D. HAYWORTH, I would like to yield to you to discuss the important cash welfare block grant program, of which you have been a leader.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and really, Mr. Speaker, before we get into this discussion, I see our good friend uncharacteristically sitting to the left of me, the esteemed chairman of the Committee on Rules, the Honorable JERRY SOLOMON of upstate New York. You have something you would like to say now, at this juncture?

Mr. SOLOMON. I want to commend you for this special order, but I am still waiting for the papers to file on the rule that will take up exactly what you are talking about here tomorrow. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank you very much. We all wait with interest to see what is hot off the presses in the Committee on Rules, and we thank the gentleman from upstate New York for his valuable service as the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. Speaker, it is good to see you in the chair tonight, as you represent so capably the good people of upstate South Carolina, and it is good to join my good friend from Pennsylvania standing in the well of the House, to address this topic.

It is not my intent to invoke any type of negativity in this debate tonight, Mr. Speaker, but I listened with great interest to the gentleman on the other side of the aisle who calls the State of New York his home, and listened to so much name calling, so much myth making, as we enter this great debate on welfare reform. And let there be no mistake, this will be a great debate.

But again, I would issue a challenge to our friends on the other side of the aisle to come forth with positive, positive welfare reform, because as my friend from Pennsylvania will attest, and indeed, since we are in our first term in the Congress, we have seen and certainly our friend who is the chairman of the Committee on Rules has been time and time again the phenomenon in this new 104th Congress of folks who I believe fairly could be referred to as the Yeah, buts. ''Yeah, we need welfare reform, but, the positive plan for change being offered inflicts too much pain.'' Indeed, I listened with interest to my good friend the Democrat from New York just a moment ago talk about the civility of this society being threatened.

Mr. Speaker, not only is the civility of our society being threatened, but