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WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1999

No. 51

House of Representatives

The House met at 10:00 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. HEFLEY).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

WASHINGTON, DC,
April 14, 1999.

I hereby appoint the Honorable JOEL HEFLEY to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

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

Your word tells us, O gracious God, that we need not walk alone through the trials or shadows of life, and it reminds us that Your spirit gives us strength no matter how great the danger or how deep the sorrow. At this time when people suffer or face peril because of conflict and strife, we earnestly pray that all violence cease and a measure of justice be sustained. May people of goodwill realize the blessings of accord, and may peace dwell not only in our hearts but among the nations of the world. Let justice roll down as waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream. 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.

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote

on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the Chair's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. BENTSEN. 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 343, nays 53, answered "present" 1, not voting 36, as follows:

[Roll No. 83]
YEAS—343

Ackerman
Allen
Andrews
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baird
Baker
Baldacci
Baldwin
Ballenger
Barcia
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Barrett (WI)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blagojevich
Bliley
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehkert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bono

Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (TX)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Bryant
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Clayton
Clement
Coble
Coburn
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cook
Cooksey
Coyne
Cramer
Crowley
Cubin

Cummings
Cunningham
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Dingell
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Dreier
Duncan
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Ewing
Farr
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Fossella
Fowler

Frank (MA)
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gejdenson
Gekas
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill (IN)
Hill (MT)
Hilleary
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoefel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hunter
Hyde
Inslie
Isakson
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kasich
Kelly
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick

Kind (WI)
King (NY)
Kingston
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kuykendall
LaFalce
Lampson
Largent
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manzullo
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCollum
McGovern
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
McKeon
McKinney
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Mica
Millender-
McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Miller, George
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Nadler
Napolitano
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Obey
Ortiz

Ose
Owens
Packard
Paul
Payne
Pease
Pelosi
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Phelps
Pickering
Pitts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Regula
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rivers
Roemer
Rogers
Ros-Lehtinen
Rothman
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryan (WI)
Ryan (KS)
Salmon
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sanford
Sawyer
Saxton
Schakowsky
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simpson
Sisisky
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Spence

□ 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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H1975

Spratt	Thurman	Watt (NC)
Stabenow	Tiahrt	Watts (OK)
Stark	Tierney	Waxman
Stearns	Toomey	Weldon (FL)
Stenholm	Towns	Weldon (PA)
Stump	Traficant	Wexler
Sununu	Turner	Weygand
Talent	Udall (CO)	Whitfield
Tanner	Udall (NM)	Wicker
Tauscher	Upton	Wilson
Taylor (NC)	Vento	Wolf
Terry	Walden	Woolsey
Thomas	Walsh	Wu
Thornberry	Wamp	Wynn
Thune	Watkins	Young (FL)

NAYS—53

Aderholt	Gutknecht	Pastor
Bonior	Hilliard	Peterson (MN)
Borski	Hulshof	Pickett
Brady (PA)	Hutchinson	Ramstad
Brown (CA)	Johnson, E. B.	Rogan
Chenoweth	Klink	Sabo
Clay	Kucinich	Schaffer
Clyburn	Larson	Serrano
Costello	Lee	Strickland
DeFazio	Lewis (GA)	Stupak
Engel	LoBiondo	Sweeney
English	McDermott	Tancredo
Filner	McNulty	Taylor (MS)
Ford	Menendez	Thompson (CA)
Gephardt	Moran (KS)	Thompson (MS)
Gibbons	Oberstar	Visclosky
Green (TX)	Pallone	Weller
Gutierrez	Pascrell	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Carson

NOT VOTING—36

Abercrombie	Hastings (FL)	Porter
Bateman	Hinchev	Rangel
Becerra	Klecicka	Rodriguez
Conyers	LaHood	Rohrabacher
Cox	Lantos	Scarborough
Crane	McCarthy (NY)	Sherwood
Davis (IL)	McCrery	Tauzin
Dicks	Metcalf	Velazquez
Dixon	Myrick	Waters
Doyle	Neal	Weiner
Dunn	Olver	Wise
Fattah	Oxley	Young (AK)

□ 1021

So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HEFLEY). Will the gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. REYNOLDS 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.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 148. An act to require the Secretary of the Interior to establish a program to provide assistance in the conservation of neotropical migratory birds.

S. 380. An act to reauthorize the Congressional Award Act.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will entertain 15 one-minutes on each side.

REPEAL THE INCOME TAX

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

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is that time of year again: Tax season. Let us be honest, our current tax system is economically destructive, impossibly complex, overly intrusive, unprincipled, dishonest, unfair and inefficient. This madness must stop. That is why I will reintroduce the tax freedom bill today that will repeal the 16th Amendment to the Constitution and deny the Congress the ability to lay and collect taxes on income, except when the Congress declares war.

We must replace the current tax system based on a vision of America that places the individual, not the government, at the center of society. My bill to replace the 16th Amendment brings us one step closer to replacing the current system and restoring freedom to the American taxpayer. It is way past time to enact a tax system that embraces freedom for all Americans.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleagues in the Blue Dog Caucus, especially the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER), for their leadership in helping to bring campaign finance reform to the forefront of the agenda in this session.

I also want to thank the freshman Democrats who have been so helpful with this effort, and I want to thank the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN), who have been the leaders of making this legislation come together.

This is a bipartisan issue which demands bipartisan action. Both Democrats and Republicans support the Shays-Meehan reform bill to help restore sanity to our system of political campaigns. It is a first step but we need to start somewhere, and that place is here and that place is now and that time is now.

Unfortunately, the Republican leadership of the House for the past 2 years has been dedicated to stifling these bipartisan efforts to clean up political campaigns. First it was death by amendment. Now it is death by delay. Well, it is now or never. In baseball, wait until next year is the perpetual excuse for coming in last. Wait until August is another excuse for why the

House will not pass campaign finance reform again this year.

If we want to clean up the political campaign system, now is the time and here is the chance. I urge every Member, both Democrat and Republican, to sign this discharge petition. It is a fair petition. It is a fair rule. Let us get campaign reform done now, not later.

NO CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF LIBERALS TO WAGE WAR

(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 have no confidence in the ability of liberals to wage war. That is the truth that most of us believe and cannot deny. From the nonsensical way that Johnson and McNamara fought the Vietnam War, to Carter's humiliation in Iran, to our latest misadventure in Kosovo, the truth is there for all to see.

The liberal mentality simply is not equipped to deal with the harsh realities of war. They do not understand the first thing about using military force, about protecting America's national interest or about what is required to defeat a determined enemy. Vietnam, Iran hostages and now Bill Clinton's war in Kosovo. The liberals voted against using military force in the Persian Gulf when U.S. interests were clearly at stake, but where U.S. interests are not at stake, such as Haiti or Kosovo, then they are for military force.

This is liberalism in the full glory of its contradictions and wrongheadedness. I only can pray that the soldiers, sailors and aviators who must put their lives on the line do not suffer for the naivete and the incompetence of the armchair liberals in this administration.

DEMOCRATS WANT MEANINGFUL CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, today Democrats are lining up for reform. We have had enough. We have had enough Republican leadership excuses. We have had enough delay. We want meaningful campaign finance reform.

We are here lined up to sign a discharge petition to discharge all of the proposals, by both Republicans and Democrats, for a full and fair debate on the floor of this House.

□ 1030

Last year the Republicans delayed as long as they could until this discharge petition was approved. They finally had to bring the bill to the floor, and then they tried to filibuster it to death with amendments.

When that filibuster failed, every single member of the Republican leadership, including the gentleman from Illinois (Speaker HASTERT) voted no

against bipartisan reform sponsored by Republicans and Democrats, and backed by most every good government organization in this country.

With that background, it is very troubling to hear now the gentleman from Illinois (Speaker HASTERT) announce in the first month of his speakership that he would put this vital issue on the back burner. We need an end to obstructionism and some real bipartisan reform.

LET US HAVE TRUE BIPARTISANSHIP AND TRUE REFORM

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

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, it should come as no surprise that my colleagues on the left want to posture in the name of reform. After all, they, and to tell the truth, all the American people, have been embarrassed by an administration that took campaign donations from the People's Republic of China. That is despicable. So we would ask in a bipartisan fashion that they join with us to get to the bottom of Chinese influence on our government and on our political system, and that is the real step to reform.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I would ask my friends on the left to give the working men and women of America who happen to belong to unions the right to devote their union dues directly to collective bargaining, instead of going into the campaign coffers of liberal interest groups. That is another real step for reform.

Let us have true bipartisanship and true reform, quit the preening and posturing, and stand up for America.

TIME FOR MEANINGFUL AND TIMELY DEBATE ON CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, during the last Congress the Republican leadership attempted to block the passage of meaningful campaign finance reform. But the freshman class of 1996, Democrats and Republicans, worked together on a bipartisan basis with the Shays-Meehan bill to force the issue. We ultimately succeeded in bringing an open debate on this issue to the Floor of the House.

We thought we had demonstrated the importance to the American people of taking up campaign finance reform, but once again the Republican leadership does not fully appreciate the magnitude of this issue.

I am proud to be an original cosponsor of the Shays-Meehan bill. We must ban soft money and find a way to regulate sham issue ads. Soft money contributions are exploding. The amount of money contributed to both political

parties has grown at an enormous and unacceptable rate. In 1992 soft money accounted for \$86 million. By 1996 it had increased to \$260 million. In 1998, a nonpresidential election year, it increased to \$193 million, twice the increase the previous year.

We need to address this cancer. We need to sign the discharge petition, and have meaningful and timely debate on campaign finance reform.

KEY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET AND THE REPUBLICAN BUDGET

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

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, which dog is the tail wagging today? This chart shows one of the key differences between the President's budget and the Republican budget. The Republican budget pays down the debt by \$1.8 trillion over 10 years. The President's budget pays down the debt by much less.

Let us take a look at that again: \$1.8 trillion in debt reduction under the Republican plan, higher debt levels under the President's plan. Our budget does a much better job of paying off the debt. The President's budget leaves us in debt for longer periods of time. The Republican budget also provides middle class tax relief from future surpluses, and our budget puts away 100 percent of the retirement surplus for social security and Medicare. We put that money in a safe deposit box so that Washington spenders will put an end to their 40-year practice of raiding social security to pay for new government programs. It is a great budget and a budget to be proud of.

THE IMF PROPOSAL TO GIVE RUSSIA MORE MONEY

(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, a new report says Uncle Sam gives billions of dollars to Russia every year, and the money disappears into an offshore bank account. Guess what, much of the money is now reported stolen. If that is not enough to bust your balsam, check this out. The International Monetary Fund announced today they want to give Russia more money.

Mr. Speaker, I submit, the IMF has brains in their assets. I yield back all our wasted taxpayer dollars that are going to Russian fat cats partying with our dollars and not even supporting us in Kosovo. Members should think about that.

HCFA HOME HEALTH CARE ASSESSMENT UNDERMINES PRIVACY OF AMERICANS

(Mr. CHABOT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Speaker, now the big government bureaucrats in the Clinton administration have decided they do care about the privacy rights of the American people after all. Just 14 days before 9,000 home health care providers are to begin submitting the personal medical information of millions of Americans to the Federal Government, we learn in the Washington Post that the Health Care Financing Administration has decided to review the program's privacy implications, something which should have been considered long before this misguided regulation ever saw the light of day.

Is this newfound concern for privacy going to prevent the administration from prying into the lives of innocent Americans and creating a Federal database of their medical information? Sadly, the answer to that question, Mr. Speaker, is no. The administration is simply delaying the ultimate submission of the data to the Federal Government.

The home health care providers are still expected to conduct the 19-page assessment of each page, including private questions concerning the patient's sense of failure or socially inappropriate behavior. Let us put an end to this outrageous conduct.

CONGRESS MUST ACT NOW TO PASS CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM AND BAN SOFT MONEY

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

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, Congress must act now to pass campaign finance reform and ban soft money. We must act now in a nonelection year, before the strategic calculations of the election year money chase contaminate the debate on campaign finance reform. We must act now before unregulated, unaccountable soft money contributions drown out the people's voices in the 2000 election.

If we thought the presidential election year of 1996 was awash in soft money, 2000 promises to be a deluge. We must act now to give the Senate sufficient time to act. Campaign finance reform is too important to be held hostage to the anti-reform faction's policy of delay, delay, delay.

I urge Members to sign the discharge petition so we can pass the Shays-Meehan reform bill. If we combine last year's votes on the Shays-Meehan and Hutchinson-Allen bills, 352 Members voted to ban soft money. That is 81 percent of the House.

I urge my colleagues to sign the discharge petition, pass Shays-Meehan, and ban soft money.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE APRIL 15 TAX DEADLINE

(Mr. BALLENGER asked and was given permission to address the House

for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BALLENGER. Mr. Speaker, it is that time of the year again, April 14th, the night before April 15th, the tax deadline. It is a bittersweet day for a politician. On the one hand, we are forced to confront the painful truth about how much the Federal Government takes from its productive citizens in the way of taxes. On the other hand, it is a tragic reality. It serves as an useful reminder to Republicans for what they stand for as a party.

To Republicans, taxes are a freedom issue. We believe that people should be entitled to the fruits of their labor. Slavery was a great evil because slaves were not entitled to the fruits of their labor. That was wrong.

The question for Republicans is one ultimately of choice: Who decides how to spend the money that Americans earn, those Americans or the government? We believe that people should have more power and more control over their lives, and the government should have less. That is the significance of April 15 to me.

THE SHAYS-MEEHAN CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM BILL IS AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD

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

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the Shays-Meehan campaign finance reform bill, and urge the Speaker to allow this important piece of legislation to get onto the floor for debate and a vote.

Shays-Meehan, which will stop large corporations and wealthy individuals from pouring hundreds of millions of dollars in soft money into both political parties, will not solve the crisis of campaign financing that we face today, but is an important step forward.

Mr. Speaker, one of the great tragedies of our time is that the American people are in large numbers giving up on the political process. In the last election, only 36 percent of the people voted, and tens of millions no longer believe that this Congress represents their interests. Rather, they believe, not without justification, that big money interests, through campaign contributions and lobbying efforts, develop the agenda here and call the tunes.

Mr. Speaker, let us tell the middle class and the working families of this country, the folks who do not contribute hundreds of millions, that we are listening to them. Let us pass campaign finance reform.

RECOGNIZING LIEUTENANT COLONEL MANUEL FERNANDEZ, JR., UPON HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

(Mr. GIBBONS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to recognize Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Fernandez, Jr., upon his retirement from the United States Air Force after 22 years of distinguished service to our great Nation. An American hero, a decorated military aviator, Lieutenant Colonel Fernandez has served with distinction, including service as a squadron commander at several locations worldwide.

Most recently he served with honor and great distinction to the United States Congress as the deputy chief of the House Liaison Office. In this position Manny, who is known to his friend as Manny, excelled at providing information and service to Members of the House of Representatives. His intelligence, his charm, keen wit, and a can-do attitude made Manny Fernandez a pleasure to work with.

Because of Manny's credibility and good will, the Air Force and the Department of Defense will long reap the benefits of his tenure here on Capitol Hill.

On behalf of my colleagues, I wish Lieutenant Colonel Manny Fernandez and his wife, Susan, the very best as he enters retirement.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

(Mrs. NAPOLITANO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues today to support the campaign finance reform and the filing of this discharge petition. I am proud that my signature will be among the 218 needed to bring H.R. 417, the bipartisan campaign finance reform measure offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS), and other measures as well, to the floor for a vote.

For me as a new Member of this House, this is a truly defining issue. The money chase must end so we, as servants of the people, can spend our time doing the people's business. I believe that it is what our constituents want from us. It is certainly what I would prefer to do.

Nine out of 10 Americans support campaign reform. Let them know we are listening to them. Now is the time to move forward. No more delays, no more bickering, no more excuses, just let us vote.

LET US SUPPORT NEEDED RESEARCH ON RETINAL DEGENERATIVE DISEASES

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

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, there is a saying, nothing is so strong as gentleness, and nothing is so gentle as real strength.

I can think of no better person who personifies those words as does my constituent and friend, Betti Lidsky. Yesterday, before the House Subcommittee on Labor, Health, and Human Services, Betti testified about her experiences as the mother of three children, Ilana, Daria, and Isaac, who are stricken with retinal degenerative diseases.

Betti and Carlos, her husband, came to deliver a message that is not only close to their hearts, but close to the hearts of the millions of family members across America who have a loved one who suffers from this disease, for which there is no treatment nor cure.

Let us help give the Lidsky family and indeed those families across America who are impacted by this disease hope by supporting, promoting, and funding research through the National Eye Institute and the Foundation Fighting Blindness. Working together, there is a cure in sight.

URGING MEMBERS TO SIGN THE DISCHARGE PETITION TO ALLOW DEBATE ON CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, there is a line forming down here in the well. Its purpose is to provide a discharge petition which will put on the Floor a fair proposal which will make it possible for this House to vote and to work its will on a piece of legislation to reform one of the great scandals in this country. I am talking about excessive expenditures in campaigns.

It will for the first time in years make a meaningful reform in terms of how money is spent and how much money is spent. It is something which will attack a problem that has been corroding the confidence of the American people in their government.

I urge all of my colleagues on both sides to join together in signing this discharge petition, putting on the Floor of the House a piece of legislation which will enable the people to return their confidence to their government, because we will be eliminating one of the great abuses, excessive expenditures of money on public elections, something which is corrupting the public business of this Nation.

I commend the framers of the discharge petition, I join in signing it, and I urge all of my colleagues to do likewise.

□ 1045

BUDGET RESOLUTION

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

Mr. EWING. Mr. Speaker, I come here to speak about the budget, but I cannot help but respond a little bit on campaign finance reform.

The issue should be how do we make those in office live by the rules that are already on the books. I question whether more laws, more rules will make people any more honest.

But we are here at a proud time, to think that we are going to pass the budget resolution on time today. I ask my colleagues on that side of the aisle, do not throw up roadblocks. Come along. Let us do the budget resolution as the law requires by the 15th.

It has got some great things in it. It strengthens Social Security. It keeps the caps so that we keep our commitment to balance the budget. It provides money to help make Medicare more secure. Education will benefit under this budget resolution. I only see one dark cloud.

Vote yes on the budget resolution. It is a good agreement.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

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

Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues realize this is an important week for Federal education policy.

Today we on the House Committee on Education and the Workforce will be holding our first hearing on Title I, the section of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that is designed to get Federal resources to the poorest of our Nation's children.

I will also be meeting with our Superintendent of Public Instruction of California, Delaine Eastin, today. She and I have worked together on several education issues, including the concern for Title I and other programs.

Title I is a very important program. In particular, it affects my district, and I would like to tell my colleagues how. First of all, Title I is for the poorest children in the Nation. Fifty percent of the students in the school must qualify for the free and reduced lunch in order to be a Title I school.

In our school district, in Garden Grove Unified, for example, 57 of the 64 schools qualify for Title I funds. In Anaheim City School District, over 50 percent of the schools qualify.

This is an issue that is of great concern, and I hope that my colleagues will work to ensure that Title I is there.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON THE BUDGET

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

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, Republicans have proposed to do something that should have been done a long time ago. The Republican budget plan puts 100 percent of the retirement surplus into a safe deposit box to be used exclu-

sively for Social Security and Medicare.

The retirement surplus, that is, the surplus from FICA taxes taken out of our paychecks, is the only reason that the budget is not in surplus. If we did not count the money in the Social Security Trust Fund, the Federal budget would still be in deficit to the tune of about \$20 billion.

Social Security and Medicare have really divided the parties this year. Talk about Medicare. Republicans propose a lockbox and a willingness to debate the Breaux Commission's finding on Medicare reform.

Democrats ask for continued raids on the Social Security Trust Fund, more IOUs, and a veto of the Breaux Commission out of hand, no system reforms of Medicare.

They would rather scare seniors once again instead of trying to solve the problems. Our seniors, Mr. Speaker, deserve better.

GENOCIDE AND ETHNIC CLEANSING WILL NOT PREVAIL IN KOSOVO

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

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, today, along with the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD), I am introducing a bill which will provide \$25 million to arm and train the KLA, the Kosovo Liberation Army. It is similar to a bill put forward by Senators MCCONNELL and LIEBERMAN in the Senate.

If we do not want to have the NATO troops on the ground, and let me say I think troops should be an option here, because we must win the war and show Milosevic that genocide and ethnic cleansing will not prevail.

But the only alternative to NATO troops or perhaps to supplement NATO troops on the ground right now is the KLA. In my opinion, we ought to be air dropping anti-tank weaponry to them. In the long run, we need to build them up as a viable force to fight the Serbs and to drive the Serbs out of Kosovo. Ethnic cleansing cannot prevail.

Milosevic is the problem. He is not the solution. We should not be negotiating with him. He is going to try to widen this war. We have to win this war. We must do it now.

In the long range, independence for Kosovo is the only solution. No partition of Kosovo. I was one of the Democrats that supported President Bush in the Persian Gulf War. We need to have great support right now for the President. I regret the remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PITTS). We need to rally around the President, not divide ourselves.

SOCIAL SECURITY

(Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland asked and was given permission to address

the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, there is a big difference between the President's proposal to reform Social Security and the Congressional Republicans' proposal to reform Social Security.

Under our proposal, 100 percent of the retirement surplus will be put away to strengthen Social Security and Medicare and pay down the debt. The President uses part of this surplus for Social Security, part for Medicare, and part to pay for new Washington spending. But do not take my word for it. I urge Americans to verify for themselves the facts at issue and compare the two proposals.

The President's plan includes so many Washington accounting tricks that even Houdini would have been impressed. But accounting tricks do not make an insolvent program solvent.

The President's proposal double counts Social Security to the tune of \$2.4 trillion, hardly a recipe for saving Social Security from bankruptcy. I urge my colleagues to join us on a bipartisan basis, to protect Social Security and Medicare.

PRAISE FOR LOCAL HEROES IN ATLANTA

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

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to praise courageous fire fighters in the City of Atlanta.

On Monday afternoon, members of the Atlanta City Fire Department fought a raging fire through the historic Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill in southeast Atlanta. Mr. Ivers Sims was trapped on a crane 220 feet in the air. As I watched this human drama unfold from my office, my heart stopped.

Demonstrating extraordinary courage and skill, fire fighter Matt Moseley lifted Mr. Sims from his dangerous perch like angels from the heavens. They saved his life. This brilliant rescue has made the City of Atlanta, the State of Georgia, and our Nation proud.

The fire fighters and Mr. Sims have my profound respect for their raw courage and extraordinary calm and determination under the most dangerous of circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, let me take this opportunity to praise fire fighters throughout the Nation who put their lives on the line every day to protect and serve our communities.

HONORING CAPTAIN ROBBIE BISHOP

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

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a true American

hero. As mind-altering drugs rip through America's homes and neighborhoods, leaving ruined lives in their wake, a group of brave men and women have stepped forward to fight this scourge. These men and women are our law enforcement professionals.

Captain Robbie Bishop of the Villa Rica Police Department was one such man. Every day he risked his life to keep drugs out of our schools and neighborhoods. He was willing to pay the ultimate price for his battle, as he did so on January 20 of this year when he was shot to death in his patrol car by a suspected drug trafficker who fled to Canada and has just been returned to America.

While nothing can ease the pain Captain Bishop's family, his department, and community feel at losing him, we can take some comfort in the knowledge that his sacrifice saved the lives of so many others.

During the past 7 years alone, Robbie Bishop directly assisted in the seizure of over 10,000 pounds of narcotics and more than \$8 million from drug traffickers. These are drugs and resources that would have threatened and taken other lives if brave men and women like Captain Bishop had not stood in the way.

I commend the dedication and sacrifice of Captain Robbie Bishop of the Villa Rica Police Department, and I hope that his life and legacy will serve as an incentive for all of us to continue the war against mind-altering drugs.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

(Mrs. CAPPS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Speaker, it is time to get serious about reforming our broken campaign finance system, and it truly is broken.

Soft money from the wealthiest corporations and from the wealthiest individuals is flooding into Federal elections at an alarming rate. Last year's special election in my district saw an explosion of sham issue ads which are clearly designed to sway voters with no regard for our election laws.

Our democratic system is being undermined by these abuses. We need to act now before the American people lose all faith in the political process.

Today I joined my colleagues in signing the discharge petition to bring the Shays-Meehan campaign finance reform bill to the floor for a fair and open debate. The American people have spoken. The time for reform is now.

SUPPORT THE BUDGET RESOLUTION

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

Mr. HILL of Montana. Mr. Speaker, Republicans who honored their campaign promise by trying to lower taxes

have been subject to constant attacks that any tax cuts would be a raid on Social Security. How is it that tax cuts can be a raid on Social Security, but billions of dollars of new spending are not?

The truth is that Democrats had 40 years to do something about Social Security, and they did not put one dime aside to save it from Social Security, not one dime, Mr. Speaker.

Republicans on the other hand have proposed to put aside \$1.4 trillion of the budget surplus to save Social Security. The choice is \$1.4 trillion or zero. Which side, America, do you trust on this issue?

Those who were in power for 40 years did nothing, who put aside nothing, are attacking the Republicans. We have to admire their audacity, Mr. Speaker, but you have to be ashamed of their demagoguery.

The same party that raided Social Security for 40 years is now attacking Republicans for stepping up to the plate and putting aside over a trillion dollars to shore up a system that is so important and will soon be bankrupt.

I ask my colleagues to reject the demagoguery. Be responsible and support this budget.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM DISCHARGE PETITION

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

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of substantive campaign finance reform. This Congress has talked a lot about it, but we have not done anything about it. It is a shame that it is going to take a discharge petition to even bring it before the floor. I encourage everyone to sign this discharge petition.

If we are serious about passing real campaign finance reform legislation this year, not later, everyone knows what we need to do. We need to ban soft money. We need to limit the wealthy from being able to buy elections rather than earning elections. We need to crack down on the issue of issue ads as campaign ads, and we need to improve disclosure and enforcement of the Federal Election Commission.

We just need to have the courage to do what must be done. Sign the discharge petition. Let us pass real campaign finance reform legislation this year. Let us base it in the future on the richness of message, not the richness of pocketbook. We have got to do this for the sake of the people and for the American people moving into the 21st century.

WHAT SURPLUS?

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

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, when I got back to my district, I asked people

about what they think should be done with the budget surplus. On more than one occasion, I am asked in return, "what surplus?"

There are a lot of people out there who are on to the games we play in this town. They ask, how could there be a budget surplus if the national debt went up last year and will go up again this year? What kind of surplus is that?

In fact, they are right. The Federal budget is only in surplus if we count the temporary surplus in the Social Security Trust Fund. The ironic thing is that the government would never let a business keep its books that way. But that is the way it does with our seniors' retirement money. It uses it to mask the true size of the deficit.

Republicans want to put an end to that. Many Democrats are not very happy about that prospect. Ending this practice would make it a lot harder to create new spending programs and expand the size of government. It sounds like another good reason why we should do it, does it not?

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, last year, the Republican leadership tried to thwart action on campaign finance reform. This year they are trying it once again. Why? Because they know it will pass the House on a bipartisan vote, because they fear public pressure will grow in the Senate.

The Republican leadership is saying again our private campaign money is our primary concern; the public interest be damned. Soft money is hardening the arteries of our democracy. So-called issue ads are snuffing out discourse on public issues.

Truly, it is time to act. That is why I am now going over to sign the discharge petition, and so many of my colleagues have already done so.

EXCITEMENT FOR THE BUDGET RESOLUTION

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

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, very quickly, it is exciting, the budget resolution. It came back from the Senate with a couple changes: some increased money for child care, some lockbox language that helps assure that we do what we say we are going to do, a reserve fund that could be used for prescription drugs, a new criteria for emergency spending.

This is a historic budget. For the first time in 40 years, we are not going to spend the Social Security surplus money, not going to even spend any of it for tax cuts in the next year.

□ 1100

The challenge is what do we do with the war in Serbia? Is that going to

come out of the Social Security Trust Fund?

Mr. Speaker, a historic budget. It should be supported from both sides.

SIGN DISCHARGE PETITION TO DEBATE CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, 9 out of 10 Americans, 9 out of 10 Americans support campaign finance reform. Today, I rise in support of meaningful campaign finance reform which our political system needs and our constituents demand.

I salute the Blue Dogs for once again filing a discharge petition to try to overcome the resistance of the Republican leadership and force a reform bill onto the House floor.

The simple fact is the cost of running for Federal office today is so great that candidates are forced to devote way too much of their time fund-raising rather than dealing with issues of importance to their constituents.

Mr. Speaker, last year 196 Members signed a discharge petition that led to bringing the Shays-Meehan bipartisan campaign finance bill to the House floor. Without that petition process, the House Republican leadership would never have let that debate occur.

Today, I urge all Members, from both sides, to join me in signing this petition so that a real debate can finally take place on this floor.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 68, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 137 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 137

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider a conference report to accompany the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 68) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2000 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for each of the fiscal years 2001 through 2009. All points of order against the conference report and against its consideration are waived. The conference report shall be considered as read. The conference report shall be debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER), pending which I yield myself such time as I

may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purposes of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 137 is a conventional rule providing for consideration of the conference report for H. Con. Res. 68, the budget resolution for fiscal year 2000.

H. Res. 137 waives all points of order against the conference report to accompany H. Con. Res. 68 and against its consideration. The rule provides that the conference report is considered as read. The rule further provides for 1 hour of general debate on the conference report, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

Mr. Speaker, the deadline for passing the budget is this week, and I am pleased the House will pass the budget resolution on time. In fact, when the budget resolution is adopted by the House and Senate by Thursday, it will be only the second time in 25 years that the U.S. Congress has met the statutory deadline. As we promised, this Congress has quietly been a workhorse, going about its legislative work in a businesslike manner that we planned at the beginning of the new year.

I am not only pleased we have completed this budget resolution in a timely manner, but I am delighted this budget reaffirms our support for less government and more freedom for the American people. Like the first debate on the budget, I expect today's debate will also center upon the differences between the parties and the role of the Federal Government, and I welcome that debate.

Mr. Speaker, the conference report is very similar to the budget passed by the House in March. Our budget saves Social Security by ensuring that 100 percent of the money from payroll taxes destined for the Social Security Trust Fund remains in the trust fund. That is \$1.8 trillion over the next decade for retirement security. Our budget strengthens Social Security and ensures that big spenders can no longer raid the fund to pay for their big government spending programs.

Mr. Speaker, after saving Social Security and Medicare, the real question is what do we do with the remainder of the surplus. The Congress says give it back. When previous Congresses could not figure out how to run the government, they turned to the American people for more taxes. Now that we have a surplus, the big spenders do not want to give the people a refund. They want to spend it on new, wasteful, bureaucratic programs.

A few months ago, we received a preview of this debate when the President stated, "We could give it all back to you and hope you spend it right." But the President then preceded to explain that he really should not give back the surplus because Federal Government bureaucrats could make wiser choices with the American people's paychecks than they could.

That is the ideological choice we will deal with today. Our budget is designed to provide more freedom and power to the American people. The President's budget was designed to keep the taxpayers' money controlled in this town.

We simply believe that individuals make much better choices about their lives than bureaucrats do. The President's budget suggests that the government can make wiser choices with the paychecks of the American workers. Today in America, Federal tax revenues comprise a record percentage of gross domestic product. The President responded to the growing tax burden by saying, "Fifteen years from now, if the Congress wants to give more tax relief, let them do it."

I have talked to many of my constituents and most of them were not enthusiastic about waiting until the year 2014 to get a tax refund. Therefore, this budget reaffirms our belief that the people know best how to spend their own money and, therefore, we provide the American people with serious tax relief now.

It should be noted that despite the President's rhetoric, his budget would have cut Medicare \$11.9 billion over 5 years. The Republican budget rejects the President's Medicare cuts. Even the President's own Comptroller General, David Walker, has criticized the Clinton Medicare proposal for essentially doing nothing to alter the imbalance between the program's receipts and benefits payments.

The President's cut in Medicare and his fiscal shell games would have endangered the quality of our seniors' health care. Conversely, our budget locks away all of the Social Security Trust Fund surpluses for the Nation's elderly to save, strengthen and preserve Social Security and Medicare.

This budget continues our determined effort to provide more security, more freedom and less government to the American people. The House budget is a common sense plan to provide security for the American people by preserving every penny of the Social Security surplus, return overtaxed paychecks to those who earned it, pay down the national debt, rebuild the national defense, and improve our public schools.

Mr. Speaker, for too long this Nation put too much trust in government rules and decision-making. Ronald Reagan argued that we should trust the people because, "Whenever they are allowed to create and build, whenever they are given a personal stake in deciding economic policies and benefiting from their success, then societies become more dynamic, prosperous, progressive, and free." This budget resolution is written in such a way to provide that freedom to the American families and communities by returning power, money and control back to them.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support the rule so that we may complete consideration of this historic budget resolution.

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

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER) for yielding me the customary time, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Ms. SLAUGHTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, the budget resolution was presented to the Committee on Rules past the stroke of midnight last night and can only be fully considered by my colleagues who have a graduate degree from the Evelyn Woods School of Speed Reading.

It makes some pretty important decisions, which one would think would keep my friends from acting like a teenager who broke curfew by sneaking into the House through the basement door. But here it is, so I rise to speak on the rule and to encourage opposition to this budget resolution offered by my friends on the other side of the aisle.

Thanks to many tough choices and some very difficult votes, some of them bipartisan but too often only from this side of the aisle, we are no longer running budget deficits and are in a position to secure the future for seniors, children and working Americans across our economy.

The budget surpluses which are now projected give us new opportunities to make more, smarter, and tougher fiscal decisions. But this budget resolution resolves to do less with more.

The conference report does nothing to make sure Social Security will be solvent for the next generation. It will not extend the solvency of Social Security by even a single day. In fact, to borrow a phrase, instead of making sure that Social Security is solvent, this budget resolution makes sure it goes broke on schedule.

The motion to instruct conferees to deal with Social Security first was ignored and the reconciliation instructions put tax cuts at the head of the line.

The budget resolution fails to protect Medicare from insolvency, even though Medicare is in danger of running short of funds in less than 10 years. This resolution calls for Medicare reforms but makes no recommendations and commits no resources for the solvency of Medicare.

This budget resolution is unrealistic in calling for new spending without saying how those bills will be paid or what programs will be cut to make room for the new spending. Its authors want us to believe that there is more for education, but, in fact, discretionary spending for education, training, employment and social services is cut by \$200 million below the 1999 level. In fact, it would require deep cuts in employment and training and Head Start and the higher education programs such as Pell Grants and Work Study.

It claims to put more in health but it cuts funding for discretionary health

programs by \$402 million in fiscal year 2000. It claims to provide more for veterans, but in fact cuts discretionary funding for veterans by \$2.3 billion over 10 years as compared to the 1999 level. And it provides less budget authority for defense over 10 years than the President has requested.

Mr. Speaker, we have finally freed ourselves from the budget deficits of the 1980s and the 1990s that threatened to strangle our economy. We are in a position to address long-term challenges to Social Security and to Medicare. But the budget resolution before us today squanders this opportunity and ignores our responsibilities.

This budget resolution proposes tax cuts which will exhaust the on-budget surplus. After 5 years, these tax cuts begin to exceed the projected on-budget surpluses, and then they will cause the greatest harm in the years between 2010 and 2014.

Before we even count the first non-Social Security surplus, this budget resolution proposes to spend it. I fear that my friends have already forgotten the lessons taught by the bad habits of the 1980s and the big debts of the 1990s.

We should strike while the surplus iron is hot and make good on our promises that we would save Social Security and Medicare, which are more than words and represent more than entries on a balance sheet to the people who depend on them for the quality of their life.

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

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding me this time, and I compliment him on his management and filing of this rule, which took place just a few hours ago, in fact, in the middle of the night, so that we can move ahead with this very important measure.

We are making history here. I strongly support both the rule and this conference report. For the first time ever we are locking away Social Security money in a safe deposit box which will finally end Washington's pattern of raiding the Social Security fund. It is very important for us to recognize that that is something that is being done in this package with this budget that the other side is not doing.

Compare this to President Clinton's budget, which actually spends \$341 billion of the Social Security surplus over the next decade.

Our budget that we are going to be voting on here devotes \$100 billion more than the President's budget to save, strengthen and preserve both Social Security and Medicare, while the President's budget actually cuts \$11.9 billion in Medicare.

We maintain the spending discipline that brought us the balanced budget back in 1997, while, unfortunately, the President's budget exceeds the caps by \$30 billion.

After locking away funds for Social Security and Medicare, we return the rest of the surplus to working Americans in tax relief. The President's budget raises taxes by \$172 billion. In fact, the President has said that Congress should not even consider providing any kind of tax relief to working families for a decade and a half, 15 years.

Our budget pays down \$450 billion more in public debt than the administration's budget does.

□ 1115

Mr. Speaker, by practicing fiscal responsibility we guarantee that the priorities of the American people are protected, good schools, relief from over-taxation, a solid Social Security system, and something that is of great importance today, and that is a strong, rebuilt national defense capability.

The difference in the parties' visions reminds me of the old adage "the more things change, the more they stay the same." The bottom line is that, like the American people, Republicans are paying attention to the bottom line. We have chosen to stay within budget spending limits. And unfortunately, on the other hand, the President wants to return to the policies of tax and spend.

I think it is a very clear picture that is here, and I hope that my colleagues will join in strong support of not only this rule but of this very important conference report so that, as we for the second time since the 1974 Budget Act has been put into place, so that we can in fact get our work done, which has been a priority of this 106th Congress.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 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 urge my colleagues to vote against the rule and vote against this resolution.

A little history needs to be reviewed here. During the Reagan years, we drove the budget deficit to \$5 trillion. Now we have a little surplus, and those same neo-Reaganites who were saying that Mr. Reagan was so wonderful in creating that deficit do not want to pay it off. Now, they say they have a lockbox.

Let me talk about that particular issue. They say they are going to save Social Security and they are going to save Medicare by putting the money in a lockbox, and that sounds like a good thing. We think of a big, strong box and very tough that we could not get the money out of it.

What they have done in this resolution that had exactly 3 hours of consideration before the House committee, and we on the Committee on the Budget never saw it, we had a meeting last

night and the chairman from the other body said all this does is deliver sacks of money to the appropriators to split up. But we will hear people say, oh, there is a lockbox. We put all this money in there to save Social Security.

What the lockbox has is a great big trapdoor that says exactly this: If the Republicans pass a Pinochet-like privatization of Social Security, then they have reformed Social Security and they can then use the money in the lockbox for whatever they want; namely, a tax cut. The money does not have to go into the Social Security plan. It says, if they reform it, they can use the money for something else.

The same way is true for Medicare. If they reform it; that is, give every senior citizen a voucher, take away their guaranteed benefits in Medicare, if they pass that reform out of here, then they can use the money for the tax cut. So this lockbox is about as phony a proposal as I have seen in 30 years.

I know this year the Republicans are committed to passing this resolution, because last year they did not do anything. They did not even have a conference committee meeting. So this year they said, by God, we are getting something out of here by the 15th of April even if we do not have a single thing.

What they passed out was blank pieces of paper and sent to us, this is the budget. This is how we are going to spend \$1.8 trillion of their money. We will not give them one single specific. We will promise them that we are going to increase the National Institutes of Health budget. We will promise them we are going to increase this. We will promise them that. But no specifics, no public hearings, no opportunity for anybody to come before the Committee on the Budget and say what this budget did or did not do or promises. They simply wrote it in a back room yesterday.

I mean, I have never been to anything quite as ridiculous as this conference committee that I was at yesterday, where we sat looking at nothing and saying they are going to pass it in the middle of the night, which is what they did.

Vote "no."

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I will put the gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT) down as "undecided," and I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). The Chair will announce that the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER) has 22½ minutes remaining, and the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER) has 23 minutes remaining.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding the time.

Mr. Speaker, last year the Republicans failed to pass a budget resolution for the first time since modern day budgets have been enacted. But

that legacy should not be reversed by now stuffing a conference agreement down the throats of the American people. That legacy should not be reversed by hurting those who need our help.

The conference agreement before us fails to protect Social Security. It does not extend the Social Security Trust Fund by one day. The conference agreement does nothing to protect Medicare. The agreement contains large tax breaks that could cost close to \$2 trillion over 15 years and would primarily benefit the wealthiest Americans. And, under the agreement, non-defense discretionary spending declines drastically.

Mr. Speaker, we should not repeat the failures of the last Congress. We should pass a budget resolution for fiscal year 2000 but we should pass one that has been carefully studied and deliberated as well as considered by both sides of the House.

The agreement before us has been hastily put together. I doubt that any Member, Republican or Democrat, knows what is in it. The agreement before us hurts ordinary American citizens.

I urge my colleagues to vote against this patched together, last minute desperate attempt to put something on the floor, hastily put together with no consideration of due process or the American people. I urge my colleagues to vote against it.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Staten Island, New York (Mr. FOSSELLA).

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

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia for yielding.

I think what this day really reflects is what the American people expect and deserve, and that is straight talk from the folks here in Washington. I think what the people back home in Staten Island and Brooklyn appreciate is when we are honest with them. For too many years, the people in Washington have not been honest with the people I represent, and that is true across the country.

Now, to me, the most important things in their minds these days are the state of Social Security and Medicare, among others, education, tax cuts. When we talk about Social Security and Medicare, look what the Republican Congress has delivered: Straight talk and fiscal responsibility, locking away the entire Social Security surplus for the Nation's elderly, almost \$1.8 trillion over 10 years to save, to strengthen, and to preserve Social Security and Medicare, money that should go for these essential programs and not on what others around here would like to do, spend on their favorite wasteful Government programs or, in other words, a little slush fund.

The other thing we talk about and I think is right for the country, right for

economic growth, is needed tax relief. Go back home wherever we are across this country and talk straight with the people we represent. Ask them if they do not think they are paying enough in taxes. Ask them if they think they are paying too much in taxes.

Tomorrow is tax day. There are a lot of people right now scrambling to fill out their tax forms. A lot of them have to write a check and pay Uncle Sam. They are working hard every single day, and at the end of the year they are writing a check to Uncle Sam.

If we believe fundamentally in the notions of freedom and liberty and creating opportunity for the American people to spend and to save and to produce and to create and to innovate, then we should give more of their money back. And that is what this budget resolution seeks to do.

Aside from that, we are maintaining the fiscal caps as this Congress voted just a couple of years ago to do; and that is to maintain fiscal responsibility, discipline. Every responsible family in this country has to do this every week, put aside some money for the education, put aside money for the car, pay the mortgage, and establishing priorities. That is what this resolution does as well, establishes priorities, Social Security, Medicare, education, veterans' benefits, tax cuts, and so many others, but at the same time saying, in Congress we are not going to have a party at the taxpayers' expense.

Send the money back home where it belongs. Protect our Nation's elderly. Invest in our children. Invest in our future and do the right thing. I urge a "yes" vote on this resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. For purposes of clarification, does the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) ask to control the time of the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER)?

Mr. FROST. That is correct, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) will control the time.

There was no objection.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Oregon (Ms. HOOLEY).

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition of the rule today, and really for two reasons; and there are probably tons of other reasons, but two reasons.

First of all, this was done in the middle of the night, this conference report. Nobody has had a chance to really look at this, and to vote on an issue of this importance without having a chance to know what is in it I think is a wrong way to do this. If we want to meet our deadline, we can still meet that deadline tomorrow, but we have today to look at this.

I called this earlier a bait-and-switch budget because that is what I think it is. For example, the other reason that my colleagues should oppose this rule is there are claims that Social Security and Medicare are saved, and yet

this is riddled with provisions that we could drive a Mack truck through. There are all kinds of sunset provisions. There are exceptions to these protections. It does not do anything to add one day to the life of Social Security or Medicare. Not one single day does it extend that solvency.

I think we have to stop these railroaded through tactics. Let us have time to look at it, make sure we know what it says. And then if we are going to be serious about saving Social Security and Medicare, let us make sure we do that and we add days to the solvency.

Please oppose this rule, give us a chance to look at it. I do not think we could continue to irresponsibly move legislation through the House of Representatives in this manner.

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

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I ask the time remaining on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER) has 19½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) also has 19½ minutes remaining.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), the ranking member of the Committee on the Budget.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, this is not just a railroad. This is a high-speed train. This is one of those bullet trains. In France they call it the TGV.

Yesterday, at 6 o'clock, we had our first conference meeting, if we want to call it that. It was really a photo-op session, cameo session. We were handed a document with two columns, Democratic position, Republican position, points and places where these two resolutions differ.

There was no third column, the resolution by the conferees, just the House position and the Senate position. There was no debate, no discussion, no motions, no amendments, nothing. They handed us this document. Not even the conference report itself. Not even the latest draft of it. Though I am sure everyone knows the procedure here. It was in the word processor. Not even the latest rough draft of the conference report, even though only a few issues remained in contention between the Senate Republicans and the House Republicans at that point.

At 1:30 last night, I stayed here until about 10:30 or 11:00, at 1:30 the House Committee on Rules reported this resolution under the cloak of darkness. When I came to the floor this morning for this debate and asked for a copy of the conference report, it was not to be had. Our staff have been able to get a copy, and they are working on it right now trying to get a bullet analysis of it so that we can hand it out to our Members.

We are talking about \$1.8 trillion. We are talking about the document that frames our priorities this year and, to some extent, for the next 5 or 10 years.

Now, yesterday at our conference report and today on the House floor we will hear the Republican Members congratulate themselves because for the first time in a long time the budget resolution is being adopted on time, April 15; last year we did not have one at all; this year we are doing it right, we are doing it on time. But I beg to disagree.

This looks like we are making the trains run on time but, in truth, down the track a train wreck awaits us.

□ 1130

This budget resolution is totally unrealistic. It is not a document for the budget for FY 2000. It is a political statement.

Let me give my colleagues a classic example of sort of just stiff-arming not just the Democratic side of the House but the whole House. Just a day ago, we had the appointment of the conferees, the impaneling of the conference, and we offered a motion to instruct the conferees, that they get their priorities straight, that we do first Social Security, next Medicare and then tax cuts, in that sequence, because that is the right sequence of priorities. First save Social Security, then shore up Medicare, then with what is left before we drain the budget dry of resources, then we can do tax cuts. Three hundred eighty Members voted for it. The chairman of this committee, the House Budget Committee, came over here on the floor and said he would accept the amendment.

What happened the next day? The next day we changed the date for the reconciliation bill to include the tax cuts to be July 12. The only reason it is July 12 is, we all know, this budget resolution is a placeholder. We are simply waiting and hoping the CBO will have a July surprise for us, a plus-up in revenues so we can come out here and redo what we have tried to do here. I do not think this budget leads us anywhere. This is not an occasion to celebrate the budget process, unfortunately, even though it marks on this occasion its 25th anniversary. This is just a tread water maneuver. It would take us backward on our efforts to balance the budget if we passed it. This rule and this budget both should be voted down.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to this rule, which determines how we will debate the conference report on H. Con. Res. 68, the Budget Resolution for FY 2000.

This rule, which was reported very late last night, is an overly restrictive closed rule that allows only one hour of debate on this report. It is preposterous to give each side here, fighting for the budget of the United States, only one-half hour to debate. This is perhaps the most important debate that we will have this year.

Having said that, I am urging my colleagues to reject this conference report, and to come

back to the table and work together, in a bipartisan manner, to pass a budget that works for America—a budget that is responsible to our constituents, and our posterity.

We should be passing a budget that protects the Social Security and Medicare Trust funds by putting money back into those accounts. It should be a budget that will maintain our current Social Security and Medicare benefits, and extend their lives until decades from now, so that all Americans will be able to take advantage of them. This is especially true for women, because due to their longer life expectancy, they must rely on Social Security and Medicare longer than most men.

The conference report that we approve this morning should contain the proper resources to modernize, and some would say revitalize, our public schools. This report does just the opposite; in fact, it reduces our domestic spending on programs that protect the interest of our children. This budget jeopardizes the well being of successful programs by taking 425 million dollars from WIC, and 501 million dollars from Head Start. Nevertheless, in this budget most of that money—800 million dollars of it—goes instead to tax cuts for the wealthy.

We should send this conference report back, until it contains within it a budget that will protect America's families. It should be a budget that fully funds the Summer Youth Employment Program, which is cut in this report by over 90 million dollars. It could be a budget that saves the Community Development Block Grant Program the indignity of a 50 million-dollar cut.

We want to approve a budget report that will address the needs of our veterans. We could have and should have passed the Spratt amendment, which would have added an additional nine billion dollars for veterans programs. We should be voting to pass a budget that fully funds LIHEAP, which provides for necessary heating and cooling for low-income families in times of extreme weather. LIHEAP literally saved lives in my district last summer, and I intend to do what I can to ensure that it is fully funded every year that I serve in Congress.

I had hoped that during conference, that we would have seen drastic improvements in this resolution, improvements that could have been done in a bipartisan and responsible manner. I had hoped that my colleagues across the aisle could be more persuaded by the dedication of Congressmen SPRATT and McDERMOTT. I desperately wanted to take home to my district a budget that respected our children, our families, our veterans, and our elderly—and I still hope to do so. And yet we stand here today, with this report to show for it, and with only one half hour of debate to make our case for the American people. It is a shame.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to vote against this rule, and to require, at the very least, extended time to debate this conference report. With that extended time, I hope that we can work towards a fiscally responsible budget for the American people.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I urge a "yes" vote on the rule and the budget.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, I yield back the

balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NETHERCUTT). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. MOAKLEY. 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 221, nays 205, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 84]

YEAS—221

Aderholt	Gallegly	Morella
Archer	Ganske	Myrick
Armey	Gekas	Nethercutt
Bachus	Gibbons	Ney
Baker	Gilchrest	Northup
Ballenger	Gillmor	Norwood
Barr	Gilman	Nussle
Barrett (NE)	Goodlatte	Ose
Bartlett	Goodling	Oxley
Barton	Goss	Packard
Bass	Graham	Paul
Bateman	Granger	Pease
Bereuter	Green (WI)	Peterson (PA)
Biggert	Greenwood	Petri
Bilbray	Gutknecht	Pickering
Billrakis	Hall (TX)	Pitts
Bliley	Hansen	Pombo
Blunt	Hastings (WA)	Porter
Boehrlert	Hayes	Portman
Boehner	Hayworth	Pryce (OH)
Bonilla	Hefley	Quinn
Bono	Herger	Radanovich
Brady (TX)	Hill (MT)	Ramstad
Bryant	Hilleary	Regula
Burr	Hobson	Reynolds
Burton	Hoekstra	Riley
Buyer	Horn	Rogan
Callahan	Hostettler	Rogers
Calvert	Houghton	Rohrabacher
Camp	Hulshof	Ros-Lehtinen
Campbell	Hunter	Roukema
Canady	Hutchinson	Royce
Cannon	Hyde	Ryan (WI)
Castle	Isakson	Ryun (KS)
Chabot	Istook	Salmon
Chambliss	Jenkins	Sanford
Chenoweth	John	Saxton
Coble	Johnson (CT)	Schaffer
Coburn	Johnson, Sam	Sensenbrenner
Collins	Jones (NC)	Sessions
Combest	Kasich	Shadegg
Cook	Kelly	Shaw
Cooksey	King (NY)	Shays
Cox	Kingston	Sherwood
Crane	Knollenberg	Shimkus
Cubin	Kolbe	Shuster
Cunningham	Kuykendall	Simpson
Davis (VA)	Largent	Skeen
Deal	Latham	Smith (MI)
DeLay	LaTourette	Smith (NJ)
DeMint	Lazio	Smith (TX)
Diaz-Balart	Leach	Souder
Dickey	Lewis (CA)	Spence
Doolittle	Lewis (KY)	Stearns
Dreier	Linder	Stump
Duncan	LoBiondo	Sununu
Ehlers	Lucas (OK)	Sweeney
Ehrlich	Manzullo	Talent
Emerson	McCollum	Tancredo
English	McCrery	Tauzin
Everett	McHugh	Taylor (NC)
Ewing	McInnis	Terry
Fletcher	McIntosh	Thomas
Foley	McKeon	Thornberry
Forbes	Metcalf	Thune
Fossella	Mica	Tiahrt
Fowler	Miller (FL)	Toomey
Franks (NJ)	Miller, Gary	Traficant
Frelinghuysen	Moran (KS)	Upton

Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Watts (OK)

Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Whitfield
Wicker

Wilson
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NAYS—205

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Allen
Andrews
Baird
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barcia
Barrett (WI)
Becerra
Bentsen
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Bonior
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Condit
Conyers
Costello
Coyne
Cramer
Crowley
Cummings
Danner
Davis (FL)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Deutsch
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doyle
Edwards
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Farr
Fattah
Finler
Ford
Frank (MA)
Frost
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Gonzalez
Goode

Gordon
Green (TX)
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hill (IN)
Hilliard
Hinchev
Hinojosa
Hoeffel
Holden
Holt
Hooley
Hoyer
Inslee
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Jefferson
Johnson, E. B.
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind (WI)
Klecza
Klink
Kucinich
LaFalce
Lampson
Larson
Lee
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McDermott
McGovern
McIntyre
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
MEEK (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Millender-
McDonald
Miller, George
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (VA)
Murtha
Nadler
Napolitano

Neal
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Owens
Pallone
Pascarell
Pastor
Payne
Pelosi
Peterson (MN)
Phelps
Pomeroy
Price (NC)
Rahall
Rangel
Reyes
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Rush
Sabo
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Schakowsky
Scott
Serrano
Sherman
Shows
Sisisky
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Spratt
Stabenow
Stark
Stenholm
Strickland
Stupak
Tanner
Tauscher
Taylor (MS)
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thurman
Tierney
Towns
Turner
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Waters
Watt (NC)
Waxman
Weiner
Wexler
Weygand
Wise
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn

NOT VOTING—7

Davis (IL)
Dunn
Hastings (FL)

LaHood
Lantos
Pickett

Scarborough

□ 1152

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

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 137, I call up the conference report on the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 68) estab-

lishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2000 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for each of the fiscal years 2001 through 2009.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NETHERCUTT). Pursuant to House Resolution 137, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of Tuesday, April 13, 1999, at page H1936.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) will be recognized for 30 minutes and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH).

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

Mr. Speaker, today we offer the first budget of the next century and a new agenda, beginning of a new agenda, for the new millennium. We are going to offer a conference report here today; we have offered it. We are going to vote on a conference report here today that represents a work product that we have not seen before on this House floor in my lifetime. It has been our experience to operate in a period where we were rolling up the red ink, adding to the national debt, but more important, continuing to suck power and money and influence from everyday Americans and taking that power, money and influence and vesting it in the central government here in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, we are on the verge of being able to pass into law a tremendous transfer of money, power and influence from this city back into the hands of everyday Americans so that we can run America from the bottom up, from our families and communities to the top, and included in this proposal is the notion that we would take every single penny from the payroll taxes that this Federal Government collects from the American people and to lock up \$1.8 trillion, all the money that is collected by the Federal Government out of payroll taxes, and to put it in a safe place, into a locked box where we can ultimately use that money as part of a transition program to transform the retirement programs for our senior citizens and at the same time to also guarantee that baby boomers and their children will also have access to the same security that our parents have. In fact, the \$1.8 trillion that we lock up gives us a leverage to be used to transform both Social Security and Medicare so that three generations of Americans can be protected.

□ 1200

We know ultimately that in order to protect and save the programs of Social Security and Medicare for the baby boomers and their children, it will mean, in my judgment it will mean, that we will all have greater

control as individuals in terms of being able to invest some of our payroll taxes in the American economy that will allow us, just like Federal employees, to earn a higher rate of return on our money than we are currently getting, which will allow the baby boomers to earn enough money to have something when they retire and at the same time ultimately greater additional choice in health care for our senior citizens based on the model of Federal employees.

Frankly, the \$1.8 trillion will be reserved, it will not be spent, until that great day comes when we can reach agreement between the legislative and executive branches of the government so that, in fact, we can transform these programs. Before that great day comes, that \$1.8 trillion will be used to pay down some of the national debt, something that many Americans want to see happen.

In fact, last year we paid down about \$50 billion of the national publicly held debt. This year we would anticipate somewhere in the neighborhood of \$125 billion of the publicly held debt being reduced; holding those dollars either to pay down debt or to be used to transform these retirement programs for three generations of Americans.

At the same time, we anticipate additional surpluses to the tune of over \$800 billion. We intend to take about \$780 billion of that surplus and rather than using that money to create more Federal programs we intend to use that money to return that overcharge to the American taxpayers. So over the course of the next 10 years, we can enact the largest tax cut in modern American history.

We think that is positive for one simple reason. When government has less and people have more, people are empowered. When people have more and government has less, that is really the quotient, the formula, that our Founding Fathers created when they established this great country; the power should flow from the people to the government and that the people ultimately have the right to have the power vested in them.

To be able to transfer \$780 billion in revenues from the Federal Government back to the people is, frankly, all about restoring power to the people so that we can run this great country of ours from the bottom up.

At the same time, Mr. Speaker, we also intend to maintain the budget agreement, the bipartisan budget agreement, that was concluded in 1997 and to maintain the discipline of that agreement, which has contributed to this strong economy.

So we have not just a twofer here today but a threefer: One, maintain the fiscal responsibility that we created in 1997; secondly, reserve the surpluses from the payroll taxes in this country to be used ultimately to transform Social Security and Medicare for three generations of Americans, in the meantime use it to pay down some of the na-

tional public debt; finally, to restore a great amount of power to the American people in the neighborhood of \$780 billion.

