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House of Representatives

The House met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. SMITH of Michigan].

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
April 10, 1997.

I hereby designate the Honorable NICK SMITH to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NEWT GINGRICH,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray. Strengthen our hearts and minds and spirits, O God, so that we will be good custodians of the responsibilities that have been given to us. As we seek to do our duties with fairness and regard for each other, remind us again of the gift of listening and understanding. May we expound our positions and solutions when we have listened and learned, when we have grasped and understood what is said to us. Let us comprehend the truth that is available to us so we speak and act and think in ways that honor Your creation and are of service to all people. This is our earnest prayer. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. BOSWELL]

come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. BOSWELL led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will entertain ten 1-minutes on each side.

FOLLOWING THROUGH ON OUR CAMPAIGN PROMISES

(Mr. HUTCHINSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, should a candidate's promise be taken seriously? It is funny that I should even ask that question because when I talk to my constituents in Arkansas every week I am constantly reminded that they expect me to follow through on my promises.

The Republican Party told the voters in 1994 and 1996 that we favored lowered taxes and smaller government. The voters believed we were serious about our promises and supported us in each of those years. In 1992, our present President campaigned on the theme of lowering taxes on working Americans. For some reason the people believed him and supported and put him into office.

It happens time and time again that the voters take us seriously, and yet performance does not come through. Cutting taxes is the most direct way to transfer power from Washington back to the people who earn the money in the first place.

Mr. Speaker, we must know that the voters take us seriously when we make promises, and we must fulfill our prom-

ises on tax cuts for working Americans. Let us keep our promises and cut taxes now.

SECURING LONG-TERM HEALTH CARE FOR VETERANS

(Mr. BOSWELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. BOSWELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which when enacted will modify the treatment of certain benefits received by veterans who reside in State veterans homes and whose health care and treatment is paid for by the Medicaid Program. It is because of my deep concern for the stability of these veterans homes and for the long-term care of my fellow veterans that I introduce this legislation.

The situation was first brought to my attention by Jack Dack, commandant of the Iowa Veteran's Home in Marshalltown, IA. I have personally toured the Marshalltown State veterans home. This facility is a source of pride to me and other Iowa veterans. The Marshalltown home provides an outstanding level of service for Iowa's veterans who have carried our Nation's flag and are in need of health services. Without this reform, and all of my colleagues should take note, the ability of 33 State veterans homes in 17 States will be placed in jeopardy.

So I submit this legislation because of my commitment to maintaining the long-term health care to our Nation's veterans, and I urge my colleagues to cosponsor this important legislation designed to maintain our commitment to quality health care for our Nation's veterans.

□ 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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TEN REASONS WHY CONGRESS MUST PASS A TAX CUT

(Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I have an apology to make this morning. I need to apologize because I at the moment can only think of 10 good reasons why Congress must absolutely pass a tax cut.

No. 1, I promised my constituents that I would; No. 2, I am not satisfied with the current economic growth rate; No. 3, cutting taxes will take power away from Washington and put more power into the hands of workers; No. 4, fundamentally I believe that people know better how to spend their own money than do politicians in Washington; No. 5, the current tax burden is 39 percent of income for an average family, and it is way too high; No. 6, I do not think it is fair that workers should have to hand over almost one-third or more of their income to the Government that wastes it on failed social programs; No. 7, higher take-home pay means workers will not have to work as much overtime, which means that workers will have more free time; No. 8, more workers will be able to take a vacation this year; and No. 9, more Americans will be able to start paying off those credit card debts; and No. 10, it is the right thing to do.

OUR VETS DESERVE THE TRUTH

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, thousands of gulf war vets have complained about nerve gas problems to no avail, and after all this the CIA now admits they had warnings as early as 1984 that Iraq had stored nerve gas in their ammunition depots that were later blown up by American troops. Unbelievable. The CIA now says they did not tell the Pentagon and it was a mistake.

Beam me up, Mr. Speaker. I do not believe the CIA, and when thousands of gulf war vets are treated like whining hypochondriacs something is very wrong. I say these vets deserve the truth and the help of Congress.

Furthermore, I say to my colleagues, if we want to balance the budget, we could save \$30 billion in our intelligence budget by hiring Barney Fife, who will do a much better job and be a hell of a lot more honest.

THE POWER TO TAX IS NOT THE POWER TO DESTROY

(Mr. JONES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. JONES. Mr. Speaker, the most distinguished jurist in American history, Oliver Wendell Holmes, understood perfectly the dangers of an oppressive tax system. In a famous 1928

case Justice Holmes wrote, and I quote, "The power to tax is not the power to destroy while this Court sits."

Mr. Speaker, how many new businesses fail because the tax man seizes too much of what little profit that business makes. How many new businesses would have succeeded if they had not been burdened by tax bills they could not afford? How many businesses decided not to expand because taxes could eat away at the profits? How many businesses decided to locate overseas to escape a tax code that punishes job creation?

Justice Holmes understood even back in 1928 that when the tax burden becomes oppressive enterprises are destroyed and jobs are lost. Sixty-nine years later it is time to learn the lesson; it is time to cut taxes on businesses and let job creation flourish.

LET US PASS THE FAIR PAY ACT

(Ms. VELÁZQUEZ asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Fair Pay Act. It is shameful that such a law is necessary, but it is. While my Republican colleagues have spent the first hundred days of this Congress on extended vacation let me assure my colleagues that the women of this Nation have been out there working hard for a lot less money.

Mr. Speaker, how it is possible that women have to work until April 11 to make what men earned the year before for the same work. How do we allow employers to continue to discriminate against women by paying them 72 cents for every dollar they pay their male employees.

The Fair Pay Act requires employers to pay equal wages for equal work. This bill would also prohibit wage discrimination based on race and national origin.

In 1992, Hispanic women earned half as much as white men for compatible work, half as much. This is a disgrace. It is time to send a message that we will no longer tolerate this. Let us pass the Fair Pay Act.

THE GREATEST GIFT THIS CONGRESS CAN GIVE OUR CHILDREN

(Mr. ROGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROGAN. Mr. Speaker, about 30 years ago a distinguished Member of the other body wrote a book entitled "The Arrogance of Power," and since becoming a Member of Congress this year that title has haunted me, because nowhere has that arrogance been shown greater than in the oppressive tax system that the Congress of the United States has allowed to be developed over the last 30 or 40 years. We now have a tax system that rewards political friends at the expense of America's families.

Somebody asked me yesterday at a press conference what does it mean for America if we truly reform the Tax Code, and what it means is that every man, woman, and child in this country will no longer see an arrogance where Washington thinks they know better and they have more compassion and spending the money that is being earned by America's families.

We are going to abolish that arrogance in this Congress. We are going to reform taxes, we are going to give America back to the Americans, and we are going to restore the future of this financial security for our children. That is the greatest gift this Congress can give our children.

JOIN THE FIGHT TO CUT HEALTH CARE TO PAY FOR TAX BREAKS FOR THOSE WHO NEED IT LEAST

(Ms. DELAURO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, 30 years ago this country made a pact with senior citizens: Work hard all your life and you will be assured of health care coverage when you need it most.

Today the Medicare Program is one of our Nation's great success stories.

Yesterday my Republican colleague the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH] stated that billions of dollars in additional cuts were needed in the Medicare Program. Meanwhile, Speaker GINGRICH announced a new Republican effort to eliminate all taxes on capital gains. These are the tax cuts, my colleagues, that overwhelmingly benefit the wealthiest 5 percent of Americans versus 37 million seniors who have Medicare.

Looks like my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are up to their old tricks, slashing Medicare to pay for tax cuts for the rich.

Democrats in this Congress pledge today to continue to stand up for our Nation's seniors. We are going to fight these Republican efforts to cut the health care of those who need it the most to pay for tax breaks for those who need it least. They are afraid to put their budget on paper; that is why they will not produce a budget. They do not want it there.

Read between the lines. It is the same old story: Medicare cuts to pay for tax cuts.

SCARING SENIOR CITIZENS IN ORDER TO GET REELECTED

(Mr. SCARBOROUGH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, there they go again. There they go again.

Now the Washington Post called what they are taking under here, called it medagogy. Ted Koppel in "Nightline" talked about how the Democrats were scaring senior citizens

to try to get reelected. In fact they called it Mediscare. What we are seeing are a group of people who were so afraid to save the system that the President's own Medicare advisers said was going bankrupt that they will resort to anything to get reelected.

□ 1015

It was the President's task force that said we must save Medicare. So we did something radical. We said we would allow Medicare to grow at 7.2 percent. The President said, let us let it grow at 7.4 percent, and we were told we wanted to destroy the system.

Well, I agree with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. TRAFICANT]. Mr. Speaker, if saving Medicare is being mean to senior citizens, beam me up, because I do not understand this place anymore.

WHERE IS REPUBLICAN BUDGET?

(Mr. WISE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, what the gentleman who preceded me in the well did not say was that his party does not have a budget that explains how we make these cuts, whether they be Medicare cuts or tax cuts. Indeed, this Congress just returned from what I thought was the Easter break, but hearing the Speaker's comments yesterday promising massive tax cuts made it sound more like a political Christmas.

It was only 2 years ago that Members of the Republican Party paraded into this well to say, where is the White House budget? Well, what a difference 2 years makes. Now the conservative Democrats have presented the so-called blue dog budget, the White House has presented its balanced budget. What has the reaction been? The Republican Congressional Budget Office says it is not balanced enough, but they presented no budget of their own.

Then they say the Medicare cuts are not deep enough. They presented no budget of their own. Yesterday the Speaker promised eliminating all capital gains. That is about \$40 billion a year, the mass of the benefits going to the wealthiest individuals in the country, and yet no budget has been presented.

So here is my challenge to the other party. When you demand cuts, put a budget on the table before you come to the table.

HATCH AND KENNEDY ARE RIGHT

(Mrs. ROUKEMA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to do what is right for the children of America.

Senators HATCH and KENNEDY have developed bold new legislation in the other body designed to protect the

physical health of our children, and we in the House should also support this legislation. It has bipartisan support and deserves our support.

There are three major components to it: A block grant to allow the States to provide the health insurance coverage, which is paid for by a tax or a user fee on cigarettes that not only will pay for the program but also discourage youth from smoking in the first place. One-third of the revenues, and I say specifically to my Republican colleagues like myself who are fiscally conservative, one-third of those revenues will be used to reduce the budget deficit and stop mortgaging children's futures.

The health of our children is far too valuable to allow it to be threatened by a lack of adequate health insurance. There is no area where health insurance and preventive care brings more rewards. It is cost-effective as well as being humane, and it deserves the support, bipartisan support, such as Senators HATCH and KENENDY have already developed.

MORE TAX CUTS FOR THE RICH

(Mr. MENENDEZ asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, when I woke up to today's papers, I read the latest idea of the Republican leadership's do-nothing Congress, which is to go ahead and give 1,400 of the wealthiest families in this country a \$4.6 billion giveaway by eliminating all estate taxes, and that is what it amounts to, over \$4 billion to only 1,400 families in this country.

This is not relief, which we want to see in estate taxes, this is a giveaway, at the same time that my colleagues say that Medicare cuts are not big enough on millions of senior citizens in this country, and with 10 million children in this country who have no health care opportunity whatsoever.

Now, to think that this is, in essence, what my Republican colleagues are headed toward in their budget describes why they do not have a budget, because there is no way to plug up those holes. Deal with the deficit, balance the budget, and take care of the needs of this Nation. Who are you for, and who are you against?

Mr. Speaker, with this policy, what my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are telling us is, they are against our seniors, against our children, and for the wealthiest people in this country who do not need that type of assistance. That is simply wrong.

AMERICANS SHOULD FIGHT FOR TAX RELIEF

(Mr. TIAHRT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TIAHRT. Mr. Speaker, in 1980 the Federal revenue was about \$500 billion.

We then had the Reagan tax cuts, and by 1990 the Federal revenue was over \$1 trillion. It doubled in a decade. Mr. Speaker, if we could double our Federal revenue in the next decade, we would go from an income or revenue of \$1.5 trillion to \$3 trillion. We could balance the Federal budget with \$3 trillion income.

However, the opponents to tax relief say you cannot cut estate taxes, which we all know as death taxes. We are taxed all of our lives, and then now we have a tax when people die. We cannot eliminate death taxes, because that is only 1,400 people. We cannot cut capital gains taxes, because that is only the wealthy. We cannot even give tax relief to families, \$500 per child, because there is no revenue generated from that.

Well, this country can get tax relief. We are taxed too high, and we can do it and still see an increase in the Federal revenue. Do not believe all the demagoguery. Fight for tax relief. I urge my colleagues to vote for tax relief as soon as we can get it to the floor.

TAX CUTS FOR THE RICH, MEDICARE CUTS FOR SENIORS

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, we have been here before. Last year Speaker GINGRICH attempted to give tax breaks to the richest citizens of this country and pay for them by cutting Medicare at \$250 billion. The American people stopped that.

This year, as April 15 approaches and Americans are rushing to pay their taxes, Speaker GINGRICH, who himself still owes the Federal Government \$300,000 in fines, Speaker GINGRICH is back. He wants more tax breaks for the wealthiest people and more cuts for Medicare.

Yesterday Speaker GINGRICH, appealing to his wealthiest contributors in the Republican Party, advocated a huge tax break for the wealthiest 5 percent of Americans. At the same time, the Republican chairman of the Committee on the Budget yesterday said he wants more Medicare cuts.

The Gingrich team is doing it again: Tax cuts for the richest 1 percent, Medicare cuts for 37 million senior citizens. That is wrong.

AMERICANS ARE OVERTAXED

(Mr. KINGSTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, the previous speaker spoke about what is wrong. What is wrong is to lie to the American people and say something is a cut when it is not a cut. The Republican Medicare proposal last year increased Medicare funding \$190 billion to \$270 billion. That is not a cut.

Now, if my colleagues on the other side say it is a cut, either they have a

huge math disorder or they are a liar, period. I certainly would hope that we have a math disorder on the other side that maybe we can reach out through one of the 706 social programs sponsored by the Department of Education and help those who failed in mathematics to understand. They are getting paid \$134,000 a year to serve in the U.S. Congress. They ought to be able to know an increase from a decrease, and then they ought to have the forthrightness to be truthful about it.

Mr. Speaker, the situation is this: The American people are overtaxed; Medicare has gone broke; we have a proposal to fix it. They are separate issues. Balancing the budget is a separate issue. The Speaker offered the President a balanced budget without tax cuts. The President is the one who has rejected it, not the Speaker. We are trying to work with the other side. We are not trying to fight them.

KIDS AND GUNS DO NOT MIX

(Mr. BLAGOJEVICH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BLAGOJEVICH. Mr. Speaker, permit me to gently change the subject. I would like to talk about kids and guns today.

Mr. Speaker, according to a recent study of gun deaths by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, children in the United States are 12 times more likely to die because of a firearm than children in other industrial countries. The United States had the highest gun-related child homicides and the highest rate of child suicides of 26 industrial nations in the study. There is not even a close second.

Between 1965, Mr. Speaker, and 1995, the percentage of murders committed by people under 21 in my hometown of Chicago went from 10 percent to nearly 40 percent. Over the same 30-year time span, the number of murders committed nationally by those under 21 increased fivefold. Today, 18- and 19-year-olds account for the largest percentage of violent crime arrests in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, these sobering facts can lead to only one conclusion: Kids and guns do not mix. I urge my colleagues to support my bill that would ban ownership of handguns for anyone under 21.

CHILDREN FIRST IN EDUCATION ACT

(Mr. PITTS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask my colleagues to support the Children First in Education Act, a bill which would direct 95 percent of our Federal education dollars to our local school classrooms. For too long we have been satisfied with the mediocre performance of sending from 50 to 80 percent of Federal funds to local com-

munities. That means over 20 cents, at least, of every education dollar intended for local schools gets lost in the bureaucracy. This can be improved.

Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks, I visited with students, teachers, and administrators in schools like McCaskey High School in Lancaster City. Here I witnessed a topnotch education atmosphere, yet one which could be enhanced by getting Federal funds directly into the hands of someone who knows your child's name.

Mr. Speaker, if this act is passed, out of a total of \$15 billion federally, approximately \$3 billion more would get directly to our kids. That is more than \$70 per student per year, money which could be used for new textbooks, teachers' aides, and learning materials.

I urge my colleagues to join in sponsoring and cosponsoring the Children First in Education Act.

ARC ROAD PROGRAM BENEFITS OUR ECONOMY

(Mr. STRICKLAND asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. STRICKLAND. Mr. Speaker, I was dismayed by a letter I received yesterday from the chairman of the House Committee on the Budget. It seems that he considers the Appalachian Regional Commission's road-building program corporate welfare, saying that it is used to, quote, "link well-to-do urban centers with other well-to-do urban centers".

Now, perhaps that is the case with road-building programs in Columbus, OH, but I can assure my colleagues that, in my part of Ohio, ARC road funds are used to bring economic development and jobs to remote communities.

Other regions take good roads for granted while the Appalachian people do without. The ARC road program was a promise the Federal Government made to the American people of Appalachia in 1965. It is now 77 percent complete. It is not corporate welfare, it is basic infrastructure.

I am hopeful that the good chairman will reconsider his assertions about the worth of this essential program. We need to finish the job and to keep our commitment to the people. The taxpayers in my district want concrete results. We need pavement, not broken promises.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT NEEDS TO ACT

(Mr. BOEHNER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, last December while I was on vacation with my family, I used my wife's cell phone to talk to some of my colleagues. A few weeks later I found that the conversation was all over the newspapers, and I had found out that a couple of Democrat activists had broken the law and

eavesdropped on my conversation, the equivalent of wiretapping. I saw them all over the television talking about how they had come to Washington and given this tape to Democrats in this House; yes, in this very House; and how just a day or two later transcripts of my private conversation wound up in the newspapers.

Mr. Speaker, I was mad, and so were some of my colleagues, and we demanded that the Justice Department get to the bottom of this matter.

Well, Mrs. Reno can move pretty quickly when she wants to. She got a grand jury together within days after a Republican committee chairman was accused by a Democrat activist of improper activities, but when it came to IRS agents snooping in our taxpayers' files or Democrats snooping in on private phone conversations or the Democrat National Committee accepting Chinese campaign checks, or the Vice President making telephone calls from the White House, she can drag her heels along with the best of them.

Mr. Speaker, Tapegate is so open and shut of a case that even Barney Fife could have solved it in a day. I have written her that I want an answer by tomorrow, and so far I have not heard a peep.

□ 1030

If we do not hear by tomorrow, we are going to have to hold the Democrats in this House accountable for what they did.

HAPPY APRIL FOOLS DAY

(Mr. DEFAZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, a few listening realize that Congress has extraordinary power. One of those powers is to change the calendar and the time of day during a legislative session. So the Republican leadership has declared today to be April Fools Day, if Members have been listening to the speeches.

If we take the top 1 percent of the people in this country, they own 40 percent of the wealth. They are telling us from that side of the aisle, if we take the top 1 percent who own 40 percent of the wealth in America and exempt them from all taxation, we will balance the budget. No inheritance taxes for the top 1 percent who own 40 percent of the wealth, no capital gains taxes for the top 1 percent who own 40 percent of the wealth, but we will balance the budget.

How is that? Because the little people will pay taxes. All the little people who work for those folks will pay taxes, and we will have a balanced budget.

Is it not a wonderful world? Is it not great? We have to love this country. If we exempt the wealthy from paying taxes, we will balance the budget. The problem today that we do not have a

balanced budget is because the wealthy are paying a little bit of taxes. If they do not pay any, we will all be better off.

Ho, ho, ho, happy April Fools Day.

ASSISTED SUICIDE FUNDING RESTRICTION ACT OF 1997

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 1003) to clarify Federal law with respect to restricting the use of Federal funds in support of assisted suicide, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 1003

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Findings and purpose.
- Sec. 3. Restriction on use of Federal funds under health care programs.
- Sec. 4. Restriction on use of Federal funds under certain grant programs under the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act.
- Sec. 5. Restriction on use of Federal funds by advocacy programs.
- Sec. 6. Restriction on use of other Federal funds.
- Sec. 7. Clarification with respect to advance directives.
- Sec. 8. Application to District of Columbia.
- Sec. 9. Conforming amendments.
- Sec. 10. Relation to other laws.
- Sec. 11. Effective date.
- Sec. 12. *Suicide prevention (including assisted suicide).*

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) The Federal Government provides financial support for the provision of and payment for health care services, as well as for advocacy activities to protect the rights of individuals.

(2) Assisted suicide, euthanasia, and mercy killing have been criminal offenses throughout the United States and, under current law, it would be unlawful to provide services in support of such illegal activities.

(3) Because of recent legal developments, it may become lawful in areas of the United States to furnish services in support of such activities.

(4) Congress is not providing Federal financial assistance in support of assisted suicide, euthanasia, and mercy killing and intends that Federal funds not be used to promote such activities.

(b) PURPOSE.—It is the principal purpose of this Act to continue current Federal policy by providing explicitly that Federal funds may not be used to pay for items and services (including assistance) the purpose of which is to cause (or assist in causing) the suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing of any individual.

SEC. 3. RESTRICTION ON USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS UNDER HEALTH CARE PROGRAMS.

(a) RESTRICTION ON FEDERAL FUNDING OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES.—Subject to subsection (b), no funds appropriated by Congress for the purpose of paying (directly or

indirectly) for the provision of health care services may be used—

(1) to provide any health care item or service furnished for the purpose of causing, or for the purpose of assisting in causing, the death of any individual, such as by assisted suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing;

(2) to pay (directly, through payment of Federal financial participation or other matching payment, or otherwise) for such an item or service, including payment of expenses relating to such an item or service; or

(3) to pay (in whole or in part) for health benefit coverage that includes any coverage of such an item or service or of any expenses relating to such an item or service.

(b) CONSTRUCTION AND TREATMENT OF CERTAIN SERVICES.—Nothing in subsection (a), or in any other provision of this Act (or in any amendment made by this Act), shall be construed to create apply to or to affect any limitation relating to—

(1) the withholding or withdrawing of medical treatment or medical care;

(2) the withholding or withdrawing of nutrition or hydration;

(3) abortion; or

(4) the use of an item, good, benefit, or service furnished for the purpose of alleviating pain or discomfort, even if such use may increase the risk of death, so long as such item, good, benefit, or service is not also furnished for the purpose of causing, or the purpose of assisting in causing, death, for any reason.

(c) LIMITATION ON FEDERAL FACILITIES AND EMPLOYEES.—Subject to subsection (b), with respect to health care items and services furnished—

(1) by or in a health care facility owned or operated by the Federal government, or

(2) by any physician or other individual employed by the Federal government to provide health care services within the scope of the physician's or individual's employment, no such item or service may be furnished for the purpose of causing, or for the purpose of assisting in causing, the death of any individual, such as by assisted suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing.

(d) LIST OF PROGRAMS TO WHICH RESTRICTIONS APPLY.—

(1) FEDERAL HEALTH CARE FUNDING PROGRAMS.—Subsection (a) applies to funds appropriated under or to carry out the following:

(A) MEDICARE PROGRAM.—Title XVIII of the Social Security Act.

(B) MEDICAID PROGRAM.—Title XIX of the Social Security Act.

(C) TITLE XX SOCIAL SERVICES BLOCK GRANT.—Title XX of the Social Security Act.

(D) MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH BLOCK GRANT PROGRAM.—Title V of the Social Security Act.

(E) PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT.—The Public Health Service Act.

(F) INDIAN HEALTH CARE IMPROVEMENT ACT.—The Indian Health Care Improvement Act.

(G) FEDERAL EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFITS PROGRAM.—Chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code.

(H) MILITARY HEALTH CARE SYSTEM (INCLUDING TRICARE AND CHAMPUS PROGRAMS).—Chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code.

(I) VETERANS MEDICAL CARE.—Chapter 17 of title 38, United States Code.

(J) HEALTH SERVICES FOR PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS.—Section 5(e) of the Peace Corps Act (22 U.S.C. 2504(e)).

(K) MEDICAL SERVICES FOR FEDERAL PRISONERS.—Section 4005(a) of title 18, United States Code.

(2) FEDERAL FACILITIES AND PERSONNEL.—The provisions of subsection (c) apply to facilities and personnel of the following:

(A) MILITARY HEALTH CARE SYSTEM.—The Department of Defense operating under chapter 55 of title 10, United States Code.

(B) VETERANS MEDICAL CARE.—The Veterans Health Administration of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

(C) PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.—The Public Health Service.

(3) NONEXCLUSIVE LIST.—Nothing in this subsection shall be construed as limiting the application of subsection (a) to the programs specified in paragraph (1) or the application of subsection (c) to the facilities and personnel specified in paragraph (2).

SEC. 4. RESTRICTION ON USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS UNDER CERTAIN GRANT PROGRAMS UNDER THE DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES ASSISTANCE AND BILL OF RIGHTS ACT.

Subject to section 3(b) (relating to construction and treatment of certain services), no funds appropriated by Congress to carry out part B, D, or E of the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act may be used to support or fund any program or service which has a purpose of assisting in procuring any item, benefit, or service furnished for the purpose of causing, or the purpose of assisting in causing, the death of any individual, such as by assisted suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing.

SEC. 5. RESTRICTION ON USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS BY ADVOCACY PROGRAMS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to section 3(b) (relating to construction and treatment of certain services), no funds appropriated by Congress may be used to assist in, to support, or to fund any activity or service which has a purpose of assisting in, or to bring suit or provide any other form of legal assistance for the purpose of—

(1) securing or funding any item, benefit, program, or service furnished for the purpose of causing, or the purpose of assisting in causing, the suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing of any individual;

(2) compelling any person, institution, governmental entity to provide or fund any item, benefit, program, or service for such purpose; or

(3) asserting or advocating a legal right to cause, or to assist in causing, the suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing of any individual.

(b) LIST OF PROGRAMS TO WHICH RESTRICTIONS APPLY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) applies to funds appropriated under or to carry out the following:

(A) PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY SYSTEMS UNDER THE DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES ASSISTANCE AND BILL OF RIGHTS ACT.—Part C of the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act.

(B) PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY SYSTEMS UNDER THE PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY FOR MENTALLY ILL INDIVIDUALS ACT.—The Protection and Advocacy for Mentally Ill Individuals Act of 1986.

(C) PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY SYSTEMS UNDER THE REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973.—Section 509 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794e).

(D) OMBUDSMAN PROGRAMS UNDER THE OLDER AMERICANS ACT OF 1965.—Ombudsman programs under the Older Americans Act of 1965.

(E) LEGAL ASSISTANCE.—Legal assistance programs under the Legal Services Corporation Act.

(2) NONEXCLUSIVE LIST.—Nothing in this subsection shall be construed as limiting the application of subsection (a) to the programs specified in paragraph (1).

SEC. 6. RESTRICTION ON USE OF OTHER FEDERAL FUNDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to section 3(b) (relating to construction and treatment of certain services) and subsection (b) of this

section, no funds appropriated by the Congress shall be used to provide, procure, furnish, or fund any item, good, benefit, activity, or service, furnished or performed for the purpose of causing, or assisting in causing, the suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing of any individual.

(b) NONDUPLICATION.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to funds to which section 3, 4, or 5 applies, except that subsection (a), rather than section 3, shall apply to funds appropriated to carry out title 10, United States Code (other than chapter 55), title 18, United States Code (other than section 4005(a)), and chapter 37 of title 28, United States Code.

SEC. 7. CLARIFICATION WITH RESPECT TO ADVANCE DIRECTIVES.

Subject to section 3(b) (relating to construction and treatment of certain services), sections 1866(f) and 1902(w) of the Social Security Act shall not be construed—

(1) to require any provider or organization, or any employee of such a provider or organization, to inform or counsel any individual regarding any right to obtain an item or service furnished for the purpose of causing, or the purpose of assisting in causing, the death of the individual, such as by assisted suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing; or

(2) to apply to or to affect any requirement with respect to a portion of an advance directive that directs the purposeful causing of, or the purposeful assisting in causing, the death of any individual, such as by assisted suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing.

SEC. 8. APPLICATION TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

For purposes of this Act, the term “funds appropriated by Congress” includes funds appropriated to the District of Columbia pursuant to an authorization of appropriations under title V of the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act and the term “Federal government” includes the government of the District of Columbia.

SEC. 9. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(a) MEDICARE PROGRAM.—

(1) FUNDING.—Section 1862(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395y(a)) is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (14);

(B) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (15) and inserting “; or”; and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (15) the following new paragraph:

“(16) in the case in which funds may not be used for such items and services under the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(2) ADVANCE DIRECTIVES.—Section 1866(f) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1395cc(f)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) For construction relating to this subsection, see section 7 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997 (relating to clarification respecting assisted suicide, euthanasia, and mercy killing).”

(b) MEDICAID PROGRAM.—

(1) FUNDING.—Section 1903(i) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(i)) is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (14);

(B) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (15) and inserting “; or”; and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (15) the following new paragraph:

“(16) with respect to any amount expended for which funds may not be used under the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(2) ADVANCE DIRECTIVES.—Section 1902(w) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(w)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) For construction relating to this subsection, see section 7 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997 (relating to clarification respecting assisted suicide, euthanasia, and mercy killing).”

(c) TITLE XX BLOCK GRANT PROGRAM.—Section 2005(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397d(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (8);

(2) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (9) and inserting “; or”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(10) in a manner inconsistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(d) MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH BLOCK GRANT PROGRAM.—Section 501(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 701(a)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“Funds appropriated under this section may only be used in a manner consistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(e) PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT.—Title II of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 201 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

“SEC. 246. RESTRICTION ON USE OF FUNDS FOR ASSISTED SUICIDE, EUTHANASIA, AND MERCY KILLING.

“Appropriations for carrying out the purposes of this Act shall not be used in a manner inconsistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(f) INDIAN HEALTH CARE IMPROVEMENT ACT.—Title II of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act (25 U.S.C. 1621 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS

“SEC. 225. Amounts appropriated to carry out this title may not be used in a manner inconsistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(g) FEDERAL EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFIT PROGRAM.—Section 8902 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(o) A contract may not be made or a plan approved which includes coverage for any benefit, item, or service for which funds may not be used under the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(h) MILITARY HEALTH CARE PROGRAM.—Section 1073 of title 10, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following: “This chapter shall be administered consistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(i) VETERANS’ MEDICAL CARE PROGRAM.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter I of chapter 17 of title 38, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“§1707. Restriction on use of funds for assisted suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing

“Funds appropriated to carry out this chapter may not be used for purposes that are inconsistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections at the beginning of such chapter is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 1706 the following new item:

“1707. Restriction on use of funds for assisted suicide, euthanasia, or mercy killing.”

(j) HEALTH CARE PROVIDED FOR PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS.—Section 5(e) of the Peace Corps Act (22 U.S.C. 2504(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following: “Health care may not be provided under this subsection in a manner inconsistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(k) MEDICAL SERVICES FOR FEDERAL PRISONERS.—Section 4005(a) of title 18, United

States Code, is amended by inserting “and to the extent consistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997” after “Upon request of the Attorney General”.

(l) DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES AND BILL OF RIGHTS ACT.—

(1) STATE PLANS REGARDING DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES COUNCILS.—Section 122(c)(5)(A) of the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act (42 U.S.C. 6022(c)(5)(A)) is amended—

(A) in clause (vi), by striking “and” after the semicolon at the end;

(B) in clause (vii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following clause:

“(viii) such funds will be used consistent with the section 4 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(2) LEGAL ACTIONS BY PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY SYSTEMS.—Section 142(h) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 6042(h)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) LIMITATION.—The systems may only use assistance provided under this chapter consistent with section 5 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(3) UNIVERSITY AFFILIATED PROGRAMS.—Section 152(b)(5) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 6062(b)(5)) is amended by adding at the end the following: “Such grants shall not be used in a manner inconsistent with section 4 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(4) GRANTS OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.—Section 162(c) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 6082(c)) is amended—

(A) by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (4),

(B) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (5) and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) the applicant provides assurances that the grant will not be used in a manner inconsistent with section 4 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(m) PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY FOR MENTALLY ILL INDIVIDUALS ACT OF 1986.—Section 105(a) of the Protection and Advocacy for Mentally Ill Individuals Act of 1986 (42 U.S.C. 10805(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (8), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in paragraph (9), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

“(10) not use allotments provided to a system in a manner inconsistent with section 5 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(n) PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY SYSTEMS UNDER THE REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973.—Section 509(f) of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794e(f)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (6), by striking “and” after the semicolon at the end;

(2) in paragraph (7), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following paragraph:

“(8) not use allotments provided under this section in a manner inconsistent with section 5 of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

(o) OLDER AMERICANS ACT OF 1965.—Title VII of the Older Americans Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 765. FUNDING LIMITATION.

“Funds provided under this title may not be used in a manner inconsistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”

[(p)] (a) LEGAL SERVICES PROGRAM.—Section 1007(b) of the Legal Services Corporation Act (42 U.S.C. 2996f(b)) is amended—

(1) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (9);

(2) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (10) and inserting “; or”; and

(3) by adding after paragraph (10) the following:

“(11) to provide legal assistance in a manner inconsistent with the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.”.

[(q)] (p) CONSTRUCTION ON CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—The fact that a law is not amended under this section shall not be construed as indicating that the provisions of this Act do not apply to such a law.

SEC. 10. RELATION TO OTHER LAWS.

The provisions of this Act supersede other Federal laws (including laws enacted after the date of the enactment of this Act) except to the extent such laws specifically supersede the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 11. EFFECTIVE DATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The provisions of this Act (and the amendments made by this Act) take effect upon its enactment and apply, subject to subsection (b), to Federal payments made pursuant to obligations incurred after the date of the enactment of this Act for items and services provided on or after such date.

(b) APPLICATION TO CONTRACTS.—Such provisions shall apply with respect to contracts entered into, renewed, or extended after the date of the enactment of this Act and shall also apply to a contract entered into before such date to the extent permitted under such contract.

SEC. 12. SUICIDE PREVENTION (INCLUDING ASSISTED SUICIDE).

(a) PURPOSE.—The purpose of this section is to reduce the rate of suicide (including assisted suicide) among persons with disabilities or terminal or chronic illness by furthering knowledge and practice of pain management, depression identification and treatment, and issues related to palliative care and suicide prevention.

(b) RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS.—Section 781 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 295) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (e) as subsection (f); and

(2) by inserting after subsection (d) the following new subsection:

“(e) RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS ON SUICIDE PREVENTION (INCLUDING ASSISTED SUICIDE).—

“(1) RESEARCH.—The Secretary may make grants to and enter into contracts with public and private entities for conducting research intended to reduce the rate of suicide (including assisted suicide) among persons with disabilities or terminal or chronic illness. The Secretary shall give preference to research that aims—

“(A) to assess the quality of care received by patients with disabilities or terminal or chronic illness by measuring and reporting specific outcomes;

“(B) to compare coordinated health care (which may include coordinated rehabilitation services, symptom control, psychological support, and community-based support services) to traditional health care delivery systems; or

“(C) to advance biomedical knowledge of pain management.

