

kind of slash-and-burn week for women's rights, I will tell you, and everything has been slashed and burned that I am aware of.

I just hope it starts to get better. I really thank the gentleman from California for joining me in this. His daughter should be very proud.

As I say, as a mother of a son and a daughter, I do not think one needs more congressional guidance than the other. They are equal in my eyes. I think they ought to be equal in the eyes of the Congress.

Mr. FARR. I absolutely agree. I hope what we do need guidance for is America, wake up. Women in this country, wake up, come to Washington. We need to hear your voices. We need to hear your concerns. We need to change attitudes here in Washington that are taking away the rights you have as citizens of this country by denying you services which all other people in our society are entitled to.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

I think this is the 200th day of this Congress in which we have been in session 300 hours longer than we were at the same time last year, and we have done more damage to women and children, the elderly. It is really not a proud record.

MY ADVICE TO THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CRAPO). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 30 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, we are told every day about a revolution in Congress. Day after day, my colleagues from the other party, the Republican Party, advance one or another bill, and they call it or label it revolutionary.

But what is revolutionary about a bill that prohibits the government from updating and improving meat inspection? How is it revolutionary to prohibit cleaner, safer meat? And what is revolutionary about legislation that cuts environmental cleanup funds by one-third, or a bill that makes it impossibly expensive and cumbersome to protect delicate wetlands in our country?

Under this kind of legislation the Republicans advocate this year, the government would have to pay slave owners to emancipate their slaves if it was 130 years ago. In fact, the kind of things that the Republicans have talked about this year are purely and simply an effort to turn the clock back, to force us back into the darkest ages of economic exploitation.

For instance, their attitude on meat inspection is a rank arrogant betrayal of a fundamental premise of what was, at the turn of the century, a revolutionary reform, the commitment of the government to ensure that the Na-

tion's food supply is not contaminated and is safe to consume.

The back-door repeal of statutes designed to clean up the Earth, which we have been everything almost weekly, and prevent its further despoilation is simply a return to 19th century ideas that no one has any responsibility to either neighbor or to future generations.

The Republican agenda is not revolutionary. It is, plain and simple, an attack, an all-out attack on ordinary standards of decent human conduct. Decent human conduct requires that those who have great power and wealth to refrain from manufacturing and selling poisonous products, but the Republicans would say that 1906 meat inspection standards cannot be changed, cannot be made better, despite the fact that hundreds of people die every year from foul meat, and Republicans would say that land developers should be perfectly free to destroy wetlands despite the fact that these lands are the vital source of anything resembling a thriving national fishing industry.

These are not revolutionary ideas. They are merely the candles that quiet the tantrums of impatient, powerful, wealthy donors who feed endless millions of dollars into the political maw of this machine and who want nothing more than to exploit this country as ruthlessly as the robber barons did in a bygone era.

But I do not want to talk about the mindless cruelty of the present majority. These cruelties will soon enough be understood by the American people. Eventually they will have their distilled judgment as the full facts are known, and they will be, and who are smart enough to understand that this is merely a spreading of an endless banquet for the rich and the powerful and that the feast has been paid for by a vast transfer of wealth from ordinary wage-earners to the wealthier of those among us.

What I do want to talk about is the great pain and frustration that ordinary Americans feel today, the uncertainty they feel about the future.

The truth is that ordinary, law-abiding work-a-day Americans are themselves sliding backward in their feeling that they know they are. They are angry. Let there be no mistake, they are frustrated. Let there be no mistake in understanding that.

They went to see their lives get better, not worse. These frustrations are not the figments of anyone's imagination. They are the product of a real longstanding slide backward for most of our fellow citizens.

I pride myself in being in the most intimate contact one human being could have with those is that he has as actually serious responsibility that no one man could really fully fulfill to represent, a multitude, but in good faith tries to do so by being in immediate and most intimate contact.

It is understood from what I hear and where I meet every weekend when we

are in session and when we are not, I go nowhere but in the district, and the immediate beneficiaries of this frustration and anger are those that now have the power, the majority.

But their policies will make the problems worse, and they will not be able to gloat for too long.

Now, I belong to a party, and have been proud to do so since the beginning, that interprets as fundamental premise, as one that is very basic in what I tried to adhere to in all of my career, in my position first as a local representative, then as a State and now as a national since 1961.

Representation is what I have sought, no other kind of political elective office but this, and that is what I have best understood and strived to perform.

We have got to work in such ways and always at all times to redeem the great traumas of this Nation, its historic commitment that every person have a decent, hopefully rising, standard of living and being.