I think it is a great package. I think it is something we all ought to embrace, whether we are Republicans or Democrats, and we ought to march into the next century, into the next millennium, with our heads held high and with an optimism that tells us that we can meet some of the great challenges that the baby boomers are going to experience in their retirement years and, in fact, we can guarantee not only security for our parents but that the baby boomers and their children will have the same opportunity at the American dream.

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

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3½ minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this year we mark the 25th anniversary of the congressional budget process and there is a lot to be proud of here because the budget process has helped us get to where we are, to the best fiscal position we have been in in 25 to 50 years, but this is not a very auspicious way to market because the budget before us is not realistic. It has been hastily prepared, hastily presented.

We have been able to cobble together what it meant in the last couple of hours when we received a copy of it this morning, but let me say what it means. First of all, take discretionary spending because we will be dealing with that shortly as the appropriations come. It has been capped for the last 10 years. We have to adjust a cap of \$6.5 billion reduction this year and then over the next 10 years, between now and 2009, this budget would lower discretionary spending by \$16 billion.

Last year we spent \$299 billion. In 2009, if we follow the pattern of this budget, we will spend \$284 billion, a \$16 billion reduction. Once we take the total of inflation off that amount of money, that means we will have one-third less to spend for discretionary programs.

While this budget is not very specific, it uses big numbers and very few details, there are some harsh realities in it. Veterans, for example, we have the swell in the World War II population pressing greater demands than ever on the Veterans Administration. They plus it up next year and reduce it in every year thereafter.

We create a crop insurance program, badly needed, only to unfund it 5 years from now because the money is not there. It has to make way for a tax cut.

The Republicans touted the fact that they were going to plus up NIH because we are on the cusp of major breakthroughs in biomedical research. What do they do with the health function, function 550, in this budget? They slice it by \$25 billion over the next 10 years. NIH takes up 52 percent of that function. Anybody who thinks that NIH is going to be plussed up if we pass this budget really does need medical help.

Science and space research, \$9 billion reduction, below a hard freeze. I am not talking about current services; \$9 billion below a hard freeze. Law enforcement, when we are making gains in crime, cut \$14.5 billion below a hard freeze.

The harsh message comes as to Social Security. Two days ago, 480 Members of this body said let us do Social Security first, then Medicare, then we will take up tax cuts.

We are not opposed to tax cuts. They are in our budget, but we said there is a proper priority, a proper sequence here. Let us do tax cuts after we have saved Social Security. Let us not drain the budget of resources that we might need for these two critical programs.

What do they do? In this resolution, they take the date on which the tax cut bill is to come to the floor of the House, which originally was no later than September the 30th, and move it up. They do not even follow the sequence, the priorities, that we set by an overwhelming vote just 2 days ago on the House floor.

This is not a good budget. This is another riverboat gamble with the budget and that is no way to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the budget process.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NETHERCUTT). Without objection, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) will now control the time of the majority.

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 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, this budget resolution is what I would call a magician's budget. It has a lockbox in it. We always think of a lockbox, when one sees a magician he puts the box on the table and then the pretty lady climbs inside and then he saws her in half and somehow nothing ever happens to the lady, and you say to yourself those magicians, they are amazing. Know why? Because it has a false bottom in it; it has a trick in the bottom.

This budget, I challenge anybody to find a copy of this thing. One can go out there in the Speaker's hall and there are not even printed copies of this thing. So 425 Members are going to vote on this thing and they have never even looked at it, believing there is a lockbox.

Now that lockbox works for one year, and the language in it says that we can open the lockbox if there has been any legislation passed that enhances retirement security. If that has happened, then we can take the money out of the box and give it away for tax breaks.

Now, what does "enhances retirement security" mean? Well, the only bills that I have heard discussed around here come out of Chile. That is, give everybody a little book and let

them have their own Social Security. Wipe out Social Security and give everybody their own account.

Now, if we call that saving Social Security, well, I guess it fits the definition of enhances retirement security. Everybody will have their little book and they can be out there in the Dow and if the Dow is at 10000 when they retire, great; if it is at 4000, well, that is just the breaks.

My colleagues are writing in here the capacity to pass any legislation that the budget chairman describes as enhancing retirement security. If that happens, we open the bottom of the box, all the money comes out and here comes the tax break. Exactly the same language is used with Medicare, anything that strengthens the Medicare program.

Now, there is another fraud in here. People are going to talk as though there is a tax break. All the people are out there finishing out their reports for their tax today. In 2000, there is no tax reduction in this budget. All the tax reduction explodes beginning in 2001 and going out to 2015. It is an absolute fraud to tell people there is a tax break for next year, but if one listens they would think it was there. It is all going to come from this phony lockbox.

There is another part of this, and that is that we are going to increase the National Institutes of Health. My colleague from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) already alluded to that. That is also phony. One cannot make those numbers add up.

I urge my colleagues to vote no.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds to respond to my colleague.

Mr. Speaker, we set aside \$1.8 trillion to save and preserve Social Security. We do not spend it and we do not provide a tax cut with it. We preserve it for Social Security. If anything happens, it literally pays down debt.

I would also point out that copies were made for both the majority and minority last night and we reproduced copies for our side. I hope they did the same for theirs.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS).

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

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, today the House will consider the conference report to the fiscal year 2000 budget resolution. I would first like to acknowledge the hard work by my colleagues on the House Committee on the Budget and their Senate counterparts in not only meeting the April 15 budget deadline but in crafting a budget that will boldly carry America into the 21st century.

This budget, the first for the new millennium, safeguards Social Security, addresses priorities such as education, defense and agriculture, and, yes, does provide historic tax relief.

I am proud to see this conference report meet the challenges of the 21st

century head on by adhering to several bedrock principles, as it, first of all, locks away every single penny of the Social Security surplus to provide for the retirement security of the Nation's seniors, and I emphasize that. Every single penny of the Social Security surplus is locked away to provide for the security of our seniors.

Secondly, we maintain the spending discipline from the 1997 Balanced Budget Act.

Thirdly, we ensure sizable payments are made to reduce the national debt, a very critical issue.

Fourth, we make national defense a top priority by providing additional resources to properly train, equip and retain our men and women in uniform.

Next, we offer security for rural Americans by providing the financial resources to make real crop insurance reform possible.

Finally, we enact historic tax relief to return the surplus to its rightful owners, the American taxpayer.

Mr. Speaker, the conference report on the budget is consistent with the common sense principles of encouraging our communities and individuals to grow from the bottom up, not from Washington down. This is a budget all Americans can be proud of and I strongly urge the adoption by my colleagues.

I would like to close by saying to my friend, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), I commend him and have enjoyed working with him through this process. He has been a strong advocate for his position. When we have disagreed, he has been a gentleman but he has been right there working, and his staff also, in a very professional manner.

To my colleague, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), our leader who has led us through this process, he has provided the energy, the innovative ideas and the wherewithal to carry us through in this balanced budget and I commend him.

□ 1215

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his compliments. When he said I have been right there, I thought he was about to say I have been right.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

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

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, a great American once said that extremism in defense of liberty is no vice, and that moderation in pursuit of justice is no virtue.

Our budget chairman said something a little similar in saying that he was trying to ignore the inflammatory language of being irresponsible. He said that an irresponsible tax cut, there is no such thing as an irresponsible tax cut.

I think that separates the parties, but I really think that we have enough differences in our approaches to legislation that should not allow older people and young people as well to believe that we are concerned more about tax cuts than we are about the security of the social security fund and the security of Medicare.

I know there are some who believe that we as Democrats raise this thing every election year to frighten the older people, but would it not be great if we could avoid a train wreck by making certain that instead of talking about a lockbox that has a secret escape hatch, that we just commit ourselves that we are going to do the right thing by social security, do the right thing by Medicare, and not talk about locking a box, but talking about then doing the right thing by a tax cut?

We have begged, we have asked, we want to work with the other side on the question of a tax bill. We have passed the resolution to say delay the tax bill and give us a chance to work in a bipartisan way to have a piece of legislation on social security and Medicare that we can go back home as Republicans, Democrats, and Members of Congress, and say we are proud of what we have done.

Instead of that, they come right back and accelerate the date of the tax cut. They make that the priority, and then they say that we are trying to make it an issue. I think there is a difference between a tax cut and a lockbox with an escape hatch.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Let me just point out this chart, because I would like to drive this home as best we can. What we are suggesting in this budget is that we set 100 percent of the social security surplus aside, and lockboxes are hard, and we are hoping it does not have any false bottom, but we set it aside.

Compare that with what the President is suggesting, to set only 62 percent aside. The President and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and his group have suggested that we add another giant IOU to the social security trust fund.

I think that is good to give that kind of commitment, but let me suggest what it really does. It says, we are demanding a future tax increase sometime after there is less money coming in from social security than is required to pay out benefits, around 2012, 2013, or if somehow we come up with the money on what we owe the trust fund, the \$700 plus billion, it means we have a tax increase in 2032 when no longer is there any surplus or anything else left. So adding this giant IOU in effect mandates that we have a tax increase.

On the topic of tax increases, the President says, let us have \$100 billion of tax increases. I think we have to be

very careful. Both sides have to guard against spending this surplus money.

I would quit there, only to suggest to the Democrats that we have come a long way. It is an historic budget. For the first time in 40 years we are not spending the social security surplus for other government programs.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 90 seconds to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

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

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, let me say to my dear friends on the other side that this is, in my opinion, not a serious budget, this is a placeholder budget. In their haste to try and get something done by April 15, having failed miserably last year, they have thrown together this budget. About the only serious thing is the language from the other body chastising the South Koreans on beef and pork sales that is in this budget.

The fact is, and with respect to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH), I offered an amendment in the committee that would have extended the 1997 caps going forward, would have used all the on-budget and off-budget surplus to pay down the national debt, just like they quote Mr. Greenspan in here as saying it is a good thing to do. The committee rejected that. All the Republicans rejected that.

The other problem with this is this is a budget that is betting on the come, because they know they cannot write the appropriations bills with the numbers in here. On page 22 they state that the CBO will report an update to them in July. Normally they do it in August, but we are going to pummel the CBO to report an update, so then we can go back, bust the caps, and try and use some of the on-budget surplus, and instead of paying down debt, to use it for a tax cut.

Finally, in my opinion what is wrong with this budget is it is going to lead to more deficits and more debts in the future, because you have a \$1.7 trillion tax cut over 15 years based upon 15-year pro forma projections which may or may not come true. If they do not come true, we will have already locked in the tax cuts, and we will end up with more deficit spending and adding to the national debt, not reducing it. That is worse for social security.

Finally, the only thing they save is what is owed to social security. They have unrealistic cuts that they know are not going to be made. This is a sham budget. Again, when their side is ready to get serious, we are ready to work with them.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to my colleague, the gentleman from Montana (Mr. RICK HILL).

Mr. HILL of Montana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, it is instructive, I think, to compare this budget to the President's budget. After all, Congress

is going to be negotiating at the conclusion of this process with the President. Budgets are about more than numbers, they are about priorities.

This budget sets aside, as everyone has said, 100 percent of social security for social security. The President proposes to spend \$341 billion of social security on other programs.

This budget proposes to maintain the discipline, the discipline that got us a balanced budget in the first place. The President's budget proposes to walk away from that by breaking the spending caps.

This budget lives up to our commitment to veterans health care. The President's budget flatlined veterans health care between \$1.5 billion and \$2 billion below what is necessary to live up to our commitment to veterans. Remember, Mr. Speaker, the men and women who are fighting in Kosovo today are going to be our veterans tomorrow. It is our obligation to stand up for them.

The President in his State of the Union said he wanted to help rule America by reforming crop insurance. Then he put nothing in his budget to do it. This Republican budget sets aside an additional \$1.5 billion to reform crop insurance and help rural America.

The Republican budget proposes to reduce the taxes on the American people. It is their money. The President proposes another \$172 billion tax increase.

Lastly, the Republicans reject the President's proposal to cut Medicare further. The President proposed to cut Medicare an additional \$11.9 billion. The President's budget is the wrong priorities. The Republican budget is the right priorities. I hope our colleagues will vote for it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, this resolution before us not only is a sham, but the gentleman is right, it is the wrong priorities.

The wrong priorities means we do not put safeguards for social security, safeguards for Medicare, and certainly the wrong priority is that we give a huge tax cut before we even attempt to safeguard or reform social security and Medicare. To do that, they must cut discretionary funds, those funds that make for the common quality of life in our communities.

Veterans they cut by \$2.3 million, agriculture they cut. Yes, they have the crop insurance, but what do they do immediately after, they cut the whole program, including that, by \$4.9 billion. The environment is cut by \$10 million. Health and research is cut by \$25.3 billion.

The priority is what? To give the tax cut first, to make sure that the wealthiest of Americans are taken care of first. Surely we want a tax cut, but it should be reasonable. Surely we want a reasonable budget.

This is not a reasonable budget, this is a sham. It does not protect children,

it does not protect agriculture, and it certainly does not protect our seniors in terms of their retirement or their health care.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. PETE HOEKSTRA).

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I think that this is a very good budget proposal. What this budget enables us to do is to build on the success that we have created over the last number of years.

What does this budget do? Number one, it locks away the entire social security trust fund surpluses. That is almost \$1.8 trillion over the next 10 years to save, strengthen, and preserve social security, and as necessary, to do the same things for Medicare. It locks away the entire social security trust fund. This budget saves social security receipts in excess of benefit payments so that we can strengthen and save both social security and Medicare.

Secondly, it forces us to maintain the spending discipline of the 1997 Balanced Budget Act by holding to the discretionary spending caps that we agreed to with the President in 1997. It pays down about \$1.8 trillion in debt that is held by the public.

In regard to what the President's budget does, this budget pays down over \$450 billion more than what the President pays down in public debt. It ensures that we properly fund our need for defense by spending \$290 billion in fiscal year 2000.

In addition, we provide for \$66 billion for education, training, employment, and social services. This is \$3 billion more than what was in the House resolution, so we continue our commitment to education.

What we are going to do in the area of education is reform the program so not only do we spend more money on education, but we ensure that more money is spent at the local level under local control, where decisions are made by parents, local teachers, and local administrators to make sure that we get maximum flexibility and impact for those dollars.

This is a good budget. I encourage my colleagues to support it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. FORD).

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) and to the leaders on both sides, John Maynard Keynes, that noted economist, once said that the difficulty lies not in generating new ideas, but escaping from the old ones. We cannot seem to get away from, in this Congress, wanting to do all things for all people.

All the language and all the rhetoric that has been used today, all of it sounds great, \$800 billion in tax cuts over 10 years, \$1.7 trillion over 15 years,

a lockbox for social security funding. The only problem, Mr. Speaker, is that it does not all add up. We want to do all of these wonderful and great things, but the party that touted fiscal responsibility for so many years has now assumed the role that they accuse liberal Democrats of assuming for the last 15 to 20 years.

I know they have good people on their side that can add, subtract, multiply, and divide. It is only my hope and certainly that of my colleagues on this side that those folks who cannot add and subtract come to the forefront, add this budget up, realize that it does not add up, and do what is right.

Let us save social security and Medicare first and then bring about those tax cuts. If we win the lottery, we should not spend all our money at the casinos, we should take care of the debts and obligations first, and then take care of the things we want to do. We ought to do the same thing in this Congress. The people expect no less.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to my colleague, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I listen to the inflammatory rhetoric we are hearing on the House Floor today, and I think that we are looking at two different budgets. It is very important to note that when you are budgeting, what you are doing is outlining priorities. What was our first priority in putting this budget together?

When I travel around the First District of Wisconsin, talking to our Nation's seniors who are currently on social security, talking to workers who are about to go on social security, talking to the baby boom generation who are about to enjoy social security within the next 15 years, they want to know that it is going to be there, that the rug will not be pulled out from underneath them. That is our historic commitment that we are pledging in this budget.

Our first, preeminent decision is this: We are going to stop the raid on social security.

□ 1230

For the first time in over 30 years, we are not going to take a dime out of Social Security taxes to spend on other government programs. That is our driving reform in this budget, which drives other reforms.

If my colleagues take a look at this chart beside me, they will notice that our budget sets aside 100 percent of the Social Security surplus. All the money coming from Social Security taxes will be dedicated towards Social Security.

However, the President is only setting aside 62 percent of the Social Security surplus for Social Security. The other 38 percent is going to other spending.

We want a lockbox provision that will work. We want a lockbox provision

that will set aside all Social Security surpluses now and into the future. The problem is the President does not want this legislation because he is raiding Social Security by \$341 billion over the next 10 years. If he is truly interested in saving Social Security, he will say "no" to future raids on Social Security.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

Let me say there was an alternative budget on the floor, the House Democrats' budget. We would have put up \$502.5 billion more for nondefense and defense discretionary programs, \$165 billion in targeted tax cuts, high surpluses, and therefore lower debt than the Republicans in every year. In fact, we would have had \$151 billion more in national debt reduction than they have.

There was an alternative, and 100 percent of our Social Security money went back to Social Security. So they keep raising a red herring, a straw man. There was an alternative that was rejected, and it was a better bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, this budget represents a serious failure for American families. It fails to extend the solvency of the Medicare Trust Fund by even one day. It fails to strengthen Social Security so it will be there for the next generation.

There is in fact less money for education in this budget. Over the next 3 years, that education budget falls below the 1999 level. So let us be truthful about education. It fails to do anything to expand child care for our Nation's poorest families.

Right now, of the 10 million children and working families with incomes below 200 percent of the poverty line, only 10 percent of eligible families have access to child care programs. The average family spends about 7 percent of its income on child care. But child care consumes about one-quarter of the income of low-income working families who pay for their care. These are the families who can afford it the least.

The waiting lists are growing. In my own State of Connecticut, we have tremendous waiting lists. People are unable to get the assistance that they need in order to afford child care.

The Senate budget resolution attempted to close that trap. They provided \$10 billion for Child Care Development Block Grant. But the Republican leadership stripped that provision from the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, America's working families cannot wait for some other time to deal with child care. They need the help now. Parents who are trying to get to work, to build a better life for their families, particularly those who are attempting to move off of the welfare rolls, they find the lack of affordable child care is often an insurmountable barrier.

No parent can concentrate on their job if they are worried about who is

taking care of their child. We owe it to working people, people who want to work, to make sure that they have a safe and affordable place so that their children can have care.

Putting this off to deal with it at another time is unacceptable. American families and American children deserve better. Let us defeat this conference report.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire about the time remaining on each side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NETHERCUTT). The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) has 14¼ minutes remaining. The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has 15 minutes remaining.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from New Hampshire (Mr. SUNUNU).

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

Mr. SUNUNU. Mr. Speaker, the budget resolution is about priorities. It is a broad blueprint of our spending priorities for the next year and the next 5 years. In fact, this particular resolution sets the tone for the next century. It will be the first budget blueprint for the next millennium.

Our priorities are clear. First and foremost, we set aside all of the Social Security surplus for Social Security, the first time in our country's history that we will do that, making good on the commitment to take Social Security off budget.

Second, we keep to the spending commitments of the 1997 Balanced Budget Act, a bipartisan agreement, to control the size and scope of the Federal Government, keeping to our commitments not just to our constituents, but to the entire country.

Finally, we state that, for those surpluses above the Social Security surplus, we ought to give that money back to American workers that are working harder, longer, earning more, being more productive. That is the biggest reason we have such a high level of revenues right now. The product of that hard work ought to go back to working Americans.

Those are the right priorities for this country: strengthening Social Security, keeping to our spending commitments, and lowering taxes.

The President's budget, instead, would spend 38 percent of the Social Security surplus. It breaks the budget caps. It raises taxes \$100 billion. That is the wrong direction, as made so clear when we voted on this floor on the President's budget. He received only 2 votes for his spending priorities.

These are the right priorities. It sets aside more for Social Security, pays down more debt, and does more to strengthen this country's economy.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY).

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, we all understand in Washington that sometimes you are the beaver and sometimes you are the cherry tree. Even so,

it is outrageous that the Republican majority has chosen to treat Medicare as a cherry tree, to be cut down while the Republican beaver gets fatter on tax cuts.

Mr. Speaker, there is no other issue other than the war in Kosovo of greater public policy concern than extending the solvency of Social Security and addressing our senior health crisis while preserving Medicare.

This budget flinches in the face of those challenges. Instead, it takes resources that we desperately need to devote to those problems and commits them instead to an exploding tax cut that threatens the return of a structural deficit.

It is an insult to the seniors of this country that the Republicans are talking about tax cuts while at the same time they are not setting aside one penny to extend the solvency of the Medicare Trust Fund or the solvency of Social Security.

There is a health care hurricane on the horizon in our country, Mr. Speaker. The highest growing part of our population is over 85. The Republicans do nothing about the Medicare crisis about to hit. Vote "no" on the Republican budget.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds to point out that the President cut \$11.5 billion from Medicare. He cut it. I would also point out to my colleague that we reserve \$1.8 trillion for Social Security. We do not spend it, and we do not provide it in tax cuts. It is reserved for Social Security.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 15 seconds to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I think it is very important to note that, when we are looking at this, this inflammatory language on Medicare, we are actually keeping the Medicare Trust Fund growing. The President proposed a budget that actually cut Medicare. We are dedicating \$1.8 trillion, all from taxes dedicated to Medicare and Social Security, for Medicare and Social Security.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Oregon (Ms. HOOLEY).

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, when one offers with one hand and takes away with the other hand, that is called bait and switch. If one were an advertiser in the public sector, one would be fined for what is going on in Congress today.

This Congress is trying to tell the American public that all is well with the veterans. Yet, the Republican budget cuts veterans over 10 years by \$2.3 billion. They are trying to tell us that crop insurance is okay at a time when farmers are out there in deep trouble. They are saying it is okay, we are going to take care of you. Yet, there are cuts of \$4.9 billion. Health care, medical research, oh, yeah, we are increasing the budget. But guess what, it is being cut by \$25 billion. Bait and switch.

Worst of all to me, this Congress is telling Americans that because we add money to one part of the education budget, that we are increasing the education budget. The problem is they are taking it away from another part of the budget. Again, bait and switch.

We are hearing the argument that Social Security and Medicare are first in the budget, Mr. Speaker. Bait and switch. Tax cuts are first here, nothing else.

I support a tax cut that we can afford. But first we must extend the life of Social Security and Medicare. This budget has loopholes the size of the Capitol dome. To protect Social Security, we should make sure that we extend the life of Social Security. Do not deceive the American people with bait and switch sound bites when my colleagues do not have the information to back it up.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. GARY MILLER), one of many from California, and a very fine Member.

Mr. GARY MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the conference report on the budget. When we compare this to where we started with the President's budget, we have come leagues from where we started.

I have listened to some of the rhetoric, and obviously many have been beamed up who really look at the facts and figures. We do protect Social Security. The President wanted to spend Social Security money on his programs. We provide for Medicare in this budget. The President did nothing for Medicare. In fact, he stifled reforms.

We provide for tax relief. The President wanted to raise taxes. We are keeping the budget caps. The President wants to break budget caps to spend more money.

In the past year, all we have heard is the rhetoric from the other side of the aisle about saving Social Security, yet they have done nothing to do that. Where is the rhetoric now? Where is the reform? Or was it just politics as partisans present it.

This side of the aisle and the budget we have before us saves 100 percent of Social Security money, \$137 billion this year alone aside for Social Security over 10 years. It sets aside \$1.8 trillion. The President's budget saves 62 percent, spent \$58 billion this year alone, and over 10 years only set \$1.3 trillion aside.

Medicare has been provided for in this budget. My colleagues talk about chopping the cherry tree down. The President chopped down \$11.9 billion over 5 years out of Medicare.

We cut through this process \$778 billion in taxes on the American people over 10 years. The President wanted to raise taxes by \$172 billion over 10 years.

This is what the Congressional Research Service has to say about the Senate and House budget resolution before us. I will quote them, "The committee report calls for maintaining the

discretionary spending caps, cutting taxes, increasing spending for defense and education." I will quote again, "increasing spending for defense and education, and restricting the uses of Social Security surpluses."

We have come a long way from where we started, and I wish this could be a bipartisan support. I encourage an "aye" vote. 038

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

On defense, I would remind the gentleman that their budget over 10 years is \$198 billion below the President's budget. We came to the House floor and said, my colleagues did not provide for the military pay increase. Despite the fact they were on notice, this budget does not provide for the selected pay grade increase of 5.5 percent. This budget does not provide for the repeal of redux. It zaps it.

They were put on notice. They still ignored it. They also did not give anything for the veterans except for 1 year.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. FILNER) because he is a member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, this conference agreement on the Republican resolution is a slap in the face to our Nation's veterans, those who have given us our country's freedom. It slashes health care funding every year after the year 2000.

We do have a 1-year increase of \$1.6 billion, but that is it, only 50 percent of what the veterans' organizations in this country said was absolutely minimal, for what was necessary for the veterans' health care system. They recommended a \$3 billion increase for every year. My colleagues gave them \$1.6 billion for the first year and then started cutting them every year after that. Over 10 years, the conference agreement cuts veterans funding by \$2.3 billion below a 1999 level.

We will see hospitals in danger of closing. We will see veterans with hepatitis C not receive treatment. We will see long-term care decreased. Research will be severely underfunded. Buildings will deteriorate. The chairman of our committee, a Republican chairman, said that if we have a straight line budget, we will compromise access to quality of care. Vote "no" on the slap in the face of the Veterans Administration.

□ 1245

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS).

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, I would call to the gentleman's attention the fact that the President's budget called for an increase in veterans' benefits of \$26 million. In the House-passed budget we provided for \$1.1 billion of increase for veterans' health care benefits alone. The conference report increased that amount by an additional \$700 billion directly applied to veterans' health care benefits.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds.

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

Mr. SPRATT. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is talking about the President's budget. That was a suggestion that is long past. This is the Republicans' budget now. Stop talking about the President's budget. The Republican budget has underfunded over 10 years veterans' health care by almost \$2.5 billion.

The Republicans increase it the first year, I will give them that, but they have put it on a freeze for the next decade. They are harming the health of our Nation's veterans.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I might also say that the veterans are funded on average at \$19.4 million, which is \$100 million over and above this year for the next 5 years. The Republicans fund the increase for 1 year but it falls off after that.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE).

Mr. MINGE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to just quickly address two points in connection with the budget that is under consideration this morning.

The first is agriculture. I am very concerned. We have had hearings, we have had a great deal of criticism of the Clinton administration for reducing the Farm Service Agency personnel in the field offices, 750 people cut. This is really unacceptable, but I am very concerned that the Republican budget has yet a further cut in discretionary appropriations for the Department of Agriculture. It will be very difficult to not only restore these 750 people with this type of a cut but I fear it will lead to even greater cuts which, on a bipartisan basis, we recognize is really unacceptable.

So I rise to urge the Republicans to change the budget, to allow for at least constant funding for agriculture so we do not face further unacceptable cuts in the Farm Service Agency.

Finally, I would like to just briefly call attention to the fact that the expected surplus on the on-budget is not going to be used to pay down on the debt. None of it. I feel it is absolutely imperative that in these good times we agree on a bipartisan basis that at least half of the on-budget surplus be devoted to reducing the Nation's debt. We owe this to our children. When we have good times, it is time to fix the roof. When it is raining, it will be much more difficult to reduce the debt.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS).

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, I remind the gentleman that, as he well knows, in our budget resolution that we are going to vote on today there is no reduction in employees in the Farm Service Agency.

We are not going to micromanage what the Agriculture Department does

in their budget. The House Committee on Agriculture, of which the gentleman is a member, along with myself, and he and I work very closely on these very issues, is going to make that decision on how we manage the budget that is handed to us with the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE) for a response.

Mr. MINGE. Mr. Speaker, I know that all of us have worked with the USDA, and we know that it has scores of programs. And we have heard from our constituents that they want increases in all of these programs.

I do not understand how we can both maintain the staffing level at the Farm Service Agency and still honor the request that we have for all of the other programs. I fear by making an across-the-board cut at USDA, that the Farm Service Agency, just like everything else, will be the victim of this cut. And I do not see how we can expect the administration to do any better by FSA with this type of limitation.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS).

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. Speaker, I want to address one other issue with respect to agriculture, because this is critical.

The President talked a lot, when he came here in this very House in his State of the Union address, about crop insurance reform, something that is so desperately needed by our farmers. Yet in his budget he provided zero dollars for crop insurance reform.

In our budget that we are going to vote on today we are providing \$6 billion for crop insurance reform, in addition to what we currently have, to be used over the next 5 years to truly come up with a meaningful, sustainable crop insurance reform program that is going to be of benefit to every single farmer all across this great country.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time each side has.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NETHERCUTT). The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) has 8¾ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) has 8½ minutes remaining.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE).

Mr. MINGE. Mr. Speaker, returning to the crop insurance subject, I certainly am pleased that the Republican budget does allow \$6 billion for the first 5 years of the budget cycle, but I would point out that it is a 10-year budget and there is nothing for crop insurance in the second 5 years that we have been able to identify. And if we contrast this with the budgets that were proposed by the Democrats and by the Blue Dogs there was, indeed, more adequate and consistent funding for crop insurance.

I feel that if we have a 10-year budget here we have to judge it not just on the

basis of the first 5 years, but the commitment to crop insurance for the second 5 years. If there is not money there for crop insurance for the second 5 years, we are in a very bad position.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. CLEMENT).

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I am going to focus my attention on the veterans.

We are going to have a major increase in the defense budget this year but not for the veterans. Why? Those are the ones who have served us so well and ably over the years and yet we are going to cut them.

The Republican budget ignores the recommendations of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, it ignores the pleas by nearly every veterans' group and it ignores the recommendations of the United States Senate. I might share with my colleagues that it has a \$2.3 billion below the 1999 freeze level over a 10-year period.

After a one-time increase, our veterans will be back to facing hospital closures, cutting of medical services, reductions in employees, and new initiatives without new funding to pay for them. Veterans are only growing older and sicker each year. They cannot survive on a flat-lined budget that has been proposed, and they certainly cannot survive on a budget that actually cuts their funding.

This situation is outrageous. Our veterans have served this country in the noblest of manners. It is now our obligation and duty to take care of them. It is simply unconscionable to deny our veterans the funding that they so desperately need now and in the years to come.

I tell my colleagues where our veterans are going to get hurt: screening for hepatitis C, rising pharmaceutical costs, and we could go on and on. This is not fair. This is not right. Vote "no".

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds to respond to what was just said.

I would just point out that in the budget next year, the budget that we actually spend, we add \$1.1 billion more than the President, and then when we added what the Senate did, we added another \$700 million.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 30 seconds, and I ask the gentleman from Connecticut why does the Republican budget, in Function 950, not provide for the pay table reform, the 5.5 percent increase for our senior NCOs and selected junior officers? And why does it not provide for a reform of REDUC, so that those service members who have served 20 years will get 50 percent of their base pay in retirement as opposed to 40 percent?

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

Mr. SPRATT. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I would be happy to explain to my colleague, but

we are going to have a disagreement because we think we have provided the money in 950, the gentleman does not, and time will tell.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to respond that the numbers do not bear the gentleman's statement out.

And I would just like to go down the list again, looking at this budget, of the things that are literally cut. We are not talking about reductions in current services, we are not talking about reducing the rate of increase. Over 10 years, we have just heard the veterans' function, Function 700 in this budget, is cut by \$2.3 billion. That is below a hard freeze, below 1999 levels, even though, as we have been told, the World War II veterans are reaching the peak demand for services on the Veterans Administration.

Agriculture, Function 350, over 10 years is cut by \$4.9 billion. In that second 5-year period of time, to sustain the crop insurance program, we will need \$9.4 billion. We put together a budget that provided that \$9.4 billion, still provided for tax cuts, still provided for more debt reduction, and sustained the crop insurance program for the full 10-year period.

Health, research and public health, two vitally important programs, Function 550 of the budget, they are cut by a whopping \$25.3 billion below a hard freeze, below 1999 levels in this budget.

The same goes on for other programs. If we take all State, local and regional government programs, which is Function 450, there is a cut of 46.4 percent.

But there is another cut in this budget, a huge cut. In fact, this budget sets a record, Mr. Speaker. Many of these cuts that are destined to happen because of this budget are not identified. They are just aggregate cuts in the authorized amount of spending.

In order to avoid specific criticism, there is an account called allowances, Function 920 of the budget. In that account, over 10 years, this budget contains \$81.4 billion. In other words, that is \$81.4 billion in cuts they have not even identified to any of the 20 functions in the budget. \$81.4 billion is a record high for an addition to a budget. That means we have not done the work. Somebody else is going to have to do it.

But there is bad news in store for all of these other programs which are already cut below a hard freeze, below 1999 levels. Veterans, agriculture, environment and natural resources, health research, biomedical research, all of these portions of the budget are still subject to a whopping \$81.4 billion reduction which has not yet been identified or allocated over the next 10 years, Mr. Speaker.

There is a different way to do it. The Republicans, whenever they want to criticize the budget, bring up the President's budget. They do not acknowledge that we had an alternative budget here on the floor. We had a Democratic alternative. We took all of the Social

Security money and recommitted it to Social Security with a lock box that was built into law, not some point of order.

We are stretching everybody's credibility by calling a lock box a simple point of order, which the Committee on Rules can mow right over, and does every day of the week.

Even though we fully provided for Social Security, and the actuaries said we had extended its life until past 2050, we also provided \$502.5 billion more for defense and nondefense discretionary programs than the Republicans provided. We targeted tax cuts, gross tax cuts of \$165 billion, over the next 10 years. We generated higher surpluses and, therefore, we paid off more debt than the Republicans. Not over 10 years, but every year over 10 years; every year over the next 10 years, totaling \$151 billion more in debt reduction.

We had that alternative. We could have at least put our alternative on the table in a conference and said, where can we meet in the middle, because we have got here a better product, we think. We did not have that kind of conference.

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We did not have that kind of comparison and compromise, and what we have got here is a budget that is deficient in the process by which it has been developed and deficient in substance, as well.

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

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I think what we are seeing here today is two visions, two visions for our country that we are presenting to the American people, the President's vision as he articulated in the well of the House of Representatives during the State of the Union address and the vision we have embodied in this budget here before us, and I would like to recap what that vision is.

First, we lock away the entire Social Security Trust Fund to save, strengthen and preserve Social Security as necessary and Medicare, as well. The other side's budget adds more IOUs in the Trust Fund and that is their answer to Social Security solvency.

We could save Social Security to the year 3000 if we just wanted to add more IOUs in the Trust Fund, and that is essentially what they are doing. We need real reform, not IOUs.

Second, we set aside more money than the President does for Social Security and Medicare by \$100 billion. We create a safety deposit box to make sure that future raids on Social Security do not occur. We pay down more debt with our budget than the President does. By \$450 billion, we start paying down our national debt. We maintain the spending discipline of the 1997 budget agreement. We provide addi-

tional resources to properly train, equip, and retain the men and women in our uniform, and we enact the historic tax relief for working Americans.

What we achieve is this: We stop the raid on Social Security. All Social Security dollars go to Social Security. We pay down our national debt. The President increases it. And if after we accomplish that they still overpay their income tax, we let them have their money back.

What this is coming down to is a difference in philosophy. The President embodied the philosophy as he put in his budget very well in Buffalo, New York, 2 months ago when talking about the these surpluses, where he said we could give this money back to them but we would not be sure that they would spend it right.

Well, Mr. Speaker, therein lies the difference. How they spend their money is the right way to spend their money as long as they spend their money. But what we have to achieve and the historic reforms we are achieving in this budget is for the first time in a generation we are going to stop Congress and the President from raiding Social Security, we are going to start to pay off our bills by paying down our debt. And then after that, if they still overpay their taxes, they ought to have their money back.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time.

Vote for this budget and we will vote to reverse the priorities we set on this floor just 2 days ago. We said that we should save Social Security first, we should shore up Medicare for some years to come, we should do this first before we address tax cuts. We did not rule out tax cuts. We said these things came first.

Two days ago, 380 Members of the House voted for that. Today if we vote for this resolution we vote to reverse it. We will vote to put those programs at risk because the tax cuts that are proposed in this resolution will drain the budget dry of anything that can be used to fix Social Security and fix Medicare.

Even worse, if these surpluses that we see now, which are no more than economist constructs, do not obtain, if they do not materialize, then we will be spending Social Security payroll taxes because there will not be enough income taxes to fund the budget we have got right here.

So this is a reversal. This is a retreat. This goes down the path that we took years ago and have tried to reverse and correct for the last 10 years. It would be a sham and a shame if we passed a budget of this kind. And, in fact, we will not. We will pass it, of course, but this budget is not going to be the operative document that determines the budget for this year, fortunately, because it is simply not a workable instrument of policy.

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

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, to close this debate, I yield such time as he

may consume to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), the chairman of the committee, who in 1989 started saying we need to get our country's financial house in order and end these deficits, and that is what he has done.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NETHERCUTT). The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH) is recognized for 6 minutes.

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, I just want to say that it is one of my staff people just kind of whispered at me that this is the last budget of the century and this represents the blueprint for what we want to do as we head into the next century and a whole new millennium.

We have struggled here on Capitol Hill for some short period of time in how to deal with the issue of the surplus. And somebody yesterday argued that, well, it is amazing that when we had deficits it seemed as though we could get along better than when we had surpluses, there seems to be more debate and discussion and argument. And somebody said, well, that is not surprising because whenever somebody passes away and there are debts, nobody shows up to try to figure out how to deal with those; but when there is a lot of extra money to be passed on, everybody shows up and starts to fight for it. And I think it is really true.

But we should not look at surplus politics as anything other than the greatest news, because instead of having to keep working to dig ourselves out of a hole, we now have the opportunity to be able to use all of that hard work and the benefits that came with it, which is an expanding economy and big surpluses, to be able to really outline a path for where we need to go in the early stages of the next century.

First and foremost, we know that in the next century we do not want to pursue policies that allow government to get bigger and to have more power. I think that is the greatest bottom line statement that we make as we leave this century, and it is clearly a reflection of what everyday people across this country are saying. Because I think what people are saying in America today is they would like to have more power and more control over the future and they do not want to consistently be frustrated by those in a faraway place who seem to be able to write the rules and the regulations that frustrate them every day.

I think what Americans are saying is, let me have the bat in my hand, let me get up to the plate, let me begin to solve some of the problems that I have that I am going to face during the course of my lifetime.

So the one clear guiding star in this process is not to expand the power of people who live in a faraway place but, rather, to struggle to take power from those folks and put it back into the hands of everyday people.

I am a little mystified at the criticism of that product. I guess it is just the nature sometimes of partisan poli-

tics. We did come together in 1997 and come up with a budget agreement and I would salute my colleague from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) for his work in reaching a bipartisan agreement. But what we are doing here now is something that we have all laid out as a goal and a target for ourselves.

Number one, that we would stop raiding the payroll taxes of this country, that we would stop spending the money that we collect to be used for our retirement programs to be spent on the operation of Government. And, in fact, this budget does that. It locks up \$1.8 trillion in payroll taxes over the next 10 years and makes that money available for a revamped, for a transformed retirement system, both for Social Security and Medicare. And it will essentially mean that every American is going to have a little bit more control in terms of planning for their retirement rather than turning that control over to people who live in a place where they do not even know what area code it is that we live in or what time zone we live in.

We are going to set the stage for significant transfer of power from people who do not understand us, do not know us, who are strangers, who are the least concerned about our retirement, into our own families so we can plan for our own families who are the most concerned about our retirement years and, at the same time, we are also going to transfer this huge overpayment that the taxpayers have made to the Federal Government.

Income tax day is tomorrow. Whenever people look at paying their income taxes, there are two, three things I think drive them crazy. One is they cannot figure out how to pay their tax. The system is too complicated. They have got to spend money to hire somebody to figure it out. We know that this system clearly needs to be made more simple and will be when we have a president that is committed to it.

But secondly, people are not only confused and angry about the current tax system, but then they are paying too much of what they earn to the Government. We have families now who are being hit by the alternative minimum tax, couples out there working trying to get ahead educating their children. They get hit by the alternative minimum tax.

Some Americans at all levels of government are paying half of what they earn to the Government. It should not be that way, 50 percent of what they earn to government. Because on top of all of that, none of us have the confidence that the Government is treating our money as precious as we treat our own. They are convinced, and they are right, that the Government at the State level, the local government, and Federal Government are full of duplication, it is full of waste.

And we really do not treat people's money like it is our own. Frankly, human nature does not allow us to do it. Does it? But when we take the com-

bination of a confusing tax system, too high taxes, and taxes we pay going for things that are wasteful, people are very uptight about that.

We are giving them an opportunity to get the biggest tax cut back while maintaining the fiscal discipline we laid in place in 1997, save Social Security, return power to people through a huge tax cut, and maintain fiscal discipline. It is a recipe for success in the next century.

Support the resolution.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H. Con. Res. 68, the Conference Report on the Fiscal Year 2000 Budget Resolution. This resolution should be defeated because of the policies it sets forth and the procedure under which it was brought to the floor today.

Last year, for the first time since Congressional budget procedures were established in 1974, this body failed to adopt a conference report on the budget resolution. This year, the conference report was completed almost before the conferees were even appointed and the first opportunity the minority had to read the conference report was 12:30 this morning.

The budget resolution is a blueprint for our national priorities. It defines what we as a Congress believe is important and establishes the basis for the rest of our work this session. Questions of how much we are willing to spend to educate our children, to fight crime, to protect our environment, to reduce the massive national debt—these are the hard questions we should be deciding and we owe it to our constituents to have an open and rigorous debate on these issues. Instead, today we are poised to rubber-stamp a conference agreement that no one has had adequate opportunity to study and whose broad objectives set us on a dangerous path of fiscal irresponsibility.

Today, our Nation's economy is the envy of the world. We have historically low unemployment and inflation coupled with sustained moderate economic growth. The stock market is at record levels and even our economic experts are at a lost to explain how this expansion has continued for eight years with no signs of weakness. The question we face today is whether we will take advantage of this unprecedented growth to pay off past obligations and prepare for the future or simply squander this opportunity by putting tax cuts first, ahead of paying down the debt and ensuring the solvency of Social Security and Medicare.

My view, echoed in testimony by Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, is that we should dedicate the lion's share of the budget surpluses to reducing the publicly held debt. This is the surest way to continue the cycle of economic growth and continuing surpluses. Furthermore, as we pay down the debt, interest rates will continue to decline. Consider what a two percent reduction in interest rates would mean for the average homeowner in my home town: By reducing the 30-year fixed rate mortgage from 8% to 6% on a \$115,000 house in Hillsborough County, Florida, a homeowner's monthly mortgage would drop from \$844 to \$689. This translates into savings of \$155 each month or \$1,860 each year. That is more substantial and more fiscally responsible than the tax cuts proposed by this conference report. Unfortunately, the Democratic Alternative which would have locked in

greater debt reduction than this plan was rejected in Committee and on the House floor.

Mr. Speaker, the question today is not simply whether we are for or against tax cuts. The question is what priority we should place on cutting taxes compared with paying down the debt and preserving Social Security and Medicare. Personally, I support targeted tax cuts; however, I believe we must maintain fiscal discipline and prepare for the coming demographic changes of the baby boomers' retirement. Once we have addressed these critical issues, then we should consider tax cuts, or even more importantly, overall tax reform. Instead, today, this House is poised to squander a golden opportunity and embrace a plan which puts its greatest emphasis on tax cuts. This is not the legacy we should leave for future generations and I therefore urge my colleagues to reject this conference report.

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Con. Res. 68, the FY 2000 Budget Conference Report.

For the first time in over a generation this country is operating with a budget surplus. The fact is, this surplus is nothing more than an overpayment to the government by the American taxpayers. I am convinced that government can do more for Americans than raise their taxes and feed the federal bureaucracy. The FY 2000 budget will offer \$15 billion for tax relief in the year 2000 and over \$800 billion over the next 10 years. Families can spend their money better than Washington can. This money belongs to the American people and we should give it back to them.

Mr. Speaker, our budget goes well beyond extending tax relief to American families. In fact it protects and strengthens Social Security for the next century. While the President talks about saving Social Security, the truth is his budget actually spends 42% of the Social Security Surplus. The Republican budget will lock up every penny of the Social Security Surplus over the next ten years, that's \$1.8 trillion worth of retirement security for Americans. We have all paid into the Social Security trust fund with the promise that it will be there for us when we retire. Today, we have an historic opportunity to keep that promise and protect Social Security.

This FY 2000 Budget also increases spending for our military by over \$288 billion. Our men and women in uniform put their lives on the line to protect our freedoms. We must provide them with the tools and training necessary to remain the greatest fighting force in the world.

Mr. Speaker, the American public has waited long enough for relief from big government spending. Let's pass this historic budget for the new millennium and keep our promises to the citizens of this country.

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, the Budget Resolution is an opportunity for our nation to finally put the Social Security surplus in a lock box solely for seniors on Social Security and Medicare. The budget resolution also reflects our commitment to education, a strong national defense and much-needed tax relief.

Congress promised to balance the budget, reduce the size of government, and reduce the federal debt. This budget resolution, H. Con. Res. 68, sticks to that promise by restraining government spending and paying down the debt.

Every penny in the Social Security trust fund, 100% of it, is being set aside for retiring

Americans. The President's budget, on the other hand only sets aside 62% of the surplus for seniors. Only by committing 100% of the surplus can we truly strengthen Social Security for future generations.

The budget will also give our children's schools the resources to ensure them a better education and bright future. We increase spending to improve public schools.

It will also provide billions to strengthen our national defense, equipping and training our troops for combat while honoring our veterans' sacrifices with a boost in health care funding.

Finally, this budget gives the record-setting money coming into Washington back to those who earned it—the taxpayers. For the first time in decades, we have surpluses as far as the eye can see. Every hard-working American created the current surplus and the budget gives it back to them over the next ten years.

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the Budget Resolution for FY 2000. There are many reasons why we should oppose this Resolution, and one of the major reasons is what it does to our nation's veterans. The budget figures for veterans are completely unacceptable especially in the area of health care.

Under the Budget Resolution, the Republicans who have been criticizing for weeks the President's budget, have done no better—the VA health care system is drastically underfunded and in danger of actual collapse. This is a drastic problem which demands serious, substantial solutions.

What I think is worst about the Budget Resolution, as it affects veterans, is the disingenuous manner in which it is crafted. In FY2000, the budget outlay increases for the discretionary budget where VA health care is funded, from \$19.2 to \$20.9 billion—a seemingly significant increase. But if you look beyond 2000, it immediately drops to \$19.1 billion, then to \$19 billion, then to \$18.9 billion. How can we maintain health care for our increasingly older veteran population with shrinking numbers?

We need more funds, not less, to reverse the trend of decimating psychiatric, substance abuse and other mental health problems. We need to increase long-term care to increase the options for our growing population of elderly veterans. We need to eliminate the practice of discharging veterans who are Alzheimer's patients. New health care initiatives for veterans suffering from Hepatitis C-related illnesses have been proposed, with no new dollars to pay for them. We will be unable to absorb the additional Persian Gulf War veterans who will be eligible for health care under a new law.

I have carefully studied the Independent Budget for Fiscal Year 2000, a comprehensive policy document created by veterans for veterans and endorsed by over 50 veterans' service organizations. In this budget, I sense an urgency and frustration that I've not heard before. America's veterans are telling us that they have done more than their fair share—and now they expect us to be their advocates. They are reminding us that America is safe and free only because of the generations of men and women who willingly endured the hardships and sacrifices required to preserve our liberty.

For many, many years, America's veterans have been good soldiers. They have done

their duty and been conscientious, responsible citizens. Every time the Veteran's Affairs Committee was handed a reconciliation target, it met that target. Billions of veterans' dollars have been handed over in order to balance the budget and eliminate the deficit. Time and time again, America's veterans answered their nation's call. The country needed their support, and America's veterans gave all that they could give.

Well, the budget deficit has been eliminated. That battle has been won. I believe that this year, it is time for America's veterans to come first. We, as a nation, owe them that.

It is the duty of Congress to pass a responsible budget and to do so, we must lift the VA budget cap in order to provide a budget that is worthy of our veterans.

The United States and the freedom our country represents around the world have persisted and flourished because of the sacrifices of our veterans. We must remember the men and women who made those sacrifices as we vote on the budget for veterans.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the validation of this conference report, which includes in it the details of the Budget Resolution passed just a few weeks ago by the Republicans.

At that time I spoke vigorously against the Budget Resolution because I felt it short-changed the American people. Also at that time, I spoke in favor of the Democratic Budget, offered by Ranking Member SPRATT because it was a responsible budget done right. Thereafter, when this resolution once again came before us as it was sent to conference, I supported Ranking Member SPRATT's motion to instruct the conferees to hold off on their submission of the report until we had passed legislation addressing the concerns of our party, and of most Americans—in this case, preserving and extending the life of Social Security and Medicare. I go over this litany of details not to open old wounds, but rather to demonstrate and testify to the American people that the Republicans have had multiple opportunities to save Social Security and Medicare—and each time they turned away.

As I vote to strike down this report, I do so only with the well-being of our constituents in mind. I know that we should be approving a budget that protects the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds by putting money back into those accounts. It should be a budget that will maintain our current Social Security and Medicare benefits, and extend their lives until decades from now, so that Americans will be able to take advantage of them. This is especially true for women, because due to their longer life expectancy, they must rely on Social Security and Medicare longer than most men.

I know that we should be appropriating the proper resources to modernize, and some would say revitalize, our public schools. This budget does the opposite; in fact, it reduces our domestic spending on programs that protect the interest of our children. This budget jeopardizes the well being of successful programs by taking 425 million dollars from WIC, and 501 million dollars from Head Start. Nevertheless, in this budget most of that money—800 million dollars of it—goes instead to tax cuts for the wealthy.

I know that what we should be doing at this time is authorizing a budget that will protect America's families. It should be a budget that

fully funds the Summer Youth Employment Program, which is cut by over 90 million dollars. It could be a budget that saves the Community Development Block Grant Program the indignity of a 50-million-dollar cut.

This budget could be more, it could address the needs of our veterans. We could have and should have passed the Spratt Amendment, which would have added an additional nine billion dollars for veterans programs. We should be voting to pass a budget that fully funds LIHEAP, which provides for necessary heating and cooling for low-income families in times of extreme weather. LIHEAP literally saved lives in my district last summer, and I intend to do what I can to ensure that it is fully funded every year that I serve in Congress.

I had hoped that during Conference, that we would have seen drastic improvements in this resolution. Improvements that could have been done in a bipartisan and responsible manner. I had hoped that my colleagues across the aisle could be more persuaded by the dedication of Congressmen SPRATT and McDERMOTT. I desperately wanted to take home to my district a budget that respected our children, our families, our veterans, and our elderly—and I still hope to do so.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to vote against this conference report, and instead work with us to forge a new budget that will grow America into the 21st century.

Mr. STUMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report and to express my appreciation for all the consideration given to veterans' health care funding by the conferees.

The conference report provides the entire amount recommended by the majority of the VA Committee for veterans health care—a \$1.7 billion increase over the amount recommended by the President in his budget.

This funding level is supported by many veterans organizations and military associations, including: The American Legion, The Jewish War Veterans, Gold Star Wives, Non Commissioned Officers Association, and The Retired Officers Association.

Some Members advocated even higher funding levels.

But in an arena that is traditionally as partisan as the Budget Committee, it was the realistic recommendations of the VA Committee that ultimately became the standard for both Democratic and Republican budget proposals in the House.

I know that there is already some criticism of the conference report because the outyear spending levels for veterans don't match the levels for next year.

But I want to assure my colleagues that there is little doubt that we will provide even higher funding levels next year.

I also want to assure VA health care administrators that they can count on us to provide the necessary funding to sustain the health care services which an increasing number of veterans are seeking from the VA.

The chairman of the House Budget Committee, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. KASICH, has given me his word that we'll take a fresh look at the funding needs next year.

Now it is time for Members to realize how difficult it will be for the Appropriations Committee to achieve this spending level for VA health care.

I hope we can all work together to protect this budget for veterans from competing

spending interests favored by the Clinton-Gore Administration.

If VA continues to provide health care effectively and with greater efficiency, I have no doubt that the funding level contained in this resolution for fiscal year 2000 will be continued.

Again, I thank the chairman of the Budget Committee, the Senate Chairman, Senator DOMENICI, and all the Members of the Budget Committee who have worked so hard to address veterans' needs this year.

Mr. EVANS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the conference agreement on House Concurrent Resolution 68, the budget resolution for next fiscal year. This conference agreement, like the budget passed earlier by this house, fails to provide adequate resources needed to maintain and improve programs established by this Congress to serve our nation's veterans, their dependents and survivors.

Many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle pronounced the administration's proposed budget next year for veterans to be underfunded by at least \$2 billion and possibly more. The chairman of our committee, the gentleman from Arizona, who strongly opposes unwarranted spending, recommended an increase of \$1.9 billion over the Administration's proposed funding level. The Chairman's recommendation is a clear and unmistakable signal of the funding crisis in veterans' programs and benefits.

While this conference agreement appears at first glance to begin to address the funding crisis in veterans' programs and benefits, this budget resolution is really nothing more than a wolf in sheep's clothing. Unbelievable to our nation's veterans, this budget resolution cuts discretionary spending, which primarily provides veterans' health care, by \$1.4 billion dollars in fiscal year 2001 compared to next fiscal year. Veterans across America will wonder what is put in the water in Washington. This budget resolution is a blueprint for destroying veterans' benefits and programs. This budget resolution must be rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

Pursuant to clause 10 of rule XX, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 220, nays 208, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 85]

YEAS—220

Aderholt
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baker
Ballenger
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bateman
Bereuter
Biggart
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bliley
Blunt
Boehlert

Boehner
Bonilla
Bono
Brady (TX)
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Diaz-Balart
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Coble

Coburn
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cook
Cooksey
Cox
Crane
Cubin
Cunningham
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeLay
DeMint
Doolittle
Dreier
Duncan

Dunn
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
English
Everett
Ewing
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Fossella
Fowler
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Gallegly
Ganske
Gekas
Gibbons
Gilchrist
Gillmor
Gilman
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Gutknecht
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Hastert
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill (MT)
Hilleary
Hobson
Hoekstra
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hulshof
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Isakson
Istook
Jenkins
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)

Kasich
Kelly
King (NY)
Kingston
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kuykendall
Largent
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
LoBiondo
Lucas (OK)
Manzullo
McCollum
McCrery
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McKeon
Metcalf
Mica
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Moran (KS)
Myrick
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Nussle
Ose
Oxley
Packard
Pease
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Pombo
Porter
Portman
Pryce (OH)
Radanovich
Ramstad
Regula
Reynolds
Riley
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher

NAYS—208

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Allen
Andrews
Baird
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barcia
Barrett (WI)
Becerra
Bentsen
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Bonior
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Conyers
Costello
Coyne
Cramer
Crowley
Cummings
Danner
Davis (FL)

DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Deutsch
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doyle
Edwards
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Ford
Frank (MA)
Frost
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Gonzalez
Gordon
Green (TX)
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hill (IN)
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hoeffel
Holden
Holt
Hoolley
Hoyer
Insee
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)

Ros-Lehtinen
Roukema
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Salmon
Sanford
Saxton
Scarborough
Schaffer
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shuster
Simpson
Skeen
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Souder
Spence
Stearns
Stump
Sununu
Sweeney
Talent
Tancredo
Tauzin
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thornberry
Thune
Tiahrt
Toomey
Upton
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Watts (OK)
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson
Wolf
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

Jefferson
John
Johnson, E.B.
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind (WI)
Klecza
Klink
Kucinich
LaFalce
Lampson
Larson
Lee
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lofgren
Lowe
Lucas (KY)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McDermott
McGovern
Holden
McIntyre
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez

Millender-	Price (NC)	Strickland
McDonald	Quinn	Stupak
Miller, George	Rahall	Tanner
Minge	Rangel	Tauscher
Mink	Reyes	Taylor (MS)
Moakley	Rivers	Thompson (CA)
Mollohan	Rodriguez	Thompson (MS)
Moore	Roemer	Thurman
Moran (VA)	Rothman	Tierney
Morella	Roybal-Allard	Towns
Murtha	Rush	Trafficant
Nadler	Sabo	Turner
Napolitano	Sanchez	Udall (CO)
Neal	Sanders	Udall (NM)
Oberstar	Sandlin	Velazquez
Obey	Sawyer	Vento
Olver	Schakowsky	Visclosky
Ortiz	Scott	Waters
Owens	Serrano	Watt (NC)
Pallone	Sherman	Waxman
Pascrell	Sisisky	Weiner
Pastor	Skelton	Wexler
Paul	Slaughter	Weygand
Payne	Smith (WA)	Wise
Pelosi	Snyder	Woolsey
Peterson (MN)	Spratt	Wu
Phelps	Stabenow	Wynn
Pickett	Stark	
Pomeroy	Stenholm	

NOT VOTING—6

Davis (IL)	LaHood	Shows
Hastings (FL)	Lantos	Thomas

□ 1332

Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. WYNN and Mr. COYNE changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 85, I was inadvertently detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes."