“(2) TRAINING.—The Secretary may make grants and enter into contracts to assist public and private entities, schools, academic health science centers, and hospitals in meeting the costs of projects intended to reduce the rate of suicide (including assisted suicide) among persons with disabilities or terminal or chronic illness. The Secretary shall give preference to qualified projects that will—

“(A) train health care practitioners in pain management, depression identification and

treatment, and issues related to palliative care and suicide prevention;

“(B) train the faculty of health professions schools in pain management, depression identification and treatment, and issues related to palliative care and suicide prevention; or

“(C) develop and implement curricula regarding disability issues, including living with disabilities, living with chronic or terminal illness, attendant and personal care, assistive technology, and social support services.

“(3) DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS.—The Secretary may make grants to and enter into contracts with public and nonprofit private entities for the purpose of conducting demonstration projects that will—

“(A) reduce restrictions on access to hospice programs; or

“(B) fund home health care services, community living arrangements, and attendant care services.

“(4) PALLIATIVE MEDICINE.—The Secretary shall emphasize palliative medicine among its funding and research priorities.”.

(c) REPORT BY GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to the Congress a report providing an assessment of programs under subsection (e) of section 781 of the Public Health Service Act (as added by subsection (b) of this section) to conduct research, provide training, and develop curricula and of the curricula offered and used by schools of medicine and osteopathic medicine in pain management, depression identification and treatment, and issues related to palliative care and suicide prevention. The purpose of the assessment shall be to determine the extent to which such programs have furthered knowledge and practice of pain management, depression identification and treatment, and issues related to palliative care and suicide prevention.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SMITH of Michigan). Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY] and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] will each control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY].

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to bring this bill before the full House today, H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997. It is an important and forward-looking piece of legislation. H.R. 1003 is our response to Dr. Jack Kevorkian, who last Friday said, “If you want to stop something,” and I’m quoting, “pass a law.” Today, just 6 days later, we are doing exactly that. Too often Congress acts only in response to problems after they have already taken their toll on the American people. Today we address a serious threat to the lives of many Americans before that threat becomes a widespread reality. In the States of Oregon, Washington, New York, and Florida, lawsuits have been filed seeking to legalize physician-assisted suicide. Two of those cases are before the Supreme Court right now. If any of these actions result in the legalization of assisted suicide, Federal funds could be used to pay for it. That is right, the money we currently devote to such programs as Medicare and Medicaid, programs devoted to improving the health and extending the lives of elderly, disabled, and low-income Ameri-

cans, could be used instead for health care services intended to cause death.

This is an issue with shattering implications for the Nation, for its most vulnerable patients, for individuals with disabilities, for senior citizens, and for the millions of Americans who devote their lives to improving the health of their patients.

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the legislation before us today prohibits Federal funding for assisting an individual with suicide. The bill’s rhetorical nature implies the taxpayers may be paying for something to which they strongly object, and that citizens should fear some insidious incursion into their pocketbooks for a wholesale tax-funded Kevorkian-like scheme.

However, there is little basis either for this fear or for the rhetoric that drives it. Nothing in current law prohibits Federal funding of suicide, including assisted suicide. Nothing in Federal law permits Federal funding of suicide. Tax dollars are not used for this purpose today, and there is no intention to change that longstanding policy.

The Government already prohibits Federal funding of any physician-assisted suicide through Medicare, through Medicaid, through Indian Health Services, through the Veterans Administration. In short, this bill essentially prohibits nothing.

It is typical, Mr. Speaker, of the last two Republican Congresses, legislating a solution in search of a problem. In a hearing before the Subcommittee on Health and Environment of the Committee on Commerce, religious leaders, health care professionals, and patient advocates testified about the seriousness of this discussion and debate.

Their testimony made clear to all of us who heard it that what we do has profound implications for people whose lives are already nearly intolerable because they are suffering from severe disability or incapacitating illness and the psychological trauma and depression that often accompany the realization that death is near.

All of the witnesses suggested that the medical profession needed to do more to train physicians and health care providers to recognize and treat those very factors that cause suicide. The Committee on Commerce should have adopted an amendment offered during the committee’s deliberation on this bill. That amendment was simple. It simply required medical school training programs in those medical schools that receive Federal grants to include training in the care of dying people. Admittedly, it would have been a small step, but it would have been effective in prompting needed changes in health provider training.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, we had an opportunity to do something real

with this bill, but instead it is nothing more than a hollow exercise, probably designed to fill a massive hole in the do-nothing 105th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for this bill, but then again, why not? A vote for this bill merely means that we agree with the system that has been in place for many years. Assisted suicide is not now nor has it ever been financed by the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, let me conclude by saying that this Congress has failed to seize that opportunity to reduce the tragic conditions that often lead to suicide in our country. People with disabilities, frail seniors, and people seriously ill and in great pain deserve quality of life at the end of their lives. We had a chance to take some small steps to make that happen. It would have been good public policy. It would have been the right thing to do. That is the way to achieve what should have been the purpose of this legislation: to prevent assisted suicide by preventing conditions that cause it. It is too bad this Congress, Mr. Speaker, has failed to do that.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to my colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HALL].

(Mr. HALL of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALL of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, of course, in support of H.R. 1003.

Mr. Speaker, I enjoyed the presentation of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN], and I appreciate getting to work with him in the committee, both the subcommittee and in the full committee. The part of his speech that I listened to more closely than any was that he voted for this on both occasions, and he intends to vote for it today.

I am grateful for that, because we need this support. We would like to have a resounding vote and send it over to the Senate, and say to the world, to poor people, to hardworking people, we do not want to spend your tax dollars helping people commit suicide.

Mr. Speaker, I think the bill does not in any way affect the sanctity of the doctor-patient relationship or the right of the patient to receive pain medication or reject or discontinue any medical treatment. It does not do anything. It does one simple thing: It says to the people of this country, we are not going to spend tax dollars to help people kill themselves. I keep coming back to that and coming back to that. It is a simple message. This bill could have been one sentence: "There ain't going to be any tax dollars spent for assisted suicide." But in an abundance of caution we put a lot of other things on it. We listed those specific things it could not be used for.

Today's vote is very important in light of recent decisions by the Federal courts of appeal that rule that assisted suicide is a constitutional right. There is a danger here. The Court lurks over

there, right today, waiting to render. They heard arguments January 8 of this year. I think there is certainly need for this legislation. It is proactive in that it would preempt the use of Federal funding, regardless of how the Court rules.

They get last guess, Mr. Speaker, as to what the law is. If they guess wrong on this, you can open up the Treasury to every Dr. Kevorkian all across the country, every crossroads in Rockwall County, TX, and all the other 254 counties of Texas would have a Dr. Kevorkian there, because it gives them a chance to get their hand into the Medicare funds that are needed, the Medicaid funds that are needed. It would say to this country that while we are trying to help people, poor people live, that we are going to spend a lot of their money helping people die. That just absolutely does not make sense.

Mr. Speaker, I think it has been said that the nobility of a culture is marked by how it treats its weakest members. That cries out to us here. There is a lesson to this. Where does it take us? Where does it lead?

The Netherlands report presents some alarming facts. In 1990 alone, 2,300 people were killed by doctors in The Netherlands in their euthanasia program. Even more shocking, Mr. Speaker, in the same year more than 1,300 people were euthanized without their consent; 140 of these cases involved fully competent people who were never given a choice. That is a clear and present danger.

I hope the Supreme Court listens to this argument today, and I hope they listen to the argument and the speeches that the President of the United States sent to them, his brief. I hope they listen to the Wirthlin report, where 87 percent of the people said they were opposed to assisted suicide. I hope they will listen to the American people. I hope they will listen to this Congress. Mr. Speaker, I urge the Members to support this bill.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. STEARNS], a member of the committee.

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the question I hear is, Congressman, this bill is not necessary because assisted suicide is not currently funded. This is a solution in search of a problem.

Mr. Speaker, let me answer that question, because I think it is fundamental to this debate. Current Federal law uses broad and general language. For example, Medicare pays for items and services "reasonable and necessary for the diagnosis or treatment of illness or injury."

If assisted suicide is legalized by the Supreme Court, or any individual State, all it would take is one district court judge to rule that assisted suicide fits under the Medicare statutes guidelines. We need to make sure that this does not happen today by clarifying the Federal law.

This bill is also very important because it will send a clear message to States and insurance carriers. As has happened in many cases, State and private coverage is often modeled after Federal law. For example, when Congress extends Medicare or Medicaid coverage to address a particular health condition, States and private plans frequently adopt the same changes.

Mr. Speaker, by banning Federal funding for assisted suicide, we will serve as an example for States and private carriers to follow, thereby reducing the number of suicides and promoting better end-of-life care and suicide prevention.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. STARK].

(Mr. STARK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us states that assisted suicide, euthanasia, and mercy killing have been criminal offenses throughout the United States and under current law would be unlawful, and this, in other words, makes this bill totally unnecessary.

Mr. Speaker, Medicare does only cover medically necessary services. It does not pay for suicide. No one can bill for suicide. No matter what some State may decide to do about suicide, Medicare would not pay for it. It is not now covered and it will not be. This bill is a facade for a Congress that is doing nothing.

There are a lot of reasons people in our society are driven to suicide. This bill does not deal with those. This bill does nothing to provide mental health counseling. This bill does not require that insurers offer mental health services that could prevent suicide. It does not provide for health insurance for children to ease the fears and frustrations of parents. It does not stop managed care companies and for-profit HMO's from denying health care that can lead to death and disability. It does not stop the gag rules that cause managed care doctors to mistreat patients. The Consortium for Citizens with Disability says prohibiting people from using Federal funds to end their lives is not worth much.

Why do we not provide public and private assistance so they can live their lives? If we want to help, why do we not ensure that Americans, regardless of income, have access to quality care; have home health care so they can live in their communities rather than in institutions; ensure that untreated depression is no longer mistaken as a desire to die.

We can enhance the quality of life, Mr. Speaker. Any public policy in the area of physician-assisted suicide should include a proposal to fund mental health services and anti-pain services necessary for decent basic living. Mr. Speaker, this bill does nothing. It just addresses a problem that does not exist. It eases some pseudo-religious wackos. It does nothing to address the

real problems in our society that cause people to seek suicide or assisted death.

□ 1045

It is a sham. It is a shame. We are a sad, sad Congress if we pass this bill.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAXON], a member of the committee.

Mr. PAXON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 1003. As a cosponsor of this legislation, when I came before the Committee on Commerce, I am very pleased to see that such quick action has been taken on this important measure. I particularly commend the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY], the chairman, for his leadership in bringing this bill to the floor in such an expeditious fashion.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleagues that it is imperative that this Congress send a clear signal to the Nation that all human life is valued, even those who face disabilities or disease. The overwhelming majority of Americans are strongly opposed to doctor-assisted suicide. This legislation will ensure that American taxpayers will never be forced to support this abhorrent activity.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues to support this important legislation today on the House floor.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Colorado [Ms. DEGETTE].

Ms. DEGETTE. Mr. Speaker, when I learned that this Congress would be considering legislation on physician-assisted suicide, I foresaw a lengthy discussion on the complex moral, legal, and ethical issues surrounding the issue because I am still examining this issue myself. But in fact, none of that has occurred because the legislation being considered does nothing.

This bill is a solution in search of a problem. Let me be clear again. Physician-assisted suicide is not legal today. No Federal dollars are being used for this purpose and, in fact, the agencies that give money to doctors and hospitals specifically prohibit the use of Federal funds for this purpose. So by simply considering a ban on moneys that are already prohibited, we are ignoring the truly sensitive ethical and cultural issues raised by physician-assisted suicide.

We are leaving unanswered the most pressing questions in this debate. Should individuals be entitled to choose for themselves how and when they may end their lives? Is there a constitutional right to privacy or equal protection which warrants such a policy? Are health care providers obligated to help mentally competent and terminally ill patients end their lives?

Today instead of exploring these tough questions and learning from providers like Hospice on the front lines of end-of-life care, we are considering an empty piece of legislation. As I said, I do not have a position on Federal regu-

lation of physician-assisted suicide, but I think that Congress could play an important role in looking at humane and palliative end-of-life care and how do we best educate doctors.

Now, let me say, if the courts do allow physician-assisted suicide, let us look at legislation then. But in the meantime, Congress should be in the business of encouraging broad public discussion, not cutting off debate in this Chamber or, worse, wasting our time and our money enacting a solution that is in search of a problem and giving the public the false belief that we are actually doing something on this issue.

I intend to oppose this legislation. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY].

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act. I want to thank the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY] and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HALL] for their outstanding leadership on this important issue.

As chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, I held hearings on the subject of assisted suicide a year ago. Witnesses warned us against following the policy in the Netherlands which began as assisted suicide for the terminally ill and now includes euthanasia for mental suffering and even nonvoluntary euthanasia.

The Dutch medical association's official "Guidelines for Euthanasia" specifically require that a patient voluntarily request assisted suicide, but a study confirmed that nonvoluntary euthanasia was being widely performed. In 1990, there were more than 1,000 cases in which physicians terminated patients' lives without their consent. Fourteen percent of the patients who were killed without consent were fully competent, and 11 percent were partially competent.

The Dutch experience vividly shows how permitting of assisted suicide for the terminally ill can easily lead to the nightmare of nonconsensual termination of human life. An individual's so-called right to die, over time, can be transformed into a demand by society that certain individuals have a need to die. We should not go down this road.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California [Ms. ESHOO].

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us makes a clear statement that Congress does not support the use of Federal funds to directly or indirectly support assisted suicide. We heard testimony in the Health and Environment Subcommittee in support of this view and certainly in the full committee. In fact, the bill is a restatement of present Federal policy. Not a penny of Federal dollars is spent in support of assisted suicide. I think it is very important for the American people to understand this. We are not correcting

something. We are simply restating Federal policy here today.

However, in the committee we also heard clear testimony that the current state of dying and care for the dying is inadequate. Pain management is insufficient. Palliative care generally is lacking. The American Medical Association gave testimony and even announced that they have launched a new initiative to better educate their doctors on care of the terminally ill in their final days.

During the full committee consideration of the legislation, I offered an amendment to address this problem based on the testimony that we had received. It simply stated that Federal health programs should have guidelines in place for appropriate palliative and pain management care of terminally ill beneficiaries. Unfortunately, the amendment failed.

It is my hope that the vision of death described by the religious leaders that testified before our subcommittee in which we are surrounded by loved ones and at peace with God would be the case for every American. Unfortunately, it is not the case for too many today.

I am not endorsing assisted suicide. No one is. I am saying that there is much more to this debate than the Congress can bring to it. There is much more that we can do to lessen the prevalence of assisted suicide or those that wish to commit suicide because pain management is simply not addressed in America today the way it should be.

This bill before us is a small step. We could have done much more.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY].

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act.

I ardently believe that the issue of euthanasia must be taken seriously, without encroaching on patients' rights to oversee their treatment and refuse to be placed on life support. However, there is a balance to be had when dealing with the humane treatment of the terminally ill. Given physicians the legal protection of assisting suicide, in my view, tips that balance.

I would like to spend a minute to discuss what this bill does not do. It does not get in the way of a patient's wish to refuse medical treatment, nutrition, or hydration. It does not get in the way of a doctor's responsibility to relieve pain, even if doing so increases the likelihood of death. Last, this bill only applies to those programs, agencies, and organizations that receive Federal funds and limits a practice that has already been deemed a criminal offense.

I applaud my colleagues, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY], the chairman, and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. HALL] as well as the leadership for bringing this responsible bill to the House floor. Please join me in supporting this measure.

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Oregon [Ms. FURSE].

Ms. FURSE. Mr. Speaker, I will yield to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY] for the purpose of engaging in a colloquy.

Is it his understanding that no provision of this legislation is intended to prohibit States or other entities from providing services or items related to physician-assisted suicide with non-Federal funds?

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentlewoman yield?

Ms. FURSE. I yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, that is correct.

Ms. FURSE. Mr. Speaker, furthermore, is it the gentleman's understanding that no provision of this legislation is intended to prohibit Federal funding for health coverage that includes services or items related to physician-assisted suicide, provided the portion of the health coverage providing such services or items are paid for with State funds or other non-Federal funding?

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentlewoman will continue to yield, that is correct.

Ms. FURSE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. I appreciate his attention.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. SAM JOHNSON, a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Virginia for yielding me the time.

Today we are dealing with one of the most serious matters that could come before this Congress. It is unbelievable to me that anybody would want to spend any kind of tax money on this, but it is literally an issue of life and death.

The question is whether or not Federal tax dollars should be used to pay for assisted suicide and euthanasia and whether Federal facilities like veterans hospitals, for example, are to be in the business of providing euthanasia as though it were just another type of medical treatment.

On March 18, the Committee on Ways and Means Subcommittee on Health favorably reported this bill to the full committee by voice vote. Under normal circumstances, the full committee would meet to consider the bill. However, in order to expedite consideration of this extremely important legislation, the Committee on Ways and Means agreed to send the bill straight to the floor.

This bill bars Medicare, Medicaid, military and Federal employee plans from paying doctors to help terminal ill patients to end their lives. The legislation does not affect the withholding of medical treatment or services and does not address the ethical or legal issues surrounding assisted suicide. It

only bars American taxpayer dollars from funding such action.

Can Members imagine someone providing an individual with the means to commit suicide and billing Medicare for the services? This sounds far-fetched but without this legislation, it sure could happen. This bill was introduced in response to a recent court ruling in favor of assisted suicide.

In 1994, a ballot initiative in Oregon made assisted suicide legal. This law could mean that Oregon's Medicaid Program as well as other Federal programs could be used to fund assisted suicide. No one can have anything but compassion and sympathy for those who are faced with health situations so difficult that they seriously consider suicide. The question is, how can we help and how should we respond to that cry for help? I firmly believe we should give help and comfort, not the financial means to end their lives.

According to a Wirthlin poll taken last election day, 87 percent of the American people say tax dollars should not be spent to pay for assisted suicide and euthanasia. Let us listen to our constituents across the country. I urge a "yes" vote on this bill.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. McDERMOTT].

(Mr. McDERMOTT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, I listened to my colleagues here on the floor talk about this issue. I have the feeling that they have never put themselves in the shoes of a physician or a family dealing with a terminally ill patient. This bill has no definitions in it for what suicide is or what is assisting a suicide. Yet doctors are continually faced with the problem of a patient who wants to die for a variety of reasons.

First of all, Medicare does not give parity to the funding for psychiatric services to counsel them out of it so that is the first way in which this is a hypocritical bill. If we are really serious, we would deal with the mental health funding for Medicare.

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But if someone wants to die and says to the doctor, "I would like you not to do anything and just give me pain medication," now, is that assisting somebody in committing suicide, if they are lying in bed and saying they do not want hydration, they do not want to have intravenous feedings, just give them some pain medication?

We all know, if we do a little study, that Demerol or morphine depresses respirations and, ultimately, the physician is depressing respirations and leading to death. Now, is that assisting someone at a time when they want to die?

Well, this bill is very unclear. The problem with this bill, it is very simpleminded. It is simply, as my colleague from Texas says, driven by a

poll, when we ask people are they for physician-assisted suicide. Nobody on this floor is for physician-assisted suicide, none of us, not even me. But this is not any help in that debate.

What we should be talking about is living wills and what real definitions we want to put in here if we want to try and make it so people can actually have the assistance of the medical profession while they choose to end their life. We have to be very careful in what we write. I am going to vote against it.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. BILIRAKIS], chairman of the Subcommittee on Health and Environment.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I am an original cosponsor of this bill. I strongly support it and supported it certainly when it was considered by my committee, as it was approved by the committee resoundingly.

Let me state emphatically that most Americans do not want their tax dollars to pay for assisted suicide. This legislation was written to respond to the desires of the American people, something that we should be emphasizing, because something like 85 to 90 percent of the American people are very much against assisted suicide.

The bill anticipates a troublesome issue which could result from the legal battles across the Nation on this matter. The question we should be raising is, what is the purpose of the legislation? Well, that is the purpose, because there are legal battles out there.

Currently, courts in the State of Florida and Oregon and a couple of other States are considering this issue, and, in addition, the U.S. Supreme Court is deliberating cases arising from lawsuits brought in New York and Washington State on assisted suicides. If any of these court cases result in a ruling legalizing assisted suicide, Federal funding may be used to pay for this procedure.

Federal dollars appropriated for programs such as Medicaid and Medicare could be used to promote death instead of what we should be concentrating on, preserving life. I might add also, in the State of Oregon, that their Medicaid director, I am not sure what his full title is, has indicated he feels Medicaid Federal funds are available to use for assisted suicide in Oregon. Another reason why we have to have this legislation.

The bill would address this important issue by clarifying that Federal funds cannot be used for assisted suicide. It also prohibits federally owned facilities from providing or encouraging assisted suicide.

I want to make it clear, the bill does not ban or restrict assisted suicide nor does it prevent the use of State or private dollars to pay for assisted suicide. It also does not affect a patient's right to reject or restrict assisted suicide.

Finally, the bill does not interfere in any way with the doctor-patient relationship. Instead, the bill achieves only

one objective, but it is a very important objective, and that is the assurance that Federal tax dollars will not be used to assist in a suicide of any American.

During our subcommittee hearing, Mr. Speaker, a number of organizations expressed their support for this legislation. The groups included almost every organized religion in America; a wide range of provider groups, including the AMA, experts on pain management, depression, and medical ethics; and, most importantly, older Americans and those with disabilities, including chronic and terminal illnesses.

I want to commend my colleague in closing, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Texas, RALPH HALL, for his efforts in bringing this legislation to the House floor. It is a measure which I believe protects the interests of the American people and what the people have already said they really want, and I strongly urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, how much time does each side have?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SMITH of Michigan). The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] has 3 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY] has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

We have listened in the course of this debate to several speakers say that we must stop Federal funds from being used for assisted suicide. I would reiterate, Mr. Speaker, that nothing in current law permits Federal funding of suicide, including assisted suicide. Tax dollars are not used for this purpose. There is no intention from anyone in this body, there is no intention to change that long-standing policy.

In short, this bill prohibits absolutely nothing. Medicare, Medicaid, Veterans, Indian Health Service, in each case money to be spent for assisted suicide are prohibited.

Even in the committee report, Mr. Speaker, I would quote from it briefly: Medicare statute limits Medicare coverage to items and services that are reasonable and necessary for the diagnosis or treatment of illness or injury, or to improve the functioning of a malformed body member. Physician-assisted suicide, even if allowed under State law, does not meet these statutory criteria. As such, the program is prohibited from making payment for it under existing law.

Mr. Speaker, I am disappointed that in this rush to actually do something in this session of Congress, that Congress today has missed a golden opportunity to help very sick, terminally ill patients. We missed an opportunity to reduce the tragic conditions that often lead to suicide in this country: People that are especially ill, people that are frail, people with disabilities who are in great pain.

People who are seriously ill deserve quality of life at the end of their lives.

We had a chance today, Mr. Speaker, to take steps to make that happen. We had a chance to say to medical schools in this country, "Yes, you should teach better pain management; you should teach your young medical students more about treatment of depression to help those people in those last days of their lives, in their most difficult days of their lives, so that they do not have the desire to commit suicide, to ask their doctor for some sort of assistance."

It would have been good policy; it would have been the right thing to do. That was the way, Mr. Speaker, we could have achieved the purpose of this legislation: To prevent assisted suicide by preventing the conditions that cause it.

Mr. Speaker, I ask for support of the bill. I also ask, Mr. Speaker, that we think more seriously about this issue in terms of doing the right thing, this issue in terms of making sure that our medical schools do the right thing, train their medical students in helping those people in the sickest and most painful days of their lives.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. RALPH HALL, the principal author of the bill and a member of the committee.

Mr. HALL of Texas. Mr. Speaker, first I want to thank the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY] for his support and for bringing this bill to an early hearing, and I certainly thank the ranking minority leader, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] for his good words.

I think when the gentleman from Ohio says that we could have done more, perhaps he is correct. I go back to my initial statement, though: Read the bill. The bill simply says no tax dollars shall be spent for assisted suicide.

The gentleman from California [Mr. STARK] who is certainly an authority on health matters and a man I greatly admire and respect, went to great length to say what this bill does not do, and perhaps he is correct, but, once again, if he will read the bill, it simply says no tax dollars are going to be spent. No hard-earned tax dollars are going to be spent for assisted suicide.

If we listened to the gentlewoman from California, [Ms. ESHOO] she says she, of course, does not endorse assisted suicide. Of course she does not, and neither does this bill, nor does this bill preclude assisted suicide if States want to pay for it or families want to pay for it.

The gentleman from Washington, [Mr. MCDERMOTT] talks about the lack of definitions. And yes, thank goodness we are not hampered down with definitions here, because it is so simple. It simply says no tax dollars will be spent for assisted suicide.

He speaks of doctors' positions. Let me talk a moment or so about the physi-

cian's position. Where are the physicians on this? The American Medical Association, the American Nurses Association, the American Psychiatric Association, and at least 30 other professional health care givers, Mr. Speaker, these groups have filed briefs with the Supreme Court in opposition to physician-assisted suicide. They say, by their briefs, no tax dollars should be spent for assisted suicide.

Certainly the AMA believes and has stated in their testimony before our committee that physician-assisted suicide is unethical and fundamentally inconsistent with the pledge that physicians make to devote themselves to healing and to life and not to death.

I think we might also question whether or not there is a danger that Federal funds might be spent if we do nothing. Current Federal law uses broad and general language. For example, Medicare pays for items and services which are, quote, reasonable and necessary for the diagnosis or treatment of illness or injury.

If assisted suicide is legalized by the Supreme Court or in any individual State, all it would take, Mr. Speaker, is for one district court judge to rule that assisted suicide fits under the State's Medicare guidelines. We need to make sure that this does not happen by clarifying Federal law.

President Clinton often calls for Congress to spend taxpayers' dollars in a manner that reflects values. We ask the same thing. This bill does exactly that. According to a recent poll, 87 percent of Americans opposed federally funded suicide. They say what this bill says: No tax dollars shall be spent for assisted suicide.

This bill honors a value central to all of our heritage, central to our society, that all people are created equal and all people are deserving of protection and assistance. That means that no matter how ill they are, no matter how disabled they are, no matter how elderly they are, no matter how frail they are or how depressed a person is, that we will never allow Federal funds to be used to kill them. Instead, we will continue to devote our effort and our resources to improving the health and prolonging the lives of our patients.

This bill simply says, as I close, no hard-earned tax dollars shall be spent for assisted suicide.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this measure, H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act. This legislation simply clarifies current Federal policy and practice in this area, prohibiting the use of Federal funds for activities explicitly involved with assisted suicide.

Often when we think of protecting human life, we think of protecting the unborn. However, every life deserves that same protection. Our efforts must be refocused on helping people alleviate their suffering, not by ending their lives, but by increasing our understanding of medicine and mental health to give these individuals a better alternative than death.

While H.R. 1003 prohibits Federal support of assisted suicide, it also works to solve some of the problems associated with depression and other conditions that can move someone to consider taking their own life. The bill authorizes the Department of Health and Human Services to increase its efforts on this front. Funds for this initiative would come from existing resources within the agency and would fund activities aimed at reducing the rate of suicide, including assisted suicide, among all segments of our society. Some of the activities these funds could support include training for health care professionals in pain management techniques and identifying depression in patients as well as activities related to mental health and suicide prevention.

There are many people across the Nation suffering from medical or mental health conditions who are in need of assistance, but I do not believe that suicide assistance is the help that the Federal Government should be promoting. Once again, I reiterate my support for this legislation, which puts our Nation on a path to truly help those in need.

Mrs. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to lend my full support to H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act. I thank Mr. HALL for his sponsorship of this legislation, and I urge this body to reaffirm our Nation's commitment to the life of each and every individual.

Assisted suicide is an abominable act. Despite claims that it is a matter of mercy or dignity, an assisted suicide is nothing more than the murder of some of our most vulnerable citizens, persons who are ailing and sometimes unable to voice their will. These individuals deserve every chance at life and all the support and assistance that we can provide, not some misguided notion of a so-called honorable death. An assisted suicide must not be deemed an acceptable medical procedure, or the grave consequences will be the lives of our sick and elderly.

The first and sacred rule of medicine is to preserve the life of the patient. That is why physician-assisted suicide is opposed by the American Medical Association and numerous other doctor and nurse associations. The House has the opportunity today to reaffirm this fundamental tenet of the health profession, making the law reflect what doctors, nurses, and most Americans already know intuitively.

Mr. Speaker, America is a nation of justice and of compassion. Both justice and compassion tell us to pass H.R. 1003, and I urge my colleagues to give it their full support.

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, American tax dollars shouldn't be used to end a patient's life. There are far more humane ways to help those stricken with a terminal illness and their families.

The Supreme Court is currently considering two cases, *Washington versus Glucksberg* and *Vacco versus Quil*, to determine the constitutionality of assisted suicide. This is a complex issue involving medical ethics, religion, and science. Regardless of what the Court decides about the constitutionality of the deed, this bill will make sure no Federal tax dollars will be spent on it.

Supporters often hold up assisted suicide as the compassionate answer to helping someone die with dignity. A society is best judged by how it treats its most vulnerable members, and killing them is not compassionate or dignified. Researchers have found that many se-

verely and terminally ill patients share a common symptom—depression brought on by high levels of anxiety, fear, and rejection. Hastening their death does nothing to identify and treat the depression that comes along with facing death; it is not the way to resolve a terminally ill patient's concerns about becoming a burden to their family and friends; nor is it the way to comfort or ease the pain of the terminally ill.

Congress should not let a single tax dollar go to pay for this physician assisted killing—a false compassion and a perversion of mercy. Turning medical doctors into licensed killers of the sick, the handicapped, and the depressed, is not the way to empower Americans.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support for H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997. This bill would prohibit the use of Federal funds to pay for assisted suicide.

The will of the American people is clear on this issue. Thirty-five States have enacted statutes prohibiting assisted suicide. An additional eight States recognize assisted suicide as a common law crime. In a May 1996 Wirthlin poll, 87 percent of those polled opposed the use of tax dollars to pay for assisted suicide. The American people recognize the value of protecting human life, and the serious threat which assisted suicide poses to the safety of vulnerable persons.

Why, then, is it necessary for this body to act on a subject which is already being addressed by the States? First, it is our responsibility to ensure that Federal spending reflects the values of the American people. Accordingly, this bill would ensure that no Federal funds would be spent on assisted suicide, a policy which most Americans have rejected.

Second, recent Federal appeals court decisions from the ninth and second circuit courts invalidated State prohibitions on assisted suicide. With no national debate, these courts are attempting to implement a broad public policy that would profoundly affect the way Americans deal with life and death and drastically alter the role of physicians in our society. These appeals courts have effectively thwarted the will of the people as expressed through their State laws. The U.S. Supreme Court is currently reviewing these cases, and more than one Supreme Court Justice has expressed reluctance to interfere in what may more properly be a matter of public policy for the legislative branch of government to decide. I am hopeful that the Court will uphold the right of the States to prevent the serious abuses that would inevitably be associated with assisted suicide. In the meantime, however, it is important for this body to go on record as opposing assisted suicide.

The House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, of which I am the chairman, held hearings on this subject a year ago. Witnesses warned Congress against following the policy in the Netherlands which began as assisted suicide and moved to active euthanasia, from euthanasia for the terminally ill to euthanasia for the chronically ill, from euthanasia for physical illness to euthanasia for mental suffering, and from voluntary to nonvoluntary euthanasia.

Last September I released a report which examines this devolution of physician-assisted suicide policy in the Netherlands. In 1986 the Dutch medical association established official

"Guidelines for Euthanasia." The guidelines specifically require that a patient voluntarily request physician-assisted suicide or euthanasia, but a study confirmed that nonvoluntary euthanasia was being widely performed. In 1990 there were 2,300 cases of euthanasia at the patient's request, 400 cases of physician-assisted suicide, and more than 1,000 cases in which physicians terminated patients' lives without their consent. Fourteen percent of the patients who were killed without consent were fully competent, and 11 percent were partially competent. These were patients who could have made their own decisions about whether to live or die but were never given the opportunity to decide for themselves.

The Dutch experience vividly shows how permitting physician-assisted suicide for terminally ill patients can easily lead to the unchecked nightmare of nonconsensual termination of human life. And individual's so-called right to die, over time, can be transformed into a demand by society that certain individuals have a duty to die.

We need to maintain the integrity of the medical profession as a profession dedicated to healing. Physicians should not become facilitators of death. If we break down the barriers which prohibit assisted suicide, we will be on the path to a society where individuals are killed simply because someone else decides their lives are not worthy to be lived. We must protect those most vulnerable in our society by easing the fears and alleviating the pain of terminally ill patients, and by providing positive and realistic solutions to the problems of those who are driven to despair.

Mr. BARTON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to voice my strong support for the House to pass H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997. I was an original cosponsor of this legislation when it was introduced in the 104th Congress. I was also an original cosponsor of the bill when it was reintroduced in this Congress. H.R. 1003 was marked up in the Commerce Committee, of which I am a member. It passed out of the full committee by a vote of 45 to 2. The bill has 118 cosponsors. I commend Congressman RALPH HALL for his hard work on this legislation.

The American people's support for this legislation is evident. When asked on election day in 1996, "Should tax dollars be spent to pay for the cost of assisting suicide and euthanasia?" Eighty-seven percent said no in a national poll by Wirthlin Worldwide. Our purpose to pass this legislation here today is clear: the potentially imminent legalization of assisted suicide and euthanasia could lead to the spending of Federal tax dollars to subsidize them. The U.S. Supreme Court is currently reviewing decisions of the second and ninth circuit court of appeals that have declared a new constitutional right to assisted suicide. If the Supreme Court decides this summer to uphold the decisions of the lower courts, this decision would legalize assisted suicide. This would immediately bring up the question of whether or not Federal tax funds should be used to subsidize assisted suicide. That is why we must address this issue now, by passing this bill and sending it to the Senate.

The Federal Government should not be in the business of paying for people to end their lives. But more importantly, the American people, who have indicated that they are opposed to this, should not be compelled to provide

funds so that Federal health programs like Medicare or Medicaid may provide assistance to patients in efforts to end their lives.

