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# House of Representatives

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

## DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

WASHINGTON, DC,
*April 21, 1999.*

I hereby appoint the Honorable JOHN SHIMKUS to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

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

## PRAYER

The Reverend Bill Shimkus, Hope Lutheran Church, Idaho Falls, Idaho, offered the following prayer:

Most gracious heavenly Father, this morning we are shocked and saddened by the tragic killings that took place yesterday in Colorado. Our hearts go out to all of those who have lost loved ones in this terrible act of violence. Comfort the survivors in their time of sadness and loss. Grant healing to those hospitalized from wounds received in this attack and to those who will carry wounds inside them for years to come.

As we again witness the sad spectacle of senseless violence perpetrated on our school campuses, we ask Your guidance. Help us, we pray, find ways to safeguard the schools in which our children learn and grow, and to help dysfunctional families with troubled children prone to violence. In Jesus' name, Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

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

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

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from California (Mr. RADANOVICH) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. RADANOVICH 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 a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 507. An act to provide for the conservation and development of water and related resources, to authorize the Secretary of the Army to construct various projects for improvements to rivers and harbors of the United States, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that pursuant to Public Law 105–83, the Chair, on behalf of the Majority Leader, announces the appointment of the Senator from Ohio (Mr. DEWINE) to serve as a member of the National Council on the Arts.

## CHILDREN ARE OUR FUTURE

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

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday our Nation witnessed a senseless tragedy in Littleton, Colorado. Before I begin my 1 minute, I would like the House to take a moment of silence to remember the lives of those poor students who died at Columbine High School.

Mr. Speaker, Americans across this Nation are trying to come to grips with the latest senseless tragedy that hit one of our schools. Why do some of our children feel the need to kill? How can they feel such hate? And why do they not have the moral framework that would stop this kind of tragedy?

There are no easy answers to these questions, but some things I do know, that we must do our best to make our schools safe. We must provide our children with the moral framework from which they can distinguish between right and wrong. We must stop the culture of death that makes vicious killers out of too many of our children.

Mr. Speaker, our children are our future. If we do not teach them the differences between right and wrong, our Nation's future is in peril.

My deepest condolences go out to the community of Littleton, Colorado and especially to the parents of the students of Columbine High School. As a parent of two boys, I can only imagine the grief that you are feeling today as you try to make sense of yesterday's tragedy.

## WE NEED PRAYER IN OUR SCHOOLS

(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, I want to associate myself with the remarks of our distinguished Speaker and his leadership.

We have another school tragedy now in Colorado. Experts are calling for more money, more police, more counselors, and certainly that would be a help. But I think there is something else fundamentally missing.

In America, when our schools can teach about Hitler and war but we cannot discuss God, something is very wrong, I say to my colleagues. Not to



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use this great tragedy as the catalyst for a proposition we should be considering, but I believe school prayer should be strongly considered by this body. People who pray together are not likely, through history, to kill one another. I believe it is a reasonable thing to pursue. It may not be the total answer, but it is a start in the right direction.

Let me remind Members that the Constitution may separate church and state, but it was never intended to separate God and the American people. We all pray for the families and grieve for the victims.

## SENSELESS VIOLENCE IN COLORADO

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

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, like my colleagues here, we all rise today to express our grief and sadness to the families of Littleton, Colorado, and once again the television sets across this country have flashed the words, ''breaking news.'' This is another incident of violence that has occurred at one of our Nation's schools.

Yesterday, senseless and tragic shooting at Columbine High School is another painful reminder of the risk our children face every day as they attend school.

Last year in my district I held several townhall meetings to discuss the issue of school violence. The interest generated by these forums provided an important dialogue for community leaders across Nevada. They are doing an important job in helping to find the solutions to prevent these terrible incidents from occurring in our State.

As Members of Congress, we have the responsibility to work in a bipartisan manner to provide our teachers, parents, students and school officials with a safe, drug-free learning environment. Our students, their education, their future and their safety demand no less.

Mr. Speaker, with a heavy heart, I yield back the balance of my time and pray for the families in Colorado.

## ONE CITIZEN, ONE VOTE

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

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call attention to the fundamental principle of one citizen, one vote. Sadly, high campaign costs and fund-raising abuses are eroding this essential feature of our democracy.

In 1976, $540 million was spent on all elections and 20 years later, in 1996, that figure had risen to an alarming $4 billion.

Our political process has become a marketplace where a higher value is placed on economic and fund-raising activities than on political ideology, accountability and service.

The American people want political commitment, not a political market. They want a system where inequalities generated by the market economy do not undermine political equality. Let us give the American people what they want: Equal access and a commitment to service instead of campaigns. Let us pass bipartisan campaign finance reform and revive the guarantee of one citizen, one vote.

## ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROGAN); the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR); the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), and a bipartisan group of legislators in introducing a resolution to bring together all the U.S. records on the Armenian Genocide and to provide this collection to the House Committee on International Relations, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Armenian Genocide Museum in Yerevan, Armenia.

U.S. archives contain extensive documentation of the widespread opposition to Ottoman Turkey's brutal massacres and deportations. They contain, as well, records of the unprecedented efforts of the American people to bring relief to the survivors of this, the century's first genocide.

In introducing this legislation, we challenge those who would deny genocide, past or present.

Please add your name today as a cosponsor of this legislation and join with me at the Armenian National Committee's Genocide Observance being held this evening at the Rayburn House Office Building.

## SISTER TO SISTER FLY-IN

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

Ms. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, for several years I have sponsored the Sister to Sister Fly-In, an event that allows women from my district to come to Washington and discuss issues that are important to them, issues like health care, child care, improved public education, and protecting Social Security.

Today, I would like to welcome some 50 women from Georgia's 4th Congressional District who are here with me to experience firsthand how our political system works and how they, as women, are changing the landscape of American politics.

Currently, 65 women serve in the U.S. Congress, a record 9 in the Senate, and a record 56 in the House. Although we have been shut out of the political process in the past, we have always been in the vanguard of social change, including women like Rosa Parks, whom we honored yesterday with the Congressional Medal of Honor.

The increased participation of women in the political process is a must for ensuring that women have an equal say in the crucial issues that affect us all.

## STOP THE VIOLENCE

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

Ms. DUNN. Mr. Speaker, there are no words to describe the tragedy that took place yesterday at Columbine High School in Colorado. As a mother, I can only empathize with those parents who were waiting for hours to find out if their son or daughter was able to leave that school safely.

These young people have seen more in a few hours than any of our Nation's children should see in a lifetime. Parents whose children were one month from graduating, one month from starting a brand-new chapter in their lives are now grieving with an inconceivable loss. This community has a heartache no one in his worst nightmare could ever have imagined.

After the school shooting in Springfield, Oregon last year, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO) and I teamed up in an effort to do something to stop the violence on our Nation's school grounds. There is no cure-all, but the Schoolyard Safety Act will help by beginning awareness before the tragedy occurs.

We know that legislation is not the final solution. High school students at Columbine reported they knew the suspects in the shooting were troubled, youths who needed our help long before the tragedy occurred. But how do we help these children before they act out violence?

A discussion needs to take place with our students across the Nation. We need to talk to our children, after they get home from school, every night at the dinner table, on weekends, to find out what they are thinking, what they are feeling. The solution is found with our children.

Mr. Speaker, nothing can stop the heartache of the community of Littleton, Colorado. We can only pray for students and families and pull our communities together to stop violence.

## TRAGEDY IN COLORADO

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

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce and a father of three children, I rise to ask for the prayers and join in the grieving for the families that lost children in Littleton, Colorado. We lost, reports indicate, maybe 16 of our children. We have lost more children in one day than we have lost in four weeks of bombing in Kosovo. We have lost children in Pearl, Mississippi and Paducah, Kentucky. We have lost children in Jonesboro, Arkansas and Springfield, Oregon. We have lost children to violence throughout the last several years.

While our children are entitled to a very good education and safe schools, we also need to enforce discipline in our schools, to target these children that are coming to school with problems in an early fashion, and we need to enforce the values in American society.

When we have guns in society, we are going to have guns in our schools. When we have violence in society, we are going to have violence in our schools. And when we have hatred in society, that hatred is going to permeate into our schools.

Let us, as Madison said, have a larger vision of America. Let us have and engage in a national dialogue to stop this hatred and violence in our schools.

## ASKING AMERICANS TO PRAY FOR FAMILIES IN LITTLETON, COLORADO

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

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, 15 years ago a childhood friend of mine from Athens, Georgia, Ross Fox, moved out to Denver to start his career and raise his family.

□ 1015

Yesterday, as I heard, as did millions of other Americans, about the tragedy that went on in Littleton, I thought immediately of Ross and 17-year-old Richard Fox and 15-year-old David Fox. I did not know if they went to Columbine or not, so I called Ross. His wife Paloma answered the phone and said they did not go there, that Ross wanted to talk to me.

Ross, who is a successful stockbroker out there, had come home earlier to hug his children and to meet them in the driveway as they went rushing out to see their dad and embrace. They did not go to Columbine, but their friends did. As recently as Sunday, David had been playing basketball with kids from Columbine.

As I called them last night, they did not know if their friends were victims or survivors. The sadness, the confusion, the overwhelming frustration and anguish, was just too much for them. As we talked on the phone last night, I think both of us had tears in our eyes.

We do not know the easy solutions, the quick answers. The tendency in society is to rush out and say we need to change this law or pass this bill, or maybe get this off TV. We do not really know what would be the one panacea that would end this sort of strange, bizarre, peculiar, repugnant type behavior and incidents.

One thing we do know: Right now this country is united with the families of the victims; that they have our sympathy and they have our prayers. As the Speaker called for prayer today, we ask other Americans to pray, and perhaps we should remember that unlike high school kids throughout the country, at least this institution can openly say a prayer for them.