Stated against:

Mr. SHOWS. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 85 on the conference report on H. Con. Res. 68, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. LAHOOD. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained for rollcall votes 84 and 85. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes" on rollcall vote 84, H. Res. 137, and "yes" on rollcall 85, H. Con. Res. 68.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on the conference report on H. Con. Res. 68 just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

LOCAL CENSUS QUALITY CHECK ACT

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, by the direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 138 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 138

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 472) to amend title 13, United States Code, to require the use of postcensus local review as part of each decennial census. The bill shall be considered as read for amendment. The amendment printed in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate on the bill, as amended, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Government Reform; (2) a further amendment printed in the Congressional Record and numbered 1 pursuant to clause 8 of rule XVIII, if offered by Representative Maloney of New York or her designee, which shall be considered as read and shall be separately debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent; and (3) one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During the consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, H. Res. 138 is a fair structured rule providing 1 hour of debate in the House divided equally between the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Government Reform.

Mr. Speaker, upon adoption of the resolution, the amendment printed in the Committee on Rules report is considered adopted.

The rule also provides for the consideration of amendment numbered 1 printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD if offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY), or her designee, which shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled between the proponent and the opponent.

Finally, the rule provides for one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act, builds on Republican efforts and fulfills our constitutional duties by carrying out a quality census that counts every single person. Post census local review was used effectively in 1990 to add 124,000 households to the nationwide count. By using the knowledge, list management and mapping skills of local authorities, post census local review improved the accuracy of the 1990 census. This improvement will increase exponentially with the 2000 census as advancements in information technology will allow local authorities to provide better information which includes adding people to the census at the exact location where they live.

Specifically, Mr. Speaker, this bill provides for a post census local review

which will allow local governments to review household counts, boundary maps and other data that the Secretary of Commerce considers appropriate in order to identify discrepancies in housing unit counts before they release the final count of the census. Additionally, the Secretary of Commerce would submit the appropriate block level maps and list of housing units to local governments for their review. The local authorities would then be given 45 days to review the census data and submit any challenges to that data. The Secretary would then investigate, correct any miscounts and notify local governments of any action or correction that was taken.

This is a commonsense piece of legislation that works. The results are not debatable. In 1990, post census review made for more accurate census counts.

Local groups across the political spectrum, including the National League of Cities, the National Association of Towns and Townships and the National Association of Developmental Organizations have endorsed this legislation because it works. It is a part of a process to count every single person in our country.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this rule and the underlying legislation.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, appearances can be deceiving. At first blush H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act, appears to be a bill that will ensure a more accurate census count by enhancing local government participation in the 2000 census. But, Mr. Speaker, H.R. 472 is really a Trojan horse because it will, in fact, do nothing to enhance or ensure a more accurate count of Americans next year.

Let me tell our colleagues what it will do, Mr. Speaker. H.R. 472 will impose an operational field plan on the Census Bureau that will actually, according to the Director of the Census, decrease accuracy levels in the count. H.R. 472 will extend an already lengthy process by requiring a post census local review program very similar to the one conducted after the 1990 census. H.R. 472 would extend the period of the head count by nine weeks, which would effectively prevent the Census Bureau from scientifically determining how many people had been missed in the head count. If H.R. 472 were to be enacted, it would ensure that the Census Bureau would not have enough time to correct errors in the census to ensure that each and every American has been counted.

Mr. Speaker, such an outcome is totally unacceptable. H.R. 472 is unacceptable to Democrats because its real purpose is to prevent the Census Bureau from using the modern statistical methods that experts agree are the only way of conducting a census that

does not miss millions of Americans, particularly children, minorities and the urban and rural poor.

This is not a new fight, Mr. Speaker, but it is one that sets out quite clearly the differences between the Republican majority in Congress and the Democratic party. It is our unified and solid position that every single American counts and every single American should be counted.

It is as simple as that, Mr. Speaker. Yet my Republican colleagues have erected roadblocks, gone to court and drafted legislative impediments all designed to keep the Census Bureau from conducting the most accurate and complete census as possible.

The Republican National Committee and other Republican leaders fear that counting every American will damage their hold on political power, but let me close by offering my friends on the other side of the aisle some advice:

In the face of opposition from the experts, from a unified Democratic party and from local governments and civil rights groups around the country poorly disguised attempts to influence the outcome of the census do not reflect well on the Republican party. As I have said many times, ensuring that all Americans are counted in the census is not and should not be a partisan issue. I sincerely hope that my Republican colleagues will put away their partisan fears and join us in working to ensure that the 2000 Census counts every single American.

Mr. Speaker, I obviously oppose the bill, but I also oppose this rule. The Republican majority has seen fit to only make in order the amendment to be offered by the subcommittee ranking member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY), and then to only allow 1 hour of debate on this serious and substantive alternative to the Republican bill.

□ 1345

Given the magnitude of the issue, Mr. Speaker, this is a wholly inadequate rule. Therefore, it is my intention to oppose the previous question in order that the House might have the opportunity to consider an open rule with 2 hours of general debate. The time restrictions imposed by this rule do not give Members enough time to thoroughly debate this most important issue.

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

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), who is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Census.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS) for yielding me the time and I thank the Committee on Rules for bringing forth this rule which allows us to have a full debate on post-census local review and allows for the amendment by the ranking member.

Mr. Speaker, I am in support of the rule. I will be supporting the bill and opposing the amendment.

In less than 12 months we will be conducting the 2000 decennial census. We all share a common goal, everybody in this room and everybody in America should, that we want the most accurate census possible. It has to be a legal census and it should not be a political census.

The census is so fundamental to our Democratic system I call it the DNA of our democracy, because most elected officials in America are dependent upon the census. It affects the number of congressional seats each State receives. It affects the size and shape of our districts. It affects State representatives and State senators, their districts. It affects school boards, county commissions, city council members.

Essentially, most elected officials are going to be impacted by this because this is how we make sure there is equal and fair distribution of the political process in this country.

Unfortunately, the political process has been brought to bear on this census and that is too bad that the President has chosen to introduce politics into the census because we do not need a political census.

Since Thomas Jefferson conducted the first census, we have gone out and counted everybody. It is hard work and we as Republicans have been putting forth the ideas but also the money and resources to make sure we do get the best possible census.

The President has proposed originally a census where only 90 percent of the population is counted and uses sampling or polling techniques to come up with the balance. That was a very political process. The Census Bureau wasted a billion dollars and 6 or 7 years planning for this. We told the Census Bureau, we told the President, this is illegal and yet they continued in effect to spend this money, waste this money and prepare for an illegal census.

Finally, the Supreme Court ruled in January of this year that it was illegal. Six Federal judges had already ruled last year it was illegal, and now the Census Bureau is behind because they have been so concentrating on this 90 percent plan that unfortunately they are not as prepared as they should be today.

We all need to work toward getting that best, most accurate census possible. So now they have come up with a new plan, even though all the details have not been forthcoming yet, and the new plan is a two-number census. We will have one number that is approved by the Supreme Court and that will be a full enumeration as required by our Constitution, and then the President wants to adjust all those numbers, I mean all those numbers. There are census block numbers for all five or six million census blocks in this country. The President wants to adjust that and have an adjusted census.

So we will have the Supreme Court-approved census and we will have the Clinton-approved census. Wow. What a public policy disaster we are heading for with a two-number census.

The Census Bureau was right in arguing against it for the past several years. Now they flip-flopped and think the two-number census is a good idea. It is unfortunate because they want to use the second adjusted set of numbers for redistricting.

Well, I say today that it is going to be declared illegal again. It is going to go back to the courts, and the courts will say we are going to have to use the same number for apportionment that we use for redistricting. We cannot use two numbers for redistricting and apportionment. It will not work.

So now what do we do? We need to do the best job we can on a full enumeration. That is what is required by the Supreme Court. So we have proposed some ideas on how to improve on getting the most accurate and legal census possible.

The Census Bureau has come up with some good ideas on this census and I have to commend the Census Bureau for the innovations and ideas they have put forth for the 2000 census. They are doing things. For example, the address list was a major problem in 1990 and they are making a major effort getting the addresses as correct as possible. That is a good program.

We are going to go to paid advertising. I think that is important rather than relying just on the donated advertising by television. There will be census in the schools trying to get young people involved because young people are some of the ones that are most undercounted. There are a lot of ideas that are good. We have come up with some ideas too, and today we are going to debate one and that is post-census local review.

Now this is not a new idea. This was used in 1990 and it is simply to give local communities one last chance to look at the numbers before they become official because once they become official they are stuck with them for 10 years. It is hard for me to understand why someone would object to this. Again, it is not a new idea. It was used in 1990 and added about 125,000 people. Secretary Daley says that is not very many people. I say if it is a small community, every thousand people makes a difference. One hundred twenty-five thousand may not be a big deal in New York City or another city, but it is important that we allow communities to add people if they were mistakenly missed.

That is all this is about, giving one last chance to add people if they were missed and not included.

To assume that the Census Bureau does not make any mistakes is that trust-me attitude; trust me, I am from the Federal Government and I never make mistakes.

Well, there are mistakes made; not intentional mistakes. There are computer errors, and so all we want to do is give that opportunity. This is widely supported by elected officials. The National League of Cities is supporting it. The National Association of Towns and

Townships are supporting it. Planning organizations are supporting it, and we have heard from dozens and dozens of local officials that say we need this program because it gives us that one last chance to make sure there are no mistakes. That is all it is.

It improves accuracy and it improves trust in our census, and trust is something we need on this census because it has been politicized too much.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed that the Committee on Rules did not issue an open rule on H.R. 472. Many of my colleagues have asked to speak on this bill and the limited time allowed by the committee will not allow for a full and open hearing on this bill.

As the majority has reported, there is not much business scheduled for the House this week. So far this week we have put in less than a day's work. The only reason to limit debate on this bill is to silence the opposition.

Mr. Speaker, this bill has not been carefully considered by either the Subcommittee on Census or the Committee on Government Reform. The only hearing on this legislation was held in conjunction with the markup on the bill. The administration was not invited to that hearing and I was out of the country as part of an official U.S. delegation to the International Conference on Population and Development.

An open rule would give all Members a better chance to evaluate the bill. Just yesterday, I met with the League of Cities and they still did not understand the full implications of H.R. 472. For example, they were not aware that the bill adds over 9 weeks to the census process.

I will offer an amendment to H.R. 472. I am committed to a fair and accurate census. As everyone should know, the errors in the 1990 census, according to a GAO report, misallocated billions of dollars to localities. If H.R. 472 passes and degrades the overall accuracy of the census 2000, as it will, then we will have an injustice as well as bad public policy for the next decade.

H.R. 472 calls for a post-census local review. The question is not whether or not we should have local review, of course we should, but whether we should do it in a way that improves overall accuracy.

What H.R. 472 does is make taking the census, the task of taking it, more difficult. It delays the time for correcting the census for persons missed and persons counted twice.

H.R. 472 requires the Census Bureau to repeat work that has already been done. Following the bipartisan direction from Congress, written in the Address List Correction Act of 1994, the Census Bureau has developed a pro-

gram to work with local governments to make sure they agree on the number of addresses within the Government's jurisdiction. If they cannot come to an agreement, there is an appeals process through the Office of Management and Budget.

So far, this program has covered 86 percent of the addresses in the United States. What H.R. 472 does is require that this work be done again. Those who are not familiar with the census believe that this post-census check will catch errors made in the census. In fact, it will not.

There is no reason for a second check on something that has not changed unless there is an ulterior motive.

There are two areas of concern raised by local governments that could legitimately be addressed by this bill. One is new construction and boundary checks. Between the time the census address list is finalized and census day, there will be some boundary changes and some new houses under construction will be finished.

My amendment calls on the Census Bureau to develop a program to address these legitimate concerns. It further calls for any new program to be coordinated with all the other activities that must go on for the census to be successful.

H.R. 472, as written, does not give the Census Bureau the latitude it needs to address these issues. In 1995, long before the 2000 census became a do or die issue for the Republican Party, the National Academy of Sciences issued a report called Modernizing the U.S. Census. This report was written in response to a bipartisan request from Congress.

The central conclusion of this report was, and I quote, "It is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional census methods of physical enumeration. Simply providing additional funds to enable the Census Bureau to carry out the 2000 census using traditional methods, as it has in previous censuses, will not lead to improved coverage or data quality."

The facts that led to that conclusion have not changed. H.R. 472 is seriously flawed and will ultimately make the census less accurate and make it impossible for the Census Bureau to meet the statutory deadlines of delivering apportionment counts on December 31, 2000, and final population counts on April 1, 2001.

I urge my colleagues to vote against this rule and the underlying bill.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT), the assistant majority whip.

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and of the legislation. This really is largely about whether we are going to have a one-number census or a two-number census and all of the things that surround that. How many Members of this body would want us to have a two-number election result and then decide after

the election what would have happened if somebody's speculation of what was going on on election day somehow could have been fulfilled?

□ 1400

How would we want to serve if we had not just the number that was certified as the actual count of the election, but if we had the number that was certified as somebody's idea of what might have happened if the election had been done in some scientific laboratory?

This is about counting people. This bill is about counting people in a way that involves local governments. It is about counting people in a way that involves the Census Bureau with local governments, because so much of what happens at the local level for a decade is determined by their numbers; not just how they are represented in this body, but how they are represented on their county council, how they are represented in their city council, how they are represented in the State legislature.

Missing a block, forgetting a thousand people or even a hundred people, can be a significant factor in all of those determinations. In the past, the Census Bureau has seen this as one of the important principles of coming up with an accurate number that stands the test of time, that local governments rely on for the better part of that decade.

I think this bill has been carefully considered. It is also the way the Census has been conducted. In fact, in 1990 the Census Bureau said that what is most important about this review is that local officials have an opportunity to review the maps and counts while the Census is still in progress. Possible errors identified and reported at this stage, according to the Census Bureau, are relatively easy to check and correct if necessary. Once this stage is passed, once the Census is finalized, once local governments have somehow not had this opportunity, it is awfully hard to come back and solve those problems.

The substitute today, the amendment today, would leave this up to the Secretary of Commerce, who has already said in writing that he is not supportive of this legislation, and it is questionable without his support, a post-Census review.

Of course we want to have a local review. Of course we want a Census that is the best possible. Of course we want to correct this process before it is finalized, not after it is finalized. That is what this bill does. It is what it does, creating the best cooperation between local officials and the Census Bureau. I support the legislation.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA).

Mr. BECERRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask Members of this House to oppose this rule and oppose H.R. 472. To me it boils down to a

very simple question, do all Americans count. If we believe they count, then listen to some of the statistics from our last Census in 1990. More than 4 million people in this country were not counted. In my State of California, almost 1 million people did not get included in the 1990 Census.

In terms of dollars, that cost my State somewhere close to \$2.3 billion over these last 10 years. My city of Los Angeles, the second largest undercount of any State in the Nation to have occurred was in Los Angeles. Some 140,000 people in my city of Los Angeles did not get counted.

That cost the city of Los Angeles and its residents about \$120 million over the last 10 years: \$120 million of police officers, teachers, firefighters that were not put on the ground because we had an inaccurate Census for the entire Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the director of the Census Bureau, Mr. Ken Prewitt, has said that H.R. 472 will have "consequences for an orderly, timely, and accurate Census in 2000 that are just short of disastrous." He is saying that because we are tinkering with it in ways we do not need to.

If we are all concerned about having every American count, then let them be counted using the best, most modern, and expert methods available. If we believe all Americans count, then vote against the rule and vote against H.R. 472, because we do not need to go through the mistakes of 1990. We have the technical abilities, we have the modern technology to get the most accurate count possible. That would require that we oppose H.R. 472.

I urge all Members to vote against this rule and against H.R. 472.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. PRYCE), one of my colleagues on the Committee on Rules.

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas. I rise in support of this rule and the Local Census Quality Check Act. Simply, this legislation is designed to improve the accuracy of the Census by giving our local officials, who know their communities best, a chance to review census data before it is finalized.

Local review is not a new idea. It was used in 1990 with the support of Republicans and Democrats, and it succeeded in adding thousands of overlooked households to the Census Bureau's original count.

Local review is especially useful in fast-growing neighborhoods and communities, or ones that are being rebuilt after fires or natural disasters, where it is very possible that the Census Bureau will miss some new homes. In fact, this was the experience in 1990. And who better than the people living in the community to recognize oversights and errors in Census numbers?

I have to say that I find the objections to this bill very curious. My friends on the other side of the aisle claim they need statistical sampling to

make a guess about how many households may exist which the Census might miss. They support this method of estimation in the name of improved accuracy.

Yet, they reject a program that allows local officials to look at Census data and point to actual existing households with addresses where real people with names and faces live which do not appear on the Census Bureau's list. How can my colleagues argue that a system of adding invisible statistical households is preferable to adding real homes and people to the Census count?

Mr. Speaker, I will place in the RECORD a letter that I received from the Ohio Township Association, representing more than 1,300 townships, in support of H.R. 472.

The material referred to is as follows:

OHIO TOWNSHIP ASSOCIATION,
Columbus, OH, April 12, 1999.

Hon. DEBORAH PRYCE,
U.S. Congress,
Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PRYCE: On behalf of the Ohio Township Association, I am writing to express our support of H.R. 472. This legislation, as written, would provide a 45 day period of review to local governments of the Census 200 figures.

Without this legislation, local governments would have no opportunity to review the Bureau of Census' count of their communities before the census data is finalized. Local governments must have a voice in the census process to ensure they are not undercounted. Local governments, especially townships, rely on the census to determine their eligibility for state and federal funding. Local leaders and planners use the census figures to choose the best location for building roads, hospitals, schools, libraries, playgrounds, day-care and senior citizen centers. Businesses use census numbers to determine the location of new housing, shopping centers, offices and factories. Most importantly, in the case of an emergency, census figures aid emergency and safety personnel's rescue efforts by telling them how many people live in a certain area. In light of last week's tornado and storms in Cincinnati, Ohio, this especially true.

Again, on behalf of the 1309 townships in Ohio, I urge you to support HR 472 without amendment. If you have any questions or if I may be of assistance to you and your staff, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very truly yours,

MICHAEL H. COCHRAN,
Executive Director.

Mr. Speaker, some of my Democratic colleagues regret the fact that the local review process would be time-consuming and delay the Census Bureau's work. I would suggest to my colleagues that they look to the Census Bureau itself if they are concerned about delays. We are less than 12 months away from Census day, and the Bureau has failed to provide Congress with its estimated budget or its plan for conducting a legal count.

Mr. Speaker, any Member who is genuinely concerned about the accuracy of our Census should support this legislation. The Local Census Quality Check Act gives us one more tool to ensure that every American is counted, as the Constitution envisions. I urge a yes vote on both the rule and the underlying legislation.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. KENNEDY).

(Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I find it very curious that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle would make the argument that this is not political, that they say they do not want politics in this. Hello, everybody. This is the most political issue we will probably face in the next 2 years of this session, okay? This goes to who is going to control this House for the next 10 to 20 years.

So I do not want to hear my colleagues disingenuously represent this bill as simply about counting, because that is hogwash. The fact of the matter is the census is about who has got the money and who has got the power.

It should be very curious to the Republicans that the Congressional Black Caucus, that the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, that the Congressional Asian Pacific Caucus, all three of them, every minority caucus in this Congress, are against their sampling proposal and their Census proposal. Why? Because they say that in the effort to get accuracy, they want to delay the Census process. Well, delay equals death for accurate counting.

Mr. Speaker, this is about the heart of government. It is about the distribution of money and power. There is nothing more fundamental to this debate for the next 2 years than this Census. Bridges, roads, education, law enforcement, health care, all of that will be decided by how many people exist in each State and in each city across this country.

If we undercount people, and I have to say, traditionally, there is a reason why the Hispanic Caucus, there is a reason why the Black Caucus, and the minorities are against this, because minority people of color historically get undercounted.

If my colleagues would yield for a question, I would like to ask them to answer why they are delaying this process.

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

In response to my colleague, I would like for it also to be noted on the record that the Republican Black Caucus is 100 percent for this bill that we are supporting on the Floor.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS).

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

When we mention the caucuses, the Hispanic Caucus, the Black Caucus, he is talking about Democratic members of those caucuses.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I would ask the gentleman,

how many Members are members of the Republican Black Caucus?

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. We have one.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. How many do we have?

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. They are all Democrats.

I thank the gentleman very much. My friend has made the point, he has tried to place color where politics is. He is the one who has said this is all about politics, not us.

What we are trying to do is assure a fair count for groups that have traditionally been undercounted. That is why this legislation moves from six languages that are included in the Census surveys to 33 languages, including braille, so that we can get at these hard-to-count populations that have traditionally been undercounted. If they can read the forms, if they can read them in their own language, they are much more likely to answer them.

Although it is only 1.3 percent of the population that are included in these additional languages, these are groups who have been traditionally undercounted that we are trying to get at. The 33 languages come from the Census department's own advisory committee, in terms of what these languages are. That is why we are increasing the advertising.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield further, I am not arguing about the gentleman's efforts to make sure we count everyone accurately. My argument is with the delay. With their delay, they are effectively delaying the numbers being reported, which in essence means we cannot get an accurate count.

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. Not at all.

Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I think what is important to note here is we are allowing local governments to come in who feel they have been undercounted, to come in with a post-Census sampling and start adding their input into that process. So if they are being undercounted in their cities, if they are going to be punished if it comes to Federal aid or punished in redistricting, they will have an opportunity at that point to have their say before the final count goes forward.

That is fair to these localities, many of them that are traditionally undercounted. That is why we put more money for the advertising budget increases, that is why this legislation puts more enumerators in hard-to-count areas, that is why we have extended the census in the schools, and we have moved it up from 20 percent, which is what the administration offered, to 100 percent of the classrooms in America. Many times you reach the parents with the best count going through the classrooms and the kids in the schools.

That is why this legislation asks that AmeriCorps volunteers be empowered to help in hard-to-count areas, so we can get to a solid count. That is why the governments and the NGOs are

going to be given additional grants to assist in hard-to-count populations, and that is why this legislation allows Federal retirees, welfare recipients, not to be punished if we empower them and help them to get the most accurate count in history.

All of these are very, very important. It is ironic that people who claim they are being undercounted would oppose these measures.

On January 25 the Supreme Court ruled that sampling could not be used in the 2000 Census for purposes of reapportionment of the House of Representatives. But let me read what the Congressional Research Service report says.

It says, "A closer examination of the other parts of the court's opinion indicates that it did not interpret those other purposes as necessarily including at least interstate redistricting." That is why my friends on the other side of the aisle oppose this. They lost this at the Supreme Court level, and now they want to go for it with an illegal funding mechanism for the census.

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

I would point out to the previous speaker what happened at the Supreme Court level. There have been several misstatements on the other side. I assume those misstatements were not intentional.

What the Supreme Court did was to decide that a statistical adjustment could not be used for apportionment among the States. The Supreme Court specifically said that adjusted figures should be used for redistricting within States and for the allocation of Federal funds.

I have read the Supreme Court decision. The Supreme Court only spoke to the apportionment among the States, and that was a matter of construction of statutory law. They did not decide that on a constitutional basis.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD).

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, a fair and accurate census is in the best interests of our Nation. I therefore rise in opposition to the rule and to H.R. 472. H.R. 472 is nothing more than an unnecessary delaying tactic to prevent the Census Bureau from using modern statistical methods, methods that the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Statisticians have said are necessary to obtain an accurate count of the American people.

We must not let H.R. 472 repeat the mistakes of the past. The stakes are simply too high. In California, for example, as a result of the 1990 undercount, 835,000 Californians essentially became invisible. Half of those missed were Latinos, and tragically, over 40 percent were children.

□ 1415

Due to this undercount, the hard-working people of California lost \$2.2 billion in Federal funds for transpor-

tation, schools, housing, health services, and valuable programs over the past 10 years.

Mr. Speaker, counting every American is an issue of social justice. My Republican colleagues must put the interest of the country first and stop trying to micromanage the census. Let the experts at the Census Bureau do their job to ensure an accurate 2000 census. I ask my colleagues to defeat the rule and H.R. 472.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). The Chair would remind Members on both sides of the aisle who wish to engage in a dialogue with the Member under recognition that they must first gain the yielding of the Member under recognition before engaging in the dialogue.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire about the time remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS) has 10½ minutes remaining.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) to respond.

Mr. DAVIS of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, let me just say to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), I would hope that he would put in the RECORD the specific language he claims that would mandate that the intrastate redistricting is mandated to use these other numbers he talks about.

Looking at the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service, CRS-5, and I will ask unanimous consent that this report be put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, they note that for the purpose of intrastate redistricting, "the Court's opinion indicates it did not interpret those other purposes as necessarily including, at least, intrastate redistricting. It refers to these other purposes, noting that the census serves as the 'linchpin of the federal statistical system by collecting data on the characteristic of individuals, households, and housing units'."

The document referred to is as follows:

RAMIFICATIONS AND REACTIONS

SAMPLING IN INTRASTATE REDISTRICTING

Almost immediately after the Supreme Court issued its decision, the opponents of sampling were claiming victory, but at the same time, the supporters of sampling were downplaying the impact of the decision, by emphasizing the narrowness of the holding. The Court held that the census statute prohibited the use of sampling for the apportionment of the House of Representatives, but declined to reach the constitutional question. The Court had even stated that section 195 required the use of sampling for purposes other than apportionment. Slip opinion at 23. The proponents of sampling viewed this as supporting the position that sampling techniques were not only permissible, but were required, in the taking of the census for the purposes of intrastate redistricting and federal funding allocations.⁴ However, a closer examination of other parts of the Court's opinion indicates that it did not interpret those other purposes as necessarily including, at least, intrastate redistricting. It refers to these other purposes,

⁴Footnotes at end of document.

noting that the census serves as the "linchpin of the federal statistical system by collecting data on the characteristics of individuals, households, and housing units throughout the country [cities omitted]." Slip opinion at 24.

As discussed above, Justice O'Connor based her standing analysis, at least in part, on the "expected effects of the use of sampling in the 2000 census on intrastate redistricting." Slip opinion at 14. Her discussion of these expected effects appears to indicate that the Court assumed that the federal decennial census figures for apportionment would be the figures used by the States for congressional redistricting and, in many cases, for state legislative redistricting. The Court seems to think that the references to the federal decennial census data in state legislative redistricting statutes and state constitutional provisions are references to the data for apportionment of the House of Representatives. Otherwise, the threatened injury to the plaintiffs would not be redressed by the Court's decision. Certainly, the position of sampling proponents, if officially adopted and carried out, would mean that the threatened injury to voters in state and local elections had not been eliminated by the Court's decision. The issue of redressability and the possibility of a two-number census was raised during oral argument.⁵ However, the analysis in this part of the Court's decision deals with standing and not with the merits, therefore, technically, the position of sampling proponents, that sampling in intrastate redistricting is required, is not inconsistent with the Court's holdings on the merits, but is arguably inconsistent with the apparent assumptions and larger scheme underlying the holdings.

FOOTNOTES

⁴Since the required taking of a traditional headcount for apportionment of the House of Representatives would make the non-response follow-up sampling moot, presumably any contemplated sampling for intrastate redistricting and funding allocation data would be similar in concept to the ICM for the undercount or the Post Enumeration Survey conducted after the 1990 Census.

⁵Oral Argument Transcript, found at 1998 WL 827383 on Westlaw (oral argument of Michael A. Carvin on behalf of the appellees in No. 98-564).

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) has 13½ minutes remaining.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

(Ms. WOOLSEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this rule. I do that because I support achieving the most accurate census count, and H.R. 472, as written, will delay and destroy our chance to achieve the most accurate census count possible.

Mr. Speaker, an accurate census does matter. It affects our communities, our families, and our children. In fact, inaccurate figures cost the State of California \$2.2 billion in Federal aid during the 1990s.

It cost my district \$29 million in Federal aid by missing over 10,000 people in the 6th Congressional District of California. Ten thousand people were not counted. I happen to believe that every one of those 10,000, and 100 percent of the people nationwide, deserve to be counted and included in our census.

An inaccurate count costs all of our communities literally millions of dol-

lars for Federal highways, for child care, for foster care, for education, for aid to women and infants and children.

We cannot make the same mistakes with the 2000 census that we made with the 1990 census. Our democratic system demands fair representation for all constituents and all constituent groups. This can only be achieved through the most accurate census possible.

Fear is what really is stopping the opponents of an accurate census, fear that an accurate census will affect the political makeup of the House of Representatives. We should not play politics by blocking an accurate census. Vote "yes" on the Maloney substitute, "no" on the rule, and "no" on H.R. 472.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding me this time, and I congratulate him on his superb management of this rule.

I rise in strong support of the rule. We have a very simple and basic goal here. It is to subscribe to those two words in the U.S. Constitution, "actual enumeration." In so doing, we want to make sure that every single American is counted.

I thought we had started to win this war on the issue of local control. We in a bipartisan way passed the Education Flexibility Act. What did it say? It said decisions would be made at the local level. What is it that H.R. 472 says? Basically the same thing it did back when the 1990 census was conducted. It said that there should be post-census local review. There should be some kind of local input for this process. Frankly, I believe that it is the most responsible thing to do. It is by far and away the most balanced thing.

I think organizations have recognized that. We have heard that we have got the National League of Cities, the National Association of Towns and Townships, the National Association of Developmental Organizations, I mean, they are supportive of this measure because it is fair and it is the right thing to do.

I know that some of my friends on the other side of the aisle have raised questions about this rule. I will tell my colleagues, I am looking at the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY), who reminded me yesterday that I had said to her last month when we had this hearing in the Committee on Rules that we wanted to make her amendment in order. In fact, that is exactly what we have done.

On March 18, I announced right here that we were in fact going to have preprinting. We have made with this rule every single amendment that has been submitted to the Committee on Rules over the last month in order. That basically consists of an amendment from our side by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) and the amendment by the gentlewoman from

New York (Mrs. MALONEY). We had an interesting hearing on this issue upstairs. So we have in fact done exactly what it is that they requested.

We will have, if there is a recom-mittal motion, a grand total of 3 hours and 10 minutes of debate, including this debate which is taking place right here. So I think that we have moved ahead with this, with what is a very, very balanced, fair rule on this question. At the same time, we have given more than an adequate amount of time for debate and again have made every Democratic amendment in order that they requested.

So I urge my colleagues to, in light of that, support this rule.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish I could believe in the sincerity of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle on this issue because, in fact, census should be a collaborative and bipartisan issue and response.

But when they cite H.R. 472, the same process that was used in 1990, let me tell my colleagues why I have a problem. That is because Texas lost \$1.87 billion in Federal funds, likely to lose \$2.8 billion in Federal funds with the same use of H.R. 472 now.

In 1990, it was estimated that 28,000 children in my district were missed, almost 5 percent of all African Americans and Hispanics were not counted in 1990. So for me it is a life and death matter in terms of ensuring that all of the people are counted but that the resources go back to the State.

The Census Bureau Director Kenneth Prewitt says that the H.R. 472 proposal that we are now discussing will disrupt the census and put it at risk.

This rule does not allow us to discuss fully at length how to resolve this problem. The National Academy of Sciences said we should have a Martin statistical method.

I am dealing with some of the largest cities in Texas who are opposed to H.R. 472, the City of Houston, the City of San Antonio, the City of Austin, the City of Laredo.

Local officials do not understand what we are doing to them. What we are doing to them is we are forcing them to have to take the time with meager resources and one's tax dollars to take in a long period of time to count numbers after we have counted it.

I do not believe those organizations who are supporting H.R. 472 know the financial burden that they are putting on local government. I served in local government. I served as a member of the city council. I can tell my colleagues right now, I would much rather provide for health services and sanitation services and environmental services than to sit around putting staff on

counting people that the Federal government can do.

Martin statistical sampling is what we need. We also need to follow H.R. 472, as amended by the amendment of the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY). It needs to be changed because what we have here is a burdening of local officials and a bad census and the denial of the count of the United States people, people in the United States.

I come today to oppose the modified closed rule for H.R. 471, the Local Census Quality Check Act of 1999. This modified closed rule impedes the amendment process that could improve this legislation.

The Census is one of the most significant civil rights issues, especially as we approach the 21st Century. For the year 2000 the Census must be accurate to ensure equal representation of all Americans.

This bill in its present form would not improve the accuracy of the census count. Instead it would repeat the method used in 1990 that increased the involvement of local governments by allowing them to review census housing units numbers.

The process used in the Census missed 8.4 million people, 4.4 million people were counted twice and 13 million people were counted in the wrong place.

Because of the undercount in 1990, Texas lost almost \$1.87 billion in federal funds. A recent article in The Houston Chronicle estimated that Texas could lose \$2.8 billion if a similar undercount takes place.

Children, people of color, and the rural and urban poor were most likely to have been missed. In my district in Houston, close to 500,000 people were missed.

It is estimated that 28,554 children in my district were missed. Almost 5 percent of all African-Americans and Hispanics were not counted in 1990, and these groups constitute almost half of the population of the city!

Although H.R. 472 purports to increase the involvement of local government in the census, it really acts to slow down and delay an accurate count. This bill repeats the ineffective program that was used in 1990, and it would delay the census by an additional nine weeks.

The Census Bureau plan already provides for review as the count occurs instead of after the fact. This is more efficient and it is a better use of resources.

The modified closed rule does not allow us to offer amendments that would actually make improvements in the counting methods.

Census undercounts translate into communities losing out on federal and state funding for schools, crime prevention, health care and transportation.

I urge my colleagues vote against this modified closed rule to support an open rule so that we may prevent an unnecessary delay in the census. The method advocated in this bill did not prevent an undercount in 1990, and we must not make the same mistake for the year 2000.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS).

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule. I want to talk about some other communities, Litchfield, Illinois; Salem, Illinois; and Carlyle, Illinois, small rural America

who support H.R. 472 and the Local Census Quality Check Act.

I would like to share with the House some feedback I received from these communities and my constituents about the 2000 census. I am finding that the localities in my district are supporting our efforts to provide them about post-census review mechanism.

In fact, the Mayor of Litchfield, William Cornman, wrote me on March 24, 1999, and stated, "We feel that in order to have an accurate Census, we must reinstate the post-Census Local Review program. If a mistake is made with the oversight of subdivisions and newly annexed areas, the Census count is not accurate."

He continues, "We feel that we cannot properly evaluate the Bureau's Partnership Program as it relates to our community. Thus far, all that they have provided us is a bulging packet of information and very little direction."

I believe Mayor Cornman has made two critical points: one, that the local authorities cannot challenge and review the final census numbers, even if they are incorrect, and, two, the current Local Update of Census Addresses, the LUCA program, which my colleagues on the other side of the aisle praise, and the Census Bureau claims is working efficiently, appears in the eyes of my constituents as just a bulging packet of information and very little direction. Clearly, this is not a sign that we are on the road to an accurate census.

The City of Salem in my district felt so strongly about this issue that they passed a resolution which states, among other things, the following: "Whereas, one of the most vital parts of the American Counts Today is reinstatement of the Post-Census Local Review Program, that provides a procedure for local public officials to review and challenge the Census Bureau determinations before counting is final; and Whereas, a Post-Census Local Review is based upon the premise that local officials know their own communities better than statisticians and pollsters in Washington, D.C."

I think the City of Salem hits the nail on the head with this resolution. They say exactly what Republicans in Congress have been saying about the census and Federal Government in general; local officials know how to run programs the best, not bureaucracies in Washington.

Additionally, the City of Salem points out that post-census local review provides a procedure for local officials to challenge Census Bureau findings before they are final. I do not see the harm in allowing the Census Bureau's conclusions from being challenged. I suspect the challenge is what the Census Bureau fears. It would be an easier job for the Census Bureau if nobody was able to question their conclusions. The foundations of democracy rely on the voice of the people. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the Census Bureau is muzzling our localities.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring up the correspondence which I have received from the City of Carlyle. Mayor Schmidt wrote me in support of the post-census review and included a memorandum from one of his staff Ms. Jean Parson which discusses this issue in detail.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD letters from the mayor of Carlyle, and from the cities of Salem and Litchfield.

CITY OF CARLYLE,
Carlyle, IL, March 29, 1999.

Congressman JOHN SHIMKUS,
Springfield, IL.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHIMKUS: I have shared your letter concerning the post-census review process with my office manager. She has been the most active member of my staff in regard to the Census 2000 project. As you will note in her enclosed memo, she feels very strongly that the post-review process remain in place. I feel her concerns are legitimate and encourage you to pursue this matter further.

Please phone 618-594-2468 if you have any questions, or would like to discuss this matter further with either Ms. Parson or myself.

Sincerely,

DON W. SCHMITZ,
Mayor.

Enclosure.

MARCH 17, 1999.

MAYOR: I agree with Representative Shimkus on the importance of the post-census local review program. This is something I have been concerned about all along.

In the old program, they conducted the census and then we had the opportunity to review the count and challenge anything that didn't look quite correct to us. Under this program, as I understand it, our only input is in the formulation of the address list. I have spent many, many hours reviewing their list. I spent time with the post master comparing our lists, and then made corrections to the census list. The entire process was extremely confusing and I have had my doubts if my changes will even be made. I also am sure that I didn't pick up every problem in the list. It is just too complicated and time consuming.

They have given us time schedules as far as different reports and mailings are concerned and I don't believe they have been completely accurate. I am still waiting for a report where we can be sure all "special places" are included in their count. These include the nursing home, group homes, the jail, etc. I don't believe I have seen this report.

I guess I'm getting old, but the old way seemed to work. If we have no opportunity to review the final count, there is basically no one watching to see that the census takers actually do their job and that the information submitted is processed correctly.

I strongly feel that he should continue his efforts and get this process changed. It is a very critical part of our financial future to have the ability to challenge their counts. We are basically stuck with these counts for ten years. It could mean thousands and thousands of dollars to us if the counts are incorrect.

The other thing that should be noted is that there appears to be little involvement from most communities. We have been participating with our best efforts, but I don't believe that is the case with most communities. Communities were not well represented at the meetings I attended, and I have spoken to many community leaders who were not even aware of the changes. I'm sure this is because of mailings not reaching

the appropriate people. Anyway, this process could be very damaging to those communities who did not participate in the address review process. It is possible that they will have changes in administration and interest could increase between now and census time, and it will be too late for them to have any input.

Let me know when you want to call him, and I will be happy to help.

JEAN PARSON.

CITY OF LITCHFIELD,
Litchfield, IL, March 24, 1999.

Hon. JOHN M. SHIMKUS,
House of Representatives,
Springfield, IL.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SHIMKUS: The City of Litchfield is very much interested in the 2000 decennial Census that is fast approaching. We realize that not only does the Census count benefit the City of Litchfield with local planning of schools, transportation and business but also the State of Illinois for Congressional representation.

We feel that in order to have an accurate census count, we must reinstate the post-Census Local Review program. If a mistake is made with the oversight of subdivisions and newly annexed areas, the Census count is not accurate.

We feel that we cannot properly evaluate the Bureau's Partnership Program as it relates to our community. Thus far all that they have provided us with is a bulging packet of information and very little direction. We sought out the availability of workshops after discussing our lack of knowledge about the process with neighboring communities.

The City of Litchfield thanks you for your participation with ACT in making sure that this historical event proceed as it always did and not be changed. If we can be of any other assistance, please call me at 217-324-5253.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM CORNMAN,
Mayor.

THE CITY OF SALEM, ILLINOIS
RESOLUTION NO. 99-8

Whereas, the 2000 decennial Census is the method upon which state and federal authorities rely when apportioning funding and representation among local communities throughout the United States; and

Whereas, the Bureau of the Census is charged by Congress with developing procedures to efficiently and effectively take this national population count each decade; and

Whereas, the Honorable Congressman John M. Shimkus, 20th District, Illinois, has notified City of Salem Officials that the Bureau of the Census intends to make certain rule changes in its census program that among other things, eliminates the Local Review Process; and

Whereas, Congress has decided that it is now time to act in order to assure that the 2000 Census will be a successful count, and will consequently be considering a package of bills to improve the accuracy of the 2000 Census collectively known as ACT—America Counts Today, said bills being intended to improve the accuracy of the 2000 Census; and

Whereas, one of the most vital parts of ACT, is reinstatement of the Post-Census Local Review program, that provides a procedure for local public officials to review and challenge Census Bureau determinations before counting is final; and

Whereas, the Post-Census Local Review is based upon the premise that local officials know their own communities better than statisticians and pollsters in Washington, DC, and;

Now, therefore be it resolved by the Mayor and City Council of the City of Salem, Illi-

nois that it supports and endorses the efforts of Congressman John M. Shimkus and his colleagues in the United States Congress in enacting into law the package of bills collectively known as ACT—America Counts Today, and be it further resolved that this Resolution be filed with the appropriate congressional offices so that this Council's official stance will be made a part of the official record relating to the 2000 decennial Census.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the City of Salem, Illinois, to be affixed this 5th day of April, 1999.

BY: LEONARD E. FERGUSON,
Mayor.
ATTEST: JANE MARSHALL,
City Clerk.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ).

(Ms. VELÁZQUEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the rule and H.R. 472. This is a bill that hurts the communities. It pretends to help. It represents another attempt by the majority party to railroad the census and keep minority populations in this country hidden and powerless.

The 1990 census missed 5 percent of Hispanics, 4.4 percent of blacks, 2.3 of Asians, and 4.5 of American Indians. To any American who understands the meaning of democracy and fairness, these facts represent an injustice, an injustice that should be made right.

But Republicans know that giving voice to the voiceless will spell trouble for them. So their response is to create the illusion of fairness while carrying out a program of injustice.

It is not only Democrats in Congress who feel this way. Local officials are already worried that this bill will make the problem of undercounting worse. Republicans, who frequently talk about smaller government, want to micromanage the census. They want to force the Census Bureau to jump through bureaucratic hoops. This will not serve the people, and this will not ensure fairness. This plan will make the census a logistical nightmare and cause even greater undercounting among minorities.

Mr. Speaker, this is a bad bill that is motivated by Republican fear. They know that the 1990 undercount was unfair, and they are frightened that an accurate count will give voice to those who might speak against them. Perhaps they are right. But this is America, and all voices should be heard.

□ 1430

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER), who sits on the Subcommittee on the Census of the Committee on Government Reform.

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

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, first off, this is not a question of an accurate count, it is a question of an accurate count versus a possibly inaccurate

guess or, more likely, a probable inaccurate guess.

We hear all this talk about wanting to count people. The difference here is we would like to count people; the other side would like to estimate. They would like to guess where the people are, guess which city they are, take samples here and there from past experience and guess.

The Constitution says we have to count. And that is really what this debate is about. Are we going to count real people, make every effort, spend whatever is necessary to count real people, or are we going to have imaginary people?

There is not a lot of confidence right now in this country that either side would not attempt to cheat if they could do the estimating, because estimating depends on our assumptions. If it is not a real count, and we keep hearing there was an undercount last time, well, where they really counted, and they fixed the undercount, they can fix it. But if we are guessing what the undercount is, we will not really know because we are estimating.

Mr. Speaker, I have a business degree and a Master's degree, and I know my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SAWYER), is a big supporter of estimating and the mathematical science of estimating, as is the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), the chairman of the Subcommittee on the Census, but the fact is it is still a guess and it is not accurate at the local level.

I want to illustrate one point that the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS) was also making. Councilwoman Rebecca Revine, in Fort Wayne, has signed on a letter of Republican mayors and local officials supporting this bill because they are worried that without post-census local review they will not be counted accurately. Here is why:

In Fort Wayne, Indiana, my hometown, the census liaison sent this fax to his superiors in Washington:

"As of today, Groundhog Day 1999, despite being promised the address list in November 1998, over a dozen calls to the Bureau, the involvement of the Chicago Bureau supervisor, finger pointing by the Bureau among Chicago, Jeffersonville and Suitland, Maryland, and the involvement of our U.S. congressional office, me, we still do not have a printed address list and instructions for completing the process.

"The maps already provided are seriously out of date. No annexation and boundary study for 1999, combined with Fort Wayne's aggressive annexation policy, will mean the geography used by the Bureau will be inaccurate and incomplete.

"No local review of information provided or aggregate results from the Bureau prior to release will mean no external check of accuracy or 'completeness'."

Is it any wonder that Fort Wayne, Indiana, is worried and why they want to have post-census review? What mayor,

what city council, what county council in America would not want to look to see if the maps were accurate, to see if the information the government based it on is accurate?

That is all this bill does. We will debate sampling plenty, but this bill says the people in Fort Wayne ought to be able to see the maps, the assumptions, and whether they got the boundaries right. How can anyone be against that? No mayor that does not want to do it has to do it, no county council that does not want to do it has to do it, no city council that does not want to do it has to do it. Why in the world would anybody be against giving Fort Wayne or other cities the right to look at the results?

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I ask the time remaining on our side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) has 7½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS) has 1½ minutes remaining.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD).

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) for yielding me this time.

I come before my colleagues today as the Vice Chair of the Women's Caucus to speak out against H.R. 472 and to oppose this rule, which is no more than another roadblock by the majority to prevent a fair and accurate census count in the year 2000. Having talked with women leaders across this country about the need for an accurate count, I know just how critical an inclusive census will be for women and their children in 2000.

In 1990, half of the 4 million people that were missed were children, our most vulnerable constituency. The majority of those children that were undercounted and missed were minorities. In fact, 7 percent of black children were missed, 5 percent of Hispanic children were missed, and more than 6 percent of Native American children were missed.

In my district alone, Mr. Speaker, more than 30,000 people were not counted.

As a former mayor, I certainly understand the critical need for local involvement in the census, but there is a right way and a wrong way to do it. H.R. 472 is the wrong way. Local involvement cannot be conducted at the expense of accuracy. H.R. 472, a wolf in sheep's clothing, actually jeopardizes the count under the auspices of accuracy.

Local involvement must come before the census, when the Bureau is compiling address lists, as my colleague the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has suggested. Her amendment wisely focuses on the few situations where post-census local review would be useful, such as an account for boundary changes and new construction.

Post-census local review, as defined by the bill offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), however, would waste critical time and money in the census count. In fact, the plan offered by the gentleman from Florida may prevent the census numbers from being compiled and completed on time.

We simply cannot, Mr. Speaker, jeopardize a fair and accurate count. It is too important to America's families and children.

Mr. Speaker, not only do I stand here today to oppose this bill on behalf of the 37th Congressional District of California, but I also oppose this bill on behalf of the women of America who know full well how important the need for a truly fair and accurate count is.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATERS).

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, here we go again. Sometimes we believe that we have reached a point where people can put politics aside and just do the right thing. But we find ourselves confronted with a bill here today that would simply complicate the count and mess up the census. We find ourselves with a bill being proposed, H.R. 472, that would force a delay in the census of an additional 9 weeks, a disruption which will undermine an accurate count.

The 1990 census was the first in this Nation's history to be less accurate than the preceding census. In my own State of California we lost \$2.2 billion in funding because of an inaccurate census in 1990. In 1990 about 4.5 million people were counted twice and 8.5 million were never counted. The undercount, of course, fell hardest on the poor, children and minorities. Monies allocated for schools, school lunches, Head Start, senior citizens, all never reached the communities where people were not counted.

A recent GAO study concluded that had an accurate counting method been employed in the 1990 census, the State of California could have received \$2.2 billion in Federal funds. We have missed out on the sampling, but we can do a better count if we are allowed to just get about the business of doing it and not put on an extra layer of work by local municipalities who do not have the resources and who do not want to do it.

Take the politics out of it. Let us all be the Americans that we say we are. Let us count the people, let us show that we respect our citizens enough to simply do the right thing and make sure we do the best job that we can do.

I am out recruiting, holding town hall meetings, getting people signed up, getting welfare recipients to work so that they can be out there doing this count. Do not mess it up. Let us do what we can to count all of the people.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ROTHMAN).

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

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, the 2000 Census, like all the ones preceding it, will have an impact on the lives of real people.

Federal money is dispersed amongst the States on the basis of population. Population is determined in the census. Funding for so many important Federal programs that so many Americans and New Jerseyans care about will be in jeopardy. The Federal dollars for housing assistance for seniors, small business loans, Head Start programs, Pell Grants, school lunches, and so many more are determined by the census count.

In the 1990 Census, 34,000 children in New Jersey were not counted. In the 1990 Census, 2 million children across the country were not counted. So how can my friends on the Republican side of the aisle want us to continue an ineffective, inaccurate census program? I do not know how they can do it, but what we can do in the Congress is to vote against the rule and vote against H.R. 472. Otherwise, Americans all over this country will be shortchanged for all of these programs and others if we do not use accurate methods.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to reject the rule on H.R. 472 and, if the rule is passed, to adopt the Maloney amendment which will maintain local government involvement without hampering the Census Bureau's ability to carry out an accurate census.

Everyone counts in America. Let us make sure the census counts them. Let us approve the Democratic alternative.

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

Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to vote against the previous question. If the previous question is defeated, I will offer an amendment to the rule that will make in order an open rule for H.R. 472 and will increase general debate to 2 hours.

The rule that is currently before us severely limits amendments as well as the time that they may be considered. The time restrictions in this rule will not provide Members with enough time to thoroughly debate this most important issue.

Vote "no" on the previous question so we can amend this rule and make it completely open without limiting debate on important amendments. Make sure no Member of this House is shut out of the debate.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert for the RECORD at this point a list of local governments, local officials and organizations opposed to H.R. 472, and the text of the amendment and extraneous materials related to this debate.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OPPOSED TO H.R. 472

State of Hawaii, State of South Carolina, State of North Carolina, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, City of Detroit, Michigan, City of San Francisco, California, City of New York, New York, Miami-Dade County, Florida, City of Houston, Texas, City of Los Angeles, California, Cook County, Illinois, City of Denver, Colorado, City of Hialeah Gardens, Florida, City of West Hollywood, California, City of San Antonio, Texas, City of

Austin, Texas, City of Hartford, Connecticut, City of San Juan, Texas, City of Jersey City, New Jersey, City of Laredo, Texas, City of Cudahy, California, and City of San Fernando, California.

LOCAL OFFICIALS OPPOSED TO H.R. 472

County Commissioner Katy Sorenson (FL), County Commissioner Barbara Carey-Shuler (FL), State Senator Gwen Margolis (FL), State Senator Miguel del Valle (IL), State Representative Rebecca Rios (AZ), Chicago Alderman Ricardo Munoz (IL), County Supervisor Gloria Molina, Los Angeles (CA), Council Member John Castillo, Houston (TX), Othello City Councilman Samuel Garza (WA), County Commissioner Javier Gonzales, Santa Fe (NM), Councilman John Bueno, Pontiac (MI), Council Member Bobby Duran, Taos (NM), Councilwoman Debra Guerrero, San Antonio (TX), State Assemblyman Peter Rivera (NY), State Representative Sally Ann Gonzales (AZ), and Councilmember Martin Samaniego (AZ).

ORGANIZATIONS OPPOSED TO H.R. 472

United States Conference of Mayors, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, National Asian and Pacific Legal Foundation, National Congress of American Indians, National Black Caucus of State Legislators, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, NALEO, National Education Association, NEA, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFSCME, Consortium of Social Science Associations, Laredo Chamber of Commerce, and American Association of University Women, AAUW.

United Automobile Workers, UAW, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, LCCR, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, AFL-CIO, American Federation of Teachers, AFT, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, MALDEF, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, National Council of Negro Women, Black Leadership Forum, Blacks in Government, National Urban League, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, and American Federation of Government Employees, AFGE.

TEXT OF PREVIOUS QUESTION FOR H. RES. 138
H.R. 472—LOCAL CENSUS QUALITY CHECK ACT

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 472), to amend title 13, United States Code, to require the use of postcensus local review as part of each decennial census. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed two hours equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Government Reform. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. Any member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions."

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not

merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the opposition, at least for the moment, to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives (VI, 308-311), describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

Because the vote today may look bad for the Republican majority they will say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever]." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual: "Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down the previous question on the rule . . . When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: "Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

The vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda to offer an alternative plan.

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

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 1/4 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), the chairman of the Subcommittee on the Census.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I am amazed that there is so much opposition to this proposal. It was used in

1990, and it is about getting the most accurate, trusted and legal census possible.

In 1990 it addressed 400,000 mistakes. It corrected 400,000 mistakes. Everybody wants to say we are undercounted. Well, this is one way to help correct the undercount problem.

It is a voluntary program. No one is mandated to do it. It is the smaller communities and towns that feel the greatest interest in even doing this, because big cities have full-time people working on the census.

Now, let me make sure we understand what the Supreme Court did say. The Supreme Court said that we must have a full enumeration for apportionment, and they also indicate, in my opinion, though it is going to have to go back to the court, that it is going to apply to redistricting.

In fact, CRS issued a report in February of this year, and let me read the sentence: "However, a closer examination of all other parts of the Court's opinion indicates that it did not interpret those other purposes as necessarily including at least intrastate redistricting."

This is a good commonsense idea. It helps address the undercount, and that is what we want to do is address the undercount, get everybody counted. It makes a better census.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time, and I urge support of the previous question, a vote of "yes".

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. FROST. 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.

Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device, if ordered, will be taken on the question of agreeing to the resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 220, nays 207, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No. 86]
YEAS—220

Aderholt	Bereuter	Burr
Archer	Biggert	Burton
Armey	Bilbray	Buyer
Bachus	Bilirakis	Callahan
Baker	Bilely	Calvert
Ballenger	Blunt	Camp
Barr	Boehert	Campbell
Barrett (NE)	Boehner	Canady
Bartlett	Bonilla	Cannon
Barton	Bono	Castle
Bass	Brady (TX)	Chabot
Bateman	Bryant	Chambliss

Chenoweth Houghton
Coble Hulshof
Coburn Hunter
Collins Hutchinson
Combust Hyde
Cook Isakson
Cooksey Rohrabacher
Cox Jenkins
Crane Johnson (CT)
Cubin Johnson, Sam
Cunningham Jones (NC)
Davis (VA) Kasich
Deal Kelly
DeLay King (NY)
DeMint Kingston
Diaz-Balart Knollenberg
Dickey Kolbe
Doolittle Kuykendall
Dreier Largent
Duncan Latham
Dunn LaTourette
Ehlers Lazio
Ehrlich Leach
Emerson Lewis (CA)
English Lewis (KY)
Everett Linder
Ewing LoBiondo
Fletcher Lucas (OK)
Foley Manzullo
Forbes McCollum
Fossella McCreery
Fowler McHugh
Franks (NJ) McInnis
Frelinghuysen McIntosh
Gallegly McKeon
Ganske Metcalf
Gekas Mica
Gibbons Miller (FL)
Gilchrest Miller, Gary
Gillmor Moran (KS)
Gilman Morella
Goode Myrick
Goodlatte Nethercutt
Goodling Ney
Goss Northup
Graham Norwood
Granger Nussle
Green (WI) Ose
Greenwood Oxley
Gutknecht Packard
Hansen Paul
Hastings (WA) Pease
Hayes Peterson (PA)
Hayworth Petri
Hefley Pickering
Herger Pitts
Hill (MT) Pombo
Hilleary Porter
Hobson Portman
Hoekstra Pryce (OH)
Horn Quinn
Hostettler Radanovich

NAYS—207

Abercrombie Costello
Ackerman Gutierrez
Allen Coyne
Andrews Cramer
Baird Crowley
Baldacci Cummings
Baldwin Danner
Barcia Davis (FL)
Barrett (WI) Davis (IL)
Becerra DeFazio
Bentsen DeGette
Berkley Delahunt
Berman DeLauro
Berry Deutsch
Bishop Dicks
Blagojevich Dingell
Blumenauer Dixon
Bonior Doggett
Borski Dooley
Boswell Doyle
Boucher Edwards
Boyd Eshoo
Brady (PA) Etheridge
Brown (FL) Evans
Brown (OH) Farr
Capps Fattah
Capuano Filner
Cardin Ford
Carson Frank (MA)
Clay Frost
Clayton Gejdenson
Clement Gephardt
Clyburn Gonzalez
Condit Gordon
Conyers Green (TX)

Lipinski
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McDermott
McGovern
McIntyre
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Millender-
McDonald
Miller, George
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (VA)
Murtha
Nadler
Neal
Oberstar

Brown (CA)
Hastings (FL)

NOT VOTING—6

LaHood
Lantos

□ 1502

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

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated against: Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 86, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered. The SPEAKER pro tempore. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 219, noes 205, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 87]

AYES—219

Aderholt
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baker
Ballenger
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bateman
Bereuter
Biggett
Billbray
Blirakis
Bliley
Blunt
Boehert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bono
Brady (TX)

Bryant
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Coble
Coburn
Collins
Combest
Cook
Cooksey
Cox
Crane
Cubin

Slaughter
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Spratt
Stabenow
Stark
Stenholm
Strickland
Stupak
Tanner
Tauscher
Taylor (MS)
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thurman
Tierney
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Waters
Watt (NC)
Waxman
Weiner
Wexler
Weygand
Wise
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Allen
Andrews
Baird
Baldacci
Baldwin
Barcia
Barrett (WI)
Becerra
Bentsen
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Bishop
Blagojevich
Blumenauer
Bonior
Borski
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (PA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Carson
Cardin
Carson
Clay
Clement
Clyburn
Condit
Conyers
Costello
Coyne
Cramer
Crowley
Cummings
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
Deutsch

NOES—205

Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doyle
Edwards
Engel
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Ford
Frank (MA)
Frost
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Gonzalez
Gordon
Green (TX)
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hill (IN)
Hilliard
Hinchev
Hinojosa
Hoefel
Holden
Holt
Hooley
Hoyer
Inlee
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
Kilpatrick
Kilpatrick
Klink
Kucinich
LaFalce
Lampson
Larson
Lee
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lipinski
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McDermott
McGovern
McIntyre
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Millender-
McDonald
Miller, George
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (VA)
Murtha
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Oberstar
Obey
Oliver

Ortiz	Sanchez	Taylor (MS)
Owens	Sanders	Thompson (CA)
Pallone	Sandlin	Thompson (MS)
Pascarell	Sawyer	Thurman
Pastor	Schakowsky	Tierney
Payne	Scott	Towns
Pelosi	Serrano	Turner
Peterson (MN)	Sherman	Udall (CO)
Phelps	Shows	Udall (NM)
Pickett	Sisisky	Velazquez
Pomeroy	Skelton	Vento
Price (NC)	Slaughter	Visclosky
Rahall	Smith (WA)	Waters
Rangel	Snyder	Watt (NC)
Reyes	Spratt	Waxman
Rivers	Stabenow	Weiner
Rodriguez	Stark	Wexler
Roemer	Stenholm	Weygand
Rothman	Strickland	Wise
Roybal-Allard	Stupak	Woolsey
Rush	Tanner	Wu
Sabo	Tauscher	Wynn

NOT VOTING—9

Brown (CA)	Hastings (FL)	Meek (FL)
Clayton	LaHood	Ryun (KS)
Ewing	Lantos	Watkins

□ 1512

So the resolution was agreed to. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 138, I call up the bill (H.R. 472) to amend title 13, United States Code, to require the use of postcensus local review as part of each decennial census, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill. The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). Pursuant to House Resolution 138, the bill is considered as having been read for amendment.