My father passed away December 7, 1996. He suffered from diabetes, prostate cancer, and stomach ulcers. He did not go out of his way to prolong his life, yet he also did not go out of his way to artificially end his life. The fundamental belief that we should preserve life is one that people of all religious denominations can agree on. Again, I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" today on the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. BLILEY] that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1003, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 398, nays 16, not voting 18, as follows:

[Roll No. 75]

YEAS—398

Abercrombie	Chambliss	Fattah
Ackerman	Chenoweth	Fawell
Aderholt	Christensen	Fazio
Allen	Clay	Flake
Andrews	Clayton	Foglietta
Archer	Clement	Foley
Armey	Clyburn	Forbes
Bachus	Coble	Ford
Baesler	Coburn	Fowler
Baker	Collins	Fox
Baldacci	Combust	Franks (NJ)
Barcia	Condit	Frelinghuysen
Barr	Cook	Frost
Barrett (NE)	Cooksey	Furse
Barrett (WI)	Costello	Gallegly
Bartlett	Cox	Ganske
Barton	Coyne	Gejdenson
Bass	Cramer	Gekas
Bateman	Crane	Gephardt
Bentzen	Crapo	Gibbons
Bereuter	Cubin	Gilchrest
Berman	Cummings	Gillmor
Berry	Cunningham	Gilman
Bilbray	Danner	Gonzalez
Bilirakis	Davis (FL)	Goode
Bishop	Davis (IL)	Goodlatte
Blagojevich	Davis (VA)	Goodling
Bliley	Deal	Gordon
Blumenauer	DeFazio	Goss
Blunt	Delahunt	Graham
Boehlert	DeLauro	Granger
Boehner	DeLay	Green
Bonilla	Deutsch	Greenwood
Bonior	Diaz-Balart	Gutierrez
Borski	Dicks	Gutknecht
Boswell	Dingell	Hall (OH)
Boucher	Dixon	Hall (TX)
Boyd	Doggett	Hamilton
Brady	Dooley	Hansen
Brown (CA)	Doyle	Harman
Brown (FL)	Dreier	Hastert
Brown (OH)	Duncan	Hastings (FL)
Bryant	Dunn	Hastings (WA)
Bunning	Edwards	Hayworth
Burr	Ehlers	Hefley
Burton	Ehrlich	Heger
Buyer	Emerson	Hill
Callahan	Engel	Hilleary
Calvert	English	Hilliard
Camp	Ensign	Hinchee
Campbell	Eshoo	Hinojosa
Canady	Etheridge	Hobson
Cannon	Evans	Hoekstra
Cardin	Everett	Holden
Castle	Ewing	Hooley
Chabot	Farr	Horn

Hostettler	McNulty
Houghton	Meehan
Hoyer	Meek
Hulshof	Menendez
Hunter	Metcalfe
Hutchinson	Mica
Hyde	Millender-McDonald
Inglis	Miller (FL)
Istook	Minge
Jackson-Lee (TX)	Mink
Jefferson	Molinari
Jenkins	Moran (KS)
John	Moran (VA)
Johnson (CT)	Morella
Johnson (WI)	Murtha
Johnson, E.B.	Myrick
Johnson, Sam	Neal
Jones	Nethercutt
Kanjorski	Neumann
Kaptur	Ney
Kasich	Northup
Kelly	Norwood
Kennedy (MA)	Nussle
Kennedy (RI)	Oberstar
Kennelly	Obey
Kildee	Oliver
Kim	Ortiz
Kind (WI)	Owens
King (NY)	Oxley
Kingston	Packard
Kleczyka	Pallone
Klink	Pappas
Klug	Parker
Knollenberg	Pascrell
Kolbe	Pastor
Kucinich	Paul
LaFalce	Paxon
LaHood	Payne
Lampson	Pease
Lantos	Pelosi
Largent	Peterson (PA)
Latham	Petri
LaTourette	Pickering
Lazio	Pickett
Leach	Pitts
Levin	Pombo
Lewis (CA)	Portman
Lewis (GA)	Poshard
Lewis (KY)	Price (NC)
Linder	Pryce (OH)
Lipinski	Quinn
Livingston	Rahall
LoBiondo	Ramstad
Lofgren	Rangel
Lowe	Regula
Lucas	Reyes
Luther	Riggs
Maloney (CT)	Riley
Maloney (NY)	Rivers
Manton	Roemer
Manzullo	Rogan
Markey	Rogers
Martinez	Rohrabacher
Mascara	Ros-Lehtinen
Matsui	Rothman
McCarthy (MO)	Roukema
McCarthy (NY)	Roybal-Allard
McCollum	Royce
McCreery	Rush
McDade	Ryun
McGovern	Sabo
McHale	Salmon
McHugh	Sanchez
McInnis	Sanders
McIntosh	Sandlin
McIntyre	Sanford
McKeon	Sawyer

NAYS—16

Becerra	Kilpatrick	Stark
Conyers	McDermott	Waters
DeGette	McKinney	Waxman
Dellums	Miller (CA)	Yates
Frank (MA)	Nadler	
Hastings (IL)	Scott	

NOT VOTING—18

Ballenger	Filner	Porter
Bono	Hefner	Radanovich
Capps	Moakley	Scarborough
Carson	Mollohan	Schaffer, Bob
Dickey	Peterson (MN)	Schiff
Doolittle	Pomeroy	Watts (OK)

□ 1137

Ms. KILPATRICK. Ms. WATERS, Mr. MILLER of California, and Mr.

NADLER changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. OLVER changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, today I missed rollcall vote No. 75, final passage of H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act. I was in my district attending the memorial service of Scott Williams, a guard at the Federal Penitentiary in Lompoc, CA, who was killed in the line of duty last week.

Had I been present, I would have voted "aye" on H.R. 1003.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BONO. Mr. Speaker, I am writing to explain that on Thursday, April 10, I was unavoidably detained and missed rollcall vote No. 75. If I was present, I certainly would have voted "aye" in support of H.R. 1003, the Assisted Suicide Funding Restriction Act of 1997.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 75, I was unavoidably detained and consequently missed the occasion to have my vote recorded. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye."

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 1003 and to insert extraneous material in the RECORD on the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

REQUEST FOR LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. BONIOR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I wish to seek guidance from my colleagues on the other side of the aisle about the schedule for the remainder of the day and next week.

Mr. Speaker, Federal law requires that Congress complete its budget by next Tuesday, and we are all waiting to understand if we are going to meet that deadline. Also, it has been an unusual week that we have had here.

We have had bills that we considered only on suspension, but one of the most important bills on the schedule was pulled, and that bill was to eliminate the mortgage insurance for many

American families. That bill was approved almost unanimously in a bipartisan vote in committee. We want to know why it was pulled from the floor and why it is not on the schedule next week.

So are we going to move to the budget? Law requires that we have a 15th of April deadline. What is the problem? And second, if that is not going to happen, we want to know why this mortgage interest bill was pulled.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BONIOR. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I will try as a member of the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, and I participated in working on that bill which passed 36 to 1 that was sponsored by a very distinguished Republican Member from Utah and, in the other body, by a Republican Senator from New York, and it was aimed at protecting consumers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] has expired.

REQUEST FOR LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the point I would make is this:

My understanding is that the majority has pulled this bill because we voted for a States rights amendment. The gentlewoman from California offered an amendment to this bill in committee that said it would not override State protections, that the Federal protection would be in existence, the State protections, and apparently the majority does not think we should respect the rights of States in this case, and apparently this bill was pulled because we have taken a position respective of the rights of the States to set policy.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, the other point that I think should be made is this would save literally hundreds of dollars a year for people in this country.

Is there a response from Republican colleagues about why we are not going to do the budget next week or if we are going to do the budget next week? Anybody from their leadership want to participate in this discussion?

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 900

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my name be withdrawn as a cosponsor of H.R. 900.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, APRIL 14, 1997

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 2 p.m. on Monday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

HOUR OF MEETING ON TUESDAY, APRIL 15, 1997

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on Monday April 14, 1997, it adjourn to meet at 10:30 a.m. on Tuesday, April 15, for morning hour debates.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

□ 1145

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SMITH of Michigan). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

QUADRENNIAL DEFENSE REVIEW

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

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my concern that the Pentagon appears, once again, to be prepared to avoid tough decisions. The ongoing Quadrennial Defense Review due to Congress on May 15 is supposed to be an all-inclusive examination of our national security needs. It has been described that way by every Defense Department official who has testified this year before the National Security Committee, on which I serve.

Although Secretary Cohen's personal involvement in the QDR process is commendable, it now appears results may be a lot less than we expected. Some Department officials are apparently ready to delay critical decisions about the defense agency's infrastruc-

ture and Reserve components because, we are told, these questions require more study.

Yet, each of these areas is clearly in need of reform. Each offers the potential for substantial savings, each has already been studied in great detail over the past 2 years, and each is critical to how we structure our national security forces for the 21st century.

Mr. Speaker, the Pentagon has an opportunity now to provide more effective, less costly defense. That is right. Better defense for less money. But boldness and willingness to make tough decisions are required to do that. Delaying recommendations on the agencies, the infrastructure, and the Reserves is neither tough nor bold; it represents business as usual and is an indication that the Department will, once again, be hostage to parochial interests while the public pays more for unneeded capabilities.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday's forces will not win tomorrow's wars. And yesterday's funding may not be available either. DOD can and must do better.

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

[Mr. CHRISTENSEN 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 Michigan [Mr. UPTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

THE 18-MONTH PUBLICATION PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN H.R. 400

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

Mr. COBLE. Mr. Speaker, the Constitution charges Congress with the responsibility of creating an incentive for inventors to share their inventions with society by granting a monopoly for a limited amount of time in which the inventor alone can prosper from the success of the invention.

Why was this incentive necessary? Because the Founding Fathers knew that our country would not achieve progress in science and the useful arts without effective disclosure of the inventions of our citizens. This straightforward point, which is integral to the understanding and promoting the beneficial patent changes set forth in H.R. 400, is regrettably lost on some of the critics of the bill.

Disclosure through publication provides many benefits. It allows other inventors to discover what inventions have already been applied for and encourages them to invest their time and

efforts in other inventions which further benefit our country. It serves as a "Do Not Tread On Me" flag for the inventor who submitted the application, so that others know not to try to copy the invention or they will be found liable for infringement. It allows venture capitalists the opportunity to consider financing an invention which may lead to the financial success of the inventor, and it benefits society so that we can continue to move forward in science and technology instead of keeping cherished knowledge hidden below the surface.

What does an inventor get in exchange for publication? The inventor receives the constitutional monopoly over his or her invention granted by Congress and enforced through the courts. The entire patent system is based on bringing new inventions into the public light and avoiding secrets.

If an inventor chooses to keep his invention secret, he should not apply for a patent, because he is not willing to exchange disclosure of his invention for Federal protection. Instead, he may keep his invention as a trade secret, which is protected under the State trade secret and unfair competition laws. That is the deal. In order to get Federal patent protection, disclosure must occur. It occurs now when a patent is granted. Most are granted within 20 to 22 months.

Why disclosure at 18 months? There are several good reasons to publish patent applications in 18 months. First, with disclosure comes protection against infringement. Inventors will be protected earlier if patent applications are published at 18 months. Now, patents are published when they are granted. The term "patent pending" on an invention may serve to warn that protection will ensue when the patent for the invention is issued, but it does not provide true protection.

By publishing applications at 18 months, inventors are protected before their patent is issued and may enforce their patent rights from the publication date. Under current law, a small business or independent inventor could go bankrupt by investing everything it has in a project that another entity has claimed in an earlier, secret application.

Publishing in 18 months also prevents some applicants from gaming the current system to purposely delay their patent and keep their invention secret in violation of the constitutional exchange of disclosure for protection. These inventors want the best of both worlds. They want to keep their invention secret forever, like a trade secret, but still receive the Federal grant of a patent.

This was not the intention of the Founding Fathers and does not benefit society. These types of applicants are called submariners, and they are protected by the opponents of H.R. 400 which will be on the floor imminently, probably next week. They file submarine patents which destroy competi-

tion and stifle technological innovation.

Submariners purposely delay their applications and keep them hidden under the water until someone else, who has no way of knowing of the hidden application, invests in the research and development to produce a new consumer product only to have the submariner arise above the surface and sue them for their innovation. Submariners do not invest in the American economy, they do not hire American workers, they do not market their inventions, and they do not make money from selling their inventions.

There are more benefits as well, Mr. Speaker, to publication at 18 months. It would finally treat our patent applicants more fairly relative to foreign entities which apply for protection in the United States. Under current conditions, a U.S. inventor filing abroad has his or her application published at 18 months in the language of the host country. This means that foreign competitors may review, but not steal, the U.S. application.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to examine H.R. 400 very carefully and very meticulously, and I appreciate the support of my colleagues.

One final point, Mr. Speaker. Those who oppose H.R. 400 are entitled to their convictions, misguided as they are. They are not, however, entitled to misrepresent the contents of my bill by lowering the level of discourse on this subject. Patent law is complex and arcane; it is not sexy and engaging when seriously discussed, especially on television. This would explain the current controversy surrounding the legislation. My patience has been tried in this regard, but I will resist the temptation to respond in like manner.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE HOWARD COBLE, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON COURTS AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY, COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THE 18-MONTH PUBLICATION PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN H.R. 400

Article I, Section 8, clause 8 of the Constitution charges Congress with the responsibility of creating an incentive for inventors to share their inventions with society by granting a monopoly for a limited amount of time in which the inventor alone can prosper from the success of the invention. Why was this incentive necessary? Because the Founding Fathers knew that our country would not achieve progress in "Science and the Useful Arts" without effective disclosure of the inventions of our citizens.

Disclosure through publication provides many benefits. It allows other inventors to discover what inventions have already been applied for and encourages them to invest their time and efforts in other inventions which further benefit our country; it serves as a "Don't Tread On Me" flag for the inventor who submitted the application so that others know not to try to copy the invention or they will be found liable for infringement; it allows venture capitalists the opportunity to consider financing an invention which may lead to the financial success of the inventor; and it benefits society so that we can continue to move forward in science and technology instead of keeping cherished knowledge hidden below the surface.

What does an inventor get in exchange for publication? The inventor receives the Con-

stitutional monopoly over his or her invention granted by Congress and enforced through the courts. The entire patent system is based on bringing new inventions into the public light and avoiding secrets. If an inventor chooses to keep his invention secret, he should not apply for a patent because he is not willing to exchange disclosure of his invention for federal protection. Instead, he may keep his invention as a trade secret, which is protected under state trade secret and unfair competition laws. That's the deal—in order to get federal patent protection, disclosure must occur. It occurs now when a patent is granted. Most are granted within 20-22 months.

Why disclosure at 18 months? There are several good reasons to publish patent applications at 18 months. First, with disclosure comes protection against infringement. Inventors will be protected earlier if patent applications are published at 18 months. Right now patents are published when they are granted. The term "patent pending" on an invention may serve to warn that protection will ensue when the patent for the invention is issued, but it does not provide true protection. By publishing applications at 18 months, inventors are protected before their patent is issued, and may enforce their patent rights from the publication date. Under current law, a small business or independent inventor could go bankrupt by investing everything it has in a project that another entity has claimed in an earlier secret application.

Publishing at 18 months also prevents some applicants from gaming the current system to purposely delay their patent and keep their invention secret, in violation of the Constitutional exchange of disclosure for protection. These inventors want the best of both worlds. They want to keep their inventions secret forever, like a trade secret, but still receive the federal grant of a patent. This was not the intention of our Founding Fathers and does not benefit society. These types of applicants are called "Submariners." They file "Submarine Patents" which destroy competition and stifle technological innovation. Submariners purposely delay their applications and keep them "hidden under the water" until someone else, who has no way of knowing of the hidden application, invests in the research and development to produce a new consumer product, only to have the submarine rise above the surface and sue them for their innovation. One recent suit earned a Submariner \$450 million at the expense of consumers. Submariners do not invest in the American economy, they do not hire American workers, they do not market their invention and they do not make money from selling their invention. They have seemingly one purpose, and that is to make money by clogging the courts with litigation and suing those who do hire our workers and invest in our economy. They purposely file very broad applications and hope that another company or inventor will invest in technology similar to that contained in the patent application. Because there was no disclosure, the innocent company or inventor had no idea the technology was protected. Had the innocent company or investor known of the application, it could have invested elsewhere to contribute to consumers and society in a different way. When a Submariner hits "the jackpot," he sues as many parties as possible, hoping that his patent, which may have been pending secretly for years, will pay off in infringement actions. In many cases, a Submariner will sue parties he knows are not truly violating his patent in hopes of achieving a "nuisance" settlement. Unfortunately, this activity forces higher consumer costs and does not lead to American technological progress.

There are more benefits to publication at 18 months. It would finally treat our patent applicants more fairly relative to foreign entities which apply for protection in the United States. Under current conditions, a United States inventor filing abroad has his or her application published after 18 months in the language of the host country; this means that foreign competitors may review (but not steal) the U.S. application. Since our system lacks this feature, however, a foreign entity never reveals the subject of its application until the patent issues. Publication after 18 months in the United States will allow an American company to review foreign applications here in English. Under no circumstances does 18-month publication create newfound opportunity for an American or foreign competitor to steal the contents of a published application. Just as is the case when a patent is granted, any competitor who appropriates an invention after publication but before grant must pay damages to the patent applicant.

H.R. 400 provides for 18-month publication, but allows an inventor to avoid publication if it is unlikely he will receive a patent. Under the provisions of H.R. 400, any inventor who is applying for a patent exclusively in the United States has up to three months after an initial determination by the Patent and Trademark Office to decide whether or not he wishes to proceed. If the PTO determines that the applicant will not likely receive a patent, the applicant may withdraw his application and seek protection under trade secret and unfair competition laws. If the patent is likely to be issued and the applicant proceeds, it will be published and protected after 18 months.

H.R. 400 carries out Congress' special obligation under the Constitution to provide protection in exchange for disclosure and will serve to benefit America's inventors. H.R. 400 is necessary for the Progress of Science and the Useful Arts.

KASHMIRI PANDITS STRIVE TO RESUME PEACEFUL LIVES

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

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring to the attention of this body and the American people a terrible tragedy that recently occurred in India's State of Jammu and Kashmir. On March 21, in the village of Sangrampora, 15 unidentified terrorists rounded up eight members of the Kashmiri Pandit community and shot them outside their homes. Seven of the victims died. While the cold-blooded murder of innocent people is always shocking and horrifying, what makes this incident even more appalling is the indication that the victims were singled out simply because they were Hindus.

Mr. Speaker, for thousands of years Kashmir has been inhabited by Hindus known as Kashmiri Pandits. These original inhabitants of the Valley of Kashmir have lived peaceful lives in one of the most beautiful areas of the world. Sadly, the efforts of the Kashmiri Pandits to live their lives peacefully and constructively has been disrupted by militants armed and trained by outside forces intent on changing Kashmir from a secular, multireligious land into a fundamentalist state.

The effects of this proxy war, which the evidence strongly indicates is supported by Pakistan, have been the death of thousands of people, the devastation of the economy, and the creation of a huge refugee population. Virtually the entire population of 300,000 Kashmiri Pandits has been forced to leave their ancestral homes and property, living in refugee camps in various cities in India in subhuman conditions. Only 2,000 Kashmiri Pandits still remain in the Kashmir Valley, and they have been turned into refugees in their own country.

The current round of violence is not the first example of the victimization of the Kashmiri Pandits. For centuries, they have been subjected to the atrocities and subjugation committed by invading peoples. On October 22, 1947, 2 months after India became independent, Pakistan attacked Kashmir to annex it by force. Four days later, Maharajah Hari Singh, the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, requested India's military assistance to save Kashmir from the Pakistani invaders and took the case to the United Nations, which called for a cease-fire, followed by complete withdrawal of Pakistani forces from the occupied area, as a precondition to a plebiscite under U.N. supervision. Sensing the anti-Pakistani mood of the Kashmiri people, Pakistan did not comply with the U.N. withdrawal condition. Instead, Pakistan made two more futile attempts in 1965 and 1971 to annex Kashmir by force.

Although Pakistan maintains that they are only providing moral and political support for the insurgency, evidence shows that Pakistan has been playing a direct role in arming and training the militants.

I have met with members of the Kashmiri-American community who have told me that Hindus and Muslims can and have lived in peace in Kashmir. The real tragedy is that outside influences are fueling religious rivalries and foreign policy agendas that pit Indian against Indian.

Mr. Speaker, as the cochairman of the Congressional Caucus on India, I believe that the United States and the international community must not allow the practice of ethnic or religious cleansing to continue. India has tried hard to help the Kashmiri Pandits. India deserves our support, both in assisting the refugees and in ending the proxy war being waged in Jammu and Kashmir.

Programs such as USAID, the Agency for International Development, could be one vehicle for the United States to provide more direct aid, humanitarian aid, I should say, for these displaced people. We should also use our considerable influence with Pakistan to urge that nation to cease support for the militants and to crack down on terrorists harbored within their borders.

I want to applaud India and Pakistan for trying to break decades of tension by having their foreign ministers meet in New Delhi recently. It has been the

highest level meeting between these south Asian neighbors in 7 years. The foreign minister's meeting, Mr. Speaker, actually took place yesterday. I hope this will be a sign of the relaxation of tensions that will benefit all the people of India and Pakistan. Especially with this new climate of cooperation, I think ultimately it will help the Kashmiri Pandits go back to their ancestral homeland and resume their peaceful lives, which is really all they want to do.

SPENT NUCLEAR FUEL POLICY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STEARNS). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GUTKNECHT] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about a serious environmental issue that has been developing in communities all across America. This pressing environmental issue is the Federal Government's lack of responsible spent nuclear fuel policy. Despite past promises and contracts, the administration is ignoring their responsibility to ensure the safe and timely disposal of spent nuclear fuel.

Let us talk a little bit about the background of this issue. Riding the crest of a new technology back in the 1950's, the Federal Government encouraged the Nation's utilities to use nuclear power as a generation source through the "Atoms for Peace Initiative." In return, the Federal Government promised to make use of utility spent nuclear fuel by reprocessing it for other uses.

In 1978, President Carter outlined the reprocessing of commercial spent nuclear fuel by the Federal Government due to concerns about proliferation.

□ 1200

In 1982, Congress came up with a solution for the management of commercial spent fuel by enacting the Nuclear Waste Policy Act. Utilities operating nuclear power plants entered into contracts with the Department of Energy in which the agency promised to begin accepting spent fuel by January 31, 1998. In return, the Nation's customers for nuclear power would contribute to a trust fund to contribute to the disposal of that spent nuclear fuel.

To finance this project, the Federal Government has collected over \$11 billion in fees from nuclear power customers and has spent over \$5 billion. Rate-paying customers from my State of Minnesota have paid more than \$250 million to the Federal Government for the disposal of spent fuel. In 1987, Congress recognized that the Department of Energy was making slow progress toward a permanent repository, and amended the Nuclear Waste Policy Act to focus on studies for a single potential site.

Here we are, 15 years from the enactment of the 1982 Nuclear Waste Policy Act and 10 years after the act was

amended. We are 9 months from the Department of Energy's deadline to begin accepting nuclear waste, but the Department says it will not be able to keep its promise and fulfill its responsibility.

The latest estimate by the Department of Energy is that it will not have a permanent repository available until at least the year 2010. This is not acceptable. In the meantime, nuclear waste is beginning to pile up at nuclear power plants across the Nation.

In my own district, for example the Prairie Island nuclear plant has been forced to build and operate a temporary storage facility because of the Department of Energy's failure to fulfill its responsibilities. This is a serious concern to the local communities who rely on the plant for jobs and those who count on it for electricity as well. This is an enormous concern to the Prairie Island Indian community, who share their island with the plant. The tribe is very concerned that their island, at the confluence of both the Vermillion and Mississippi Rivers, will become a de facto permanent repository if the Federal Government does not live up to its responsibility.

Similar concerns are shared by Americans all across the Nation. Seventy-three spent nuclear storage facilities will be built in 34 States unless the Department of Energy establishes a temporary facility. The Department of Energy has ignored the concerns of citizens across the country, and has continued to insist that it is unable to begin accepting and storing used nuclear fuel, as promised in the past. Even a recent ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals that the Department of Energy is obligated by law to begin accepting spent fuel has not changed the Department's position.

While the Department of Energy has been forced by the courts to recognize their obligation, they have refused to develop any solutions. As a matter of fact, the administration is threatening to veto the solution proposed by Congress. This avoidance of responsibility is outrageous and morally wrong. America's electricity consumers have faithfully funded this program, and they are right to expect the timely, safe, and centralized storage they have paid for.

The continued refusal by the Department of Energy and the administration to keep their promises will result in unnecessary additional cost to the taxpayers. The Department of Energy has already lost one lawsuit and the damages from breaking their contract could cost the taxpayers an additional \$20 to \$40 billion, not to mention the loss of jobs and electricity as nuclear power plants are forced to turn out their lights. The jobs and the electricity may be lost, but the spent fuel will remain.

Despite the lack of leadership by the administration, I am pleased to announce today that our colleague, the gentleman from Michigan, FRED

UPTON, has introduced a bipartisan piece of legislation which would restore the responsibility to the Federal Government's Waste Management Program. This legislation provides for a specific solution to protect our environment, protect our taxpayers, and restore the trust of electric consumers who have paid the Federal Government billions of dollars for this solution.

Mr. Speaker, I would hope that all Members would join with me and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. UPTON] in supporting this very important legislation.

The legislation simply states that as the Department of Energy works on a permanent site, a centralized temporary facility should be located at the Nevada test site. This site is an area the size of Connecticut that since the Truman administration has been the home to atmospheric and underground nuclear test blasts as well as countless active and abandoned nuclear labs. Its remote, arid location is ideally suited to store nuclear waste. By pursuing a policy that puts nuclear waste behind one fence, in one location, we can concentrate our resources on making sure it is safe.

The Senate has under consideration a similar piece of legislation to ensure that the Department of Energy keeps its promises.

URGING MEMBERS' SUPPORT OF H.R. 1270, THE NUCLEAR WASTE POLICY ACT OF 1997

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STEARNS). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Idaho [Mr. CRAPO] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. Speaker, I too rise today in support of H.R. 1270, the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1997. This is very critical legislation that is being dealt with this week in the Senate, legislation that I have worked on now for 4 years with the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. UPTON], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HASTERT], the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GUTKNECHT], and many other Members of this House. It is legislation that is so important that we must deal with it this year, and deal with it this year soon.

The Federal Government has a legal responsibility to take used spent fuel in 1998. The U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in July 1996, that the DOE has a legal obligation to take spent fuel from the Nation's commercial reactors. If the Government fails to perform, the American taxpayers could be forced to cough up more than \$50 billion in liabilities.

The Federal Government has not kept faith with its people on this issue. The Department of Energy has broken its promise, indeed its legal obligation, to take used nuclear fuel from commercial reactors beginning on January 31, 1998.

Despite the fact that it has had 15 years to establish a central storage facility, DOE now says it cannot accept the used fuel on time in the 1998 deadline. What is more, absent legislation forcing it to live up to these contrac-

tual commitments, DOE does not have any plans to begin taking this used fuel prior to the year 2010.

Electric ratepayers are getting ripped off. Already through their monthly electric bills, ratepayers have paid the Federal Government nearly \$13 billion to finance the construction of storage facilities for spent fuel. The Government has taken the money, often spending it for other purposes, but has failed to live up to its commitment to build these storage facilities.

If nuclear power producers have to continue to provide onsite storage because the Government fails to accept and fulfill its responsibility, the ratepayers will end up paying twice. They will pay once, as they have already paid for the construction of the storage facility, and a second time for the cost of storing it onsite.

The cost to ratepayers of providing this additional onsite storage will be billions more. Investors are losing money due to Government inaction. The used fuel crisis is hurting the value of investor-owned utilities that produce nuclear power. The crisis exists not only because the Government clearly intends to violate its contractual obligation to accept the spent fuel, but also because we have military fuel that is stored in States like Idaho that needs to be addressed in similar circumstances.

The uncertainty over whether the Government will dispose of used fuel, if it does at all, is complicating the utilities' planning process. The Nuclear Waste Policy Act makes environmental and economic sense. Used nuclear fuel from commercial reactors and defense facilities is now being stored at 80 sites in 41 different States.

Common sense dictates that storage of nuclear waste in one remote, unpopulated location, where safety and cost efficiencies will be maximized, is the best policy. The legislation itself incorporates amendments to strengthen environmental safeguards.

Nuclear power plants are running out of space to store spent fuel. The Federal Government says its repository will not be ready until the year 2010, at the earliest. But by 1998, 27 of the Nation's 109 nuclear powerplants will run out of onsite storage space and by 2010, 80 nuclear plants will have no space to store the used fuel at all.

Finally, the Department of Energy and the Navy are only obligated to fulfill strict legal obligations to the State of Idaho with regard to spent fuel stored there. The State of Idaho entered into a binding contractual agreement with the Department of Energy and the Navy recently, which has been implemented by court and has become a part of a court order that requires timely deadlines to be met in the transfer of this spent fuel out of the State of Idaho into permanent storage.

The longer the Federal Government fails to proceed timely on its required obligation to accept this spent fuel, the greater the risk these obligations will

not be met. This bill will provide for the much needed centralized storage of our Nation's defense high-level waste and spent fuel from our nuclear Navy. This bill goes further than the bill last Congress to address the needs of these facilities, and currently awaits needed action in this House.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come for this House to act promptly and decisively on this issue and send a message to the White House that not only should this legislation not be vetoed, this legislation should be welcomed with open arms, so a critical problem facing America today can be resolved.

ANOTHER LOST OPPORTUNITY IN HAITI?

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

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, a wise man once said: Four things come not back: The spoken word, the sped arrow, time passed, and the neglected opportunity.

As I reviewed the observer reports from this weekend's elections in Haiti, this aphorism came to mind. We all congratulate the Haitians who worked so hard on election day, and those who came out to vote, despite the many factors that might have kept them away from the polls.

But when 20,000 American troops invaded Haiti, as opposed as some of us here were to this action, we all hoped somehow the end result would bear fruit for our troubled neighbors in Hispaniola. Sadly, that opportunity has not been fully realized.

This weekend's elections, the last in a cycle to create the institutions set forth in the 1987 Haitian Constitution, offer testimony to the disappointing reality in that country. Haitians, expressing disillusionment with democracy and certainty that the results were already determined, barely participated in their elections. Observers have placed turnout in the range of a dismal 5 percent.

Why? After five rounds of voting in the past 3 years, many of the Haitian observers spoke with those who echoed sentiments like the Haitian who said: My children cannot eat this vote. They cannot eat democracy. They need food.

Frustrated Haitians told observers I spoke with that "At least when Duvalier was here, things worked. Today nothing happens. Today the machinery sits and rusts, and the people get nothing. The money comes to Haiti but we do not know where it goes."

People will recall Duvalier was a brutal dictator. If it is worse than that now, things are not well in Haiti. Still others told observers that "Everyone here knows already the winner of these elections. These are simply reflections of the situation."

Three years after the triumphant return of President Aristide, progress on stability and jobs and good governance is as elusive as ever in Haiti. In fact,

those of us who have traveled to Haiti over the years are beginning to see disturbing trends. Not only are things not getting better, in many respects they seem to actually be getting worse, despite the \$3 billion of taxpayers' investment.

The disappointment goes well beyond the lack of economic growth and new investment. Anxiety about business and personal security remains a part of everyday Haitian life. Since the beginning of this year there has been a series of assassinations, brutal assassinations, aimed at the Haitian national police. As has been the case in the past 3 years, still more political figures have either gone into hiding or have just simply left the country, fearing for their lives because of the rising tide of harassment and violence they encounter. The large population center of Cite Soleil is the site of regular random shooting sprees by armed gangs, and cities like Cap Haitien are subject to regular eruptions from populist organizations.

Beyond this, if one looks at the health of democracy in general, certainly the disenfranchisement of the opposition parties from the electoral process, and likely consolidation of one sector's hold on Haitian institutions, from the local through the national level, adds to the sense that things are not going well in Haiti, and in fact, it is not a true democracy.

Maybe that is why the Pentagon announced yesterday that 200 more paratroopers from the 82d Airborne are being sent from Fort Bragg to Haiti. Frankly, today the Haitian peoples are not the only ones with questions about what is happening in the small Caribbean nations. These realities have some Americans such as myself wondering when to expect the next refugee flow, the next political killing, the next setback in the process of economic reform.

What this means is that those of us who have oversight on the questions of how the United States Government spends America's money have a responsibility to ask some tough and serious questions about what has and what has not been accomplished with the opportunity for progress that our \$3 billion and 20,000 troops have provided to Haiti.

The Clinton administration owes us some answers. From there, we are obligated to ask the big question: Why should the American taxpayers continue to send more of their dollars to Haiti? Why? Because while the administration may choose to measure progress in Haiti by whether or not the elections are held, full, free, fair, democratic, and transparent or not, and they were not, Americans know that there is more to the substance of democracy than just the act of holding elections, especially elections that were impacted by armed thugs and blatant intimidation, as was reported this very morning in the Miami Herald.

We need some explanations from the White House. We need them now. We

need not to spend any more good money where bad has been invested.

MEMORIES OF TAX RETURNS AND THE IRS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. SMITH] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. LINDA SMITH of Washington. Mr. Speaker, this time of the year always brings back memories to me, because for nearly 15 years I was up to my nose in tax returns and trips to IRS for clients. In my other world, I prepared tax returns and taught the changes of the law to tax preparers. It always disturbed me when I would go to Internal Revenue with the expertise of the agents, not all of them but many, but also the amount of information that they had about our private lives.

□ 1215

So you can imagine that it was more personal for me when Tuesday of this week I got a report that IRS had been snooping again. You see, several years ago there was a report that there was a lot of private snooping going on in private records of individual citizens, some celebrities, some people just like me, by Internal Revenue agents. For what purpose, I do not know. Some were convicted. Not many. But it was a pretty extensive report.

And IRS promised us at that time, whether we be citizens or people that represented citizens before IRS or preparers, that they would stop doing it, that they would rein this practice in and protect the privacy of the ordinary American citizen.

Well, this Tuesday, the document release says they are not doing it. In fact, it was so serious it showed that in 1994 and 1995 alone, there were documented 1515 cases where employees were accused of misusing computers, snooping.

Now, the sad part about this is there were not very many firings. It says in the report that they counseled most of the employees; 472 were counseled, 349 were disciplined, but it does not appear in anything other than a hand slap. Only 23 were fired.

Now, in our country the right to privacy and protection of our private lives is very, very important. That is what makes us America.

Mr. Speaker, we should not have the servants of the people, whether they be police, FBI, whatever, but especially not IRS, violating our privacy.

Next week we will have a bill on this floor that will take care of that. We are not going to put it into a study. We are not going to trust IRS to say, we will do it if you wait. We are going to tell them that they are going to do it.

But how we are going to do it is this way: We are going to say, if you snoop, you have civil penalties and criminal penalties. If you snoop and tell, which is really awful, but that has happened,

you talk about the private lives of citizens, you can go to jail even if you are an IRS employee. Why should they be any different than any other citizen? They are just servants of the people.

Next week is also going to focus on something that has been the compelling issue that brought me into politics originally in the early 1980's.

In the early 1980's, it was actually a State tax increase that doubled the taxes on my small business. I never had more than 125 employees at any one time; but I faced, with regulation and a doubling of my small business tax, laying off employees.

It got my attention. And I realized that American families, whether running a small business, like me, or my employees, could be hurt by government not being able to control spending.

You see, what I saw was our State had doubled their spending percentage nearly regularly over 20 years. What that means is every 2 years the spending increase was 20 percent, 10 percent a year, while the people's ability to pay got up 3 to 5 percent a year.