## COMMERCE COMMITTEE LEGISLATION TO AMEND NUCLEAR WASTE POLICY

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

Ms. BERKLEY. Mr. Speaker, this Congress is on the verge of making a monumental mistake.

As we speak, the House Committee on Commerce is trying to pass legislation that would dump more than 70,000 tons of lethal nuclear waste just 90 miles from my hometown, Las Vegas, home to over 1 million men, women, and children.

What is worse, this bill proposes to move this waste on our Nation's highways and rail lines through 43 States through the backyards of 50 million Americans.

Mr. Speaker, it is estimated that this mobile Chernobyl will create between 200 and 400 potential deadly nuclear accidents. I ask my colleagues if such an accident occurred in their district and they voted for this legislation, what possible explanation could they give their constituents? Who would they send to clean up the radioactive mess, or care for the radioactive injured?

There is an alternative. Energy Secretary Bill Richardson has come up with a good plan to keep the deadly radioactive waste off our Nation's highways and railways. He wants the Energy Department to take control of nuclear waste at our Nation's reactor sites.

Please vote against this horrible mobile Chernobyl before it causes a nuclear accident.

## GRIEVING FOR VICTIMS OF SENSELESS VIOLENCE IN LITTLETON, COLORADO

(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, first, Pearl, Mississippi; then, West Paducah, Kentucky; then Jonesboro, Arkansas; then Edinboro, Pennsylvania; then Springfield, Ohio; and now, Littleton, Colorado. It all seems too much to bear.

We have no cure-all answers, quick and easy solutions, only questions and prayers. Parents pray for many things in life: that their children grow up to share the same values they tried to teach them, that they realize all their hopes and dreams, that they feel love, and that they love people and life.

One thing they all pray for is that their children spend their days in a safe and wholesome environment at school. There are too many schools in America where the children are not safe, where the environment is not wholesome, where positive values and experience do not triumph. It is a failing, and we must work together to answer the prayers of parents who worry every night about their children's safety.

Today we express our sorrow. We all pray and grieve for those suffering from the senseless violence in Colorado.

## VETERANS' MEMORIAL

(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, to change the subject a little bit, today, along with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. JOHN MURTHA), I will introduce legislation to authorize a memorial to honor our wounded and disabled veterans. This memorial, the only one dedicated to disabled veterans, would give the American people an opportunity to honor and express gratitude to those who sacrificed so much for our freedom.

We must never forget the terrifying human costs, physical, psychological, and spiritual, that so many paid that we might be free. They were citizen soldiers, everyday Americans who were willing to make the ultimate sacrifice, and who offered themselves for the good of all. They should never be forgotten.

This memorial will stand forever as a tribute to our disabled veterans and their sacrifices for our great Nation.

## NORTHERN CALIFORNIANS ASK REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP TO BRING MANAGED CARE REFORM TO THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE FOR DEBATE

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

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, in the last weeks dozens of national health organizations launched a nationwide online petition demanding the passage of comprehensive Bill of Rights. This would protect the basic rights of patients enrolled in managed care plans.

In my district north of the Golden Gate Bridge, even though we have some very good health maintenance organizations, people are telling me that they are very concerned about whether their health plan will be there when they need it. So they are getting on this petition, and they are asking the Republican leadership to bring the Patients' Bill of Rights forward so that we can debate it here in the Congress.

They are calling on the Speaker of the House to bring managed care reform to the Floor of the House, managed care reform that will guarantee access to emergency room care, ensure that doctors and patients, not insurance companies, have the final word on medical decisions, and give patients recourse when care is denied.

It is pretty basic, Mr. Speaker. In our health care system patients should be number one, not the almighty dollar.

## OFFERING PRAYERS TO THE GRIEVING AFTER A SENSELESS TRAGEDY

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

Mr. COOKSEY. Mr. Speaker, there is little that can be said during such moments of tragedy such as what the Nation witnessed yesterday in Colorado. There are thousands of disaffected, terribly disturbed teenagers across the country, but few will resort to violence. In this case, two of them did. Their violence was of a self-destructive sort resulting in their own self-inflicted deaths after they took the lives of innocent children.

It is all too easy for armchair psychologists to draw hasty conclusions about what explains this tragedy and the five other school shootings our Nation has witnessed over the past 2 years: guns, the culture, violence on television, nihilistic music and video games, frightening Internet sites. It is simply not possible to explain the cause.

Who could explain why millions and millions of other teenagers, nearly all exposed to the same influences, do not choose to embark on such a senseless path? It is a senseless tragedy, nothing more. We can only offer our prayers to the grieving.

## MEDICAID NURSING INCENTIVE ACT

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

Mr. OLVER. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing the Medicaid Nursing Incentive Act of 1999, and I want to thank the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. NANCY JOHNSON) and the 13 other original cosponsors, men and women from all over this country and from both parties, for joining me in this introduction.

This bill will provide direct Medicaid reimbursement for all nurse practitioners and college nurse specialists. Each year millions of Americans go without the health care they need simply because physicians are not available to treat them. From the streets of Los Angeles to the hill towns of western Massachusetts and all in between, Americans cannot find physicians who are willing to practice in their urban or small rural communities.

There is an exception to this trend, however. Nurse practitioners and clinical nurse specialists often serve in areas where others refuse to work. Federal law requires Medicaid reimbursement only for certified family and pediatric nurse practitioners and certified nurse midwives.

Extending Medicaid coverage to all nurse practitioners and clinical nurse specialists, as 22 States have done, makes good common sense. By expanding this coverage, these qualified health professionals will finally be able to provide the care so many of our constituents need.

## PRAYERS FOR THE PEOPLE OF LITTLETON, COLORADO, AND FOR CONCERNED SCHOOL OFFICIALS WORKING TO HELP CHILDREN

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

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the deaths caused by two troubled youths in Littleton, Colorado, point out the tragedy of those lonely, alienated teens in our society who feel there is no one to help, no one to turn to when their lives seem empty and pointless.

Many turn to self-destructive outlets: drugs, alcohol, nihilistic subcultures which celebrate death and destruction. They think there is no one to help them, but they are wrong. The help that is offered by parents, teachers, school psychologists and kindly guidance counselors is rejected. No one can reach them.

But those whose occupations touch the lives of our teenagers must not lose heart. They must continue to do the good work that they rightly take pride in. They must not be discouraged by the failures that they see, the children whom they cannot comfort, and the anger they cannot dispel.

Our prayers go out today to the people of Littleton, and to all those school officials who try so hard to help all of our children.

## EDUCATION FLEXIBILITY PARTNERSHIP ACT OF 1999

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 143 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 143

*Resolved*, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 800) to provide for education flexibility partnerships. All points of order against the conference report and against its consideration are waived. The conference report shall be considered as read.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. PRYCE) is recognized for 1 hour.

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to my friend, 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 143 provides for the consideration of the conference report on H.R. 800, the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999, better known as the Ed-Flex bill.

Yesterday the Committee on Rules, by a vote of 11 to zero, granted the customary rule waiving all points of order against the conference report. The House will have 1 hour to debate the merits of this legislation.

As my colleagues may recall, back in March the House passed the Ed-Flex bill by a bipartisan vote of 330 to 90.

□ 1030

The Senate followed suit by passing its Ed-Flex legislation by an overwhelming vote of 98 to 1.

It is encouraging to know that Democrats and Republicans can come together on at least one aspect of our Nation's education policy. There are numerous competing ideas for improving our schools and teaching our children; but we all agree that education, perhaps more than any other issue, will dictate our Nation's future, and it must be a top priority.

I do not think anyone would argue that many of our Nation's schools are failing, and there is no excuse. We are the world's only remaining superpower, yet we allow our children to graduate from high school without basic reading and writing skills. Something is not working. It is time to move beyond the status quo and encourage innovative reform.

Passing the Ed-Flex conference report is a good first step in the right direction. This legislation will allow all 50 States to participate in a program that gives local school districts the freedom to implement effective reforms by liberating them from restrictive one-size-fits-all Federal requirements.

This approach recognizes that the Federal Government does not have the magic pill that will remedy the ailments of each and every school. But the least we can do is clear away some of the obstacles found in onerous Federal regulations that are blocking our schools' path to improvement.

The Ed-Flex program is founded in the principle of trust, trust in our State and local leaders who we believe will make good choices for their communities. Ed-Flex has worked in the 12 States that are currently eligible, including my own State of Ohio. This success strongly suggests that we expand Ed-Flex to all 50 States, and that is what this legislation is all about.

Let us be clear. The Ed-Flex program does not simply dissolve Federal education law. We are not simply handing out money and turning our heads the other way. To be eligible for Ed-Flex, States must demonstrate that they have an effective plan for improving the education of poor and disadvantaged children, and they must agree to be held accountable for the results. In fact, this conference report strengthens the accountability provisions of current law.

All told, the conference report actually contains very few changes from the House-passed bill, and it should receive the same broad support. The bipartisan spirit surrounding the Ed-Flex

bill was carried over into the conference committee to produce a bill that both the House and Senate can approve and the President should sign.

One example of this bipartisan effort is the decision of the Republican conferees to drop a Senate amendment which the Democrats and the President opposed. The amendment would have provided additional flexibility to schools, giving them discretion to devote more funds to special education, which is a top Republican priority.

I cannot say I understand the President's opposition to giving local school districts the option of putting resources into education for children with special needs. However, I appreciate the decision of Republican conferees to compromise on this issue in the interest of quickly moving this important legislation to the President's desk where it can be signed into law.

I am pleased to report that the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Chairman GOODLING) has assured the Committee on Rules that the Republican commitment to funding special education will remain high on his committee's agenda. Other changes agreed to in the conference will ensure that our Nation's poorest schools continue to receive priority consideration for Title I funding.

In addition, the conference report clears up some confusion created by the Department of Education's interpretation of the Individuals with Disabilities Act which governs the treatment of children who possess a weapon at school. Under this legislation, it is made clear that children who possess weapons will be subject to the same discipline procedures as children who carry weapons. After yesterday's horrifying incident in Colorado, it is clear that we must enforce strict rules of no tolerance for guns in school. This is a step in that direction.