□ 1830

The American Revolution is not about the freedom to be exploited. It is about the freedom to political and religious expression, the freedom to be protected against an intrusive government, and it is about equal protection under the law, and it allows us the right to enjoy, above all, the fruits of your own labor.

By that standard the Republican Party on all levels fails. The Republicans are simply trying to install a whole new system of what is tantamount to exploitation exploitation of irreplaceable resources, exploitation of hard-pressed and lowly wage earners, exploitation of frustration and fear, which they hope can be used to keep quiet the very people that are being exploited.

The sad fact is the people of the country are playing a losing game. They are working harder, they are producing more, and they are being rewarded considerably less. I do not think there has been another time in modern history which this has happened that I can recall, and I have been aboard on this level now more than three decades, much more, approximating four, and I can tell you that that is my assessment.

Now it is a so-called white-collar worker whose own standard of living is declining, whose job security is threatened more and more every day, and it is a two-income family who now are finding it harder and harder to stay even or even to stay employed, and more and more professional workers are reduced to part-time employment or contract work, the equivalent of piecework in the old clothing-stitching factories, garment factories.

There were a plethora of them in the hard Depression period of my youth and that I can recall to this day, my aunts, and my mother and other relatives getting up at 4:30 in the morning, and all through the day, with the

exception of the middle of the week where I would accompany my aunt to go there because she could not speak English to this garment factory to deliver the hand-stitched products that day and night my mother and my aunts, my sister and all, would be doing during the week. What was the reward? A man at the window would pick that garment, and look at it, and examine it, and then, if he okayed it, it was 5 cents.

Of course I have got to translate here. With a nickel in that day and time you could buy a loaf of bread, you could buy a whole quart of milk, so there is no way to extrapolate those standards. The world has long gone by in which no power I would be able to summon could describe to my colleagues of these newer generations.

Now obviously the numbers indicate that job growth is taking place. But that job growth is in service and in retail jobs which are the low end of the economic pecking order. As a result, incomes have been going down collectively. For a while a family could stay even and perhaps even get ahead by having a second wage earner in the family, but presently even the number of two-earner families is shrinking, and we have more and more families that are less and less able to meet the daily necessities of life, a house or apartment, some kind of access to transportation, some way to buy clothing and food, and some way to pay for medical care.

Perhaps it is not too visible to a lot of us that have the comforts, good clothing, perhaps free of debt, good place to go home and sleep in comfort with all the creature comforts anybody could summon in today's living standards, have a full meal three times a day. It is hard to conceive, very hard to convey, of anybody not comfortable if we are comfortable.

We see the evidence of this desperation everywhere in the burgeoning numbers of beggars and homeless. I walk down the street here to go to the local drugstore or grocery store, and where it used to be that there would be none, in half a block I will encounter four mendicants pleading for a hand-out. That was not so since I came to the Congress until fairly recently of just a few years ago.

So the evidences are in the burgeoning numbers of beggars and homeless, and declining support for schools, and more and more people depending on government for health and medical care, and most all of it in the growing frustration and anger which sometimes expresses itself at the ballot box, and some seek to explain it by one wild conspiracy theory or another in which most express by a kind of cynical anger which has been most artfully exploited by radio talk shows.

We are not losing jobs because American workers are unproductive. In fact, productivity is up by 37 percent just during the last decade or the 10 years. That kind of productivity increase is

normally accompanied by an increase in real income, but that is not happening now. If you look at real earnings, that is earnings expressed in constant 1982 dollars, American workers today are earning 40 cents an hour less than they did 10 years ago. What is more, real wages in this country hit their peak in 1972, and I said so at the time and said at that time real income has dropped from \$8.55 an hour in constant dollars to \$7.30 an hour, a drop of \$1.25 an hour. To put it another way, American workers are about 12 percent poorer today than they were in 1972.

No wonder people have tried to supplement their incomes with a second job. No wonder so many are unable to even think about a new car for instance. Car prices have risen far faster than incomes, and so have the prices of housing, medical care, and the other essentials.

More and more Americans are being forced to take temporary jobs because companies do not want to hire full-time workers, and so the temporary-job business has increased by 50 percent in the past 5 years alone, and some 2¼, 2.25 million Americans, are so-called temps or temporaries. In other words, for every 10 Americans in a solid manufacturing job, there is 1 American who is hanging on by doing temporary work, work that pays few, if any, benefits, usually does not include health care, and pays less per hour for the same work as a regular employee would earn.