The text of H.R. 472 is as follows:

H.R. 472

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Local Census Quality Check Act".

SEC. 2. POSTCENSUS LOCAL REVIEW.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter II of chapter 5 of title 13, United States Code, is amended by adding after section 142 the following:

"§ 143. Postcensus local review

"(a) Each decennial census taken after the date of enactment of this section shall include an opportunity for postcensus local review, similar to that afforded as part of the 1990 decennial census, so that local governmental units may review household counts, jurisdictional boundaries, and such other data as the Secretary considers appropriate for the purpose of identifying discrepancies or other potential problems before the tabulation of total population by States (as required for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States) is completed.

"(b) Any postcensus local review afforded under this section in connection with a decennial census shall be conducted in conformance with the following:

"(1) Not later than February 1st of the year in which such census is taken, the Secretary shall notify local governmental units as to the guidelines for, and shall furnish them with any other information pertinent to, their participating in the upcoming postcensus local review.

"(2)(A) Not later than 30 days before submitting to a local governmental unit the

data subject to its review under this section, the Secretary shall furnish to such unit the appropriate block level maps and lists of housing units.

"(B) Not later than August 1st of the year in which such census is taken or, if earlier, the 30th day after the date on which the non-response followup process for such census is completed, the Secretary shall submit to each local governmental unit the data which is subject to review by such governmental unit under this section.

"(C) For purposes of subparagraph (B), the date on which the nonresponse followup process for a census is completed shall be as determined by the Secretary.

"(3) A local governmental unit shall have 45 days (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal public holidays) to review the data submitted to it under paragraph (2)(B), and to submit any challenges relating to such data.

"(4) The Secretary shall investigate all challenges timely submitted under paragraph (3), canvass such blocks or other units as the Secretary considers appropriate in connection with any such challenge, and correct any miscounts identified pursuant to any such challenge.

"(5) Not later than November 1st of the year in which such census is taken, the Secretary shall, with respect to each challenge timely submitted under paragraph (3)—

"(A) complete the measures required under paragraph (4) with respect to such challenge; and

"(B) notify the local governmental unit that submitted such challenge as to the measures taken in response thereto.

"(c) As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'decennial census' means a decennial census of population conducted under section 141(a); and

"(2) the term 'local governmental unit' means a local unit of general purpose government as defined by section 184, or its designee."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 5 of title 13, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 142 the following:

"143. Postcensus local review."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The amendment printed in House Report 106-93 is adopted.

The text of H.R. 472, as amended pursuant to House Resolution 138, is as follows:

H.R. 472

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Local Census Quality Check Act".

SEC. 2. POSTCENSUS LOCAL REVIEW.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter II of chapter 5 of title 13, United States Code, is amended by adding after section 141 the following:

"§ 142. Postcensus local review

"(a) Each decennial census taken after the date of enactment of this section shall include an opportunity for postcensus local review, similar to that afforded as part of the 1990 decennial census, so that local governmental units may review household counts, jurisdictional boundaries, and such other data as the Secretary considers appropriate for the purpose of identifying discrepancies or other potential problems before the tabulation of total population by States (as required for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States) is completed.

"(b) Any postcensus local review afforded under this section in connection with a de-

ennial census shall be conducted in conformance with the following:

"(1) Not later than February 1st of the year in which such census is taken, the Secretary shall notify local governmental units as to the guidelines for, and shall furnish them with any other information pertinent to, their participating in the upcoming postcensus local review.

"(2)(A) Not later than 30 days before submitting to a local governmental unit the data subject to its review under this section, the Secretary shall furnish to such unit the appropriate block level maps and lists of housing units.

"(B) Not later than August 1st of the year in which such census is taken or, if earlier, the 30th day after the date on which the non-response followup process for such census is completed, the Secretary shall submit to each local governmental unit the data which is subject to review by such governmental unit under this section.

"(C) For purposes of subparagraph (B), the date on which the nonresponse followup process for a census is completed shall be as determined by the Secretary.

"(3) A local governmental unit shall have 45 days (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal public holidays) to review the data submitted to it under paragraph (2)(B), and to submit any challenges relating to such data.

"(4) The Secretary shall investigate all challenges timely submitted under paragraph (3), canvass such blocks or other units as the Secretary considers appropriate in connection with any such challenge, and correct any miscounts identified pursuant to any such challenge.

"(5) Not later than November 1st of the year in which such census is taken, the Secretary shall, with respect to each challenge timely submitted under paragraph (3)—

"(A) complete the measures required under paragraph (4) with respect to such challenge; and

"(B) notify the local governmental unit that submitted such challenge as to the measures taken in response thereto.

"(c) As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'decennial census' means a decennial census of population conducted under section 141(a); and

"(2) the term 'local governmental unit' means a local unit of general purpose government as defined by section 184, or its designee."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 5 of title 13, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 141 the following:

"142. Postcensus local review."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. After 1 hour of debate on the bill, as amended, it shall be in order to consider the further amendment printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD numbered 1, which shall be considered read and debatable for 1 hour, equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent.

The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) each will control 30 minutes of debate on the bill.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER).

□ 1515

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, post-census local review is a very straightforward, common-sense idea used by the Census Bureau in 1990. It is a voluntary program that allows local governments to check for mistakes by the Census Bureau that may have left households in their communities uncounted. If a local government does not want to participate in the program, nothing in the legislation would make them.

Make no mistake, Mr. Speaker. Post-census local review is in no way designed to criticize the Census Bureau. Rather, Mr. Speaker, H.R. 472 is designed to recognize an indisputable fact. As the Census Bureau attempts to enumerate 275 million people residing in America on Census Day, which is April 1, 2000, it is going to make some mistakes. Post-census local review is designed to find and then correct these errors.

Mr. Speaker, in 1990 post-census local review corrected close to 400,000 errors. Eighty thousand households were added to the count, and another almost 200,000 were moved to their correct block. Another 100,000 households were removed from the census count because they did not belong.

Mr. Speaker, this program is designed to make the census more accurate, and that is exactly what it does. Who here can argue that catching 400,000 errors before they become final is not a worthwhile goal?

My colleagues on the other side will argue that post-census local review is not needed. They argue that the Census Bureau's pre-census programs are doing an adequate job. Well, first of all, there are some 21,000 local governments that are not participating in the pre-census programs. Do these local governments not matter? Many have limited resources, and, given a choice, would understandably want to dedicate these resources towards a final check at the end of the process.

Mr. Speaker, I know that there are two words that local government officials hate to hear from the Federal Government and they are:

"Trust us."

That is what this administration is telling the local government:

Trust us. The Federal Government does not make mistakes. We can count 275 million people without a mistake in the lot. After all, we are the Federal Government, and we do not make mistakes.

Mr. Speaker, if there is one thing I have learned during my time in this fine institution, it is that the government does make mistakes, lots of them; some of them honest mistakes, and some of them not so honest. There were almost 400,000 errors in 1990 during the 1990 census, and the post-census local review, H.R. 472, is designed to catch these mistakes.

The ironic thing, Mr. Speaker, is that the Census Bureau has made much acclaim about their efforts to reach out to local governments and to build a trusting relationship, but do they real-

ly trust local governments? Well, I will let my colleagues be the judge.

Mr. Speaker, in a recent New York Times article Census Bureau Director Ken Prewitt said the following quote. This is referring to post-census local review:

It invites 39,000 independent jurisdictions to tell us that they have more people than we found. It is an incentive for anyone to try and boost their numbers for either economic or political gain.

Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that this is a terrible thing to say about our local government partners, partners that Census Bureau needs to work with in order to ensure that we have an accurate count in the 2000 census.

Mr. Speaker, this is a far cry from what the Census Bureau said about post-census local review and local governments during the 1990 census. In 1990 the Census Bureau said, quote:

A considerable amount of goodwill and understanding of one another can develop between governmental units, the State agencies assisting the governmental units and Census Bureau personnel as a result of the interaction during the local review process.

Sadly, Mr. Speaker, we have moved from a time of building goodwill and understanding to one of distrust and alienation.

Mr. Speaker, the strongest supporters of post-census local review are those groups who are most intimately involved in the Census Bureau's pre-census programs and understand their deficiencies. Listen to what the National League of Cities, which represents 135,000 mayors and council members in 17,000 cities said about H.R. 472. Quote:

The National League of Cities enthusiastically supports the Local Census Quality Act, H.R. 472. This bill will provide our Nation's cities and towns with the much needed post-census local review process.

Listen to what the National Association of Towns and Townships which represents 11,000 towns and townships nationwide, has to say. Quote:

The 45-day post-census review, as proposed in H.R. 472, is one way to help assure that our smaller communities are more accurately accounted for.

And the National Association of Developmental Organizations supports this legislation. I quote:

We strongly urge you to support H.R. 472 which reinstates the post-census review program for local governments. There are too many consequences from inaccurate counts whether in urban or rural areas for local governments to be prohibited from double-checking their count.

Mr. Speaker, even the Commerce Secretary's own census advisory committee has recommended that he reinstate post-census local review, and they have been studying this issue for most of this decade. Quote:

The Commerce Secretary should direct the Census Bureau to develop a post-census local review operation for Census 2000. This review would be of housing units only, not population, and also would identify special places

which have been enumerated. Participating governments can work in partnership with the Census Bureau to assure that the entire population of the community has been contacted and received the opportunity to participate in the census.

Mr. Speaker, this is good legislation. This legislation will help reduce the minority undercount.

Mr. Speaker, we worked very closely in the development of this legislation with a number of different local government groups. I would like to thank the National League of Cities, the National Association of Towns and Townships, the National Association of Developmental Organizations and others for their support in crafting this important legislation. It represents their desire to have a successful and accurate census in 2000 and ours as well.

I urge passage of H.R. 472 without the Maloney amendment.

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

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to 472. This bill, should it pass, will seriously damage the quality of the 2000 census. It may create so much disruption that the Census Bureau will miss the statutory deadlines for delivering apportionment counts to the President.

To make matters worse, this bill will do absolutely no good. It will not increase the accuracy of the census. It will not reduce the high undercounts for minorities and children.

The 1990 census was fundamentally unfair. That census missed 8.4 million people who were mostly minorities and the poor in urban and rural areas. It also counted twice 4.4 million people, mostly white suburbanites. Over all, the total error rate was over 10 percent. The 1990 census missed 1 in 10 African American males, 1 in 20 Hispanics, 1 in 8 American Indians on reservations, 1 in 16 white rural renters.

During the decade, as a result of these errors, millions of people went unrepresented. The supporters of 472 want to repeat the errors of 1990. In fact, they went so far as to put in the legislation that all] future censuses would have to repeat the procedures that brought us this seriously flawed 1990 census, the first census in our history to be less accurate than the one before it.

Post-census local review is a review of the housing counts, the counts of housing units. It does very little to reduce the undercount of people, the big problem that the Census Bureau is trying to correct in the present census. In 1990, 70 percent of the people missed and 80 percent of the African Americans missed lived in households that were counted. The Census Bureau counted the households but missed the people in them. For 2000 the Census Bureau moved local review to the front end of the census.

Mr. Speaker, let us get it right the first time, not fix it later, and that is what the Census Bureau is doing.

In 1990, post-census local review was a failure. Eighty-four percent of the local governments did not participate. For the last year, the Census Bureau has been working with local governments to make sure that there is an agreement with the local governments on the number of housing units before the census begins. So far that program has covered 86 percent of the addresses in the United States, and they are still working. That is far, far better than 1990.

Why then does the majority want to repeat the 1990 census? In fact, it is not just local review they want to repeat from 1990. The majority has repeatedly said, in fact it has been said on the Floor today, that the 1990 census was not all that bad. They want to repeat as much of 1990 as possible.

Why? Why does the majority want to repeat 1990 with all those undisputed errors? Because they believe that the errors in the census are to their political advantage.

Just recently one Republican operative was quoted as saying in the paper that this was a, quote, do or die issue for the Republican party.

The former Speaker said in his book that winning the census fight was about preserving the Republican majority in Congress. It was not about getting an accurate count. He said it was about preserving the Republican majority in Congress.

The head of the RNC sent out a memo soliciting contributions to fight the census in the courts, and the majority here made sure that those lawsuits would be paid for with taxpayer dollars.

The litany goes on and on, but the tune is the same. The supporters of this bill, the opponents of a fair and accurate census, are willing to do anything to make sure that the next census repeats the mistakes of the past. H.R. 472 is just one more salvo in that continued assault on a honest and accurate census.

Let us remember what happened in the last Congress. The Republican majority attached to the disaster relief bill, the flood relief bill, language that would have prevented the use of a modern scientific count. They thought the President would not veto it because so many Americans were suffering. The President vetoed it and received editorial support across this Nation for standing up for what was right. Twice they held up the budget over it. And now, they complain that the Census Bureau is partisan and trying to rig the census for the Democrats.

The Census Bureau has no political agenda. In fact, the Director, when he testified before us, implored the Congress to keep the Census Bureau out of the line of fire. The response by the majority has been to put the Census Bureau between the cross hairs.

The Census Bureau put forward the best plan it could develop for the 2000 census, one that has been supported by many professionals in the scientific

community, Republican and Democrat alike. It is time to stop trying to destroy the census and let the professionals do their work.

□ 1530

We should not be trying to micro-manage the Census Bureau. We should let the professionals go out and conduct an accurate count.

The partisan agenda is not at the Census Bureau; it is here on Capitol Hill. It is being managed out of the Speaker's office and the RNC down the street.

H.R. 472 is just one more item in that agenda and it must be defeated. I urge a no vote.

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

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, what we are talking about doing is the most accurate census possible and we need to put all the resources into it. We have to follow what the Court says, what the law says. The Supreme Court ruled.

If they want to have a constitutional amendment and change things, that is another route to go, but it is not going to happen. Follow the law. Let us get the best count we can.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY).

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, the previous speaker from the Democrat side of the aisle was most unsettling. The rules of discourse that we follow in this House, the protocols that we try to honor for one another in this House, are commonly understood that we do not assail one another's motives.

I have just listened to what is as malicious a diatribe regarding the motives of the majority in this matter as I have ever heard on the floor of this House, and it is not necessary.

Should I try to refute point by point the allegations about our motives, political motives? No, of course not.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, suffice it to say that it is commonplace among the Democrats for them to accuse us of what they themselves are doing. What we are asking is not to repeat the census of 1990. What we are asking is for Congress to listen to the Constitution and to the chief institutional defense of the Constitution, the Supreme Court, and count the American people, enumerate.

The Constitution says and the Supreme Court says, count. Every American deserves to be counted. We are prepared to make whatever obligation of funds and efforts is necessary to count every person. I deserve to be counted. My son and daughter deserve to be counted. If you live in Bemidji, Minnesota, you deserve to be counted, not estimated, not guessed at and not eliminated because you did not fit in somebody's statistical model.

Now, we are making that commitment. The Census Bureau needs to make a plan to count the American people, a plan that conforms with the directives of the Supreme Court of the United States as they have lent interpretation to the Constitution of the United States. When they make that plan to count the American people, wholly, totally, completely, we will fund it; we will support it. We will provide the resources to count the American people.

We do not believe that the census of the United States should be done by polling. We do not believe that you, Mr. and Mrs. America, should be found in your place within a standard deviation. You should be counted in your home. You should not be estimated.

Finally, we have already seen at the local level that local review reveals where the count was not complete and accurate. Every community wants that. It is a simple matter. It is a simple matter. If we make our best effort to go out and have a decent, honest count of every single person as, in fact, the Constitution and the Supreme Court directs us, and we then want to check that, should we relegate our checking of that to a bunch of guesstimators holed up in Washington, D.C. with some abstract mathematical model, replete with its standard deviations? Or should we go to the local community and say to the mayor, were we inclusive, did we count everybody?

Who knows better, the mayor and the community government in Bemidji, Minnesota, or somebody holed up behind some statistical model in Washington, D.C.?

Now, I am sure before this debate is over I am going to hear more diatribes about our motives here, but I am content to let the American people listen to this debate and judge for yourselves.

Mr. and Mrs. America, read the Constitution. Remember what you have been through in the census decade after decade after decade in America. Did we count you, or did we estimate you, in accordance with a model that was defined by the Clinton administration that has politicized every other thing they have ever touched in this government?

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time is remaining on our side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). The gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has 22½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) has 20¾ minutes remaining.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN), the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Government Reform.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this bill is for one purpose only. It would delay the Bureau of the Census from getting the report to the States in time for them to redistrict using the most accurate statistically

approved methods to get the count that will be the one that should be achieved in a census.

Now we are really looking at an Alice in Wonderland situation. I have a chart. Maybe we can get this chart up. This chart shows those groups that believe using modern statistical methods will give us the most accurate census: The National Academy of Sciences, the American Statistical Association, even President Bush's Census Bureau director, all the experts.

Let me have the chart of those who think that statistical methods are unconstitutional, inappropriate: The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) and the Republican leadership.

Are we supposed to believe that all of these people from the Academy of Sciences are doing something for partisan purposes but the Republican Party is out to get us the most accurate census? Well, I think if we want to look at their motives we ought to look at the statements of some of their leaders.

In a refreshing moment of candor, one Republican strategist said that this is a do or die issue for the Republican majority in the House, because what the Republicans really fear is that a more accurate count will include more African Americans, more Hispanics and that they will in turn elect more Democrats to Congress.

Alice in Wonderland told us that up is down, down means up, and here what we have is when the Republicans say they are nonpartisan, they are accusing everybody else of being partisan.

The fact of the matter is that there will be local participation in making the census as accurate as possible. That is really not the issue involved. The issue involved is that this legislation would make it impossible for the Bureau of the Census to do their job in a professional way, as has been recommended by every nonpartisan organization.

I urge a defeat of this proposal and an adoption of an amendment that will be offered by the gentleman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, the thing missing on that list besides Dan Miller are two Federal courts, six Federal judges and the United States Supreme Court. They all oppose sampling.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 6½ minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN), and ask unanimous consent that he be permitted to control that time.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Idaho (Mrs. CHENOWETH).

(Mrs. CHENOWETH asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Maloney substitute which would allow the Secretary of the Census to decide in what manner local governments may participate in the census count.

By requiring post-census local review, H.R. 472 is at the heart of the differences between many of us in Congress. The issue is very simple. Who knows better how to minister to the people, the small local governments familiar with their communities or an overburdened Federal bureaucracy that takes its marching orders from Washington, D.C.?

Post-census local review makes good common sense. How can this heavily centralized Federal Government possibly justify its assertion that it is better equipped to verify a local census count than the locals themselves?

In Idaho, where I am from, there are a great deal of rural areas, pocket communities, tucked in the mountains away from cities and towns. These areas must be counted, and no one is better equipped to ensure that they are counted than the people of Idaho themselves. The local government interacts with these citizens on a daily basis. They deliver the mail. They provide utilities. They help children get to school. They establish voting packages and provide emergency and rescue assistance.

To expect the Federal Government to have the same level of familiarity, the same ability to account for each family and community, is ludicrous. Why is the government attempting to reinvent the wheel at taxpayers' expense?

We already have the resources in place to make this census an accurate count and yet the administration does not want to make use of these resources. The government wants to hire so-called experts in Washington to determine whether or not the census is accurate for a community they have never seen.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard a lot of partisanship here on the floor tonight but that is not necessary. This is not about Republicans or Democrats. It is at getting the best possible count we can achieve.

We know the Supreme Court has caused this ruling. We know we have to engage in enumeration. That is what we are here talking about. This has nothing to do with sampling, to be quite honest. This has everything to do to make sure we get the best enumeration possible.

Rather than quoting Republicans, rather than engaging in a partisan, vitriolic speech, I would like to quote some Members of Congress. I would like to quote the dean of Congress, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL), and I quote, "The local government officials have labored tirelessly for 2 years that ensure that each home and every person is included in the

final census tally. They understand the importance to themselves, the communities they serve and the people."

Actually, we have been hearing from the Commerce Department that Secretary Daley will be encouraging the President to veto this legislation, but I would like to ask the Secretary of the Commerce to talk to his own brother, the mayor of Chicago, a Democrat mayor of Chicago, Mayor Richard Daley, who said, "They, the Census Bureau, should come with the inclination to work closely with the mayors. We are the ones who are in the trenches. We are there. We know our cities. There should be an effort of cooperation and partnership." That is a Democratic mayor of Chicago.

I would like to quote from the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Census in 1990, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SAWYER), a Democrat. "Local review presents the last chance for local officials to have an effect on the completeness of the census counts. In some ways, it is the final opportunity to share observations gathered throughout the entire census operation this year."

Lastly, I would like to talk about one of our fantastically successful mayors, a mayor of Detroit, Michigan, Dennis Archer, who said just this year at the U.S. Conference of Mayors, this is Dennis Archer, mayor of Detroit, Michigan, a Democrat, "We, as cities, need to have the opportunity, before the census count is in cement, given to the President, for the President's review by the end of the year 2000, so we can evaluate and say, 'Here is where you are wrong, and here are the changes we would like for you to consider.' I think that we ought to be given that." That is the Democratic mayor of Detroit.

In my district, I actually did a survey of all of the elected officials, town board chairmen, mayors, county executives.

□ 1545

I have here all of the petitions, all of the surveys from those locally-elected officials in the first Congressional District of Wisconsin, Independents, Democrats, Republicans. Here is what they said.

This is the Mayor of Racine, Jim Smith: "We would anticipate it would be very beneficial to both the Census Bureau and the city of Racine to have an opportunity to review maps and addresses after the count has been completed and prior to the Census Bureau submitting its final account."

Sheila Siegler, from the town of Wheatland in Wisconsin: "I believe the very best attempt should be made to get an accurate account, and local review would aid that process."

Mr. Speaker, our efforts are to get a better number, are to improve the Census. This should not be about Republicans or Democrats. We are going to engage in enumeration, we know that, the Supreme Court has said just that. So let us work together and get the best count we can possibly get.

These gentlemen, the Independents, the Democrats, the Republicans from Wisconsin at local units of government, the Democrats in Congress, in the cities across our Nation, they know the benefits of local government involvement. This is not and should not be about politics.

We are not advocating a method that will cause a manipulation of the numbers, we are advocating a method to improve the count. Local governments, combined with Federal governments and State governments, can do just that.

Lastly, I would like to talk about one issue that has been mentioned by some of the minority today, that this is a delaying tactic, a tactic to try and frustrate the efforts of statistical adjustment. That is simply not the case. They had a statistical adjustment in 1990, and they had a post Census local review. It can be done. It was done in 1990. They did a post Census local review. They did engage in a sampling adjustment. They did not use it, but they did engage in it.

This is not a delaying tactic, this is simply embodying the principle that governments can work together at all levels of government, the Federal Government, local government, State government. The mayor of Detroit, the mayor of Chicago, Congressmen and Senators from both sides of the aisle, the Democrats, the Republicans, have over the last 10 years advocated postcensus local review.

This is not about politics, it is about doing what the Constitution has asked us to do.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS).

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman who just spoke quoted Mayor Archer of Detroit. Let us hear the rest of the story. Mayor Archer said, and I quote, "This bill prevents Census counts from being tracked for the undercount by April 1, 2001, which is critical for distribution of Federal funds. I cannot support H.R. 472 in its current form."

Going on, we have all agreed that the last Census was inundated with millions of errors. It is our duty to fix this problem. I am dismayed that H.R. 472, the Post Census Local Review Act, is still being considered as a solution to the miscount. The bill will continue a thoughtless practice of requiring the Census Bureau to set aside 9 unnecessary weeks after the field work is done to review the count of local addresses a second time.

Most mayors who participated in this program in 1990 thought it was a disaster. Why are Republicans pushing to repeat the same mistakes? As a lawmaker, I have a responsibility to focus my energy on the impact this legislation will have on the people whom I am accountable to.

As a result of the 1990 Census, 21,000 of my constituents were excluded from Federal funds for health care, education, transportation, economic development, and even child care. This must not happen again.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the State of California has almost 1 in 9 of all American citizens that live in it. An accurate census count is very, very important. We are a donor State in transportation. We are a donor State in education. The formulas that devise the amount of dollars that come out of the Federal Government to California is very important. That is why I want to a good, accurate count of every person that comes in.

Take the case of the Title I education program, for example. In 1991 when I came here, its state allocation was based on the previous Census in 1980. Most of the immigration that came into California was during that time between 1980 and 1991. We were getting cheated. The gentleman from Massachusetts in the other body did not want the money coming from out of Massachusetts, so he actually added money to the program when the Democrats were in the majority. So an accurate count is important for education. The Census should not be a guess. An accurate statistical system of guessing, as my friend, the gentleman from California, said, is an oxymoron. It is not possible. We cannot do that.

Let me give a little statistic. California has more illegals than all the population in Kosovo. If I had my way, only people that are in the United States of America legally would be counted in the Census—not illegal aliens. We cannot do that, but I think it would be the right thing to do.

The mayor of San Diego, Mayor Susan Golding whose city has a population that is bigger than many of the States, supports this issue of local post-Census review very strongly.

My question is this: If we talk about the 1990 Census being so poor, why did they mess it up so bad? The liberal Democrats had control of the House and Senate in 1989. Why did they mess it up so bad? I would say they messed it up so bad maybe because they were following the Constitution of the United States that says actual enumeration which, in modern times, is very difficult to do well—but very important to do well. We must count everyone. We must not guess in our Census. What we are trying to do is add local adjustment to solving that problem.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. BLAGOJEVICH).

Mr. BLAGOJEVICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, in 1990 the Census was the first Census that we had that was

less accurate than the one before it. We have been conducting the Census since 1790, and only one time in our history has it been less accurate than the one before it.

Because of the 1990 Census, 10 million Americans were undercounted. In the city of Chicago, my hometown, 68,000 Chicagoans were not counted. That is enough Chicagoans to fill Soldier's Field completely at a football game where the Bears were playing. I know the Bears have a bad record, and they may not always sell out, but 68,000 people is a lot of people to not be counted.

Federal resources are predicated upon the counts. All the statisticians, the National Academy of Scientists and others, indicate that statistical methodology in the 21st century is the way to go, not the 1990 version, where we undercounted people by 10 million.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. CALVERT).

Mr. CALVERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act. My hometown of Corona, California, has been voluntarily working with the Census Bureau to review and compare maps provided by the Census Bureau to ensure accuracy in the 2000 Census count.

Growth in Riverside County, California, has soared in the last decade. From 1991 to 1998 the city of Corona added 36,000 new residents, more than any other community in California's inland empire. An accurate Census count is absolutely vital.

During this review, the city found that additions are not always incorporated in a timely manner by the Census Bureau. Local governments are the best source to verify where residential addresses are located within their boundaries. Therefore, it is critical that cities have the opportunity to review the final addresses.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 472 is a sound piece of legislation which restores and improves upon a program begun by the Census Bureau. As we work toward enumeration of the 2000 Census, we will continue the implementation of improved methods and ensure all persons are counted.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds for a point of clarification.

Mr. Speaker, in the 1990 Census it was the Secretary of Commerce in the Bush administration that refused to allow the use of modern scientific methods to correct the undercount that caused the 1990 Census to be less accurate than the one before it, not the House and Senate.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. FORD), an outstanding member of the subcommittee on the Census.

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me,

soon to be chairwoman of the subcommittee, no disrespect to our current chairman, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER).

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 472, and would take the liberty to ask all of my colleagues to support the Maloney amendment. I have heard nothing, Mr. Chairman, since being a member of the committee, but lip service paid to this notion of an accurate count.

While many of the independent experts, including those mentioned by the committee ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN), tell us that the key to an accurate Census is the use of modern statistical methods, whether the majority leader likes it or not.

We have not been able to count all the folks in this great Nation. There were 8 million missed in 1990; in my district alone 20,000, and in my State of Tennessee, 8,000. Had we counted all of them, that would have been the fifth largest city in the State. The 20,000 missed in my district, 10,000 of them were children; 17 new schools, 530 new teachers, according to children's organizations who have done some of the numbers.

Census data, Census data, is used to determine the amount of funding, Federal funding for education, for health care, for transportation projects, as my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. DUKE CUNNINGHAM) just talked about.

But the bill that the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) and my friends and others are putting up would not accomplish the goals they seek to accomplish. If we allow local governments to work with the Census Bureau, if we follow them, the Maloney model, that is consistent with what these guys want to do.

Do the right thing, allow the money to get to Members districts, my district, all of our districts.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me.

Like many grandmothers, my granddaughter Isabel and I read books together, and some of them are counting books. There is one where there are these hidden butterflies. The trick is to find the hidden butterflies.

The children in our country are those hidden butterflies. It is not as simple as one, two, three. In fact, in the Census we found that 52 percent of those 8 million that were not counted were children. This H.R. 472 is simply not intended to count the children. It is aimed at identifying not people but housing units.

The fact is that 70 percent of the undercounted people, most of them children, were in housing units that had already been identified. What we need to be about is counting children.

I want to say to my colleague on the other side of the aisle, there is no way that the mayor of my city, Mayor Daley, is supportive of H.R. 472. He, like the New York Times, feels that House Republicans are up to their usual mischief on the Census. One of their worst proposals is H.R. 472. Let us get about counting the children.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL), a former mayor and outstanding member of our Task Force on the Census.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I have a great deal of respect for the legislation that has been put on the agenda today. I happen to disagree with it. If I listen to those people who have been in support of this legislation, we could have worked out a compromise on this. That is the sad part about it.

To imply that Democrats are against local review is simply untruthful. What we are saying is that this local review must be done at a specific time so that there is time for the Census under the law, under the law, and under the Constitution of the United States to do scientific methodology. That is what this debate is all about.

My city in 1995 was one of three in the entire Nation that dealt with the scientific foundation of what we are debating today. It worked. Each one of those towns had their populations increased because of the state of the art of scientific sampling. It was not polling and it was not guessing, and it was accurate.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. GRANGER), the former mayor of Fort Worth.

Ms. GRANGER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act of 1999. This important legislation will reinstitute the highly successful Post Census Local Review Program used by the Census Bureau in 1990.

Post Census local review is a program both parties have supported in the past. I hope both parties will support it in the future. In short, it is a commonsense way to ensure that our Census is accurate, fair, and constitutional.

Let me say at the onset that as a former mayor of a major city, I appreciate and I support the need for an accurate count of all of our citizens. That is why I believe the post census local review is the way to go. Post Census local review is not a new idea, it is a proven product that works. In fact, post census local review is a Census Bureau program. That is right, the Census Bureau formulated this plan. They used it in the 1990 Census.

Here is how it works. Post Census local review gives local and tribal governments a review of housing counts in their area prior to finalization of Cen-

sus numbers. After all, who knows these areas better, government officials in Washington, or local officials in these jurisdictions?

□ 1600

Post-census local review in the 1990 census was highly successful. But do not take it from me. Just look at these facts. A 1990 post-census local review added 80,929 housing units to the census count.

It also relocated 198,347 housing units to the right block and removed 101,887 housing units counted in error. This all equates to around 400,000 mistakes corrected as a direct result of post-census local review.

Over 124,000 people were added to the census count. For example, in the City of Detroit, they added over 47,000 people, mostly inner-city residents, to its total. Cleveland added more than 10,000 people.

Mr. Speaker, these are real people in real cities who are added to the census, not hypotheticals, not guesses. Mr. Speaker, the census is too important to mess around with. Let us do this right.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

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

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York for yielding me this time.

I want to join the mayor who spoke in saying that this is not about local involvement, it is about the timing of local involvement. Why is it about the timing of local involvement? Because I suggest to my colleagues, if they involve the local governments late in the process, they deny the opportunity for sampling to be used.

Speaker Gingrich, the former Speaker of the House, in 1991 said that sampling ought to be used, because if it was not used minorities in Georgia would be undercounted. That was Speaker Gingrich in a letter of 1991.

The fact of the matter is, if we delay, as H.R. 472 will inevitably require, the involvement as opposed to having it early, as the mayor and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) suggest, then we will preclude what I suggest the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) said in a statement would be, not only allowed, but the sense that I took from his statement was might be preferable.

Furthermore, Dr. Bryant, George Bush's census director, says that we ought to utilize sampling. If that is the case, we ought not to adopt legislation which will delay it.

In a report of the panel on census requirements in the year 2000, the National Academy of Sciences said we ought to use sampling because it more accurately counts.

The gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. GRANGER), former mayor, said that we counted some 124,000 people in a post-census review. Yes, we did. But guess

what, we did not count 8 million people. In other words, while we got 124,000, we left out 7,896,000 people. That does not seem to me to be a good trade-off if we really care about counting every person for the purposes of making an accurate census.

I refer to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), my friend who serves with me on the Committee on Appropriations. In quoting him, he says "I have chosen these words carefully. The issue of sampling is an issue of apportionment of representatives, not, I repeat, the distribution of Federal aid."

Now, if it is all right to use sampling for the purposes of distributing over \$187 billion of taxpayers' money, presumably because we think that is more accurate and will more accurately target where the funds are supposed to be, then I would suggest to the gentleman it is equally applicable to making sure that people who are getting money are represented accurately as well.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). The Chair notes that the gentleman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has 12½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) has 9 minutes remaining.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

It is amazing that we keep talking about sampling. The Supreme Court settled the issue. The issue of distribution of funds is not a constitutional question. We are talking about apportionment and redistricting. That is the constitutional question. That is what the Constitution mandates us to do in Article I of our Constitution, to do a full enumeration. That is what they are doing.

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

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

I really want to underscore what the gentleman said. They ruled on a statutory issue, not the Constitution. It referred only to apportionment and specifically said that one could use modern scientific counts and should use it for all other purposes, redistricting and distribution of Federal funds.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Guam (Mr. UNDERWOOD), my dear friend and colleague.

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

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 472 has a goal. But that goal is not to achieve a fair and accurate census count, and it is not to use the best scientific methods available. It is to derail the Census Bureau's plans of using statistical sampling, the only method which would remedy the undercount of minorities, children, and the rural and urban poor. By instituting a post-census check, not only will the Census Bureau's work be set back for more than a month, the Bureau would miss its apportionment deadline set by December 31, 2000, and deplete funds necessary for

statistical sampling. I do not know whether this is the intent, but this is clearly the effect.

Both Democrats and Republicans in the past have acknowledged that a post-census local review such as H.R. 472 mandates will not work. It was clearly demonstrated in the 1990 census, and that is why the Bush administration's director of the Census Bureau stated that the post-census local review in 1990 was a well-intentioned but ineffective operation.

We support local government participation, but not as a mechanism to delay and divert the basic intent of the census.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

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

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act, calls for a post-census local review by local governments of the census population numbers before they become official.

We already have done that. We found out, though, that it does not work. We still lose over 8 million people. So this bill is not the solution that we need to do. The 1990 census was the least accurate of all our censuses. It missed or double counted over 8 million people.

We have used the post-census reviews in 1990, and the gentleman from Guam (Mr. UNDERWOOD) mentioned the quote from Dr. Barbara Bryant about how this post-census review in 1990 was well-intentioned but ineffective.

Rather than repeat the post-census local review with its disappointing and miniscule results, the Census Bureau determined to find a better way for local governments to fully participate. They are doing that now.

In 1990, Texas was undercounted substantially. Houston alone was undercounted by thousands. So by doing this in 1990, it was broken, but we need to fix it. This bill will not fix it, Mr. Speaker, unless we attach the Maloney amendment to it.

I urge my colleagues to support the Maloney amendment. The Census Bureau estimates the post-census review will add an additional 9 weeks to the count which will also increase our costs.

H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act, calls for a Post Census Local Review by local governments of the census population numbers before they become official.

The 1990 census was the least accurate of all of our censuses and it missed or double counted over 8 million persons. We used a Post Census Local Review during the 1990 Census. However, Dr. Barbara Bryant, Director of the Census Bureau during the Bush Administration, has testified before the Census Subcommittee that

Post Census Local Review in 1990 was a well intentioned, but ineffective, operation. . . . Rather than repeat postcensus local review, with its disappointing and minuscule results, the Census Bureau determined to

find a way for local governments to more fully participate in the census.

Texas was undercounted in 1990 in Houston alone by thousands.

The Census Bureau has done just that. They have established The Census 2000 Local Update of Census Addresses (LUCA) which vastly expands both the interaction between local governmental units and the Bureau, and it extends the time local governments are given to verify and correct addresses and boundaries. To date, twice as many local governments are participating in Local Update of Census Addresses compared to the Post Census Local Review in 1990. Notably, these governments cover 85 percent of all addresses in the country.

The Census Bureau estimates that a post census review will add an additional nine weeks to the count which would increase cost, increase delays, and effectively hinder the operations of the Census Bureau. Instead of wasting time, we should be using the most modern and scientifically accurate methods of counting in order to take the 2000 census. Without it the miscounting of minority populations will persist.

H.R. 472 is a bad attempt at correcting the miscounting of over 8 million persons in our country during the 1990 census. We should not be wasting our time and taxpayer dollars on an operation that has proven to be at best ineffective.

Again, I urge my colleagues to oppose H.R. 472, unless the Maloney amendment is adopted.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK), who has been an outstanding participant in this census task force.

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleagues on the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. I have worked with both of them. They are both able and capable leaders.

I happen to have a difference of opinion on the bill than the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) has, and that time is the thing in this entire thing. Time is very, very important.

The whole concept philosophically may be good, but what will happen in the end is this post-census review will not be done in a timely manner. There is too much at stake, Mr. Speaker, too much at stake.

The people I represent have been undercounted for the last two censuses. Data will show that the post-census review and the pre-census, none of them did the job of giving us the count that we need.

All I am saying is people want to be counted. I cannot go back to Miami and say to the minorities I represent, the Hispanics, the African Americans, all of this people who make up this beautiful pattern of color we have in this country and say to them we are not doing everything that we can do to be sure that each one of them is talented.

So today I want to say to this particular House, we cannot go with the bill of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), with all of his good intentions, because the time is too short. He

is extending the time of the bill's implementation.

Mr. Speaker, There are some in Congress who are intent on making sure that we do not have a fair and accurate census count in 2000. H.R. 472, introduced by Representative MILLER, requires the Census Bureau to provide local governments with an opportunity to review the housing counts from the 2000 census.

There is little difference between Mr. MILLER's proposal and the post-census local review conducted as part of the 1990 census. This procedure didn't work in 1990 or 1980, consequently, Congress replaced it with a precensus local review that is more simple and easier for communities to handle.

Rather than adding another program, we should be working to make the precensus local review work.

H.R. 472 has as its purpose to keep the Census Bureau from doing its job. This will not do anything to improve the accuracy of the 2000 Census. This bill could even cripple the Census Bureau's efforts to conduct the most accurate census possible. Micromanagement of the 2000 Census, at this late date, is absolutely the wrong thing to do. We need to get out of the way and let the Census Bureau do its job.

It is interesting to note that Mayor Penelas, the mayor of Miami, FL, as well as several local Commissioners, forwarded letters to my office outlining their opposition to H.R. 472.

Additionally, Dr. Barbara Bryant, the former Director of the Census Bureau, testified before Congress that the 1990 local review was a logistical nightmare and a public relations disaster. Most of the communities that participated were displeased with the process, and less than 20 percent of the governmental units participated.

The program as laid out in the Miller bill essentially duplicates activities in the precensus local review. Although the desire on the part of local government officials to get one last chance to increase their counts is understandable, any such program should complement rather than duplicate other census activities.

The Census 2000 is one of the most divisive and partisan issues that we will face in this session of Congress. At stake are billions in federal funds, as well as control of state legislatures throughout our country. The main effect this bill would have would be to delay, past the statutory deadline established in P.L. 101-174 (April 1, 2001), the release of corrected totals at the geographic level suitable for redistricting. I urge my colleagues to vote against H.R. 472.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for the time and also for her hard work to make sure that all people in this country are counted.

I rise today to strongly oppose H.R. 472. There are 352 days until April 1, 2000, census day. Preparation for this constitutionally mandated national head count has been in the works for years. Now, in the eleventh hour, our colleagues on the other side of the aisle are proposing legislation that seeks to change procedures, add costs, and most importantly a timetable to an already tight time schedule.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the floor today to consider how best to correct the undercount of low income people, minority groups, and children. The undercount has been the practice of the Census Bureau in recent decades. If you are not counted in, you are counted out. That is fundamentally undemocratic. It is wrong.

H.R. 472 appears to be harmless. But the post-census local review strategy used in 1990 failed miserably. We must not dismiss the views of the Census Bureau Director, who calls this bill just short of disastrous. Let us not repeat these mistakes. I ask for a "no" vote on H.R. 472.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CRANE).

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

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I will take just a moment, and it is just to reinforce the importance of preserving the process for a post-census local review on the part of local governments.

I have a community in my district that sent a letter out. It was actually to all of the Congressional Members from our Illinois delegation, but it is a village in my district, Elk Grove.

Back in 1990, Elk Grove village reviewed the Census Bureau's preliminary count, they say, and village staff found that a newly constructed subdivision had failed to be counted which included 349 residents.

Furthermore, based on the per capita revenue dispensed by the State of Illinois, Elk Grove village would have lost over 35,000 in annual revenue, almost 250,000 in total, had the review process not existed. To be sure, that sounds nickel, dime in this town and in this body, but it is vitally important to local communities.

For that reason, I urge that we follow the process of continuing that but simultaneously expanding to 45 days the consideration for review.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON).

(Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise against House Resolution 472 unless we adopt the Maloney amendment. This amendment is a logical and effective means to include local governments, produce an accurate count in the 2000 census, and it gives the Census Bureau ability to use statistical sampling to validate traditional census data without unnecessary interference.

We need to do everything we can to make sure that everyone is counted in this census by using all the technology and tactics that we have available to us.

Undercounting in the 1990 census cost the State of Texas a total of \$1 billion from a variety of Federal programs for which we would otherwise have qualified. According to the Census Bureau, nearly half a million Texans were missed in the last census, most of whom were inner city minorities and most especially children. So we are not talking about voters here.

While this country is using science and technology to find a cure for many diseases, to expand opportunities in education and employment, and even to build better buildings and bridges, the Republican majority refuses to allow the use of science and technology to help us count the people.

Why should not our government be allowed to use this technology. Why must we retreat back a century rather than forward.

I rise in support of the Maloney amendment to H.R. 472. This amendment is a logical and effective means to include local governments to produce an accurate count in the 2000 census.

Further, it gives the Census Bureau the ability to use statistical sampling to validate traditional census data without unnecessary interference. We need to do everything we can to make sure that everyone is counted in this census by using all the technology and tactics we have at our disposal.

Undercounting in the 1990 census cost the State of Texas a total of \$1 billion from a variety of federal programs for which we would otherwise have qualified. According to the Census Bureau, nearly half a million Texans were missed in the last census, most of whom were inner-city minorities and most especially children.

While this country is using science and technology to find a cure for many diseases, to expand opportunities in education and employment and even to build better buildings and bridges, the Republican majority refuses to allow the use of science and technology to help us count those who need to be counted the most.

Why shouldn't our government be allowed to use this technology? Why must we retreat in the 20th century on this important issue?

Unfortunately, the antiquated and inaccurate means we use to count our citizens will continue to be used.

Not only will our constituents lose out on federal funds they deserve, but we are quietly eroding the principle of one person—one vote. The recent Supreme Court decision on statistical sampling ties the hands of state legislatures who depend on census data to draw fair and competitive congressional districts.

This decision and the Republican majority's embrace of its effects on voting rights will greatly reduce the electoral opportunity for minority and women candidates to win office and represent their concerned constituents.

Further, this decision acts to disenfranchise poor and minority citizens, those who are traditionally missed using traditional census data.

It is time to stop ignoring the facts! Traditional headcounts do not work. How many times does it need to be proven? Mayors know this. So many are in support of using statistical sampling.

Congress knows this. Otherwise, how can you explain the utter fear of the Republican

majority to the use of sampling? Let me give it a try. Sampling will work. It will work well. It will work too well for them. Undercounts in the nation's inner cities consistently help Republicans stay in and gain new entry to elected office.

Be fair to the citizens of the United States and let the Census Bureau do their jobs the best way they can—through traditional methods supported by statistical sampling.

Vote "yes" to the Maloney amendment.

MAY 20, 1997.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL STATE CHAIRMEN

From: Jim Nicholson, Chairman, Republican National Committee.

Re: The Clinton Census.

I am contacting you to recruit your assistance in addressing an issue of unusual importance to the future of Republican Party. At the heart of the matter is one of the federal government's most fundamental Constitutional functions: the United States census. At stake is our GOP majority in the House of Representatives, as well as partisan control of state legislatures nationwide.

The Clinton Administration is implementing a radical new way of taking the next census that effectively will add nearly four and one-half million Democrats to the nation's population. This is the political outcome of a controversial Executive decision to use a complex mathematical formula to estimate and "adjust" the 2000 census. Using this process Democrats gain a critical advantage in the next redistricting that will undermine GOP efforts to elect Republicans to both federal and state offices.

A reliable analysis done for the RNC by Polidata Political Analysis reveals that a statistically altered census will have a sweeping political impact that clearly imperils the Party's present congressional majority. The GOP would suffer a negative effect in the partisan makeup of 24 Congressional seats, 113 State Senate seats and 297 State House seats nationwide (a state-by-state summary is attached for your reference). Many of these legislative districts are in states where majorities are held by only the narrowest of margins. An adjusted census could provide Democrats the crucial edge needed to prevail in close contests to control several state legislative chambers.

The census does have problems and improvements are needed to insure a successful effort, but an adjusted census ignores the Constitution's call for an "actual enumeration". Republican leaders are committed to providing the needed resources for a complete count as directed by the founders. Census adjustment raises many legal, ethical, and technical concerns, yet Democrats faithfully promote it as the solution. Don't be fooled. An adjusted census is part of a long-term Democrat strategy to regain control of Congress and elect more candidates at all levels.

I regard it my duty as Party Chairman to alert you to the consequences on this front, and to request your assistance in stopping a census adjustment. Congress has the ultimate Constitutional authority to decide how the census is conducted, and federal appropriators have moved to halt funding for an adjusted census. Conference review of this issue is scheduled to begin today as part of a Supplemental Appropriations bill (H.R. 1469 fiscal year 1997 Supplemental Appropriations Act). We anticipate an attempt to strip this legislation of language that prevents the use of estimates and sampling in taking the census. Despite the concerns outlined here, adjustment proponents have been successful in exploiting Members' local concerns related to federal funding and legislative representation. A census adjustment could shift some

federal funding levels, but it should be stressed that the language coming out of conference is planned to be specific for apportionment, and not funding distribution purposes.

It is vital that Republicans be united in opposing an adjusted census. Therefore, I am calling on each state chairman to urge your congressional delegation to support legislative restrictions, and to vote against any amendment that removes such language from the Supplemental Appropriations bill.

Thank you, and please do not hesitate to contact me should you need further information regarding this matter.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire of the time?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has 7¼ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) has 7¼ minutes remaining.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SAWYER), former chairman of the Subcommittee on Census and an outstanding leader on this issue.

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York for those kind comments.

I, too, rise in opposition to H.R. 472 based on that kind of experience that I have from 1990. The 1990 post-census local review was a well-intentioned but ultimately flawed program to tap the knowledge of local officials in the final stages of the census.

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Now, that knowledge ought to be a key element in any orderly count, but in reality in 1990 it became a frantic attempt to make up for deficiencies in traditional counting methods. Unfortunately, the shortcomings of those methods were widespread and systemic. Trying to find missing housing units and determine who lived there 6 months earlier was like looking for a lot of needles already long gone from a very large haystack.

Dr. Bryant has been widely quoted on this floor. On this specific subject she said that the post-census local review was a logistical nightmare and a public relations disaster. The depth and the breadth of the undercount was an obstacle that desperation in the guise of persistence could not overcome.

Recognizing that its counting efforts were falling short, the Census Bureau that year initiated a recanvass of a selected 20 percent of all blocks in the country. That combined effort, put together with the post-census local review, increased the final census count by one-tenth of 1 percent. PCLR was less than one-twentieth of 1 percent.

The decision not to conduct this style of post census local review in 2000 was neither arbitrary nor isolated. It simply was not a cost effective activity. The GAO concluded that extended reliance on field follow-up activities represents a losing trade-off between augmenting the count and simply adding more errors.

An accurate address list is clearly a critical part of an accurate census. We

were amazed in our census review, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. TOM PETRI) and I, to find that every 10 years the Census Bureau starts from scratch to build a new address list. So involving local governments in the development of an address list was critical. It was an equally clear fact that involving them at the end of the process in a frantic effort to close out the census was a failure for both the Bureau and for local officials.

Involving local governments early in the process of developing the lists was better for both the Bureau and for local officials. So we developed the Address List Improvement Act to address those legal constraints, and in 1994 we enacted permission allowing the Bureau for the first time to share address information with the U.S. Postal Service and with local governments ahead of time.

Using this new authority, the Bureau's redesigned census relies on the knowledge of local governments to compile and verify ahead of time a master list file of all housing units before the census starts, when it can do the most good.

We also have to face a difficult fact. Some local governments, not all but some, are not well positioned to provide reliable data on their housing stock. They may lack fiscal resources or technical expertise. The GAO observed that, on balance, local address lists add more error than they correct. There simply comes a time when too many cooks stirring the pot spoil the porridge.

I have discussed this with Director Prewitt at some length, and we agree that a more constructive approach would be for the bureau to provide local governments with frequent reports and up-front involvement in the progress of the address list development and in the count itself as it unfolds.

The legislation of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) is a well-intentioned effort to bring the knowledge of local officials to the census process, but I must strongly counsel against tying the Bureau's hands with specific operational requirements, particularly ones that run against the professional judgment of the Bureau's staff, and is clearly not wise in the light of past experience.

The 1990 Post Census Local Review (PCLR) was a well-intentioned, but ultimately flawed, program to tap the knowledge of local officials in the final stages of the census. The Bureau hoped that mayors, county supervisors, and other local officials could help identify obvious gaps in the census counts and direct enumerators to specific neighborhoods where housing units may have been missed.

In reality, as time wore on, PCLR became a frantic attempt to make-up for deficiencies in traditional counting methods. Unfortunately, the shortcomings of these methods (later documented by independent evaluators such as the General Accounting Office and National Academy of Sciences, as well as the Bureau

itself) were widespread and systemic. Trying to find missed housing units and determine who lived there six months earlier (on Census Day) was like looking for a lot of needles already long gone from a very big haystack.

Dr. Barbara Everitt Bryant, Census Bureau director during the 1990 count, told a congressional oversight panel in 1998 that PCLR was "a logistical nightmare and a public relations disaster." As summer faded, local officials in the hardest-to-count areas saw the writing on the wall as traditional methods failed to reach large numbers of households. They viewed PCLR as a final chance to make-up for disappointingly low mail response and painstakingly difficult follow-up efforts that would doom their communities to inaccurate counts. But the depth and breadth of the undercount (more than 8 million people were missed in 1990, according to Census Bureau evaluations) was an obstacle that desperation in the guise of persistence couldn't overcome.

The hard facts about PCLR tell the story. At a cost of \$9.6 million, PCLR added about 125,000 people living in 81,000 housing units. Subsequent evaluations estimated that 11.7 percent of the households added should not have been included. Of all local governments invited to participate in PCLR, only 25 percent (about 9,800 of 39,000) did so. Recognizing that its counting efforts were falling short, the Census Bureau also initiated a recanvass of selected neighborhoods in late summer and early fall of 1990. In all, the Bureau revisited 20 percent of all blocks in the country. The combined effort increased the final census count by one tenth of one percent.

The decision not to conduct a 1990-style Post Census Local Review in 2000 was neither arbitrary nor isolated. The Bureau's own evaluations clearly showed that PCLR was not a cost-effective activity. In its comprehensive assessment of the 1990 census, the General Accounting Office concluded:

During the final stages of data collection the Bureau expends considerable effort to increase the population count, with limited success. The coverage improvement programs provide a vivid illustration of this problem. . . . The results from 1990 also demonstrated that spending more time on fieldwork has questionable value. Extended reliance on field follow-up activities represents a losing trade-off between augmenting the count and adding more errors.

Altogether, the coverage improvement programs accounted for only one percent of the 1990 census count (or 2.4 million persons). Clearly, any redesign of the census process had to consider alternatives to lengthy and costly field operations that did little to reduce the chronic undercounting that plagued poor rural and urban communities and people of color overall.

As Tom Petri and I conducted our evaluation of the 1990 census we quickly came to the conclusion that building an accurate address list was an essential element to an accurate census. Frankly, we were amazed that each 10 years the Census Bureau starts from scratch to build a new address list. It was clear from the two hearings we held on post-census local review that involving local governments in the development of the address list was critical. It was equally clear that involving them at the end of the process in the frantic efforts to close out the census was a failure for both the Census Bureau and local officials.

Working with the Census Bureau, we came to the conclusion that involving local govern-

ments early in the process of developing the address list was better for both the Census Bureau and local officials, but that the confidentiality provisions of Title 13 U.S.C. made that very difficult. In addition, the Postal Service told us that the statutes governing their operations complicated providing addresses to the Census Bureau. At the request of the Census Bureau and the Postal Service we developed the Address List Improvement Act to address these legal constraints.

At the request of Congress and the Bureau itself, the National Academy of Sciences convened two expert panels to conduct a comprehensive review of the census process. Legislation mandating one of those reviews asked the panel to study ways to improve direct enumeration methods, alternative methods for collecting the basic population data, and the appropriateness of using sampling methods in combination with direct counting techniques. In relevant part, the Panel on Census Requirements in the Year 2000 and Beyond concluded that: "It is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional census methods of physical enumeration. Simply providing additional funds to enable the Census Bureau to carry out the 2000 census using traditional methods . . . will not lead to improved coverage or data quality. . . . [P]hysical enumeration or pure 'counting' has been pushed well beyond the point at which it adds to the overall accuracy of the census. Moreover, such traditional census methods still result in a substantial undercount of minority populations."

With guidance from the Academy panels, the GAO, the Commerce Department's Office of Inspector General, and congressional oversight and funding committees, the Census Bureau re-engineered the census process to meet the overarching goals of increased accuracy and cost containment. The Census 2000 plan it unveiled in February 1996 incorporates new approaches for developing a complete file of the nation's residential addresses and as I mentioned earlier, legislation enacted in 1994 allowed the Bureau, for the first time, to share address information with the U.S. Postal Service and local governments. Using this new authority, the Bureau's redesigned census relies on the knowledge of local governments to compile and verify a Master Address File of all housing units before the census starts. Unquestionably, an accurate address list will substantially increase the likelihood that all households will receive a census form and that enumerators will visit all households that fail to respond by mail. Equally important, shifting a thorough review of address lists to the front of the process will promote a higher quality census, since information collected late in the census is unquestionably less reliable. As the GAO and other evaluators discovered, as the information-gathering moves further away in time from Census Day, more and more mistakes are made, and the quality of the data greatly diminished.

We also have to face a difficult fact. Some local governments are not well-positioned to provide reliable data on their housing stock. They may lack fiscal resources, technical expertise, or accurate administrative records. As recently as March 1998, the Commerce Department's Acting Inspector General observed that "on balance, local [address] lists add more error than they correct." There simply comes a point when too many cooks are stir-

ring the pot, and the Census Bureau must be able to exercise its professional judgment in deciding how best to compile a comprehensive address file that follows consistent definitions of what constitutes a housing unit.

For jurisdictions that have the capacity to review and confirm a large set of address information, the pre-census activities offer the best opportunity to get it right. Once they do, a 1990-style review after non-response follow-up is completed will do little to address the problem of undercounting that experience tells us is inevitable. If the Bureau starts with an address file that incorporates as much knowledge as local governments can offer, there is no reason to believe that these same governments can improve the search for housing units six months after Census Day. A more constructive approach in my opinion, would be for the Bureau to provide local governments with frequent reports and upfront involvement progress of address list development the count itself as the census unfolds. That way, working together, the Bureau and local officials can pinpoint neighborhoods where response is low and develop targeted efforts to reach those unresponsive households.