And as that happened and government grew, it was so easy, you see, to raise taxes instead of control spending, that what we faced were ordinary people, like me, running a small business in Vancouver, WA, facing taxes that we were having one heck of a time paying.

So I ran for office and got mad. I ran for office and I kept changing things. I ran an initiative in our State that said we will control spending and will make it tougher to raise taxes. It always should be a little tougher to raise taxes than to tax the American people, whether it be at the State or Federal level, than to increase spending, because you cannot tell a bureaucracy no.

Mr. Speaker, we passed that as an initiative in our State. And guess what? The spending growth is now 5 percent a year for the public government, and it is more in line with the ability of the people to pay. This worked. It will work when we pass the same measure next week.

On the floor next week will be a supermajority to raise taxes. And it worked in our State. It will work in our Nation. And I encourage watching for that vote and see how Members of Congress vote.

REGARDING JUDICIAL ACTIVISM

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

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss an issue that is of great concern to the American people, and that issue is judicial activism.

Earlier this week, a three-judge Federal appeals court reversed a decision made by Judge Thelton Henderson, who barred the enforcement of the California civil rights initiative.

In reversing that decision, the appellate judge wrote, and I quote, "A system which permits one judge to block with the stroke of his pen what 4,736,180 State residents voted to enact as law tests the integrity of our constitutional democracy."

That is exactly right. Judicial activism threatens the checks and balances written into our Constitution.

I want to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE], the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, who just yesterday introduced the Judicial Reform Act. Now, his legislation takes a very important first step in reining in the judicial branch.

Over the last several weeks, I have been attacked by several different groups for suggesting that it is within the constitutional authority of the Congress to impeach judges who willfully ignore the Constitution.

By my reading of the Constitution, it is not only the right of Congress to act as a check on the judicial branch; it is our duty. The Constitution provides that judges may be impeached for conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

That phrase has never been completely defined, but there is little doubt that the Founders intended impeachment to be used against judges in certain circumstances.

The first Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, John Marshall, who was not in favor of judicial impeachment, nevertheless saw it as part of the Constitution. He said, the present doctrine seems to be that a judge giving a legal opinion contrary to the opinion of the legislature is liable to impeachment.

Thomas Jefferson explained, the opinion which gives to the judge the right to decide what laws are constitutional and what not, not only for themselves in their own sphere of action, but for the legislature and executive also in their spheres, would make the judiciary a despotic branch.

Justice James Wilson acknowledged that impeachment can be confined to political characters, to political crime and misdemeanors, and to political punishments.

And even Gerald Ford explained that, when imposing the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, that an impeachable offense is whatever the majority of the House of Representatives considers it to be at any given moment in history.

Now, unfortunately, on too many occasions the Federal judiciary has strayed far beyond its proper function. In no other democracy in the world do judges who are not elected, who are unaccountable, decide so many political issues.

Mr. Speaker, I do not advocate impeaching judges just because I disagree with them politically. I advocate that Congress, using its clearly defined role within the Constitution, act as a check on the judicial branch of the Government.

The American people are frustrated when one person, one person subverts

their will, expressed in a democratic election. They should be frustrated. An independent judiciary is the anchor of our democracy. A despotic judiciary may very well be the downfall of our democracy.

I urge my colleagues to consider all of the tools within our constitutional authority as we take on the very real problem of judicial despotism. One of those tools is impeachment, and, despite the barrage of criticism, I think it is a tool we should consider using.

A NATIONAL DEBATE ON THE INCOME TAX CODE

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

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, I am also joined today by a friend of mine, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. DAN SCHAEFER], who will interact with me in this 5 minutes and perhaps even ask unanimous consent for his own time.

We are pleased today to announce to the House and to the American public that as tax day approaches, as April 15 bears down upon us as the date upon which the tax man cometh again into our lives, we are preparing to begin the national debate on the issue of whether or not it is time for us in America to consider ripping the income Tax Code out by its roots, repealing the U.S. income Tax Code in its entirety, along with the IRS, and replacing the entire thing with a simple, straightforward national retail consumption tax.

On April 15, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. DAN SCHAEFER] and I will be joined by other Members of this body, not necessarily as Members of Congress but as citizens of this country, and we will be joined by many other citizens who will join with us in Boston Harbor for a symbolic reenactment of the Boston Tea Party.

We will be in that harbor on an 18th-century style ship, and we will symbolically put the U.S. income Tax Code into a beautiful box labeled "Boston tea." And we will ceremoniously dump it into that harbor. We are doing it, by the way, with the proper permitting authority, because to leave that income Tax Code in the harbor would surely be a bad example of pollution. But we are going to do this demonstration along with many other Americans to begin this debate.

Is it time to get rid of this income Tax Code that is hurting Americans and hurting American jobs and debilitating the U.S. economy and replacing it with a simple straightforward consumption tax?

The debate will begin on April 15. The ceremony we have in Boston Harbor will hopefully be the start of that debate.

What essentially is wrong with the U.S. income Tax Code? The stories of IRS agents snooping into private businesses, the stories of 4 billion dollars' worth of computers that do not work are just the beginning.

The IRS code punishes you for earning income, punishes you for saving money, punishes you for investing money, punishes you for leaving money to your children, whether you are alive or in death, through inheritance taxes, punishes you when you buy anything made in America, because everything made in America carries an IRS tax on it of about 14 to 15 percent, and rewards you only for doing one thing, for buying foreign products.

What kind of a Tax Code is that? I suggest that a Tax Code replacing the income tax that would once and for all put an end to inheritance taxes, put an end to taxes on investments and earnings and income and replace it with a simple one-time tax on consumption of both foreign and domestic products, equalizing for the first time since 1913 the taxes on foreign products with American products, is the right way to go.

We will begin this debate historically in Boston Harbor. My colleague and friend, who I am pleased to yield to at this time, DAN SCHAEFER, and I will be leading the charge.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. DAN SCHAEFER].

Mr. DAN SCHAEFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much for yielding to me.

I went back into the 1913 Tax Code and, as the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. TAUZIN] knows, we pulled that out. That was the first time that we really had an income tax where you had to file. It was three pages. One was your withholding. One was your deductions, and the other was how you paid your taxes.

Now, as people will see when we go to Boston Harbor, we have better than 8,000 pages of Tax Codes, regulations, rules, laws, et cetera, that if you take your taxes to 10 or 15 different CPA's, they will all come out with a new number on what you owe the Federal Government or what you are going to get back. I think it is time that we finally have decided that this is wrong for the American people.

One of the most intrusive taxes that we have is the inheritance tax. We are planning to get rid of inheritance taxes, capital gains taxes, gift taxes, all excise taxes, unless they are tied to a trust fund, and replace it with a very simple consumption tax.

A NATIONAL CONSUMPTION TAX

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado, Mr. DAN SCHAEFER, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DAN SCHAEFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, it is very difficult to try and go through this entire subject matter over just a period of 5 minutes. I am going to yield shortly to the gentleman from Louisiana.

□ 1230

I can recall that the 1986 tax bill was first started as a flat tax. Now, a flat

tax, if we adhere to it, is better than what we have but it is not the final answer.

Why do we not take away the power of taxation from the Federal Government and from Congress and give it to the American people and let them decide on how they are going to pay their taxation? I think this is the correct way to go and the right way to go.

That flat tax, started back in 1985, turned out to be a Christmas tree by 1986, in which we passed that final bill, which I was very, very proud to have voted against.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I think it will surprise the American public to learn that since 1986, when we adopted in this Congress tax simplification, a flatter tax base, that not only have the rates now continued to go up, we have five different rates today again, but since 1986 this Congress has made 4,000 individual changes in the Tax Code. It just does not stop. Flat taxes become fat taxes.

We are suggesting it is time to get rid of the entire income Tax Code and go to a simple retail sales tax, and we are asking sons and daughters of liberty to join us in Boston Harbor, not only Members of this Congress but citizens of this country, to come meet us in Boston Harbor on April 15 and join us in the beginning of this great national debate. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. DAN SCHAEFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much, and he has been an instrumental part in this whole debate.

And as we move on, if we go to the American people and we say to them in town meetings, or any kind of a meeting, that we want to abolish the IRS, we want to take the IRS and eliminate it and to transfer over the power of taxation to them, the American people in this country, they love it. And they should love it because we are eliminating April 15. We are eliminating keeping all those records and receipts and everything else that we have to do to try to substantiate the fact that we are following the law.

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, I think it is important to point out that the IRS is the only agency of the Federal Government where we are guilty until we prove our innocence. We can get a better deal in Federal Court after indictment than we can before the IRS.

It is time for us to consider whether this agency, this structure of taxation, this agency that has such power over our lives ought to be abolished in favor of a simple sales tax collection system where we decide how much taxes we pay by deciding how much we spend or how much instead that we save and invest in our society and in American jobs.

Mr. DAN SCHAEFER of Colorado. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, I

would just say that the people have to understand, and the one thing that the gentleman from Louisiana and I have been doing is being on numerous talk shows, radio shows, TV shows over the last year, and the one thing I always say to the American public, to our listeners, is they should just imagine their last paycheck and think about the amount of money that the Federal Government withheld and that they can now put that in their pocket. They can save it, they can consume with it or whatever they wish. That is the key.

We are taking this power of taxation away from the Federal Government and giving it to the American people.

Mr. TAUZIN. I think our time is about up, Mr. Speaker, and I simply wanted, in the short time we have left, to again invite Americans to begin this debate. The debate will be whether to keep the current system, with all its problems, with all its costs. It costs American citizens \$4 for every dollar they send to the Federal Government in taxes. Do we keep this awful system that taxes Americans twice, three times, and four times on the same money; that only taxes American products and jobs and not foreign products. Do we want to keep this system or do we want to go to a flat tax system, which is a better alternative or, better yet, pull this system out by its roots and replace it with a simple straightforward sales tax, that taxes for the first time foreign products and American products on the same basis and taxes American income only once, when you spend money, not when you earn it.

If that national debate is not worth having, then I will be greatly surprised. Join us on April 15 as we begin this debate in this historic reenactment of the Boston Tea Party, when we will dump the U.S. Tax Code into that harbor as new sons and daughters of liberty who believe that liberty and freedom is so important in this country that we ought never to surrender it to an agency where we are guilty until we prove ourselves innocent. That is so un-American. Join us in this national debate.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STEARNS). The Chair would remind all Members that they should address their remarks to the Chair.

JUDICIAL ACTIVISM

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

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, I want to briefly talk on the subject of judicial activism. This was talked about a few minutes ago by the majority whip.

I have to say that it personally hits home in what I have been reading lately about the threats of judicial activism. I have been teaching my 9-year-old about democracy. We have been going through the history of the Greeks and the Romans and also the British Empire and America, and I have been trying to explain to him about the concept of democracy.

It is always interesting to have a 9-year-old asking basic questions like, "Daddy, what is democracy?" I struggled with it, but in the end, I told him it is where the people decide how they are going to be governed; where the people make the decisions instead of the kings. I tried to break it down that way, as simply as possible; that it is not the kings, it is not the monarchs, it is not the elitist rulers that rule America, but that the people rule America.

I read and was comforted greatly by a decision that came down in California a couple of days ago that addressed judicial activism, where the people were actually allowed to decide how the government was going to be run instead of one elitist judge. I will give my colleagues a little background.

The California people decided that they did not want Americans to be judged on the color of their skin or whether they were a man or a woman but, instead, wanted people to be judged and hired based on the content of their character. So they passed a civil rights initiative. Five million Californians went out and voted on this measure and decided that they wanted to get rid of race-based hiring preferences.

Well, despite the fact that five million people voted in California on this issue, a single judge, with a stroke of the pen, was able to nullify the will of five million voters. Five million Californians. Five million Americans.

Now, that would be hard to explain to my son how we have a single judge making decisions for five million people instead of having the people make the decisions themselves. So I was very pleased yesterday when I saw that a three-judge panel actually overturned that single judicial activist judge and talked about how it was inherently undemocratic that the will of five million people could be erased with a single stroke of one judge's pen.

I certainly support the three-judge panel, and I just want to say to my fellow Members here, and others, Mr. Speaker, that it is important for us to start asking some very tough questions about these activist judges that believe they can thwart the will of Americans and democracy and just be a judicial activist.

What we have to do is measure their rights as judges with the rights of us to be run by the will of the people, and also look at the separation of powers to see how judicial activism is threatening democracy.

The whip said he had been attacked for discussing judicial activism, and I

have read a lot of things that were said about him. They were saying that, and we heard it, that it was undemocratic for somebody to talk about judicial activism this way; that it was a threat to democracy and that it was radical.

I would just ask the question: Who is the real radical? Who is the real radical? Do we call somebody a radical for questioning why judges are running America in some areas instead of the people; or is the real radical the single judge that with a stroke of his pen eliminates the will of five million registered voters?

I would say the real radical, the person who is the real threat to democracy, is that Federal judge who does not examine what the original intent of our Framers was when talking about the separation of power; the real radical is that single judge who decides that he or she is going to ignore the overwhelming will of the American people and, instead, legislate from the bench.

It is very dangerous. It has been dangerous for 30 years. It has led us to some very disturbing decisions across the land, and it is time that we just start asking basic simple questions about what do we do to once again take a measured approach in figuring out how to protect Americans from judicial activism and how to make sure that the genius of America and the genius of democracy and the genius of the separation of powers is preserved for the next century.

PROTECT AMERICA'S PATENT SYSTEM

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

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, the last spokesman, one of our colleagues, the gentleman from Florida, [Mr. SCARBOROUGH] just mentioned protecting the genius of the United States of America. Well, next week the House, this House, the body of the House of Representatives, will vote on a bill that will determine America's basic law on technology for the 21st century.

In a quiet, almost stealth maneuver, major multinational corporations are trying to slide through this Congress legislation which will gut America's patent system. My colleagues heard me correctly. It will gut America's patent system.

America has had the strongest patent system in the world. That is why we have the strongest economy of the world and our people have enjoyed opportunities and freedom like no other people in the world. And it is now under attack. America has had this strong patent protection in place since the founding of our country. It is in our Constitution.

If this dismantling of America's patent protection proceeds, it will lead to an historic rip-off of America's tech-

nology. I say historic because it will lead to an end of America's preeminence in the arena of technology. And it has been this arena, as I say, that has secured us from foreign threats and permitted us the economic advancements that have given our people the strongest standard of living and the highest standard of living of any country of the world because our people, not just the elite, enjoy opportunity and freedom in America.

If they gut our patent system, it will destroy our ability to compete with those countries that have cheap labor because we now will be stripped of our technological advantage. It will also strip our defenders of their technological advantage.

This bill, H.R. 400, which I call the Steal American Technology Act, will be voted on in this body next week, but probably half of our Members do not even know it is coming up or know anything about it, yet they are being contacted by lobbyists. And unless the American people step forward and contact their Member of Congress and say vote against the H.R. 400, the Steal American Technologies Act, lobbyists from multinational corporations will have the say on the passage of this bill which will gut our patent system.

What does H.R. 400 do? It mandates, and hold on to your seat here, it mandates that every patent application, every inventor who applies for a patent, will have his patent published for the entire world to see even before the patent is issued. This means that every enemy of the United States, every competitor of our country, every Japanese and Chinese copycat will have every one of our technological secrets and be able to use it against us before our patents are issued to our own industries and our own inventors.

It also mandates a reexamination. It opens up the book to many different avenues that foreign corporations can challenge existing patents. Even those who own existing patents will be challenged.

Finally, it eliminates the Patent Office as part of our Government and resurrects it as a corporate entity. We have had a Patent Office as part of our Government since the founding of our country. Now they want to corporatize it, turn it into a corporation that will be able to receive gifts from other countries and other foreign and multinational corporations.

□ 1245

Our patent examiners have worked so hard. So hard. There has never been a scandal among our patent examiners. Now by corporatizing the Patent Office, we are opening them up to all kinds of who knows what influences. These are people who make decisions that are worth billions and billions of dollars. They now will be opened up to outside influences.

This bill, H.R. 400, is a catastrophe. It will have a dramatic impact on our standard of living. I call it a Pearl Harbor in slow motion. This bill will be

voted on next week unless people contact their representative. Many people will come here and vote and the only contact they will have had is with the lobbyists that are paid for by multinational corporations. Luckily, the leadership has provided us an alternative. I have two pieces of legislation, H.R. 811 and 812, which will be offered on the floor as a substitute, and I would ask my colleagues to vote for my substitute which will be presented, my substitute, the Rohrabacher substitute, to H.R. 400, the Steal American Technologies Act.

If this bill passes, H.R. 400, we can imagine that American inventors will be left open to the greatest theft of our technology in the history of our country. It will impact our standard of living. I am sounding the alarm bell and I hope my colleagues and the people of the United States are listening. We can defeat it but only if Americans act together.

GETTING TOUGH ON IMMIGRATION

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

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to step up the heat, if you will, and the pressure on this administration to work with our Immigration Department and ferret out some of the significant problems that exist in that agency. I also call upon them to increase staffing for our Border Patrol agents in the State of Florida. I am reading today in Insight magazine, "Customs Officials Eat Crow at the Border," which details a number of allegations that have been brought forward against border officials in our administration. Serious allegations.

One includes a 3-week period where one of our agents called a known convicted drug trafficker, 207 calls from an agent's home. We also have some claims made by some of our employees that a customs dog handler when attempting to search an 18-wheel tanker was prevented from doing his job. Later that tanker was found to contain nearly 4 tons of cocaine. Meanwhile at the California port of Calexico, immigration investigators, who already have arrested one customs inspector recently on corruption charges, are closing in on a customs secretary who is accused of selling intelligence to Tijuana's drug lords.

Mr. Speaker, if this country is going to be secure from both illegal immigration and the rapid importation increase of illegal drugs, we have got to be able to depend on people who enforce the law as passed by this Congress. It concerns me greatly when we read these reports and we hear allegations of corruption and bribery and people being allowed to bring numerous people into this country illegally.

So I ask this administration, the attorney general, to fully investigate

these allegations, not to sweep them under the rug as alleged by several officers of the Immigration Service. In fact one says, "They're pulling punches." Inspectors at San Ysidro argue punches are being pulled and that several more serious corruption allegations against senior personnel are being buried. You read about what happens to people when they are discovered to have violated the laws of this country. They are moved to a desk assignment, they are transferred, they are offered early retirement. These are serious violations of our laws. These people should not be offered retirement. They should be shown the way to jail.

We have also got to look carefully at what NAFTA has brought us. Recently allegations of tainted strawberries in our school system originating in Mexico. Under Federal law they are not allowed to sell to the school lunch program but somehow once again they have slipped into the process and now our children are being shot for potential hepatitis virus. Tainted strawberries.

Last year we had a scare for raspberries from Guatemala. All along we have said about NAFTA that we are concerned about pesticide application, we are concerned about the quality of water that is used to irrigate the fields, we are concerned about the child labor standards. Obviously they do not have any. They would be serious violations here in this country if the same standards applied. Wage and hourly pay in Mexico. And at the same time our produce growers are going out of business in America because we have gleefully embraced NAFTA and said everything is perfect, give it a chance. At the same time, people are getting sick. If that is good progress on NAFTA, then I must have read the wrong book on protecting public safety and health.

Drug enforcement not taking place on our border, I must have read the wrong chapter about getting tough on the laws of this Nation. Clearly the unbridled attempt by others to seek entrance into this country illegally has got to stop. But it will not stop if the people charged with enforcing our laws in this country look the other way, turn a deaf ear, or line their pockets with bribes in order to turn back the problems that we face in America.

Again I urge the administration to act on my request as we have submitted with members of the Florida delegation asking for increased Border Patrol, increased immigration assistance, quicker deportation of illegals from our prison system, quicker deportation of those that have falsely claimed asylum as a reason to come to this country. Because if we again are not able and capable of protecting our Nation from invasion from those who seek to break our laws, then our Nation shall perish.

CHINA AND MFN

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

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, we will be addressing for the next couple of months in this body whether or not to grant the most-favored-nation trading status to China. I just had a series of town meetings. This issue came up in every town meeting. Clearly the American people are opposed to the Congress granting continuation of the most favored trading status to China.

Some of the issues and why. It is important for Members of this body to know that in China, there are Catholic priests who are in jail. There are Catholic bishops who are in jail. In China there are Protestant pastors who are in jail. In China almost on a weekly basis, evangelical and house churches are raided whereby people are arrested and they are taken away.

We have seen the Chinese Government plunder Tibet and expel the Dalai Lama where the Dalai Lama can no longer return to Tibet. We have seen the persecution of many who are Buddhist, both nuns and priests. We see persecution of Moslems in the northwest part of China. There are more gulags in China than there were in the Soviet Union. We all recall Solzhenitsyn's book, *Gulag Archipelago*.

It is important that the American people know and that the Members of this body know that there are more gulags, slave labor camps, in China than any other country of the world and certainly many more than there were in the Soviet Union. We have seen China sell military weapons, equipment, to Iran, which is not in the best interests of this country. We have seen technology transferred to other countries with regard to nuclear technology, which again is not in the best interests of this country. As many Americans know, China sold weapons to Saddam Hussein in the Desert Storm fighting that were used against American forces during that time.

We know what took place in Tiananmen Square, whereby we watched the activity. The government called out military forces to crush the Tiananmen Square demonstration, which was totally peaceful. I had the opportunity to visit Beijing prison No. 1 shortly thereafter, whereby we saw 40 Tiananmen Square demonstrators who were working on socks for export to the West. Again, how can Americans companies and textile companies compete with something like that?

Mr. Speaker, there have been reports that in China they arrest people and those who are sentenced to death, some who have committed crimes, others who have not, whereby there was an organ donor program whereby after they shoot them, they take out their kidneys for sale, for transplantation. And there is even one report of an individual who was still alive and had both

of his kidneys taken out for sale to people in the West.

There is much more that will take place, and we will document it over the next several months. However, it is clear to say that during the 1980's, during the Reagan administration, we would have never granted MFN to the Soviet Union when they were doing terrible things. I remember when the Reagan administration and President Reagan gave the speech in Orlando, the evil empire, where he talked against the activities that were taking place. We in the Congress in a bipartisan way stood in solidarity to those in the Soviet Union, the dissidents, those that wanted to leave the Soviet Union and those that were being persecuted because of their faith and whatever reasons they were being persecuted, we stood in solidarity. Even during the Reagan administration, 250,000 people came and rallied on the Mall on behalf of those people.

Every time there were visits from the Reagan administration and also the Carter administration to Russia, they may very well have met with Brezhnev and met with Gorbachev, but they also met in the American embassy in solidarity with those who were being persecuted in the Soviet Union. We stood with those people during that period of time, and we ought to stand with those people in China during this period of time.

When I talked to Natan Shcharansky, who was in Perm Camp 35 in the Soviet Union, Shcharansky was baffled that we would ever grant MFN to China because he maintained that the reason he was released from Perm Camp 35 prison during that period of time was because of our activity in regard to MFN.

Mr. Speaker, in summary, I might say that we will cover a number of these issues and urge the Members to seriously look at religious persecution, persecution of dissidents, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the Buddhists, and many others as we make a decision whether or not we would grant MFN.

DEMOCRATIC ANSWER TO REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL INACTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, before I begin my remarks, let me just say that I paid special attention to the gentleman from Virginia who spoke with respect to China and also to my Republican friend and colleague from Florida, [Mr. FOLEY] who spoke with respect to NAFTA and its shortcomings. I cannot say how gratified I am to hear my colleagues on this side of the aisle starting to understand and recognize

the limitations of some of these international agreements and treaties that we have entered into, and I am pleased that they are speaking out.

Mr. Speaker, I was disturbed to read in this week's papers that the Speaker is back at it again. For 3 months the American people have waited for the Republican party to begin to move on an agenda, to propose a budget, to address the serious problems we have with health and with education, health for our children, reforming our campaign finance system. Yet day after day we show up here for work and nothing. No budget, no bills scheduled, very few votes, and so it is not hard to see why most people feel like nothing is getting done in Washington. Yet the Speaker, who has done nothing to move an agenda for working families, has instead decided that it is time to launch attacks, to distort the facts and to demonize those who disagree with him. The same Speaker who seems to be running from his own personal responsibilities for violating rules of this House and subverting our campaign finance laws has accused others of rigging the game. So it is no wonder that the American people have grown cynical and tired of Washington's political games.

Last year the Gingrich revolution with all its excesses and missteps and extremism was exposed for what it was. It was a radical attempt to turn back the clock on progress for American families.

□ 1300

But let us not forget the Gingrich revolutionaries do not just want to cut Medicare and education to give tax breaks to the wealthy. They brag about their opposition to Medicare, they tried to eliminate the Department of Education, they tried to let polluters rewrite environmental laws. And let us also not forget that it was our efforts in this House that stopped that revolution. And let us not forget that we did not do it alone. Working men and women throughout the country stood up and said we want to protect Medicare, we want to invest in education, and we want to preserve our environment.

Now, NEWT GINGRICH has learned nothing, I think, from the experiences of the last 2 years. In fact, just yesterday in a frantic drive to recapture the fervor of his lost revolution, the Speaker proposed a set of massive tax breaks for the wealthiest people in this country. This Gingrich tax would give away to the wealthy—these tax breaks would cost over 300 billion over the next 5 years, \$300 billion, and what is more than that, what could happen if this occurs is the following:

You cannot do this. You cannot have breaks in those magnitudes without breaking the budget. It cannot be done without wrecking Medicare. It cannot be done without savaging education.

At a time when we should be coming to some consensus on how to balance

our budget here, the Speaker seems more concerned about coddling his wealthy donors.

The Gingrich speech comes just one day after a story in the Washington Times revealed that wealthy donors warned the GOP that if they do not get their tax breaks, the Republican Party will not get their money. It was as simple and clear as that. There is no end to the Gingrich Republicans' effort to pander to these wealthy special interests.

Now, this week we were supposed to take up a bill that would have saved middle-income homeowners hundreds of dollars a year on their mortgage insurance, and I might add that this bill received broad bipartisan support in the committee. But at the last minute the Republican leadership bowed to the pressure of the special interests and pulled the bill.

We should have passed that bill. It would have saved a middle-income family buying a \$119,000 home \$70 a month. That bill now has been shelved because the special interests got to their leadership. No relief for homeowners, no help for middle income families trying to balance their budgets, no balanced budgets for America. And we get from the reborn revolution, all we get from it is tax breaks for their wealthy donors.

So the American people are tired of this. They are tired of seeing their hard-earned dollars, their hopes for a secure retirement, their promise for their kids' education, threatened by a relentless Republican drive to reward the wealthy donors.

The Speaker may be right. The game in this country may be rigged. But it is not rigged by the working families who struggle every day to make ends meet. It is not rigged by the working men and women who organize and fight back when they see our rights are threatened. It is rigged by the wealthy interests that the Speaker seems so eager to please with these new tax giveaways.

This country needs a real debate on our different political philosophies, a debate about some of the most fundamental questions that we face today:

What is the role of government? What are the possibilities of limits on the free market? What is the meaning of citizenship? Of political participation itself?

So let us have that debate, and let us remember our own history when we have it. I believe that somewhere along the line our politics has gotten disconnected from the American people. People no longer see a link between their lives and politics, between their lives and the forces controlling our economy, between their lives and the real challenges that we are facing as individuals and as a nation, and this disconnection has helped create a feeling of powerlessness, of frustration, of alienation.

Our challenge is to try to plug people back in. We need to give people a reason to believe again. We need to reestablish a connection between people and their Government and between people and our economy, and I want to talk about a group that the Speaker attacked and demonized just several days ago.

To me the labor movement is fundamental to this challenge of reconnection. Over the years more than anybody else, the labor movement has helped connect people to politics in a meaningful way. By fighting for the day-to-day needs of the American families, by representing values beyond what we could see, unions have brought dignity and depth to our democracy. They have helped put a human face on change, and we need that human face today more than ever. At stake is not just the future of our families, it is the fate of our democracy.

Today I want to talk to you about some of the ways that unions can be the missing link we so badly need in this changing world. Recently I was driving out of town, and I passed underneath a bridge, and on the bridge there was a big banner that read "Unions, the people who brought you the weekend," and I thought that was a creative reminder of the role that unions have played in America, but then you wondered how many people really understood what that means.

Now growing up, I could not help but hear that message because I grew up in a union household, and for 30 years my grandfather was a member of the Automobile Workers, and every single morning I got up with him and watched him go off to work in the old Dodge main plant at Hamtramck, Michigan. We were first generation middle class, and by that I mean we understood that the only reason we were middle class was because of the battles that working people had fought and won.

Unions were not something you really had to discuss; it was just part of us. By simple osmosis, just being there, you were brought up to believe that certain rights were fundamental, as fundamental to the idea of liberty as free speech itself, and we held these rights to be self-evident, that everyone has a right to earn their own bread, that every person is endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that among these rights are the right to organize, to collectively bargain and the right to strike, and based on those rights we were brought up to believe in certain principles, that if you help a company make money, you deserve a raise, and if you get sick, you deserve good health care, that if you put in a lifetime of loyal service day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, you deserve a secure retirement and a pension. And if you do your job well, nobody has a right to take that job away from you.

So we understood that if we got up every morning and worked hard, we could earn a pretty good life, and

through the decades of battles both big and small corporations grudgingly came to accept certain responsibilities as well, that if they paid their workers fairly and gave something back to the community they would have loyal workers and they would have loyal customers.

Now to us that was the collective bargain, that is what community was all about, and for about 30 years that basic formula helped this country build a middle class that could afford to buy the products, the Zeniths, the Chevys that people made.

And of course when I tell this story to students, they look at me as if I am an old quaint professor telling them stories about the Great Frontier, and I guess who can blame them because if you read the stories that are abundant in the papers today and you listen to the stories on radio and on television, you kind of wonder.

Disney, the all-American company that I grew up with and ran home to watch after school, they announced that they are paying one person \$90 million, and what does that person do to earn \$90 million? Well, he got fired. He was the President and did not do a good job, and they fired him. As a going away present, they gave him as a severance package \$90 million. And of course the man who actually did the firing just signed a contract at the Washington Post, the paper in this town said, that paid him \$776 million over the next 10 years.

Yet how does Disney reward the people here at home? It moves jobs over to Haiti, where it pays Haitian workers 28 cents an hour to stitch its clothes, and yet when Disney stockholders had a chance to ban sweatshop labor, they voted against it.

And we see examples like this every day. Nike announced a 77-percent increase in its worldwide sales. The same day a new report comes out that Nike manufactures most of its product in Asian sweatshops, where it pays its people about 30 cents an hour. IBM tells 120 secretaries that for the good of the company they have to take a 10-percent pay cut. Same week, same very week, its top five executives are rewarded a bonus totaling \$5.8 million.

And the most perverse part of it all is that the corporations who are trying to do the right things, who treat their people well, who reward loyalty, are often penalized for it. Our economy makes it harder for them to be competitive.

So I am here today to tell you we cannot keep moving this way as a Nation. The America of our hopes and dreams will not be if we grow complacent about the fact that the gap between the rich and the poor is at a 50-year high. It will not be if we accept the fact that Manpower Temporary Services is now America's No. 1 employer. It cannot be if we accept the fact that CEO's who made 12 times more than workers in 1960 and 35 times more in 1974 now make 200 times more

than their workers today. And it certainly will not be if, God forbid, we should accept that these things are some sort of unavoidable byproduct of the modern economy.

So this just is not a question of jobs and paychecks. It is about a larger vision of our democracy and our way of life. It is about how we treat each other, it is about whether we are going to move forward together or we are going to split apart at the seams.

Now, there are some people who are trying to forge an alternative reality. In a runaway world, a world of runaway corporations and declining participation and growing income disparity and social unrest, there are some people challenging the New World Order that we live in. We see them in Las Vegas, where 4,000 people just won new rights. We see them in California, where 20,000 strawberry workers are preparing to march for justice this weekend. We see them across America, where 3,000 college students have fanned out to organize last summer. We see them in every city and every State, where people refuse to accept the way things are as a way that they have to be.

The labor movement has helped build American middle class and made the American dream for millions of families. If we want that dream to be vibrant, to be alive and to have new meaning for a new generation of America, we need to revitalize that very important component of our society. Labor has got to get back to basics, it has got to make organizing its top priority again, it has got to reach out to people it has never organized before, it has got to reach across borders to form new alliances in other countries so workers there are not being used as a hedge by our corporations to bring down our wages here, it has got to put a new face on its movement, it has got to work with religious leaders and community leaders to regain moral authority, and I am going to think about that in a second because I think that is the key missing ingredient to challenging the corporate greed and the other greed in our society. It has got to embrace a new spirit of self-criticism, and it has got to stay true to that vision that we learned all those years ago.

Today I want to talk to you about three areas where I believe these goals meet their most severe challenge. I want to talk to you about the role of unions, the reality of this new global economy and the challenge of organizing.

You know, the United Auto Workers have a saying printed right there on their web page. It says, "Before you know where you are going, you have to know where you have been," and I think the labor unions have played three fundamental roles in America, roles they are well-suited to play again.

First, unions have been a historic link between rising wages and rising productivity.

Now what do I mean? Well, this hard link, this link between how hard you work and what you earn, did not just exist in union shops. Unions helped establish a value for the whole society. When unions were at their peak from 1947 to 1973, American workers gave an almost 90 percent increase in productivity, and in return their real wages increased by 99 percent. But as union membership has fallen the past 20 years, this link has been fractured. From 1973 to 1982, workers got only half as much of an increase in real wages as they gave in productivity, and from 1982 to 1994 they only got a third as much. Today unions represent just 10 percent of the private sector, and all told since 1979 productivity has gone up 24 percent, but the real earnings for workers have gone down 12 percent.

Little wonder that most people feel like they are part of that Abbott and Costello routine where Bud Abbott says to Lou Costello, "Lou, if you got 50 bucks in one pocket and a hundred in the other, what do you got?," and Costello says, "Somebody else's pants." I mean people are being squeezed, and unions can make a difference.

In Chicago, IL, for example, grocery clerks at the Kroger Co. who are represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers, they earn \$12.50 an hour, with health and pension benefits. That same employee in Kansas City working for the same company makes \$8 an hour, with no benefits, because that person is not represented by a union.

□ 1315

If unions can recouple the link between wages and productivity, if they can reestablish the social compact and remind people that they can demand a fair share of the profits, they will shrink income disparities, they will strengthen our middle class, and we will be laying the groundwork for renewal of our democratic institutions.

Second: Unions have helped remind us that the economy exists for people and not the other way around, and by doing so, they have articulated an alternative set of values to corporate greed. If we are going to create a sense of community and participation in society, we have got to create a sense of community in the workplace. At work, as in society, it matters for people to work together, to have rights together; it matters for people to care about each other. It is an alternative set of values that believes people will act for reasons beyond pure self-interests.

Bob Kuttner reminds us in his new book, now let me paraphrase: Even in America, not everything is for sale. People have civic and social selves.