The conferees also agreed to an amendment designed to benefit rural school districts. Specifically, small school districts that reduce class size to 18 or fewer children will be allowed to devote funds to professional development without joining consortiums.

Outside of these few changes, the conference report mirrors the House-passed bill. Fifty governors, the National School Board Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Association of School Administrators all support this legislation.

So I urge my colleagues, in the spirit of bipartisanship and in the name of innovative education reform, to move expeditiously to adopt this rule and agree to the Education Flexibility Conference Report. We cannot afford to wait any longer to remove the obstacles that stand in the way of our children's opportunities to learn.

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

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, 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, I thank the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. PRYCE) for yielding me the customary time.

Mr. Speaker, even as the Committee on Rules was considering the rule to accompany H.R. 800, the Education Flexibility Partnership Act, an unspeakable tragedy was unfolding in Littleton, Colorado.

Mr. Speaker, I am a parent, and my grandson is visiting me here this week. We know what is truly precious in our lives, and we are literally heartsick over what has happened to the people of Littleton. Our prayers are said for them, and our hearts are heavy for them, and the Nation mourns their terrible loss and ours.

Mr. Speaker, we have children and family members in our schools across the country, and parents are afraid to send their children to school. But we are also members of our communities in which we live and who send us here. Here on this floor, we are elected officials with the responsibility to do what we can to guard against future tragedies. As we continue to discuss how to improve our schools, we have got to redouble our efforts to keep our children from slipping through the cracks.

I have offered legislation to provide students, educators, and communities constructive activities that they can be involved in, not just during but after-school activities to steer our children away from guns and drugs and violence. I implore this House to pass it.

This and the tragedies that other communities have endured all too recently remind us that we have children living their lives in the shadows, on the edges, children who may not be reached by traditional means, who may not be involved in traditional school activities; too many guns, too much violence in the media, too little love in our hearts, who knows for certain? But, sadly, we really cannot yet explain what is truly unexplainable. We really do not know what makes children who have lived so little feel so hopeless about the rest of their lives, but what we do not know we are obliged to try to learn.

Our efforts at after-school education and education in general cannot focus solely on students whose behavior might more readily identify them as in need or at risk. We must also cast the light of caring and concern into those shadows where our children have retreated. By doing so, we can begin to help them build the self-esteem that is crucial in their ability to respect themselves and others.

Mr. Speaker, as the author of after-school legislation, I will urge this House and this Congress to set aside funds for school districts who want to provide their students more counseling and mentoring opportunities as well as tutoring. That request and my efforts in that regard are in keeping with the legislation which we are considering today, legislation giving schools more flexibility to do what works while being accountable for the results.

Earlier last month the House passed a bill to extend the eligibility of the Ed-Flex program to all 50 States. This program, which has broad bipartisan support, allows State education agencies to waive a wide range of requirements that generally apply to certain Federal elementary and secondary education assistance programs.

Along with many of my colleagues, I stood in this very well and urged Members to consider the importance of accountability when undertaking such an endeavor.

I am pleased that, during the conference on this legislation, the majority agreed to make two important changes to this bill. First, they chose not to include language which would have reversed the decision of this body to hire and train 100,000 new teachers so that we may begin to reduce class size in the early grades. Mr. Speaker, study after study has told us the importance of doing just that. Second, they allowed a provision requiring that Title I funding must continue to give priority to schools with more than 75 percent of their children below the poverty line.

This bill is an improvement over what passed last month and, as a result, I will not oppose it. But I will remain concerned with its timing, particularly with the decision to bring it forward when the majority knows full well that these decisions will have to be reevaluated as Congress continues work on reauthorization of all of our elementary and secondary education programs.

Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of the rule.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER).

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend, the gentlewoman from New York, for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise as a coauthor of the Ed-Flex bill with the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE), and proudly proclaim that we have made it a long way in the last 8 or 9 months when we introduced this bill through committee, through the markup process, on to the floor where we had 112 Democrats support this bill, and then into a conference last week. I am delighted to say that we have accomplished this with true trust and reaching out, Democrat to Republican and Republican to Democrat.

We have improved on a pilot bill that has existed in 12 States for the last 4 years, built on the successes that the pilot program and Ed-Flex has accomplished in States like Maryland and Texas and Ohio, improved on those pilot programs, applied some of the strengths of those programs to our bill.

So that is the first reason I hope that people will vote for this conference report, that this is an old value and a new idea. The old value is to trust the local schools to do what is in their best interest, to educate our children with the right curriculum, the right values, the right discipline. We will trust those

local schools in Indiana and Delaware and California to do it.

But the new idea is to say that we are not going to keep new handcuffs on them and new regulations and new paperwork. But we are going to have one rope of accountability for this Federal money, and that is student scores and student performance. If students do better, they will stay in the Ed-Flexibility program. If their students see significant declines in their scores, they will be terminated from the program and they will go back to the old regimented system. So it is an old value. It is a new idea. It is based upon a 12-State pilot program.

The second reason is accountability. We have tougher accountability in our bill than in current law. We must make our schools accountable for better school performances from our students. This bill does it. It does it through the gateway into the program. It does it with tougher assessment and accountability standards. It does it, as I mentioned before, with the termination clause.

Thirdly, I urge my colleagues to vote for this bill because it is even improved coming out of the Senate. In the Senate they attached the Lott amendment to the bill which would have restricted the President's proposal, initiated last year, already being practiced, that allows the localities the opportunity to hire new teachers and do something about the teacher-student ratio.

The Lott amendment would have greatly curtailed the availability of that program, the applicability of that program at our local level. It would have not allowed that program to go forward. That Lott amendment has been removed. That was a concern of the President. That was a concern of some Members when they came to the floor, when this bill first went from the floor into conference. That amendment has been removed.

So I would hope that my colleagues would vote for this Ed-Flex Conference Report, and we can build on the 112 Democrats that support it on the floor. We can build on the bipartisanship that we reached in crafting this bill and getting it through to the President. The President has indicated that he will support this bill in addition to the 50 governors supporting this bill.

I look forward to helping children get a better education when this bill becomes law.

□ 1045

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER).

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I clearly want to recognize the hard work that the subcommittee chair, the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE), and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER) put into this legislation, and I clearly want to state that I strongly support the concept of increased flexibility to improve educational programs at the local level, and I have voted for the original legislation, Goals 2000, which was to establish the Ed-Flex program, but I must say, after viewing the conference report, that I come at it from a different direction with respect to accountability.

I think it is time that the Federal Government, in its use of the taxpayers' money to fund the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, start to hold the States and local districts accountable for the education of all children. We all know that public officials today are talking about holding people accountable but rarely do we, in fact, do it.

Most recently, as we have started a program of high standards and assessment of how students are doing on those standards, we now see we are plagued with school districts all over the country that are taking poor performing students out of the testing pool so that it will look like they are doing better when they report to the parents in that school district. It will look like everybody achieved better. But what they did is they went around and took the tests of the kids that were not doing so well out of the pool. They rigged the results, and now they want to say that they are accountable.

Just recently a prosecution was entered against a school district in Texas for tampering with the public evidence. That is why we need accountability. We need accountability because we must know how all of our children are doing, in rich school districts, in poor school districts, how minority children are doing, how poor children are doing, and others. Unfortunately, this legislation is weak on accountability. They have failed to require the States aggregate the data so that those States will be held responsible for all students. They give a passing notion that maybe they will look at it by groups, but even there the language has been weakened from what the House put in.

In the committee and on the floor the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE), the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), and myself offered an amendment to try to hold school districts accountable, to try to make sure that we, in fact, knew how children were doing, because the time has come when we must, in fact, make sure.

We have now invested over the last decade maybe $50, $60 billion in this program, and one of the great hallmarks was touted the other day when it was suggested that the reading scores have improved. Yes, they have. They have improved back to where they were in 1990. So we have invested $60 billion in a program and we are getting ready to invest another $60 billion in the program and yet we are unable as public stewards of public policy and of the taxpayers' money to ask the States what is it we can expect in the way of success 5 years from now? Because what we have gotten over the last decade is failure.

If we are going to put the public's money back into this program, we want to know how are they going to measure and how are they going to tell how these students are doing. Unfortunately, that evidence failed, and that is why I must oppose this legislation.

I think a number of States that have engaged in some of the provisions that are allowed under flexibility have done some very good things, and the committee heard testimony from States like Texas and Maryland and North Carolina that do not have it but are engaged in that kind of process, to rethink how they are delivering education. But flexibility cannot be an excuse for accountability. They must go hand-in-hand, and, unfortunately, the evidence we have to date through the GAO report, through the Inspector General's report tells us that the States have not done terribly well under the pilot program and, unfortunately, this legislation does not go far enough to hold them accountable.

No longer can we as a society write children off. No longer can we accept the level of failures that we see today in our local school districts. The time has come to cut the mustard. The time has come to hold districts accountable, to hold States accountable for the uses of these dollars, and I do not think we can continue to accept a lot of rationales for why districts should not be held accountable.

It is rather simple. We know there are proposals that have been submitted to the Federal Government to hold districts accountable in a very strict fashion. Then we would be able to tell how this Nation is doing in education. Today we cannot. Today, many of the States cannot put the data together to tell us how their schools are doing or, at best, they can tell us how the average student is doing but it does not tell us how the other students are doing.

I urge a ''no'' vote on the conference report.

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HAYES).

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to report back to my colleagues of the enthusiastic response I received from my time in the district at a number of schools about the Ed-Flex legislation.

I rise today to speak in favor of the rule, but let me begin by saying, Mr. Speaker, how deeply sorry I am for the parents, classmates, friends and families of the students who perished and were wounded in the tragic events of yesterday in Littleton, Colorado. I am truly sick with grief over this tragedy, and I pledge to the mourning families and all Americans alike that I will do all I can as a Member of Congress to end the senseless violence preying on our students, our families, and our communities.