I understand that Chairman Miller's legislation to require a 1990-style post-census local review in every census is a well-intentioned effort to bring the knowledge of local officials to bear on the census process. That is an admirable goal and one that should run through all stages of census planning, preparation, and implementation.

But I must strongly counsel against tying the Bureau's hands with specific operational requirements, particularly ones that run against the professional judgment of Bureau staff and is clearly not wise in light of past experience. In 1990, post census local review held out great promise for local governments to improve the accuracy of a census that more and more Americans shunned. In the end, the program didn't meet expectations. But even if it had, we cannot automatically assume that a repeat ten years later is justified.

This country is changing, more profoundly and rapidly than we are able to measure. We will not be the same country in 2000 that we were in 1990, and we must be able to adapt our tools of measurement to accommodate that change. That is why the Census Act (title 13, United States Code) gives the Secretary of Commerce wide latitude in determining how best to conduct the census.

Congress still bears the constitutional responsibility for taking the census, and I do not mean to suggest that we should look the other way while the Census Bureau plans each decennial count. Perhaps the most constructive role for Congress is ensuring that the Bureau is guided by sound scientific and operational knowledge, generated both from within the agency and from outside experts and stakeholders.

Following the 1990 census, the Secretary of Commerce established an advisory committee comprised of a wide range of stakeholder organizations. Local and state elected officials, civil rights advocates, scientific disciplines and data users, community service providers, veterans and senior citizens, educators, and the business community and all represented on the committee. These stakeholders have worked tirelessly over the course of this decade to master the intricacies of census-taking and recommend ways to improve the process

based on their own unique perspectives of the diverse nation we are trying to measure.

The 2000 Census Advisory Committee has prepared a final report that includes recommendations for improving the accuracy of the address file before the census and housing unit coverage during the census. The committee unanimously endorsed a focused local review program that gives local governments an opportunity to review housing unit counts at various levels of aggregation, depending on their ability to participate in the pre-census address compilation program. The committee also endorsed a large post-enumeration survey that can serve as the basis for correcting overcounts and undercounts in the census. Clearly, this diverse group of stakeholders recognized both the potential contribution of local governments in improving the coverage of households, and the limitations of this effort with respect to addressing the persistent problem of differential undercounting.

This committee and other advisory panels focusing on populations of color and relevant scientific disciplines have provided a valuable and necessary check on the Census Bureau's work. Their continual oversight and guidance ensures that the 2000 census plan represents the collective knowledge of the broad community of stakeholders. Congress should encourage the Bureau to incorporate as many recommendations from these key stakeholders as is operationally and technically possible. But we should not second-guess the advice this broad group has issued, nor should we render their substantial effort meaningless by negating or modifying key elements of their proposals.

The subcommittee can make a further contribution to the process, I believe, by encouraging the Bureau to consider the feasibility of these stakeholder recommendations quickly and to implement those proposals that are likely to improve the accuracy of the census. Tying the Bureau's hands with specific statutory requirements for a housing unit check may irreversibly damage a process that by its very nature must be as pliable as it is intricate, and as forward-thinking as it is grounded in experience and history.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, may we have a time status?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) has 7¾ minutes remaining, and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has 3¾ minutes remaining.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLITTLE), the vice chairman of the Subcommittee on Census.

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

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, I am not a supporter of the disastrous proposal by the Clinton administration and the minority party in this House to do statistical sampling, for a number of reasons.

I think it is clearly unconstitutional. I think we have a recent Supreme Court decision handed down at the beginning of this year, a fair reading of which would be to conclude that it prohibits both sampling for apportionment

of representatives as well as for redistricting purposes within the States.

I think, in the effort to make a more accurate count, in fact it introduces a high degree of subjectivity into the process, and in fact would be less accurate. And even if we accepted the fact that somehow this might be valid, we would have to have it with an administration that we could trust, and this administration is the most partisan one in history.

This is an administration that we cannot trust on the issue, for example, as they have proven with the manipulation of campaign finance laws or of the immigration procedures, all designed to affect the outcome of an election. So the trust threshold is low here.

But let me just say to those that do support sampling that I do not believe this bill, H.R. 472, deters them from their goal. Let me just quote from the committee hearing here that the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) conducted.

A question was posed by the chairman to Dr. Prewitt, the census director. "Does post-census local review impact sampling, because I have heard that one of the reasons you are opposing it is that it will make it harder to do the sampling adjustment?" And Dr. Prewitt answered: "No, sir. I do not know on what basis that would have been suggested to you." And then the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) replied, "So the post-census local review has no impact, to your knowledge, on the 300,000 sampling process; right?" Dr. Prewitt responded: "No."

So I think it is clear that the Clinton administration's census director does not believe that this is going to threaten sampling, which we oppose, but which I submit this bill does not impact.

I would, though, like to draw my colleagues' attention to the fact that there is strong support for the post-census local review. Now, we can all understand that, can we not? Yes, the U.S. Government, through the Census Bureau, is charged with doing the census every 10 years. But we also have a principle in this country that we all know called federalism, and post-census local review is perfectly consistent with this principle.

Even from Thomas Jefferson forward we have known that the government which governs least governs best, and that government should occur at the most local level. Now, my Democratic colleagues claim Thomas Jefferson. I claim him, too. I have never understood why we did not have him in the Republican Party. In fact, I think he was a member of the Democratic/Republican Party, so we could have a Jefferson Day Celebration, too.

But look at this. This is the testimony of Alex G. Feteke, who is the mayor of Pembroke Pines, Florida. This was testimony for the National League of Cities before the Subcommittee on Census given earlier this year. Here is what he had to say: "The

National League of Cities enthusiastically supports the Local Census Quality Control Act, H.R. 472. This bill will provide our Nation's cities and towns with the much-needed post-census local review process."

And then we have here the testimony of Lanier Boatwright, President of the National Association of Developmental Associations, representing 77 million Americans: "The precensus activities, such as local update of census addresses program, are not adequate substitutes for post-census local review. Local governments should have an opportunity to ensure the accuracy of the census numbers before they are final."

And I would like just to conclude with this thought, Mr. Speaker. In 1990, there were 400,000 errors that were corrected as a result of this, and they only had 15 days to check it over. This bill gives them 45 days. We believe there will be an exponential increase.

In 1990, we added 80,000 housing units, 198,000-some housing units to the right block, and 101,000 housing units were counted in error and were removed. A correction in either direction assures accuracy and fairness, and that is what we seek: accuracy and fairness, consistent with the Constitution of the United States.

I strongly urge an "aye" vote for H.R. 472.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

The gentleman quoted Dr. Prewitt from the Census Bureau. I request to put in the RECORD a letter of April 12 to me, and I would like to quote and put in the RECORD directly his response. He said, "The operation proposed in H.R. 472 will harm the ability of the Census Bureau to carry out its basic mission of providing the most accurate census counts for all purposes." And to end his quote, he says, "It would put the census at risk".

Mr. Speaker, I provide for the RECORD the letter I just referred to.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
Washington, DC, April 12, 1999.

Hon. CAROLYN B. MALONEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MALONEY: I apologize if my responses to the question(s) regarding H.R. 472 have left any uncertainties about its impact on the overall accuracy of the census. I welcome this opportunity to make the record clear, especially because the amount of time available during the hearings to address H.R. 472 was limited by the need to respond to the full agenda of issues of interest to the Subcommittees.

In assembling the plan for a census, the U.S. Census Bureau reviews the strengths of a large number of operations, first considering each on its own merits. We then assess the relative effectiveness of each operation, for the final design is of course an integrated set of operations. It is this integrated set that constitutes the design that in the professional judgment of the Census Bureau will provide the best census results within the available time.

In assembling the final design, the Census Bureau did not exclude the Post Census

Local Review in order to include the Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation procedure. Decisions on the desirability of these operations were mutually exclusive. In 1990, the Post Census Local Review process proved to be so cumbersome that 75 percent of all local governments did not participate in the exercise, resulting in the addition of only one-twentieth of one percent to the overall count, or about 125,000 persons. Census Bureau professionals, relying on a decade of experience, analysis and testing, designed a new and better way to involve local governments in the effort to count everyone. This new operation, called Local Update of Census Addresses, or LUCA, enables local governments to verify the addresses in their communities before the census is conducted.

Similarly, the Census Bureau included the Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation on its merits. It is the only effective procedure that will inform the Census Bureau and the country about the accuracy of the original count based on the mailback, telephone/interview operations, and nonresponse follow up. The accuracy measurement represented by the Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation will provide the greatest level of accuracy for census data for uses other than reapportionment, such as redistricting, federal funds allocation, and population estimates. It is designed specifically to address the differential undercount experienced in prior censuses and anticipated in 2000.

In making these determinations, there was no trade-off between the two programs, just as there was no specific trade-off between any of dozens of other operations excluded and included. Census 2000 represents an integrated set of operations that was selected over many alternative sets.

At this late stag in the decennial cycle, any new operation of the magnitude of the Post Census Local Review would adversely affect the timing and quality of census operations, including the Accuracy and Coverage Evaluation. I have testified, and here reemphasize, that an integrated operation of the complexity of the census—correctly described as the largest civilian mobilization in the country's history—cannot now be redesigned without degrading accuracy and placing timely completion at risk.

In conclusion, to directly address your question, the operation proposed in H.R. 472 will harm the ability of the Census Bureau to carry out its basic mission of providing the most accurate census counts for all purposes. More specifically, H.R. 472 as proposed would obligate the Census Bureau to send to all cooperating jurisdictions an incomplete household file; or, if we delayed sending it until we had completed that work our ability to produce apportionment counts by December 31, 2000, as required by law, would be put at risk.

Sincerely,

KENNETH PREWITT,
Director.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RUSH).

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

Mr. RUSH. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman for yielding me this time, and I want to commend her on the outstanding work she has done on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak on behalf of every U.S. citizen, black and white, old or young, rich or poor, city dweller and rural resident. Every U.S. citizen is important to the very fabric

of our Nation and deserves to be counted, not ignored. Unfortunately, this is the overall effect of H.R. 472, the bill that my Republican colleagues want to pass.

I live in a city that still suffers from the 1990 census undercount. Chicago's undercount is the third highest among America's cities, with an estimated 68,000 people missed. A disproportionate number of those undercounted citizens were minorities. This is wrong and must be corrected.

In a bipartisan manner we must include every American, we must vote in opposition to 472. Any other vote is wrong, wrong, wrong.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. WYNN).

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me this time, and I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 472.

Mr. Speaker, this is not the way we ought to go in terms of doing the most important job we have, which is counting the American public. Obviously, the census determines the allocation of resources across our country.

What do we know? We know the last time we tried to do this we had numerous mistakes. We missed 8 million people. We double counted 4 million people. We are trying to correct this, and the scientific community says that the most accurate method for counting Americans is through statistical sampling.

Why is that relevant today? Because this bill, sometimes described as a Trojan horse, will say that we will give local communities opportunity for participation. The effect of this bill is to deny the Census Bureau the opportunity to conduct statistical sampling. What happens is the resources needed in time for sampling are drained away by local participation. But because local participation always sounds like a good idea, they think they can get away with it.

Under current law we can have local participation, and we should have it. Enhanced participation is provided for under current law. In addition, the Democrats are supporting the Maloney amendment which would provide enhanced local participation.

We can have local participation, we should have statistical sampling, we should not have this bill.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, how much time do we have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) has 2¾ minutes remaining, and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has 1½ minutes remaining.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. SHIMKUS).

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring up correspondence which I received from the City of Carlyle. Mayor Schmitz wrote to me in support of the post-census review and included a memorandum from one of his staff,

Ms. Jean Parson, which discusses this issue in detail.

Ms. Parson, in her memo to Mayor Schmitz writes: "In the old program, the Census Bureau conducted the census and then we had an opportunity to review the count and challenge anything that didn't quite look correct to us. Under this program, as I understand it, our only input is in the formulation of an address list."

She goes on, "I have spent many hours reviewing their list. I spent time with the postmaster comparing our lists, and then made corrections to the census list. This entire process was extremely confusing and I have had my doubts if my changes will even be made. I also am sure that I didn't pick up every problem in the list. It is just too complicated and time-consuming."

"I guess I'm just getting old, but the old way seemed to work. If we have no opportunity to review the final list, we will not have an accurate count."

One final quote from Ms. Parson: "Communities are not well represented at the meetings I attended, and I have spoken to many community leaders who were not even aware of the changes."

"I'm sure this is because of mailings not reaching the appropriate people. Anyway, this process could be very damaging to those communities who did not participate in the address review process. It is possible that they will have changes. . . . and interest could increase between now and census time, and it will be too late for them to have any input."

Mr. Speaker, the localities in my district are confused. It appears that many have not even heard about LUCA and by the time they do they aren't even sure that their changes are being recorded.

Let's listen to our local governments and give them the right to challenge the census bureau.

I plan on supporting H.R. 472 today and I urge my colleagues to support this common sense legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to support this. Our small communities are begging for the ability to be involved in this process.

□ 1630

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. FARR).

(Mr. FARR of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, there is no rocket science in this. The Federal Government since history has been required to do a census every 10 years. We do not need to pass any law to do that. We created the Census Bureau to do it. So if we are going to pass a law at this stage, we really are going to pass a law to restrict how we do the census, and that is what this bill does and that is why it should be rejected.

Essentially, no bill is necessary. So this bill comes along and it only addresses post-census review, which is

letting local governments review it. But then if we read the bill, throughout the bill, on page 2, line 23; page 3, line 3; page 3, line 19; page 4, line 5, all those times and dates restrict the ability of local government to have a review of the process. And, essentially, if we restrict local governments, we restrict local voices to comment on what is going to affect the revenues that they are going to receive because of the undercount that occurs.

Basically, we know there is a partisan battle going on here. The more people that are counted in this country, the more people that are probably Democrats, the less people that are Republicans. So let us quit this partisan fight and have no bill at all.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). The gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has 30 seconds remaining.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, the record is clear. We need to defeat this bill. The U.S. Conference of Mayors in a letter this week said, "A lengthy 1990 style post-census local review will do very little to address the persistent undercount problem. We urge you to oppose any legislation that places at risk the Census Bureau's ability to conduct a timely, post-enumeration survey."

We should let the professionals at the Census Bureau do their job. We should stop trying to micromanage the census. We should support an accurate census and defeat H.R. 472.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time.

Mr. Speaker, during the debate the other side kept referring to sampling, sampling, sampling, and I keep saying the Supreme Court ruled it illegal. So we just need to do the best job we can and address the undercount.

Yes, there was an undercount. We need to do everything we can to eliminate that undercount, and post-census local review is one way to help eliminate the undercount. It solved 400,000 mistakes back in 1990. They added 125,000 people. Those people count. So why can we not use it? Why would we even be opposed to it?

Now, the two criticisms I have heard today was, one, it was going to delay the process by 45 days, by 9 weeks. This takes place parallel at the same time as the sampling plan or the Census Bureau is proposing to use a sample of 300,000. So it should not delay it. It was used in 1990. It did not delay the census in 1990. And so it should not delay it this way around.

The other argument is that we have this LUCA program that we allow people to get involved in before the process. That is good. We want people to be involved. But every community is not involved in that. So the idea is that is a before, this is an after. It is kind of like an audit of the books.

What is there to be afraid of? It is just a chance to check it. I know it is

a pain, and maybe it is a lot of trouble for the Census Bureau. It is not like it is a huge sum of money. It was \$7 million in 1990. So it is not the money issue, when we are spending billions of dollars on this issue. What it is is it is an issue of trust and accuracy, accuracy because we can add people.

Because mistakes are made. As the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CRANE) said, in Elk Grove village in Illinois they missed a whole subdivision they were able to catch before it was too late. That is getting accuracy. And then we get back to the issue of trust. Let the local officials have one final shot to say, were there any mistakes? Were there any subdivisions missing? That is all we are talking about. It is a good piece of legislation.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of H.R. 472, the Post Census Local Review Program. This program which was dropped by the Clinton administration has strong support from my local government officials and needs to be reinstated.

In Arizona, we have experienced unprecedented growth during the 1990's. Small towns like Oro Valley have quadrupled in size between 1990 and 1999.

The following is from a letter written by Mayor Paul Loomis of Oro Valley.

Because of this rate of growth and our changing community we feel the Post Census Local Review program is very important in order for Oro Valley to receive our fair share of State and Federal funds. The town of Oro Valley does want the opportunity to correct mistakes before the Bureau of the Census finalizes the year 2000 count.

Pima County wants the opportunity to make sure the families in houses occupied in the last few months before the census are included in the count and to verify that areas containing concentrations of "hard to count" populations are counted. In some areas we have 6,000 residential building permits outstanding and many of these "addresses" will become valid after the local update of census addresses is completed.

In Cochise County, we are finishing a decade long addressing project during which we named or renamed 3,000 road and addressed more than 85,000 parcels. In Bisbee, the city is worried that due to the unique and difficult topography, many small neighborhoods and small enclaves of homes in side canyons and hidden basins will be missed.

Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court has ruled that we must have an actual count; that is not the issue here. The Post Census Local Review Program is merely an opportunity for the local officials who know their communities to look at the census results and verify their accuracy. Calling such a program "unfair" stretches the credibility of any thinking person.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Maloney amendment to H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Control Act.

The Maloney amendment would allow local governments to get involved in reviewing census plans in their area in a fashion which will allow the Census Bureau to execute its plan on schedule. The Census Bureau studied its 1990 procedures and have proposed updated methods which will be more accurate and more efficient. The Maloney amendment is compatible with these recommendations, and

will allow the Census Bureau to produce the most accurate count possible of American citizens.

An accurate count is critical to every state, district, and town in this country—including my own district in Pennsylvania. As my constituents know, an inaccurate count has real effect on real people.

In the Norristown Area School District, inaccurate procedures employed during the 1990 census undercounted the number of poor children by 60 percent, dropping the count of impoverished students from 1,375 in 1980 to 541 in 1990.

But Norristown administrators experienced a different reality: not 541, but 3,348 kids received free and reduced lunches each day—that's 1 out of every 2 students.

This undercount resulted in real budget cuts for Norristown schools: Federal assistance to Norristown dropped each year from \$1.4 million in 1992-93 to \$652 thousand in 97-98. That's only 47 percent of the original budget—less than half.

These cuts have resulted in actual reductions of Title I services to students. The Norristown school district was forced to reduce its number of Title I teachers, and the number of students they served. Title I programs provide special instruction in reading and math to the kids most in need of help, so they have a chance not to fall behind, but to excel.

So the end result of the 1990 census' undercount: If we cut out disadvantaged children from the census, we cut out their opportunity to get a solid education and a promising future. Congress should not allow this to happen.

H.R. 472 ignores the expert advice of the Census Bureau and keeps the same 1990 procedures, which unfairly excluded these impoverished children in my District. I cannot support the underlying measure.

What should our criteria be for a good census?

The census should be accurate: Congress allow the Census Bureau to use the methods that produce the most accurate results: statistical sampling. The Bureau is following the recommendations of the scientific community and other experts.

The census should be efficient: The 2000 census will cost \$4 billion with modern statistical methods, and \$7.2 billion without them. H.R. 472 would also add at least nine weeks to the counting process. That doesn't make sense.

Most importantly, the census should be fair: In our democracy, to be uncared for is to be voiceless, and to be voiceless is to be powerless. We should not overlook children, minorities, and the poor. In 1990, the undercount of African-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans was three times that of the general population. Congress can and should correct this.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the Maloney Amendment to H.R. 472.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, today I rise in strong and stringent opposition to H.R. 472, the so called Local Census Quality Check Act. The bill is more properly titled the Local Census Quality Destruction Act. This bill which Republicans argue allows local governments to participate in the results of the Census is a deceptive trick by the Republican Majority intended to delay the Census results solely—let me repeat—solely for political gain. The enactment of this legislation could add up to 9

weeks to a complex process that must be completed in the short span of a year. H.R. 472, will extend the completion of the Census so that there will not be enough time to make statistical corrections. Local government participation is extremely important, however, the Bureau has already recognized this fact. The 2000 Local Update of Census Addresses (LUCA) already gives local governments an important and expanded role in enumerating their populations by assisting the Census Bureau to accurately verify local addresses prior to the mailing of census questionnaires. In fact, twice as many local governments have taken advantage of this aspect of the 2000 census as compared to the Post Local Census Review of the 1990 Census.

Today you will hear the majority argue extensively that modern scientific methods are unconstitutional, or that modern statistical methods are inaccurate or wasteful. Do not be fooled. Most Republicans who oppose this bill could care less about the accuracy of the Census. They take comfort in knowing that the Census will be conducted in a manner similar to the way it has always been conducted because it serves their political ends.

In 1990, the traditional head count missed 8.4 million Americans—4.4 million Americans were counted twice for a net undercount of 4.0 million people—52 percent of this undercount, 52 percent were children. In my home state of Michigan, almost 1 percent of all minorities were undercounted. Most of those not counted were the poor and underserved. In 1990, the undercount averaged 1.6 percent of the population. The under count of minorities was far worse—4.4 percent of African-Americans were not counted; 5.0 percent of the Hispanic community was not counted and 4.5 percent of our nation's Native Americans were not counted.

Republicans in Congress who oppose this measure do so for very specific reasons. It is rumored that the Republican leadership believes that they could lose between 12 to 24 seats in the House of Representatives if modern scientific methods are allowed. In light of this possibility they have amassed an all out offensive to redirect or derail the use of modern statistical methods in the Decennial Census. In addition to bills like this one here today, keep your eyes peeled for the massive media campaign that the leadership is planning to use to obstruct the benefits of modern statistical methods.

If I still have not convinced you of the misguided intent behind this bill, let me point you to the opinions of others. Dr. Kenneth Prewitt, the Director of the Census Bureau, who was appointed by the Republican Bush administration, supports the use of modern scientific methods. He has also stated that the enactment of H.R. 472 is neither timely, effective, nor cost efficient. The American Statistical Association, the Population Association of America, the National Academy of Sciences, the Cities of Los Angeles, Houston and my home city, the city of Detroit all support the use of modern scientific methods for the census. There are even a few Republican members here in the Congress who recognize the importance of using modern scientific methods to enumerate our population.

There is too much riding on the accuracy of the Census. The accuracy of the count is fundamental to the very concept of a government for, of and by the people envisioned by our Constitution's Framers. More than \$100 million

in federal grants is distributed based upon census numbers. This money goes to state and local governments for the programs that benefit roads, schools, job training, medicaid, and other important social services. It is only right that all Americans be accounted for in our Decennial census process. Delaying the Census, as H.R. 472 does will only ensure that this is not the case.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be here today to support H.R. 472, The Local Census Quality Check Act. This bill was one of seven pertaining to the Census that were recently reported out of the Government Reform Committee. This series of commonsense Census bills will help to ensure the most accurate count for the year 2000 Census.

I want to congratulate the Census Subcommittee Chairman, Mr. MILLER, for putting together this very positive legislative package. Chairman MILLER is the author of H.R. 472. He has done an excellent job under very difficult circumstances and is to be commended for his efforts.

Some of my Democratic friends have accused us of micro-managing the Census. Well, there are some real problems over at the Census Bureau, and we need to take a hard look at them. That's not micro-managing, that's responsible oversight, which is our job. The voters didn't send us here to sit around and twiddle our thumbs. When there are problems, they expect us to solve them.

One of the problems that we have is that it doesn't look like the Census Bureau is doing everything they can to count every American. The Supreme Court has ordered them to do a full enumeration for reapportioning congressional seats. They may very well order them to do only a full enumeration. That remains to be seen. They do not appear to be taking the steps they need to count the hard to count populations, which is why this bill should be passed.

H.R. 472, The Local Census Quality Check Act is designed to get more people to participate in the Census. It will help to get a more accurate count and reduce the undercount. Local and tribal governments are the ones who need accurate Census data the most, and it is important that they are able to trust the Census counts. Post Census Local Review provides the opportunity for local governments or their designees to review official Census household counts in their jurisdictions before the Census numbers are final. Under this bill, local governments would be given 45 days after the completion of the nonresponse followup stage of the Census to review the official housing counts noting discrepancies for possible challenges. Post Census Local Review added 124,000 people to the final count of the 1990 Census.

I just can't understand why anyone would be opposed to consulting with local governments to make sure that the numbers are right. This just makes common sense. The Census Bureau used this Post Census Local Review program in both 1980 and 1990 Censuses. For the 2000 Census, the Census Bureau has decided not to provide local governments with this opportunity, which is wrong.

This bill shows that we're committed to counting every single American, whether they're a minority or not, whether they live in the inner city or the suburbs. I believe this bill will pass on its merits. We want everyone to

be counted, and I wish the Clinton administration would join us in that commitment.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call for the use of modern statistical methods in order to assure an accurate census in the year 2000. Without this, the undercount of the urban and rural poor and minorities will persist.

H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act, would prevent the use of statistical methods by requiring the use of a postcensus local review as part of each decennial census.

Representative DAN MILLER's bill would require the Census Bureau to review the count of local addresses a second time—nine weeks after the census field work is done. This new requirement will consume so much time that the Census Bureau will be unable to carry out its plans to use modern statistical methods. The 2000 census will suffer from the same flaws as the 1990 census—millions of people missed and millions of others counted twice.

Mr. Speaker, an accurate count is essential to California. The population in the 13th district of California was undercounted by 11,857 for the years 1991–1999. This translated into nearly \$32 million in lost federal funds. In addition to formula funds, hospitals and community clinics which provide vital services in our communities use census data to determine where to build and whom to serve. Without an accurate count, our citizens will again be denied essential services.

This legislation is opposed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Asian and Pacific Legal Foundation, and the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, and for good reason. The 1990 Census missed 8.4 million people, miscounting children, the poor, and people of color. The requirements in H.R. 472 would further undermine the accuracy of the next census, and would compromise our constitutional assurance of "one American, one vote."

It is critical that we put partisan policies aside and work to ensure an accurate census in 2000—for poor and minority Americans in California and throughout the nation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for general debate has expired.

It is now in order to consider an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

AMENDMENT NO. 1 IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MRS. MALONEY OF NEW YORK

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The text of the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment No. 1 in the nature of a substitute offered by Mrs. MALONEY of New York:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Local Participation in the Census Act".

SEC. 2. CENSUS LOCAL PARTICIPATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter II of chapter 5 of title 13, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

"§ 142. Census local participation.

"(a)(1) The 2000 decennial census shall include the opportunity for local governmental

units to review housing unit counts, jurisdictional boundaries, and such other data as the Secretary considers appropriate for the purpose of identifying discrepancies or other potential problems before the tabulation of total population by States (as required for the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States) is completed.

“(2) Any opportunity for local participation under this section shall be provided in such time, form, and manner as the Secretary shall (consistent with paragraph (1)) prescribe, except that nothing in this section shall affect any right of local participation in the 2000 decennial census otherwise provided for by law, whether under Public Law 103-430 or otherwise.

“(b) Any opportunity for local participation under this section in connection with the 2000 decennial census should be designed with a view toward affording local governmental units adequate opportunity—

“(1) to assure that new construction, particularly any subsequent to April 30, 1999, and before April 1, 2000, is appropriately reflected in the master address file used in conducting such census;

“(2) to verify the accuracy of those units or other addresses which the United States Postal Service has identified as being vacant or having vacancies; and

“(3) to assure that the Secretary has properly identified the jurisdictional boundaries of local governmental units, consistent with any measures taken under Public Law 103-430 and any other applicable provisions of law.

“(c) Any opportunity for local participation under this section shall be afforded in a manner that allows the Secretary to derive quality-control corrected population counts (as recommended by the National Academy of Sciences in its final report under Public Law 102-135 and as proposed in the census 2000 operational plan as part of the Accuracy Coverage Evaluation program) on a timely basis, but in no event later than the date by which all tabulations of population under section 141(c) (in connection with the 2000 decennial census) must be completed, reported, and transmitted to the respective States.

“(d) As used in this section—

“(1) the term ‘decennial census’ means a decennial census of population conducted under section 141(a); and

“(2) the term ‘local governmental unit’ means a local unit of general purpose government as defined by section 184, or its designee.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 5 of title 13, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 141 the following:

“142. Census local participation.”.

Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to amend title 13, United States Code, to require that the opportunity for meaningful local participation in the 2000 decennial census be provided.”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 138, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) and a Member opposed each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

My amendment will fix some of the underlying problems of the bill that is before us. But, in the final analysis,

this is a very bad bill and should be defeated.

There are three things wrong with H.R. 472. First, it calls for a repeat of a failed program in the past. Second, it does not address the fundamental failure of the 1990 census, the large undercount for minorities. Third, this bill will prevent the Census Bureau from being able to correct the final population counts for the millions of errors that are inevitable.

The supporters of this bill have proudly claimed that it makes permanent the local review program from the 1990 census. Why would we want to make permanent a program that failed miserably in 1990?

Let us look at the record on post-census local review. Only 16 percent of local governments participated. The additions to the address list amounted to less than one-tenth of 1 percent. That means that more than 99.9 percent of the address lists went unchanged. Local review had a nearly 20 percent error rate. That means that one out of every five addresses added to the census was wrong, thus making the census less accurate.

In simple language, local review, as it was done in 1990, did not work for the census and it did not work for the local governments. The good thing about the Census Bureau is that they work very hard at trying to fix the things that do not work in the census, and that is just what they are doing now with local review.

For 2000, the Census Bureau, spurred on by Congress, decided that it would be better to work with local governments before the census rather than to try to fix it afterwards, and that is exactly what they are doing.

The 1990 local review covered less than one-tenth of 1 percent of all addresses. The 2000 local review has already covered 86 percent of all addresses, and they are still working. This is an improvement of over 1,000 percent.

Why do my colleagues on the other side of the aisle want to go back to a system that is 1,000 times less effective? The Republicans claim they are trying to help local governments, but a large number of mayors and other local officials oppose H.R. 472.

The mayor of Dade County, Florida, said, “I urge you to oppose H.R. 472.” The mayor of Detroit, the mayor of San Francisco, the City Council of New York and Los Angeles all are opposed to this bill. And let me share with my colleagues just a few of the editorials around the country.

The Sacramento Bee says, and I am quoting from an editorial since my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are saying that I am partisan, let us go to a nonpartisan, independent opinion molder. The Sacramento Bee says, “At the eleventh hour, Republicans in Congress are proposing legislation that seeks to significantly change census methodology and procedures, adding costs, confusion and, most critically, time to an already tight schedule.

Post-census local review was tried in 1990 and 1980 and, according to a Republican former Census Bureau director, turned out to be a logistical and public relations nightmare. The real Republican goal here seems obvious, delay.”

According to the Houston Chronicle, “One side is so clearly wrong. Republicans fear the more accurate numbers will give Democrats an advantage. But Texas GOP lawmakers ought to put their constituents above narrow partisan interests.”

The Miami Herald says, “Republicans will prevent an accurate census at any cost. The House Government Reform Committee voted to throw as many monkey wrenches as needed into next year’s count with bills that will delay a true count, delay it until all those initially overlooked, black, brown and other minority faces, no longer count. When these bills get to the House, common sense should trump partisan politics.”

And I could put in many, many more. But, Mr. Speaker, what is most disturbing about this bill is that it will prevent the Census Bureau from being able to correct the census for the millions of people missed or the millions of people counted twice. It is those errors that make the census blatantly unfair. It is those errors that will leave millions of people unrepresented in Congress and left out when Federal funds are distributed.

My colleagues across the aisle want to make sure that these millions are permanently left out of the census and to make sure that the millions counted twice are forever left in. Why?

This bill will do nothing to make the census more accurate. My colleagues want the errors left in the census because they believe that these errors create for them a political advantage. Remember the Republican spokesperson who was quoted in the paper who said that this is a “do or die” for the Republican Party? Not “do or die” for the American people. Not “do or die” for democracy. Not “do or die” for our country. Not “do or die” for accuracy. But the quote from the Republican spokesperson was, “do or die” for the Republican Party.

The supporters of H.R. 472 cannot hide from the fact that their entire census agenda is aimed at making sure that millions of minorities are not counted in the next census.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment in the form of a substitute is specifically drafted at two areas that were of concern that was raised by local governments; and these concerns can legitimately be addressed, and they are new construction and boundary problems.

In addition, my amendment calls for any program on new construction or boundaries to be coordinated with all of the other parts of the census to assure that we get the most accurate count possible.

I urge my colleagues to vote for my amendment and save us from the disaster awaiting if H.R. 472 is passed without change.

The Conference of Mayors agrees. The overwhelming majority of the editorial boards across this country agree. Defeat 472 and vote for my amendment.

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

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Maloney amendment. It is, basically, a gutting amendment. It just guts the whole idea of post-census local review.

We know in 1990 there were 400,000 errors that were determined. We added 125,000 people. I think those are important people. We need to count people. We need to get the most accurate census, and this helps make it more accurate and builds trust. That is what this is all about.

What, basically, the Maloney amendment does is it defeats the very nature of H.R. 472 by requiring that all local review take place prior to census day. This is called post-census local review. It prevents the possibility of doing it afterwards.

The amendment affords the Secretary of Commerce the ability to exclude any post-census local review. Well, he has already stated he is opposed to it, so we are basically doing away with it by giving him the power to say, "well, we do not want it."

This is really getting politics more involved in it. We need to trust our local communities to know the right way to do it, be part of the process. It worked in 1980. I am amazed that somebody said it was a failure in 1990. If we added 125,000 people, are they not real people? Is that not really important? And we corrected these other mistakes.

So I urge opposition, that we have a "no" vote on the Maloney amendment.

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

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON).

□ 1645

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, never have the Republicans looked worse than they look today in their support of H.R. 472. Because for the first time in American history, the Republicans are trying to force an inaccurate census on the American people. Bad enough that H.R. 472 is the opposite of what all the census professionals, all the statistical experts, what the National Academy of Sciences say gets you accuracy. But what is worse is who H.R. 472 would keep from being counted. I am going to call the roll for you. Because they are first and foremost children, then they are people of color, then they are immigrants, and they are people from big cities, and they are people from rural areas. I am going to call their names out because that is who they are. Undercounting at the Federal level means higher taxes at the local level, because somebody is going to pay for the services for these people.

The way in which this bill makes the Republicans look, even if that is not

your motive, it makes you look as if there are some people you want to be counted and some people you want to be discounted. Let us look at who gets counted twice and who does not get counted at all. 4.4 million people got counted twice in 1990. Do you know who they were? They were affluent people who had two homes, or whose children were away at colleges. They mostly live in suburbs, God bless them. Let us look at who did not get counted. Almost twice as many people did not count at all. There were 8.4 million of them. And let us see who they were. They were kids. They were black people. They were Hispanic people. They were Asians. They were hard-to-reach people in big cities and in rural hovels. That is who they were. This time they demand to be counted.

We know what to do this time. Two things: Involve local communities early, rather than post-census when it is too late to do anything about it. Two, use modern scientific methods that all the experts say are the only way to get a more accurate census. Why do the Republicans, instead of doing what the experts say, hinting at closing down the government, why do the Republicans want to spend \$7.2 million on a census the way they would do it while the Census wants to spend only \$4 million? Do you want this result or do you want this result? Because this is the result the census would get us, five times as many people were uncounted in 1990.

All three minority group caucuses, the Black Caucus, the Hispanic Caucus and the Asian Caucus, we rarely get together on one press conference, we work on the same issues often but we do not usually get together at the same time. We are working as one on this because we have the most to lose. This, my friends, this issue, H.R. 472, is the most important civil rights issue that will come to the floor of the House in the 106th Congress.

So all three caucuses have come forward to put you on notice, we cannot give this one up, because to do so is to give up our entire community. We have the most to lose. That is why we want local import. H.R. 472 makes a mockery of local import. Give us a color-blind census by counting people of every color. Count everybody. Support the Maloney amendment.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. TERRY), a former Omaha City Council President.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 472 and against the Maloney amendment. I feel particularly strongly about keeping this initiative in place because of my background as an 8-year member of the Omaha City Council. Post-census local review is a highly successful program which affords local and tribunal governments the opportunity to review housing counts in their jurisdiction and challenge those counts before the census numbers are made final.

When local officials in my district and across the country learned of the administration's plan to replace the post-census local review with an estimated second number, they objected, including the mayor of Omaha, Nebraska, Mayor Hal Daub, who submits here today that if the Census Bureau misses a zip code or a housing development, which does happen, we must be provided the opportunity to review and correct that error.

At the city level, we feel very strongly that everyone counts in our community and everyone must be counted. It is the local leaders, the mayors, the city council members, the school boards, who know which neighborhoods have grown and which ones have been left out. These local officials must be empowered.

Doing away with the post-census local review would have serious consequences for the Second District of Nebraska. We have seen explosive growth in our district since 1991 because of the high-tech and information industries as well as the transportation and ag industry. In fact, since about 1991, our Hispanic and Latino population has grown from about 2 to 3 percent to 10 to 12 percent by estimate now. These people deserve to be counted.

Nationally, post-census local review added over 80,000 housing units to the count in 1990. The program relocated nearly 200,000. Total corrections as a direct result of the post-census local review totaled nearly 400,000. We cannot argue with those figures.

We cannot ignore local and tribunal officials. These officials know their jurisdictions best and they want post-census local review. If local governments and cities do not want to participate, they are under no obligation to do so. It is a voluntary program.

It is imperative that we allow local officials from smaller cities a voice in how their communities are counted. Communities like the ones I represent fear that without this formal mechanism for local review, only the biggest cities in the Nation with political clout will be heard and those from cities with populations in the thousands instead of the millions will not be heard and our people will not be counted accurately.

Unfortunately, this administration is setting America on a divisive course, pitting small States against large States, small cities against large cities. We depend on an accurate census for our fair share of the representation and our fair share of vital public services. Without giving local communities like ours in Nebraska a voice, the methods the administration plans to use and enabled by this amendment would make cities and counties like those in my district in Nebraska the losers. We cannot allow this to happen.

Mr. Speaker, local governments place their trust in us to assure a fair census, that we in fact count everyone. Post-census local review is a small but vital way to live up to that trust.

I urge all to vote against this amendment and for H.R. 472.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following letter for the RECORD:

REPUBLICAN MAYORS
AND LOCAL OFFICIALS,
Washington, DC, March 18, 1999.

Hon. WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is time to place policy over politics and save the 2000 Census from failure. The recent announcement by Census Bureau Director Ken Prewitt, that the Administration is going to attempt a two-number census causes us great concern.

For the first time in history, Americans will be presented with two numbers measuring the same population: the Supreme Court number as mandated in the January 25th decision and the confusing and admittedly estimated second number supported by your Administration given to the states for purposes of redistricting and other functions. The U.S. Constitution is clear in calling for an "actual enumeration" of individuals residing within our borders.

In addition, cities have been told that your second number will serve to replace worthwhile and legitimate improvement measures such as Post Census Local Review. It won't. The National Academy of Sciences has said your sampling proposal will have "considerable variability." With all due respect Mr. President, "considerable variability" is not good enough. Our communities rely on decennial census for their fair share: fair share in political representation and public monies for vital public services. Post Census Local Review doesn't yield variability—it yields accuracy. If the Census Bureau misses a zip code or housing development, Post Census Local Review will provide local governments with an opportunity to notify the Census Bureau and have the error corrected. Under your sampling proposal, adjustments are distributed throughout a state or across state lines, so cities don't necessarily get the specific adjustments they deserve.

As mayors and local officials, we represent the true stakeholders in the 2000 Census, the American people. We urge you to cleanse the census and drop the second number being proposed by your Administration. We also urge you to reinstate Post Census Local Review so that we can help the Census Bureau count our cities accurately.

Do it for the American people.
Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mayor Hal Daub, City of Omaha, Nebraska, President; Councilwoman Beulah Coughenour, City of Indianapolis, Indiana, Vice President; Vice Mayor Michael Keck, City of Little Rock, Arkansas, Secretary/Treasurer; Mayor Neil Giuliana, City of Tempe, Arizona, Executive Committee; Mayor Rita Mullins, City of Palatine, Illinois, Executive Committee; Mayor Ralph Moore, City of Union City, Georgia, Executive Committee; Councilman Chuck Mosher, City of Bellevue, Washington, Executive Committee; Mayor Lou Ogden, City of Tualatin, Oregon, Executive Committee; Councilwoman Rebecca Ravine, City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, Executive Committee; Councilman Patrick Tuttle, City of Joplin, Missouri, Executive Committee; Alderwoman Lisa Walters, City of Ridgeland, Mississippi, Executive Committee.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LINDER).

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 472, the Local Census

Quality Check Act. This legislation is a key element of our commitment to assure that every single American is counted in the year 2000 census.

Post-census local review gives officials in every city, county, township and village the opportunity to review the initial results before they become official. This only makes sense. These officials approved the new subdivision that is not on the map. They know the places that mailed forms or a manual count would not reach. They are the best editors that the Census Bureau could ever ask for. This bill empowers them to speak out for their local citizens and prevent mistakes before they occur.

Some of my colleagues across the aisle have argued that local officials are already being consulted. I support those efforts, too. But today less than half of the Nation's local governments have participated in the precensus programs.

Unfortunately, some are using this important legislation to fight old battles that were resolved by the Supreme Court earlier this year. As much as my colleagues across the aisle may disagree, this debate is not about sampling, it is about getting it right the first time. The National League of Cities, the National Association of Towns and Townships, the National Association of Developmental Organizations have asked Congress for this legislation, to be an opportunity to be a partner with the Census Bureau. I urge us all to support this and make sure that the first check of our census occurs on Main Street, not Pennsylvania Avenue.

I must ask the question, what are we trying to hide? What are we trying to slide by? We do not want them participating? This administration cheated with the INS for political purposes in the last election by registering a million new citizens before they had background checks. I would not put it past them to use this method to statistically sample, to manipulate the numbers. What are you trying to hide?

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. WELDON).

Mr. WELDON of Florida. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to the Maloney amendment to the Local Census Quality Check Act. The Maloney amendment has nothing to do with local review and has everything to do with establishing a dictator of the census. Before a local community is allowed to review and comment on census data, they must ask "Mother may I?"

For Members who may not believe me, let me read the amendment itself: "Any opportunity for local participation under this section shall be provided in such time, form and manner as the Secretary shall prescribe."

Let me read further from the Maloney amendment:

"The 2000 decennial census shall include the opportunity for local govern-

ment units to review housing unit counts, jurisdictional boundaries and such other data as the Secretary considers appropriate."

This amendment would be nothing more than a "Mother may I" amendment. Under this amendment, the rights of the local communities would be ceded to the Secretary of Commerce. This might be the norm in Third World dictatorships, but it has been soundly rejected by the United States.

The Maloney amendment guts the very rights of local communities that this bill would protect. The Maloney amendment would force local communities to beg the Secretary of Commerce for permission to comment on census figures. We do not need a sovereign rule over local communities on this census issue. We rejected a sovereign 200 years ago. The Maloney amendment gives the Secretary the authority to dictate whether or not local governments have any meaningful input in the process.

We all know the Secretary of Commerce has publicly opposed post-census local review. How fair a card will he deal to local communities? It is imperative that we have input and oversight from local leaders at every stage of the census. H.R. 472 is designed to improve the accuracy of the census. It helps pinpoint such problems as clusters of missed housing units or incorrectly displayed jurisdictional boundaries. H.R. 472 protects the rights of local governments to review data before the census is final.

The Maloney amendment should be rejected because it denies local communities this right unless the President's political appointee gives his stamp of approval. Local governments know their jurisdictions better than Washington bureaucrats.

It is time for the Democrats to stop putting politics before the truth and to protect the rights of our local communities. Make no mistake about it, the Maloney amendment is a muzzle on local communities, clear and simple.

Reject the dictator of the census amendment. Vote "no" on the Maloney "Mother may I" amendment.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS).

(Mr. DAVIS of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Maloney amendment and in opposition to H.R. 472, for three basic reasons.

First of all, the director of the Census Bureau testified before the Subcommittee on Census that this bill in its current form, if passed, would put at risk the accuracy of the 2000 census. This bill not only puts at risk the accuracy of the census count but it adds additional time which further delays taking the census.

Secondly, I oppose this bill because I have heard from local governments,

such as the Cook County Board in Illinois and others, who have complained that local census review did not work well in 1990 and will not work well today. Even the U.S. Conference of Mayors has stated that a lengthy 1990 style local review will do little to address the persistent undercount problem.

□ 1700

This bill is a wolf masquerading in sheep's clothing. It looks good, it sounds good and can even make us feel good. But it really is no good and could even bite.

In fact, it is not timely, nor is it cost efficient. It simply serves the goal of tying the hands of professionals at the Census Bureau.

Finally, I oppose this bill because it duplicates what the Census Bureau is already doing. The Census Bureau is already involving local governments in the process on the front end as opposed to the back end through a process known as pre-census review.

I urge that we listen to the wisdom of Dr. Barbara Bryant, who served as Census Bureau Director under the Bush administration in 1990, when she said that post-census local review was a failure. I urge that we listen to the wisdom of Dr. Ken Prewitt, who has said that this bill could derail the accuracy of the census. I urge that we listen to the U.S. Conference of Mayors and others who agree that this bill will do little to address the undercount.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I urge that we listen to the wisdom of the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) who has amended this bill so that we can make sure that we get about the business of counting the people.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG).

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me, and I rise in strong support of H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Review Act, and in very strong opposition to the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY). I think indeed the amendment may be well-intended, but I suggest that its author does not understand the problem faced by western States with vast rural areas.

Let me begin by pointing out this is not a debate about sampling. Rather, this is a debate about creating the most accurate census, indeed a census that counts every single American.

I strongly support, everyone on this side strongly supports, a census that counts every single American, and precisely because we want to count every single American, we believe that a post-census review is critically important.

The efforts which have been discussed on the other side to consult with local government before the census are indeed good and worthwhile and supported by this side. But why? Why would anyone say, having consulted

with local government before the census, before Census Day, we will not talk to them afterward? I suggest we cannot possibly get as accurate a count if we only talk with local officials before and not after the census.

And let me point out exactly, and that is what the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) does, but let me point out the proponents of the Maloney amendment say, well, it is focused on new construction, and it is focused on addresses which are in dispute. Let me point out that in Arizona we have unique problems. In my State we have tens of thousands of voters who register without an address, who live in such a rural location, many of them Native Americans, that they register by reference to a map like this showing that they live 2, or 3, or 5, or 20 miles north of a given dirt road and 8, or 10, or 12 miles west of a stream, or of a ridge, or of a mountain top. Now that kind of rural situation is not repeated in the State where the author of this amendment comes from. I suggest that when we have those kind of rural conditions as we have on Arizona's Native American reservations and throughout all parts of rural Arizona, it is critically important that we talk with local officials, not just before the census to tell them what they ought to do, to tell them where there are pockets that they ought to go talk to people, but that we talk to them after the census.

Now my colleagues should ask themselves, if the goal here is to produce the most accurate census, why would we want to tie one hand behind our back and say we will not talk to local officials, we will not talk to tribal officials about whether we have found people who register 8 miles north of a dirt road and 20 miles west of a particular stream as their home and identify that is where they live? Why would we not want to talk to them after the census is conducted to see if, in fact, the information we gathered is accurate?

I suggest that the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) indeed will not produce a more accurate census. It may produce a more political census, but it will hurt rural voters across America who desperately depend upon local consultation for an accurate census.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN).

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 472.

The proponents of H.R. 472 will tell us that post-census local review will produce a more accurate count by receiving local input. What they will not tell us is that post-census local review failed in 1980 and again in 1990 to reduce the undercount of our Nation's minorities. The 1990 census missed 8.4 million people, counted 4.4 million twice and put 13 million people in the wrong place. Minorities were the ma-

majority of those not counted by the 1990 census which missed 4 percent of all African Americans but only seven-tenths of 1 percent of non-Hispanic whites.

Mr. Speaker, the undercount continues to unfairly deny full representation and equitable services to millions of minorities in America. That is why the professionals at the Census Bureau have already begun a form of pre-census local review called the local update of census addresses. The Bureau is working hand-in-hand with localities to ensure that its address list is as accurate as possible before the census begins, rather than waiting until after it is nearly completed to correct any mistakes.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all of my colleagues to reject H.R. 472 unless the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) is adopted.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER), my colleague from the Subcommittee on Census.

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

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) for his leadership on this issue. It is a very complicated and difficult issue in the middle of a very partisan atmosphere. Clearly, whether or not we are able to get an accurate count may have an impact on how Congress is distributed, and that is why we see much of the debate here.

I believe we have to have a real count and not an estimate or a guess. Estimating has real problems, and I want to illustrate why local communities, mayors, city councils and county councils are so concerned about having the ability to review this, because our assumptions when we estimate are critical.

Mr. Speaker, let me illustrate by using fantasy baseball. I love to play fantasy baseball. I have a team, and it is based on real daily statistics.

Imagine what baseball would be like if the Census Bureau was in charge of baseball:

Fantasy owners of Mark McGwire would be crushed because he would hit only 36 home runs this year, which is his yearly average. Unless, of course, we use his average for 162 games, in which case he hit 48 home runs. But we could use his 3-year average, which is 60 home runs. But anybody who has Mark McGwire in fantasy baseball is really hoping for more than 60 home runs, so they would not want the Census Bureau statistic.

Then take Sammy Sosa. His Census Bureau number this year would be 27. That is his average yearly number. Who would want Sammy Sosa at 27 home runs if he has got the potential to hit 66 home runs?

Now I have had Andres Galarraga, and I would like the Census Bureau number on Andres Galarraga because

his 3-year average is 44 home runs, and he is out for the year.

But, as my colleagues know, this illustrates the problem with estimating. Estimating for the whole United States is accurate. But the smaller the unit when we do estimating, the less accuracy there is and the more deviation there is because it is more difficult to count.

So when we go down to a census block or the equivalent of an individual player, it is completely unpredictable; over 8 percent, I believe, is the variation, or higher. When we move to the city level or even a city council level to a city, then we become more like a team, and it is also very inaccurate and above the percentage that the estimates of the current census of actual numerical count, if we did it in not the way the Republicans are proposing, because we are proposing to increase the money for local groups to go out and do it, we are proposing to increase any way we need to to get a better real count. But if we just took the traditional problems that they had in 1990 and said this is the way we are going to do a real count, it would still be more accurate at the city level and the block level than estimating. Now when we get to the larger units, estimating starts to work better because we have a larger base to work off of and the people are not moving around.

Now let me illustrate why that is the case, because estimating and the mathematical probabilities are based on very difficult things in this type of situation. The people who are most at risk of being undercounted, and I do not think there is any one of us here who sincerely have worked with the problem who do not believe that counting is very difficult in high-risk populations, which include illegal immigrants; it includes the homeless; it includes anybody who does not want to talk to somebody from the Federal Government.

For example, in Fort Wayne we say we have 120 crack houses, but only 20 or 30 may be operating at a given time because it is really abandoned homes and the people are moving between them. Illegal immigrants may be clustered many in a house, or there may be a couple, or the place may not have them at a given time.

Now what we have proposed to do, and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. DAVIS) and I, and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS) and I worked on an amendment in committee to make sure that we signed off an amendment that even said groups of color with a marketing background, so we can get people in the community to try to find the people who are hard to count because they do not trust somebody like me walking into a neighborhood. Looks like potentially I am going to count them and they are not going to trust me. We have to find groups in local communities who are trusted, but if we do not get real people, that is why we have estimates in this country, and

some big cities that is there is 20,000 homeless or there is 120,000 homeless. Quite frankly, if we estimate on certain assumption that there is 120,000, and there is only 20,000, we are depriving 100,000 other citizens, if we are wrong, of their civil right to vote. That is more than the cities, for example, of Muncie and Terre Haute in Indiana, plus Huntington combined, would be deprived of their right to vote because somebody made an estimate that was high on the homeless as opposed to low.

It does not work. Many of the people who are hardest to count are moving around, and if they are moving around, unless we have a real name, we could quadruple count them.

It is a difficult thing, and it is not a question of sincerity here. I want to get a real count, I want to do everything I can to get the real count, but I am not going to go in for guessing.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, we all are saying that we want an accurate count. It is what we do when we say that. Indeed, this bill is a fig leaf. This amendment really gives some substance to it. We think we can say anything and say it is local control.

I was a former local county commissioner, and I am from a rural area, and I can tell my colleagues it makes more sense to get more engaged pre-census than post-census, and why would we want to institutionalize a method that only used 10 percent of a local government and call that local involvement?

The amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) gives some credibility to it. Yes, it does say "if needed." It does not say, "Mama, may I?" It says if it is needed, every local government could be involved. We give that authority to the Census Bureau and allow them to make that determination.

The amendment further gives opportunity for new construction, opportunity for change of address.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the support of the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) to make this resolution which is very insufficient a sufficient resolution.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

□ 1715

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, the Maloney amendment enhances the role of local government in perfecting the census address list, while leaving the details to Census Bureau professionals. The Census Bureau Director Ken Prewitt has said that without the Maloney amendment, this bill, the Local Census Quality Control Act, will make the census 2000 neither timely, effective or cost efficient.

It disrupts the Bureau's effort to complete a fair and accurate census on

time. It prevents the use of modern statistical methods to count Americans that are missed by the traditional head count.

Statistical methods cut the costs, provide for a more accurate count of all Americans, and we have to keep in mind in this process that in 1990 that census missed 8.4 million people. This cannot happen again.

Why is the census important? Why is statistical sampling important? Because we are talking about the distribution of billions of Federal dollars; road improvements, Medicaid, child care, community development block grants, foster care grants. This is not a political issue. The census count should reflect the population of this great country of ours. Let us have an accurate count. Let us have local government involved. Let us support the Maloney amendment.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ).

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for yielding me this time and I want to congratulate her on her excellent work in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, in our last census the GAO estimates that 26 million Americans were counted twice, counted in the wrong district or not counted at all. Now some in Congress say that kind of census result is acceptable, but I strongly disagree. When we are talking about a constitutional guarantee, we cannot settle for 80 or 90 percent correct. Our standard has to be full and fair participation for all.

The good part is, we know how to get that 100 percent accuracy through modern, scientifically proven statistical methods.

Let me just say as the former mayor of the most densely populated city in America I can say that by using the limited time and resources we have to needlessly repeat a local review process, H.R. 472 actually prevents us from getting an accurate count.

Why would the Republicans not want an accurate count? Maybe it is because African Americans are seven times more likely to be missed than whites or that the difference in the undercount between whites and blacks in the last census was the highest ever. Or maybe it is because 1.5 million Hispanic Americans were not counted at all.

Maybe it is because people of color are denied equal representation at every level of government because of an inaccurate count. Maybe Republicans know that the Democratic agenda has far greater appeal to these Americans and they will not vote for them so let us not count them.

Republicans are in the act of a raw political power play that will disenfranchise millions of Americans who are black, brown, Asian or rural and who, in fact, will not be counted by

their methods. We are not just talking about numbers here. We are talking about people, though, who can least afford not to be counted. These people undercounted may be single mothers who work two shifts to put food on the table and send their children to day care and families just struggling to get by, those barely above the poverty line or new citizens who came to America fleeing oppressive regimes and are fearful of government authorities knocking on their door.

The Maloney amendment gives these people a voice. H.R. 472 strips it a way. Let us count everyone regardless of their color. Let us vote for the Maloney amendment.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, we all want to count everyone. We do not want to have an undercount. We need to put all the effort and resources to do the hard work. The Supreme Court has ruled that sampling and polling cannot be used for purposes of apportionment. So let us do the job right. This is what post-census review is, giving the chance to have the most accurate census that can be trusted.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN), a colleague who is on the Subcommittee on Census.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as we know from studies from the Census Bureau themselves, populations of under 100,000 are underserved under sampling. So if someone represents a district that has less than 100,000 inhabitants, every city in the district I represent in Wisconsin, we are going to be hurt under sampling. That is very important to note.

I would like to take a look at some of the quotes that we have seen as this census debate has occurred. From a Congressman from New York at that time, Charles Schumer, then Democrat from New York, commenting on post-census local review and I quote, this is a Senator from the other body at this time, "Certainly post-census local review is not a panacea but we urge the Bureau to treat it with the gravity it deserves and to truly try to cooperate with the localities in the endeavor to help secure an accurate count."

Right now, post-census local review is simply aimed at missing households. So in New York or Albany or any other locality, housing units have post-census local review. They could say, well, we missed this House or we missed that block or we missed this apartment building.

This kind of information should be made available to the Census Bureau in post-census local review and they should be able to incorporate it as they go over things, end of quote by Democrat Member of Congress from New York, Charles Schumer.

The point is this: We want to get an accurate count. This is not about Republicans and Democrats. This is about fulfilling the Constitution, carrying

out the Supreme Court ruling and doing the best job we can to count everyone, everyone in every apartment building, in every urban center, and if we do pass the Maloney amendment it is to take away the very rights of local government officials to participate in the census, to catch the glitches that occur after the census is taken. It is not a delaying tactic to stop sampling. We had post-census local review in 1990 and sampling in 1990.

The Census Bureau can engage in this. They simply have to go through the work to do it.

Mr. Speaker, this is a killer amendment. A vote for the Maloney amendment is to dilute the vote in all those cities that are under 200,000 in population.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Ms. PELOSI).

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Maloney amendment, and in doing so to commend the gentleman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for her exceptional leadership on this issue.

The gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) knows the high esteem with which I hold him but I disagree completely with his bill and I take great issue with its title, Local Census Quality Control Act.