Unions, as a form of collective egalitarian action, strengthen those values. Fundamentally, unions at their best are an example of democracy in action. So it was no accident in Poland in the 1980's that the Solidarity movement was equated with democracy, because

when they argued for equal rights and worker rights, when they demanded to be treated with dignity and respect and fairness, they were not just arguing for those values in the workplace, they were arguing for those values in society. And with that larger vision came a certain moral authority. When labor was at its height, unions used to use that moral authority as a brake on runaway greed.

Now, over the past few decades, unions have lost that moral authority. They have ceded the higher ground, and they shoulder a fair amount of the blame. Too often they turned inward, they stopped organizing, they stopped focusing on the larger work force, and worked hard to protect what they had.

Then, as their membership shrank and the workplace changed, they fell further and further behind. They fought their own bureaucracy, and they made it easy for people like the Speaker to paint them as special interests. Where unions were once seen as allies of the middle class, they were now seen as the enemy. Where unions were once celebrated for raising wages, Ronald Reagan made America resent the fact that union members were earning more than anybody else, and that resentment, unfortunately, continues to this day.

But this can only go on for so long. Republicans have already overplayed their hand. The public is engaged in a backlash against the revolution of last Congress, and I think that was a harbinger of things to come. In cities and towns across the country, unions are joining together with religious leaders and respected community advocates to regain moral authority, to shame corporations into treating workers with dignity and respect.

The American people know greed is not enough, and block by block, town by town, city by city, we need to bring public pressure to bear, because it is the only way change is going to happen. That is the way it has always been. You have a force that gets out of control, that exudes greed, and you need a countervailing force to react to it. Historically that has been the pattern in this country and often the pattern in Western civilization.

Third, the union has been a part of a larger movement outside the work force that has fought for social reform. They have been the link between free markets and democratic rights. So when I hear my friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY] on this side of the aisle say that the free market alone brings progress, I wonder where he studied his economics, because history has shown just the opposite.

It is in places where the free labor movement was strong, in France, in England, in the United States, where we have pensions, the 8-hour day, the 40-hour work week, overtime pay, severance pay, paid holidays, paid sick leave, paid vacation, maternity leave, seniority, and not just for union members and not just at the workplace. We

also have Medicare and Social Security and student loans and, in some places, health care and child care, all brought to you, all brought to you by a coalition of progressives working to bring about change and led by the labor movement in this country.

Unions have been a part of an effort to broaden the meaning of democracy and democratic rights. There is a reason why dictators prefer to deal with individuals, because when you divide people, you conquer.

The first thing that Hitler and Mussolini and Pinochet did was to ban unions. The first thing China did after Tiananmen Square was to ban unions. In Singapore and Chile, rapid industrialization has created systems where labor rights are not fully recognized and wages are low and the environment is not fully protected. The one thing President Carlos Salinas did in Mexico, he absolutely refused to discuss during NAFTA, the one thing was unions.

So as unions get weaker in this country, it is not surprising that we see an assault on Social Security and on Medicare and on education. But as our own history has shown, with each new wave of union growth, each time labor as a movement reaches out to organize the unorganized, there is a new wave of democratic participation and social reform that has followed. I believe that we are at such an historic moment in America today. These are the historic roles unions have played and can play again.

But today we are being challenged by a whole new set of rules. The global economy has changed the rules for everybody, and I believe the labor movement has to change to meet those challenges. I think it is important to differentiate between the real threats of the global economy and the perceived threats of the global economy.

I think it is also important to understand that the global economy looks different depending upon where you are standing. In his new book, and I would encourage those of you who are interested in the topic of globalization to read it, William Greider's new book, "One World, Ready or Not," he paints a picture of the global economy as a giant farm combine that reaps as it destroys; it plows across fields and fence rows with a fierce momentum that is both exhilarating and frightening. But despite all of the skillful hands on board in Greider's vision, there are no hands at the wheel. It is a very vivid image. But I disagree; there are hands at the wheel, and they are controlled by people who run our multinational corporations.

From our perspective here today, we can talk about labor in the United States and labor in Japan and labor in China, and we can differentiate between them. We can talk about environmental standards here in the United States and environmental standards in Mexico, and we can see very clear lines of differences, but if you are looking at the global economy from the perspective of multinational corporations, you

do not see clear lines of authority. Multinationals have little or no respect for state boundaries or worker rights. Whatever laws we pass from country to country, whatever rules we set down, they regard them as fence rows to be plowed over.

So the Nikes of the world run off to Vietnam, the Disneys run off to Haiti, Zenith moves to Mexico, corporation after corporation pits workers against each other and seeks out the lowest common denominator, and by doing so, it drives all of our standards down. Now, this is the reality of the global economy today. We all know these threats are very real.

Cornell University recently did a study for the Department of Labor, a study, by the way, which the Labor Department refused to release, and they found that 62 percent of the companies in America are now using countries like Mexico as a bargaining chip to drive down wages and living standards in America. We were promised during NAFTA that wages would go up from \$1 an hour or higher. It is 3½ years later, and the wages have changed. They have gone down, though, to 70 cents an hour, and that pressure of their wage south of our border is giving corporations all over this country the ability to keep wages low or to drive wages down or to take benefits away from our workers.

This changing world order has brought about an ideological shift as well. Even among liberals and progressives, the old New Deal Coalition in this country was built on the fundamental notion that the free market would not automatically take care of people's needs. Goods like retirement savings, health care for the poor and the elderly, public education, and eventually environmental and safety regulations were needed to supplement the market and restrain its success. We came to understand that to advance certain rights, you need a countervailing force on the power of the large corporations and the rapacious instincts of the market.

Today, when it comes to the global marketplace, even some people in my own party seem to be abandoning the commitment when it comes to the global economy. People who would never argue that the hidden hand of the free market would provide for all social goods here at home seem to forget these lessons when you substitute the words "free trade" for "free market." They buy into the notion that there is nothing you can do to affect the global economy except race as fast as you can to compete. Of course in doing so, they are reinforcing an ideology that would leave us increasingly powerless, impoverished, and unprincipled.

Now, for more than 40 years, America fought the cold war to advance some very fundamental beliefs about human rights. We argued for freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to organize. But now that the cold war has ended, we as a nation, we have

abandoned those rights. Our fundamental pursuit the past 8 years has been the protection of property rights. We tried to persuade China to observe patent and copyright laws. We forced Mexico to protect intellectual property like CD's.

In Mexico today, if a compact disc is pirated, there are trade sanctions, criminal sanctions; people can go to jail. But if a worker in Mexico tries to organize and gets fired, they get fired, or if a community is forced to bathe in rivers where toxins run, there are no sanctions, there is no enforcement, there are just consultations; all they get is talk.

Four years ago, almost 4 years ago, during the NAFTA debate, many of us came to this well and on this floor and we argued that America needs a trade policy that will work to open new markets in the same way it works to protect labor rights and environmental rights and jobs, because history has shown that if we do not address the environment and wages and working conditions directly in our trade agreements, they never get addressed at all. But of course these things were left out of the core NAFTA agreement, and America has paid a price.

I remember in debating NAFTA, we had a \$2 billion trade surplus. We had a surplus. We had a surplus. We had more going out. We were producing here and sending more out than was coming into America. But today our trade deficit with Mexico has reached a record \$16 billion, and workers in the maquiladores no longer make \$1 an hour, as I said, they make 70 cents an hour. Along the border, the environment is still so bad that the American Medical Association recently called it a cesspool of infectious diseases.

Seventy percent of the cocaine coming into America and 25 percent of the heroin now comes in from Mexico. Why? Because NAFTA opened up the border. And down in Texas, 11,000 trucks now pass over the border every day. They call it the wave line. For every truck that gets inspected, 199 do not. They just wave them through.

In New York a few weeks ago, a policeman pulled over a truck, they opened the door, they saw bananas. Once they started to dig, they found bundles of cocaine. And it is happening every day. Drugs are coming in, jobs are going out, wages are being suppressed, benefits are being lost by our workers, and we know corporations are not going to do anything about it.

The multinational corporations are doing just fine paying people 70 cents an hour; they are doing just fine with an open border. Yet, when workers in Mexico try to organize, try to form unions, try to fight for better pay for their families, try to take away that bargaining chip, what happens? They get arrested, they get thrown in jail, and for 4 years, 4 years ago, we as a nation put our stamp of approval on all of this when we passed NAFTA.

Today, supporters of NAFTA want to expand NAFTA to new countries. Many

of us believe that before we expand it, we have to fix it.

So the question we face as a nation today is simply this: Are we willing to use our political power and leverage to raise the standards of other countries to our level, or are we simply going to let ourselves get caught in the game of, how low can you go? Are we willing to argue that human rights and labor rights must be a part of any agreement?

In the fight to stop this spiral to the lowest common denominator, labor unions must play a role.

□ 1330

Multinational corporations have a global strategy. The labor movement needs to have a global strategy as well. Labor needs to link arms abroad and fight for common values.

We saw what happened in Poland. Labor support for Lech Walesa helped create worldwide support for the Solidarity movement.

We saw it happen in France. Not long ago, metalworkers from Germany joined arm in arm with their Parisian counterparts to protest unfair demands of a company based in France. Together, they forced the company to back down.

To have leverage against corporations in other nations, you need to have strong countervailing forces in those nations to back them up with collective ideas that matter. That is why it is so important that organizing in other nations is vital.

I would like to see American labor do the same thing in Mexico, Indonesia, and countries throughout the Third World. American labor needs to lend their experience and expertise to help workers in Mexico organize. I would like to see union members from America and Europe work together to raise the wages in the Third World, and we should not be afraid to go after corporations who want to sell in our markets, but exploit people on our own border.

Let me give a couple examples. In Pakistan, the labor movement, working with religious leaders and community leaders, helped expose corporations who forced kids to stitch soccer balls. These kids were 6, 7, 8 years of age, working huge, long days and weeks in factories.

In India, we now have a rug mark that says "This carpet was not made with slave labor."

Of course, who could forget Kathy Lee Gifford and Wal-Mart. When labor helped expose the sweatshop conditions Wal-Mart was forcing some people to work in, it started a national crusade that shamed Wal-Mart into changing its ways.

So if we can bring public pressure to bear across international lines, it will and can have an effect. The more we can hold one corporation accountable, the more we will make others wary.

But let us also understand this: There is a difference between the real

threats of the global economy and the perceived threats of the global economy. What do we mean by that? For all the very real dangers, the global economy directly affects just one-fourth of all the jobs in America today. Beth Shulman's article in last December's *American Prospect* points out that 77 percent of the jobs in America are out of reach of global competition.

There are more people today working in dental offices than are working in the auto industry.

There are more people working in Laundromats than are working in steel-mills.

Columbia Hospital system employs more people than Chrysler.

McDonald's employs more people than General Motors.

Yet, the model we have based our image on is the same manufacturing model we focused on 50 years ago. By doing so, not only are we skewing the reality of the global economy, we are playing into the fears that the threat of the global economy is greater than it really is. That, in turn, creates a sense of powerlessness across the entire economy.

Not long ago I heard a story about a company in Ohio that announced it was moving to Mexico. As a result, both hospital workers and McDonald's employees were all worried about losing their jobs. But the hospital and the restaurant were not going anywhere, but the very fear of moving convinced those workers not to push for salary increases.

While we need to address the very real problems about jobs going overseas, we need to be realistic about its scope. There are enough barriers to organizing unions today. The power of corporations, legal barriers, technology, a shrinking job base, are all tremendous hurdles to overcome. Labor needs new tactics to meet these challenges.

Labor needs to reach beyond its traditional constituencies, it needs to put more resources into organizing, it needs to reach out to younger people, like the thousands of college students who participated in union summer last year.

If a majority of workers are fed up and decide they want a union and they sign a union card, they should have a union. They should not be forced to jump through hoops for 8 years to carry out their constitutional rights. In Canada, they have what is called a card check. It works this way. If a majority of workers sign a card for a union, that is it; they get a union. For too long the National Labor Relations Board has been used to making it as difficult as possible to organize new members. But that cannot stop us.

Labor needs to enlist the whole community; the churches and religious leaders, community activists, responsible local businesses. Everyone needs to involve themselves and understand the link between workplace issues and community issues.

I believe labor needs to take on more struggles that help it create and recapture this moral authority that I am talking about. That is why I believe this weekend's march with the strawberry workers in California is so important.

The strawberry industry is a \$650 million industry. It is run by some of the largest corporations in America, including Monsanto, where senior executives get paid million-dollar salaries. Yet, the people that are working in the fields get paid \$8,000 a year, often working 12 hours a day with no job security, no pension, no health care, often no clean drinking water, no decent bathroom facilities, working every day with dangerous pesticides and dangerous toxins, and most of them have not seen a raise in 10 years.

Last year they had elections across strawberry country. Workers voted overwhelmingly to be represented by the United Farm Workers. But instead of giving workers a raise, do you know how the corporations responded? Some of them fired people, some of them skipped town, some of them even plowed under their own fields. Of course, most of them immediately brought in consultants.

But the strawberry workers of the United Farm Workers have not given up. This weekend, tens of thousands of men and women from all over the country will be traveling to California. I will be joining them. We are going to March arm in arm with the United Farm Workers, and we are not going to give up until strawberry workers have the right and dignity they deserve.

So, the more that labor can regain moral authority in places like the strawberry fields of California, the more it will help them in the steel-mills of Pennsylvania and the hospital wards of Texas.

We may be living in a profound time, a time of profound insecurity, and we may be living in an age when multinational corporations are running amuck, when the gap between the rich and the poor is growing and people seem to be more disconnected every single day. But I do not think for a second that it means they are disinterested. People do not want to see hard work go unrewarded. They do not want to be treated like garbage.

They do not want to read stories about layoffs and downsizing. They do not want to see a \$776 million payoff. They do not want to read stories about Asian sweatshops. They do not want to be left alone to face 5 billion other people in the world economy.

They want to believe again. They want to believe that things can get better. They want to have control over their lives. They want to be part of a community. They want to believe we have larger purposes as a nation. That is what the union movement in this country is all about.

It is not unions who have rigged the game, Mr. Speaker. It is unions who have fought for decency for working

families and a greater vision of democracy. They have fought against the billions of dollars of corporate special interests that is arrayed against them every single day. They have fought against the multinational corporations that know no allegiance to any country and move jobs overseas at the drop of a hat. They have fought against runaway corporate greed and its destructive effects on our communities and our values. Always they have fought against the odds. They have organized when guns and nightsticks have tried to beat them down. They have pooled their resources to get out the truth, even as corporations have outspent them by hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Unions have shown average Americans that they have real power, that they can have a larger voice, and that working together, people can make a difference. If we have the courage to try new things, to believe in old values, and to work together to make it happen, I believe unions can lead America into the 21st century. More than that, we will reconnect people to this democracy. We will make them feel a part of something larger than themselves, and we will give them a reason to believe again. That was worth fighting for 50 years ago, and it is worth fighting for again today.

So in conclusion, I say that I look forward to engaging in this debate about unions and people coming together, banding together for decent profits, decent wages, and decent working conditions; because it was the working men and women who stood up and fought those who would perpetrate greed, who got us the 8-hour day, the 40-hour work week, wage increases, Medicare, Social Security, educational benefits, protection at the work site. That movement helped create the most powerful middle class in the history of this planet. It is that movement, again, that will be needed to counter the forces that are trying to drive peoples' wages and drive peoples' benefits and drive peoples' dignity and respect into the ground.

So let us have this debate. I am ready. My colleagues are ready. We are willing to debate the Speaker and his colleagues on the issue of working men and women and their right to collective bargaining. It is a right that was put together, culminating 30 years of prosperity unknown in the history of this planet. We believe, again, that the movement that brought us these rights is ready to take its appointed place in American society.

REPORT ON TRIP TO ASIA LED BY SPEAKER NEWT GINGRICH

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. HASTINGS of Washington]. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the special order I have taken out today is to relate to the House and to the American people the details about a trip to Asia led by the Speaker, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH], and 11 other Members of the House during the period of March 23 through April 2 of this year.

Accompanying Speaker GINGRICH was the senior Democrat in the House of Representatives and the senior Member of the House, the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. JOHN DINGELL, the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. ROBERT LIVINGSTON, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. JOHN BOEHNER, the gentleman from California, Mr. CHRIS COX, the gentleman from Washington, Ms. JENNIFER DUNN, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. ALCEE HASTINGS, the gentleman from California, Mr. JAY KIM, the gentleman from California, Mr. ED ROYCE, the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. WILLIAM "JEFF" JEFFERSON, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. MARK FOLEY, and this Member. Also accompanying us on part of the trip, that part relating to China, Japan, and Taiwan, was the junior Senator from the State of Florida, CONNIE MACK.

Mr. Speaker, in this trip we visited the following cities, in this order: first to Seoul, Korea; then to Hong Kong; to Beijing; to Shanghai; to Tokyo; and to Taipei, Taiwan.

As the chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific of the Committee on International Relations, some 2 years ago when I took control and chairmanship of the subcommittee, I set out three guiding objectives. The first of those objectives is to maintain our military and naval strength in the Pacific region, because it is in our national interest, and because our military and naval forces there are a source of security for the entire region. I think it makes it much less likely that we will have extraordinary arms races in East or Southeast Asia, as long as a military presence is there from the United States.

Indeed, it is rather remarkable that every nation in the region, with the possible exception of North Korea, wants the United States to be there in that significant role. Constantly we are asked whether or not the United States is there and will retain its forces there in the foreseeable future.

The second guiding objective is to maintain and in fact enhance our economic presence in the region, our business presence, our export presence, our American business activity, including investments.

Third, rather than check them at the door, the guiding principle will be to take American objectives and principles to Asia and continue to push for their introduction and sustenance. They would include, of course, the rule of law, a democracy, free and fair elections, and human rights, as well as taking economic freedom to the region.

Those are the objectives that were pursued by the Speaker's CODEL to

Asia. I am very pleased that so many of my colleagues, in a bipartisan effort, made this trip. I would like to begin very briefly, until I am joined by the Speaker and other Members.

First of all, I would mention as an overview a few things about the countries that we visited.

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First, the Republic of Korea, which we know, of course, is South Korea, this is our fifth largest trading partner. Our exports to the Republic of Korea exceed \$30 billion with a trade surplus of about \$3.9 billion during 1996.

Our meetings in Seoul, South Korea, oriented Members regarding the problems of instability and deep economic and food problems in North Korea and the nature of North Korea's military threat to South Korea. We had top level access to South Korean Government officials, including an hour with President Kim Yong-sam, who took all of our questions and then honored our visit with a subsequent luncheon in the Blue House.

We visited the demilitarized zone, a very unusual place, I must say, on this planet and participated in military briefings by the commander of all United States forces in Korea. The Speaker also had an opportunity to visit the officers and troops of the U.S. Army 2d Division in their forward sector on the DMZ. We have about 37,000 American military personnel in Korea, most of them forward based along the DMZ. And that, of course, does not include military dependents and civilian members of the U.S. Government.

I will also briefly mention our trip to Japan before we proceed to discussion of China, even though it is out of order. In Japan we also had access to top leadership, including a breakfast and question and answer period with Prime Minister Hashimoto. He assured us that in the next few days, at that time, he would lead an effort to proceed with the extension of leases for the reconfigured United States bases in Okinawa, even if it jeopardized his government.

The trip reemphasized the fact for all of us that Japan is our most crucial military ally in East Asia. The fact that it has the second largest economy in the world by a wide margin and the fact that the state of our military and political relationship with Japan is excellent. However, we continue to have major trade difficulties with Japan, and several of us raised trade issues with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH].

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific and was a tremendously important part of our trip.

It was a very important, I think, congressional delegation to Asia. We had a very strong membership of that delegation and representing both key Demo-

crats and key Republicans here in the U.S. Congress. Overseas we had no partisanship. It was entirely one team functioning as Americans. In fact, on issues such as market widening, giving Americans more access to sales in other countries, we would have both a Democrat and a Republican making the case to make sure that people understood that we were united as one country in insisting on economic opportunity for Americans.

Let me just say for my part that I thought there were a number of lessons to be learned. First, we visited South Korea and visited the fine young men and women of the 2d Division who are protecting South Korea and who are risking their lives on the North Korean border and who are spending a year away from their families in order to defend their country and our allies.

It was very clear to me, first of all, that Seoul is now a capital of 13 million very increasingly prosperous people in an increasingly democratic society with a free press, free elections and all of the turmoil and challenges of freedom, and that that is true in large part because it stands behind the shield of American defense.

So one of the lessons I took out of this trip was that we need to make sure that our young men and women in uniform have the finest weapons that science and engineering can develop so that those weapons and that training gives those young men and women the best possible chance to survive in combat and that we who are here at home owe it to those who risk their lives and spend their courage to invest in the kinds of defense which will make it effective and save their lives.

Second, that it is very clear that we need missile defense systems, both ballistic missile defenses and cruise missile defenses, because the greatest threat to the lives of our young people and the lives of our allies come from missiles that could be launched from North Korea or elsewhere. And unless we have systems to defend against those missiles, I think we have a problem.

I will say, in terms of my recent commitments on economic growth and my discussions of eliminating the death taxes and eliminating taxes on savings and job creation, one of the things which impressed me when we were in Korea was that they were worried about growth declining to 5.8 percent a year. That was a drop to 5.8 percent a year. We went to Hong Kong, where we saw 6.5 million people, possibly the highest per-capita income in the world, an island, some peninsulas, no natural resources, no automatic reason to be successful, but the courage, the hard work, the entrepreneurship, the intelligence of the people of Hong Kong had given them a tremendously vibrant system.

And part of the reason was because they were in a situation where their tax code and their structure of government gave them the best of both low

interest rates and low taxes. People in Hong Kong pay a top rate of 15 percent. Only 40 percent of the people pay that top rate of 15 percent. They have had a balanced budget for about 30 years. They have a \$19 billion surplus, their rainy day fund, which is actually paying interest.

They insist that their public services be lean and effective and that they have civil servants rather than bureaucrats. And they insist, for example, that their mass transit actually pay for itself. And it is in that kind of a framework that it was very impressive to see the commitment that they had made to an economically vital future.

We saw similar vitality in China where we were in Shanghai and saw 17 percent of the world's construction cranes, according to the World Bank, literally 1 out of every 5 construction cranes in the entire world is in Shanghai and its major economic development in an area called Pudong. Interestingly, the Pudong region, which is right across the Huangpu River in Shanghai from the original city, was farmland 8 years ago.

We were able to look out. We went up a tower and looked out and saw 150 highrise buildings simultaneously under construction. The reason is simple, they have very low taxes, tremendous incentives for investment. They are committed in the Shanghai area to the world market. And this is the great dilemma I think the entire delegation found in dealing with Hong Kong and in dealing with the People's Republic of China.

On the one side there was great economic growth, increasing economic freedom, increasing commitment to the world market. On the other side there was a dictatorship in Beijing which still has many of the unfortunate repressive police-state characteristics of a classic dictatorship. And so we were faced with a challenge of encouraging the Chinese Government in Beijing to understand that Hong Kong works because of freedom. The freedom is indivisible. Economic freedom, religious freedom, and political freedom are connected together.

And when you start breaking down one of those freedoms, the other two are not far behind. And I must say that I am very disappointed today, and I understand my colleague from Florida is going to spend more time on this, but the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FOLEY] and I were just discussing the article on page 1 of the New York Times, quote, right to protest in Hong Kong to be cut back, close quote, is exactly wrong. It is exactly what this delegation urged the Chinese Government not to do. It is exactly what this delegation urged Mr. Tung not to do.

And I must say, I am very disappointed by this initial proposal and regard it as a step away from freedom and a step away from what they called two systems in one country. They did not talk about 1½ systems. They

talked about two systems. The system of Beijing and the system of Hong Kong. And we kept trying to tell them, for Hong Kong to truly be a unique system, it must have freedom of speech. It must have a free news media. It must have free elections. It must have an honest, independent judiciary. It must have the rule of law. And it must have a law abiding and incorrupt Civil Service.

This is, I think, a very sad day for us to be looking at this report from Hong Kong. I hope it is wrong. I hope that Mr. Tung will withdraw these proposals, because I think they are destructive of our understanding of where Hong Kong should go.

We were quite candid about that. We hope that the reversion will work. We understand why the Chinese Government is excited. It is legitimate for China to want Hong Kong back. It is their national territory. But if they, in the process of reversion, destroy freedom, they should not be surprised to see the West react negatively. And they should not be surprised to see difficulties in Hong Kong. So I hope they will reconsider what we learned today.

Let me say also that in Japan we were very impressed with the Japanese Government and the Prime Minister. Their commitment to a continued Japanese-American military relationship I thought was very, very important. And I think that all of us left Japan with a feeling that we have a very good friendship and that that is truly the base of our policies in Asia and that the Japanese-American alliance is strong and sound and both sides understand its importance.

I must say that on the economic front, we were probably as aggressive with the Japanese as with any government we met with, in saying that now that they are the second largest economy in the world, that they have an obligation to open up their society, to have the kind of open markets that are legitimate, that for many, many years the United States has been generous to the world, for many years we have been the most open market in the world, but there is some reciprocity that is required. And I must commend the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] in particular, who made a very impassioned and very aggressive speech in favor of Japan being more open in its markets.

We had a very good meeting in Taiwan. Taiwan is an illustration of the changes we are trying to encourage. We met with the first democratically-elected President in the history of China. We met with the speakers of the yuan and the upper house in a democratically-elected free legislative body. There is free news coverage, and we had a press conference that certainly indicated they had a free press in Taipei. That is the situation that we faced, where we saw that freedom is possible and that we hope that the mainland Chinese will decide that Taiwan and Hong Kong are the wave of the future, not repression and dictatorship.

We indicated clearly, both in Beijing and in Taiwan, that we favor a continuation of the bipartisan one China policy.

I did say, on behalf of the House, which had voted 369 to 14 last year that we would defend Taiwan against unprovoked aggression, that the People's Republic of China has an absolute obligation to pursue the dialogue about one China with the people of Taiwan in a peaceful manner and that the United States would not accept an attempt to conquer Taiwan. We were also candid in Taiwan in emphasizing our commitment to a one China policy and that no one should engage in unilateral activity.

I want to thank my colleagues for working with us on this tremendous trip and say to the House that in three speeches, one in Hong Kong, one in Beijing and one in Tokyo, I tried to speak for the House about the centrality of freedom in understanding America, that we truly believe our Declaration of Independence, that we truly believe that these are truths that are self-evident, not propositions, not debating points, but truths that are self-evident, that we truly believe that we are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that means frankly that the rights Americans have and the rights that all human beings have across the planet are rights that come from God, not from politicians, not from lawyers, not from bureaucrats, not from the military or the police but from God, and that those rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, mean at their heart that the right of free speech, the right of religion, the right of assembly, the right of a free news media, the right of free election, the right to the rule of law, the right to expect your government Civil Service to be honest and uncorruptible, that these are at the core of what we believe in.

We tried to say to the Chinese, yes, we understand how excited you are at getting Hong Kong back, but you have to understand that we have the same emotional excitement about freedom, that to discuss freedom is to define being an American. And to ask an American to come to China and not talk about freedom is to ask an American to not be talking about America and to not talk about the values that make us the country we are.

We also felt that while that discussion should be respectful, should be positive, should be pleasant, that plain truth, spoken honestly, was a legitimate goal of friendship, that we had an obligation to talk openly and candidly about exactly what we thought was going on and to represent the values and the beliefs that we share.

Let me close my part of this by saying two things about dedication. First, as an Army brat whose father served in the Korean war and served later in Korea during his military career, to me it was very meaningful, whether it was at airbases or with the infantry of the

2nd Division, to see these young men and women who are prepared to train every day to be on the demilitarized zone with the special units and, again, today is the day when we have heard there has been an incident involving the North Koreans, to recognize that just north of them is a country that we frankly do not know very much about. I think it is very important for my colleagues to understand this.

□ 1400

Despite 44 years of studying North Korea, despite the fact that 37,000 of our young men and women and their families are at risk, the simple truth is that we do not know very much about this dictatorship, and it should remind us why it is important to be militarily prepared for capabilities and not simply diplomatically prepared for intentions, because the truth is, we do not know what Kim Chong-il's intentions are, we do not know what makes his government work, we do not know what their values or their plans are, and so we must be prepared for worst-case situations.

So I want to praise those who risk their lives and serve their country, because that dedication at the demilitarized zone and across not just South Korea but we met with young men and women also in Japan serving at air bases at Misawa and Yokota, a tremendous sense of commitment; the young men at Elmendorf living here at home in Alaska but nonetheless part of the same team; the young men and women of the Air Force team who went with us and who carried us across the region.

I also want to say a word on behalf of the Members and staff who went on this visit. This was a long, hard-working delegation. We had many, many meetings. In one day in Beijing, we had six major negotiating sessions, just in one day.

We sought to represent America. We had coordinated with the Clinton administration. We had talked with the National Security Council. I had talked with the Vice President and the President and the Secretary of State, and we saw it as one unified team to represent America. And I was very proud of my colleagues and the work they did and the way they stood up for our values, they stood up for our economic opportunities, and they made clear our commitment to peace and freedom and security in the region.

And now under the unanimous consent, as was previously agreed to, I am going to yield back control of this, if I might, to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER], and ask him to recognize various Members.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank the Speaker for that excellent summary and inspirational discussion of really what he, as leader of this delegation, and what this delegation attempted to achieve while we were on our Asia visit.

With the indulgence of my colleagues, I am going to go back to take another 4 or 5 minutes to try to set the stage as I did with respect to Korea and Japan, and then I will call on Members. I think we have sufficient time. In fact, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL], has a special order hour as necessary.

But let me now go briefly to Hong Kong, the PRC, and Taiwan, and discuss them as a whole. The economists refer to this today as a greater economic China.

Certainly a major focus of our trip was a cluster of issues related to Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan. We intentionally visited Hong Kong first among these elements of greater economic China because of the imminent reversion of Hong Kong from British rule on July 1, 1997, to China, where it will become a special administrative region within the People's Republic of China.

American interests in Hong Kong are huge. With more than 1,100 American businesses located there, 450 of them are regional headquarters. In fact, it is the largest American Chamber of Commerce abroad in the world. With more than \$14 billion of American investments there and about \$14 billion in American exports to Hong Kong last year, we actually had a surplus with Hong Kong of \$4.1 billion. Therefore, the United States Government and the American people are very concerned about the Chinese keeping their promises under the Sino-British accord of 1984, which assured Hong Kong's autonomy from the PRC in all matters but defense and foreign affairs.

In short of Deng Xiaoping's policy, China has had a two-systems-in-one-country arrangement. This will be an important but very challenging task for the Chinese even though they understand the importance of Hong Kong to their economy, and especially with their trade to the outside world.

We discussed these and other important issues with Hong Kong Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, American and Hong Kong business interests, human rights activists, representatives of the news media, a diverse panel of religious leaders, and the critics of China on the existing legislative council. We also met with British Governor Chris Patton at considerable length and had a very candid and informative discussion.

We made it clear to all interested parties in Hong Kong and to Chinese leaders in Beijing that we want the Chinese to keep their promises of a high degree of autonomy for Hong Kong and that we wish them every success in implementing their two systems/one country concept. This will be an important precedent for the eventual peaceful, noncoercive unification of Taiwan with mainland China, an outcome that is consistent with our long-standing bipartisan, one-China policy.

In Beijing, we expressed the same interest and concerns about the Hong

Kong autonomy issue. We made it clear that we would be observing their progress in keeping their promises and that the Congress of the United States in the 1992 Hong Kong Policy Act authorized the President to modify United States law with respect to Hong Kong if these promises were broken.

We indicated our willingness to assist the Chinese in understanding the importance of ensuring that second system within China for Hong Kong which preserves the rule of law, freedom of press, civil liberties, free and fair elections for the legislature, and what is thought to be the most advanced state of economic freedom in the world.

Also in Beijing, Speaker GINGRICH spoke for the entire delegation in reconfirming our support for a one-China policy. He stressed that unification with Taiwan must be by peaceful means and reiterated the formal United States House position and congressional viewpoint that the United States would defend Taiwan against an attack and that unification would only take place by peaceful means. This direct statement was delivered in a non-hostile manner by Speaker GINGRICH and actually was surprisingly well received by the Chinese leadership, including President Jiang Zemin. Rather than the usual anti-Taiwan tirade, the key leaders said only that they had no intention of attacking Taiwan, and we went on to other productive items of discussion.

We also made it clear to both sides, including the Taiwanese, that they should avoid provocative actions. In Taipei, these comments were reiterated, and in fact it was specifically mentioned that Taiwanese or Taiwanese American campaigns for United Nations membership for Taiwan are provocative and serve no useful purpose since China would veto such an initiative in the Security Council. I found it particularly interesting that President Li said to us that his government would not push for independence, they had no intention of doing so.

Speaking personally, I would say that I believe it is clear to the Chinese and to the world community that making the two systems/one country policy work in Hong Kong can be an important precedent in the reunification of Taiwan with China.

Also, I would note that this Member encouraged President Li of Taiwan to proceed energetically to make the changes necessary to come into the World Trade Organization, the WTO, as soon as possible, changes that would include reductions in tariff and market access changes. I specifically urged them to reduce the tariffs on processed foods so that American exporters can exploit this Taiwanese market, and Taiwanese consumers will benefit from lower food prices and a greater selection of goods.

Additionally, I stressed my own view that Taiwan should be allowed WTO membership before the PRC if the

changes it makes satisfy WTO membership. That possibility also gives us increased leverage to succeed and to successfully demand changes from the PRC for WTO membership.

In summary then, and in conclusion of my comments, in my view, our meetings with the Chinese officials on the mainland in Beijing and Shanghai were amazingly positive and productive, particularly in view of the fact that Speaker GINGRICH and the bipartisan congressional delegation would subsequently visit Taiwan, and they knew we intended to, and thus he would be the highest-ranking official and we would be the highest-ranking delegation ever to visit Taiwan since the Taiwan Relations Act was enacted in 1978.

The Chinese Government gave us top-level access and gracious, nonbelligerent meetings, even expressing their interest in initiation of an interparliamentary exchange between the United States House and the National People's Congress.

I would now be very pleased to yield on a seniority basis to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON], the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and I yield such time as he may consume.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding and apologize to my colleagues for intruding, but since the Speaker has asked me to be at another meeting right now, I appreciate your courtesy for letting me proceed briefly at this point.

I also want to identify myself with the gentleman's comments and with the comments of Speaker GINGRICH. The fact is, Mr. Speaker, that this delegation was the highest-ranking delegation ever to appear not only in Taiwan, but it is the highest ranking one that I have ever been engaged in where the Speaker of the House, the dean of the House, Mr. DINGELL, and various committee chairmen, ranking subcommittee chairmen, and ranking members all gathered together to go to these five sovereign areas, South Korea, Hong Kong, China, Japan, and Taiwan.

It was an extraordinary sequence of events. In each country we met with the very top leaders, and in many instances we had several separate meetings with top leaders, and in each country, under the leadership of the Speaker of the House, I think our delegation presented a cohesive, coherent, and articulate view of American policy.