After initial passage of the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999 in March, I spent time during the Easter recess in the classrooms of the schools of my 8th District in North Carolina talking to teachers, students, and administrators about Ed-Flex. This bill will allow innovative ideas in teaching to evolve at the local level.

I spoke with Captain Jack L. Ahart at A L Brown High School in Kannapolis, North Carolina, who is teaching civics in his JROTC class. He told me that Ed-Flex will allow him to incorporate more computers into his classroom and expand the students' learning experience.

I spoke with Scott Bennett and his 9th grade history students at Ellerbee Junior High regarding their visit to Washington, D.C. and Mr. Bennett's creative involvement with the kids' experiences in the classroom environment.

I spoke with Miss Pam Van Riper and Principal Kevin Wimberly at Wingate Elementary School about the challenges they face in a rural community.

Each of these teachers are excited about the possibilities that greater freedom to work within their local school districts will provide in the way of a better learning experience for all their students.

As I have said before, Ed-Flex addresses the basic fact that what works in New York City does not necessarily work in Rockingham, North Carolina. I encourage my colleagues to support the rule and to show our teachers in the classroom that we support their hard work and their new ideas.

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Fort Wayne, Indiana (Mr. SOUDER).

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentlewoman from Ohio, and want to again commend those who have worked so hard for this bill; to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING), and subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE) castle, and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER), my colleague from an adjacent district.

It has been a long process, but we are nearing the end of at least this small step towards flexibility for schools in Indiana and around this country. I say it is a small step because we should not kid ourselves. We had other opportunities and will have more opportunities to actually make funding available. I personally am very disappointed that we had to withdraw the Senate amendment that would have allowed some of these funds to be used from last year's teachers program, if a school so chose, for IDEA.

Because, in fact, this sets parameters for the Federal Government to grant waivers under certain conditions, but that would have given real dollar flexibility to schools if they felt that they had their class size down. Like in Indiana, where we have mandated that the class size go down, many of the schools have reached those class sizes. Therefore, they are not eligible for the teachers funds in most cases and they would like to be able to use their money for IDEA.

So to some degree, when we micromanage from Washington, we punish those States that have actually done a better job of fixing certain conditions and problems in their States and to reward those States that have not done it. That is why we cannot micromanage schools all over America. We need to have flexibility.

Unlike many bills that come out of the House, this is at least slightly better than when it went into conference committee. So we have a little bit more flexibility, but I am very disappointed that we had to yield on the House side and the Senate withdrew on the Lott amendment. We will revisit that subject.

Because one consequence of looking at the terrible tragedy of yesterday in Colorado ought to be to say it is not the school's fault. The schools and the teachers are struggling with tremendous social problems in this country. We in Washington should not try to tell them how to do it. We need to help them in their local flexibility, not by having more standards or more accountability.

The problem here is not that they are not reporting enough to us. The problem is they are fighting in their local communities with how to deal with the terrible problems of reading, of social adjustments, of violence on television. We need to give them the flexibility in their schools that says, what is that particular school's need for their high-risk students? Are some emotionally disadvantaged? Do some have physical handicaps that they are short of money on? Do some have particular reading needs where they have LDD or ADD, or is it their class size is too big, or do they need school construction or do they need it for computers?

The local people know this. They are committed to education. We should not sit here in Washington and say we do not trust our teachers, we do not trust our principals, we do not trust our school boards, we do not trust our superintendents. They are on the line. They are fighting every day. They have terrible problems they are struggling with, and we need to help them by giving them flexibility, and this bill is a first step.

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

Ms. PRYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time, and just say in closing that I want to emphasize once again this is a bipartisan bill. The conference report is virtually identical to the bill that the House passed by a vote of 330 to 90. All of my colleagues who supported this legislation back in March should register their support again today.

Let us take the first step toward education reform together by voting ''yes'' on both the rule and the Ed-Flex conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House resolution 143, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 800) to provide for education flexibility partnerships.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCHUGH). Pursuant to House Resolution 143, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of April 20, 1999, at page H2144.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. CLAY) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING).

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

This morning we had a panel discussion on bipartisanship in education, and I indicated to them at that time that they really were missing some people that should be on the panel, and those people, I reminded them, were the press. Because just yesterday, as a matter of fact, my staffer said to the press, we will have a press conference on education flexibility and the response was, ''Oh, the fight's over. We only cover fights.''

I say that simply because in the last 2 years we had the most effective education effort in the history of the Congress of the United States in a bipartisan fashion. The Higher Education Act, the new Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, the Reading Excellence Act, the Perkins Vocational Educational Amendments, the Work Force Investment Act, the Head Start Reauthorization, the Charter Schools Expansion Act, and the Child Nutrition Reauthorization Act all passed the House and the Senate with more than three-fourths of the total vote.

□ 1100

So we start out the new year with another bipartisan effort. As was mentioned several times, it passed overwhelmingly here in a bipartisan effort, and I think it was something like 97–1 or 98–2 or something of that nature in the other body.

Well, the bill is Ed-Flex; and Ed-Flex is about giving local schools and districts the freedom to do things a little differently if they can demonstrate it is in the best interest of the children and then prove by using performance data that it works. Ed-Flex gives the local schools the freedom to request permission to make some of these changes.

It is not that the Federal Government was necessarily wrong when it passed the law. It is impossible for Congress to design programs that effectively and adequately address the

needs of every school district in the Nation.

If a school district can demonstrate that they have a more effective way of helping poor and disadvantaged children improve faster and are willing to be accountable for the results, the Federal Government should want to remove all obstacles as soon as possible.

And accountability we have in the bill is proportional to the flexibility we are giving. States cannot take their Federal dollars and turn it into a block grant, so we should not require any more of States than we give them.

It was mentioned that some people in some areas removed people from tests in order to show that they have done better. Well, I want to remind my colleagues that those tests that were talked about were Federal tests, were the NAEP tests; and I assume the Federal Government permitted them to remove those students from taking those tests. If they did not permit it, then they should not have been crowing about the fact that there have been tremendous gains under this administration because of the results of those tests. They were Federal tests.

I want to take this opportunity to thank those people who have been instrumental in crafting the legislation and guiding it through the legislative process. First of all, I would like to thank the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER) for all of their efforts to produce a bipartisan bill that grants real flexibility to States.

I would like to thank the members of the conference committee, the Republican members of the House Committee for their efforts, as well as Senators FRIST, WYDEN and JEFFORDS, who moved this legislation through a grueling process on the Senate side.

Many thanks to all the 50 governors who supported this bill, but in particular to Governor Ridge of Pennsylvania and Governor Carper of Delaware.

Then I would like to thank many staff members, some of which I will forget, who worked long and hard on the legislation: Christine Wolfe and Kent Talbert; Sally Lovejoy and Vic Klatt; Melanie Merola and Booth Jameson; and Gina Mohoney, Jo-Marie St. Martin, and Pam Davidson, to mention a few.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this conference report for the same reason that I voted against the original bill, H.R. 800. This report fails to include strong accountability provisions and fails to adequately protect Title I provisions that target assistance to our poorest children.

It is legislative folly, Mr. Speaker, to let States and school districts waive the Elementary and Secondary Act before its reauthorization has been even drafted or passed. To proclaim an urgent need for this bill is part of the folly and the foolishness.

Current law authorizes Secretary Riley to give flexibility to States and school districts by waiver. And the Secretary has granted hundreds of waivers to school districts based on requests that permitted flexibility yet preserved the sound principles of accountability and targeting the funds to areas of greatest educational need.

But, Mr. Speaker, this bill creates unprecedented loopholes for States and school districts to avoid their obligation to serve poor school children first. It eliminates the long established requirement that only schools with poverty rates of 50 percent or greater can create school-wide programs with these Federal funds.

This bill permits States to serve wealthier schools before serving poor ones and allows States to reduce per-student allocations at poor schools or pass over poor schools entirely to fund those wealthier schools.

This conference report also strikes the sunset provision sponsored by the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE) which was contained in the House-passed bill. The Kildee provision would have required us to review these waiver provisions during the ESEA reauthorization. Despite the strong recommendation by Secretary Riley to consider the waiver provisions as part of the reauthorization of ESEA, the majority conferees agreed to strike the sunset provision.

I am pleased however, Mr. Speaker, that the conferees did support my motion instructing conferees to strike the Lott amendment. This amendment was a reckless abandonment of our commitment to parents and students to reduce class sizes. By striking the Lott amendment, we ensured that the $1.2 billion class size reduction fund will be made available this July as promised.

Now that we are nearing the completion of this bill, I hope that we can go to work on reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and other education priorities. Mr. Speaker, we must act to authorize the class size reduction program so we can finish the job of hiring 100,000 new teachers that we started last year.

We should help communities struggling to pay for school modernization by supporting the Clinton school construction legislation. We must also continue our work to help communities recruit new, highly qualified teachers, and to strengthen accountability for our elementary and secondary education programs.

So I urge Members to vote ''no'' on this legislation because it fails to contain minimum accountability provisions and basic protections for poor school children. We should vote against this proposal because it permits Federal funds to be taken from those students in greatest need and given to those in least need.

Mr. Speaker, I urge a ''no'' vote.

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

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield what time he may consume to the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE), former Governor of Delaware, one of the authors of the legislation and the subcommittee chair.

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING) not only for yielding but for the excellent input and value the assistance that he gave to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER) and to myself in getting this bill to the place where it is today. We appreciate that tremendously.

I do rise today in absolute full support of the conference report to H.R. 800, the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999. I cannot thank the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER) enough. He was there through thick and thin. We went through about 8 or 9 months of this. We thought we were going to get it done last year. We were not able to do so. We were able to come back and get it done this year. And I think this is a day of great hope for both the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER) and myself and I think for all of us in Congress and the school kids across the country.