What kind of quality control is it to exclude minorities in our society from being counted accurately? What kind of quality control is it to deny them their due representation in this governing body? What kind of quality control is it to deny the proper funding to States based on an unenlightened process? This bill should pass only if the Maloney amendment is included.

The Maloney amendment will allow the Census Bureau, an entity known to be able to do this, to be left to do their job and provide the most accurate count of all of America's peoples.

The delay proposed by H.R. 472 undermines the Bureau's efforts to provide an accurate count by derailing the process in an attempt to invalidate the best possible census count.

It denies fairness to people and it denies fairness to communities. As a Californian, I appeal to my colleagues from the State of California to support the Maloney amendment and to defeat H.R. 472 without the Maloney bill.

This will do great harm to California. It certainly does to my City of San Francisco and I will submit that testimony for the record. Our country, as I say in California, the beauty is in the mix. We are blessed with a great and diverse population. That diversity is our strength. We must not undermine it by under counting it in the census and therefore undermining the representation that the beautiful diversity should have in this great legislative and deliberative body.

So I again salute my colleague, the gentleman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for her outstanding leadership on this and urge my colleagues to vote yes on the Maloney amendment.

Mr. Speaker, the only "quality" in H.R. 472 is poor quality.

What kind of "quality control" is it to exclude minorities in our society from being counted accurately? What kind of "quality control" is it to deny them their due representation in this governing body? What kind of "quality control" is it to also deny the proper funding to states based on an unenlightened process?

H.R. 472 is not about "quality control." H.R. 472 is about delaying the process and denying representation. H.R. 472 is about denying the civil rights of individuals who deserve to be included in an accurate account.

A post-census review was ineffective in the 1990 census; what makes it effective in 1999? H.R. 472 sends us on a retreat to 1990 methods which failed. There is a lesson to be learned here but, instead, H.R. 472 places us on a proven path of failure. Involving local government too late in the count is 1990 dejavu. The problems which occurred in 1990 with only 25% of local governments participating in the traditional local review has been addressed by the Census Bureau's Local Update of Census Addresses which is well underway and has already doubled local participation.

The Maloney amendment would let the Census Bureau do what it is charged to do—use the best, modern techniques to provide the best census count possible.

Individually, an undercount using outdated methods, can be damaging and an undercount also has a tremendous effect collectively—on entire communities. In the U.S. Conference of Mayors report on the fiscal impact of an undercount, this effect is noted: ". . . the formulas used by the federal government to allocate funds in various programs include the number of people who are part of a socioeconomic group—for example, those living in poverty. Since such groups are the ones that historically are the most likely to be undercounted, the loss of federal funds in a city with large portions of such populations is particularly profound."

Specifically, the report identifies San Francisco in stating: "The impact of the undercount will be greater in the next decade if the Census 2000 reflects the same inaccuracy. The City is more likely than many other areas of the United States to be adversely affected if sampling is not used in Census 2000." The report continues in addressing the immigrant population in San Francisco: "Studies have shown that communities having a large, relatively recent immigrant population, as well as those with a relatively large proportion of their households living in rental units, are especially prone to undercounts." From the time between the 1980 census and the 1990 census, 54,000 immigrants came to San Francisco and the net increase through 1997 has been 66,000.

In addition to the undercount of the immigrant population in cities, there is also a concern which San Francisco shares with other urban areas in an undercount of the homeless population. In a year's time, 11,000–16,000 San Franciscans experience at least one episode of homelessness. Almost a third of this number is comprised of families with children which translates into a large potential undercount of children in urban areas.

These are the individuals who will suffer from a delay that attempts to subvert the Census Bureau's efforts to provide an accurate count. Entire communities will also suffer as a

result. All members of the California delegation should be particularly concerned about this delay and its impact on federal funding to communities throughout the state. The loss to California from the 1990 census undercount was \$2.2 billion in lost revenue. As Governor Davis has stated, "We can ill afford to lose another \$2 billion over the next ten years."

The Census Bureau is a known entity which employs experienced census experts. They should be left to do their job and provide the most accurate count of all of America's people. The delay proposed in H.R. 472 undermines the Bureau's efforts to provide an accurate count by derailing the process in an attempt to invalidate the best possible census count. It denies fairness to people and it denies fairness to communities. This should not be allowed to happen.

H.R. 472 provides no "quality control" on the undercount; it is simply an attempt to continue the inequities of an undercount.

Vote "yes" on the Maloney amendment and "no" on H.R. 472 without it.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ).

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask all my colleagues today to join me in supporting the amendment to H.R. 472 offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY). This amendment succeeds where 472 fails. It allows for local government participation without jeopardizing inaccurate census. It includes local governments in the Census Bureau's plan. It makes them a vital part of it by including them in the process of building and checking the list utilized by the Census Bureau when it conducts the census.

That is the participation that local governments want. They want to be part of the process now, not later. Let us not be fooled. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, the end result of H.R. 472 will be another inaccurate census. The voiceless will continue to have no voice. The unrepresented will continue to be unrepresented, and the American dream will remain just that, just a dream, never a reality for those who are not counted. We must vote for the Maloney amendment. Vote yes.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HINOJOSA).

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Speaker, how anyone can support a bill that will result in delaying, in obstructing and politicizing the next census is beyond me, and that is exactly what H.R. 472 would do.

This bill is a wolf in sheep's clothing. While its benign language may make it seem like local government will have more of a say in the census outcome, the reality is that the bill imposes requirements designed to undermine the census accuracy and opens the door to political meddling.

I intend to support the Maloney amendment. Why? Because the Maloney amendment allows local government to be involved in the census, to review and participate honestly in the development of the census from the onset, not after the fact. Vote for the

Maloney amendment. Vote to let the experts do their job and do it right.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1¼ minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN).

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to address a few of the points made by our distinguished colleagues on the other side of the aisle, specifically my friend from Texas, who I think is a very good man and an honorable person.

The point is we want everyone to be counted. We want to make sure that every person in this country is counted, and by voting for the Maloney amendment we will effectively be voting to deprive local government officials from having the ability to take a look at the data, to simply say after the numbers have been counted let us pour over the maps and make sure nothing was missed.

Now the last speaker just said that this is delaying, this is obstructing, this is politicizing. It is nothing of those kinds. We have quote after quote after quote of Democratic Members of Congress, Democratic mayors, Democratic Governors, supporting post-census local review. Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago; former Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles; the Dean of Congress, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL); the former chairman of the Subcommittee on Census, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SAWYER). We have quotes from so many different Democratic Members of Congress who when they were in the majority were the strongest advocates for post-census local review.

Now that has changed. They seem to be opposing it. If this position is the political position of asking local units of government to get involved, to make sure the data is accurate, and the position on the minority side where when we were debating this 10 years ago their position was in favor of post-census local review and now they have reversed their position, reversed their principles, I would suggest that that is a political move.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT).

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 472 and in support of the Maloney amendment. I favor local involvement in this process but I am opposed to anything that has any prospect of slowing down getting to an accurate count and frustrating that purpose, and I believe H.R. 472 will do exactly that.

□ 1730

It is unfortunate that this debate has evolved along partisan lines, because this really should not be a partisan issue. For me, it is about the fact that 126,000 North Carolinians were missed in the 1990 Census. Beyond that, it is about the fact that because of that undercount, North Carolina has missed \$6,830,000 a year in Federal funds for

each of those 10 years that that undercount has been in effect.

If we do not correct the problem going forward, a growing State like North Carolina with a growing urban population, with a growing minority population, is going to suffer the consequences of that not only in terms of the representation that it has in the Congress of the United States, but in terms of the actual dollars that come to North Carolina for such programs as Medicaid, highway planning, the Title I reading programs that help our kids prepare themselves to read at grade level. Those are the kinds of impacts that will be had on people in North Carolina.

So representatives in North Carolina can vote along party lines if they wish. I hope that they will vote in the interests of their States for an accurate count against this bill and for the Maloney amendment.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. SAWYER).

Mr. SAWYER. I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me, Mr. Speaker. I cannot let this occasion pass without thanking her for her extraordinary leadership on this issue throughout this Congress and the last.

Mr. Speaker, let me just comment on a point that the gentleman from Florida (Chairman MILLER) made during the debate earlier. He said that the Supreme Court will rule that the Census Bureau must use the same number for apportionment and redistricting. We cannot use two different numbers for apportionment and redistricting.

In this I do not question his motive, but he is simply misinformed. The fact is that in 1990, the Bureau issued one set of numbers for apportionment and another for redistricting and all other purposes, including the allocation of Federal funds to State and local governments.

The Supreme Court upheld the decision to produce two sets of numbers, even though it caused a seat to shift from one State to another. So let us not give the American people the incorrect information. There is ample precedent for producing different sets of numbers for apportionment and redistricting, and the Supreme Court has specifically validated that practice.

Let me just add one point, in closing. In the immortal words of Mark Twain, the rumors of my demise are greatly exaggerated.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I also want to commend my colleague, the gentlewoman from the great State of New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for the fabulous job she has done on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is nothing but a poorly disguised attempt to undermine a full, a fair, and a complete Census. This bill would have the Census Bureau use counting techniques that have already failed twice, in 1980 and

1990. In using these counting techniques, Census takers missed completely 8.4 million people in the last Census, and at the same time they counted more than 4 million people twice; blind in one eye, double vision in the other. That is what we have here with this bill, Mr. Speaker, blind in one eye and double vision in the other.

Effectively, this means that millions of American families will be denied their rights, their resources, and the representation that is theirs by law. Sadly, that seems to be the very purpose of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, a complete and an accurate Census is the foundation of our democracy. This bill undermines that foundation, and all across the country it is opposed by the very people it ostensibly aims to help, including the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

They oppose this bill because all it does is introduce more bureaucracy, more uncertainty, more politics, more delay, and more inaccuracy into the Census.

My colleague, the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. MALONEY) has offered a good substitute for this bill. Her proposal will protect the integrity and the input of local governments while ensuring that there is no delay in completing the 2000 census.

Even more important, the Maloney substitute will enable the Census Bureau to complete the most accurate count possible. It guarantees local review, and ensures that all Americans are counted. That is the right thing to do, and it is our responsibility. I urge my colleagues to support the Maloney substitute.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY).

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

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY). This amendment ensures that local participation will occur in a manner consistent with existing law by requiring the professionals at the Census Bureau to design and carry out the most accurate Census possible, which requires a release of the final Census count by April 1, 2001.

This amendment gives local governments the opportunity to assist the Census Bureau in perfecting the Census address list, by making sure all new construction is included in the Census address list, by giving local governments an opportunity to review the counts of vacant addresses identified by the Postal Service, and finally, by giving local governments the opportunity to make sure that the Census has properly identified the jurisdictional boundaries of local governmental units.

Mr. Speaker, without adoption of this unit, the passage of H.R. 472 will prevent the Census Bureau from using statistical methods to produce the

most accurate Census possible, and the mistakes of the 1990 Census will be repeated when 8.4 million people were missed, more than 400,000 in my home State of New York alone, and 4.4 million people were counted twice.

Mr. Speaker, this amendment accomplishes the goals of enhancing local involvement without blocking the Census Bureau from using the best scientific methods available. I strongly urge my colleagues to support it.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is the civil rights issue of the decade. We know what the last Census gave us. We know that millions of Americans were missed, and that these Americans that were missed were primarily minorities and the poor from both urban and rural areas. We should let the Census Bureau correct the undercount and give us an accurate count.

The Republican bill is a Trojan horse. It is designed for one purpose and one purpose only, which is to delay and delay and delay, delay designed to prevent the Census Bureau from reporting the most accurate numbers possible to the American people by the statutory deadline.

We must not let that happen. Support the Maloney amendment and vote no on H.R. 472.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield six minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS).

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

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I have listened to and participated in this Census debate now several times. I have to say that, as someone who believes that the arguments that we make on our side of the aisle are valid and felt strongly, this gentleman is getting a little tired of the way in which the minority seems to argue this point and others.

A little truth in packaging: The idea that the amendment of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) somehow seeks to undermine the Census process by allowing locals to review what the Census does. Locals, for example, in El Paso, Texas, who are 72 percent Hispanic, locals in Gary, Indiana, who are 86 percent black should not have the right, the minority says, to examine what the Census Bureau has done because they believe Republicans are racist in the way in which we are making the Census arguments; that in fact the amendment of the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) involves the locals in a responsible way.

"Amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by Mrs. MALONEY of New York. 'This act may be cited as the Local Participation in the Census Act.'"

Do Members want truth in packaging? Do Members know what Local Participation in the Census Act means? Section 142, beginning on line 1: "The

2000 decennial Census shall include the opportunity for local governmental units to review housing unit counts, jurisdictional boundaries, and other such data as the Secretary considers appropriate."

On line 17, "Any opportunity," "Any opportunity for local participation under this section shall be provided in such time, form, and manner as the Secretary shall prescribe."

Local Participation in the Census Act, with the permission of the Secretary? What we have here is the bill of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) which says the locals get to look over the shoulder of the Census. What we have here is a substitute which says, "It is the Local Participation in the Census Act," but only if the Secretary lets the locals play. Okay?

That has been the tenor of this debate. The Democrats have been pure in their motives and above politics. The Republicans have been racist and we are playing politics in its entirety. They are white and we are black. They are the good guys and we are the bad guys. Frankly, I'm getting a little tired of that kind of a political game.

The only thing they have been consistent in is playing the race card. They have been consistent in that. They are arguing that we have to move forward, time is of the essence. Why, then, did they not accept our argument that the Constitution says enumerate, and that the statute based upon that portion of the Constitution says that when we apportion between States, we have to count?

They did not accept that. The Clinton administration did not accept that. We had to go to court. We had to go to the United States Supreme Court and have the court tell us we were right. That ate up a lot of time.

But all of a sudden, now, time is important to them. We cannot let the locals participate. They want to move a provision which says if the Secretary wants them to participate, they can do it. We want to let them. But somehow now time is of the essence.

And then, interestingly, it is really fun to listen to liberal Democrats talk about money, talk about the fact that this is going to cost money. Well, listen, if we want to get it right, let us spend whatever is necessary to get it right. The court has said that we have to enumerate between States. Okay, we have to count. Let us spend as much money as necessary to count as best we can.

An argument that we have heard repeated over and over again, we tried this local Census review in 1990, and there is a quote that they have used several times, that the Bush Census chief said it was well-intentioned but ineffective. They used the same argument against the Census itself, but we are talking about using better methods and focusing better on the Census. We can do exactly the same on the local Census review.

As a matter of fact, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. SAWYER, said in 1994

they front-loaded the process. If in fact we front-loaded the process, if we got the locals involved for almost 6 years now, do we not think the local review will go smoother? But no, they do not want that. They do not want the locals participating, but they are not playing politics, we are. They are not racist, we are.

Let us talk about who has been playing politics. Our argument has been consistent from day one. We think constitutionally we should have to count, we believe between States. The Supreme Court has supported us on that argument.

Frankly, I believe ultimately if we get to the court on the constitutional argument of apportionment within a State, that in fact they will also argue we have to count. But let us take the January court decision for right now. It said we have to count between States. We have to enumerate. Let us spend the money for enumeration.

The court then said we can use sampling. The gentleman from New York said we should use sampling. That is simply incorrect. What the court said was that the statute allows us to do that. Okay, then we have to spend money in terms of doing a good job on sampling. But what is wrong with letting the locals review what we have done? Why is that such a heinous crime?

If in fact Members want minorities to be counted, what is wrong with the folks in El Paso for Hispanics, what is wrong with the folks in Gary, Indiana, or Compton, California, for blacks, to look over the Census officials' shoulders to try to get it right?

□ 1745

The argument that we cannot do this because we are going to lock into an undercount for the entire decade is to simply play a really unfair political argument that we cannot, given the law, sample over the decade to make it correct.

It is not a black and white issue. This question of the census is whether or not we count all Americans. It is totally legitimate to have a debate about what "enumerate" in the Constitution means. That is not a racist argument. In fact, the Court supported us in that position.

Obviously between censuses, there is nothing wrong with taking the best shot statistically one can at the population changes over the decade. That is appropriate. But to say that we are arguing that one needs to count people because we are racist is one of the most slimy political arguments I have ever heard. My colleagues have done it repeatedly and repeatedly.

Why do my colleagues not simply say, let us come together, let us spend what money is necessary to follow the court's requirement that we count for apportionment between States, and let us spend as much money as is necessary to do as good a job as we can on sampling, and let us support the

amendment of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER) so that the locals can look over the shoulder of the census officials and let the locals, whether they be Hispanic, black, white, or otherwise, have a comfort level that they believe they are also being counted.

So I would say that I oppose the argument of the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) that her amendment in fact is local participation because it is only if the secretary considers it to be appropriate.

I would ask my colleagues to support H.R. 472, the bill of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER), because it just seems to me that there is more than enough money to enumerate and to do the sampling correctly.

If we get on with it, there is time enough. Let us get on with the business of counting Americans the way the Supreme Court said we need to do it between States, enumerate as the Constitution requires within a State. If a State chooses sampling or if they choose to use the actual count, it would be the State decision.

It seems to me that there has been enough discussion. Let us support the bill of the gentleman from Florida (Mr. MILLER). Let us spend all money necessary to do it right whether that American is black or white or otherwise.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) has expired.

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) have one additional minute so that we can have a colloquy.

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

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Objection is heard.

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 472, and in support of the Maloney substitute.

We are charged with the awesome responsibility of counting the American people as accurately as we can so we can divide up the resources and representation of their government. This is a complex matter that must be concluded in one year. As we speak here, the Census Bureau is planning their year-long mission, hour-by-hour, in order to count 120 million addresses and 275 million people.

The most important concept that this bill contains, including the local governments in the effort to ensure a fair and accurate count, is a laudable one. It is the local governments who are the closest to the people we all represent, and it is the local and state governments which have the most to lose. But it is also the local and state governments which have spoken up loudly about the bill we are considering here today as we look for the middle ground on which we can conduct our constitutional responsibility of overseeing the decennial census.

Including the local governments in the preparation of the census is not a novel idea invented by the proponents of this bill; the Cen-

sus Bureau is already consulting with local governments to assess the number of addresses in each jurisdiction. Counting the addresses is nearly 90 percent complete.

The requirement in this bill to set aside 9 weeks after the field work is complete to check the count of local addresses a second time is a needless waste of precious time in this endeavor. I do not believe that anyone in this chamber wants to waste resources in discharging our responsibility—but I do think that a provision of this nature does prevent the Census Bureau from utilizing the very best contemporary science we have, modern statistical methods.

The results of not using modern methods would carry us backward a decade, recreating all the same mistakes we made in the 1990 census, missing millions of Americans and counting millions more twice. The Maloney substitute allows the Census Bureau to use their own design to integrate the local governments in the operational plan. This will allow science to help us and provide a much more accurate count.

My home state of Texas lost \$1 billion in federal funds as a result of the 1990 census undercount. It is estimated that a faulty census with a similar undercount will now cost Texas \$2.18 billion. The mayor of Brownsville, TX, has urged me to support statistical sampling to ensure an accurate count, as has the Nueces County Judge; their correspondence is attached for inclusion in the record. Those who do not learn from history are bound to repeat it. Let us learn from history.

Brownsville, TX, March 17, 1999.

Hon. SOLOMON ORTIZ,
House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ORTIZ: The 1990 census resulted in an undercount of eight million Americans. As a result the State of Texas was denied approximately \$1 billion in Federal funds. No other part of the country was more affected by this situation than perhaps California. In the case of Texas, the South Texas region which has a population that is largely Hispanic and a large concentration of families with income below poverty level, probably felt the brunt of the impact.

It is my understanding that in preparation for the 2000 census the House Government Oversight Committee, which you form part of, is presently considering legislation to require post-census local review instead of a statistical sampling method to arrive at an accurate census count. Our position is that the proposed legislation—H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act—while well intentioned, will prevent the Census Bureau from utilizing effective scientific methods for population counting, and may once more result in large undercounts. This unfortunately will impact once more the states with the larger population and larger concentrations of minority groups—e.g., Texas and California.

I therefore urge you to oppose passage of H.R. 472. I am certain that allowing the use of statistical samplings will result in the most accurate and timely census possible. This is after all, I am sure, what we are all interested in.

Thank you.
Sincerely,

HENRY GONZALEZ,
Mayor of Brownsville.

RICHARD M. BORCHARD,
Corpus Christi, March 26, 1999.

Hon. SOLOMON ORTIZ,
House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE ORTIZ: The 1990 Census resulted in an undercount of eight million Americans. As a result, the State of Texas was denied approximately \$1 billion in Federal funds. No other part of the country, other than perhaps California, was more affected by this situation. In the case of Texas, the South Texas region which has a population that is largely Hispanic and a large concentration of families with low incomes below the poverty level, probably felt the brunt of the impact.

It is my understanding that in preparation for the 2000 census the House Government Oversight Committee, which you form part of, is presently considering legislation to require post-census local review instead of a statistical sampling method to arrive at an accurate census count. Our position is that the proposed legislation—H.R. 472, the Local Census Quality Check Act—while well intentioned, will prevent the Census Bureau from utilizing effective scientific methods for population counting, and may once more result in large undercounts. This unfortunately will impact once more the states with the larger populations and larger concentrations of minority groups—e.g., Texas and California.

I therefore urge you to oppose passage of H.R. 472. I am certain that allowing the use of statistical samplings will result in the most accurate and timely census possible. This is, after all, what we are all interested in.

Thank you.
Sincerely,

RICHARD M. BORCHARD,
Nueces County Judge.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 138, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended, and on the further amendment in the nature of the substitute offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

The question is on the further amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY).

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. 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 202, nays 226, not voting 6, as follows:

[Roll No 88]

YEAS—202

Abercrombie	Berman	Brown (FL)
Ackerman	Berry	Brown (OH)
Allen	Bishop	Capps
Andrews	Blagojevich	Capuano
Baird	Blumenauer	Cardin
Baldacci	Bonior	Carson
Baldwin	Borski	Clay
Barcia	Boswell	Clayton
Becerra	Boucher	Clement
Bentsen	Boyd	Clyburn
Berkley	Brady (PA)	Condit

Conyers	Kildee
Costello	Kilpatrick
Coyne	Klink
Cramer	Kucinich
Crowley	LaFalce
Cummings	Lampson
Danner	Larson
Davis (FL)	Lee
Davis (IL)	Levin
DeFazio	Lewis (GA)
DeGette	Lipinski
DeLauro	Lofgren
Deutsch	Lowe
Dicks	Lucas (KY)
Dingell	Luther
Dixon	Maloney (CT)
Doggett	Maloney (NY)
Dooley	Markey
Doyle	Martinez
Edwards	Mascara
Engel	Matsui
Eshoo	McCarthy (MO)
Etheridge	McCarthy (NY)
Evans	McDermott
Farr	McGovern
Fattah	McIntyre
Filner	McKinney
Ford	McNulty
Frank (MA)	Meehan
Frost	Meek (FL)
Gejdenson	Meeks (NY)
Gephardt	Menendez
Gonzalez	Millender-
Gordon	McDonald
Green (TX)	Miller, George
Gutierrez	Minge
Hall (OH)	Mink
Hall (TX)	Moakley
Hill (IN)	Mollohan
Hilliard	Moore
Hinchey	Moran (VA)
Hinojosa	Morella
Hoefl	Murtha
Holden	Nadler
Holt	Napolitano
Hooley	Neal
Hoyer	Oberstar
Inslee	Obey
Jackson (IL)	Olver
Jackson-Lee	Ortiz
(TX)	Owens
Jefferson	Pallone
John	Pascarell
Johnson, E. B.	Pastor
Kanjorski	Payne
Kaptur	Pelosi
Kennedy	Peterson (MN)

NAYS—226

Aderholt	Collins	Goodling
Archer	Combust	Goss
Armey	Cook	Graham
Bachus	Cooksey	Granger
Baker	Cox	Green (WI)
Ballenger	Crane	Greenwood
Barr	Cubin	Gutknecht
Barrett (NE)	Cunningham	Hansen
Barrett (WI)	Davis (VA)	Hastert
Bartlett	Deal	Hastings (WA)
Barton	DeLay	Hayes
Bass	DeMint	Hayworth
Bateman	Diaz-Balart	Hefley
Bereuter	Dickey	Hergert
Biggett	Doolittle	Hill (MT)
Bilbray	Dreier	Hillery
Bilirakis	Duncan	Hobson
Bliley	Dunn	Hoekstra
Blunt	Ehlers	Horn
Boehlert	Ehrlich	Hostettler
Boehner	Emerson	Houghton
Bonilla	English	Hulshof
Bono	Everett	Hunter
Brady (TX)	Ewing	Hutchinson
Bryant	Fletcher	Hyde
Burr	Foley	Isakson
Burton	Forbes	Istook
Buyer	Fossella	Jenkins
Callahan	Fowler	Johnson (CT)
Calvert	Franks (NJ)	Johnson, Sam
Camp	Frelighuysen	Jones (NC)
Campbell	Galleghy	Kasich
Canady	Ganske	Kelly
Cannon	Gekas	Kind (WI)
Castle	Gibbons	King (NY)
Chabot	Gilchrest	Kingston
Chambliss	Gillmor	Kleczka
Chenoweth	Gilman	Knollenberg
Coble	Goode	Kolbe
Coburn	Goodlatte	Kuykendall

Largent	Pitts	Smith (TX)
Latham	Pombo	Souder
LaTourette	Porter	Spence
Lazio	Portman	Stearns
Leach	Pryce (OH)	Stump
Lewis (CA)	Quinn	Sununu
Lewis (KY)	Radanovich	Sweeney
Linder	Ramstad	Talent
LoBiondo	Regula	Tancredo
Lucas (OK)	Reynolds	Tauzin
Manzullo	Riley	Taylor (MS)
McCollum	Rogan	Taylor (NC)
McCrery	Rogers	Terry
McHugh	Rohrabacher	Thomas
McInnis	Ros-Lehtinen	Thornberry
McIntosh	Roukema	Thune
McKeon	Royce	Tiahrt
Metcalfe	Ryan (WI)	Toomey
Mica	Ryun (KS)	Traficant
Miller (FL)	Salmon	Upton
Miller, Gary	Sanford	Walden
Moran (KS)	Saxton	Walsh
Myrick	Scarborough	Wamp
Nethercutt	Schaffer	Watkins
Ney	Sensenbrenner	Watts (OK)
Northup	Sessions	Weldon (FL)
Norwood	Shadegg	Weldon (PA)
Nussle	Shaw	Weller
Ose	Shays	Whitfield
Oxley	Sherwood	Wicker
Packard	Shimkus	Wilson
Paul	Shuster	Wolf
Pease	Simpson	Young (AK)
Peterson (PA)	Skeen	Young (FL)
Petri	Smith (MI)	
Pickering	Smith (NJ)	

NOT VOTING—6

Brown (CA)	Hastings (FL)	LaHood
Delahunt	Jones (OH)	Lantos

□ 1809

Messrs. SOUDER, HEFLEY, GREENWOOD, MCINTOSH, DOOLITTLE, and Mrs. CUBIN changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Mr. SHOWS and Mr. DINGELL changed their vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So the amendment in the nature of a substitute was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Stated for:

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 88, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted “yea.”

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 223, nays 206, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 89]

YEAS—223

Aderholt	Bateman	Boswell
Archer	Bereuter	Brady (TX)
Armey	Biggett	Bryant
Bachus	Bilbray	Burr
Baker	Bilirakis	Burton
Ballenger	Bliley	Buyer
Barr	Blunt	Callahan
Barrett (NE)	Boehlert	Calvert
Bartlett	Boehner	Camp
Barton	Bonilla	Campbell
Bass	Bono	Canady

Cannon	Hoekstra	Ramstad
Castle	Horn	Regula
Chabot	Hostettler	Riley
Chambliss	Houghton	Rogan
Chenoweth	Hulshof	Rogers
Coble	Hunter	Rohrabacher
Coburn	Hutchinson	Ros-Lehtinen
Collins	Hyde	Roukema
Combest	Isakson	Royce
Cook	Istook	Ryan (WI)
Cooksey	Jenkins	Ryun (KS)
Cox	Johnson (CT)	Salmon
Crane	Johnson, Sam	Sanford
Cubin	Jones (NC)	Saxton
Cunningham	Kasich	Scarborough
Davis (VA)	Kelly	Schaffer
Deal	King (NY)	Sensenbrenner
DeLay	Kingston	Sessions
DeMint	Knollenberg	Shadegg
Diaz-Balart	Kolbe	Shaw
Dickey	Kuykendall	Shays
Doolittle	Largent	Sherwood
Dreier	Latham	Shimkus
Duncan	LaTourrette	Shuster
Dunn	Lazio	Simpson
Ehlers	Leach	Skeen
Ehrlich	Lewis (CA)	Smith (MI)
Emerson	Lewis (KY)	Smith (NJ)
English	Linder	Smith (TX)
Everett	LoBiondo	Souder
Ewing	Lucas (OK)	Spence
Fletcher	Manzullo	Stearns
Foley	McCollum	Stump
Forbes	McCrery	Sununu
Fossella	McHugh	Sweeney
Fowler	McInnis	Talent
Franks (NJ)	McIntosh	Tancredo
Frelinghuysen	McKeon	Tauzin
Gallely	Metcalfe	Taylor (MS)
Ganske	Mica	Taylor (NC)
Gekas	Miller (FL)	Terry
Gibbons	Miller, Gary	Thomas
Gilchrist	Moran (KS)	Thornberry
Gillmor	Myrick	Thune
Gilman	Nethercutt	Tiahrt
Goode	Ney	Toomey
Goodlatte	Northup	Traficant
Goodling	Norwood	Upton
Goss	Nussle	Walden
Graham	Ose	Walsh
Granger	Oxley	Wamp
Green (WI)	Packard	Watkins
Greenwood	Paul	Watts (OK)
Gutknecht	Pease	Weldon (FL)
Hansen	Peterson (PA)	Weldon (PA)
Hastert	Petri	Weller
Hastings (WA)	Pickering	Whitfield
Hayes	Pitts	Wicker
Hayworth	Pombo	Wilson
Hefley	Porter	Wolf
Herger	Portman	Young (AK)
Hill (MT)	Pryce (OH)	Young (FL)
Hilleary	Quinn	
Hobson	Radanovich	

NAYS—206

Abercrombie	Conyers	Gonzalez
Ackerman	Costello	Gordon
Allen	Coyne	Green (TX)
Andrews	Cramer	Gutierrez
Baird	Crowley	Hall (OH)
Baldacci	Cummings	Hall (TX)
Baldwin	Danner	Hill (IN)
Barcia	Davis (FL)	Hilliard
Barrett (WI)	Davis (IL)	Hinchev
Becerra	DeFazio	Hinojosa
Bentsen	DeGette	Hoeffel
Berkley	Delahunt	Holden
Berman	DeLauro	Holt
Berry	Deutsch	Hooley
Bishop	Dicks	Hoyer
Blagojevich	Dingell	Inslee
Blumenauer	Dixon	Jackson (IL)
Bonior	Doggett	Jackson-Lee
Borski	Dooley	(TX)
Boucher	Doyle	Jefferson
Boyd	Edwards	John
Brady (PA)	Engel	Johnson, E.B.
Brown (FL)	Eshoo	Jones (OH)
Brown (OH)	Etheridge	Kanjorski
Capps	Evans	Kaptur
Capuano	Farr	Kennedy
Cardin	Fattah	Kildee
Carson	Filner	Kilpatrick
Clay	Ford	Kind (WI)
Clayton	Frank (MA)	Klecza
Clement	Frost	Klink
Clyburn	Gejdenson	Kucinich
Condit	Gephardt	LaFalce

Lampson	Murtha	Shows
Larson	Nadler	Sisisky
Lee	Napolitano	Skelton
Levin	Neal	Slaughter
Lewis (GA)	Oberstar	Smith (WA)
Lipinski	Obey	Snyder
Lofgren	Olver	Spratt
Lowey	Ortiz	Stabenow
Lucas (KY)	Owens	Stark
Luther	Pallone	Stenholm
Maloney (CT)	Pascrell	Strickland
Maloney (NY)	Pastor	Stupak
Markey	Payne	Tanner
Martinez	Pelosi	Tauscher
Mascara	Peterson (MN)	Thompson (CA)
Matsui	Phelps	Thompson (MS)
McCarthy (MO)	Pickett	Thurman
McCarthy (NY)	Pomeroy	Tierney
McDermott	Price (NC)	Towns
McGovern	Rahall	Turner
McIntyre	Rangel	Udall (CO)
McKinney	Reyes	Udall (NM)
McNulty	Rivers	Velazquez
Meehan	Rodriguez	Vento
Meek (FL)	Roemer	Visclosky
Meeks (NY)	Rothman	Waters
Menendez	Roybal-Allard	Watt (NC)
Millender	Rush	Waxman
McDonald	Sabo	Weiner
Miller, George	Sanchez	Wexler
Minge	Sanders	Weygand
Mink	Sandlin	Wise
Moakley	Sawyer	Woolsey
Mollohan	Schakowsky	Wu
Moore	Scott	Wynn
Moran (VA)	Serrano	
Morella	Sherman	

NOT VOTING—5

Brown (CA)	LaHood	Reynolds
Hastings (FL)	Lantos	

□ 1828

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

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. LAHOOD. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained for rollcall votes 83, 86, 87, 88, and 89. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes" on rollcall 83, Journal.

I would have voted "yes" on rollcall vote 86, ordering the previous question; "yes" on rollcall vote 87, H. Res. 138; "no" on rollcall 88, The Maloney amendment; "yes" on rollcall 89, H.R. 472, The Local Census Quality Control Act.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 472.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1376, TAX RELIEF FOR PERSONNEL IN FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA/MONTENEGRO) AND CERTAIN OTHER AREAS

Mrs. MYRICK, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report

(Rept. No. 106-95) on the resolution (H. Res. 140) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1376) to extend the tax benefits available with respect to services performed in a combat zone to services performed in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) and certain other areas, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

□ 1830

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MORAN of Kansas). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

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

(Mr. BURTON of Indiana 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 the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

INDIANA COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL 1999

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. CARSON. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to be here this afternoon speaking about a rich tradition and important part of Hoosier heritage, an element of life that the great State of Indiana continues to support and love, basketball, a game with which Indiana has become synonymous.

Indiana's basketball is nearly unparalleled. The names from the State, John Wooden, Oscar Robertson, Chuck Taylor, Larry Bird, bring to mind all that basketball should and can be. The rivalries such as the one between IU and Purdue, and the stories of epic proportions such as the movie "Hoosiers" is what separates Indiana basketball from all the rest. These icons and ideals continue to be revered, inspire greatness, and offer a mystical and enriching quality to a game that continues to grow and captivate fans

around the country, but remains in the heart of Indiana.

It is my honor to acknowledge that this tradition of excellence and inspiration continues today. The sensational Lady Boilermakers of Purdue, and the coach of the boilermakers, enjoyed a story book season on their way to winning the NCAA National Championship, while North Central High School in Indianapolis played nearly flawlessly at the end of their season to capture their first high school 4A State championship.

I would like to acknowledge a remarkable young woman, Carolyn Peck, who coached the Lady Boilermakers to an NCAA championship.

Ms. Peck is the recipient of the 1999 John and Nellie Wooden Award, one of the most prestigious honors in college basketball. At the age of 32, she was the youngest coach in the Big Ten and has quickly risen to the top of women's basketball coaching circles.

With her unmatched enthusiasm and grace, Ms. Peck is a leader, coach and motivator who is destined to become one of the greatest names in women's collegiate sports. In 1997-98, during her first season as head coach, the Purdue Lady Boilermakers finished with a 23-10 overall record, won the Big Ten Conference Tournament, advanced to the NCAA Tournament Elite Eight, and ranked number 11 in the final USAToday/ESPN poll. During this past season, Ms. Peck led the lady boilermakers to an NCAA championship victory and an amazing 32-1 overall record.

Carolyn Peck, holding true to Hoosiers' reputation for great basketball, is undeniably a wonderful role model for young women everywhere.

I would also like to congratulate a high school that is in my district, the North Central High School of Indianapolis. The North Central High School Panthers, led by coach Doug Mitchell, won Indiana's 1999 Division 4A State Basketball Championship and then defeated 2A champion Westview to win the Tournament of Champions. The Panthers' victory capped an outstanding season whereby the Panthers finished with an overall record of 25 wins and only 5 losses. The Panthers became Marion County's fifth champion in the past 11 years. The Panthers' run to the championship included a hard-fought 79-73 overtime win over then number one ranked Bloomington South. Trailing by 3 points with little time left on the clock, Jason Gardner, Indiana's Mr. Basketball, hit a clutch 3-point shot as time expired to send the game into overtime. The courage and commitment to excellence displayed by the Panthers are befitting for the champions of the most esteemed high school basketball tournament in the world.

I would like to recognize Eric Chapman, Jason Gardner, Nick Gardner, Wegahta Ghebremichael, John Hayes, Max Matthews, Doug Moore, Lucas Query, Shawn Radford, Eric Rhodes,

Zach Scott and Donald Yates. Mr. Speaker, each of these players understand the importance of teamwork and are worthy of being called champions.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would like to mention that I will probably be back on the floor in mid-June to congratulate another team from Indianapolis, the Indiana Pacers, who will have just won the NBA championship.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DIAZ-BALART) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DIAZ-BALART 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 Ohio (Mr. BROWN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

RETIREMENT SECURITY

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

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to talk about an issue that is of crucial importance to all Americans, and that is security and peace of mind in our retirement years. It is an issue that is beginning to gain a lot more attention nationally. In fact, today President Clinton revealed his plans for so-called universal savings accounts, USA accounts, that would function much like private pension savings.

Why has retirement savings become a bigger and bigger issue, taking more and more attention of this body and more and more attention at the Clinton administration? It is because we find ourselves in a retirement squeeze. Happily, Americans are living longer. That is a good thing. But we also have 76 million baby boomers, me included, who are going to begin retiring in reality just a few short years. Neither our public retirement system, Social Security, nor our private pension system in this country, including 401(k) type plans and others, are ready for this retirement of the baby boom generation.

In response to these challenges, Social Security's fiscal problems have become a top priority of this Congress, and that is appropriate. But we have to remember Social Security is only one component of a secure and comfortable retirement. Social Security actually was never meant to meet all the retirement needs of Americans, and for most Americans it does not. Rather, it is only one leg of a three-legged stool that supports Americans in their retirement years. The other two are personal savings, and then employer-provided retirement plans such as 401(k) plans, profit sharing plans, defined benefit plans and others.

This third leg, pension savings, is crucial in giving Americans the peace of mind they need as they plan for their retirement years. And economists from across the ideological spectrum, right, left and down the middle, agree that the enhanced personal savings that comes from increased pensions are key to long-term economic growth and prosperity.

But all is not well with our pension system. In fact, it is not well at all. Right now only half of American workers have any kind of pension at all. That means about 60 million American workers do not have access to one of the key components of a secure retirement. And far fewer than half of employees who work for small businesses have access to plans.

In fact, only 19 percent of small businesses, those with 25 or fewer employees, have any kind of retirement savings plan at all, 401(k), profit sharing or anything. Why? Well, I think the main reason is that over the years pensions have become so costly to set up and administer that many small businesses simply cannot afford to offer them.

Not enough workers have this pension coverage at the same time that our overall savings in this country is in sharp decline. The personal savings rate in this country, the amount of money people save for their retirement and for other needs, is at its lowest since 1933. Again, 76 million baby boomers starting to retire in a few short years, yet studies show that older baby boomers have only about 40 percent of the savings that they will need to avoid a real drop in their standard of living after retirement.

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

Mr. PORTMAN. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. POMEROY. The issue the gentleman is speaking to is one of the greatest problems facing this country. His leadership has been very significant. The legislation he has advanced I believe goes a long way to expanding retirement income security for Americans. I am proud to be a cosponsor.

Mr. PORTMAN. I appreciate it. That leads me right into what I am about to talk about. The gentleman from North Dakota has been a leader on this for years, particularly on the issue of portability that I will get into in a second. I appreciate his comment.

In fact we do have some solutions to this problem that we have laid out. I have joined with the gentleman from North Dakota and with the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) to introduce what is called the Comprehensive Retirement Security and Pension Reform Act of 1999. We are committed to making the needed reforms to our Social Security system, of course. In fact, the gentleman from Maryland and I both serve on the Subcommittee on Social Security. But we are also committed to making these changes in the private pension system.

We believe there is a need to increase overall retirement security, which must include leveraging of private sector dollars by expanding pensions. The Portman-Cardin bill knocks down barriers to savings by raising limits for all Americans, allowing Americans to set aside more of their earnings tax free. It untangles complex and irrational rules and cuts through red tape that burdens retirement plans and their participants, and it creates new incentives for small businesses to establish plans.

The Portman-Cardin bill also allows a special catch-up contribution for older Americans who have been out of the workforce for a while perhaps, working in part-time positions, particularly important for working moms who have returned to the workforce after raising their children and want to have more of a nest egg for retirement. We also respond, as I mentioned earlier, to the new realities of a mobile workforce by allowing portability.

If enacted, all these changes will expand retirement savings and make the difference between retirement subsistence and real retirement security for millions of Americans. I urge the Congress to focus on this issue and to address this problem through the Portman-Cardin bill and other legislation to reform and expand our private pension system.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE JACK KINGSTON, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The Speaker pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable JACK KINGSTON, Member of Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, April 7, 1999.

Hon. J. Dennis Hastert,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: This is to formally notify you pursuant to Rule VIII (8) of the Rules of the House that I received a subpoena (duces tecum) issued by the Superior Court of Bulloch County, Georgia, in the case of Griffin v. Zimnavoda.

After consultation with the Office of General Counsel, I have determined that compliance with the subpoena is consistent with the privileges and precedents of the House.

Sincerely,

JACK KINGSTON,
Member of Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

CRISIS IN KOSOVO

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

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to address the crisis that is ongoing now in Yugoslavia. For a war to be moral, we must have a reason to go in. National defense is a moral justification. If we are attacked, it is a moral war. Getting involved in any other kind of war is not considered to be moral.

A legal war in this country is one that is declared, declared by the Congress. Any other war is illegal. The war in Yugoslavia now pursued by our administration and with NATO is both immoral and illegal and it should not be pursued. We will be soon voting on an appropriation, probably next week. There may be a request for \$5 billion to pursue the war in Yugoslavia. I do not believe that we should continue to finance a war that is both immoral and illegal.

It has been said that we are in Yugoslavia to stop ethnic cleansing, but it is very clear that the goal of the NATO forces is to set up an ethnic state.

□ 1945

It is totally contradictory. There is a civil war, and it is horrible, going on in Yugoslavia today, but this is no justification for outsiders, and especially United States of America, to become involved without the proper proceedings.

I believe that our colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL), deserves to be complemented because he is making a determined effort to put the burden on the Members of Congress to vote one way or the other. Since World War II we have fought numerous wars, and they have never been fought with a declaration of war, and it is precisely for that reason, because they have not been fought for truly national security reasons, that we have not won these wars. If a war is worth fighting, it is worth declaring, and it is worth winning.

I am delighted that this effort is being made by the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL) and others here in the Congress because for so long, for 50 years now, we have permitted our Presidents to casually and carelessly involve our troops overseas. So I see this trend as putting more pressure on the Congress to respond to their responsibilities. I think this is a very, very good move and going in the right direction.

It has been asked why in the world might we be there if it is not a concern for the refugees, because obviously we have hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of refugees in many, many places around the world. We do not go to Rwanda to rescue the refugees, we did not go into Yugoslavia to rescue the Serbian refugees when they were being routed from Bosnia and Croatia, but all of a sudden the refugees seem to have an importance.

Most people know why we went to the Persian Gulf. It was not because we were attacked. It was because of a financial commercial interest: oil. But

what is the interest in this area in Yugoslavia? I am not sure exactly what it is. There has been a lot of postulations about this, but I am not convinced that it is all of a sudden the concern for the refugees.

Yesterday in the Washington Post an interesting article occurred on this subject, but it was not in the news section; it was in the business section. There was a headline yesterday in the Washington Post that said: Count Corporate America Among NATO's Staunchest Allies. Very interesting article because it goes on to explain why so many corporations have an intense interest in making sure that the credibility of NATO is maintained, and they go on to explain that it is not just the arms manufacturers but the technology people who expect to sell weapons in Eastern Europe, in Yugoslavia, and they are very interested in making use of the NATO forces to make sure that their interests are protected. I think this is not the reason for us to go to war.

There is talk now of calling up all our Reserves or many of our Reserves at the same time there are hints now that there may be the institution of the draft. So this is a major problem that this country is facing, the world is facing, and up until now we, the Congress, have not spoken.

On February 9 of this year I introduced a bill that would have prohibited this by prohibiting any funds being spent on a war in Yugoslavia. I say it is too bad we did not pass that legislation a long time ago.

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

(Mr. SMITH of Washington addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER
TIME

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take the time previously allotted to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. SMITH).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina? There was no objection.

NEW DEMOCRATS FOR FISCAL
DISCIPLINE

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

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my opposition to the Republican budget that the House passed this afternoon.

As a member of the New Democratic Coalition when I came to Congress, I was very proud of the vote that I made

last year in the last session to help lead my party in this Congress back to fiscal responsibility and be able to vote on the first balanced budget in a generation.

I say that with a heavy heart today because I think we have just passed one, the majority has, that is not a budget but a political document.

Prior to my service in public office, Mr. Speaker, I spent 19 years running a small business in North Carolina, where you have to balance the budget, you have to meet a payroll every week, and if you do not balance your books, you will go broke.

When I served in the General Assembly where I served for 10 years, I chaired the appropriations committee for 4 years where I helped write a balanced budget for 4 straight years. You have to balance the budget to make sure you do not have to raise taxes.

As State Superintendent of Schools of the State of North Carolina for 8 years I had responsibility for running a large agency with a huge budget; I cut a bureaucracy, and it helped improve the quality of education, with others in my State.

The people of North Carolina sent me to Congress 2 years ago to help with balancing the Federal budget and to put our national financial house in order, and I was tremendously proud to serve in that first session and vote to balance the budget. But that discipline is difficult. It is difficult to keep your budgets balanced. It is difficult to do the things you need to do to make sure you do not overspend. But it is economically wise, and it is a moral imperative.

Mr. Speaker, that is why the Republican resolution that passed today is so disappointing. It returns to those irresponsible promises, in my opinion, and the tax cut binges that helped create the annual deficits, and it crippled this country's economy and piled up a huge national debt in the 1980s that our children and grandchildren could be forced to pay.

In order to push this risky scheme, the Republican leadership has passed a budget that fails to protect Social Security and Medicare, threatens needed investments with our priorities in education and abandons our new-found fiscal discipline. This misguided attitude captured on this floor by Members of the majority who said there is nothing, there is no such thing, as an irresponsible tax cut, that is the kind of attitude we ran into in the 1980's that got us in such bad trouble. We should not return to those attitudes.

Let me state for the record that I support tax cuts, I am in favor of them, but I think we ought to keep our financial house in order.

One of the first bills that I signed as a Member of this Congress when I came was the tax cut for the middle class, for estate tax relief for small businesses and farmers, for the \$500-per-child tax credit, for HOPE scholarships

so that our children could go to school and have an opportunity to blossom in the 21st century, and to help families pay their college tuitions, and for tax credits or to deduct interest on the money they borrowed to go to college.

In this Congress I have introduced legislation for school construction, to provide tax free interest bonds at the State level to build new schools in our communities, which in turn would provide relief to a lot of our local communities that are feeling the strain of tremendous growth.

So I am for tax cuts, but they must be responsible, they must be paid for. We must save Social Security and Medicare first before we jump off the cliff. We must pay down the national debt to keep the interest rate down and encourage economic growth.

We are now enjoying one of the largest, longest and greatest periods of economic prosperity in our Nation's history, and we should not do anything to undermine it. We must make careful investments in education and in health care and scientific research that will provide the basis for the future for our tremendous growth. We have had that already. We need to continue so that we will enjoy the bounty of a new economy in the 21st century.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

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

Mr. THUNE. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon we did have an opportunity to vote on the budget; call it the Republican budget if you will; and, just as a matter of response to my friend from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE) who expressed his criticism of that budget, I would like to, if I might, set the record straight because I think the American people have a right to know for the first time in a long time we are being honest.

This is a honest budget. This says to the American people that we are going to set aside Social Security and Medicare taxes, payroll taxes, and leave them there, lock them up, wall them off and not touch that because the surplus that we are running today, most of it is in Social Security and Medicare and the payroll tax side of the budget. After that is done, after those dollars are walled off and we get into the future years when there are surpluses on the overall budget, in other words, coming off the income tax and other sources of government revenue, then we can engage in a debate in this Chamber, in the Congress, about how best to use those revenues.

Now our side happens to believe we said in our plan that we think we would like to see those dollars go back in the form of tax relief because the American people worked hard to produce those dollars, and they ought to be able to keep more of what they earn. But the fact of the matter is, and

make no mistake about it, the American public has a right to know that all this demagoguery and all this hype, and we have heard it before and we are going to hear it again, but the Republican budget that was passed today sets aside 100 percent of the Social Security and Medicare payroll tax and walls it off and locks it up.

Now everybody on the other side is talking about the President's great budget which got two votes in the House, two votes in the Senate because it was a statement of priorities, it was a statement of values. The President's budget raised taxes by \$172 billion over 5 years. The President's budget sets aside less for Medicare and Social Security than does the Republican budget, and again we do it by being honest with the American people and saying when you pay the payroll tax at the payroll, it ought to go into the Social Security Trust Fund to be used for Social Security and Medicare.

The President's budget also talked about debt repayment. The plan that we voted on today actually retires more debt, pays off more debt than does the President's budget, substantially more debt over the course of the next 10 years. And then again at end when we are actually generating a surplus above and beyond Social Security, then we have a national debate in this country about whether the hard-working people of America ought to be able to keep more of what they earn or we ought to spend more here on Washington bureaucracies and programs.

Mr. Speaker, that is a honest debate, but do not fall for the lies because you are going to hear them over and over again. The fact of the matter is that the budget that we passed today sets us on a path and on a course that is consistent with protecting the retirement earnings of America's hard workers.

Let me just, if I might today, also address an issue which is very important in my State. Last week, or during the course of the recess, I traveled in western South Dakota in places like Spearfish, and Belle Fourche, and Buffalo, and Lemmon, and McIntosh and Timber Lake, and Mo Bridge, and Mound City, and Eureka, and Leola, and Aberdine and Watertown, and one of the things that I found out, and I already knew but I heard more, and I got a really good earful on my travels across South Dakota about the crisis affecting agriculture because that part of the State, the northwestern part of South Dakota, has been as hard hit as any place in the country, and I believe that we have a responsibility to recognize the incredible crisis that is affecting our agricultural producers and to address it, and there are a series of initiatives that we will be rolling out over the course of the next several weeks which I think do just that. But I believe we need to have a debate in this Congress on mandatory price reporting. Our producers need to know in making decisions what the market information is that the packers are using

in determining how to purchase their products, and today that information is not disclosed. And we have a bill introduced, House bill 693, that I believe deserves a hearing. We ought to have a vote on it in the House.

We need country of origin labeling. We need to make sure that the producers of this country have the protections that are necessary to allow them to do what they do best, and that is provide the best source of food and fiber for the American people.

The gentleman from North Dakota (Mr. POMEROY) and I will be introducing crop insurance legislation which addresses some of the problems in that program and makes it workable so that our producers have an opportunity to hedge against loss and make sure that they are, again, able to survive and prosper in this economy.

We need sanctions reform. There are a lot of countries in the world that we cannot do business with, and it makes no sense, and I think we need to have a debate in this Congress about what we can do to better open markets so that our producers have an opportunity to make a living and to survive.

Every small town, every Main Street across my State and many States across rural America, suffers when the ag economy suffers, and there is not an economy in any Main Street in South Dakota today that is not feeling the effects of this crisis.

So I believe it ought to be a priority of this Congress. I am going to fight very, very hard and work with other Members from rural States who want to work together to see that we produce a series of initiatives, a series of solutions that will help address the serious needs that we have and the concerns that we have in the agricultural sector of our economy.

So I look forward to working my friends and colleagues on both sides of the political aisle. This ought to be a bipartisan issue.

□ 1900

EXCHANGE OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to claim the special order time of the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MORAN of Kansas). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota?

There was no objection.

AUCTIONS, AUCTIONS, AUCTIONS: WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE FAMILY FARM?

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

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I want to follow up on the comments of my friend and colleague, the gentleman

from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE) relative to the agriculture crisis. I cannot say how terrible it is relative to the farm economy in North Dakota.

I have with me today some auction bills. We have been seeing a lot of these auction bills. Consider that each auction bill represents a sale of a family farm, the end of literally generations of tradition of farming the land. It goes on for pages.

Recently, Ag Week Periodical, which covers the Red River Valley, the most prosperous part of agriculture in my State, published 150 farm auctions. This is 150 individual operators throwing in the towel, ending, again, the tradition handed down for generations of making a living off their land. In each case, it is a tragedy and something to be avoided.

One friend of mine, and I am going to offer this for the RECORD, who is selling out after 120 consecutive years of production on this family farm, wrote an op-ed to the newspaper and he has on the title of it, now at least we do not have to wonder anymore.

Mr. Speaker, there are an awful lot of families wondering tonight whether or not they will be able to get a crop in the ground this spring. Imagine, we all deal with career uncertainty surely as Members of the House up for election every other year. We really never know until the election is over what we are going to be doing, but we have people at this late point in the spring not knowing whether they will be able to put a crop in the ground right now.

Obviously, if they cannot get the financing to get a crop in the ground they have no idea what they are going to do to put shoes on their kids' feet, to put food on the table.

We have got a full-blown crisis in agriculture directly related to the financing capital farmers need to get their crop in the ground this spring.

For that reason, the administration advanced several weeks ago emergency funding requests so that we might have additional loan authority funded. The request is for \$152 million and it is part of the supplemental appropriations bill sent up by the White House; \$109 million of that would make \$1.1 billion in additional lending authority available to farmers, \$42 million so that the USDA could actually hire additional staff to process these applications and get the money out.

Here is what has happened. In light of the collapse in commodity prices, farmers have had terrible losses. As they sit down with their regular bankers, they are unable to show cash flow and, therefore, unable, ineligible in many cases, for the financing that they had otherwise expected.

Now there are programs available for these farmers, FSA lending programs, direct lending programs, USDA loan guarantee programs, but because so many have had trouble in lending in the normal course, they have come to the USDA and overwhelmed the resources available for those USDA loans.

Right now North Dakota, we have a backlog. We do not have enough money to meet the loan need now and it is anticipated that that loan need is going to increase dramatically over the next few days. There is \$4.4 million in unmet loan need that has come into the North Dakota FSA offices over the last 2 days alone. This is a crisis, and it is a crisis with a very narrow window of time for us to address.

If a farmer cannot get the crop in the ground in the spring, the money coming along here in July or August is not going to do a lick of good. The window is gone. They have lost the chance to plant, and for these operators that means they have lost the farm.

I would say to my colleagues, please let us move this supplemental appropriation request along. Everyone knows of the urgent straits in farm country, not just in North Dakota or South Dakota but throughout the country, and we must respond to this by getting that loan guarantee money replenished so that it can get out to the farmers so they can get their crop in the ground this spring, so they don't lose their farms.

It is as simple as that. It is very straightforward. This is a body that unfortunately sometimes cannot operate very quickly, but there is just no mistake. The urgency is now. We have to act. Failure to act is going to mean a lot more auction bills and that, in each instance, is a tragedy.

NOW WE DON'T HAVE TO WONDER ANYMORE

Bismarck, N.D.—On June 15, near Mayville, N.D., there will be another farm auction—just another farm auction—barely noticed by most in these days of collapsing agriculture as we know it. Just another sale bill.

Just another gathering of neighbors, family, friends and buyers—buyers who realize that with all sales at this time, there should be some pieces of equipment useful to them that will go at a bargain price. Friends and neighbors will come to offer moral support and experience the friendly social atmosphere that is unique to rural America. Family members will come to witness the end of the family tradition.

Last year was the 120th crop planted and harvested since the original homestead was taken in 1878. Some of the family members want to witness the auction as a closure, similar to attending a funeral for a loved one. Sometimes it takes an event to provide acceptance of what has happened.

For many years we have seen hundreds of sale bills, been to auctions and wondered what these folks were going through—what they were feeling. I'm sure that for most it was every bit as difficult as it is now for us. I would guess that after the initial sense of failure and depression, there is an uneasy sense of relief that the hopelessness can now be dismissed and energies can be devoted to something positive.

Now we don't have to wonder anymore. The initial feelings have come and gone. The personal feelings have been pushed aside for the most part—at least on the surface. Now the business decisions must take over. Emotions will have to give way to the matters at hand. The plans on how to best organize and handle preparations for the sale are now a priority.

Occasionally regrets surface, and I wonder what we could have done differently to have

avoided the present situation. What did my grandparents do when faced with the perils of pioneer life at the turn of the century? What did my parents do when they were faced with hard times prior to and during the depression of the 1930s?

The accounts of their struggles are fresh on my mind. I listened intently as they described how drought, rust and low prices nearly pushed them over the edge. Only hard work, hope, determination and a strong faith sustained them. Faith in God and in a society that would ultimately rescue America from a bad situation. They endured and persevered. And with the help of federal farm programs at the last, even prospered.