I was extraordinarily proud of the way that Speaker GINGRICH and the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. DINGELL, and all the other Members conducted themselves throughout this entire process. It was exhausting. We worked all day long every day throughout the trip. No sooner had we recovered from several days of jet lag than we were engaged in more meetings. Then it was time to come home, picking up jet lag on the way home as well.

But the delegation, under the leadership of Speaker GINGRICH, spoke out on

behalf of free speech, freedom of religion, the right to assemble, and a free press. We stood up for the real democratic values now embodied in Hong Kong and did everything possible in all of those countries to assert the American viewpoint that democracy should be maintained in Hong Kong after the transfer to mainland China.

We held steady with that message all the way through the trip, not only in Hong Kong but through Beijing and Shanghai and beyond. We stood fast for American presence in the Pacific, the prerogatives of America, the remaining superpower, to maintain its policy as a strong Pacific-oriented nation.

We stood strong concerning the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China, saying that if there was provocation, we are going to be there; we are going to defend our friend, Taiwan; so there should be no provocation, and that should not be misunderstood. The messages were not blurred and they were very clearly reported by the press. Regardless of whether the press was friendly, antagonistic, or cynical, invariably the reports from the trip came out positive.

And I just want to say that as a Member of this Congress for almost 20 years, I have never seen as productive a congressional delegation as this one was, nor have I seen as cohesive a delegation, between Republicans and Democrats alike, majority and minority, working together steadfastly, going to meetings and expressing what, in my view, was a united viewpoint of American policy in the Pacific.

It was a privilege to have been on the trip and a special privilege for me to watch the Speaker of the House in action. This man is tireless. He never slept for more than 5 hours a day, and yet he was constantly reading, absorbing, thinking, meeting, speaking, strategizing, synergizing, and synthesizing. He was a whirlwind of activity, and in every instance he represented our delegation and our country with remarkable agility in an articulate fashion.

So I am pleased to associate myself with the remarks of my friends and colleagues who will speak after me on the positive results of this trip. It was a significant opportunity to have been in this delegation and on this trip to these Pacific countries, and I really, really do think that it did a lot of good.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his great comments, and I know that I speak for all of my colleagues in thanking him for his role in this delegation. And the gentleman did not mention, but the Speaker called meeting after meeting after meeting, including at 9 o'clock at night or later.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FOLEY] for any remarks he may wish to make.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and would say, of course, that the gentleman from Louisiana

[Mr. LIVINGSTON], spoke eloquently about the Speaker's great presentation on behalf of the United States of America, our ideals, our goals, our vision for this world we live in, but it did not hurt to have the chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] along; the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON] the ranking Democratic Member of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HASTINGS]; and the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, the gentleman from California [Mr. ROYCE].

□ 1415

What I noticed was that the leadership of all the countries took extremely seriously this visit because of the fact that the leadership of Congress had taken time out to visit them and discuss the issues that face us. One issue we raised on behalf of the environment was Taiwan has contemplated sending its nuclear waste to North Korea. North Korea is in desperate need of financial assistance, if you will, to prop up their rogue regime. Seventy million is the number that is banded about that they will receive in order to accept nuclear waste.

What assurances do we have that that nuclear waste, once brought to North Korea, will be properly disposed of? None. President Lee, upon the notification from the Speaker that we were deeply concerned with the environmental consequences to South Korea and to our entire planet, took due note and suggested he would revisit that issue and carefully consider it, because he did not want it to be a geopolitical problem, he did not want it to be a stress on relations with the United States.

Again, I want to enter into the RECORD the fact that we raised the issue, we will continue to pursue the issue, we do not want to see Taiwan send its nuclear waste to North Korea under any circumstance.

We also had an opportunity to raise issues of trade. We were fortunate in being joined by Congressman JEFFERSON and Congresswoman DUNN, both on Ways and Means, to talk about issues that are important to Congressman HASTINGS and myself from Florida: The introduction of citrus from our State to the People's Republic of China which has currently been banned; the protection of our intellectual property rights; our copyrights; our enforcement of the things that we hold dear, the movies, the CD's, the technology, software that is being pirated and sold on the streets for 1/1,000 of its value, depriving both the owners and creators of their due payment for those rights.

So we raised those issues. But I think, more than ever, we raised the consciousness of the people that we visited. We found a people in China wanting to be free, that will propel what I believe is their own democracy, with

some nudging by us, to seek free elections as they have had in Taiwan.

But I will again go back to what the Speaker urged caution on and I will obviously suggest, as many newspaper articles have suggested recently, that MFN, most-favored-nation status, is not guaranteed, is not guaranteed business-as-usual in this Congress; and that when you read in the *New York Times*, in a severe blow to civil liberties, the man appointed by China to run Hong Kong announced plans today to impose more stringent controls on the right of public protest and free associations, certainly is not a reflection of the meeting we attended, where he stressed it would be an open affair country, that things would be smooth, that the process of coming back into the fold in China would be orderly and observing the rule of law.

So again I would send that caution as well, that we made some valuable points. We hope that the lessons and the things that we tried to share with the Chinese Government and others is not lost, and we would sincerely urge Mr. Tung to evaluate his recent comments and ensure the democracy of this country.

I was proud, as an American, to be on the trip. As was mentioned, the Speaker, I do not think he got 5 hours of sleep. I think it was 3. One of the things that I think most impressed our hosts was his tremendous grasp of the historical occurrences that happened in Japan, in China, Taiwan, Korea. He was able without note to speak extemporaneously about events that had occurred in their country, not just in the last 10 or 20 years but the last 1,000, 2,000 years, and was able to bring that reflected history forward in analogies and examples.

I think when I watched the faces of the Presidents of those countries, saying, this man has not just come here with a printed text to give us; he understands our culture, he understands the dynamics in which we have operated, he knows that it is stressful when you change governmental policies or governmental operations; but he came with such authority and such strong presence that the mission was that much more successful because of his being there, obviously as Speaker of the House, third in line to the Presidency, but more importantly, that he was so phenomenally prepared to debate with leaders of other countries the urgent things that we feel important.

I thank the gentleman for allowing me time under the special order.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank the gentleman from Florida especially for his mentioning the fact that we did bring up the low-level nuclear waste issue on Taiwan aggressively, firmly, clearly, and conveyed our concerns and those of the Republic of Korea.

The Speaker has asked if I would yield next to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan, and I will return then to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROYCE].

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL], the dean of the House, the senior Democrat on the Speaker's codel, and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. DINGELL. I thank my good friend for yielding. I want to commend him for having this special order. I think the product of the work of not only the delegation but also this particular special order is going to be valuable to the country. I want to commend the gentleman. I want to commend the Speaker for the work which was done. It was done in a thoroughly bipartisan fashion, and it focused on a number of issues of enormous moment to the United States and to the people of this country. More importantly, it addressed the issues of security and trade in Korea, Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China, and in Taiwan as well as in Japan.

Our interest in Hong Kong was, of course, the question of reversion to Chinese sovereignty which will take place shortly. We met with Governor Chris Patten, with Mr. Tung who will serve as Hong Kong's chief executive officer after the reversion, the financial secretary of the colony, senior legislators, human rights activists, leadership of the Hong Kong Christian Council, members of the United States and Hong Kong business communities, ordinary citizens and large numbers of others.

In China the delegation reviewed a whole broad range of issues with the entire top leadership of the People's Republic. I must say in these two, and in all of the other activities in which the delegation functioned, it functioned in a thoroughly and completely bipartisan and proper fashion.

The delegation's focus in Japan was economic, again, and security issues. We met with the Prime Minister, the Foreign and Defense Ministers, the Minister of International Trade and Industry, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, as well as Japan's most wealthy and successful business leaders and the Chamber of Commerce there. Our discussion related to trade, unfair trading practices, opening the markets with regard to all kinds of American exports and the need for achieving a fair and more evenhanded trading relationship with that country. Similar discussions were held, of course, in Korea, which is an area of major concern, as we also discussed these matters in the People's Republic of China.

As a result of the trip, I have come home more firmly convinced than ever that the United States has enormous political, economic, and security interests in east Asia, interests which we are safeguarding and on which we are pledging our interest and determination for the maintenance of peace by having some 37,000 of our fine young men and women standing watch along the most dangerous and heavily fortified border in the world. We spent

considerable time inquiring, I would observe to the gentleman as he has already observed, into not only the relationship between the United States and the countries there, but very specifically the situation with regard to North Korea, a curious closed nation which is witnessing with great distress the economic collapse of its economy, with a continued annual decline in economic activity of about 7 percent.

Again, we discussed not only the question of our security but the situation with regard to the North Korean country and what is happening in that unfortunate place and what its meanings are. Does it mean implosion, does it mean explosion, does it mean invasion to the south, does it mean democratic change or some kind of soft landing? The answer is no one knows the answers to these questions.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend, the gentleman who has gotten this special order, for the outstanding work that he is doing and does do and for his leadership in this particular matter.

I have recently returned from a 10-day trip to Asia led by Speaker of the House NEWT GINGRICH. The bipartisan delegation, on which I served as ranking Democrat, visited South Korea, Hong Kong, China, Japan, and Taiwan.

In South Korea the delegation focused on security and trade issues. We met with President Kim Young Sam, Gen. John Tilelli, who commands United States Forces Korea, Foreign Minister Yoo Chong-Ha, Korean trade officials and senior legislators, and representatives of the United States business community in Korea.

In Hong Kong our primary interest was in Hong Kong's reversion to Chinese sovereignty, due to take place on July 1, 1997. We met with Gov. Chris Patten, C.H. Tung, who will serve as Hong Kong's chief executive after the July 1 reversion, the Hong Kong financial secretary, senior legislators, human rights activists, leaders of the Hong Kong Christian Council, and members of the U.S. and Hong Kong business communities.

In China the delegation reviewed a range of issues on the United States-China bilateral agenda, with particular emphasis on Hong Kong, Taiwan, human rights, and trade. While in Beijing we had meetings with President Jiang Zemin, Premier Li Peng, Vice-Premier Zhu Rongji, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, and other senior Chinese officials. The delegation also spent 1 day in Shanghai, where we attended Easter morning services and met with Shanghai's mayor, the chairman of China's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait, and the American Chamber of Commerce.

The delegation's focus in Japan was on economic and security issues. We met with Prime Minister Hashimoto, the Japanese foreign and defense ministers, the Minister of International Trade and Industry, the speaker of the Japanese House of Representatives, and some of Japan's wealthiest and most successful business leaders, as well as the American Chamber of Commerce in Tokyo.

The delegation's final stop was in Taiwan, where we met with President Lee Teng-hui, Vice President and Premier Lien Chan, and Foreign Minister John Chang. Relations between Taiwan and the People's Republic of

China, Hong Kong's reversion, the proposed sale of Taiwanese nuclear waste to North Korea, and the WTO dominated the discussions.

As a result of this trip, I have returned to the United States more firmly convinced than ever that the United States has substantial political, economic, and security interests in East Asia, including the maintenance of peace on the Korean Peninsula, where 37,000 American troops stand watch along the most dangerous and heavily fortified border in the world. These interests can be protected only by an active American engagement in the region. The United States is a Pacific power today, and should remain so for the foreseeable future. This will require active and imaginative diplomacy, backed by the presence of approximately 100,000 American troops in the region. I had the privilege of visiting with many of these men and women who represent the United States armed services in East Asia, and I am pleased to report to you that they are an impressive lot—dedicated, serious, committed professionals whom the Nation owes a great debt of gratitude.

China and the difficult United States-Chinese relationship figured prominently in our discussions at each of our stops. We found widespread agreement among the Asian leaders with whom we met that the Clinton administration's policy of constructive engagement toward China offers the best means of safeguarding our interests and pursuing our political, security, and economic objectives in East Asia. Our relationship with China will inevitably be a rocky one for many years, for we are divided by profound differences. But we also share important interests in common—a desire for peace and stability throughout the region, a prosperous, open global economy, a non-nuclear North Korea that does not threaten its neighbors or disrupt the strategic status quo, a successful Hong Kong reversion process—and it is very much in our interests to remain engaged with this prickly but important country.

During each of our stops, I raised difficult trade issues and preached the need to break down barriers to American products and services. In South Korea I focused on Korean restrictions that block the import of United States automobiles—the government's frugality campaign, tariffs and taxes on automobile imports, vehicle certification procedures, matters relating to financing, and politically motivated tax audits and other forms of harassment—and arranged for meetings outside the delegation's official program with South Korean trade officials and representatives from the Big Three United States automakers. If Korea persists in refusing to open its trading system, I warned, the United States would be forced to reconsider its options, which might include placing Korea on the watch list or initiating a complaint before the World Trade Organization.

In China I emphasized the need for China to accept more United States goods and to take other steps to reduce Beijing's sizable trade surplus with the United States. American support for a policy of engagement, I cautioned, will evaporate unless China treats American business fairly. Opening up China's vast markets, I told economic czar Zhu Rongji, will set up a win-win situation. Not only will such actions strengthen the bilateral relationship; they will also help both countries address their domestic economic problems.

While in Tokyo, I spent considerable time looking into why the import of U.S. autos, while slightly higher in 1996 than 1995, was still so sluggish. I was told that in addition to Japan's well-known trade barriers, the weak yen was now making foreign autos more expensive for Japanese consumers. Tokyo, I warned, must avoid the temptation to deal with its current economic difficulties by aggressively promoting exports that create an even larger trade imbalance with the United States. Japan, we repeated at every opportunity, must do more to open its markets to American goods. While we do not seek special treatment, we have a right to expect the same treatment from Japan that we afford Japanese companies doing business in the United States.

As a result of this trip I have a renewed understanding of how the prosperity and well-being of Americans, including the people of the 16th District of Michigan, is inextricably linked to an active and enlightened American presence in East Asia. Equally important, our delegation was able to spread the word that if the peoples of East Asia desire the fruits of American engagement, they will have to help us shoulder the burdens as well—politically, militarily, and not least in importance, economically.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan for his comments. As my colleagues well know, when the gentleman made his contributions on our trip, it was always speaking from authority and speaking with a complete knowledge of the issue, and it will not surprise his constituents in Michigan to know that among other important economic issues and trade issues he brought up, autos and auto parts in Korea and especially before the Minister of International Trade and Industry were high on the agenda and were articulately addressed by the gentleman from Michigan, in which I joined him.

Mr. DINGELL. If my good friend would yield, with his full support, cooperation, and also with that of the Speaker and the rest of the delegation, for which I thank the gentleman, the Speaker and the other members of the delegation.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL]. Indeed he did have the full support of the delegation in that respect and in all others.

Mr. Speaker, I am now pleased to yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROYCE], my colleague from the Committee on International Relations, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa. As Speaker GINGRICH reminded everyone on the trip, he is also the Republican who has the district which contains more Asian-Americans than any other Republican member.

Mr. ROYCE. I thank my good friend for yielding. I want to thank Speaker GINGRICH for putting together this delegation. The Congress plays a key role in making our country's foreign policy and a trip like this gives us a much better understanding of the important issues we decide each year. We worked hard, it was grueling and we made the

most of our time, and the Speaker of the House deserves our thanks.

It is important to me that this was a bipartisan delegation. America stands tallest when its foreign policy is widely supported. One of the things all of the members of the delegation agree on is the importance of Asia. There is no question the security and the prosperity of the United States is on the line. We saw this in North Korea when we visited some of the 37,000 American service men and women in Korea. These are Americans who believe passionately in their mission. Their mission is maintaining peace and helping to run out the clock on one of the last vestiges of the cold war, the last Stalinist regime there in North Korea. As we talked to the young men and women of the Second Division, many of them from California, from my home State, doing the job that they do in this most difficult of conditions, it was a great honor. It was a great honor for us. We owe these Americans our strongest support, including, in my view, the best missile defense system that we can give them.

We saw the importance of Asia when we visited the American business men and women in Hong Kong who are the center of Asia's pounding economic heart there in Hong Kong. They are bringing America's economic prowess and our exports to this booming region. We saw it when we visited Taiwan, which has moved now to democracy. Asia in general has made strides toward economic prosperity and political freedom, and America is stronger and safer because of this. But I think the stakes are high. We would suffer great damage if we decided that the world's greatest Nation should disengage in the Pacific. That is no course for us to take.

Some of the lessons learned on this trip. We learned that America is viewed as the world's greatest nation. Our Government is respected the world over. Our economy has produced amazing prosperity. But there are lessons to be learned from the countries we visited, and the Speaker stated, I think yesterday, he said, "I believe our economy can do better."

Well, our economy runs at a rate of less than 3 percent growth. That is what we are stuck with a year. And here we are viewing these Asian economies, South Korea where the growth rate was 9 percent last year. Taiwan at 7 percent. These are growth rates 2 and 3 times the rate of growth in the United States.

Our delegation visited Hong Kong. Many consider Hong Kong the freest economy in the world. Hong Kong has a far lower tax rate than the United States. Fifteen percent is their top tax rate. Hong Kong is free of the excessive regulation that shackles our economy. And in many ways, Hong Kong is much more encouraging of the entrepreneurial spirit our country celebrates. I think the United States needs to take notice and lower our taxes and cut our redtape.

□ 1430

I think we need to heed the words of Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan when he said that we should at the very least index capital gains for inflation taking the inflationary bite out of investments. I have a bill to do this, and having seen Hong Kong's miracle, I am more committed than ever to give American taxpayers this relief.

Other trade issues that we should discuss: You know, many of our allies in Asia need to look at Hong Kong also because Hong Kong has become an economic powerhouse because of trade, and that means they have no trade barriers. The people of Hong Kong are free to purchase goods and services from whenever they want to. They buy the best goods at the best price. It is no secret that the U.S. economy is the most competitive in the world. We are the world's biggest exporter. We are selling more and more goods to Asia. These exports support over a million jobs in my State of California alone. But we should be selling more in Asia, and the problem is that too many Asian countries are shutting out too many U.S. goods and U.S. services.

So our delegation pressed and pressed every government that we met with to open their markets to American goods and services. I serve on the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, and in China American insurance companies are shut out, they simply cannot operate, and we raised that issue with China. The message was that we on this delegation gave, we said trade, including trade in the ever more important service sector, is a two-way street. We talked with South Korea who is shutting out California agricultural products, and we said, well, if South Korea wants to sell autos and electronics in the United States, then American companies should be allowed to sell grapes and oranges and autos and electronics in South Korea. This is right for the American worker, it is right for the Korean consumer who should, after all, have a chance to buy the best goods at the cheapest possible price. And right now in South Korea the government hassles Koreans who buy American cars. It actually sends the tax auditor after Koreans who buy American cars. That practice has to go, and we told that to the South Korean Government.

But it is more than trade. Trade is important, but it is not all the United States is about. Our delegation has focused on democracy. On this trip we focused on human rights, too. Our country has always taken its values seriously and our foreign policy. It matters to us how other governments treat their citizens. This meant confronting the Chinese leadership about its terrible treatment of its citizens. I presented the Chinese Government a list of 75 political prisoners, and locking up people because of their beliefs is intolerable.

And I hope that the White House begins to understand that when it comes

to China, yes, trade matters, but so do human rights and nuclear proliferation and Taiwan. The administration would like to treat trade as being above these issues.

My view is America is a superpower, not a salesman. The administration's willingness to stand up for American values will be tested as Hong Kong falls under Beijing's control in the next 2 months. Already there are signs that China may not honor its one country, two-systems pledge. Just yesterday, as we heard, it announced that it would severely restrict fundamental political rights to publicly meet. Beijing's future ruler for Hong Kong, Mr. Teng-hui, who we met with, is touting Asian values. This is shorthand for the idea that universal democratic and civil rights norms are inappropriate for Asia, as if Taiwan and even Hong Kong itself, where these values are honored, are not in Asia.

The world will be watching Hong Kong, and the world will be watching Washington's response. Acting on human rights concerns is just; it is not idealism, it is justice. The reality is that the United States will never be fully at peace with a government that is not at peace with its own people, and to the extent that the United States encourages change by raising these concerns, especially with the Chinese people, through efforts like Radio Free Asia, we strengthen our security while honoring our values.

Again thank you, Mr. Speaker, for making this so very important trip.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman very much, and I am now very pleased to yield to another of my colleagues on the House Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. HASTINGS], who is a particularly valuable Member for this trip because of his knowledge as a lawyer and a jurist, and I am pleased to yield to him.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend from Nebraska for yielding, and I thank him for perpetuating this particular special order. We are all indebted to the extraordinary work that was done by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and, as one Member of the House of Representatives, I was honored and privileged to have the opportunity to travel with this delegation to the areas of Asia that we traveled. A lot has been made about this particular trip, and I was asked when we were in China why it was that I had visited China twice in three months. I had the good fortune of going to China in January with Congressman KOLBE from Arizona and the delegation that he led of 22 Members of the House of Representatives, and in each instance we had a variable type program that allowed for further information. I am going to come back to that, but I would like to answer the media by saying what I said, and that is that China is a happening.

Now that could be construed as China is a party. That is not the happening

that I was speaking of. The happening that I was talking about is the fact that China is the vortex of the dynamism that is going on in economic development in that area of the world, and assuredly what our trip did was underscore the principles and values of this great country, and as I look about this gallery and I see children that are here on this day as this special order is being held, I cannot help but think that many of us will long have since passed, and yet we laid the groundwork for their future in the various delegations and those that have preceded us in this rather extraordinary work that Congress does in international relations.

The vortex of dynamism does not mean that China is old. We visited Korea, we visited Taiwan, we visited Japan, and of course Hong Kong and Shanghai inside China as well as Beijing. In each instance in a bipartisan fashion those things that have been said by my colleagues can be underscored with the fact that all of us supported the values and principles that are enunciated in our great democracy.

And you know the Speaker made the comment often that America is a Pacific nation, and some folks would quarrel with that, but I ask anyone that wishes to quarrel with that, ask the citizens of California or Oregon or Washington or Hawaii or Alaska, ask them where they live. And speaking of Alaska, let us just compliment the extraordinary military people that handle all of our security matters as it pertains to that area of the world in a more than admirable fashion.

Travel further into the demilitarized zone where speakers before me, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] and others, have pointed out the 37,000-plus troops that are in that demilitarized zone, many of whom we had an opportunity to see, all of whom are extremely sharp, well commanded, young individuals, and they have a slogan that says in front of them all it means simply that in the deteriorating posture of North Korea, if some insanity prevails and war occurs, they will be the first ones to see it. We need to support those individuals.

And what I came home with, as we get ready to talk about foreign aid authorization, and you lead us in that effort as you so ably do, and the Chair of the Africa subcommittee, my friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. ROYCE], does so with Africa, is I came home with legislation. People say these trips sometimes are useless and we are criticized for taking them.

I now know about the need for 4-way talks in Korea in a meaningful way. I know now more about nuclear proliferation in a meaningful way, in the dumping that was about to take place or still may contractually with Taiwan and North Korea, and the potential dangers not only to the environment but to the security of that area of the

world. I know now about the reversion of Hong Kong in a meaningful way that I think I can stand with any American with the same background and argue forcefully why it is that we have to insist that there be no sedition provision in China's law, that they do not revoke the civil liberties and civil rights of those that for 99 years now have had that opportunity.

I know more about Taiwan, its democracy, how it has managed its economy. I know about the interrelated areas of economic and political and human rights, and all of that will lead me to three pieces of legislation that I plan to offer during the authorization process in addition to legislation that will support our military in a meaningful way, since many of them pointed out the horrors that they have visited.

And I want to say one final thing and thank you again for the time. The staff that accompanied us are unrivaled on either the Republican or the Democratic side, and they are effusively to be complimented by those of us that had the opportunity to work with them.

In addition thereto, I think it is abominable that the foreign services of the United States of America are in the critical posture that many of them are. In spite of the fact that we have these enormous financial constraints that all of us know about, it is pitiable to leave our children and our adults who work in the foreign services in circumstances where they do not have electricity, they do not have water, the embassies are run down, such as the one in Beijing, and I am not here to apologize for anybody in that regard. I take full responsibility for my remarks and say that this is an observation that I think is a mistake for us.

Those children in this gallery need to learn languages, and they will be very wise to learn the languages of Asia since Asia is going to be a coming.

As regard freedom and my final remarks, Mr. Speaker, as you well know we had an opportunity to go to church in Shanghai. That was a moving experience. Some of us went to Catholic services, others of us went to Protestant services. But the fact is that we went to services and symbolically it let China know that we are going to stand for religion as we said and were told by those persons that are in Hong Kong with whom we met that are the religious leaders of that area.

I want to say to the world, I want to say to China, I want to say to America and say to all of my colleagues that freedom marches to a steady beat. China cannot stop freedom. Freedom once tasted is sweet enough to cause individuals to rise above oppression.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The Chair would remind Members to refrain from referring to occupants of the gallery in their remarks.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Florida

[Mr. HASTINGS] for his moving and accurate summary of what he saw there and particularly for his compliment to the staff which we had not mentioned previously.

I now have one Member and perhaps another one who may come back in time, but I am pleased now to yield to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. KIM], and his hometown, his former hometown where he was born, is the first place we visited. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I was a little concerned about this article this morning, and I had a good feeling when I come back from the trip from Hong Kong and China. I thought that they understood clearly where we stand on the Hong Kong issue. This morning's article says that they are going to be curtailed, certain rights, public assembly rights and public gathering rights, and that is a guarantee by the first amendment in our Constitution.

Now that is not the impression I got from the trip. Very, very concerned. Is that the signal we are getting, the more to come?

I remember, Mr. Speaker, I have to have a colloquy with you. Remember that they said that it is two system one country will succeed and not to worry about it? But very disappointed. I hope this is not the true story, this morning's article. But if it is, we should watch closely, very closely because I am deeply concerned of what is happening in Hong Kong versus what they told us. Do you not agree with that?

Mr. BEREUTER. I do agree, and as the Speaker said, it is not one system and one and a half. It is two systems, and this agreement of autonomy to Hong Kong carries with it the need to have free assembly and an opportunity to peacefully demonstrate. So I hope they reverse their actions if in fact this is their proposal.

□ 1445

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk about the North Korean situation. Remember I mentioned this particular issue several times in China.

I was concerned about China's vague position in North Korea. Remember, I asked the question. Even this morning I understand that shots have been fired, shots have been exchanged, and remember when we went to the DMZ in Korea, we were scheduled to stop on the bridge, we were scheduled to get out of the bus and walk halfway.

Mr. BEREUTER. The Bridge of No Return.

Mr. KIM. The Bridge of No Return, and we had to abruptly change our schedule because they had assembled AK-47's, all of the weapons assembled together, so we had to change at the last minute and we did not get out of the bus, we just simply made a U-turn and came back. That is disgusting, that is totally unwarranted, and I feel very offended by this hostile action.

Yet, in China, of course North Korea is totally unknown to us, and all of

this hostile action. Let me give my colleague an example, that every country denounced and condemned the hostile action, except China. China has kept silent; they did not say anything. So we asked the question, why is it? Why is it that China has not said anything about this hostile action, and what is China's official position? What is the policy toward North Korea?

The answer I got was, look, I think they are trying to walk a fine line. If everybody pushed North Korea against the wall, then we are afraid they might do some irrational action. Therefore, we have to show some friendship, something like that. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleague, is that not the answer we got, some kind of vague answer?

Mr. BEREUTER. I think so, absolutely.

Mr. KIM. We are still not sure of China's policies in terms of North Korea. I think our country should demand what their policy is. Are they with us or against us? I am very disappointed at such a timid answer.

Then when we went to Taiwan, remember I asked the question about nuclear waste dumping that is generated by the Taiwanese power company. We are talking about 270 drums of nuclear waste, dumping it into North Korea because they are going to buy it, pay \$100 million or \$120 million, I do not remember, buy this nuclear waste.

I remember the gentleman's summation that we are setting up a dangerous precedent, that I think countries should keep their own waste in their own country, whether they are shipping overseas, which I totally agree.

My concern is, my God, pretty soon we are going to stop buying and selling this nuclear waste all over the country and bidding on it, I mean this is really ridiculous. We have to stop this from happening.

Also, my concern is, it is not the Taiwanese, it is North Korea. North Korea has no ability to manage its nuclear waste. Besides, they refuse to invite any IAA member team to inspect the nuclear waste dumping procedure, so God knows what they are going to do with it. I do not know what they are going to do with it. Perhaps they might contaminate our groundwater system. Then what is going to happen? It is only 24 miles from Seoul.

We have 37,000 young troops out there in Korea, plus their families, plus civilians, all 120,000. They are only 24 miles away from the DMZ. I am just afraid for not only the Koreans' lives in danger, but our own troops, our own families' lives could be in danger. So we have to stop this.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I would ask of my colleague to reclaim my time and to compliment the gentleman for all of his contributions throughout this trip. Frequently the Speaker pointed out the gentleman as an example to our Asian friends of an immigrant who succeeded remarkably in this country as so many have from various parts of the world.

I wonder if the gentleman would indulge me in yielding the remaining 5 minutes to our colleague who has not had a chance to speak. If the gentleman will stand by, we may have a chance for a concluding colloquy.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington [Ms. DUNN], a member of the Committee on Ways and Means who made invaluable contributions on this trip.

Ms. DUNN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I must say it has been with great interest that I have listened to my colleagues' discussion about our very important trip to Asia and how proud I am to have traveled with them on this trip and to have watched in action some very powerful Members of the U.S. Congress who care a lot about our relationships with those nations over there, but who are not willing to make a trip such as this, with the rights of our constituents in our hearts, without being very, very candid in all of our conversations about some of the problems that we must deal with over in that part of the world.

My responsibility as a member of the Subcommittee on Trade of the Committee on Ways and Means dealt with trade issues in the Asian nations, and I would say that thanks to the Speaker and to other members of the delegation, I was able to inquire about specific policies that deal with our relationship with Asia. Certainly I come from a State, the State of Washington, that is very, very export-oriented.

One out of four jobs in my State are related to trade. As constituents in my State and as you know, Mr. Speaker, Boeing, the aircraft company that is the largest exporter in this Nation that does great business now with the nation of China, and we will see that nation as probably 20 percent of its future market.

There were questions about market access that we brought up over and over again. For example, in Japan, what about access, as the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL] was interested in, in American autos? How about apples that come from our orchard, Mr. Speaker, in your part of our great State of Washington, that we are not allowed to export to Japan, the apples they want to eat, not just the Red and Golden Delicious, but the Fuji and the Gala apples, and why not provide to them the items that will be useful to the people that live in their country and also will help our export industry.

So we did not get good answers on some of those issues, Mr. Speaker, but we continued to try. In China we have serious problems having to do with intellectual property piracy, a rate that someone said is as high as 98 percent, market access to wheat for one thing in the State of Washington. We have terrible human rights violations. We have very serious problems there, but we were given a very warm welcome by the people in Beijing and Shanghai, because they want to do business with us and they want to work with us.

I believe that there is an openness there to a great degree that will allow us to expand on our trade relationships, that will allow the debate to begin on whether they should be able to accede to the WTO if they follow the road map that has already been laid out by our very effective ambassador-to-be of the USTR.

Taiwan, we had candid conversations in that nation as we did in all of the nations. It was a very effective trip. We were treated with great welcome, and I think that we were able to contribute a great deal to the work of the U.S. foreign policy, certainly reflected that, and I am very grateful, Mr. Speaker, to have been a colleague of yours on this important trip.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for her excellent contributions on the trip and her comments, and I thank the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] for allowing us this time.

TIME TO PUT PAY EQUITY FOR WOMEN BACK ON THE AMERICAN AGENDA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] is recognized for 50 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, all over the country today, women are preparing for tomorrow, for they have been alerted by women's organizations and others that tomorrow is a day for commemoration, it can hardly be for celebration, because it is pay inequity day, the day on which women earn what a man earned during the previous year.

I want to devote my time this afternoon to discussing some issues which I think will astonish many. I want to acknowledge that the gentlewoman from Texas [Ms. JACTION-LEE] wished to participate in this Special Order and was unable to do so.

Interestingly, pay equity was one of the great issues of the 1960's and 1970's. What has happened to the issue? Why do we not hear it discussed as much? Have we in fact finally remedied pay inequality between men and women?

One of the things that happened, Mr. Speaker, I think, is that women represent such a broad and diversified group that women have in fact balkanized and diversified their agenda so that in a very real sense it is very difficult to indicate what matters most to women.

This afternoon I want to bring us back to basics, because what we are certain of is that a most dramatic structural change has occurred in the United States and in the American family. The housewife has virtually disappeared from the American landscape, and I am going to say to you, Mr. Speaker, that is not because there are not millions of women who would prefer to stay at home with their children, and I think frankly would be better off staying at home with their chil-

dren, as would their children be better off, but during the past couple of decades, the fact is that the American standard of living has been going down, wages have stagnated and in fact decreased, so women are out there because they have to be out there, and this quite apart from the millions of women who want to be out there in order to reach their full potential in the workplace.

It is time that we put pay equity back on the American agenda if we mean what we say about the American family. The very reason that these women have gone to work in the first place is the American family and the pressures to keep the American standard of living where it was. Even so the average tow-parent family is not where that family was in the 1950's and 1960's, even with two people working. We have not been able to keep family income at the level we experienced in the post-World War II period.

I have a special interest in this issue because I am a former chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, where I raised the issue of pay equity for the first time during the Carter administration. But, Mr. Speaker, this is not an issue for government officials and expert lawyers; it has now become a grassroots issue as American women struggle out to work every day and, working year-round, have only been able to bring themselves to the point where they are worth 72 cents for every dollar earned by a man.

In case we think that this concern of working women is confined to a small group, let me offer these figures: 40 percent of all working women have children under 18. In two-parent families, 66 percent of women work. The number of female-headed households has doubled since 1970. We are dealing with a structural change in American society. We cannot run from it, but we certainly have hidden from it.

Today I introduced a bill that begins to deal with that part of the problem that may come from discrimination.

□ 1500

I have done so because of my concern about the gap, which is closing, ironically enough. I am very pleased that the gap appears to have gradually closed. We are 72 cents on the man's dollar, but more than a decade before that we were 62 cents on the man's dollar.

But when I looked behind these figures, Mr. Speaker, I found that while there had been some progress, most of it had nothing to do with the average woman. The gap has, indeed, not closed at all for many women because the figures we are using measure women against the decline in men's wages. Therefore, we have been able to catch up to men in large part, in very significant part, because men's wages have declined so dramatically over the last couple of decades.

That is not what we had in mind when we indicated we wanted to close

the gap. Indeed, the Equal Pay Act that it was my great privilege to enforce has a requirement which I think drives home the fact that decline in men's wages simply is not the way to measure progress for women.

When an employer finds in enforcement the Equal Pay Act that women and men doing the same job are not paid equally, the Congress has not left the employer the option to lower the man's wage. The employer must raise the woman's wage. This has not happened in this regard; many men are not in the work force at all, and others have found they could not make the kind of living their fathers did.

We know there are many causes for this decline in male wages, including the export of manufacturing jobs, particularly union manufacturing jobs which afforded a man in the 1950's and 1960's an income even though his educational level might have been low. Those jobs have fled offshore in very significant numbers.