I would also like to acknowledge particularly the help of my Governor, who is both my predecessor and successor because he is now the Governor of Delaware, Tom Carper. His pushing for this was tremendously helpful amongst all the governors, as well.

The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER) and I introduced this legislation because we believe it will provide schools and their students with the tools to improve academic achievement. It allows local school districts to think outside the box, which is something we needed forever, in order to design a system that is truly focused on improving student performance.

Instead of having to plan a specific project around a set of separate and conflicting program requirements, which is so often the case now, now the districts will be able to develop a vision of how to use local, State, and Federal resources to more effectively improve student performance and to make that vision a reality.

This will extend education flexibility to all 50 States. We all need to understand that 12 of our States have it now. They have used it extraordinarily well. They have shown dramatic improvement in certain areas. Now all of our States are going to be able to use it, which we think is of vital importance, as well.

We have measurably improved current law by increasing that flexibility and making more programs eligible for Ed-Flex waivers. In fact, one of the things in the conference was the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund, and that is I think an important step as well.

Under the conference agreement, States are required to submit clear educational objectives and locals are required to set specific and measurable

objectives. So while the gentleman from California (Mr. MILLER) apparently is not going to support it, a lot of what he had to say I think ended up being incorporated, not as far as he wanted to go of course, in what we are doing. And in that way I think his position on this was constructive, as well.

We have also improved current law by providing protections for Title I schools and students. Now, this is important, because Title I is a program that all of us should be legitimately concerned about. It is a program which basically is aimed at those school districts which have more children in poverty than others. And for the first time in a demonstrable way under Ed-Flex, particularly in Maryland and Texas, we are seeing test scores from Title I schools which are actually showing dramatic improvement for those students who are poorer students in those schools, because of things they were able to put together through the Ed-Flex program.

That is something that has been undemonstrated over all the years with all the monies put into Title I. So it is a tremendous help for that reason. I hope my colleagues will consider that when they come to the floor to vote on this particular piece of legislation.

The Senate, as we know, prohibited waivers to the requirement that school districts must allocate funds to schools with more than 75 percent poverty first, and in the rank order. And we said in the House provision, we had a different measure in the conference report that basically retained both of these measures, which provides a lot of protections to people in the Title I programs.

Now, who supports this bill? And this is important I think for all of us to consider. It was reported out of committee in March here in the House by a vote of 33–9. It was passed in the House by a vote of 330 yeas to 90 nays, both parties voting in the majority for it. It was passed in the Senate by a vote of 98 yeas to 1 nay.

Last week it was reported out of conference by voice vote. It has the support of every single governor in this country. And as a former governor, I can attest to the fact that getting all 50 governors to agree to anything is a miracle.

In addition, it has received support from the administration and other education organizations around the country. It is a good strong bill that each and every one of us can proudly support because it supports schools and students, it loosens the reins of the Federal Government, and allows for creativity in student learning. Ed-Flex will help our Nation's schools, and I hope we will all support it.

I would like to close, Mr. Speaker, this probably will not help with the problems directly in Littleton, Colorado, and I do not even want to connect it to that. But since we are discussing education on the floor, my own grief in this situation and sorrow for the people out there is something that I should state and that everybody in this country feels.

I do not know if the problem is with our ability to obtain guns, it is with our families, it is with the perhaps lack of help needed in school to help the children who seem to have troubles, or it is a societal problem at large with all the activities we read about, cults and everything else. So there are no easy answers. But I, for one, believe we need a national discussion on this issue; and I hope, if there is anything possibly good that could ever come out of a tragedy like that, it is that we have that discussion.

I appreciate the time that the chairman has yielded me. I would ask for my colleagues' support for the Ed-Flex legislation.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KILDEE).

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, the bill before the House today does not have the full scope of provisions which I and other Democrats have sought during the several months which we have worked on this legislation.

The conference report on H.R. 800 does, however, make much-needed improvements to the existing Ed-Flex demonstration program in the areas of accountability and targeting of resources, and because of this will receive my support today.

The existing Ed-Flex demonstration program is found by GAO to require little accountability for increased student achievement. The gentleman from California (Mr. MILLER) and I offered an amendment, both in committee and on the floor, which attempted to address these concerns.

While this amendment was not adopted, the legislation's provision requiring the Secretary to judge the specificity and measurability of a State's educational goals and strengthen reporting requirements, including the requirement to provide reliable and accurate data on student performance, are improvements over the existing demonstration program that will provide us with the information we need to truly analyze the link between flexibility and student performance.

In addition, while the existing Ed-Flex demonstration program allows waivers of nearly all Title I targeting protections, this new legislation ensures that States must continue to fund the highest poverty schools and have only marginal flexibility in sending Title I dollars to lower poverty schools.

It is important to note that even existing Ed-Flex States, such as Michigan, once their opportunity to operate under the present authority expires, will have to apply under the stricter requirements of this legislation.

I was also pleased that the conferees realized the importance of dropping the Lott amendment dealing with class size reduction and IDEA funding. This amendment injected politics into what was a healthy debate over the policy objectives of expanding flexibility, and pitted the needs of disabled children against non-disabled children.

□ 1115

This was an ill-advised amendment, and its absence from the conference report is critical to the success of today's legislation.

Overall, I believe this bill makes some needed improvements to the present Ed-Flex demonstration programs. It is not the bill I would have written, but it is a bill I will vote for. I think it is vital to reexamine the decisions made in this legislation in the context of the policy decisions we make during our work this Congress. That is why I wanted the sunset, but we put language in the report talking about this reexamination.

While I will support the legislation before the House today, I strongly believe we need to revisit Ed-Flex to ensure that the steps taken by this bill to ensure accountability and protect targeting of resources are sufficient. I look forward to this reexamination of Ed-Flex during our deliberations in ESEA.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from New Jersey (Mrs. ROUKEMA), a senior member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for having yielded this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation and appreciate the fact that we have yet again seen another demonstration of bipartisan support, and I think that is very important for all of us to understand, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING) has already referenced. But I want to make a couple of points here about how I think we are meeting the needs here.

Certainly one of the most important things, in my opinion, is that we are preserving State and local control in terms of what Ed-Flex is doing for us. The decisions about our children's education should be made by parents and educators and at the local and State level, not by politicians in Washington, D.C., and I think that is terribly important for us to protect. We in Washington should be supporting and supplementing those efforts and giving direction but not overriding them.

So, aside from, however, the local control and State control aspect of this, I think this legislation very well preserves accountability, accountability that will require the States and the school districts to make their own decisions, but they must meet specific and measurable educational objectives. The school may apply for a waiver, but they must justify that waiver when the application is made, and I think the

bill very well puts that into not only perspective but into enforceable ways. Ed-Flex gives greater authority to the States to determine their particular goals but holds them accountable.

In terms of the accountability, I think this bears repeating and stressing. The accountability means first that under the monitoring provisions the States and local educational agencies must report their progress on how they are specifically meeting their goals. Secondly, regulations relating to parental involvement cannot be waived. I think that is very important. And third, by providing public notice and comment for application for waivers Ed-Flex recognizes the importance of community input and so that there must be notification for that kind of waiver.

In summary I guess, Mr. Speaker, I would say that this legislation gives authority over decisions concerning children's education to principals, teachers, parents and local communities, where in my opinion it belongs. That is the only way we can strengthen our public school system, and I think this will be an extraordinarily valuable tool for advancing the quality of education across the Nation.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER).

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend and my ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. CLAY) for the time, and I appreciate his friendship while we have disagreed on the policy of this legislation.

I rose to speak on the rule, Mr. Speaker, so I will not get into the specifics and the minutiae and the detail of the legislation that I have offered with my good friend from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE). I did want to thank two additional people. I want to thank Governor Frank O'Bannon, who worked this issue very, very hard for our delegation in the State of Indiana and with his colleagues at the National Governors' Association, and I also want to thank Gina Mahony, who without good staff, we do not go as far as we would like and we are not as important as we think as a Member of Congress, where we have and are blessed with great staff in this body, and I wanted to thank her for her help.

I also want to talk about the larger picture of education. It has been very difficult, Mr. Speaker, to penetrate through the press, through the stories of impeachment and now war, about some of the successes we have had in bipartisan ways on education. We have written a bipartisan bill on charter schools and public choice, which is helping. We have written and passed a bill on alternative route certification to get more people in mid careers into the teaching profession. That is helping. We passed a down payment on teacher ratio last year, 30,000 of the 100,000 teachers, and we need to emphasize quality of those teachers. That is helping. And now today we have education flexibility, which will soon pass.

But we need even more arrows for the quiver. We need a national dialogue. James Madison talked about a larger vision of America, and we need that now for our most important issue in America, which is education.

When we talk about Kosovo, Mr. Speaker, and we will soon talk about an emergency supplemental for our troops in Kosovo, we do not talk about are we going to fund Apaches, or F–16s; are we going to fund F–15s, or are we going to fund B–2 bombers? We are going to get the troops the support they need. And now, with the most important issue we face in this country, our next step after Ed-Flex, we need to make sure we fund IDEA, but it does not have to come out of education funds, it should be out of a tax cut. We need to look at how we fund more troops to teachers. That is an idea that has worked, moving people from the military into the teaching profession; we need to move it into the private sector. We need to look at ways by which we put safe schools as a priority and have a national dialogue on more of our guns in society penetrating more of our schools, more of our hatred in society penetrating our schools.

Let us rise to James Madison's call for a national dialogue, and let us address all these education issues in a fair and bipartisan and thorough way in the future.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. ISAKSON), our newest member on the committee and an outstanding Member.

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a fortunate privilege for me to have been elected to this House in a special election, even more fortunate to have met the two principal cosponsors in my first committee meeting in education and for that to have dealt with the Ed-Flex bill, and I obviously stand in support of the conference report and in support of the initiative, but in particular to address the question of the national dialogue.