Even when jobs are not just disappearing, millions of Americans have seen employers transform these jobs into low-pay situations. A major airline, for instance, spun off its reservation business to a subsidiary owned by that same company. The subsidiary then told the employees they were welcome to the jobs, but the jobs would pay less than half the present rate. With that kind of story common, used every day, is it any wonder that housing starts today are 20 percent below the rate of a decade ago?

None of this is happening because corporate profits are too low. In fact, corporate profits are at record levels. This slide in wages is not happening because of high unemployment. Unemployment is less than 6 percent, the lowest in 6 years. The slide is not happening because of a stock market crash. The market has never been higher. What is happening is that fewer and fewer Americans are taking more and more of the economic pie, and so we are seeing a creeping pauperization of this country.

What saddens me is that the current majority in control wants to enact policies that would accelerate this pauperization. They would enact a tax system that would transfer more money from the poor to the rich. They will enact cuts in all kinds of programs, from education to Medicare, that we will pay for that transfer the wealth from the bottom to the top, and they would blame the social ills that

flow from all of this on the very poor victims themselves.

Sixty years ago the country was on the verge of a great class struggle. I was there and was of an age that had it indelibly imprinted in my mind, heart, and soul to this day. This was the age of the immense struggle over unionization. It was the age of the picketing line, the lockout, the violence that I witnessed in my hometown and the whole panoply of antilabor laws sought by industrialists who were determined to share no power with the workers of the Nation.

Today we hear our counterpart party Members, Republican Members, accusing Democrats of fomenting class warfare. That is not unlike the segregationist accusing civil rights protesters of being agitators. But the truth is, unless there is an injustice, unless there is a grievance, nobody gets excited by an orator who denounces something as evil or wrong.

The Republicans know that there is injustice, and, if they do not know, then they are far more dense than I ever will believe they are. They know that they are wrong. They should know that people are angry. But they want to blame all this on educators who are guilty of nothing more than telling the truth. If we are about to enter into some kind of class warfare, there can only be one reason for it. Too many people have been pushed too far. We need to understand the fact about what is happening in this country, and what is happening is that too many hard-working Americans are finding that they are losing ground no matter how hard they work, how hard they strive, how frugal they may be. Too many Americans are losing wages and benefits for no good reason at all because they know they are producing more and better goods and doing all the things they are supposed to do to make this a great and growing economy.

No wonder they are beginning to ask, "Well, what about me? What is my share?" No wonder they are asking why they cannot plan on being able to retire, or why they cannot afford to get ill, or why they cannot have a decent place to live.

Now there is no question about it because a party identifies itself with these policies. The Republican Party and its policies do not address any of this, and frankly I am not certain that my own party that I have adhered to, the Democrat Party, is doing much more either, which is a terribly sad confession to make to the people of this country who are in urgent need to have some reaction from those sources of power that have been built in their country as forces or institutions that are supposed to meet that. This is the premise for the existence of these two great parties, but twiddle-dee-dee, twiddle-dee-dum, when it comes to these basics, it hurts me. I have always identified as a Democrat, but then the choice was impossible to do otherwise in the manner I came up. But I must

say truthfully today, and I have spoken out, I have antagonized some of my so-called fellow Democrats both here and at home. So what? As we used to say, if the shoe fits, put it on.

So we will see a great, and growing and greater anger in this country. It does not take a genius to predict that. I have seen it. I have had it told, and I have visibly registered. I pride myself in coming from a level that I have never lost contact with the society back home, and I know of the frustration. I know that when people lose hope, then we have trouble. We will see a general revolt as people demand a fair share of the wealth they have helped to create.

□ 1845

As they demand a secure future for themselves and their families, as they demand a decent environment to live and work in.

Mr. Speaker, I hope and pray not to see that. I have seen it in my youth, and I recall to this day the bitterness and the anger and how the scars remained for at least some generations there. True, the Lord has been kind and has preserved me to witness the emergence from those dreary days, but I am fearful, I must confess.

I am never one to have been governed by fear. Fear, I think, is the big enemy all along. I have always tried to act not in reaction to fear, but with as detached and as cool as possible a judgment would enable me to see.

Those who think they saw agitation in the civil rights struggle, those who think they saw unrest during the Vietnam period, did not live through the squalid and violent times through the 1930's as I have, when the Army drove squatters from the Washington areas here with violence, when States tried to keep America from crossing their borders to find work, and when people did not hesitate to fight and die for the right to unionize, or even to protest.

I would not want to see the kind of deprivation that causes that, not again, when there is no need. God has blessed us. We must deserve that blessing too, and make sure that we have wisely and charitably and with consideration made use of this gift of plenty.