Another significant reason that the gap has closed is because there are a small group of women who in fact have attained higher skills. They tend to be professional women and highly skilled women, and at least at the entry level those women earn the same wages as men. Unfortunately, as they go up the job ladder, the disparities begin to appear again.

This much is clear; that the American family can no longer afford to have the woman wage earner lose \$420,000 over a lifetime because of wage inequality. This much is true; that the country cannot afford to have women lose \$100 billion in wages each year because of wage discrimination.

Is there nothing we can do about this problem? We can certainly do something about the problem insofar as it results from discrimination. Let me make clear, Mr. Speaker, that not all of this problem results from discrimination, but it is surely the case that some of it does. That is why today I have introduced the Fair Pay Act, a bill which takes up where the Equal Pay Act left off.

The Equal Pay Act says if a man and woman are working side by side or are in the same workplace, you cannot pay the woman one thing and the man something more. That still goes on in America. The Equal Pay Act, the first of the great civil rights statutes of the 1960's to be passed, goes after that kind of discrimination.

The problem is that we need an Equal Pay Act for the 1990's, even as the Equal Pay Act was the great equalizer of the 1960's. The Equal Pay Act of the 1990's, I submit, would be the Fair Pay Act. It would go at what turns out to be the root problem of the disparities between men and women today. Mr. Speaker, that disparity comes from the fact that a man and a woman, doing comparable work, can be paid differently.

Some of the examples are quite astounding. Today, emergency services

operators are mostly women. Fire dispatchers are mostly men. Gender and gender alone has effected the wage disparities. If you are an emergency service operator, a female-dominated occupation, you are going to make less than a fire dispatcher.

Mr. Speaker, there are far fewer fires to dispatch people to than there are emergencies. If you look at the skill, effort, and responsibility of these two jobs, it would be very difficult to make the case that emergency services operators need less in skill or in responsibility or effort than a fire dispatcher. Why are these two groups paid differently? They are paid differently because of gender, I would submit, and not because of differences in the job. These two jobs are not the very same, but they are in fact comparable. They should be paid comparably.

Let me give another example, Mr. Speaker. Two people graduate from junior college at the same time. The man and the woman in the same graduating class get married shortly after their graduation. Each now has a college degree, or at least a two-year associate degree. She goes to be a social worker, he goes to be a probation officer. Guess who gets paid the most money? Probation officers make more than social workers.

I would defy the Members, Mr. Speaker, to show me the difference between these two occupations in skill, effort, and responsibility. I submit that there is none, except that historically social workers have been women and probation officers have been men.

What would I have us do about this problem? Let me first assure the Members that I would not have us interfere with the market system. I would have us extract only the discrimination from the wage, and the way we would do that is the same way we do it under the Equal Pay Act. The Equal Pay Act is where the categories of skill, effort, and responsibility were first laid out. Even if the market allows an employer to in fact hire a woman to do the same job as a man, the Equal Pay Act says you cannot do it.

So if the reason that your cadre of women workers earns less than your cadre of men workers doing the same job is that the women are willing to work for less, the statute says you have violated the law even though the market has provided you with women who are willing to work for less, and you must raise their wage to meet the wage of the men.

Mr. Speaker, how this would work in the case of the Fair Pay Act is very similar. The burden would be on the woman, as it is under the Equal Pay Act, to show that the reason she is paid less as an emergency services operator than her employer pays fire dispatchers is discrimination based on gender, not in fact legitimate market factors. The burden is on her. If she cannot meet that burden, then she would not prevail under the Fair Pay Act.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, would the gentlewoman consider yielding to me?

Ms. NORTON. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

CPI ADJUSTMENT

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I very much appreciate the gentlewoman yielding.

Mr. Speaker, this is an issue that is actually in a similar subject area, and I know that the gentlewoman would agree with the issue that I would like to bring up.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to address an issue of great concern to the people across the country. That is the issue of the Consumer Price Index. According to a statement today from the White House, a CPI adjustment is apparently back on the bargaining table in today's budget talks. This is of great concern to many Members like myself, and I hope to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON], who have written letters, filed resolutions, and spoken out against a magic CPI fix to balance the budget.

An artificial and unwarranted CPI fix would lower Social Security benefits for the poor and senior citizens on fixed incomes, many of whom are women, raise taxes on low- and middle-income Americans, and lower the wages of millions of workers whose contracts are tied to the CPI.

Now we learn that after many pronouncements from both sides that the CPI issue is dead, apparently it has come back to life in secret budget negotiations going on between the White House and the Republican leadership. Given the history of the past budget summits, I am fearful that a CPI fix will be agreed on in secret negotiations, buried in several hundred pages of budget, and brought to the floor with only a single vote on the entire package.

That is simply not right. Any provision which affects virtually everyone in this country, that is so significant, deserves a straight up-or-down stand-alone vote. If the CPI fix is a good idea, let it stand on its own.

Therefore, I will be circulating a letter to House leadership on both sides of the aisle demanding that any budget or legislative provision which contains a CPI adjustment be brought up under a procedure in which separate votes up-or-down will take place on the CPI provision alone. The American people deserve to know where everyone stands on this critical issue.

I welcome anyone in the Chamber or in this House who would like to join me in this effort, and I particularly want to thank the gentlewoman from the great city of Washington, DC for yielding to me.

Ms. NORTON. The gentleman is quite welcome.

Mr. Speaker, may I add that my Fair Pay Act is an amendment to the Equal Pay Act, and not a separate act. One of the things it does is to add race and national origin to the Equal Pay Act.

Mr. Speaker, I can see that there may be fewer jobs were the stereotyping about race and national origin happens to the extent that it happens to women, because low-paid jobs tend to be passed on from one ethnic group to another. But there certainly are some jobs, and those jobs should be reached under the Equal Pay Act, and they would be reached under the Fair Pay Act.

I would like to address any concern about the way the Fair Pay Act might affect the market system. Not only are the safeguards I mentioned before there, that the burden is on the woman, the plaintiff, that she must show that the cause of the disparity is in fact gender and not some legitimate cause inherent in the market.

But there is another reason to believe that comparable pay would not have a disruptive effect on our economy. A number of States, more than half a dozen, have done comparable-pay studies that affected their own State work forces, and some of them have indeed used those studies in order to raise the pay of women doing comparable jobs with men. So once again, the States have experienced and have shown that comparable pay can work. This remedy should be applied to others, as well.

Mr. Speaker, I am also associated with the Families First Fair Pay Initiative, which involves some additions that are perhaps less clear cut than my own but which I fully embrace. On Pay Inequity Day tomorrow, I think we would do well to take notice of these smaller steps, which I believe need to be taken at the earliest time.

□ 1515

One is simply better enforcement of the Equal Pay Act itself. The Equal Pay Act was transferred to the EEOC when I chaired that agency. In the beginning we brought many equal pay cases. I am concerned, as a prior chair of the agency, that during the 1980's there were very few equal pay cases brought at all and that even now there are too few relative to the amount of discrimination we know is out there.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to concentrate far more on Equal Pay Act cases, and I believe that this body needs to facilitate that effort by adding stronger penalties for violation of the Equal Pay Act.

The EEOC and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the Labor Department need additional resources. One of the reasons I believe that there has been less enforcement of the Equal Pay Act is because the EEOC now has very complicated additional responsibilities, including the ADA, the Americans with Disabilities Act, a very important recent addition to our law, relatively recent addition, and because of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, where we restored the strength of some of the equal opportunity laws after a Supreme Court decision. When all of this

is piled onto an agency that has suffered as the EEOC has in the last several years, you may get some neglect of important statutes. There has been neglect of the Equal Pay Act. We must, in fact, at a time when the American family cannot do without the woman's wage, get our bearings and get back to basics with the Equal Pay Act.

In addition, while the Fair Pay Act is pending, there is something that employers can do right now without this body moving. As an interim and transition step, I believe that there should be voluntary employer guidelines drawn up by the Secretary of Labor so an employer can know without having to go through a process itself, whether, in fact, he is doing women a disservice by paying women less than the job should require.

An employer has a right to say, is the wage here what one might expect for the skill and effort and responsibility required in this job? The employer may not mean to discriminate. The Labor Department could do women and employers a service by, in fact, drawing voluntary guidelines, absolutely no sanctions attached to them, that would act to inform employers, that would act as an educational device so that employers who wanted to do the right thing would have some guidance as to what the right thing to do in fact was.

The Families First fair pay initiative cannot stop with women in the work force. The average woman out here is building a bad pension portfolio for herself. She is doing so in part because she is earning so little. The average woman makes less than \$14,000 a year.

For a moment, by the way, Mr. Speaker, stop and think what that means for her children. What it means, if she is to have any money left over for having worked at all, is that she is probably leaving her children catch as catch can, and we certainly are doing nothing about that.

There needs to be a special order, and I will initiate one in the future, on child care. With so little money, the agony and the frustration that women face as they go to work every day is one of the great untold stories of America.

In a real sense I wonder why women are not insisting that their story be told. I have my own theory. Mr. Speaker, my theory is that women are raised to do the best that they can, to work night and day, not to respect any hours, to hustle from one part of their responsibilities to another. They think it is simply natural to get up in the morning and put your kids on the school bus and get out yourself and keep dialing home after school to make sure that your kids are there and run home and put the food on and read to the kids. They think this is natural. It is not natural, and it is not healthy for families or for women or for children. But at the very least we ought to make sure that this frustration does not come to rest in a woman's retirement years, with a pension that is too little to support her.

Mr. Speaker, most of the poor aged by far are women. They live on Social Security. One might think that, now that we have women in the work force in a more systematic fashion, perhaps that would no longer be the case. With the baby boom generation hitting us and with salaries still at such a low level, that expectation will not turn out to be the case, and there are some things we can do about that. We can expand the access of women workers to pensions and to the retirement vehicles that are out there. These include 401(k) plans and small business retirement plans and IRA's.

We can require that equitable survivor benefit options be available. So, for example, that either surviving spouse would in fact be entitled with two-thirds of the benefit received while both were alive. That is equity, Mr. Speaker. We could provide that divorcing spouses share equally in each other's pensions. Remember, both are working and they ought to share equally in each other's pensions unless a court decides that that should not be the case.

We could enact legislation that prevented one spouse's participation in a pension plan. I am sorry. We could prevent one spouse's participation in a pension plan from limiting the other spouse's ability to make deductible IRA contributions.

The pension area has received even less focus than the employment problems I spoke of because women who have too little voice as they work find that that voice grows softer and softer in its impact the older they get.

As we approach Pay Inequity Day, Mr. Speaker, we should take note of the fact that this body to its credit moved in a way that helped women in particular in the last session, the 104th Congress, even without a remedy addressed to women.

Some of our best remedies, dare I say most of our best remedies, are gender neutral. They include the Earned Income Tax Credit and the minimum wage, even though both assist women far more than men. For the minimum wage, 60 percent of the workers are women. When we passed the minimum wage last session, 300,000 people were immediately lifted out of poverty; 100,000 of them were children. We finally got over the false data that was used to show that somehow, if you increased minimum wage, you would basically help teenagers and do nothing for adults.

Only one-third of those affected by the increase were teenagers. Almost 70 percent of the minimum wage workers are 20 years or older. And, as I indicated, the majority of them are women. These are adults who go out here to earn a poverty wage every day. And this issue becomes more and more important as we look at the new welfare work force. We are still trying to figure out how these people on a minimum wage are going to be able to earn

a living. Imagine what would have occurred if we had not passed the minimum wage last year.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take special note of the fact that among those in our society already excluded, particularly people of color, the minimum wage has had the most important effect. Seventeen percent of all hourly paid African-American workers are minimum wage workers, and of course most of these low wage workers are female. Now, that is 17 percent, even though African-Americans are something like 12 percent of the population.

Twenty-one percent of all hourly paid Latino workers are minimum wage workers, and 25 percent of paid Latino women earn the minimum wage.

Therefore, if our concern is with eliminating disparities among people of color and white people, we should be aware that remedies like simply raising the minimum wage in an orderly and systematic fashion is one of the most effective things we could do.

There is a lot of concern and interest in getting women to go back home and in fact not work. Let me be clear. The women's movement of which I consider myself a part does not now and never has had the position that women should go out to work. Remember when the women's movement started. That was at a time when it was considered heretical for women to work. Therefore, women stepped up to the plate and said, wait a minute, is that not a choice I should make—because that was the background and the backdrop of women's work.

There are some who claim that we do not want women to stay at home. What we want is what women did not have when we said women should be able to go to work and what they should have now. And that is the right to make the choice with or without sacrifice as to what to do with their lives, a choice to be made by them and their families.

Mr. Speaker, if we really mean that choice to be a real choice, of course, we would do what every industrialized country in the world does. And that is at least provide some aid through some sort of child care system for women who want to go out and work, but we do not do that. That has not kept women from going to work. What it has meant is women have gone to work with some sacrifice to their children.

□ 1530

There is a reason women are working. You can bet your bottom dollar that there is a reason why half of all married women with children under 3 are in the labor force, and that is not because all of them have gone to law school and decided that they want to try out their law degrees. These are the minimum-wage women I was talking about or women just above them. These are the \$14,000-a-year women that have no other choice and would not leave their children if they had any other choice.

Even if they have husband, and remember that the number of women who are raising children by themselves has doubled since 1970, remember that these women are working because this work simply must be done to earn a living.

In 1970, a quarter of all women worked. Now we are up to half. I am sorry, that figure was not correct. It was a quarter of all married women were working. And now it is half of all married women.

What we, I think, have been reluctant to face, Mr. Speaker, is that women have become to the service economy what the men of the 19th and early 20th century were to the industrial economy. Like the male industrial workers, women are the low-paid workers with no benefits of the 20th century.

If you look at who does not have pensions, if you look at who does not have health insurance, it is full-time women workers, and it is the plethora of women, the majority of women, who are part time workers or the majority of part-time workers who are women; and many of the part-time workers in this country tend to be women. The temporary workers tend to be women. And I don't think I need to say to this body what their benefit and wage levels are. Indeed, increasingly we see employers breaking jobs up to make them part-time and temporary precisely to avoid paying benefits.

There is going to come a time, Mr. Speaker, when women come upon this body and the other body to rectify this matter. It is time that we moved on our own to address this tragic frustration of the American family, because remember what these women are doing.

I have spoken of low-pay jobs for women. I have spoken of minimum-wage jobs for women. What kind of jobs do I mean? I mean the fast-food jobs; I mean the health aide jobs; I mean the insurance clerk jobs; I mean the residential day-care jobs; I mean the beautician jobs; I mean the hospital worker jobs. Women predominate in these low-paid occupations, and yet they have families, they live the same kinds of lives, have the same kinds of needs that other families have.

So on tomorrow, Pay Equity Day, we need to return to the equal pay and comparable pay issues. There is a reason why our focus is scattered, but we have got to be able to walk and chew gum at the same time.

Women have many, many concerns. It is perfectly appropriate for women to reach to those many concerns. None is more important today, Mr. Speaker, than assuring that when a woman goes out to work, she at least brings home what she is worth. That is what the Fair Pay Act is trying to achieve.

The frustration of having to go to work, for many women with small children is great enough, but having to go to work and then hardly bringing home enough to pay the baby-sitter or the child care center, which may or may

not be accredited, that is a frustration we should ask no American family to endure. At the very least, we should be moving to begin to rectify a problem that is going to take years to remedy.

There was a time, Mr. Speaker, when pay equity issues were classic women issues. Times have changed, Mr. Speaker. The pay equity issue has become one of the paramount family issues. This, I submit, is not only because of the growth, the alarming growth, if you will, of female-headed families; this is because in America today it takes two to tango in the workplace to bring home enough money for the family. It is wrong to send women out in order to help with family income and then not to make sure that the woman brings home what her skill effort and responsibility on the job would indicate she deserves.

Mr. Speaker, some of us have been very vocal to young women, saying to them that what they must do is to get the requisite education. I am very blunt about it to my own constituents. I have a program called D.C. Students in the Capitol so I get to talk with them every legislative day. I ask their teachers and parents to bring them in classes to the Capitol, telling them that 20 million people come to visit the Capitol or visit Washington every year, and if you are born here and raised here, surely you ought to come.

And then I ask them, as I talk with them, to give me a promise, and I ask them that each raise her hand if she or he can promise me that she will stay in school at least until they have finished high school, and invariably they raise their hands. And I am very blunt with the boys, and I am very blunt with the girls. I talk to the boys about crime, and I talk to the girls about pregnancy, and I say I am going to check up on you to make sure that you do what you promise to do.

I do not want to be put in the position of sounding like a hypocrite of saying stay in school to the young girls so that you can come out here and make whatever an employer wants to pay you. I want to be able to say stay in school so you can come out and earn what you are worth.

For that reason, I ask that on tomorrow everybody think about pay and equity, because that is the day on which, remember, we are only in April, on which women earn as much as men have earned the entire prior year. I ask my colleagues to sign on to the Fair Pay Act. We had 52 cosponsors last year. Senator HARKIN has introduced the bill in the Senate already. I have over 20 cosponsors. I invite the cosponsorship of all of my colleagues.

HOW BIG SHOULD GOVERNMENT BE?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. SMITH] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I think since tax filing date to pay our income taxes in the United States is next Tuesday, April 15, it is an appropriate time to talk about how big do the American people and the American workers think Government should be and how much of their money that they have earned do they think should go to pay for government.

In the last several years, I have been concerned about Republican candidates and Democrat candidates running for Congress, running for the Presidency, that suggest somehow that Government can do great things for us; that Government can increase our standard of living; that Government can give us better jobs.

I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that Government and what it can do to increase our wages and increase our standard of living is much overblasted from the mouths of politicians. If Government could actually pass laws or do something to increase wages, increase the standard of living, would not every Government in the of laws? The fact is that what we have and what we can get, and the amount we earn and the kind of community we live in, is pretty much up to our individual selves and collectively within that community, and it is dependent on whether or not we can produce a product that other people want to buy around the world and we can produce it at a competitive price. So we are looking to produce a quality product at a competitive price that other people in the world and in this country want to purchase.

Let me suggest two mistakes I think we have been making to accomplish that kind of goal in order to increase our take-home pay and have more time to spend with our families and do a better job in our competitive relation with other countries around the world. Let me give what I consider bad news over the last 10 years. The productivity; that is, the efficiency of the way we produce products, the productivity in the United States has been increasing at a slower rate than other industrialized countries around the world.

Part of the reason is that we discourage savings and investment. So at this tax time of year, I would humbly suggest that one thing we want to do is change our Tax Code not only to make it simpler and more fair, but we have to do that because the special interest lobbyists have really ruined our current Tax Code and given too much favoritism to their clients. What we want to do is encourage investment, encourage savings, reward the people that are trying, that are working instead of what we do now.

Let me give a couple of examples. Our penalty on a business that buys a new piece of equipment or new machinery to increase the efficiency and productivity in that particular job site, we penalize it in our Tax Code more than any of the other G-7 countries.

I think a lot of people do not think about it, but what we do to a business

is we say, look, if you are going to buy the more efficient machinery and the more efficient machinery to increase the productivity of your workers, to increase their pay, this is how we penalize you. We say that you have to put it on a depreciation schedule and we make them depreciate it over the next 3, 5, 10, 15 years.

What happens when they buy that equipment and have to wait that long to deduct it as a business expense on their taxes is inflation eats up the value of that deduction.

So a lot of us have been trying to change that. And it seems to me on the Neutral Cost Recovery bill that I have introduced is that we simply should say to a business, look, if you are willing to go out on the limb and put better tools, better equipment, put a better facility there for the people that work in your company and you make that purchase, you can deduct it as a business expense or, at the very least, what you do not deduct as an expense in the year of purchase you can add an inflation factor to it so when you do depreciate it on that depreciation schedule it is adjusted for inflation in the time value of money.

If I were to take a vote in this auditorium, Mr. Speaker, of how much individuals thought they should pay in taxes, how many cents out of every dollar they earn they believe is reasonable to pay in taxes, my guess is most people would come up with around 25 percent of what I earn is reasonable. Well, the average in the United States is a little over 41 cents. On the average, the average worker in the United States now pays 41 cents out of every dollar they earn in taxes at the local, State, and national level.

I would just suggest that during this time of year, when we are concerned about how much taxes we are paying, everybody should look at their end of the week or end of every 2-week check and look at the deductions on that check.

□ 1545

When you fill out your 1040 and your tax forms, look at that bottom line. We do not pay much attention to it because most of us have it automatically withheld from our paychecks, and so we never see it. And so there are a lot of people that have said, "Jeez, I got a tax refund." But I think we need to remind ourselves that we are paying thousands and thousands of dollars in to run government. When you pay that money in, how do you make sure you are getting your buck's worth? How do we make sure we are getting our bang for the buck? Let me tell you a dangerous situation that I have seen happening in my last 16 years in politics, this is my 5th year in the U.S. Congress, and I am concerned because I see Members of Congress tend to increase their chances to get reelected if they promise more pork-barrel projects, if they go home and promise more social programs, if they promise to do more

things for the American people and the people in their particular congressional district, or U.S. Senate district in their State. They get on television if they take home those pork-barrel projects, cutting the yellow ribbon and people say, "Boy, this guy is really good, he's bringing me something." Let me tell you something about pork-barrel projects. If you take home as a Member of Congress pork to your district, you can bet your life that you are also voting for everybody else's pork. That is one of the problems of us running deeper and deeper into debt and taxing more and spending more. Those individuals that promise to do more social programs for people. The problem is, is that you are paying for it. Jefferson said that it is one of the greatest dangers of a democracy to have people that can vote themselves more benefits. But the problem is, Government has no money. The only way we come up with money is to tax the American people and reach into their pockets, reach into what their hard-earned dollar is, to take it and to decide down here in Washington what we want to spend. Right now, the annual deficit is what we overspend, the amount that we overspend in any 1 year above and beyond the revenue coming into the Federal Government is called the deficit. If you add all those deficits up year to year, then you end up with the Federal debt. The Federal debt is now about \$5.2 trillion. A lot of money. Let me tell you, though, what overpromising has done. Overpromising on Medicare, the economists, the actuaries, now estimate that the unfunded liability, the actuarial debt of Medicare is approximately \$9 trillion. That means you would have to take \$9 trillion and put it into the Medicare pot right now if it was going to support that program and keep it solvent for the next 75 years.

Let me talk about Social Security, and I am going to talk about Social Security a little more with the rest of my time, Mr. Speaker, because I think that is something that is really coming down very quickly, is becoming insolvent. Social Security now has an unfunded liability of approximately \$7 trillion. In other words, we have promised more than we can deliver in Social Security.

Let me run through some charts. This first chart shows the pie of the expenditures of the United States. The piece of pie up in front of that chart represents Social Security. That takes 22 percent of the Federal budget. Social Security, Medicare, other entitlement programs, the welfare program, the food stamp program, the 15 percent of the budget that goes to pay the interest on the public debt and the other entitlements use up essentially all of the Federal spending budget except for the discretionary programs. The only pursestrings that Congress now controls are those discretionary spending. If you take defense out, defense uses 17 percent of the total budget. What is interesting, the hawks and the doves, the

Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, almost never disagree more than a plus or minus 8 percent on what should go into defense spending. So that leaves 12 appropriation bills that this body, the U.S. House of Representatives, has control of, along with the U.S. Senate and those are the 12 appropriation bills that use up the other 17 percent of this total budget pie. That is all we have control of.

What Republicans did 2 years ago is said, look, as leverage to try to reduce the rest of this spending pie, we are going to add language on to these appropriation bills that essentially run Government, language that says, look, if we are going to ever achieve a balanced budget and live within our means and to stop spending the money that our kids have not even earned yet, that is what I call borrowing is, when the Federal Government borrows, what we are doing is spending the money that our kids and our grandkids have not even earned yet, we have no idea how we are ever going to pay it back. There is no plan by anybody on how to start paying this back so we just keep borrowing and say, "Well, let the young people worry about it in the future. Maybe their problems will be less." No. 1, I know I am getting on a long footnote here, but is it not terribly egotistical for this generation to think that the problems today are so great that it justifies borrowing this money from our kids and our grandkids, driving their debt even deeper, making their chances of success even greater by simply going in and overspending?

That is why I think it is so terribly important that every American, Mr. Speaker, when Members run for Congress, when Members run for the U.S. Senate, when people run for the Presidency, they say, "Look, candidate, what are you going to do about this overspending?" And so the candidates say, "Well, we're going to deal with it. That's important."

I think it is coming to a very serious point where we cannot allow Members of Congress to be elected that are going to continue the tax and spend and borrowing as usual.

Let me just take a few minutes looking at the problems on Social Security. The average retired couple now on Social Security has already gotten back 4 times what they and their employer put into Social Security taxes. They have gotten back 4 times what they ever put into it, plus compounded interest.

This chart shows that if you happened to retire in 1980, it took 2 years of retirement to get everything back that you put into Social Security in taxes plus what the employer put in. If you retired in 1980, it took 4 years to get everything back that you and your employer contributed in taxes to Social Security plus compounded interest from day one. However, if you retire 10, 15 years from now, it is going to take 26

years of living after you retire just to break even and get back what you and your employer put in, in taxes, in the Social Security taxes.

Social Security started out with a tax of 2 percent on the first \$3,500. Every time we have gotten into problems with Social Security and having less money than was needed to pay existing benefits, we have simply raised taxes. The system today is sort of a Ponzi game. It is a pay-as-you-go program, Social Security is. We take the existing taxes and we immediately send out those taxes to the existing current retirees. That is the way it is today. That is the way it always has been since 1935. And so when you end up with a problem of fewer and fewer workers supporting a larger number of retirees, then you run into problems. The problem so far has been solved by the age-old tradition in this country of simply saying, "Let's just raise taxes again." So this chart shows how much taxes have been raised.

I am sure if you were guessing how many times we have increased taxes since 1971 on Social Security, very few people would guess 36 times. But we have increased the Social Security tax on young working families, the working men and women of this country 36 times since 1971. That is why I am suggesting that the Social Security problem, to make it solvent, does not have any tax increase.

This next chart shows what is happening in the demographics of the increased population. The increased senior population is going to grow 108 percent between now and 2040 where the working people population is only going to increase about 24 percent, is the new estimate between now and 2040. So we have more and more retirees and fewer and fewer workers. One reason for that situation is people are living longer. When Social Security started in 1935, the average age of death was 61 years old. On the average, people lived to 61 years old. And the retirement age then was still 65. That is what it was. So that meant most people never collected Social Security. They died first. And so it was easy to keep a program solvent when we said pay taxes all your life and then you are unlikely to ever collect anything. And so what happened is as people live longer, there are more senior citizens. Right now the average age of death at birth is 74 years old. However, if you reach age 65, then the experts predict for those people that reach 65 years old, the age that you can start collecting Social Security today, that on the average you are going to live to be 84 years old. Some are guessing that by the year 2040, half of the people in the United States could even live to be 100 years old. And so as you increase the number that are receiving the benefits from existing workers, it makes it tougher on those existing workers, especially if there are fewer of those existing workers.

Let me get to these workers charts here. In 1947, there were 42 people

working paying in their Social Security tax for every retiree. By 1950 it got down to 17 people working paying in their Social Security tax for every retiree. Today 3 people are working paying in their Social Security tax supporting the Social Security benefits for every Social Security recipient that is now collecting benefits. The guess is that by 2029 we are going to be down to 2 workers. It is a serious problem. There are no good fixes. But I think the solution pretty much boils down to one of two things or a combination. You have either got to increase revenues or you decrease outgo, or it is a combination.

That is all there is. And so I have come up with a suggestion that says, at least for everybody over 57 years old, that you are going to continue to get the same benefits that you have expected all your life and these politicians have promised you. But for people younger than that age, we do a couple of things. We slow down the increase in benefits for the higher wage earners. In other words, if you are making lots of money, your benefit increase over the years is going to go up slower than it otherwise would. The benefits for those very lower wage people will actually go up faster than it would under existing law. I am suggesting we add a year to the retirement age. People are living longer, so I have suggested we add 1 more year to that retirement age before you are eligible for full retirement.

Here is the other exciting thing that is in my bill, though. I am suggesting that part of the money be allowed to be used for private investment. Do you know why the President's advisory commission, Mr. Speaker, every one of the three suggestions from that commission included private investment? Here is why. The Department of Treasury only pays a real interest rate return of 2.3 percent. So anybody that can invest that money anyplace else for a greater real return is going to end up being better off. And so I am suggesting that the surpluses now coming into the Social Security trust fund, because after the 1983 huge tax increases, we are ending up with a little surplus coming in every year. In other words, there is a little more tax money coming in than is required for those benefits, that goes into the Social Security trust fund, I am suggesting we keep Government from using that extra money to spend on other programs. I think that is an important first step, is that we keep that Social Security trust fund money from being used and being spent for other programs, because the problem is even though Government, quote-unquote, Government writes an IOU and says we are using this money for other programs and we intend to pay it back, there is no way for Government to pay that back without going out and borrowing more money and going out and increasing taxes to come up with the money to pay it back. So let us keep the Government's

hands off that extra trust fund money to start with.

What I do in my proposal is I allow the individual workers to use that amount of money for private investments. It starts out at about 2.3 percent. Right now the Social Security tax is 12.4 percent. This says we will start out at 2.3 percent to be allowed for the private investment. That private investment, by the way, even though I increase the retirement age by 1 year, I say you can take out your private investment money as early as age 60, trying to offset the negatives of adding 1 year to the retirement.

If individuals were allowed to have private investments back in 1935 and if we simply said in the law, look, you have the option of going into the Government program or you can have your own private investments as long as you invest the same percentage, you cannot take it out until age 65, with those kind of requirements, we would have almost 10 times the return on investment as the so-called investment into Social Security taxes during those years.

□ 1600

Here is what is interesting researching the records of the arguments between the House and the Senate. In 1935, when they passed the bill, the Senate insisted on two votes in the Senate, that that personal investment be an option to the Government program, and that is the way the Senate passed the bill. But in conference committee the House talked the Senate out of the provision, and it became a total Government program.

Some people say, "Well, can you trust the American people to invest their own money?" Is that not a sad state of affairs?

I say, yes, we can. I say part of the problem is we have taxed the American people so much that they have very little opportunity to invest because we take it away, all of it away from them, in taxes. But look, the American people that can go out and dicker for a car, the American family that can go out and buy a home and come up with a reasonable price for that home, a family and individuals that can invest IRA money can end up investing their own money.

I set certain parameters in my bill on where the money is invested. I start out by saying, look, individuals are going—the firms that take that money to invest it are going to have to give a quarterly report back to those individual workers because I think that is important, I think that is the trend. And if you start out at just 2.3 percent, I think you can learn very quickly to weed out the Wall Street snake oil salesmen.

But I set in the parameters also of the 401(k) program, and the thrift savings plan is what we call our sort of 401(k) for all Federal Government employees; I included that language by reference in my bill so if an individ-

ual—so Social Security Administration would go out and find reliable investors, and if the individual worker could choose what percentage of their investment they wanted in indexed stocks, how much they wanted in index bonds, how much they wanted in Treasury bills, a certain percentage in mutual funds.

Look the American people need to be able to invest their own money, and we need to start reducing taxes today to allow them to invest their own money, and we need to expand IRA's to encourage that investment, with some tax breaks to encourage savings and investment because if we are going to get back to our goals, if we are going to get back to our goals of having an America that is a better place to work and to live and to raise our families, then we are going to have to make some changes. Investments in tool and machinery, that capital investment is one thing.

And let me just finish up my comments by saying what I think the importance of the human investment is, the human investment in education. The President this year suggested we spend another \$50 billion of Federal Government money on education. But you know what I think is the most important thing we can do for education? It is to have a strong family unit where those parents are encouraging those kids to get a good education.

I mean as I talked to teachers and as I talked to youth group leaders, they say the most important thing that can happen is parents that are interested in their kid's education, parents that are interested in their kid's school. So part of the solution to a sound future in this country is going to have to be policies that encourage investment in savings for capital investment on the one hand and policies that encourage the traditional family units so that we can have better educated, better motivated youth on the second hand.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to talk on this subject. I think that Members of Congress, members of the administration need to take their heads out of the sand, need to start dealing with really some of the very tough issues of Medicare, of Social Security, of annual government over-spending, and I would just ask an American that pays taxes to spend a few moments thinking about the absurdity of our tax code in this country.

You know we talk about immigration, we talk about the problems of illegal immigrants coming in, but you know there is about 12,000 immigration employees that the Federal Government has. I think the number is now up to 120,000 IRS employees, 120,000 checking your taxes. Our Tax Code is unfair, it is complicated, the special interests lobbyists have gotten too much favoritism for their clients. I think it is time that we had a new beginning and I think that is what we are going to do. God bless you all.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma (at the request of Mr. ARMEY), for today, on account of illness in the family.

Mrs. CARSON (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today, on account of illness.

Mr. POMEROY (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today, on account of official business.

Mr. CAPPS (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT), for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PALLONE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. HARMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. COBLE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. UPTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. COBLE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GUTKNECHT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. CRAPO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. LINDA SMITH of Washington, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DELAY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TAUZIN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BARTON of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes, each day on April 15 and 16.

(The following Members (at their own request) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. FOLEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WOLF, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ROHRBACHER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DAN SCHAEFER of Colorado, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PALLONE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. POSHARD.

Mr. ALLEN.

Mr. BECERRA.

Ms. PELOSI.

Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut.

Mr. SCHUMER.

Mr. BARCIA.

Mr. STUPAK.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. COBLE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. MCINTOSH.
Mrs. KELLY.
Mr. SOLOMON.
Mr. GINGRICH in three instances.
Mr. WELLER.
Mr. CRAPO.
Mr. RADANOVICH.
Mr. BARTON of Texas.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Michigan) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CAPPS.
Mr. BARR of Georgia in two instances.
Mr. EHLERS.
Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas.
Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island.
Mrs. MORELLA.
Mr. HOYER.
Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.
Ms. HARMAN.
Mr. COYNE.
Mr. DELLUMS.
Mr. DOYLE.
Mr. KNOLLENBERG in two instances.
Mr. YOUNG of Florida.
Mr. BRYANT.
Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.
Mrs. ROUKEMA.
Mr. KUCINICH.
Mr. LEWIS of Georgia.
Ms. NORTON.
Mr. MCCOLLUM.
Mr. MENENDEZ in two instances.
Ms. KILPATRICK.
Mr. OLVER.
Mr. ENGEL.
Mr. THOMAS.
Mr. PORTMAN.
Mr. KLINK.
Mr. GOODLING.
Mr. PORTER.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Oversight, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 412. An act to approve a settlement agreement between the Bureau of Reclamation and the Oroville-Tonasket Irrigation District.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 8 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, April 14, 1997, at 2 p.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 or rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2680. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Change in Disease Status of

The Netherlands Because of BSE [APHIS Docket No. 97-034-1] received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2681. A letter from the Acting Executive Director, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Commission Rules Relating to Investigations [17 CFR Part 11] received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2682. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Glyphosate; Pesticide Tolerances [OPP-300469; FRL-5598-6] received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2683. A letter from the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Farm Credit Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Organization and Functions; Privacy Act Regulations; Organization; Loan Policies and Operations; Funding and Fiscal Affairs, Loan Policies and Operations, and Funding Operations; General Provision; Definitions (RIN: 3052-AB61) received April 9, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2684. A letter from the Under Secretary of Defense, transmitting a report of two violations of the Anti-Deficiency Act, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 1517(b); to the Committee on Appropriations.