I would like to share for just a minute what a great first step I think this Congress is taking, but I would like to share it not from the perspective of a Congressman who stands and thinks he knows a lot about a subject, but rather from one who just fortunately, the last act I did in Georgia before I left to come here was a submission of the $5 billion state education budget for the State of Georgia, 97.2 percent of which was State tax dollars and local government tax dollars, but 2.8 percent of which was money, much of it covered by the flexibility we are now granting in terms of regulations and rules within seven categorical programs.

Giving flexibility and the ability to waive Federal and state standards on the spending of this money with accountability to ensure that after 2 years there must be improvement and cannot be a decline is a great gift to the people in public education, our States. The fact of the matter is the amount of money necessary for creativity in education at the local level is shrinking every day because of mandates that we pass on in our areas or mandates the general assemblies pass on. But it is those small dollars that sometimes flexibility is granted upon that bring about the greatest of change.

I just like to give one example which both gives credit to a school back in Georgia, but also demonstrates precisely what I think we are on the verge of doing in this country. I attended a school that was about to be closed 3 years ago. It is 100 percent free and reduced lunch, total poverty, surrounded by a chain link fence with razor wire. It was my first visit as the chairman of the State Board of Education, and my visit was because we had been asked to grant substantial waivers by that principal, a new principal, of State rules to try and allow him to get his hands around the problems of discipline and despair and a system that was failing. Two years later the school was turned around in large measure because we granted at the State level the flexibility to allow that school to deal with the difficulties it was confronting, and a school that was hopeless, maybe even hapless, was turning around the lives of poor and disadvantaged children.

It is my belief that the flexibility granted in this act, in the programs that it governs, is the beginning of greater flexibility that we can grant to educators that deal with the most precious asset we have and hopefully will be the foundation upon what national dialogue we do have on many other areas where this Congress and this country must focus on our greatest asset and resource of all, and that is the children of the parents of the United States of America.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PAYNE).

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

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us today boasts better flexibility while allocating Federal funds in school districts, but I have to say a number of times, as I have done in the past in reference to Ed-Flex, if we want to give States the flexibility they desire, we need to get in return some type of assurance that funds will still go to low income Title I children as Title I was created to do.

Title I funds are supposed to go to children in disadvantaged school districts or children who are disadvantaged. This bill will give school districts and States the right to take Title I funds and spread them among other students in the school that are not necessarily disadvantaged. This dilutes the entire purpose of Title I, and it will leave students who are poor and indeed in need of special attention without the help they need.

The final version of the bill will ensure schools with poverty levels of

above 75 percent are served Title 1 funds first, and it retains language from the House bill that allows a larger number of schools to receive Title I funds only if the number of children living in poverty is at most 10 percent below the districtwide poverty level. This seems the least we can do to protect the children who are most in need of Title I funds.

But I was supportive of even stronger measures to assure that those students were being served during the House consideration of the Ed-Flex bill, and I continue to believe that language addressing targeting in Title I schoolwide programs must be included in this bill. The absence of such language is one of the reasons that I cannot support the final version of this bill we are asked to vote on today.

Additionally, as the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER) has stated, much of the language in the House bill that improved the reporting and accountability measures of those states and school districts that are given Ed-Flex authority has been removed from the final version of this bill. The absence of strong accountability language will leave us in the dark about how effective Ed-Flex has been, and I know no one wants to revisit Ed-Flex issues, preferably during the reauthorization of Elementary and Secondary Education Act, with little or no information about how it works and who it is working for. But it looks like that will be the case because without accountability and without targeting for schoolwide programs, I continue to oppose this bill, because it is not, in my opinion, in the best interest of people that Title I was supposed to serve, those who are disadvantaged, and with the lack of accountability we are moving in the dark as we move towards more legislation.

□ 1130

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FOLEY), and I want to take this opportunity to thank his father publicly, since I never wrote a thank you note, for the fine golf match we had when I visited Florida a couple of years ago.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, while the gentleman brings up the subject of my father, I am the proud son of an educator, a public school teacher and a public school principal. So I have grown up in a home where education came first, and dealing in the public setting, public education was vitally important. So I suggest, as we look at the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999, capably brought to this floor by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Chairman GOODLING), we see an issue now that can give local schools, local officials, the tools they need to educate our students.

We know the Federal Government contributes less than 7 percent to our overall budget for schools, but it is our responsibility here in this Chamber to ensure that this funding has the greatest possible impact, and Ed-Flex, this bill, does just that. By handing control back to local educators, Ed-Flex gives schools the flexibility to navigate the mire of federally imposed and often conflicting program requirements.

Our good friend, the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE), traveled to Florida on his own time this past month to visit with educators, to visit with school board members, to visit with parents and students in a panel we set up, and there was over 3 hours of discussion and debate.

One of the things that became most clear from each of those who contributed to the dialogue was please unleash us from the shackles of mandates from the Federal Government. We want to teach. We want to be face-to-face with students. We want to make a difference. We want to seek alternatives. We want to do things that will enable us to bring children up in the 21st Century with the tools they need to be successful.

Regrettably, in Washington, everybody here in this city thinks they have got a better idea of how to mandate just a little opportunity for the kids back home.

My father is a principal and a Marine and a person who loves this country. He was often spending hours at his desk just trying to read the books that they were sending from the DOE down to the Department of Education in Tallahassee. He would read all these volumes of books, and he was conflicted about what to do, how to teach, how to give guidance to teachers in his school.

So I rise in very strong support of this measure. I know it will result in efficiencies, in greater improvement in the school system, in higher academic achievements, because we will unleash the potential of teachers who best know how to solve the academic dilemmas of their students.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

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

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. CLAY), the ranking member, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, first of all I want to commend my good friends, the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ROEMER) for the bipartisan spirit in which they approached this legislation. It is a good peace of legislation.

As a member of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, I am proud to stand here on the floor in support of the legislation. As I travel around my district in western Wisconsin meeting with the educators and parents, one of the constant refrains they continuously tell me in regards to programs that they are in charge of implementing is to give us some flexibility so we can implement some creative and innovative ideas that work at the local level. That is what this legislation will give them.

I think the other provision, important provision in this legislation, is equally as important, and that is the accountability provisions that exist. That is what we policymakers need so when we go home and face the people that we represent and look them in the eyes we can tell them that their money is being wisely spent.

One of the other issues that the administrators and educators and parents continuously tell us is, yes, we like the flexibility; in fact, heap on all the accountability on us, but do not underfund the programs that we are being asked to implement. Give us the resources we need to make the changes that are necessary to improve quality education at the local level.

The Committee on Education and the Workforce just this last Monday had a field hearing in Chicago with the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT), where we met with Paul Vallas, chief executive officer of Chicago Public schools, and others in charge of the reforms happening at the Chicago public school system. That was something that he emphasized time and time again, is that give us flexibility, give us all the accountability as well, but also make sure that the programs are funded that we need to succeed.

That is going to be the true mark of whether or not we succeed in this session. The hallmark of the 106th session should not just be how much we can increase defense spending but whether or not we are going to increase the commitment of education reform and the quality of education for our children. That is the test that we face in this session of Congress.

Let us hope that, working together in a bipartisan spirit, we are going to rise and meet that test and not fail it, for the sake of our children.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER).

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I think it comes down to this: We ran a pilot project on educational flexibility with 12 different States and when we got back the results of that pilot project, what we found was that essentially 9 or 10 of those States gave us back educational babble about what they were going to do with this money and how they were going to be accountable for the money in terms of the performance of their students, in terms of how well their students were able to improve their mathematics scores, their reading capabilities and their critical thinking.

We got back educational babble about realizing the potential of the

educational atmosphere to enhance the environment, to improve the capabilities of the students to perform better. Babble.

One State, the State of Texas, came back to us and said, in exchange for flexibility our goal in the State of Texas over the next 5 years, in a numerical sense, is to have 90 percent of our students pass the Texas State Assessment, and to go beyond that, to have 90 percent of our Hispanic students, 90 percent of our African-American students, 90 percent of our poor students, pass the Texas State Assessment. That is how we wish to be measured, and we put into the State law and into our agreement with the Federal Government that that is our goal.

I do not know whether Texas will make it or not, and I am not here to micromanage the system to tell them how to make it, but at least they came forward and set down on the table a numerical means by which they were prepared to be measured. They also told us that they would be using the same assessment from year-to-year.

This bill does not require the same assessment from year-to-year. Numerical goals, this bill does not require numerical goals. There is no requirement here that States make the effort to close the gap between minority students and majority students, and yet in the most recent assessment we have received, after pouring billions of dollars into this program, the gap between Hispanic and white students, the gap between African-American and white students, continues to increase, continues to increase, but there is no requirement here or accountability for school districts to try and to close that gap.

There is no accountability here that we have an assessment system so we can measure that over the life of this program. I think it is important to understand that that is the difference about why we support or oppose this legislation, that this legislation continues to put the Federal Government in the position of being the enabler, being the enabler of States not having to be accountable, not having to be accountable for the performance of all students, not the average student, not some students but all students, so then we can measure whether or not we as the investors of the public money, some $60 billion to $70 billion over the next 5 years, whether or not we are getting a return on our investment that the public is in fact entitled to.

We cannot assure the public that we can get that return on the investment and therefore I will vote ''no″ on this conference report.

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

Mr. Speaker, let me say that I once again urge all Members to vote against this legislation for two reasons. One, that it fails to contain minimum accountability provisions and, two, that the basic protections for spending Federal money in the poorest districts have been stripped away from this legislation. I urge a ''no'' vote on this.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I too want to join my colleagues in indicating to the people of Colorado who are going through a very, very difficult time, and many of those young men and young women will have that scar with them for years to come, that our thoughts and our prayers in the Congress of the United States are certainly with them.

