

You would think they would be scrambling to sell ag commodities using the ag export enhancement tools authorized under that dreadful 1996 farm bill, but according to a recent General Accounting Office report, that is not true. The administration has used only 44 percent under the dairy export incentive programs to promote U.S. dairy exports. This is despite a mandate in the horrible farm bill that says that the DEIP program should be used to the maximum extent practical under GATT. Despite an annualized \$5 billion authorization under the 1996 farm bill for the GSM export program to move our ag products, this administration has used only \$3.2 billion and \$2.9 billion in the 1996 and 1997 fiscal years respectively.

In other words, \$3.9 billion in GSM export assistance went to waste while our ag exports have tumbled.

Guess how much of the 1.5 billion export enhancement program dollars authorized under the farm bill have actually been used by this administration? If you guessed only \$7 million, you would be right.

Mr. Speaker, the President and congressional Democrats know that the success of the 1996 farm bill depends on favorable tax and regulatory policy, improved research and crop insurance and perhaps, most importantly, trade. The Democrats resisted and continue to resist tax relief for farmers or for anyone else, as far as that goes.

The administration is talking about a new EPA program with more regulations that could strangle many of my dairy, beef and pork producers who are already overregulated. The President held hostage ag research money until he got food stamp money for legal aliens. He also held hostage critical crop insurance money to fix funding problems that he created back in 1994.

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When it comes to trade, the President and Congressional Democrats are AWOL.

Democrats also charged that Republicans somehow have taken away the safety net for farmers. As a former Democratic Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, Mr. DE LA GARZA pointed out, over the last decade on the Democrat's watch, Congress has cut the agriculture farm bill by more than \$60 billion.

Importantly, the Republican House budget resolution does not call for a single cut in support of U.S. farmers and ranchers.

Mr. Speaker, I could remind our Congressional Democrat friends that if we go back to supply management, for every acre we leave unplanted, Argentina will be happy to plant one.

Mr. Speaker, it is time to cut the rhetoric and work together. It is time to get the job done for American farmers. It is time to open our trade relations with our partners and get more export enhancement programs going so that we get more farm income to our farmers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York Ms. SLAUGHTER is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. SLAUGHTER addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

THE NEED FOR AN ASIAN STRATEGY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, today this Member will introduce legislation that requires the administration to establish a \$100 million assistance and food security initiative for Indonesia and Southeast Asia in fiscal year 1999. I would say it very much happens to compliment what the gentleman from Minnesota just said about coping with our own farm crisis or difficulties at the same time that we are reaching out to help for a food shortage problem which is expected to be severe this year in Indonesia.

This legislation, in the works for several weeks by this Member, is consistent with recent urgent proposals or suggestions by distinguished Indonesian experts in America, like Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz of the Brookings Institution, and the former Ambassador, Robert Zoellick, President and CEO of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, for a prompt Congressional response to the Asian financial crisis, and, more specifically, to Indonesia's current plight.

In an opinion piece published in the Washington Post on July 23, 1998, Mr. Zoellick, former Undersecretary of State during the Bush Administration, eloquently argues that now is a definitive moment in the lives of a generation of Asians, and that America's response to the current crisis could be as important as America's response to Europe 50 years ago.

Because Ambassador Zoellick makes the case for a coherent foreign policy strategy better than anyone so far, I would say, this Member would include excerpts from his op-ed piece entitled "An Asian Strategy." I would like to read two paragraphs from it at this point.

He says as follows: First, Congress should enact a major humanitarian package for Indonesia. The need is urgent. The combination of drought and economic collapse has not only impoverished half of the world's fourth-most populous country, but raised the real danger of famine. Indonesia's new president already is urging his 200 million citizens to fast twice a week to conserve supplies. All the talk of IMF packages and economic recovery will be only chatter until there is political stability in Indonesia, and there will be no stability if people cannot eat. Indeed, Indonesia's ethnic peace, even its very coherence as a Nation is at risk.

And if Indonesia sinks further, the rest of Southeast Asia will bear the burden of its dead weight."