This came at a time when the world seemed to care about its food supply and those who produced it. As time passed and a degree of prosperity continued some became frustrated with the aspect and methods of supply management. A bit of arrogance told some that we no longer needed any help from the federal government and that we could handle things now.

The commodity traders, food processors and exploiters of the ag sector of our economy could now have their way. Congress listened to the wrong people—those whose interests were not supportive of farm families. A non farm bill called "Freedom to Farm" was crafted and passed over the objections of our rural congressional delegations. This, along with the years of crop disease, bad foreign trade policies and apathetic citizens, all contributed to our present situation.

Our country has never experienced overall hunger. Many European countries have, and they appreciate and protect their agriculture producers. We have been scolded for not being efficient. We have been told to produce more—we have. We have been told to market smarter—we have. We have been told to expand—we have.

None of this helps without a equitable price. In the Legislature we have attempted in a small way to address the problems with the proposals forwarded by the Commission on the Future of Agriculture. Nearly all proposals have been defeated by the Republican majority.

What now? Do we in the North Dakota Legislature turn our backs on the No. 1 industry in our state and let what is left crumble further? Or do we put some plans forward to help solve the problems at the state level? It may already be too late to ask Congress for help given the demographics of our rural/urban population split. Are we going to offer any hope that we are willing to save agriculture as we know it?

It is too late for some of us. But it is still not too late for North Dakota. We must use what we have left of this session to get to the business of supporting rural families and communities.

THE PRESENCE OF SQUALENE IN SICK GULF WAR VETS SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

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

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I am here today to address an issue of critical importance to many of our constituents. Over a year ago, my office was contacted by several veterans and others who were concerned about reports that the presence of antibodies for squalene had been discovered in blood samples of sick Gulf War veterans.

How could squalene antibodies show up in the bodies of Gulf War veterans? Squalene is a component of adjuvant formulations used in some experimental vaccines but not in any licensed vaccines. It has not been licensed.

An adjuvant is a toxic substance incorporated into a vaccine to accelerate, enhance or prolong specific immune responses.

After my initial inquiries, I determined that it would be prudent to ask the GAO to conduct an investigation to determine the facts surrounding these disturbing reports.

With over 100,000 of our Gulf War era veterans suffering, I believed it was imperative that we provide them with the truth regarding this issue. If there was nothing to substantiate the assertions, then we should be able to report those findings back to the veteran's community and move on with the search to provide them with the best possible treatment for Gulf War illnesses.

GAO's report, recently released to me, is very disturbing and raises an increased number of serious questions. Its title, "Gulf War Illnesses: Questions About the Presence of Squalene Antibodies in Veterans can be Resolved," indicates that we can get to the truth about squalene.

The GAO report's conclusion is troubling and demands immediate attention. The GAO recommended that the Department of Defense should act now to expand on the research already conducted. The GAO found that independent research had been undertaken using valid scientific measures, which has found the presence of squalene in sick Gulf War vets.

They interviewed the dedicated immunologist who headed the project and the respected lead researcher from Tulane University in New Orleans who developed the test which provided these results. Their inquiry led them to vaccine experts who confirmed the validity of the methods used.

After a thorough investigation, the GAO determined that the quality of the independent research demands, demands that the Department of Defense aggressively pursue these findings.

Specifically, the report states that DOD should conduct research designed to replicate or dispute the independent research results that revealed the presence of squalene antibodies in the blood of ill Gulf War veterans. If DOD's research affirms the presence of these antibodies, additional research must be conducted, designed to assess the significance of that finding.

The Department of Defense response to these recommendations has been unconscionable. They have stated that since they did not use squalene as an adjuvant during the Gulf War, there is no reason to test for it at this time. That is ducking the issue completely. They are willing to wait possibly for a year or more until the research is published to determine whether or not it warrants further review.

Considering the suffering of so many of our brave men and women who are living daily with the painful consequences of their service to our Nation, I cannot comprehend the DOD's reluctance. Over \$100 million, \$100 million, has been spent on investigating Gulf War illnesses, with little success. Surely, we can find a few thousand dollars to replicate or dispute the research results. We owe the veterans the truth.

Recently we have seen journalistic investigations examining this issue. Additional concerns have been raised by Gary Matsumoto in Vanity Fair and Paul Rodriguez of Insight Magazine.

We must exercise our constitutional oversight role to unravel this mystery and provide a clear presentation of the facts.

I have asked the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, and the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. STUMP), the chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, to hold a joint hearing regarding the results of the GAO report. I believe it is essential to hear firsthand from the GAO investigators and obtain answers from DOD officials and others under oath to many of the questions that remain outstanding.

It is imperative that DOD cooperate. We must find the truth wherever the next step leads.

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

(Mr. SNYDER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

REPORT FROM THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. COBURN) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to take a few minutes tonight. I know via C-SPAN that this is going to be very hard for the people at home to read but I think it shows a tremendous problem that we have in our foreign policy and how that policy is being carried out.

I want to just read it verbatim. What this is is listings taken directly from the U.S. Department of State's 1998 Human Rights Practices Report.

The Department of State is required by law to assess human rights violations ongoing in countries that we have dealings with.

There are two countries here that are listed, and we have significant involvement, ongoing today, with these two countries. If I may, under country A, this government's human rights record worsened significantly and there were

problems in many areas, including extrajudicial killings, murders, disappearances, torture, brutal beatings and arbitrary arrests and detentions. Country B, the government's human rights record deteriorated sharply beginning in the final months of this last year with a crackdown against organized political dissent. Abuses included instances of extrajudicial killings, torture, mistreatment of prisoners, forced confessions, arbitrary arrests and detention, lengthy incommunicado detention and denial of due process.

Second area, country A, the government infringed on the citizen's right to privacy. The same thing, country B, the government infringed on the citizen's right to privacy.

Number three, under country A, the government severely restricted the freedom of speech and of the press. The same thing, country B, the government continued restrictions on the freedom of speech and of the press.

The fourth area of concern, discrimination and violence against women remained serious problems. Discrimination against religious and ethnic minorities worsened during the year. Country B, discrimination against women, minorities and the disabled, violence against women, including coercive family planning practices which sometimes included forced abortion and forced sterilization, prostitution, trafficking in women and children and abuse of children are all significant problems.

Fifth area, the government infringed on the freedom of worship by minority religions and restricted freedom of movement. Country B, serious human rights abuses persisted in minority areas where restrictions on religion and other fundamental freedoms intensified.

□ 1915

The sixth area, Country A, the police committed numerous serious and systematic human rights abuses. Country B, security police and personnel were responsible for numerous human rights abuses.

What kind of countries are these? The first is a constitutional republic, the second is an authoritarian state. Country A happens to be Yugoslavia. Country B happens to be China.

We are bombing Yugoslavia as I speak. We are courting China to the World Trade Organization. We give them MFN, most-favored-nation status privileges, in trading with us.

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, I call on you to have some consistency in our foreign policy. The human rights abuses are atrocious for both these countries. Our policy has to be consistent.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUND

Now I would like to spend some time tonight talking about the problems that really face us. Today we did pass a budget. It is the first honest budget. I have been here, I am in my fifth year. I am a term-limited congressman. I have one year to go.

This is the first budget that the Congress of the United States has considered that is honest in comparison with the numbers for the people of this country. It is honest about what our problems are, it is honest about what the real numbers are in terms of money, and it speaks honestly about what our situations are financially.

The social security trust fund is a definite problem for us. I think it is important that we understand how it works, because most of the people in my district still think there is real money in a trust fund. That is what it was intended to be, but in fact we have not used it that way, and it has not been done for 40 or 50 years. In fact, the money actually has been taken to use on other programs.

What happens now is when we earn a salary, the money that is paid in by our employer or us directly, if we are self-employed, comes to the Federal Government. Excess money coming into social security that is above that which is paid out in social security benefits is used to pay for more spending, or pay off publicly-held debt.

We have heard today a lot of people talk about paying off debt. If we pay off publicly-held debt by borrowing money from the social security, we have not changed our debt at all, we have just changed who we owe it to. We also change who is going to be supplying the repayment of that debt. So we put IOUs in the trust fund that bear interest.

We are not paying any of that back. As a matter of fact, we are actually creating a larger quantity, and doing so at a greater rate than we ever have in our country's history.

In the year 2014, which is the latest, just this last week, the Social Security Administration came out with revised numbers that in the year 2014 there will not be a surplus of payments coming into the social security system. In fact, what that means is the money that will be paid out to benefits, to social security recipients, will exceed the amount of money that the people working are paying into the system.

What is going to happen? We are going to have to get the money somewhere, so we are going to either raise taxes or borrow the money by creating additional obligations and reshifting the debt back out of the social security to publicly-held debt.

What we are doing, we have the little peanut in the shell game that has been going on for the last 50 years in this country. The budget that was passed today specifically addresses the problems associated with this. All social security trust funds will be moved off-budget and not used for anything except retiring debt: no increased spending, no tax cuts, nothing except reserving them for future use for social security.

So you can get an idea of what is actually happening in the social security trust fund balance, the year 1999 is this year. We are going to have about an \$80

billion, maybe \$90 billion surplus in social security payments in excess of what we are paying out.

But as we can see, by the year 2014 what happens is that we start going in the red. We have to borrow money to pay social security, or we have to cut spending somewhere else, or we have to issue new instruments of debt, which is the same thing as borrowing money, or we have to raise taxes. We are going to talk about that in a minute.

It is interesting to note a mere 30 years from now we will have \$700 billion worth of underpayment in the social security system, \$700 billion that we are either going to have to raise the taxes on our children or grandchildren just to meet the obligations for the social security system.

By the way, these numbers come from the social security trustees' report. None of these are opinionated numbers made up by a Congressman. They either come from the Office of Management and Budget, the Congressional Budget Office, or social security.

So what are our options? There is one fact that is true: In the year 2014, social security will pay out more than it takes in. That has not changed. It has moved one year in the last 2 years.

The first thing we can do is save 100 percent of the social security surplus and transition to a system with individually-controlled investments. We can repay the money from the trust fund by raising income taxes on ourselves now, or our children or our grandchildren, or we can delay the date by raising the retirement age or reducing benefits. None of those are of value to anybody that is paying taxes today. They are not of value to our seniors. We have to fulfill our commitment to our seniors.

So we only have three options: raise taxes, decrease benefits, or make social security a system that will work. The most interesting thing about social security, had we put the money that was put into our account for social security in a passbook savings account, we would have earned on compounded interest four times what is going to be available to our account under the government's auspices. The average annual interest earnings on social security trust funds is 1.2 percent.

Another way of looking at what is going to happen with social security taxes is to look at what the tax rate is now on the employee and employer share. Right now it is 12.5, 12.6 percent that is paid, half of that out of your salary, half out of your employer's salary, or if you are self-employed, you pay it all.

We can see the green line shows that that is the rate. If we continue at that same rate, the red line shows what we are going to have to have. So we can see that by the year 2029 we are going to have to go all the way up to 18 percent. We are going to have to have a 50 percent increase in social security taxes, just to meet the demands that are going to be on the system.

It is not any wonder that when people are polled in this country, that they have more confidence in the fact that there are UFOs out there than that the social security system will be viable for them. Here is why. If your current age is 5, you have an average life expectancy of 82.5 years. If you earned the average wage in 1998, you would have to live an extra 5.1 years over your expected life expectancy just to get back the money you put in, with interest paid on that. If you earned the maximum, which is \$70,000, or \$68,400 in 1998, it is higher than that now, you would have to live an extra 14.9 years.

Let us say you are 34. Your life expectancy if you are 34 years of age today is 83.8 years, on average. If you earned the average wage during 1998 and you did that for the rest of your working period until you were eligible for social security, you would have to live to be 100.5 years, almost 101 years old to ever get back even what you put into the social security system.

If you earn the maximum, \$68,000, you have to live to be 172 years old to get your money back out of the social security system. Why? Because the money is not invested properly, it is not achieving daily compound interest, and the money has been spent for things other than what it was intended to.

Why is social security important? If we do not fix social security, if we do not quit stealing social security money, if we do not make social security a viable retirement system, our grandchildren will have a much poorer standard of living than what we have today. We are stealing opportunities from our children and our grandchildren by not being responsible over the past 50 years.

That is why the budget that passed today was so important. For the first time it recognizes that money for social security is intended to be for social security, and that that money is not intended for tax cuts, that money is not intended for increased spending on anything except social security.

Each citizen's share of the debt, in 1997, \$19,898; 1998, \$20,123; 1999, at the end of this year, September 30th of this year, every person, man, woman, and child in this country, will be responsible for almost \$21,000 of debt.

More importantly, substitute the politicians' surplus that they have been talking about the last couple of years, and we do not have a real surplus. What we have is an excess payment of social security monies over what is paid out. There is not a true surplus projected until the year 2001.

What is happening daily? Every day the debt that our children and grandchildren must repay goes up by \$275 million. In 1998, the national debt rose by \$120 billion. Yet, the politicians said we had a surplus of \$69 billion. Something does not add up. We will never have a surplus until the debt stops rising. That is how you measure a surplus. If the debt is rising, we cannot possibly have a surplus.

If any business, any homeowner, any group of individuals managed their books the way the Federal Government manages theirs, first of all they would be going to jail. Number two, if they rob from the pension plan the way the Congress through the years has robbed from the social security plan, they would be in jail already.

The most important aspect of putting social security back and building its integrity is the fact that we will start a new process that recognizes that if the Congress makes an obligation to the American people, they have to keep that obligation. It is called truth in budgeting. There is no surplus. There is a politician's surplus. We will talk about that a little bit.

Here is what has been publicly said by both the politicians in Congress and the administration about surplus: in 1998, a \$69 billion surplus. But how did the national debt go from \$5,340 billion to \$5,440 billion if we had a surplus? It is because we really did not have a surplus.

When we say we have a surplus, then it is easier to spend more of our tax dollars, it is easier to cut taxes because, oh, we have extra money. We have no extra money. As a matter of fact, we owe \$1.6 trillion to the social security system now. The money is not there. It has already been spent on something else.

When we hear the word "surplus," if we ever encounter that, if we read it in the newspapers, it has to be an on-budget surplus. We use two sets of numbers, one for political purposes, for people to get reelected, and the other that is a real true number that we end up making hard decisions on.

The politicians' surplus is a lie. There is not a surplus. If we apply these numbers carefully, we can look at what President Clinton has proposed and the actual spending and what is proposed in this budget, and we can see big differences in the numbers.

If we totally exclude social security money from all spending and we keep the budget caps that were agreed to in 1997, that the President and the Congress agreed to, then a couple of things are going to happen.

□ 1930

In 1998, if we restrain spending, the real deficit was about \$30 billion instead of \$69 billion surplus. If we can restrain spending and live within the caps, based on the Congressional Budget Office's projections of what will happen in terms of revenue and costs, what we will see is that we will get a real surplus, a citizens' surplus. More money, we will actually have more money in than we have obligations to meet, not touching any Social Security money.

Why is that important? Because in the year 2014 when we have to start paying out this large amount of money to Social Security payments, we are going to have to get that money somewhere.

We can do two things. We can borrow the money, which just delays the price of that to a future time, or we can change the system. We can cut the benefits. We can delay the age. We can say one cannot have Social Security until one is 75 and one has to continue to work.

The problem with that is we have made a commitment to the American people in terms of the Social Security retirement system. The other problem with it is that the Social Security system today is not a livable retirement wage.

So if we want to meet the obligation to the senior citizens of this country, and I am soon to be one, I now have an AARP card I am proud to say, that we have to make the hard choices, we have to be honest about what our budgeting problems are, and we have to keep our hands off Social Security.

When I talk to people in my district, I hear lots of worries about creating a system other than the system that we have now that would take a small percentage, say a third of one's Social Security payments, and allow one to put that in a restricted, highly safe investment entity that would earn interest at three or four times the rate that the government is going to earn interest.

It is not hard to figure out at compound interest, if the Federal Government is earning 1.2 percent on one's money, and the average private investment vehicle today, discounting the rise in the market the last 6 or 7 years, but pre-1992 was 7 percent, what one is talking about is a fivefold increase in the earnings power of that money.

Einstein said the most important scientific fact that he ever looked at powerwise was the power of compound interest, that if one gets paid interest daily on money that one saves, that the building power of that each day that base amount rose and one earns more interest on a higher amount each day, eventually what one will achieve is a marked reduction in the cost for any service that one would offer.

This ability to restrain spending, to stay within the caps is the most important thing that Congress can do. The budget that we passed today does exactly that. It preserves 100 percent of the Social Security funds for Social Security.

Number two, it restrains spending by staying within the budget caps agreed to between the President and the Congress in 1997. We cannot do anything any more important than that for our children and our grandchildren.

Part of being a Member of Congress is helping us fulfill our obligations, not just to our seniors, but fulfilling the obligations that we have to our children and the future generations that come after us.

I want to use an example. This is not meant to be a partisan example, but it tells very specifically what happened in 1998 with the supposed "surplus," but really spending the Social Security surplus.

We had \$127 billion more come into the budget in 1999 on Social Security than we actually paid out. Correction. That is, 1999 was projected to be \$127 billion. We have agreed to spend \$1 billion, or we think we have agreed because it is in conference now, in terms of the emergency spending bill, in terms of all of the tragedies that happened in South America. That brings us to \$126 billion.

We had a bill that spent an additional \$15 billion at the end of last year outside of the caps that we had agreed to. So that brought it down to \$111 billion. We had another billion dollars that was spent in agreement with the President in emergency appropriations.

So last year we stole \$17 billion of the Social Security surplus straight off the top.

What is going to happen this year, the expected surplus is \$138 billion in Social Security. The surplus on the general accounts is not near that. It is at actually a deficit.

If we do not accomplish what we said we would with this budget today, what will happen is we will be using Social Security money again to pay for things that we should be paying for with things other than Social Security dollars.

We will be undermining the Social Security system. We will not be honest about what we are doing here. We will have two sets of numbers again, one for the American people when we are campaigning and being politicians and trying to look good, and another that is the real world that someday we are going to have a day of reckoning when it comes to our kids.

The President put forth the budget that said, over the next 15 years, we spend only 38 percent of the Social Security surplus when we should not spend any of it. But even under his budget for the year 2000, he actually spends 42 percent of it on increased programs within the Federal Government.

Let us not spend any of the Social Security money. Another thing has struck me since I have been in Congress. I am a physician, obstetrician, family practice doctor. I delivered 97 babies last year while I was in Congress. So I go home every weekend. On Mondays, I still practice medicine, lots of times on Fridays, and every fourth weekend I am on call. So I get to talk to people about real problems, see the real issues that they are involved in.

It strikes me so peculiar that we talk so easy about these large numbers. The application is, when I have a senior citizen in my office, and they are not taking their medicine, and the reason they are not taking their medicine is because they cannot afford to take their medicine, that they are choosing between eating and taking the medicine that will extend their lives, that we have failed as a Nation under, quote, Social Security and Medicare to provide the things that we promised that we would provide.

The other thing that strikes me is that we heard the gentleman from North Carolina earlier say that the reason that we had this huge deficit was tax cuts in the future. We have two ways of affecting government funds. We can either spend more or less, that is one way, or we can raise taxes or lower taxes. It is one or the other. One is not better than the other when it comes to balancing our books. If in fact we need to cut spending, we can.

I cannot find one person in my district who thinks that the Federal Government is efficient; that it could not be. As a matter of fact, if one knows anything about the history of World War II, when this country had to improve efficiency, when we had a crisis that faced us, what we did is markedly reduce the cost of the bureaucracy of the Federal Government so that more dollars went into our ability to sustain the freedom that we all cherish.

We have that big of a crisis facing us today. It is not flashy. It is not great big. It is not in front of us all the time. But the fact is, is our children and our grandchildren, unless we have fiscal discipline, will have a markedly lower standard of living. We do not have any option to that except doing the right thing now.

I am going to close here in a minute. One of the things that I have learned in my short stint as a politician is that there is a lot of ways to look at things. There is a way to look at things if one wants to get reelected. There is a way to look at things if one wants to play ball up here with the politicians. There is a way to look at things if one wants to be able to sleep at night.

Martin Luther King in his last speech at the National Cathedral, his last major speech, said this: Cowardice asked the question, is it expedient? Vanity asked the question, is it popular? But conscience asked the question, is it right?

It is not right to steal Social Security money and use it in other things. It is not right to be dishonest with the American public about the budget numbers that we deal with every day.

It is not right to be untruthful about our situation in Yugoslavia or our trading relationships with China. They are equivalently the same in terms of the way they treat humans. They are both atrocious.

We have to live with ourselves. We have to demand the integrity and the statesmanship that is necessary for our freedom to operate.

As we spend more of one's money and we do not fulfill our obligations, we all lose freedom. I want freedom for my grandchildren. I want freedom for my children. I have three daughters, two sons-in-law, two grandchildren. My greatest dream is that they will have the opportunity to be free and succeed in a free society. That requires integrity in the Congress and requires integrity at every level in this government.

We can become much more efficient. We can do the right things. We do not

have to always be popular. We do not have to look for the expedient way. That is the way of the coward.

FARM CRISIS IN AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, as some of our colleagues discussed earlier this evening, rural America is in economic depression. Tonight I would like to ask the question of: Where is the beef? Where is the bill that is supposed to come out of this Congress that meets the needs of farmers across this country who are losing equity, increasing debt, and many, many of them putting their farms up for sale?

Recently I stood on this floor and read to my colleagues a letter I received from a constituent who comes from a farming family of many generations. She called the American farmer an endangered species and asked if Congress even cared about saving them.

I care about saving the independent American farmer, Mr. Speaker. But the leadership of this Congress is very, very irresponsible. Where is the bill? Where is the beef?

Some Members of this Congress are doing all they can to get a bill out of here that addresses the concerns of farmers across this country. But many other Members are unaware or literally are playing politics by holding relief to our farmers hostage to other bills, literally putting a tourniquet on the credit so essential as life lines to farmers across this country.

It is awful that, while the American economy is at one of the strongest points in recent history, the benefits are not flowing to every community. In fact, the benefits are flowing out of the pockets and the bank accounts of our farmers.

They are continuing to experience significant declines in prices that began over a year ago. In fact, over the last 15 years, one would ask oneself the question: Why would one even want to be an independent farmer in America?

The price declines experienced by wheat and cattle producers over the last couple of years have now expanded across rural America to include the feed grains, oilseed, cotton, pork, rice, and now even the dairy sector at 50-year lows.

In some instances, prices are now lower than during the 1940s. Coupled with that is the increasing cost of production and farm equipment and fuel. Those prices do not go down, only up.

For the RECORD this evening, I want to submit some of these prices. Imagine how many bushels of wheat one would have to supply to a local grain company when wheat is now selling at \$2.66 a bushel. Fifteen years ago, it was selling at \$3.39. In corn, it is at all time

record lows, \$2 a bushel. In soybeans, \$5.05. Those prices had been on a continuing decline.

In cattle and steers, the prices continue to go down. Certainly in the hog area were at all time lows at \$35.41. It is almost amazing that one can buy an entire animal for that amount. Then of course one would have to add on the slaughter costs. But across this country, farmers are burying their animals. They cannot meet the cost of production.

These are people who work very, very hard for a living. Farm income is expected to fall by next year by an additional 20 percent. That means taking 20 percent of one's equity away from one. How would that feel for any American family?

□ 1945

We know that exports are also down, nearly 20 percent in the last 3 years. Exports of wheat are down 15.4 percent; corn is down 19.2 percent; soybeans down 8.3 percent; cotton down nearly half.

Is it any wonder that there is a cry across America in our rural communities? Farmers are losing their equity big time. The only question remains, how long can they hang on?

Total farm debt in the last 2 years is rising, over \$170 billion, nearly a 10 percent increase. Equity down, debt up. The drop in income, coupled with declining asset values for many producers, means they cannot obtain credit. This Congress should be guaranteeing that credit for America's farmers.

I ask again, where is the bill? Where is the beef?

Those who do obtain credit will find that they will be using it for cash expenses rather than for investment or for improvement. They will find themselves squeezed out as they try to repay debt on current income.

And prices for next year do not look any better. Many farmers who struggled with cash flow last year resulting from low prices and adverse weather will likely see their situation worsen as this year and next year move forward. In fact, the U.S. Department of Agriculture projects that the greatest financial strain in 1999, this year, will be on field crops: Wheat, corn, soybeans, upland cotton, rice. Net income will be 17 percent below previous 5-year averages. And this year current projections show there will be an additional 27 percent below the previous 5-year average.

My colleagues, this is very, very serious. And I think the political problem inside here in some ways reflects America's folly, taking our food production system for granted. Because, of course, we were only able to create this civilization when the tillers of the soil and those who raised our livestock were able to feed more than their own family, became more efficient, were able to feed the Nation and so much of the world. We came to take them for granted.

They only comprise 2.8 percent of those who work in America. They truly are a minority. And so most of the public does not even see the sweat on their brow, the debts that they have had to amass as they try to continue in the work that they love.

While the equity level of farmers is relatively high, farm lenders report that farmers are depleting their equity at a faster rate than earlier in this decade. And unlike the 1980s, when many of them loaned up and they got debt heavy, what this group now is doing, and the average age of farmers being about 55 years of age in America, they are saying, why take on more debt, why weather more of this crisis, let us get out of this business. What a tragedy for our country.

When we think about it, when we walk around the Capitol and we see all the statutes and look at the murals on the walls, what do they represent? They represent the abundance of this land; the ability of the American people to have a stable political unit built on independent farmers, independent ownership of land; the ability to survive and, in the process, to be able to produce enough to feed one's neighbors.

Most Americans do not pay more than 10 percent of their income for food. Most of the world pays over half of their income for food. We owe much to our farmers. We are blessed with fertile soil in this country and hard-working people. Our country was built on the sweat of their labor. In fact, they are so good, unfortunately, that most of the rest of the society does not even see them any more.

We cannot turn our back, Mr. Speaker, on our farmers, because they have never turned their back on us. This Congress, the leadership of this Congress tomorrow could bring up the emergency farm bill if there were the will. We ought to start with credit for planting this spring, but that is not sufficient. We have to look at price transparency. We have to look at risk management.

I want to say a word, before I recognize several of my colleagues who have joined me here this evening, about why it is so hard for farmers to make a living. If we look at the concentration that is continuing to afflict this industry and how difficult it is for an independent producer to make it in America, our independent farmers are being squeezed out.

If we take a look at pork, most Americans do not know that six companies in this country control the processing that brings that pork to America's tables, those ribs, that pork sausage. Companies like Smithfield, IBP, ConAgra, Cargill, Farmland Industries, and Hormel control 75 percent of all pork slaughter in this country.

If a farmer has animals and he wants to get them to market, he does not go to the retail store, he has to go to the processing company, and it is the processing company that decides whether his animal will get to market. The

processing company decides what that farmer will receive per pound for that animal, and they decide, generally by deals with the retail stores, on which shelves might that farmer's product arrive. The independent farmer has nothing to say about all of that.

In Ohio, the area where I come from, due to a lack of independent slaughter facilities and last year's closing of Thornapple's up in Michigan, along with the dumping of Canadian hogs on our market, our pork farmers in Ohio are suffering greatly. They are lucky if they can find companies willing to take their animals.

And it is not just in pork. In beef, four firms control 83 percent of all beef slaughter in this country, four firms control 73 percent of all sheep slaughter, and four firms control 62 percent of flour milling. And I can tell my colleagues this, at the regional level the concentration is even worse when farmers cannot find a way to get their products to market.

Truly, this is a battle between David and Goliath, and Goliath is winning.

I want to recognize some of my colleagues who have joined me this evening; certainly the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BOB ETHERIDGE), who has been down here every day trying to get a bill out of this institution.

We have a Speaker from Illinois. There are lots of feed grains in Illinois. Why is a bill not moving? We have a Whip in this Chamber who is from Texas where cotton and cattle are in trouble. Why can we not move a bill out of this Chamber?

I yield to my colleague from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE) and thank him for his tremendous work and leadership on this issue, not just for his own State but for farmers across our country.

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) for putting together this important special order on the condition of American farmers at a time when the American farm economy is in deep trouble, as she has already stated, and the need for this body to stop playing politics and get a supplemental spending bill through.

There is no excuse for what is happening. Our farmers need help now. They really needed it last month. We tried to get a supplemental bill through, as the gentlewoman well knows, but politics prevailed over good sound policy.

I, as a member of the Committee on Agriculture, had to vote against the bill because it was that bad, as did many of the Members of this body, and it did not pass. The reason was we were taking money out of the international fund, where we were selling our products, to loan to farmers to produce, which is the craziest thing I have ever heard of. And this body realized it when it got to the floor. It was nothing more than a political game.

I am sorry I had to vote against it, but the point is, as the gentlewoman

has indicated, farmers are hurting. Farm families are in trouble all across this country. The need for American families to have us stop playing the partisan games are the greatest they have ever been, and the Republican majority has denied any relief to suffering farmers. They have denied that relief when we can do something about it, as the gentlewoman has indicated. It is in their power to bring it to the floor, it is within their power to let us pass it. Because if it gets to this floor, it will pass.

I grew up on a farm. I have a lot of my friends who still farm. It is a great life. I own a little piece of land. It is kind of hard for me to say I farm. I go out there a lot and check the cows, and my son spends a lot of time on the farm, almost every day. But farmers are hurting. I have been around farming all my life, and I do not remember a time when there has been more uncertainty, more turmoil, more economic devastation of such a broad scale in the agricultural community as there is today.

I was at a 4-H lamb show during the break with some friends, and an auctioneer came up to me and he said, "I want to say something." He did not know me. I had never met him. He said, "It hurts me to go and have farm sales, and I am having more farm sales now than any other type of sale I am having." And the shame is there is no one there to bid. The farmers' assets are going for a pittance.

In North Carolina almost no farmer has been spared, and I think this is true all across the country. Our tobacco farmers are close to facing the lowest production quota in the history of the tobacco program. That goes back to the mid 1930s.

Pork farmers, as the gentlewoman has shared, have experienced the lowest prices for live hogs in more than 50 years, for a variety of reasons. And cotton, peanut, dairy, corn, wheat and soybean farmers are being crushed by the low prices. They are being crushed by low prices and oversupply and no place to market their goods.

In these modern times there are an awful lot of people who really think they get their groceries at a grocery store, and they do, but what they forget is the farmers that produce those goods, that put them on the shelves.

I am here to say to my colleagues that if we want to keep having food come from the farm, as the gentlewoman has already indicated, we had better be about helping the farmers stay in business. Because if the independent farmers go out, and surely they will if we do not give them help, and we wind up with just the large mega corporate farms, America is going to be in deep trouble and we will pay a heavy price for it.

Food is a vital part of a country's national security. If we lose our ability to produce food, we will not have the underpinnings of a strong national security. We have a responsibility, and I

think a duty, to make sure our farmers survive. And not only survive, they should thrive.

It is absolutely not fair, when so many people in the country are deciding whether or not to roll over their IRAs and how to do it, and look at the stock dividends and watch the stock market, when farmers are watching their stock go to market and not even getting paid for it. That is not right.

We need to make sure our farmers survive and that our families have access to a safe and adequate food supply. It needs to be produced in the United States if we want to make sure it is a safe food supply.

The Freedom to Farm Act that passed here in 1996 has been an utter failure. There is no question about it. Talk to any farmer, they will tell my colleagues that. Promises were made in 1996 of a new and expanded market in exchange for an end to price supports and production controls. So what happened was the Republican majority in this Congress did away with the controls, but we did not fulfill the other part. We did not make sure they had markets for their goods. And if they do not have an overseas market, they are in trouble. And that is where our farmers are.

We have to be accountable to our farmers for the failure of that promise, and the only way we can be accountable is to put a bill on this floor that keeps them in business.

Ms. KAPTUR. Reclaiming my time for just a moment, the gentleman was talking about the importance of production in this country. I completely agree.

And also it is important to understand how our farmers are organized to produce; whether they become franchisees to some big processing company or whether they are allowed to own their own farmstead and make their own decisions on what they wish to raise and be able to pledge their own assets against borrowing.

What is happening so often across our country now, in order to survive, and I do not think most urban dwellers or suburban dwellers understand this, these farmers are oftentimes having to lock themselves into economic arrangements where they totally are losing their independence. They are no longer independent farmers.

Mr. ETHERIDGE. I thank the gentlewoman for those comments. That is absolutely true. If our farmers lose their independence, that is the very thing that has made America great.

Going back all the way to colonial days, as the gentlewoman mentioned earlier, is the fact that a person had a piece of ground, and it used to be said they had a mule. There are no longer mules in the country now. Those that came out of Missouri, we have now put tractors behind them and other things.

□ 2000

But the important thing was that they had their independence. We have

had a strong vibrant economy because of agriculture. When our agricultural economy gets in trouble, pretty soon the rest of us follow.

We started to do something last year to help the farmers when we passed the disaster relief bill, but not a dime of that money, not one dime of that money, has been sent to the farmers yet because of a whole variety of reasons.

Earlier this year, we passed, and I commend the majority for bringing this to the floor, legislation to free up loan reserves within the Department so that they can make money available to farmers. But that money is also gone, the reason being there is such a big need in the farm community, farmers need a lot of money in the spring to buy supplies to start the farm operations. They are huge users of credit.

The problem we have is, as my colleague indicated earlier, the commodity prices are so low, the lowest they have been in probably 50 years, they have very little reserves, they have grain and other commodities in the bins where they are stored. Unfortunately, those commodities are not worth anywhere near the amount they need to go to the bank and borrow money.

So it is up to us, I think, to step up and make sure they are in business and get through these tough times so that all of us can enjoy the bounty that we have enjoyed for so long. We have had the food in this country. We have been able to share it around the world. If we want to keep doing that, we better make sure that we make money available through the USDA to get to our farmers. But the money we already made available is gone.

The trouble in the farm economy is often the first step, as I said earlier, to a greater problem in the economy in America. And we better wake up and we better get a supplemental spending bill on this floor and the majority better do it for our farmers or we are all going to pay a heavy price.

And our farmers know who is in charge. Farmers across this country find themselves in the situation where they do not watch Wall Street. They cannot. They are watching Main Street, and Main Street does not look very good these days. The Wall Street bankers may deal with stocks, but if the Main Street banker cannot lend money to the farmers, a lot of us may not enjoy the kind of bountiful food at the cheap prices that we have enjoyed for so long.

This happened once before in our country in the 1930s. Different times. But the farmers got in trouble and we had the dust bowls in the Midwest because the farmers were not farming. That can happen again. It can very well happen in America. But this Congress can take action, and I challenge the Republican leadership to bring that bill to the floor so that we can give our farmers the help they need as they start this planting season.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, so we can let the American people know where this bill is whether it first came through the House, it had to then go to the Senate. The Senate has passed a bill. Under our rules, we now have to do what we say "go to conference." That means to work out the differences between the House and Senate bill.

The problem is the Senate has appointed conferees. But guess what? The leadership of this House has not appointed conferees. Therefore, we cannot clear a bill because they have not even worked out the differences.

It is now into the fourth month of this Congress, and spring planting is now. People have to make life-and-death decisions now. I have had seed companies call me from back home saying, "MARCY, I have debts from last year related to credit I extended, and I cannot do it again. I got a lot of farmers totally at risk here." And yet we are sort of fiddling here in this Chamber while rural America burns across this country and we cannot even get a conference committee appointed.

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentlewoman would yield further, she is absolutely correct. There is no excuse for it. There is no excuse when we have the power to do something about it. The majority does. We do not. The majority does.

We should move tomorrow. We should have a bill on this floor before we go home this weekend and we ought to pass it so that the farmers can go to work.

Planting season, as my colleague said, has started. And in the Southeast, for some of the crops, we are getting pretty far along already. And in my colleague's part of the country, they are going to be planting within the next week or so and some are probably getting land ready.

We need to act now, and it does not need to be next month.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE) for joining us and for being a vigilant voice not just for farmers in North Carolina but across this country and in trying to get the majority here to do what is right for our country.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. BERRY), one of the most knowledgeable Members of the entire Congress on the subject of rural America and agriculture.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I am a bit sad this evening to have to come to this floor again to express the concern I have for America's farmers. I consider and have always considered myself, since the time I have been old enough to understand, privileged to be born a farmer. I still am. That is the way most of the members of my family for as far back as I know about. That is the way they have made a living. We never had a lot but we had enough.

And it is a sad thing to see the rest of the country prosper, and we are

proud of that, we are happy for them, at a time when America's farmers are in the worst situation that they have been in in this century. It is almost unbelievable that the same body, the United States Congress that passed Freedom to Farm, the same leadership that crammed Freedom to Farm down our farmers' throats when they begged not to do it, they knew this was a bad idea, for us to have to come to this floor tonight and once again ask the leadership of this House to do the right thing.

We are not asking them for a hand-out. We are not asking them to do anything except what they should do. Because they made a commitment when they passed Freedom to Farm. They basically said to America's farmers that they produce and we will help them sell it.

They did not pass fast track. They have not helped open up any new markets. They have basically let it go by the wayside and told America's farmers, good luck, guys, we hope you make it. It is like standing on the bank of the river while they know someone is about to drown and saying "good luck." But that is what is happening in this Congress right now.

It is unconscionable that the leadership has not appointed conferees and they have not dealt with this and it has already gone to the President's desk, and it is hard to believe.

America's farmers are the most productive people that have ever been known in the history of the world. There has never been another nation that it cost them so little to eat as it does this country. America's farmers have had an average increase in productivity of 3 percent annually since 1910. That is unmatched by any other industry anywhere in the world at any time in history. And it is unbelievable that the House is holding up this progress.

Our farmers are out there twisting in the wind right now. They need the loans that this money will provide. We have an obligation to them to see that it happens. All of the things that have been said here this evening are quite true. And it is just unbelievable to me that, as a branch of the Government, we do not do the right thing and do what we know is the right thing to do.

It is a national security issue. I was amazed a few weeks ago to hear leading economists say that agriculture was no longer an important part of America's economy, that the stock market had grown so big that it was almost insignificant. It is not important unless we happen to eat three times a day. Then it becomes pretty important to us.

America's farmers have done such an incredible job that we do not even notice what they do. But they are proud people. They are hard-working people. They work hard. They play by the rules, and all they ask is for an even break. Yet, after passing Freedom to Farm, basically doing away with the safety nets and saying, good luck, fel-

lows, the leadership and the majority party in this House has turned their back on America's farmers.

It is an amazing thing to me. I cannot imagine why they would want to do this. It is just amazing to me. The longer I live and the more I see, the more I am convinced that the further we get from our Jeffersonian roots, the further we get from an agrarian society, the more social problems we have.

I think there is great value not only in production of food but in rural America and what we learn and what we gain by having a strong rural America. Yet we are letting things like this, actions by the majority leadership, create a situation where rural America is threatened, where America's farmers are threatened, and it is something that just should not be allowed to happen.

I certainly hope that our leadership will take the responsibility. Let us hold them accountable, ask them to do the right thing, and bring this bill to conference, get it done, get it passed, get it on the President's desk, and do what we need to do for our farmers.

Once again, I thank the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) for holding this special order and appreciate the opportunity to participate.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. BERRY) for his eloquent remarks this evening, which reflect not just an intellectual understanding of what agriculture means to this economy but his personal experience and bringing that kind of knowledge to this floor when so many of our Members do not know this particular industry firsthand, and to thank him for his sincerity and the weight of his arguments, which I know will help us as we try to carry the day here. He has been so convincing and his passion not just for people in Arkansas but across our country is completely demonstrated by his participating in this special order, and I want to personally thank him and thank the people of Arkansas for sending him here.

I could not help but think as he was talking about independent agriculture what has happened to our country. Farmers work very hard and they try to get their product to market, and there are these gatekeepers now and some of the big processing companies really do hold the leverage and power in the system. It has been my experience in dealing with some of those processing companies that they do not care whether the meat comes from America or whether it is imported, whether the grain comes from America or whether it is imported, whether the vegetables come from America or they are imported, because they can literally process anything and it really does not matter.

But I would just plead with my colleagues and plead with the American people who are listening this evening, think about the history of our country and what the roots of our freedom really are. When any segment of our society that has been so very important to

us is on the ropes, about to lose their independence, we are all connected to that, and only because we have had independently-owned agriculture for most of our history have we been able to maintain our freedoms and the political stability that we have known.

But if we look at what is happening to the processing of food today, if we look at the processing firms who racked up profits last year four times higher than in prior years, we have to begin to ask the question why, when we can buy an entire hog for \$40, the price does not go down in the store? When these companies, the processing firms, can buy volumes and volumes of product produced by our farmers, and yet the price really does not go down in the store, what is happening there to consumers?

Consumers need to be interested in this. We need to be asking our local grocer whether there are products on the shelves that come from local companies, local farmers. Where does the meat come from? Is it labeled? Where do the vegetables come from? Are they labeled? Are we eating American grown strawberries or strawberries from somewhere else?

Only 2 percent of the food that comes onto the tables of America is literally inspected at our borders. And last year we imported over \$30 billion worth of commodities into this country. And so, we begin to ask ourselves questions about the way this whole agricultural system has been transformed in the last 30 years.

It is a very different America than it was for our forebears. And the question for us today is, is this the system? Do we like the system the way it is? We have less than a million people in farming production agriculture today, and now we are going to wipe out thousands and thousands and thousands more. Is that really the America we want?

Try, if you are listening, call your local farmers, work with your local farm bureaus, work with your local associations, church groups, see if there is not a way to buy direct.

□ 2015

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). The Chair reminds Members that they are to direct their remarks to the Chair and not the television viewing audience.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I would ask people to visit their farmers' market and take advantage of farm fresh produce. Ask your grocer to procure locally-grown products, even eggs, poultry. Very interesting to see how few are able to actually participate in supplying the shelves. That is not by accident. It is because of the system that we have today. We need local solutions, as well as national solutions, to this problem.

I would urge the Members, I would say to the Speaker, that the American people should call their Members of

Congress, particularly those in the leadership, and they should be asking for clearance of the emergency supplemental farm bill here in this Congress. It would only solve part of the problem. The biggest share remains ahead of us. If we could release credit for this spring, that would permit some of our farmers to remain in business.

But America must be concerned with the next generation of farmers and how she is going to preserve an independent agriculture, if at all, for the 21st century.

Mr. Speaker, I see our fine colleague, the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON), who has joined us this evening, who has spent her life working in rural development and is such an effective voice for the economic interests of all people, and I thank her very much for joining us and for her. I can tell the other Members and the Speaker pro tempore here this evening that she is really effective and communicates this message on agriculture every day to the people who need to move bills inside this Congress, and I thank her for joining us.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) for holding the special order on the emergency need for the farm supplemental appropriation, and I thank her for all her leadership for rural America, but I thank her for bringing the opportunity that we can talk about in emergency.

In January of this Congress I was discussing the conditions of our farmers and the need to enact emergency legislation. In fact, the President also mentioned it in his State of the Union. Now more than a quarter of a year has passed, and we have yet to pass that legislation.

Mr. Speaker, what constitutes emergency? Emergency is a crisis, it is an exigent situation that demands urgent attention. We have a crisis in farming. We have an exigent situation that demands urgent attention.

Why then do we not have an emergency supplemental for agriculture? I believe we do not have an emergency supplemental bill almost four months later, after no Member of this Congress disputes that there is indeed an emergency. Everyone will tell you they understand that the farmers are suffering, and yet we do not respond to this.

I cannot imagine, if my colleagues understand what emergency is, and yet we have not done it. I think it is simply because we have misplaced our priorities. It is farmers are not that important to us. This Congress would rather fight for tax cuts for a few than help our farmers. We just passed the budget resolution; we took care of that, we pushed that. Last night, went to the Committee on Rules. Two o'clock, came out with a bill.

Three and a half months ago we talked about the bill for the emergency supplemental, and we do not have one yet. This Congress would rather pass a

budget amendment that no one has seen than help small farmers and ranchers who struggle. Everyone has seen and recognized. It is not like we did not know it. We admit, we understand they are suffering, but we have not done anything about that.

Small farmers and ranchers are struggling to survive in America. In fact, small farmers and ranchers are a dying breed, and I would say when I say small farmers, I mean independent farmers. And some of those may not be independent, but they are small in size because they do not have a big holding in investment, but they certainly have invested a lot of their resources; they are in debt up to their necks. They are a dying breed, and because they are dying, because they are diminishing, the quality and the affordability of food is at risk for all of us.

Now whether we understand or not, we are tied to their survival. Farmers and ranchers have been able to eke out a living in the past, are now finding out they are not able to do that. They are not even able to break even. Most are losing money, and they are fighting just to stay in farming by borrowing more money. Just to stay in farming they have to borrow more money. They are not making anything; they are losing. But they love farming so dearly they want to stay, and that is their way of life.

Just consider in 1862, the year that the Department of Agriculture was created, 90 percent of the population farmed for a living. Today America's producers represent less than 3 percent. By 1992 there were only 1.1 million small independent farms left in the United States, a 45 percent decline since 1959.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, it is amazing to think that a million farmers can feed 270 million people in this country and a third more abroad.

Mrs. CLAYTON. Yes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Millions and millions, to understand how magnificent the work that they do is.

Mrs. CLAYTON. That just shows us how efficient they are, and the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is right, how we are dependent on such a small number of people who are undergirding the support.

I am reminded, and I just say parenthetically reminded, that our former chairman, Democratic chairman of the Committee on Agriculture used to say if you wanted to know how important farmers were, he would tell the story about the submarine in World War II, and he was saying that the other countries would say how did you have such a superior submarine, or why were you able to stay there so long? And the answer was: We were able to be superior and hold our place as long as the food would last.

Now please understand that is symbolic of a military strength, but food is also symbolic of our national strength. It was important for our military, and it also is an important need for all of

our citizens. And so if those small farmers go out of existence, we just do not exist, we just do not exist. Farmers and farm families deserve a chance.

Before we had the Freedom of Farm bill of 1996, the farm price safety net was a shield against uncertain fluctuations in commodity prices. When the bill was considered, we referred to it as Freedom to Fail. I am sad to report that our ammunition has been far too accurate in that situation in North Carolina. According to a recent news report, the State's top farm commodities, hogs have experienced 50 percent drop in prices, 1996. Wheat is down in that State 42 percent, soybeans down 36 percent, corn 31 percent, peanuts 28 percent; turkey and cotton prices are down 23 percent since 1996. In fact, Mr. Speaker, there is no commodity in my State of North Carolina that makes money for farmers.

We must act now. If we do nothing about the real problem facing these hard-working citizens, they may not be there later at a later time. This is a time, if we are talking about saving them, we do not save them after they go out of business; we need to do it now. Congress must act now to relieve the pressure by providing the emergency supplemental funding.

I want to say that does not take care of all the problems, but at least that relieves the pressure that they need right now just to get in the field and just to start their whole production crop season again.

The emergency supplemental appropriation farm loan was the result of the unprecedented demand for agriculture credit due to the persistently low commodity prices across our Nation. The Department of Agriculture Farm Service Agency needs an additional \$152 million in additional money in 1999 to provide credit and to deliver the services that farmers and ranchers need because of both the low prices and the weather.

On March 26 of this year USDA advised Congress and we passed a law to allow it to have the extraordinary emergency transfer action, which they took money out of their staffing of FSA to allow it to go into the credit insurance fund. Now that is a temporary provision. This transfer allows USDA to meet its urgent credit needs for farmers who maybe are planting now, but all that money is being spent. We are robbing Peter to pay Paul. This transfer obviously was a stopgap measure, but that has now ceased, so we really have run out of time.

The transfer of these funds also places FSA salaries and expense accounts in a deficit basis. My State, FSA work flow has experienced dramatic increases for a wide range of programs having considerable producer activity. While staff levels have been reduced by 25 percent from the 1993 levels, with the increased responsibility they simply cannot offer the service that our North Carolina farmers expect and deserve.

According to an official count, North Carolina is the most understaffed State in the Nation based on FSA work load criteria. At present we are understaffed by 56 employees. When I spoke with my State director earlier this afternoon, he said he could hire 25 additional people now, had he had the money for the salary. He also told me that his employees cannot go out in the field because there is not extra money for travel. We cannot tolerate that.

As my colleagues know, one has said that silence gives consent. We need to speak out against this. We need to speak to the leadership, that the leadership of this House must act now.

So I call on all my colleagues to call on our leader, for him to call on the appropriate people, to appoint the persons to the conference committee and to make sure that indeed we have an opportunity to move this forward, if not tomorrow, at least by Monday. We need to begin at least working out the differences between the Senate version and the House version.

Finally, as our farmers indeed survive, we will survive; and as rural America is hurting, they are tied to their farmers. Obviously all of us do not farm in rural America, but I can tell you we are tied to the farms' survival. As the farm indeed fails, much of Main Street, and much of infrastructure and school taxes, or rather the ability for the banks to survive also suffer, and this Nation, whether they understand it or not. Maybe only 25 percent of us may live in rural areas, and maybe only 1 percent or 1.1 million farmers farming, but they are undergirding us with the very basic of good food, quality food and fiber, that if they were not existing, we would not have that opportunity for that very basic.

And I thank the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) for her leadership in this role and her persistence, willingness, to come here and to urge our colleagues to do the right thing, and I just want to stay with her and break the silence, that we should not be giving consent that we understand there is a crisis and refuse to do anything about it.

I thank the gentlewoman for allowing me to participate.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON) for being here late this evening on behalf of America's farmers who need a voice in this Chamber. We must be their voice, we must get the leadership of this institution to move a bill. I wish we could move it this week because it could be done. We can work out these differences.

As the gentlewoman says, you can go up to the Committee on the Budget, they work until 2 a.m., and they get it done. A lot of our farmers are plowing their fields at 2 a.m. in the morning also. It is not a 9 to 5 job.

And as I was listening to the gentlewoman's remarks, I was thinking

about the song America the Beautiful, where we talk about the fruited plains, about the amber waves of grain, and how different America would look if we were to lose this tremendous productive capacity that we have. And most Americans probably say, "Well, gosh, we've, you know, had attrition of farmers over the whole century, so what makes this different?" What makes this different is the structure of the industry at the end of the 20th century and that, in fact, the people who are in farming today are what we would call the diehards. They are the ones that have survived downturns in the economy, the current depression in rural America, all kinds of drought, all kinds of disease. These are the best farmers. They have had to survive everything, and now we risk losing them because of the current economy and the inability of this Congress to clear a bill that will keep rural America functioning for the sake of the Nation.

And as the prior gentleman talked about the stock market and the gentlewoman talked about what is happening in the rest of the economy, as one of our former chairmen of our committee used to say, there is a difference between money and wealth. And Wall Street can generate a lot of dollars, but those really are rather representative; they are a mirror of what is happening elsewhere in the economy.

When you talk about rural America and the ability of independent farming to survive, you are talking about the real wealth of America spread among many owners, not a few, and what is really at stake today is the ability of that group of people to survive and prosper, or are they going to be franchisees of large processing firms if they are even allowed to remain in business at all? The situation in America today, at the end of the 20th century, is as serious as it has ever been.

And so I want to thank the gentlewoman for being down here tonight. Along with her, the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON), the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. ETHERIDGE) and also the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. BERRY). We again make a plea to the leadership of this Chamber that delay is not an option.

The Speaker of this House and the other body, the other body's leadership, are fiddling while rural America burns. America needs our independent farmers, Mr. Speaker, and they need us. They need this Congress.

And so I ask the leadership: Where is the emergency farm bill? Where is the beef?

TAXES, SOCIAL SECURITY AND RETIREMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, first of all, I, of course, have been here to hear the previous remarks.

Let me make a point of clarification because I think it is very important. The previous speaker stated that the Speaker of the House sits idly by, or made some kind of reference in that regards, while the farmers out there suffer.

I am from rural Colorado. The Speaker is from rural Illinois. If the previous speakers would have read the newspaper recently, they would find out the Speaker's wife does not stay in Washington but remains at home in rural Illinois.

The Speaker cares about farmers. I do not know anybody in here who does not care about farmers, and I think it is grossly unfair for a speaker to stand up here, any speaker, and look out here, whether Republican or Democrat, and make the kind of audacious claim that for some reason because you are Republican or Democrat you do not care about farmers in America.

Frankly, I have not found anybody in America that does not care about farmers. Now, sure, there are disagreements on what can be done to help save the farming community and so on, but I think you stoop a little too low when you stand up here at this microphone, a speaker, any speaker, and would say or infer that any Republican or Democrat in this body does not care about farmers. Of course, we do.

Now let me go on now. This evening I am going to speak about taxes and a number of other issues.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MCINNIS. I will not yield to the gentlewoman from Ohio. The previous speaker had an hour and now I would like to have an opportunity to have an hour.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, can I be recognized since the gentleman acknowledged that we had spoken?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). The gentleman from Colorado has the time. The gentlewoman will suspend.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlewoman from Ohio will state her parliamentary inquiry.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, my inquiry is, did the gentleman not reference a prior speaker and therefore under the rules am I not allowed to respond?

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I control the time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman's remarks are not grounds for recognition.

The gentleman from Colorado may proceed.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, some of the things that we want to talk about this evening, I want to talk about taxes. Of course, tomorrow, April 15, that is the tax day. Before I begin

these remarks in-depth, I want to make a couple of thank yous. First of all, I want to thank all of the American taxpayers. I want to thank those taxpayers who are honest. I want to thank those taxpayers who go out every day of the week and they work hard to earn money, and they pay their proportionate share of taxes so that this country can remain great. I want to thank those taxpayers who make sure that they file their tax returns on time.

I want to assure the taxpayers of this country that there are a number of us on both sides of the aisle, there are a number of us who are devoted to making government more efficient and making government work for you. The concept of this government is not the taxpayers working for the government but the government working for the taxpayers.

I am employed and all of my colleagues here on the floor, we are employed by the taxpayers of this country. It is the taxpayers to whom we respond. It is the taxpayers to whom we owe a fiduciary duty to run this government in the most efficient way that we can possibly do it. I can say despite all the rhetoric that we have heard about tax cuts, can you or can you not have them, if we could just on a uniform basis cut the government waste that we see in day to day operation within this government, we could cut the taxes across the board, a permanent tax cut.

Of course, every time we cut waste back here in Washington we are getting into somebody's pocket because that money is not just put into a hole in the ground; it goes to somebody's benefit.

What they tend to do in Washington, D.C. is build a wall to protect that benefit, even though it is a waste of taxpayers' dollars.

I want to say another thank you. That is thank you for the services that are being rendered, as we speak, by our men and women in uniform, not only in Kosovo and in the region over in the Balkans but throughout the entire world.

When we take a look at what our military people make for pay, we will see why tax day is a tough day on them. It is a tough day on a lot of Americans that make that kind of salary, but these people are dedicated and they are showing their strength and the dedication and the patriotism toward this country not only in Kosovo in the military mission that we are engaged there, but in Korea, in Somalia, throughout the United States and Canada. We have troops throughout the world, and I want to say thank you to them tonight as well.

Along with the thank you to our service people, I also want to come back to the taxpayer and thank you for helping us finance these soldiers, for helping us get them the best and most technologically advanced equipment in the world. Taxpayers, you have a lot to

be proud of this evening, and it is now our duty, our continuing duty, and a number have tried to do this but it is our continuing duty, in appreciation to the sacrifices you make by sending this government money to fund it, it is our duty to make sure this government in turn gives you a bang for the buck. You deserve it. It is your money.

You will hear some people say, well, the government spends its money. That is government money back in Washington, D.C.

It is not government money. It is your money. It comes out of your workday every day of the week. It comes every time you go to the cash register, you pay taxes. We will go into a little more of that.

Let us start with the taxpayer and the American worker. We all get a paycheck. I thought we could just kind of break down a typical paycheck. I asked someone in my office if we could use their paycheck stub. We have taken the name off, as can be seen, but let me just point out a couple of things here.

This particular individual has a gross income of \$1,958.33. Deducted from that is a retirement amount for the retirement account of \$195.83. This particular taxpayer is a very responsible taxpayer because they are helping fund their future retirement.

It is a mistake for the workers of this country, for all of us in this country, and most of us are workers in this country, for us to figure out or to depend on the government to provide our retirement for us. I think it is fair for us to depend on the government to provide a partial retirement through Social Security because we fund Social Security, as does this taxpayer, and we will look at Social Security here in a little more depth, but we also have a responsibility. We have personal responsibility to plan for those years in which we will not be employed, the golden years of our life, when we will not be in the workforce, it may be by choice, and where we are going to have a retirement.

Do not expect the government to do it. We have personal responsibility. Most people I talk to accept that personal responsibility. So does this taxpayer. They put \$195 a month aside for their retirement, and some evening I am going to come over here and visit a little about why I think the government retirement system works pretty efficiently for all government employees and what I think we can do with Social Security to track along the same kind of system that we have for retirement for two or three million Federal employees, and I think we will see the benefits and why that system works.

This evening we are going to continue to stay focused on the taxes. So then go to the adjusted gross. The key down here that I want to take a look at is Social Security, \$149.82. Now I want to talk briefly about Social Security and the kind of challenges that we face in the future about Social Security.

Now why is Social Security in trouble? We have often heard that Social Security is in trouble because the government has borrowed from the Social Security funds to use that money in its general funds. Well, that is true, but let us not focus on that this evening because if the government paid back every penny of every dollar that they borrowed from the Social Security funds, and by the way the government is going to have to, I mean the government on the bottom line is obligated to do this, they are going to have to produce that, but even that said, if they paid it all back, Social Security still faces challenges, financial challenges, in the future.