2685. A letter from the Chief, Programs and Legislation Division, Office of Legislative Liaison, Department of the Air Force, transmitting notification that the commander of Air Education and Training Command [AETC] has conducted a cost comparison to regionalize jet engine repair within AETC at Laughlin Air Force Base [AFB], TX, pursuant to 10 U.S.C. 2304 note; to the Committee on National Security.

2686. A letter from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting the results of the second annual comprehensive needs assessments; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

2687. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement, Department of Education, transmitting notice of Final Priority—Educational Research and Development Program, pursuant to 20 U.S.C. 1232(f); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

2688. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Department of Education, transmitting Final Priority—Research in Education of Individuals with Disabilities Program, pursuant to 20 U.S.C. 1232(f); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

2689. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulations, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's report on Research in Education of Individuals with Disabilities Program, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(B); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

2690. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulations, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's report on the Educational Research and Development Centers Program, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(B); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

2691. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of State Implementation Plans: Oregon [OR-14-1-5535; FRL-5807-4] received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

2692. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information,

Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation Plans; Tennessee: Approval of Revisions to the Tennessee SIP Regarding Volatile Organic Compounds [TN-176-2-9708a; FRL-5806-7] received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

2693. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Reasonably Available Control Technology for Nitrogen Oxides for the State of New Hampshire [FRL-5801-1] received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

2694. A letter from the Managing Director, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Implementation of the Telecommunications Act of 1996: Telemessaging, Electronic Publishing, and Alarm Monitoring Services [CC Docket No. 96-152] received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

2695. A letter from the Secretary, Federal Trade Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Guides for the Jewelry, Precious Metals and Pewter Industries [16 CFR Part 23] received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

2696. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy Management Staff, Office of Policy, Food and Drug Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Food Labeling: Nutrient Content Claims, Definition of Term: Healthy [Docket Nos. 96P-0500 and 91N-348H] (RIN: 0910-AA19) received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

2697. A letter from the Director, Office of Congressional Affairs, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting the Commission's final rule—Access to and Protection Of Classified Information (RIN: 3150-AF37) received April 9, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

2698. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting the Department of the Navy's proposed lease of defense articles to the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States [TECRO] (Transmittal No. 03-97), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2796a(a); to the Committee on International Relations.

2699. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold commercially to the Philippines (Transmittal No. DTC-50-97), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

2700. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting certification of a proposed license for the export of defense articles or defense services sold commercially to Taiwan (Transmittal No. DTC-33-97), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(c); to the Committee on International Relations.

2701. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting notification of a proposed manufacturing license agreement for production of major military equipment with Spain (Transmittal No. DTC-26-97), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(d); to the Committee on International Relations.

2702. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting notification of a proposed manufacturing license agreement for production of major military equipment with Spain (Transmittal No. DTC-31-97), pursuant to 22

U.S.C. 2776(d); to the Committee on International Relations.

2703. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting notification of a proposed manufacturing license agreement for production of major military equipment with the United Kingdom (Transmittal No. DTC-42-97), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(d); to the Committee on International Relations.

2704. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting notification that the Department proposes to obligate up to \$301.1 million to implement the Cooperative Threat Reduction [CTR] Program under the fiscal year 1997 Defense Appropriations Act, Public Law 104-208, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 5955; to the Committee on International Relations.

2705. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a report on developments since his last report of September 19, 1996, concerning the national emergency with respect to Angola that was declared in Executive Order 12865 of September 26, 1993, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c) (H. Doc. No. 105-64); to the Committee on International Relations and ordered to be printed.

2706. A letter from the Assistant Legal Adviser for Treaty Affairs, Department of State, transmitting copies of international agreements, other than treaties, entered into by the United States, pursuant to 1 U.S.C. 112b(a); to the Committee on International Relations.

2707. A letter from the Chairman Pro Tempore, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 12-46, "Fiscal Year 1997" Budget Support Temporary Amendment Act of 1997 received April 8, 1997, pursuant to D.C. Code, section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2708. A letter from the Chairman Pro Tempore, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 12-45, "Mortgage Lender and Broker Act of 1997" received April 8, 1997, pursuant to D.C. Code, section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2709. A letter from the Auditor, District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of a report entitled "Audit of ANC 1B Covering the Period October 1, 1993 Through December 31, 1996," pursuant to D.C. Code, section 47-117; to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2710. A letter from the Chairman, Consumer Product Safety Commission, transmitting a copy of the annual report in compliance with the Government in the Sunshine Act during the calendar year 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552b(j); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2711. A letter from the Executive Director, District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority, transmitting two reports that were prepared by the D.C. Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority; to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2712. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Housing Finance Board, transmitting a copy of the annual report in compliance with the Government in the Sunshine Act during the calendar year 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552b; to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2713. A letter from the Chairman, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, transmitting a report of activities under the Freedom of Information Act for the calendar year 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552; to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2714. A letter from the President and CEO, Overseas Private Investment Corporation,

transmitting the corporation's annual management report, March 1997, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 9106; to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2715. A letter from the Chairman, Board of Directors, Tennessee Valley Authority, transmitting a copy of the annual report in compliance with the Government in the Sunshine Act during the calendar year 1996, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 552b(j); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

2716. A letter from the Deputy Associate Director for Royalty Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting notification of proposed refunds of excess royalty payments in OCS areas, pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1339(b); to the Committee on Resources.

2717. A letter from the Deputy Associate Director for Royalty Management, Department of the Interior, transmitting notification of proposed refunds of excess royalty payments in OCS areas, pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1339(b); to the Committee on Resources.

2718. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Fisheries of the Exclusive Economic Zone Off Alaska; Shortraker/Rougheye Rockfish in the Aleutian Islands Subarea [Docket No. 961107312-7021-02; I.D. 040197D] received April 9, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

2719. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Gulf of Mexico Sustainable Fisheries Program [Docket No. 960322092-7041-05; I.D. 122696A] (RIN: 0648-ZA19) received April 9, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

2720. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Surface Mining, transmitting the Office's final rule—Navajo Nation Abandoned Mine Land Reclamation Plan (30 CFR Part 756) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

2721. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operation Regulation; Inner Harbor Navigation Canal, LA (U.S. Coast Guard) [CGD08-97-009] (RIN: 2115-AE47) received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2722. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Special Local Regulations; Charleston to Bermuda Sailboat Race, Charleston, SC (U.S. Coast Guard) [CGD07-97-005] (RIN: 2115-AE46) received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2723. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment to Regulated Navigation Area Regulations; Lower Mississippi River (U.S. Coast Guard) [CGD08-97-008] (RIN: 2115-AE84) received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2724. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; CFM International CFM56-5 Series Turbofan Engines [Docket No. 95-ANE-63; Amendment 39-9957; AD 97-05-13] (Federal Aviation Administration) (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2725. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness

Directives; Airbus Model A300 Series Airplanes (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-NM-101-AD; Amendment 39-9983; AD 97-07-09] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2726. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Bell Helicopter Textron, Inc. Model 412 Helicopters (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-SW-17-AD; Amendment 39-9980; AD 97-07-06] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2727. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Bell Helicopter Textron, A Division of Textron Canada Ltd. Model 206L, L-1, L-3, and L-4 Helicopters (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 95-SW-36-AD; Amendment 39-9981; AD 97-07-07] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2728. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Jetstream Model 4101 Airplanes (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-NM-131-AD; Amendment 39-9982; AD 97-07-08] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2729. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment of Class E Airspace; San Jose, CA (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-AWP-27] (RIN: 2120-AA64) (1997-0108) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2730. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E Airspace; Atwater, CA (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-AWP-23] (RIN: 2120-AA64) (1997-0107) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2731. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E Airspace; Fallbrook, CA (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-AWP-35] (RIN: 2120-AA64) (1997-0106) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2732. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class D and E Airspace; Redmond, Oregon (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 97-ANM-01] (RIN: 2120-AA64) (1997-0109) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2733. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Amendment of Class E Airspace; Victorville, CA (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-AWP-30] (RIN: 2120-AA64) (1997-0126) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2734. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E Airspace; Thomson, GA, and Amendment of Class E Airspace; Augusta,

GA (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-ASO-29] (RIN: 2120-AA64) (1997-0105) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2735. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; Jetstream Aircraft Limited HP137 Mk1, Jetstream Series 200, and Jetstream Models 3101 and 3201 Airplanes (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 95-CE-10-AD; Amendment 39-9985; AD 97-07-11] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2736. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; AlliedSignal Inc. ALF502 and LF507 Series Turbofan Engines (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-ANE-36; Amendment 39-9955; AD 97-05-11] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2737. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Airworthiness Directives; CFM International CFM56-5, -5B, and -5C Series Turbofan Engines (Federal Aviation Administration) [Docket No. 96-ANE-65] Amendment 39-9958; AD 97-06-01] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received April 10, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2738. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting the Administration's report entitled "Summary of the NASA Crows Landing Facility (CLF) Stanislaus County, California"; to the Committee on Science.

2739. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulations Management, Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the Department's final rule—Reduction of Debt Through the Performance of Work-Study Services [38 CFR Part 1] (RIN: 2900-AF29) received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

2740. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulations Management, Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the Department's final rule—Vocational Rehabilitation; Miscellaneous Changes [38 CFR Part 21] (RIN: 2900-AI29) received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

2741. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Department's final rule—Medical: Non-substantive Miscellaneous Changes [38 CFR Part 17] (RIN: 2900-AI37) received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

2742. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Low-Income Housing Credit [Rev. Rul. 97-16] received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2743. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Last-In, First-Out Inventories [Rev. Rul. 97-18] received April 7, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2744. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Weighted Average Interest Rate Update [Notice 97-23] received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2745. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Unit, Internal Revenue Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Rulings and Deter-

mination Letters [Rev. Proc. 97-26] received April 8, 1997, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2746. A letter from the Assistant Secretary (Reserve Affairs), Department of Defense, transmitting notification that the report required by section 1251 of the fiscal year 1997 National Defense Authorization Act will be submitted by June 13, 1997; jointly, to the Committees on National Security and Ways and Means.

2747. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting the Department's report entitled "Veterans' Preference Requirements: Department of Defense Failure To Comply Treated as a Prohibited Personnel Practice," pursuant to section 1615 of the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1997; jointly, to the Committees on National Security and Government Reform and Oversight.

2748. A letter from the Director, Office of Legislative Affairs, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, transmitting a listing of Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation properties covered by the Coastal Barrier Improvement Act of 1990, as of September 30, 1996; jointly, to the Committees on Resources and Banking and Financial Services.

2749. A letter from the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the Department's report entitled "Veterans Equitable Resource Allocation System Briefing Booklet," March 1997; jointly, to the Committees on Veterans' Affairs and Appropriations.

2750. A letter from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting for the consideration of the Congress legislative proposals necessary to carry out the health care portions of the President's fiscal year 1998 budget; jointly, to the Committees on Commerce, Ways and Means, and the Judiciary.

2751. A letter from the General Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting copies of the fiscal year 1998 budget requests of the Federal Aviation Administration, pursuant to 49 U.S.C. 48109; jointly, to the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure, Science, and Appropriations.

2752. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "National Economic Crossroads Transportation Efficiency Act of 1997"; jointly, to the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure, Ways and Means, Resources, Commerce, and Science.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HYDE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 1225. A bill to make a technical correction to title 28, United States Code, relating to jurisdiction for lawsuits against terrorist states (Rept. 105-48). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ARCHER: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 1001. A bill to extend the term of appointment of certain members of the Prospective Payment Assessment Commission and the Physician Payment Review Commission (Rept. 105-49, Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. CANADY: Committee on the Judiciary. House Joint Resolution 62. Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to tax limitations; with an amendment (Rept. 105-50). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

TIME LIMITATION OF REFERRED BILL

Pursuant to clause 5 of rule X, the following action was taken by the Speaker:

H.R. 1001. Referral to the Committee on Commerce extended for a period ending not later than April 15, 1997.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. SHUSTER (for himself, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. PETRI, and Mr. RAHALL) (all by request):

H.R. 1268. A bill to continue the successful Federal role in developing a national intermodal surface transportation system, through programs that ensure the safe and efficient movement of people and goods, improve economic productivity, preserve the environment, and strengthen partnerships among all levels of the Government and the private sector, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. BOSWELL:

H.R. 1269. A bill to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to provide post-eligibility treatment of certain payments received under a Department of Veterans Affairs pension or compensation program; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. UPTON (for himself, Mr.

TOWNS, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. BURR of North Carolina, Mr. BARTON of Texas, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. KLINK, Mr. RUSH, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. MANZULLO, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. EHLERS, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. PORTER, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. FAWELL, Mr. GORDON, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. BARCIA of Michigan, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. WHITFIELD, Mr. LATHAM, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. SNOWBARGER, Mr. CAMP, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. BAKER, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. GOSS, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. MANTON, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. BORSKI, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. RIGGS, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. BACHUS, Mr. PACKARD, and Mr. BERRY):

H.R. 1270. A bill to amend the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Resources, and Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. MORELLA:

H.R. 1271. A bill to authorize the Federal Aviation Administration's research, engineering, and development programs for fiscal years 1998 through 2000, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science.

By Mr. SCHIFF:

H.R. 1272. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1998 and 1999 for the

U.S. Fire Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science.

H.R. 1273. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1998 and 1999 for the National Science Foundation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science.

By Mrs. MORELLA:

H.R. 1274. A bill to authorize appropriations for the National Institute of Standards and Technology for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science.

By Mr. ROHRBACHER:

H.R. 1275. A bill to authorize appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science.

By Mr. CALVERT:

H.R. 1276. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1998 and 1999 for the research, development, and demonstration activities of the Environmental Protection Agency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science.

H.R. 1277. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1998 and fiscal year 1999 for the civilian research, development, demonstration, and commercial application activities of the Department of Energy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science.

H.R. 1278. A bill to authorize appropriations for the activities of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science, and in addition to the Committee on Resources, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CAMP (for himself, Mr. JEFFERSON, and Mr. WATKINS):

H.R. 1279. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exclude the activity of soliciting and receiving qualified sponsorship payments from unrelated business income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CHABOT (for himself, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. COBLE, Mr. DELAY, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, and Mr. DIXON):

H.R. 1280. A bill to allow the photographing, electronic recording, broadcasting, and televising to the public of Federal court proceedings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COSTELLO (for himself, Mr. FALCOMA, Mr. FROST, Ms. NORTON, and Mr. WALSH):

H.R. 1281. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act and other laws to apply the health insurance portability requirements applicable to group health plans to students covered under college-sponsored health plans; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Ways and Means, and Education and the Workforce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. CRAPO (for himself and Mrs. CHENOWETH):

H.R. 1282. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain facilities of the Minidoka project to the Burley Irrigation district, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. EHRlich (for himself, Mr. NEY, Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. BACHUS, Mr. BARR of Georgia, Mr. METCALF, Mr. BAKER, Mrs.

KELLY, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mr. SNOWBARGER, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. CHABOT, Mr. JONES, Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina, Mr. NEUMANN, Mr. RAMSTAD, and Mr. WELER):

H.R. 1283. A bill to provide a moratorium on certain class action lawsuits relating to the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act of 1974; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. ENGEL:

H.R. 1284. A bill to amend the Safe Drinking Water Act to allow public water systems to avoid filtration requirements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. ENSIGN:

H.R. 1285. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to repeal the 50-percent limitation on the amount of business meal and entertainment expenses which are deductible; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 1286. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide an exemption from tax for gain on sale of a principal residence; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey (for himself and Mr. HERGER):

H.R. 1287. A bill to regulate the use by interactive computer services of Social Security account numbers and related personally identifiable information; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. HOYER (for himself, Mr. CARDIN, and Mr. STARK):

H.R. 1288. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for coverage under part B of cost-effective, medically necessary dental procedures; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut (for herself, Ms. NORTON, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN, Mrs. KELLY, Mrs. MORELLA, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mrs. CLAYTON, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mrs. ROURKEMA, Ms. WATERS, Ms. ROSLEHTINEN, Ms. DEGETTE, Ms. STABENOW, Ms. KILPATRICK, Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. DINGELL, Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut, and Ms. JACKSON-LEE):

H.R. 1289. A bill to amend title III of the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the mammography quality standards program; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. JONES:

H.R. 1290. A bill to promote the restoration, conservation, and enhancement of wetlands through the establishment of a responsible wetlands mitigation banking program; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mrs. KELLY (for herself, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. QUINN, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. NADLER, Mr. MANTON, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. ENGEL, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. OWENS, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. SCHUMER, and Mr. RANGEL):

H.R. 1290. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise the manner by which the Secretary of Veterans Affairs ranks ap-

plicants for grants under the State home construction grant program administered by the Secretary and to limit the number of grants any State may be awarded in a year under that program; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts (for himself, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, and Ms. NORTON):

H.R. 1292. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to authorize the establishment of a voluntary broadcasting code for alcohol advertising, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts (for himself, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. MILLER of California, Ms. MCKINNEY, and Ms. FURSE):

H.R. 1293. A bill to enhance international security by using the resources and expertise of the international financial institutions and the United Nations to redirect world military spending to human development; to the Committee on International Relations, and in addition to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island:

H.R. 1294. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to require the Secretary of Defense to provide to members of the Armed Forces who receive an investigational new drug relevant information regarding the drug, including the possible side effects of the drug; to the Committee on National Security.

By Mr. KLUG (for himself, Mr. MINGE, Mr. TIAHRT, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. FOLEY, and Mr. RAMSTAD):

H.R. 1295. A bill to establish a Commission to make recommendations for the reconfiguration, corporatization, privatization, and consolidation of Department of Energy National Energy Laboratories, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science, and in addition to the Committees on National Security, and Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. KNOLLENBERG:

H.R. 1296. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exclude work study payments from income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LAZIO of New York (for himself, Mr. LEACH; Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts; Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, and Mr. PRICE of North Carolina):

H.R. 1297. A bill to amend section 255 of the National Housing Act to prevent the funding of unnecessary or excessive costs for obtaining a home equity conversion mortgage; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

By Mr. LOWERY:

H.R. 1298. A bill to record place of birth as Jerusalem, Israel, for purposes of United States passports; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. MCCRERY (for himself, Ms. DUNN of Washington, Mr. HERGER, Mr. CHRISTENSEN and Mr. CONDIT):

H.R. 1299. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide relief from estate and gift taxes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MCCOLLUM (for himself, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. MICA, and Ms. BROWN of Florida):

H.R. 1300. A bill to amend the base closure laws to reform the process by which property

at military installations being closed or realigned is made available for economic redevelopment and to improve the ability of the Secretary of Defense to contract for protective services at installations being closed; to the Committee on National Security.

By Mr. MILLER of California (for himself, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. EVANS, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. BONIOR, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mr. FROST, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. OBEY, Mr. OLVER, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. FILNER, Ms. RIVERS, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Mr. UNDERWOOD):

H.R. 1301. A bill to inform and empower consumers in the United States through a voluntary labeling system for wearing apparel or sporting goods made without abusive and exploitative child labor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Ms. NORTON (for herself, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. BROWN of California, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. EVANS, Mr. FILNER, Mr. FROST, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. HINCHEY, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. NADLER, Mr. OLVER, Mr. OWENS, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. SABO, Mr. SANDERS, Ms. VELAZQUEZ, Ms. WATERS, Mr. SERRANO, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. FOGLIETTA, and Ms. WOOLSEY):

H.R. 1302. A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to prohibit discrimination in the payment of wages on account of sex, race, or national origin, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. PORTMAN:

H.R. 1303. A bill to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for election for Federal office, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Oversight, and in addition to the Committees on Education and the Workforce, Government Reform and Oversight, and the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. RAMSTAD:

H.R. 1304. A bill to provide for the temporary suspension of duty on certain plastic web sheeting; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO:

H.R. 1305. A bill to provide for the transfer to the University of Puerto Rico of title to Federal real property and improvements used to operate a center for research on primates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on National Security, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. ROUKEMA (for herself, Mr. LEACH, Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. BAKER, Mr. FLAKE, Mr. BACHUS, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, Mr. METCALF, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. COOK, Mr. SNOWBARGER, Mr. RYUN, Mr. HILL, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, and Mr. NEY):

H.R. 1306. A bill to amend the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to clarify the applicabil-

ity of host State laws to any branch in such State of an out-of-State bank; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

By Mrs. ROUKEMA (for herself and Mr. GORDON):

H.R. 1307. A bill to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to prohibit an institution that is ineligible for participation in the Federal Stafford Loan Program because of high default rates from participating in the Pell Grant Program; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. SAXTON (for himself and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey):

H.R. 1308. A bill to terminate the applicability of certain provisions of the Safe Drinking Water Act relating to exemptions, variances, and the application of cost considerations in establishing and implementing standards for safe drinking water, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. BOB SCHAFFER:

H.R. 1309. A bill to provide for an exchange of lands with the city of Greeley, CO, and the Water Supply and Storage Co. to eliminate private inholdings in wilderness areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. SOLOMON:

H.R. 1310. A bill to amend the Controlled Substances Act to prevent recommendations of the illegal use of controlled substances by registrants under that Act; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. STUPAK (for himself, Mrs. LOWEY, and Mr. BROWN of Ohio):

H.R. 1311. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize an estrogenic substances screening program; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. TIAHRT (for himself, Mr. SNOWBARGER, Mr. RYUN, Mr. MORAN of Kansas, and Mr. SKEEN):

H.R. 1312. A bill to deem as timely submitted certain written notices of intent under section 8009(c)(1) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 for school year 1997-98; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. CAMPBELL:

H.J. Res. 69. Joint resolution proposing a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SAM JOHNSON (for himself,

Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. TAUZIN, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. PAUL, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. BONILLA, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. HERGER, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. SPENCE, and Mr. ENSIGN):

H.J. Res. 70. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to abolish the Federal income tax; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHUMER (for himself, Mr.

GILMAN, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. GINGRICH, Mr. YATES, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mrs. MEEK of Florida, Mr. SABO, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. REYES, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. MATSUI, Mrs.

MALONEY of New York, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. SKAGGS, Mr. GORDON, Ms. JACKSON-LEE, Mr. CLEMENT, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. VENTO, Mr. DOOLEY of California, Mr. ROEMER, Mr. MCINTOSH, Mr. MCHALE, Mr. WHITE, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. BARCIA of Michigan, Ms. PELOSI, Ms. SANCHEZ, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. KIND of Wisconsin, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. YOUNG of Florida, Mr. PORTMAN, Mr. COYNE, Mr. MANTON, Mr. LIPINSKI, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. FORBES, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. EVANS, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. KING of New York, Ms. HARMAN, Mr. ARCHER, Mr. BACHUS, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. CHABOT, Mr. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Ms. DUNN of Washington, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. HILL, Mr. HORN, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. PAPPAS, Mr. REGULA, Mr. SALMON, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. THUNE, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, and Mr. YOUNG of Alaska):

H. Con. Res. 60. Concurrent resolution relating to the 30th anniversary of the reunification of the city of Jerusalem; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. MEEHAN, and Ms. ESHOO):

H. Res. 110. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the Departments of the Treasury, Defense, Commerce, and Labor should take steps to assist in increasing the competitiveness of the U.S. electronic interconnection industry; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committees on Commerce, National Security, and Education and the Workforce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. HEFLEY:

H. Res. 111. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the income tax should be eliminated and replaced with a national sales tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

35. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, relative to House Concurrent Resolution No. 11 urging the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to reaffirm certain standards of ozone and particulate levels; to the Committee on Commerce.

36. Also, memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, relative to House Resolution No. 13 urging the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to reaffirm certain standards of ozone and particulate levels; to the Committee on Commerce.

37. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Connecticut, relative to a Senate

resolution urging Congress to address certain programmatic and budgetary shortfalls within the nuclear waste storage program; to the Committee on Commerce.

38. Also, memorial of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia, relative to Senate Joint Resolution No. 314 urging Congress to enact legislation to facilitate the Food and Drug Administration's procedures for the approval of safe and effective innovative new drugs, biological products or medical devices; to the Committee on Commerce.

39. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, relative to Assembly Resolution No. 9 urging the U.S. Congress and the Federal Aviation Administration to take immediate action to increase airport security; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

40. Also, memorial of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia, relative to Senate Joint Resolution No. 225 urging Congress to reauthorize the Federal surface transportation programs by replacing outdated formulas with factors reflecting use, such as those identified in STEP 21; providing better equity in the distribution of highway funds to States; and authorizing funding for multimodal transit services and highways; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause I of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALLEN:

H.R. 1313. A bill for the relief of Nancy B. Wilson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GOSS:

H.R. 1314. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Keewaydin*; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 4: Mr. ENGEL, Mr. WYNN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. CRAPO, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. GOODE, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mrs. LINDA SMITH of Washington, Mr. MARTINEZ, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Mr. BARR of Georgia, Mr. LINDER, Mr. WICKER, Mr. GREEN, Mr. FORBES, and Mr. NEUMANN.

H.R. 59: Mr. WAMP, Mr. WICKER, Mr. HERGER, Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. ARCHER, Mr. SHADEGG, and Mr. THORBERRY.

H.R. 66: Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. REGULA, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. SPENCE, Mr. BOUCHER, and Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts.

H.R. 68: Mr. TURNER.

H.R. 69: Mr. BLAGOJEVICH and Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 96: Mr. WATKINS and Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 139: Mr. BERMAN.

H.R. 192: Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. STUPAK, and Mrs. EMERSON.

H.R. 193: Mr. POMBO.

H.R. 203: Mr. FOGLIETTA.

H.R. 208: Mr. TIAHRT, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. MARTINEZ, and Mr. WALSH.

H.R. 214: Mr. SHAYS.

H.R. 230: Mr. FAWELL.

H.R. 279: Mr. TANNER, Mr. CHRISTENSEN, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. RUSH,

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. BLUMENAUER, and Mr. ROTHMAN.

H.R. 282: Mr. ENGEL, Mr. FORBES, Mr. GILMAN, and Ms. VELAZQUEZ.

H.R. 306: Mr. PALLONE, Mrs. ROUKEMA, and Mr. GUTIERREZ.

H.R. 339: Mr. BACHUS.

H.R. 367: Mr. SAM JOHNSON, Mrs. EMERSON, and Mr. PARKER.

H.R. 411: Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 414: Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. STUPAK, and Mrs. EMERSON.

H.R. 446: Mr. BERRY.

H.R. 450: Mr. MCCREY and Mr. SHAYS.

H.R. 457: Mr. STENHOLM and Mr. GRAHAM.

H.R. 474: Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. RILEY, Mr. BERMAN, and Mr. HAYWORTH.

H.R. 478: Mr. CONDIT, Mr. SESSIONS, Mrs. TAUSCHER, and Mr. PACKARD.

H.R. 511: Mr. BARCIA of Michigan and Mr. HASTINGS of Washington.

H.R. 519: Mr. HOEKSTRA.

H.R. 536: Mr. TORRES.

H.R. 546: Mrs. MALONEY of New York.

H.R. 548: Mr. FURSE.

H.R. 553: Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. PAUL, and Mr. GEPHARDT.

H.R. 559: Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, Ms. RIVERS, and Mrs. KELLY.

H.R. 586: Mr. KLUG and Mr. SISISKY.

H.R. 611: Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut, Mr. POMEROY, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. COYNE, Mr. CAPPS, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. FATTAH, Mrs. CARSON, and Mr. RAHALL.

H.R. 612: Mr. BAKER, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. ALLEN, Ms. PELOSI, Mrs. THURMAN, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. CAPPS, and Mr. PRICE of North Carolina.

H.R. 625: Mr. WALSH.

H.R. 631: Mr. BEREUTER.

H.R. 689: Mr. FLAKE and Mr. HINCHEY.

H.R. 693: Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 695: Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. NADLER, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. HOSTETTLER, and Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA.

H.R. 699: Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. RYUN, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. DAVIS of Virginia, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mrs. NORTHUP, and Mr. HASTERT.

H.R. 710: Mr. FATTAH.

H.R. 715: Mr. DELLUMS and Mr. WYNN.

H.R. 716: Mr. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. PAUL, and Mr. NETHERCUTT.

H.R. 741: Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. BOYD, and Mr. CHAMBLISS.

H.R. 755: Mr. BACHUS, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. MANZULLO, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. KASICH, and Mrs. TAUSCHER.

H.R. 767: Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland.

H.R. 768: Mr. CAMP, Mr. WICKER, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. EHLERS, and Mrs. CHENOWETH.

H.R. 789: Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. PAPPAS, and Mr. EWING.

H.R. 792: Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. HILLEARY, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. ROYCE.

H.R. 793: Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA.

H.R. 811: Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.

H.R. 813: Mr. DICKEY.

H.R. 816: Mr. DEAL of Georgia.

H.R. 820: Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. STRICKLAND, and Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA.

H.R. 845: Mr. MARTINEZ.

H.R. 855: Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, and Mr. WATT of North Carolina.

H.R. 856: Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. OWENS, Mr. CLAY, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. ORTIZ, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. REYES, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. DICKEY, and Mr. HOYER.

H.R. 858: Mr. LEWIS of California, and Mr. CANNON.

H.R. 866: Mr. GOSS and Mr. RAMSTAD.

H.R. 867: Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. GORDON, and Ms. SLAUGHTER.

H.R. 873: Mr. TRAFICANT.

H.R. 877: Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. FROST, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. GUTIERREZ, and Mr. SPRATT.

H.R. 899: Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. HILLIARD, and Mrs. MALONEY of New York.

H.R. 919: Mr. FILNER, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. DELLUMS, and Mr. ACKERMAN.

H.R. 946: Mr. SHAYS, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. MCKEON, Ms. LOFGREN, and Mrs. MYRICK.

H.R. 952: Mr. MATSUI, Mr. SKAGGS, Mr. MCNULTY, Mr. TORRES, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. STARK, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. BERMAN, Mrs. LOWEY, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. DELLUMS, and Mr. EVANS.

H.R. 958: Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma.

H.R. 971: Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. ACKERMAN.

H.R. 972: Mr. SENSENBRENNER and Mr. SOUDER.

H.R. 978: Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. ROTHMAN, Mr. MARTINEZ, and Mr. KIND of Wisconsin.

H.R. 981: Mr. SHAYS, Mr. UNDERWOOD, and Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 993: Mr. BACHUS, Mr. PAUL, and Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 995: Mr. SCARBOROUGH, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, and Mr. SKEEN.

H.R. 1005: Mr. PAXON and Mr. ISTOOK.

H.R. 1006: Mr. FILNER, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. SOLOMON, and Mr. KING of New York.

H.R. 1007: Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts and Mr. WELDON of Florida.

H.R. 1010: Mr. CHABOT and Mr. LATHAM.

H.R. 1015: Mr. OWENS, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. MANTON, and Mr. CAPPS.

H.R. 1033: Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. KING of New York, and Mr. DEAL of Georgia.

H.R. 1040: Mr. HALL of Texas, Mrs. MYRICK, and Mr. CRAPO.

H.R. 1041: Mr. BONIOR, Mr. GUTIERREZ, and Mr. ACKERMAN.

H.R. 1042: Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. YATES, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, Mr. PORTER, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. EWING, and Mr. POSHARD.

H.R. 1046: Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, and Ms. BROWN of Florida.

H.R. 1049: Mr. RUSH.

H.R. 1053: Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. LATOURETTE, and Mr. ORTIZ.

H.R. 1059: Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. DICKEY, and Mrs. CUBIN.

H.R. 1061: Mrs. THURMAN and Mr. SHAYS.

H.R. 1062: Mr. KNOLLENBERG and Mr. SNOWBARGER.

H.R. 1071: Mr. RUSH.

H.R. 1076: Ms. STABENOW, Mr. HORN, Mr. ACKERMAN, Ms. FURSE, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. DELLUMS, and Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 1080: Mrs. ROUKEMA.

H.R. 1108: Mr. BONILLA, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Mr. STUMP, Mr. SHADEGG, Mr. LIVINGSTON, Mr. GREEN, and Mr. HEFLEY.

H.R. 1120: Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.

H.R. 1127: Mr. SHADEGG, Mr. STUMP, Mr. DAN SCHAEFER of Colorado, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. HERGER, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, and Ms. DUNN of Washington.

H.R. 1130: Mr. CLYBURN.

H.R. 1134: Mr. NADLER and Mr. CALVERT.

H.R. 1161: Mr. MCGOVERN.
 H.R. 1166: Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. BROWN of California, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. OLVER, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. MCHUGH, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. POMBO, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. SISISKY, and Mr. WISE.
 H.R. 1176: Ms. FURSE, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. ACKERMAN, and Mr. SHAW.
 H.R. 1188: Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. FILNER, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN, and Mr. ACKERMAN.
 H.R. 1189: Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. BAKER, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. OLVER, Mr. GRAHAM, and Mr. EVANS.
 H.R. 1207: Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma.
 H.R. 1208: Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma.
 H.R. 1210: Mr. PASTOR, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. STEARNS, and Mr. KLUG.
 H.R. 1226: Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. STARK, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. CARDIN, and Mr. MCDERMOTT.
 H.R. 1227: Mr. MANZULLO.

H.R. 1251: Mr. DAVIS of Florida.
 H.R. 1252: Mr. MANZULLO.
 H.R. 1263: Mr. LEWIS of Georgia and Mr. MILLER of California.
 H.J. Res. 26: Mrs. EMERSON.
 H.J. Res. 54: Mr. POMBO and Ms. HARMAN.
 H.J. Res. 62: Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. CALLAHAN, Mr. CONDIT, Mr. COX of California, Ms. DANNER, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. GORDON, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. HULSHOF, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. JOHN, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. MCINNIS, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. METCALF, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. NEUMANN, Mr. NEY, Mrs. NORTHUP, Mr. PAPPAS, Mr. PITTS, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. RILEY, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. SHUSTER, Mr. SNOWBARGER, Mr. SOUDER, Mr. SUNUNU, Mr. THUNE, Mr. WAMP, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. WELLER, and Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.
 H. Con. Res. 43: Mr. FATTAH and Mr. ACKERMAN.

H. Con. Res. 51: Mr. HINOJOSA, Mr. BARCIA of Michigan, and Mr. GONZALEZ.
 H. Res. 16: Mrs. KELLY and Mr. RAMSTAD.
 H. Res. 96: Mr. FILNER, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. FROST, Mr. MEEHAN, Ms. DELAURO, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Ms. SANCHEZ, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. FLAKE, Mr. KIND of Wisconsin, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Ms. STABENOW, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. SKAGGS, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. CAPPAS, and Mr. HILLIARD.
 H. Res. 109: Mr. PICKERING, Mr. WICKER, and Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma.

DELETIONS OF SPONSORS FROM PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were deleted from public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 900: Ms. WOOLSEY.