"America has a proud tradition of humanitarian relief for people in need; it also has farmers who would welcome a boost in prices. If Congress expands the administration's recently announced grain purchases into a full-fledged relief plan, it can draw in Japan, the European Union and even some private U.S. business people who have signaled a willingness to contribute. This initiative would send a powerful, symbolic and practical message about America's concern for the plight of average Asians, not just bankers and magnates."

That is what Mr. Zoellick has to say.

Mr. Speaker, now is not the time, I would say, for the United States to balk at its responsibilities as the world's only superpower. The United States fought a Cold War and spent hundreds of billions of dollars, perhaps trillions of dollars, to advance our ideology of global capitalism and democracy.

In Asia, capitalism was adopted with an enthusiasm that has proven so strong that authoritarian leaders found democracy following right behind. From Taiwan to the Republic of Korea and Indonesia, for example, our most important principles are being embraced and tested by people willing to put their lives on the line.

As Mr. Zoellick rightly states, we have an important choice to make that will affect an entire Asian generation's perception of us and what we stand for. We can tell hard working Indonesians that they can sell their products here, or we can close our markets. We can join the rest of the world in providing humanitarian assistance, or we can turn our back. We can send our experts to help them rebuild their economy, or we can wait until it is too late. We can pool resources and share risk with the world's industrialized countries to the regional capital markets or we can let them dry up.

Mr. Speaker, the United States can pay now or it can pay later. If the U.S. Congress and the president agree to develop a proper response to the current crisis in Asia, the costs will be minimal and the rewards unfathomable. Can one put a price on democracy in Indonesia or stability in the Asia Pacific region? Or, we can wait and see how the troubled Asian economies do own their own without our assistance.

Perhaps they will recuperate in several years through excellent management and astute decision making. But what if they do not? What will be the costs if we do nothing and find the region still in crisis in five years? How much will it cost us to maintain our security umbrella in an insecure region? What will happen to the U.S. economy if the Asian Pacific region slips into depression? Most importantly, will Asians continue to look to the United States for leadership if they do nothing?

Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to co-sponsor this new Indonesian assistance legislation, which will also be very important to our export base and to our entire economy and foreign policy.

A CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EVENTS IN PUERTO RICO (1493-1997)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. SERRANO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SERRANO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak about a subject which is of great importance to many of us in my community, and certainly should be of great importance to all Americans.

Tomorrow we will observe, July 25, 1998, the 100th anniversary of the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico. One hundred years ago, the United States troops, during the Spanish-American War, invaded Puerto Rico, and since then Puerto Rico for these 100 years has been a territory of the United States.

Tomorrow, throughout the 50 states and on the island of Puerto Rico, there will be different groups involved in different forms of observances or celebrations. Some will celebrate the day claiming that, in their belief, this relationship has been the best thing that ever happened to the Island of Puerto Rico. Others, on the other hand, will lament the relationship and feel that it has been totally unfair.

Some groups on one side, as I said, will claim that nothing has gone wrong for these 100 years, and some folks on the other side will say that nothing has gone right for these 100 years.

I believe that somewhere in between is the truth. But in order to really speak about this subject and how we got here and where we are and where all Americans should begin to deal with this issue, I think it is important to take just a couple of minutes to talk a little bit about the history of how we got here.

Puerto Rico, as so many of you may know, was discovered in 1493 by Christopher Columbus, and from then to 1898 it was a colony of Spain. In 1508, the first Governor in Puerto Rico was assigned, and his name was Juan Ponce de Leon, or, as he is better known within the 50 states, as Ponce de Leon.

The years went on, and Puerto Rico remained no better than a full colony of Spain. But by 1865, nearly 400 years later, there was already discussion between the Spanish government and the Island of Puerto Rico in terms of creating a new arrangement.

Therefore in 1865, a royal decree was issued convoking delegates from Cuba and Puerto Rico to Madrid to discuss possible reforms to the colonial regime. The Puerto Rican delegates go there and they speak about decentralizing the municipal government, having more powers as people, taking

some of the powers from the Governor, who was appointed by Spain, and abolishing slavery. No accord is reached, and the delegates who speak out for such reforms are in fact persecuted. Meanwhile, back in New York, the Republican Society of Cuba and Puerto Rico is established to promote the cause of independence for both islands.