What brought on these financial challenges? Well, first of all, some good news. The good news is because of the medical technology in the greatest country in the world, our country, the United States of America, people now can expect to live to a later age. When Social Security first came in in 1940, when people retired at age 65 they could expect to live 12½ more years; 12½ more years. That is 77½. That was the average expectation. Today we can expect to live another 17½ years beyond that point in time, by the year 2030. So I think it is very reasonable to expect that my children and my grandchildren, although I do not have my grandchildren but my expected grandchildren at some point, will live well up into their hundreds and probably beyond their hundreds.

So we have good news. Life expectancy has gone up, but Social Security premiums have never really been adjusted to allocate for that. At some point we will have no choice but to raise the retirement age, which by the way can be done pretty harmlessly over a long period of time, to allocate for this or raise the premiums.

I think, of course, the fairer way to do it is do it kind of on an almost hold harmless, over a period of time raising the age limit.

Let me go on and talk about the other issue that we have got here with Social Security, and that is that Social Security has kind of become a pay-as-you-go. Today, the average couple on Social Security draws out about \$118,000 out of the system more than they have put into the system. We cannot have a system that operates like that for a very long period of time. So we have to figure out what benefits are going out, what money is coming in, what kind of adjustment we need to make for the extended life span.

The other problem, of course, that we have is that when Social Security first came around, I am trying to remember the exact number but I think the ratio of recipients was something like 13 or 15 to 1. In other words, when Social Security came, there were 15 people working for every person retired.

□ 2045

Today that has changed. Today it is 3.4. We have 3½ workers out there for

every person retired. In the not too distant future, we are going to have two people working for every person retired. We have to stand up and face the social security.

We have done that in part. The Republicans specifically have put in place a lockbox to lock money for the future of social security. That all said, and talking about the problems of social security, let me say what has gone right about social security. Number one, the checks go out every month.

I cannot believe some of the propaganda that has been going out there to the general public saying, oh, your social security is going to be cut off. You can tell it is political season when we hear statements like that.

I can tell Members today without exception, without condition, that everybody on social security today faces no threat of losing that social security check. Their check will continue to come. In fact, the people in my generation, which is the generation behind the retired folks today, that generation as well, there is money in there to fund that generation. The generation we have to worry about are my children. Those people that are, say, under 20 years old today or under 25 years, that is the generation that we have an obligation to plan for at that point in the future.

However, up to that point in time, do not let politicians or do not let other people try and propagandize that we are going to lose our social security checks. My gosh, our seniors have enough to worry about when they reach that age.

To get that fear, we sell a lot by fear. Take a look at the Y2K program. If people are like me, they get mail every day trying through fear to get us to buy their product, trying to get around Y2K. They do the same thing with social security.

We should not let them throw that fear factor into us. When we see them throwing that fear into senior citizens, saying, you are going to lose your social security, the Republicans do this to social security, it is not going to happen. The money is there today for social security recipients. It is there tomorrow. It is 25 years from now that we have to plan for.

We, frankly, on the Republican side, and I am proud of this, I am not trying to be partisan here, I am trying to say it is a priority. In our Republican conferences, it is good to see us talking about the future, instead of just trying to handle the problems that come in today. We are trying to plan for the future 25 years out, 25 years out.

That is what a lot of people, in fact, the person who has this check is trying to plan their future 25 years out. With this retirement here, this \$195.83, that is positive. Social security is positive. The lockbox is positive.

I think the person with this check right now, with the three-legged approach, one, the retirement that they have, that they put aside with their

employment; two, the retirement or investments they plan on their own; and three, social security, I think people will be able to comfortably retire in this country for some time to come.

We are always going to find the exceptions, but in general, I think people can feel pretty good about social security. But that does not mean, that does not mean that we do not need to plan for the financial woes that will occur if we do not adequately address them today about 25 years from now.

Let us go on to the Federal tax, what this person pays in Federal tax, \$231.25. Their health insurance, again, good planning by an employee. Let me step back. It is amazing how many people in this country are offered health insurance by their employer but they opt not to take it.

This particular employee is taking the health insurance. That is a wise investment. That is a smart investment. Regardless of what people think, whether we should have nationalized health, which I strongly oppose, by the way, but regardless of where we think we should be with health care, until that is resolved I think it is pretty smart to take out a health insurance policy. That is what is occurring here.

Here is the Federal tax, \$231.25. I want us all to consider, we have a pretty healthy economy today. When things seem to be going well, people tend to downplay the burden that we, the taxpayers, are actually carrying here. Once again, I think we owe taxpayers appreciation. They are funding the government. The government is not running as efficiently as it should for them, but I think they are doing more than their share, the honest taxpayers out there, by sending the money this way, by funding this government. So we owe this accountability.

Let us take a look at the tax burden on Americans. I have been reading a lot of editorials, especially this week. April 15th, tomorrow, is taxpayer day. That is the day we have to drive to the postal system and drop it in the mailbox. I have heard a lot of people say, hey, the taxes are not so bad. It is because times are good, but we should not let it sneak up on us.

In World War II was when we had our highest tax, in 1944, pretty understandable in a war, 20.9 percent. Then, in 1945, it actually dropped to 20.4 percent. But compared to what it is today, in the year 2000, under the Clinton budget it would be 20.7 percent. So it goes right in since 1944, it would be the second highest tax rate, total tax rate, that we would have. I do not think the taxpayer should be paying that much in taxes. I think we have a lot of efficiencies out there in government that can be realized.

Let me say, I think that philosophy is shared, by the way, by Members on both sides of the aisle. Unlike some people who come to this podium just to attack, attack the other party, I think there are people in both parties trying to get some accountability, trying to get a more efficient government.

But I am not a keen supporter, I can tell the Members right now, of this budget right here that would put us in at about 20.7 percent. After we pay those taxes that we showed in the previous poster, we need to take a look at what else we pay taxes on.

First, as we saw, this particular taxpayer had the deduction taken out of their check, so that is what goes to the Federal Government. They also had, and I did not show it on the tax stub, they also had in there a deduction for State income tax.

Let us take a look at the average day. When we wake up in the morning, generally we sleep in an apartment or a house and we have property taxes we pay for, so so far we have Federal taxes, State taxes, now we have property taxes.

If we turn on the lights in the house when we get up in the morning we have utility taxes, so now we have Federal taxes, State taxes, property taxes, and utility taxes. Then we go to get something to eat, we pull a bowl out of the cabinet, we pull a coffee cup out of the cabinet, and we have sales taxes. We have paid sales taxes.

It is interesting, I have a lot of young people that come to my office. I take great delight, and by the way, this generation, this new generation we have, these kids are terrific. They are bright, they are capable. When I talk to them in my office, I say, do you pay taxes? It is surprising, a lot of them say, no, not yet, not like our parents. But we probably will when we go to work. I say, no, you pay taxes every time you go to the store. No matter how old you are, you pay a sales tax.

So now what we have, we have Federal income tax, we have State income tax, we have property tax, we have utility tax, and now we have sales tax.

On top of the sales tax, of course, then we drive our cars to work. Take a look at our gasoline tax. I know in Colorado, in Colorado I think it is 22 cents; not think, I know, the State is 22 cents and the Federal Government charges 18 cents. That is 40 cents per gallon.

It was not very long ago, it was not very long ago, that gasoline in Greenwood Springs or in Colorado was about, I don't know, a dollar a gallon. I called my friend today, Al Stroobants over on the western slope, and I called Bill Vollbraught, my friend in Denver, and asked him, what is the price of gas? It has gone up a little.

For the sake of easy calculations, let's talk about a dollar per gallon. When we stop at the gas station, for every dollar we pay the attendant, here is a dollar for my gas bill, we get 60 cents worth of gas. We pay 40 cents in taxes. Take that out. For every \$10 we pay the gas attendant for the \$10 bill on the gas pump, for that \$10 we get \$6 of gasoline and \$4 of taxes.

So where are we so far? We have Federal taxes, State taxes, property taxes, utility taxes, sales taxes, gasoline taxes. Then what we do, we go and have

a friend, let's say, that comes to visit us, or take a flight from the airport, go out to the airport. Then there are passenger taxes and other fees. We have fees to do this, fees for a rent-a-car, taxes to get on the airplane.

Then, if you decide when you fly to your destination you want to stay in your hotel, you have a hotel tax that is put on top of that. Then finally if you get a little depressed about the whole thing and you decide to, without driving, by the way, without driving, you decide to have a beer, you are going to pay a tax on alcohol, and take a look at what the percentage of that is.

Then, if you are unfortunate and you happen to pass away with too much property, then the government is going to put a death tax on you. No matter what level of property that you have, they still tax certain items in funeral preparations and other things like that involved with your death.

There are lots and lots of taxes in our society. That is where we get to that overall tax burden, which is among the highest in our country's history. Do not let it creep up on you. Do not let these increased taxes creep up on you when the economy is good. That is when people seem to pay the least amount of attention to their taxes. That is when the economy is good. It creeps up on them.

Take a look at special districts. Special districts have a special use in our country. We need them, especially in rural America, but a lot of people never see what their special district taxes are because those are paid by the mortgage banker. You send one check in a month, just like my wife and I do, we send our check in once a month to the mortgage company, and the mortgage company then turns around and pays the school tax, the cemetery district tax, the library district tax, the recreation district tax, et cetera, et cetera, so those are even more taxes.

I am not up here bashing the fact we pay taxes. We cannot have a government if we do not pay taxes. What I am saying, as this tax level begins to creep up and up, you as the taxpayers, you are our employers. We work for you. You have every right to demand efficiency and productivity from your government because you are paying those taxes. You are paying them at every level.

When we go to the airport and pay a passenger tax, we are entitled to have an airport that is efficient. When we go and drive on a State highway or Federal highway, we have a right to expect a highway that is safe, a highway that is well-engineered, and a highway that is built with construction dollars that are done in such a way that it is competitive.

As I mentioned earlier, I think we can be very, very pleased about the efficiency and the dollars that are being spent on our soldiers over in Kosovo. I think they are doing a darned good job, not just because of the fact that they are putting their lives on the line,

which of course is the most critical issue that we have facing us today, but by gosh, we are getting good delivery. We have got very efficient forces over there.

In fact, I know a family, I will intercede this here, Steve and Janet Westhof, I want to say hello if I get an opportunity to in the next couple of days, but they have six kids, six kids, and five of them are in our military. We can be assured that our taxpayer dollars, we are getting our worth out of those five Westhof kids that are serving out of Colorado in the military.

Let us go on and talk a little more about some of the tax breaks and things that I think are important. How we calculate taxes, it is just like when we are paying for some kind of service. If you are paying for lawn service, you are starting your lawn service this summer and you are paying for somebody to come mow your lawn, you adjust that every year. One year you may decide to have bushes trimmed in addition to the lawn mowed, so it is going to adjust what you pay. The next year if you decide to trim the bushes yourself, then you should expect you are going to pay less to mow the lawn. If you do not pay less but you are getting less services, something is wrong with that formula. You need to calculate what is going on.

Right now in our government there are some efficiencies that we have realized. There are some tax credits that are very significant. Once again as a Republican I take a great deal of pride in the fact, one, we are going to have a budget tomorrow; number two, we have delivered significant tax cuts in the last couple of years.

I do not know how many of my colleagues out here, and I assume most of them, own their homes, but take a look at this, and again, I am proud of it. I am proud to be a Republican. I think we have done some very positive things, not partisan, positive things for the taxpayer out there.

What have we done? The house. If any Members have sold a house this last year, they need to go see their tax accountant, make sure they have given that information to their tax accountant before those taxes are filed tomorrow, because they may be entitled to one of the largest tax breaks they have received during their entire working career.

What do I mean by that? First of all, let us talk about the old rule, if you sold your house for a net profit. Now remember, on a house, if you bought a house for \$100 and if you were to sell the house, it is only worth \$100, but you have been paying on it for several years, so you now only owe \$50 on it. So you sell the house for \$100 but you have been paying \$50, you only owe \$50 on it, you have \$50 in your pocket after you sell the house. That is not net income, that is net equity. Net income would be if you bought the house for \$100, you paid down \$50, so you now have \$50 that you owe on it, but you

sell the house for \$150. You have \$50 of equity and \$50 of net income.

In the past the government has gone to that \$50 of net income and they have taxed you on that. There was one exception to it. If you were 62 years of age or older, you got a once-in-a-lifetime tax exemption that one time of up to \$120,000.

The Republicans changed that last year. It was a Republican-led plus. This had bipartisan support, some Democrats voted for it, but it is an important one. What does it do? Let us take a look at before this tax bill, before the Republican tax bill. Let us take a look at what an individual, and now, most homes are owned by couples, so let us look at the couple column, which is right here where the red light is.

□ 2100

You buy the House, this is before we changed the tax law, you bought the House for \$200,000. You sold the House for \$700,000. So you have obviously recognized a large net profit. Your profit is \$500,000. The income that would be taxed under the old law for a couple would be \$500,000. What did we do? We gave you an exemption that is good every 2 years, not when you are 62, but you get it renewed every 2 years on your primary residence.

Here is what the status is with the same house after the tax credit bill that we put in place last year. A couple again, they buy the house for \$200,000. They sell the house for \$700,000. Again just like over here, before the tax break, they make \$500,000. So they make \$500,000 under either circumstance.

But look what the difference is. Here is the column. The income that will be taxed is zero. Zero. Here the income that would be taxed was \$500,000. That is significant.

It will apply to every homeowner in this country whether you live in Missouri or New York or Colorado or California or Alaska. Every homeowner in this country that sells their home for a net profit will get a tax benefit, thanks to the hard work of the Congress.

The hard work, again I want to come back, the hardest work is by the taxpayer, which funds the Congress. But we are the managers of that money. Through the management of that money, we have determined that those of you who own homes, and that is most of America, deserve a break today when you sell your home for a net profit. That is significant.

Here is another tax break that I think is worthy of us looking at, because this means millions of families across this country will have more dollars to spend, more dollars coming back to you.

Let us go again through the system of how the taxes work. The money the government has is not created in Washington, D.C. It is created by your hard work, by your contribution to capital, by your sweat, by working and showing up and working those 8 or 10 or 12 or 14

hours every day. That is how money gets to government.

As you know, it comes up through several different layers of government. It means there are a lot of middlemen in the government that take a little here, take a little there. We need to make sure that we are operating in an efficient manner. If we have excess cash, we ought to give it back to you.

Now excess cash is excess cash after we have planned for Social Security, after we have planned for Medicare and after we have planned to reduce the national debt.

Remember, it was not very many years ago we used to be mocked. The Republicans were laughed at when we stood up and told the American people, we were not laughed at by the American people, some maybe, but we were laughed at by some of our political opponents who said we will never get rid of the annual deficit. This government is always going to operate with a deficit. We thought we could accomplish it by 2004. We actually accomplished it in 1999. That is pretty significant.

Now we have got to take on the national debt. But in doing that, we have got to be fair to the people that pay the bill; and that is you, the taxpayers.

Here is one of the things that we have done. It is tough today, economically, to bring up a family, even a family of four, with the kind of needs that you have. My gosh, it is wonderful in America that we have the kind of opportunities that we do. America is a darn good place to live. I am proud to not only be a citizen of the United States, to be here in America, but I am proud to be a representative of the citizens of America.

But our families, we want to allow our families to have as many things as they can have. Frankly, even some of the families in worst shape, are in the lower end of our standard of living here, are still better off than a lot of the other countries in the world.

But the point is, how do we get to the average family? How do we get some dollars back to the average family so they have a little better opportunity at educating their young children, at making sure their young children have the best or at least some good opportunities or good clothes, good food, good transportation, a good home with good heat, with good air conditioning, those kinds of things? What are some of the things that we could do?

We took a look at the tax credit that we gave for the sale of a home. The beauty of that tax credit is most people use that to buy another home.

Here we have what we call the child care credit. A family of four under this tax credit, if they have two children under age 17, they have \$45,000 a year annual income; and, by the way, there are a lot of people out there, especially if both husband and the wife work outside the home, \$45,000 between the two of them is not unusual. In 1998, we allowed a \$400 per child credit that is a direct credit, \$400 per child in 1999.

That will increase to \$500 per child, \$500 per child.

The tax credit here before the Republican tax credit went into place, this couple that earned \$45,000, family of four, two children under 17 could expect on that income to pay approximately \$5,134. After that tax credit, they now pay \$4,334, or \$800 less.

To some people \$800 is not a lot of money. To me it is. To most American families it is a lot of money. One of the problems in government is if the people that work for you in government begin to become somewhat callous towards the value of money.

I have talked to people in government who say, well, what is \$800 out there? Hey, get out there and try and earn 800 bucks. That is a lot of money. It means a lot to a family, and it means a lot to a family of four, and it means a lot to a family with young children or to a family that is retired. Eight hundred dollars are big bucks, and that is why these tax credits mean something.

I know in campaign season they always say, well, the Republicans, they give tax breaks to the rich. Rich? Is that what you call rich, those people? Not all homeowners in this country are rich.

Most families in this country are rich with love, family love. We have lots of love. We need more. I am not getting into the social issue here. But the fact is most of the families that own homes in this country are not rich, and that is who that tax credit goes to help. Most people in this country are not rich by those standards, certainly by \$45,000 a year standards. That tax credit of \$800 goes to help them.

These are not insignificant numbers. The taxpayer is entitled, if the circumstances warrant, and which by the way, a good economy has allowed that to occur, a break today. Let us give them a break today.

Let us go to our employers and say, what you have been paying me is great, but we think we have found some management efficiencies whereunder we can manage Social Security and make sure everybody continues to get their check and we are confident we can.

Medicare will be secure. We have a lock box. We lock the money away. We will be able to take down the national debt. We are still going to have a little left for you, a little left for you, the very person that goes out there and works every day of the week or 5 days a week or whatever your work pattern is to make it possible so we have the money to run this government, by the way, run this government on your behalf.

Let me once again mention Kosovo and the situation we have got over there. We have to come back to the American taxpayer. We are not going to have to raise your taxes, by the way, to fund Kosovo. But this is a very, very expensive operation.

I do not know one Democrat and I do not know one Republican that wants to

cut our soldiers or our people in uniform, regardless of where they are, or our manufacturers that are supplying these products as long as they supply them on a fair value. I do not know anybody on either side of the aisle that wants to short our military.

We may have disagreements on Kosovo, and I think they are significant disagreements on Kosovo and the policy in the Balkans and so on, but policy is separate than the issue of support for our soldiers.

We will afford, we will pay for, and we can pay for every weapon that our military soldiers need, every meal, every uniform, every paycheck. We can meet the needs of the American military.

But that money means that we have to do some more financial planning back here in Washington, D.C. It means that we will not be able to reduce the national debt at the same rate that we thought we could reduce it just a month ago. It means that we have an emergency spending number in front of us.

What we have to consider is how far into the future that emergency spending dollar goes. I am one of those people that happens to think that this operation will not stop today at \$3 billion.

I am one of those people that thinks that this operation costs us about \$100 million a day and that we have many, many, many more days into the future to fund this operation. This will be a significant cost item for you the taxpayer. Let us not clown around.

It is like having a meeting with your bosses. We need to report it up front. We have a very expensive item on the radar. It is on the agenda right now. It is Kosovo. It may not end when the bombing stops, by the way, because the United States, one, we have a strong sense of humanitarian belief to take care of the sick people, to go in and assist where we can. That is expensive.

Number two, if we maintain a peacekeeping force through the auspices of NATO, by the way the United States carries the biggest burden there, and the United States usually carries the big burden. I am proud of that on one hand, and on the other hand, it is kind of like going camping and having everybody gather firewood. If you have got people that is capable or closest capable to you that is gathering firewood, they ought to be out there gathering firewood if they want to sit by the fire. But we have to constantly make sure everybody carries their fair burden.

But this Kosovo situation can get expensive. It is expensive right now. We will fund it. We have got the money to fund it. But you need to be patient. We all need to be patient and understand that our reduction of the national debt, which is critical for the Republican Party and I think critical for many of my colleagues on the Democratic Party, that the preservation of Social Security, which is critical for all of us,

that the preservation of Medicare, which is critical for all of us, that we are going to have to make some adjustments.

It does not mean they are going to be in trouble or that we are not going to be able to do what we had originally committed to do. We are. But it does mean we have an emergency expenditure out there, and it is called Kosovo.

Let me talk about another tax that I think is very unfair, the marriage penalty. Let me talk about a couple other taxes that are very unfair. They are inherently unfair. To me, there is no justification for these types of taxes. These are taxes that the taxpayer should not be paying because it is unfair to the taxpayer. Not that it is a heavy burden on the taxpayer, it is, but that it is an unjustified tax. It is not right to tax people like we are going to tax them, like the government has been taxing them.

One of them is the marriage penalty. My gosh, folks, this is the United States of America. This is a country where we think family is of the highest priority. We encourage marriage in this country. We encourage people to stay married in this country. We know, the statistics prove, I do not care whether you are a conservative clear to the right or whether you are a liberal clear to the left, the fact is, the bottom line is we know that a married couple has a lot better chance of success at raising their young than does a single person. It is just reality out there.

But yet the government, despite the fact that we encourage marriage, despite the fact that we know that married couples have much better odds of raising children and much less dropout rate, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, despite the fact that we know all of this, the government still continues to impose a marriage penalty when it comes time to pay your taxes tomorrow.

So those of you who pay your taxes tomorrow, which most of the people that we are talking about, most of my colleagues here, if you are married, you pay an additional tax penalty because of the simple fact that you are married. That does not make any sense. It does not make sense to me, and it does not make sense to you. But we have a lot of people out there who are not even aware of the fact that we have a marriage tax penalty.

One of the big priorities of the Republican conference this year is get rid of that marriage tax penalty. We may be delayed if we spend a lot of money in emergency dollars. Those emergency dollars are justified, and I want to make sure we get a good bargain on them. But we know that a lot of those dollars are justified. So it may delay it.

But as soon as we can afford to do it, we need to get rid of that tax. We need to get rid of the tax not just when we can afford it but because it is an unfair tax. It goes contrary to the type of society we want to pursue. We want a type of society where marriage is encouraged, not where marriage is penalized.

□ 2115

It does not make sense.

What is the other tax that is unfair? It is the death tax. The death tax. We are taxed when we die. Now, granted, there are exceptions to that. We do not have to pay taxes if we have an estate up to \$650,000, and that is moving up. But take a look first of all at those people who do.

I do not care whether an individual is rich, I do not care whether an individual is poor, I do not care whether an individual is middle class, no one should ever have to pay a tax that is unfair. And if someone is paying a tax that is unfair, even if it just affects the poor people, the middle class and the wealthy people ought to be just as aggressive at getting rid of that tax that unfairly taxes the poor people with a lower standard of living.

And, likewise, the poorer income should be just as aggressive about taking away a tax that is unfair to the middle income and so on up the line. If it is an unfair tax, it is an unfair tax whether an individual makes minimum wage or whether an individual a million a year. It is an unfair tax, and that is what the death tax is all about.

Now, with the death tax, are we taxing property that somehow has escaped taxation during the life of the person who earned that? No, not at all. In fact, we are taxing once again property that on many occasions has been taxed not only once, not only twice but sometimes three and four times.

So what creates the death tax is simply the fact that a person has died. And the reason it creates it is the government says, "Hey, old Scott's gone, so let's just go ahead and go after it." That is a good legitimate reason to take money from our citizens; they are dead, they are not going to complain any more. But, my gosh, realize what the ramifications are of this death tax.

Take a look at the State that I am from. I am from the State of Colorado. My district is the Third Congressional District. Most Americans have been in my district. If you have ever skied, you have been in the Third Congressional District. If you love beautiful mountains, you have been in the Third Congressional District. It is a beautiful area. But it has a very heavy dependency on two things. Well, on several things but two I want to talk about. One, small business and, two, agriculture.

Now, what do I mean by small business and agriculture? With the values today, as rapidly as they have increased in our healthy economy, we find out that the best way to lose a small business is to die. We cannot pass it on to the next generation because of the punitive taxes that they put on us, despite the fact that we may have bought our business and grew our business with after-tax dollars. In other words, we have already paid the taxes at least once, twice or three times.

We have a country that we should encourage people to be married, we

should not penalize them for being married. We have a country that we should encourage one generation to pass on the small business to the next generation. We should not discourage them. We should not tax them out of it. The government is not getting cheated. The government is not getting cheated because people get married. They are not getting cheated out of any taxes. And the government is not getting cheated because somebody dies, on property that the dead person, when they were alive, owned. They are not getting cheated. It is just another opportunity to grab more money out of our pockets.

What is the impact? Well, first of all, as I mentioned, you cannot pass a business from generation to generation. It is very difficult to do it. Now, if you have a lot of money, maybe you can buy the life insurance that is necessary to pay off the government. Pay them off and get the government off your back steps. That is what it is, it is a payoff to the government, but a lot of small business people simply cannot afford that.

The other thing that Colorado is heavily dependent on is agriculture. We are very selfish with our land, so to speak, in Colorado. We want to preserve the land. Open space has become more and more critical to the citizens of Colorado. It is important for us to preserve our beauty.

We have to work a lot more in balance than perhaps was worked 20 or 30 years ago. What we find ourselves in is a predicament. Land values have gone up in Colorado. They have gone up significantly. Well, if you have a small family farm or a ranch, and your land values have gone up, it is highly likely, highly probable that your ranch, upon your death, will not be able to be passed on to your son or your daughter but will have to be sold at the auction block to pay Uncle Sam.

I will give you an example. I know a family, I will not tell you the exact location, but it is in the Third Congressional District of the State of Colorado. This fellow was a very hard-working man. He came to Colorado when he was about 18 years old. He started as a bookkeeper in a construction company. He worked his way up. Pretty soon he worked from being a bookkeeper into helping supervise construction. He dug ditches, but he soon was driving a truck and he had the books. Pretty soon he built that construction, he and a partner, into a successful construction company in a small town in Colorado.

Along the way, this man and his partner found out that they were having trouble getting financing for their construction company. So they decided, well, let us start a little bank. A small bank. This is not Nation's First or some other big bank. Let us start a little bank in our little community. So they started this little bank in their community.

Well, that was probably 50 years ago. About 8 years ago my friend decided to

sell the bank. And by then, of course, the bank had become a very strong small business. It had grown. They put a lot of sweat, a lot of their own human capital into it and it has prospered.

So they decided to sell the bank, and they sold the bank. Unfortunately, within a very short period of time, literally weeks after the bank was sold, my good friend discovered he had terminal cancer. Then, unfortunately, he lost his wife. Three or four months later, my friend passed away from terminal cancer.

What happened? Well, he still had the stock in the construction company. They sold the bank and they hit him with a capital gains taxation. Do you know what the effective rate of taxation was on that estate? When you put capital gains tax, which is complicated, but a lot of you out there understand what I am speaking about, and you put the death tax on top of it, they went into this family, to that man who had worked over 50 years with sweat and toil and put human capital into this investment, the government went in there, and the property that had already been taxed at least once, probably twice or three times, and imposed a 72 percent tax on the property.

Now, when I spoke with the family, I asked them, I said, "So all you had left in the estate was 28 percent because the government took 72 percent?" No, they said, we did not get 28 percent because the government came to us and said here is the tax, 72 percent, and, by the way, it is due within this period of time.

The only way that the family could come up with that money to pay off the government on property that had already been taxed but was now being taxed simply because their father had died, the only way they could pay that off was to sell at a fire sale their assets, their property, selling it as quickly as they could. Otherwise, they were going to be penalized by the government.

So the 28 percent did not really work out to 28 percent because they had to sell it under panic prices. They told me they estimated they cleared about 13 percent of that estate. Thirteen percent of what that man had worked for. That man and wife, by the way. The mother was a homemaker, but she deserves as much credit here. The money that couple had worked for for over 50 some years, the little company they had built up, the little bank they had built up, the farmland that they had was all taken in one sweep by the government.

Is that fair? It is not a fair tax. The death tax is not a fair tax. And the death tax, while it may apply to people that only have assets of \$600,000 or more, it impacts all of society. And you cannot under any circumstances, in my opinion, justify going to a family that has already paid their taxes and force them to pay a punitive tax on top of that.

Now, has it impacted Colorado? Sure. What happens to the ranches? If you

have a ranch that has to be sold, what is the highest and best use for ranch land in Colorado? Well, unfortunately, for a lot of land in Colorado, especially in my district, the Third Congressional District, the beauty of it, if it is no longer a ranch or a farm, you can put condominiums on it, build huge homes on it, put it into five-acre estates. That is where the highest value of that land is. Move the water off the land. I could talk 2 hours on water. Move the water off the land. Change the historical nature of that property.

And I think in most cases it changes for the worst. It takes away our open space. It threatens our open space. It threatens generations of families being able to stay and raise their young in the mountains of Colorado, because of a tax imposed by the government that is unfair to start with.

Well, I think Americans right now are paying a lot of taxes, and I think that tomorrow, on April 15, there are a few things we should consider, and let me summarize.

Number one, everybody that works in the government ought to be thanking every taxpayer out there for funding it. Mr. Taxpayer, Mrs. Taxpayer, young taxpayer, old taxpayer, you hear it right now. Thank you. Thank you for your hard work. Thank you for being willing to be, one, honest on your taxes; two, to pay your taxes; and, three, to allow your government to work for you.

The second point I want to make to you, we have an obligation back to you, working as the government. We have an obligation as elected officials, as appointed people working for the government, as employees of the government, no matter how you classify it, we work for you and we have an obligation to deliver the most efficient product we can on behalf of the government that works for you.

Number three, we have an obligation, and the Republicans are taking charge, this is a priority for them, to eliminate unfair taxation, and we should start with the marriage penalty. The marriage penalty, no matter how we cut it, no matter whether we are a Democrat or a Republican, no matter what level we are, the marriage penalty is an unfair tax and it has costs in society, costs that are negative. It is not a positive thing to look at. Marriage penalty taxes are unfair and they should be eliminated.

Number four, do not just let people dismiss death taxes as taxes for the rich. It has an impact. It has a ripple impact all the way down. Take a look at the open space in Colorado and then take a look at the very premise for that kind of tax.

Is it fair? Is it on property that has not been taxed? The answer to that is no. The death tax is a tax on property that has been taxed once, twice or three times. That tax should be eliminated. It is not fair. The death tax should not go straight to the government. It is not right.

Finally, let me wrap it up with a few words once again thanking our soldiers who are serving us tonight, wherever you are in the world. To me, the servicemen and women we have right now on the DMZ, in North Korea, South Korea, right on the DMZ between South Korea and North Korea, those are some pretty brave people up there, men and women, serving that duty. Throughout the world they are serving us.

I want you to know that with bipartisan support, unified support, I do not think there is a "no" vote in the body, this body has voted to give a tax break. We will vote tomorrow unanimously, not one "no" vote from Democrat or Republican. We will vote unanimously to recognize the service of these soldiers and give them a tax break. They deserve it. They are delivering for us. You are getting a good product. You are getting good and efficient service from our military today.

You may disagree with the policy. I have got problems with the policy, for example, in the Balkans. That is what I am referring to specifically. You may disagree with that. But the fact of what those military people are doing will be observed tomorrow on April 15 with this bill that will give them some tax relief. So I want to thank those people.

Mr. Speaker, I am now ready to wrap up. Tomorrow is April 15. Folks, take a look at what you are paying in taxes. We should pay taxes for the right kind of product. But just remember, as I conclude tonight, that you have every right, it is a fundamental right to look at the people that work for you, that is the government, the government works for you, and demand from that government efficiency and a good product.

If you are not getting efficiency, if you are not getting a good product, then you should demand that you get your money back. And if you are paying too much money for the product you are getting, you are entitled to get your money back, just the same as if you went to the grocery store and you overpaid there.

America to me is a very positive thing. I am positive about our economy, I am positive about our soldiers, I am positive about the American people. We have a lot to look forward to. And in this country there is a lot more that goes right than there is that goes wrong. But in order for it to work, we have to be sure that we balance that payment from the taxpayer to the government.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). Members are reminded that they are to direct their remarks to the Chair.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legis-

lative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ETHERIDGE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. CARSON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SMITH of Washington, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ETHERIDGE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. POMEROY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SNYDER, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PAUL) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. PORTMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PAUL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. METCALF, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. THUNE, for 5 minutes, today.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

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

S. 380. An act to reauthorize the Congressional Award Act, to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Administration, 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. 440. An act to make technical corrections to the Microloan Program.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 388. An act to authorize the establishment of a disaster mitigation pilot program in the Small Business Administration.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 15, 1999, at 10 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1497. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of

proposed legislation to assist crop producers who were adversely affected by an insurance company's sale of a private insurance policy called CRCPLUS; to the Committee on Agriculture.

1498. A letter from the Administrator, Farm Service Agency, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Dairy Indemnity Payment Program (RIN: 0560-AF66) received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

1499. A letter from the Administrator, Farm Service Agency, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—End-Use Certificate Program (RIN: 0560-AF64) received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

1500. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Fenbuconazole; Extension of Tolerance for Emergency Exemptions [OPP-300824; FRL-6069-4] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

1501. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Azoxystrobin; Pesticide Tolerances for Emergency Exemptions [OPP-300805; FRL-6066-4] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

1502. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Arsanilic acid [(4-aminophenyl) arsonic acid]; Time-Limited Pesticide Tolerance [OPP-300822; FRL-6069-7] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

1503. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; Reasonably Available Control Technology for Oxides of Nitrogen for the State of New Jersey [Region 2 Docket No. NJ31-2-189, FRL-6313-9] received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1504. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; California State Implementation Plan Revision; South Coast Air Quality Management District [CA 201-0138a; FRL-6309-9] received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1505. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; California State Implementation Plan Revision; El Dorado County Air Pollution Control District [CA 211-0127a; FRL-6313-4] received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1506. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans; California State Implementation Plan Revision; Santa Barbara County Air Pollution Control District and South Coast Air Quality Management District [CA 207-0074, FRL-6307-1] received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1507. 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; Utah; Foreword and Definitions, Revision to Definition for Sole Source of Heat and Emissions Standards, Nonsubstantive Changes; General Requirements, Open Burning and Nonsubstantive Changes; and Foreword and Definitions, Addition of Definition for PM10 Nonattainment Area [UT10-1-6700a; UT-001-0014a; UT-001-0015a; FRL-6314-8] received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1508. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Environmental Protection Agency; Underground Injection Control Program Revision; Aquifer Exemption Determination for Portions of the Lance Formation Aquifer in Wyoming [FRL-6316-4] received March 23, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1509. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy and Management, Food and Drug Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Indirect Food Additives; Adjuvants, Production Aids, and Sanitizers [Docket No. 97F-0213] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1510. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Food and Drug Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Over-the-Counter Drug Products Containing Analgesic/Antipyretic Active Ingredients for Internal Use; Required Alcohol Warning; Final Rule; Compliance Date [Docket No. 77N-094W] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1511. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Cooperation Agency, transmitting notification concerning the Department of the Air Force's Proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance (LOA) to Israel for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 99-12), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on International Relations.

1512. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting Accountability Review Board report and recommendations concerning serious injury, loss of life or significant destruction of property at a U.S. mission abroad, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 4834(d)(1); to the Committee on International Relations.

1513. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Department of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to revise the boundaries of Scotts Bluff National Monument, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

1514. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Department of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to revise the boundary of Fort Matanzas National Monument, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

1515. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Department of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Act establishing the Keweenaw National Historical Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

1516. A letter from the Assistant Secretary—Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule—Class III Gaming Procedures (RIN: 1076-AD87) received April 7, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1517. A letter from the Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting the Department's final rule—Endangered and Threatened Wildlife and Plants; Determination of Threatened Status for the Jarbidge River Population Segment of Bull Trout (RIN: 1018-AF01) received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1518. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Marine Fisheries Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Fisheries of the Exclusive Economic Zone Off Alaska; Pacific cod by Vessels Catching Pacific Cod for Processing by the Inshore Component in the Western Regulatory Area of the Gulf of Alaska [Docket No. 990304062-9062-01; I.D. 030999B] received March 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1519. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Marine Fisheries Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Fisheries of the Exclusive Economic Zone Off Alaska; Pacific Cod by Vessels Catching Pacific Cod for Processing by the Inshore Component in the Central Regulatory Area of the Gulf of Alaska [Docket No. 981222314-8321-02; I.D. 031199A] received March 22, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1520. A letter from the Assistant Administrator for Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Pacific Halibut Fisheries; Catch Sharing Plan [Docket No. 990312074-9074-01; I.D. 010899B] (RIN: 0648-AM35) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1521. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Fisheries of the Northeastern United States; Summer Flounder Fishery; Commercial Quota Harvested for Maine [Docket No. 981014259-8312-02; I.D. 032699A] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1522. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to reauthorize and amend the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972; to the Committee on Resources.

1523. A letter from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Revision of Class E Airspace; Shawnee, OK [Airspace Docket No. 99-ASW-07] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1524. A letter from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Revision of Class E Airspace; Guthrie, OK [Airspace Docket No. 99-ASW-06] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1525. A letter from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E Airspace; Escobas, TX [Airspace Docket No. 99-ASW-05] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1526. A letter from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Revision of Class E Airspace; Lake Charles, LA [Airspace Docket No. 99-ASW-04] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1527. A letter from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Revision of Class E Airspace; Farmington, NM [Airspace Docket No. 95-ASW-18] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1528. A letter from the Program Analyst, Office of the Chief Counsel, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Establishment of Class E Airspace; Logan, WV [Airspace Docket No. 99-AEA-02] received April 6, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1529. A letter from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 49, United States Code, to increase consumer protections for airline passengers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1530. A letter from the Chairman, International Trade Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide authorization of appropriations for the United States International Trade Commission for fiscal year 2000; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1531. A letter from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide improved support to youth in foster care making the transition to adulthood and economic self-sufficiency; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1532. A letter from the General Counsel of the Department of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to increase the basic pay of service members and restore retired pay for members who entered service after July 1986; jointly to the Committees on Armed Services and Ways and Means.

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:

Mrs. MYRICK: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 140. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1376) to extend the tax benefits available with respect to services performed in a combat zone to services performed in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) and certain other areas, and for other purposes (Rept. 106-95). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. POMBO (for himself, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, and Mr. DOOLITTLE):

H.R. 1398. A bill to amend section 211 of the Clean Air Act to prohibit the use of certain fuel additives; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. LEVIN (for himself, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. CARDIN, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. COYNE, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. McDERMOTT, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. FROST, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. RUSH, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. LA-FALCE, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. DOOLEY of California, Ms. LEE, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, and Mr. DIAZ-BALART):

H.R. 1399. A bill to amend title IV of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 to provide States with the option to allow legal immigrant pregnant women, children, and blind or disabled medically needy individuals to be eligible for medical assistance under the Medicaid Program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committees on Commerce, Agriculture, 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. BLILEY (for himself, Mr. OXLEY, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. GILLMOR, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. COX, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. GANSKE, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. LAZIO, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mrs. WILSON, Mr. LUTHER, Mr. SHADEGG, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. FOSSELLA, Mr. BLUNT, and Mr. EHRlich):

H.R. 1400. A bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to improve collection and dissemination of information concerning bond prices and to improve price competition in bond markets, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SPENCE (for himself and Mr. SKELTON) (both by request):

H.R. 1401. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 2000 and 2001 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel strengths for fiscal years 2000 to 2001, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BLUNT (for himself, Mr. SWEENEY, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. BALDACC, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. WALSH, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. CALLAHAN, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. RILEY, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. HEFLEY, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, Mr. BOYD, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. DAVIS of Florida, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. FOLEY, Mrs. FOWLER, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MICA, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. BARR of Georgia, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. DEAL of Georgia, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. LINDER, Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. WHITFIELD, Mr. BAKER, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. JOHN, Mr. MCCREERY, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. OLVER, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. GILCHREST, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BARCIA, Ms. DANNER, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. HULSHOF, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. TALENT, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. BURR of North Carolina, Mr. COBLE, Mr. HAYES, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. BASS, Mr. SUNUNU, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. FORBES, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. HINCHEY, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. LAFALCE, Mrs. LOWEY, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. NEY, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. KAN-

JORSKI, Mr. KLINK, Mr. MASCARA, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. PITTS, Mr. SHUSTER, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. HILLEARY, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. TANNER, Mr. BONILLA, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. THORNBERRY, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. GOODE, Mr. PICKETT, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. WOLF, Mr. SANDERS, Ms. DUNN, Mr. METCALF, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. MOLLOHAN, Mr. RAHALL, and Mr. WISE):

H.R. 1402. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to implement the Class I milk price structure known as Option 1-A as part of the implementation of the final rule to consolidate Federal milk marketing orders; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BARR of Georgia:

H.R. 1403. A bill to nullify the effect of certain provisions of various Executive orders; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio:

H.R. 1404. A bill to amend title 11 of the United States Code to include the earned income credit in property that the debtor may elect to exempt from the estate; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of Ohio (for himself, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mr. NEY, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. OXLEY, and Ms. KAPTUR):

H.R. 1405. A bill to designate the Federal building located at 143 West Liberty Street, Medina, Ohio, as the "Donald J. Pease Federal Building"; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. CAMP (for himself, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. UPTON, Mr. EHLERS, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Mr. HOEKSTRA, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. KILDEE, Ms. RIVERS, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. CONYERS, Ms. KILPATRICK, and Mr. STUPAK):

H.R. 1406. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide that certain bonds issued by local governments in connection with delinquent real property taxes may be treated as tax exempt; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. COYNE (for himself, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, and Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts):

H.R. 1407. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to simplify the individual capital gains tax for all individuals and to provide modest reductions in the capital gains tax for most individuals; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ENGEL (for himself, Mr. SANFORD, Mr. OLVER, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. BONIOR, and Mr. ROHRBACHER):

H.R. 1408. A bill to make available funds for a security assistance training and support program for the self-defense of Kosovo; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Mr. ENGLISH (for himself, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mrs. EMERSON, and Mr. SHOWS):

H.R. 1409. A bill to amend title 31, United States Code, to provide that the provisions requiring payment of Federal benefits in the form of electronic funds transfers shall not apply with respect to benefits payable under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program under title II of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Government Reform.

By Mr. ENGLISH:

H.R. 1410. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exempt small issues

from the restrictions on the deduction by financial institutions for interest; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Ms. GRANGER (for herself, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. MCCREERY, Mr. WELLER, and Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas):

H.R. 1411. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a 2-month extension for the due date for filing a tax return for any member of a uniformed service on a tour of duty outside the United States for a period which includes the normal due date for such filing; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GREEN of Texas:

H.R. 1412. A bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to require the arbitration of initial contract negotiation disputes, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. HEFLEY (for himself, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. BALDACC, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. CLEMENT, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. CONDIT, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. DEFazio, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. DICKEY, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. FILNER, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. FROST, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. HILLEARY, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. LUTHER, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. METCALF, Mr. GARY MILLER of California, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. OLVER, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. TANGREDO, Mr. TANNER, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. WAMP, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. WELLER, Mr. WHITFIELD, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. STUMP, and Mr. CAPUANO):

H.R. 1413. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to expand and make permanent the Medicare demonstration project for military retirees and dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Commerce, 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, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. COYNE, Mr. POMEROY, Mr. FROST, Ms. KILPATRICK, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. DOOLEY of California, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. EHLERS, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. WEYGAND, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. HAYWORTH, and Mr. ENGLISH):

H.R. 1414. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exclude from income certain amounts received under the National Health Service Corps Scholarship Program and the F. Edward Hebert Armed Forces Health Professions Scholarship and Financial Assistance Program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island:

H.R. 1415. A bill to authorize appropriations for the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. MCCRERY:

H.R. 1416. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide that interest on indebtedness used to finance the furnishing or sale of rate-regulated electric energy or natural gas in the United States shall be allocated solely to sources within the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MENENDEZ:

H.R. 1417. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to make nonmilitary government aircraft subject to safety regulation by the Department of Transportation; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

H.R. 1418. A bill to amend the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 concerning liability for the sale of certain facilities for residential use; 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 Mrs. MYRICK:

H.R. 1419. A bill to amend chapter 5 of title 28, United States Code, to eliminate a vacant judgeship in the eastern district and establish a new judgeship in the western district of North Carolina, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts:

H.R. 1420. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a revenue-neutral simplification of the individual income tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROTHMAN (for himself, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. MEEHAN, Ms. MILLENDER-McDONALD, and Ms. WOOLSEY):

H.R. 1421. A bill to prohibit the use of vending machines to sell tobacco products in all locations other than in locations in which the presence of minors is not permitted; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SANDERS (for himself, Mr. NEY, Mr. BORSKI, Mr. FILNER, Mr. WEXLER, Mr. OLVER, Mr. WEINER, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. BROWN of California, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. STARK, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. NADLER, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. OWENS, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. FARR of California, Ms. NORTON, Ms. LEE, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mr. COYNE, and Mr. BONIOR):

H.R. 1422. A bill to require the establishment of a Consumer Price Index for Elderly Consumers to compute cost-of-living increases for Social Security and Medicare benefits under titles II and XVIII of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committees on Commerce, 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. STUPAK:

H.R. 1423. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to restrict the mail-order sale of body armor; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 1424. A bill to limit access to body armor by violent felons and to facilitate the donation of Federal surplus body armor to State and local law enforcement agencies; to the Committee on the Judiciary, and in addition to the Committee on Government Reform, for a period to be subsequently deter-

mined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. TRAFICANT:

H.R. 1425. A bill to authorize security assistance for the Kosova Liberation Army to be used for training and support for their established self-defense forces in order to defend and protect the civilian population of Kosova against armed aggression; to the Committee on International Relations.

By Ms. WATERS:

H.R. 1426. A bill to prevent the laundering of money; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

By Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas (for himself, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. PAUL, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. COX, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. BARTON of Texas, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. SCHAFFER, Mr. PITTS, Mr. COOKSEY, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. BARR of Georgia, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. CAMP, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. HERGER, Mr. LINDER, Mr. STUMP, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. DELAY, Mr. BONILLA, and Mr. SKEEN):

H.J. Res. 45. A 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. BOYD (for himself, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. TANNER, Mr. MINGE, and Mrs. THURMAN):

H. Con. Res. 85. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 should be reformed by April 15, 2002, in a manner that protects the Social Security and Medicare Trust Funds, that is revenue neutral, and that results in a fair and less complicated tax code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 14: Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. WELDON of Florida, and Mr. TOOMEY.

H.R. 26: Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. SHOWS, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. WYNN, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. FARR of California, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. CAPUANO, and Mr. RODRIQUEZ.

H.R. 27: Mr. WELDON of Florida.

H.R. 38: Mr. BACHUS and Mr. TALENT.

H.R. 66: Mr. STUMP.

H.R. 111: Mr. BRYANT, Ms. SANCHEZ, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. CAMP, Mr. KING, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Mr. STUPACK.

H.R. 116: Mr. EVANS, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. MCHUGH, and Mr. KIND.

H.R. 165: Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. GREEN of Texas, and Ms. BALDWIN.

H.R. 205: Mr. MCINTYRE.

H.R. 230: Mr. CAPUANO and Mr. PAYNE.

H.R. 237: Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. CAPUANO, and Mrs. MYRICK.

H.R. 271: Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. WYNN, Mr. BERMAN, and Mr. LAMPSON.

H.R. 274: Mrs. TAUSCHER, Mrs. BIGGERT, and Mr. PICKETT.

H.R. 306: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. ENGEL, and Mr. GONZALEZ.

H.R. 316: Mr. WYNN.

H.R. 325: Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. GORDON, Mr. MARTINEZ, and Mr. RODRIGUEZ.

H.R. 330: Mr. DICKEY and Mr. DEMINT.

H.R. 352: Mr. STUMP, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. TURNER, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mrs. NORTHUP, and Mr. BONILLA.

H.R. 355: Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. THUNE, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. HILL of Montana, and Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma.

H.R. 358: Mr. MARTINEZ.

H.R. 383: Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Ms. SLAUGHTER, and Mrs. FOWLER.

H.R. 403: Mr. PICKERING.

H.R. 407: Mr. YOUNG of Alaska.

H.R. 417: Mr. GRAHAM and Ms. STABENOW.

H.R. 489: Mr. CONYERS and Ms. BERKLEY.

H.R. 492: Mrs. CUBIN.

H.R. 500: Mr. KILDEE.

H.R. 515: Mr. CUMMINGS, Ms. NORTON, Mr. CAPUANO, and Mr. WYNN.

H.R. 516: Mr. WELDON of Florida.

H.R. 527: Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 528: Mr. WELDON of Florida.

H.R. 531: Mr. CASTLE, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. HULSHOF, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. CRANE, Mr. GOODLING, Ms. ESHOO, and Mr. METCALF.

H.R. 541: Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, and Mr. HINCHEY.

H.R. 561: Mr. NADLER.

H.R. 564: Mr. GARY MILLER of California.

H.R. 576: Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. DEUTSCH, and Mr. SNYDER.

H.R. 586: Mr. GARY MILLER of California.

H.R. 588: Mr. SHOWS and Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 610: Mrs. ROUKEMA.

H.R. 611: Mrs. EMERSON and Mr. HINCHEY.

H.R. 612: Mr. SANDLIN and Mr. OLVER.

H.R. 614: Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. WELDON of Florida, and Mr. TALENT.

H.R. 626: Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. FILNER, Mr. SHOWS, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. OWENS, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. CAPUANO, and Ms. CARSON.

H.R. 632: Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. FLETCHER, and Mrs. CUBIN.

H.R. 664: Mr. PHELPS, Ms. WATERS, and Ms. CARSON.

H.R. 678: Mr. JEFFERSON, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. KLINK, and Mr. SHAYS.

H.R. 680: Mr. SHOWS and Mr. SANFORD.

H.R. 691: Mr. SPRATT.

H.R. 692: Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. COBURN, Mr. PAUL, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin, Mr. ISTOOK, Mr. HOEKSTRA, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Mr. CANNON, and Mr. DEMINT.

H.R. 750: Mr. CONDIT, Mr. McNULTY, and Ms. KAPTUR.

H.R. 773: Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. MEEKS of New York, and Mr. MINGE.

H.R. 775: Mr. FORD, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, and Mr. HOLDEN.

H.R. 777: Ms. SANCHEZ, Mr. CUMMINGS, and Mrs. MEEK of Florida.

H.R. 786: Mr. BASS.

H.R. 789: Mr. CRAMER and Ms. NORTON.

H.R. 792: Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. CAMP, and Mr. SCARBOROUGH.

H.R. 815: Mr. THORNBERRY.

H.R. 826: Mr. EHLERS.

H.R. 827: Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, and Mrs. MINK of Hawaii.

H.R. 828: Mr. DICKS, Mr. EVANS, and Mr. SANDERS.

H.R. 833: Mr. BARCIA, Mrs. CHENOWETH, and Mr. UPTON.

H.R. 834: Mr. DICKS and Mr. JEFFERSON.

H.R. 836: Ms. BERKLEY and Mr. VENTO.

H.R. 845: Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Mr. OLVER, and Mr. HINCHEY.

H.R. 847: Mr. BROWN of California and Mr. GONZALEZ.

H.R. 850: Mr. WATT of North Carolina.

H.R. 879: Mr. FROST, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, and Mr. FATTAH.

- H.R. 884: Mr. OLVER and Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.
H.R. 888: Mr. FILNER, Mr. LATOURETTE, Ms. DEGETTE, and Mr. BROWN of California.
H.R. 894: Mr. WALSH.
H.R. 896: Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. LAFALCE, and Mr. LOBIONDO.
H.R. 900: Mr. LUTHER, Mr. QUINN, Mr. GEJDENSON, and Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas.
H.R. 914: Mr. CAPUANO.
H.R. 942: Mr. MASCARA.
H.R. 943: Mrs. THURMAN.
H.R. 959: Ms. BROWN of Florida, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. HINCHEY, and Ms. CARSON.
H.R. 982: Mr. OXLEY, Mr. SHOWS, and Mr. TERRY.
H.R. 987: Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. FLETCHER, Mr. EHLERS, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. DEAL of Georgia, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. EWING, Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. PAUL, Mr. BASS, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. COX, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mrs. BONO, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. HORN, Mr. WICKER, Mrs. MYRICK, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Mr. BRADY of Texas, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. POMBO, Mr. MORAN of Kansas, Mr. HERGER, and Mr. TAUZIN.
H.R. 996: Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. DEUTSCH, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. JEFFERSON, and Ms. WATERS.
H.R. 1000: Mr. HASTING of Florida and Ms. BERKLEY.
H.R. 1032: Mr. POMBO, Mr. HILL of Montana, Mr. JOHN, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. ISTOOK, Mr. METCALF, Mr. WICKER, Mr. SUNUNU, Mr. SIMPSON, Mrs. CUBIN, and Mr. CALVERT.
H.R. 1053: Mr. CAPUANO.
H.R. 1055: Mr. WHITFIELD, Mr. DUNCAN, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. DELAY, Mrs. CUBIN, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. GOODE, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PITTS, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mrs. BONO, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, and Mr. MCINTOSH.
H.R. 1071: Mr. GONZALEZ.
H.R. 1082: Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. BECERRA, and Ms. LEE.
H.R. 1093: Mr. CLEMENT, Mr. DOOLEY of California, Ms. SANCHEZ, Mr. BASS, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. CONDIT, Mr. HILLIARD, Mr. SABO, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. EHRLICH, Mr. LAHOOD, Ms. KILPATRICK, and Mr. EVANS.
H.R. 1097: Mrs. MEEK of Florida and Mr. UDALL of Colorado.
H.R. 1106: Mr. WELDON of Florida.
H.R. 1111: Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. RUSH, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.
H.R. 1120: Mr. HOLDEN.
H.R. 1149: Mrs. MEEK of Florida.
H.R. 1160: Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. OLVER, Mr. GONZALEZ, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, and Mr. DINGELL.
H.R. 1193: Mr. STUPAK and Mr. STARK.
H.R. 1205: Mr. OBEY, Mr. VENTO, and Mr. GEJDENSON.
H.R. 1214: Mr. NORWOOD, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mr. SPRATT, and Ms. WOOLSEY.
H.R. 1216: Mr. EVANS, Mr. CLEMENT, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. FILNER, Mr. OWENS, and Mr. FROST.
H.R. 1217: Mr. KANJORSKI, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. BURR of North Carolina, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. DAVIS of Virginia, Mr. GORDON, Mr. CONDIT, and Mr. SNYDER.
H.R. 1218: Mr. GEKAS.
H.R. 1234: Mr. GEKAS.
H.R. 1236: Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. CLAY, Mr. FROST, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. WEINER, Mr. VENTO, and Mrs. KELLEY.
H.R. 1238: Ms. KILPATRICK, Mrs. MEEK of Florida, Ms. NORTON, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. RUSH, Mrs. KELLY, Ms. WATERS, Mr. MCGOVERN, and Mr. MEEHAN.
H.R. 1247: Mr. MCHUGH.
H.R. 1251: Mr. HANSEN and Mr. CANNON.
H.R. 1254: Mr. BLUNT, Mr. BOEHLERT, and Mr. CRANE.
H.R. 1286: Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mrs. CLAYTON, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. ABERCROMBIE.
H.R. 1301: Mr. COMBEST, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. GOODE, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. CRAMER, Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. GANSKE, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. MORAN of Kansas, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. HAYES, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. RILEY, Mr. PAUL, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. BONILLA, and Mr. SESSIONS.
H.R. 1313: Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. WEXLER, Ms. ESHOO, Ms. RIVERS, and Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN.
H.R. 1317: Mr. BLUNT.
H.R. 1329: Mr. CALVERT.
H.R. 1330: Mr. EVANS and Mr. ENGLISH.
H.R. 1332: Mr. BROWN of California, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. BENTSEN, and Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.
H.R. 1333: Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. INSLEE, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. PAUL, Mrs. CLAYTON, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. RUSH, and Mr. SHOWS.
H.R. 1335: Mr. GUTIERREZ.
H.R. 1337: Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. KLINK, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. BILBRAY, and Mrs. TAUSCHER.
H.R. 1349: Mr. GARY MILLER of California.
H.R. 1355: Mr. FARR of California, Mr. OLVER, and Mr. MCGOVERN.
H.R. 1357: Mr. WELDON of Florida.
H.R. 1395: Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. POMBO, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. DREIER, Mr. ROYCE, Mrs. BONO, Mr. HERGER, and Mr. GALLEGLY.
H.J. Res. 2: Mr. SUNUNU.
H.J. Res. 7: Mr. DICKEY.
H.J. Res. 14: Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mr. NORWOOD, and Mr. KINGSTON.
H. Con. Res. 8: Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN.
H. Con. Res. 14: Mr. NEY.
H. Con. Res. 30: Mr. GARY MILLER of California.
H. Con. Res. 57: Mrs. BIGGERT.
H. Con. Res. 77: Ms. KAPTUR.
H. Con. Res. 82: Mr. STARK and Mr. PAUL.
H. Res. 41: Mrs. CAPPAS, Mr. COBURN, Mrs. MORELLA, and Mr. TRAFICANT.
H. Res. 82: Mr. ANDREWS.
H. Res. 106: Mr. TALENT, Mr. GARY MILLER of California, Mr. SNYDER, Mr. CAPUANO, and Mrs. THURMAN.
H. Res. 109: Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. FROST, Mr. SPRATT, Ms. DANNER, Mr. WOLF, Mr. BARCIA, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mr. OLVER, Mr. PETRI, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. KIND, and Mr. MCGOVERN.
H. Res. 115: Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. GEJDENSON, and Mr. LIPINSKI.
H. Res. 128: Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. SHAYS, and Mr. BERMAN.