Mr. Speaker, if we are to avoid repeating history, I say to my colleagues, we must all listen better. We must all show compassion, and we must all show more concern for ordinary people than I have seen thus far this year, or indeed in recent years. Most of all, we must have a passion for justice that I see as almost entirely missing from this body today. A passion, a passion for justice, not just a desire or a hope, but a passion for justice. An unquieted, uninterrupted passion for justice. I have not seen it, unfortunately, not lately.

To those I say that the American people have never lost their thirst and passion for justice. It is there. They are crying out for it, maybe in a temporary wilderness, maybe not, and sooner or

later, one way or the other, they will be heard.

LOOKING BACK TO VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CRAPO). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. DORNAN. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Obviously, I am going to be the last speaker, and most of our colleagues are in automobiles and airplanes heading back to their districts across the country. I will be shortly myself back on the trail. I want to be respectful of our hard-working reporters of official debate. They are understaffed by three people at the end of the week, and this has been a particularly arduous week for them. They can begin a well-deserved rest after they put in the several, more than several hours compiling all of the records today at the end of the day.

So I do not intend to take the hour. I had thought I was going first. Next week is going to be more hectic than this week, and the week after that, before we take our August break, is going to be one rapidly-moving treadmill. But I have something that I must get out to the American people through C-SPAN. There are not many folks in the gallery tonight, and I want this on the record. I will send the written RECORD to people. But it is important.

As with most of my presentations, I will put a bit more energy into it to hold onto my audience than the two preceding presentations. You always like to have a good lead-in with a lot of energy and an exciting topic so you do not lose the C-SPAN audience to the evening news, which is filled with more terror and modern American controversy.

I have promised people in all 50 States, as I have been out there on the campaign trail, that I will do something about McNamara, Robert Strange McNamara's insulting book, cruel book, ripping open the wounds of Vietnam, rending the hearts of now aging mothers and dads and beautiful young widows that are now in middle age with grown up children, and children who were toddlers that are not in their thirties, early forties, late twenties, with families of their own who are still trying to find answers for the agony of Vietnam. Both POW/missing-in-action groups are in town, the League of Families and the Alliance of Families of our missing. I made promises to them.

I believe that of all people to end up in the White House, William Jefferson Blythe Clinton was the last human being of all the 42 Presidents, or anybody who has ever run for President, to normalize relations with war criminals in Hanoi who broke every single paragraph and line, who violated every letter of the spirit and the intent of the Paris peace accords worked out be-

tween Le Duc Tho, war criminal, and Henry Kissinger, never described as naive, but certainly naive in this case; they violated all of it. The Communist rulers in Hanoi today, and we see other Members of the other Chamber, the United States Senate, going over there on John F. Kennedy's funeral airplane, literally Kennedy's Air Force One that brought his broken body home from Dallas, the very plane that Lyndon Baines Johnson became President on, the 36th President of the United States, sworn in on that airplane.

That airplane, on a nonbipartisan trip, all members of one party, all of them liberals, all of them with \$12.50 per diem in their pockets, on their way to Hanoi and Saigon to congratulate the war criminals for their victory over at least three of the dominoes, South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Mr. Speaker, I have been doing a lot of thinking about my last two special orders where I said I had made an historical statement on this floor, and that I was going to stand by it. My words were taken down, my speaking privileges were removed for the day. I could have appealed the ruling of the Chair. In retrospect, I thought it would have been an easy party line victory that was an historical statement that I used against Mr. Clinton.

I have rethought it, and I said I would do it again on the floor, and I probably will not. There are many ways to discuss history without using words and trying to understand why decent men who are parliamentarians found three simple words worthy of being stricken from the RECORD.

Let me approach this gingerly. Here is the U.S. Constitution. A handful of us carry it around with us almost every day, try to have it every day. Here is article 3, section 3. It gives the definition of treason against the United States.

When the Constitution was written, the United States were always spoken of in plural. As any historian will tell you, this ended with the Civil War where we became truly one union, one entity. So I will explain this as I read section 3, article 3. It said, Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them. "Them" means the plural of the handful of States that existed then, the 13 agricultural Colonies of the original United States. It shall consist only in levying war, and war is capitalized, against them. Or, in adhering to their, all 13 States, Enemies, with a capital E, giving them Aid, with a capital A, a simple word, and Comfort, with a capital C.

So there is where the term came from. Aid and Comfort, capital A, capital C, and adhering to their enemies, plural. New sentence: No person shall be convicted of treason unless, on the testimony, for some reason testimony is capitalized, of two witnesses, witnesses capitalized, to the same overt act, two witnesses to an overt act, of