In 1895 the Puerto Rican section of the governing body of the Cuban Revolutionary Party is established in New York, and Puerto Ricans at that time adopt their own flag, which is the same as the Cuban flag, with the colors reversed. Jose Marti is the leader of the party, and it is right here within the 50 states, in New York, that the movement against Spain for independence for Puerto Rico comes into play.

However, something happens on the way to 1898. Spain, for whatever reason, begins to realize that times have to change, and so Spain begins to discuss the possibility of granting autonomy to the Island of Puerto Rico.

On February 9, 1898, Puerto Rico's autonomous government is inaugurated with a provisional cabinet. It provided a high degree of administrative autonomy for Puerto Rico, and, under the charter, the Island was governed by the local parliament, composed of two chambers and a Governor general. The chambers were the Administrative Council, which were elected, and a version of the House of Representatives, popularly elected.

These chambers had full legislative authority except over such matters that the Spanish government wanted to keep, and these folks were then allowed to go to Spain and represent the Puerto Rican community, the Island of Puerto Rico, in Spain.

It is interesting to note that in this agreement the people representing Puerto Rico in Spain had actually reached more autonomy and more powers than the current delegate from Puerto Rico enjoys as a Member of the U.S. Congress.

But that could not take place, because, in the meantime, on February 15, the sinking of the American ship the *Maine* provided an immediate reason for the Spanish-American war. During that war, elections are held in Puerto Rico and this government, which then will represent Puerto Rico in Spain with many more powers, is elected.

On July 25, after the defeat of the Spanish in Cuba, General Nelson Miles leads an American landing in Guanica on the southern coast of Puerto Rico. On October 18th of that year, San Juan surrenders, and a U.S. military government is established in Puerto Rico.

On December 10, the treaty of Paris is signed and the Spanish-American War ends, and Puerto Rico is given to the United States, the political and civil rights of its inhabitants to be determined by the U.S. Congress.

From then on, Puerto Rico and the United States for a couple of years try to figure out what that relationship

will be. But through 1899, in a few years, a military government continues.

Nothing really changes until 1900, when a new act is passed here which ended the military administration and set up a civil government. Very little self-government, however, was granted. The President would appoint a Governor, the members of the upper legislative house in Puerto Rico, and the executive council, where no Puerto Rican was allowed to serve, and the judges of the Supreme Court. Only the House of Representatives on the island was wholly elected by the people in Puerto Rico, and then it was determined that Puerto Rico would have a commissioner who would serve in the House of Representatives with no voting status.

In 1904, Puerto Ricans at that time are not granted U.S. citizenship. They become in fact citizens of Puerto Rico. An argument, by the way, that continues to be dealt with today, because many people still wonder if in imposing American citizenship later, that Puerto Rican citizenship in fact was done away with. Everything then is run by the United States Congress.

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In 1917, a very important day in the history, on March 2, the Jones Act comes into effect, and by it, Congress determines that all Puerto Ricans born in Puerto Rico will be American citizens. Since that date, everybody born on the island of Puerto Rico is an American citizen. The only difference and the most important difference, and perhaps the tragic difference, is that if you are born in Puerto Rico you are an American citizen and you move to any of the 50 States, you enjoy the same rights as any citizen within those 50 States, but if you remain on the island of Puerto Rico, still an American citizen, you do not enjoy the same rights as the other 50 States.

That puts into play then the question, what kind of American citizenship is it? Is it possible for us to actually have granted different kinds of American citizenship, one for those who live within the 50 States, and one for those who live outside? To this day, there are very bright people arguing that it is impossible to have granted 2 different kinds, but the effect is that there are 2 different kinds of citizenship, and they express themselves differently.

Nothing then really changes in Puerto Rico until 1950. What happens in those years is that a governor is appointed, and there are different situations that are created. But during that period of time, an independence movement grows, which continues to demand, as it did during the period with Spain, that Puerto Rico be liberated and in fact be given its independence.

That independence movement is persecuted heavily, to the point where its leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, is a man who is jailed for over 27 years for advocating for independence of Puerto Rico