Some years ago, the State of Pennsylvania introduced a program called Communities that Care. They gave an opportunity to local school districts to join in that effort if they wished. Communities that Care is a research-based prevention program that identifies and seeks to reduce the risk factors that make children vulnerable to crime. I am very proud of one of several of the districts in my district that took advantage of this opportunity.

I, at one point, was the president of the school board, and the Dallastown area school district joined in this effort. They joined with the Healthy York County Coalition, which is an affiliate of the York Health Systems, because that system had determined that the greatest health problems that we faced in the area were those dealing with violence.

One of the things that the Dallastown area school district did is started tracing early in the elementary career of a student just exactly what their attendance factors show. It became very evident to them that as these early childhood children, in elementary school, were missing more and more school, there certainly had to be a reason and a cause.

One of the things that they did was assign a high school mentor to each of these children that were having difficulty in elementary school, and in 90 percent of those cases those mentors became very, very positive role models for those children. The whole effort was to steer them away from violence, to keep them in school and to do well in school, just a program that is working and a program that, of course, I think will be duplicated and replicated and is being replicated all over the country.

Early intervention is very, very important and those signs show up very, very early in a child's life in elementary school. We need to deal with those problems early on to prevent what we have seen happen yesterday and what is happening across the country on an all too regular basis.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 800, the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999. But on behalf of the students, parents and educators of my district in Orange County, California, I'd like to remind you of a few things.

Yes, the ''Ed Flex'' bill returns the decision-making power to our local school districts. And that's why I support this bill, because teachers, parents and administrators know what's best for our kids.

But remember that this isn't the only problem facing American schools. You don't have to look any further than the TV screen in the wake of yesterday's tragedy to know that schools have other problems to deal with.

Particularly in states like California, schools are struggling to keep up with the demands of educating a student population with growing needs. And they're doing it with a level of federal support that hasn't kept up with these trends.

In particular, schools are bursting at the seams. Kids are going to school in portables and rooms that used to be closets. They're going to school in split schedules, they're going to school on different year-around plans, they're taking double lunches—all in order to keep them from overflowing our buildings.

I've introduced HR 415, The Expand and Rebuild America's Schools Act. It enables local communities to raise the bond money they need—if and when the voters approve—to build new schools and classrooms.

My fellow colleagues, Ed Flex is great. But all the educational flexibility in the world does no good in a school with no place to put it to use. So as we prepare to give this bill our final stamp of approval, let us not forget that this is just a beginning. We have so much more work to do.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the managers of this bill. This a very important step in the process to move educational control back to the local level. After all, a government that governs closest to the people governs best, and this bill promotes this principle.

I do, however, want to express my disappointment that language that would have allowed school districts to use class-size reduction funds to cover their special-education budget shortfalls was removed from the H.R. 800 conference report. This was an important piece of the education flexibility bill and it would have been a great benefit to schools struggling to fund their special-education budgets.

Mr. Speaker, the state of Wisconsin is experiencing a huge special-education shortfall. In the name of special-education, the federal government has put in place unfunded manages that are crippling schools in Wisconsin and throughout the country.

For example, I have spoken with Mr. Tom Everett, the Janesville, Wisconsin school superintendent back in the First District about his special education budget shortfall. Dr. Everett explained that the Janesville School system has a $191,000 special-education budget shortfall. Average class-size in the Janesville School system for grades K–3 is between 18–20 students. Janesville *doesn't* have a problem with overcrowding. Had the special-education provision been included in the conference report, Dr. Everett would have been able to use the $187,000 allocated to his school system under the President's class-size reduction to cover their special-education shortfall. In fact, it would have covered the shortfall almost completely.

Mr. Speaker, I will vote in favor of this legislation because it will promote flexibility at both the state and federal level, and it will provide the opportunity for schools administrators to ''think outside the box'' and design systems that truly focus on improving student performance. This is a very good bill. However, the

special-education language would have made it an even better piece of legislation.

Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, today I am glad to support the conference report for the Education Flexibility Act of 1999.

As one of the twelve pilot states, Oregon has been able to utilize this program to avoid bureaucratic hurdles and simplify efforts to reform our school system.

The Ed-Flex program has provided new opportunities to create partnerships between community colleges and high schools throughout my state.

Rather than creating two separate and duplicative programs, community colleges and high schools have worked together to improve their professional technical education programs.

This flexibility has resulted in an increased number of students graduating from high school.

The Act also allows for flexibility in regulations and requirements so that schools can maximize efforts to produce results.

The Oregon Department of Education has been able to utilize the program to simplify its planning and application process.

This has allowed local school districts the ability to develop a single plan that meets state and federal planning requirements, consolidate applications for federal funds, and request waivers of both federal and state requirements.

For these reasons, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this report.

Mr. McKEON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report accompanying the Education Flexibility Partnership Act, otherwise known as Ed-Flex.

I am pleased to see that the House and Senate conferees were able to quickly reach an agreement on this very important legislation.

Already, our states and school districts are implementing reform plans that would be aided by providing them with Ed-Flex waiver authority.

Our states want it. Recently, all of our governors—Republican and Democrat alike—recently came to Washington and asked for quick passage of this legislation.

Additionally, when I was home over Easter recess, I met with my local school superintendents. Every one of them expressed support for this legislation, because it provides them with the latitude they desire in order to ensure our children go to the best and safest schools possible.

Through the passage of this conference agreement, this Congress furthers its efforts to return dollars and control to the classroom.

The states currently participating under this program have shown remarkable achievement. Now, with this legislation, all of our States will be able to have more flexibility to cut redtape so that they can implement the effective programs and reform efforts that are being held back by Federal requirements and regulations.

It is too important for this Congress to ignore the successes of the Ed-Flex program. Even more important, we must not ignore the needs of our state and local education leaders to pass this bill. Our children are just too important.

Again, I rise in support of the conference report and urge all my colleagues to support its passage.

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of our Nation's children. Our children are this country's most precious resource and we must place them at the front of our agenda. H.R. 800, the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999 will grant states greater flexibility in using federal education funds.

The goals of ''Ed Flex'' are very simple. H.R. 800 will allow schools to best meet the needs of their individual students by allowing school districts to spend federal education dollars as they see fit. This legislation will get our education system back to the basics by sending dollars back to the classroom, and encouraging parental involvement.

Mr. Speaker, the fact is, Washington doesn't know best how to educate our children, parents and local school boards do. H.R. 800 will send money where it belongs, back to our local communities. Federal dollars should be helping students and schools, not hindering them.

A child's educational success is crucial to their future and the future of our Nation. I urge my colleagues to support the Ed Flex Conference Report and support our children.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MICA). Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the conference report.

There was no objection.

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

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

Mr. GOODLING. 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 368, nays 57, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 94]

YEAS—368

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Aderholt
Allen
Andrews
Archer
Armey
Bachus
Baird
Baker
Baldacci
Baldwin
Ballenger
Barcia
Barr
Barrett (NE)
Barrett (WI)
Bartlett
Barton
Bass
Bateman
Bentsen
Bereuter
Berkley
Berman
Berry
Biggert
Bilbray
Bilirakis
Bishop
Blagojevich
Bliley
Blumenauer
Blunt
Boehlert
Boehner
Bonilla
Bono
Boswell
Boucher
Boyd
Brady (TX)
Brown (CA)
Brown (OH)
Bryant
Burr
Burton
Buyer
Callahan
Calvert
Camp
Campbell
Canady
Cannon
Capps
Capuano
Cardin
Castle
Chabot
Chambliss
Chenoweth
Clement
Coble
Coburn
Collins
Combest
Condit
Cook
Cooksey
Costello
Cox
Cramer
Crane
Cubin
Cunningham
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (VA)
Deal
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Dicks
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Ewing
Farr
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Fowler
Frank (MA)
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gejdenson
Gekas
Gephardt
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Gutknecht
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Hastert
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill (IN)
Hill (MT)
Hilleary
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Inslee
Isakson
Istook
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kasich
Kelly
Kildee
Kind (WI)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kleczka
Klink
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kuykendall
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Largent
Larson
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manzullo
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCollum
McCrery
McGovern
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
McKeon
McNulty
Meehan
Metcalf
Mica
Millender-McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller, Gary
Minge
Moakley
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Napolitano
Neal
Nethercutt
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Oberstar
Ortiz
Ose
Oxley
Packard
Pallone
Pascrell
Paul
Pease
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Phelps
Pickering
Pickett
Pitts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Rothman
Roukema
Royce
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sabo
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sanford
Sawyer
Scarborough
Schaffer
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simpson
Sisisky
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Souder
Spence
Spratt
Stabenow
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Sweeney
Talent
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Toomey
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Udall (NM)
Upton
Visclosky
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Watkins
Watts (OK)
Waxman
Weiner
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Weygand
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson
Wise
Wolf
Wu
Wynn
Young (AK)
Young (FL)

NAYS—57

Becerra
Bonior
Borski
Brady (PA)
Brown (FL)
Carson
Clay
Clayton
Clyburn
Conyers
Coyne
Crowley
Cummings
Davis (IL)
Dingell

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Engel | Martinez | Pelosi |
| Fattah | McDermott | Rivers |
| Filner | McKinney | Roybal-Allard |
| Gutierrez | Meek (FL) | Rush |
| Hastings (FL) | Meeks (NY) | Scott |
| Hilliard | Menendez | Serrano |
| Hinchey | Miller, George | Stark |
| Jackson (IL) | Mink | Thompson (MS) |
| Kennedy | Nadler | Tierney |
| Kilpatrick | Obey | Velazquez |
| Kucinich | Olver | Vento |
| Lee | Owens | Waters |
| Lewis (GA) | Pastor | Watt (NC) |
| Markey | Payne | Woolsey |

NOT VOTING—9

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lantos | Salmon | Smith (MI) |
| McCarthy (NY) | Saxton | Thompson (CA) |
| Nussle | Schakowsky | Udall (CO) |

□ 1207

Messrs. HILLIARD, GUTIERREZ, MARTINEZ, CROWLEY, RUSH, Ms. BROWN of Florida, and Ms. PELOSI changed their votes from ''yea'' to ''nay.''

Mr. DEUTSCH changed his vote from ''nay'' to ''yea.''

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. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 94, I was stuck in the No. 4 elevator in the Cannon House Office Building. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea.''

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 94 on April 20, 1999. I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea.''

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was absent for rollcall vote No. 94. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea'' on the Conference Report to H.R. 800—the Education Flexibility Act.

## EARTHQUAKE HAZARDS REDUCTION AUTHORIZATION ACT OF 1999

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 142 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 142

*Resolved*, 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. 1184) to authorize appropriations for carrying out the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 for fiscal years 2000 and 2001, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. Points of order against consideration of the bill for failure to comply with clause 4(a) of rule XIII are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Science. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Science now printed in the bill. Each section of the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be considered as read. During consideration of the bill for amendment, the chairman of the Committee of the Whole may accord priority in recognition on the basis of whether the Member offering an amendment has caused it to be printed in the portion of the Congressional Record designated for that purpose in clause 8 of the rule XVIII. Amendments so printed shall be considered as read. The chairman of the Committee of the Whole may: (1) postpone until a time during further consideration in the Committee of the Whole a request for a recorded vote on any amendment; and (2) reduce to five minutes the minimum time for electronic voting on any postponed question that follows another electronic vote without intervening business, provided that the minimum time for electronic voting on the first in any series of questions shall be 15 minutes. 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 in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. 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 SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). The gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from Dayton, Ohio (Mr. HALL), pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded will be for the purposes of debate only.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 142 is an open rule providing for the consideration of H.R. 1184, the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Authorization Act of 1999.

The purpose of the bill is to reauthorize the Federal government's earthquake research and hazard mitigation programs. The rule provides for the customary 1 hour general debate, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Science.

The rule waives clause 4(a) of rule XIII requiring a 3-day layover of the committee report against consideration of the bill because the report could not be filed in the House until 2 days ago.

The rule makes in order the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Science as an original bill for the purpose of amendment which will be open to amendment by section. The rule further encourages priority recognition of Members who preprinted their amendments in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and allows the Chair to postpone votes.

Mr. Speaker, in my State of California and in too many other regions of the United States, earthquakes are a fact of life. They are something we accept and work through. Thankfully, most are not devastating occurrences. We clean up, rather than rebuild. However, we cannot overlook the fact that the average annual cost from earthquakes in the United States is about $4.4 billion. Of course, the toll imposed by a major earthquake can be much greater.

In California, we have suffered two major quakes in the past decade. In 1999, the Loma Prieta earthquake in the San Francisco area cost $6 billion, and then in 1994 in Los Angeles what was known as the Northridge earthquake, which I felt and was horrible, cost $40 billion. Of course, major earthquakes cost a lot more than dollars and cents.

In both cases, both of those earthquakes in California in the last decade, the Loma Prieta and the Northridge quakes, people were killed and lives were very, very disrupted. An earthquake can wreak havoc on a community. During the 1987 earthquake in Whittier, an area that I used to represent, I saw firsthand how unreinforced buildings can fail.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to have the attention of my California colleagues who are in the back, and I know this is of great importance to them.

During that 1987 earthquake in Whittier, I saw how unreinforced buildings can fail. I saw how faults can act in a random manner and cause complete devastation to one block while leaving untouched another block that is right nearby.

□ 1215

Mr. Speaker, the Boy Scout motto is ''Be Prepared.'' This legislation is crafted in that spirit. H.R. 1184 authorizes the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program, the Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System, and the Network for Earthquake Engineering Simulation. These programs will modernize the existing seismic network, which is both outdated and disjointed, and interconnect earthquake engineering research facilities.

We all know that we cannot stop earthquakes from happening. However, we can plan for them and improve our readiness. We can improve our detection and warning systems and build roads and buildings to better serve so that we can survive them. In short, we can be better prepared. This bipartisan legislation clearly moves us in that direction.

I would like to commend the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER), chairman of the Committee on Science, the members of his committee for their efforts.

The payoff will be in lives saved, homes and businesses protected, and communities preserved. We cannot afford to do anything less for the people of California or the 39 other States that are inclined towards earthquakes.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to support both this open rule and the underlying bill.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), the chairman of the Committee on Rules, for yielding me the time.

This is an open rule. It will allow full and fair debate on H.R. 1184. As the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) has described, this rule provides for 1 hour of general debate to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Science.

The rule permits amendments under the 5-minute rule, which is the normal amendment process in the House. All Members on both sides of the aisle will have the opportunity to offer germane amendments.

According to the National Earthquake Information Center, about 12,000 to 14,000 earthquakes take place each year. That is 35 each day. Of these, we can expect about 18 major earthquakes in a year.

Earthquakes can cause enormous loss of life, injury, and destruction. They can occur almost anywhere at any time. They cannot be prevented. However, damage, destruction, and loss of life can be significantly reduced if we are prepared.

That is why this bill is important. This bill establishes a system to organize earthquake monitoring systems in the United States. It makes other improvements to help our Nation plan for earthquakes. It authorizes funds for the existing Federal programs that study and provide information about earthquakes.

The rule waives the requirement for a 3-day layover of the committee report. This is necessary because the report was not filed until Monday. The purpose of the requirement is to give adequate time to all Members before a bill comes to the House floor. Because of the bipartisan support and the uncontroversial nature of the bill, waiving the requirement is appropriate in this case. However, I hope that waiving this rule does not become routine.

This is an open rule. It was adopted unanimously by the Committee on Rules. I urge adoption of the rule.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I do not have any requests for time, and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that I mentioned the very distinguished chairman of the Committee on Science, and I am very pleased that this will be very ably handled on the minority side by my very good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN), who has been intimately involved in these issues and has probably suffered through a number of earthquakes himself.

I look forward to seeing bipartisan movement on this very important measure, and I would like to congratulate the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH) who has done a great deal of work on this.

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

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, as I said, I urge support for both the rule and the bill itself.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Pursuant to House Resolution 142 and rule XVIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 1184.

The Chair designates the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. LAHOOD) as chairman of the Committee of the Whole, and requests the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS) to assume the chair temporarily.

□ 1220

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 1184) to authorize appropriations for carrying out the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 for fiscal years 2000 and 2001, and for other purposes, with Mr. SESSIONS (Chairman pro tempore) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER) and the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER).

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I come before the House today to urge its support for H.R. 1184, the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1999.

Mr. Chairman, it is a common complaint that we cannot control the weather, neither can we control earthquakes, nor after years of effort can we even forecast them with any confidence. But we can prepare for them, and that is the main purpose of the National Earthquake Hazard Reduction Program, known as NEHRP.

According to the U.S. Geological Survey, 39 States are subject to serious earthquake risk, and 75 million people live in urban areas with moderate to high earthquake risk. The Federal Emergency Management Agency estimates the annual loss resulting from earthquakes is $4.4 billion. The Northridge earthquake of 1994 alone resulted in damages of $40 billion.

Still, to date we have been fortunate that an earthquake with the destructive force of the Tangshan, China event of 1976 or the Kobe, Japan event of 1995 has not struck a large U.S. city. But if history is any guide, the U.S. will be hit by violent shocks sometime in the not too distant future. Indeed, major earthquakes have been recorded throughout our Nation's history: in southern Missouri in 1811 and 1812, southern California in 1857, Hawaii in 1868, South Carolina in 1886, Alaska in 1899, and northern California in 1906.

The same geologic processes that led to these cataclysmic events are still at work today. That we know. What we do not know is when and where these forces will be unleashed.

Earthquakes may be inevitable, but catastrophic losses of life and property need not be if we use science to help communities prepare. The provisions in H.R. 1184 do just that.

Four agencies participate in NEHRP: the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the U.S. Geological Survey, the National Science Foundation, and the National Institute of Standards and Technology.

For fiscal year 2000, H.R. 1184 authorizes $99.6 million for the base activities in these agencies, including specific authorizations for the U.S. Geological Survey for the Global Seismic Network, the Real-Time Seismic Warning System pilot program, external research, and an advisory committee. For fiscal year 2001, the bill authorizes $102.6 million for these base earthquake programs, an increase of 3 percent.

In addition, H.R. 1184 includes multiyear authorizations for two new projects, each of which grew out of congressional direction in the last NEHRP bill. The Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System will update the Nation's existing seismic monitoring network, which is based on 30-year-old technology.

The bill authorizes $170.8 million over 5 years for the U.S. Geological Survey for equipment, and a further $14.8 million over 2 years for the incremental costs of system operation.

The Network for Earthquake Engineering Simulation will link more than 30 earthquake engineering research facilities and upgrade and expand major earthquake testing facilities. H.R. 1184 provides the National Science Foundation with a 5-year authorization totaling $81.8 million for this program.

Finally, the bill authorizes a Scientific Earthquake Studies Advisory Committee at the U.S. Geological Survey, requires greater interagency coordination in formulating the Program's budget, requests a report on how the Program meets the needs of at-risk populations, and repeals obsolete provisions of the statute.

With earthquakes, it is not a question of if, but when the next one will

strike. Through its emphasis on monitoring, research, and mitigation, H.R. 1184 will help the Nation prepare for the inevitable and save lives and property.

I would like to thank the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Basic Research, for drafting such a fine bill; the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN), the minority ranking member of the Committee on Science, for his continued support of the program; and the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON) for her valued input in the consideration of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 1184 represents the sensible, long-term investment that will pay for itself many times over and save lives and reduce property costs. I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. Chairman, I insert the following for the RECORD:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE,
*Washington, DC, April 20, 1999.*

Hon. DON YOUNG,
*Chairman, Committee on Resources,*
*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of April 16, regarding H.R. 1184, the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1999.

I understand that your waiver of Resources Committee jurisdiction should not be construed to affect any future referrals of bills dealing with the same subject matter. I also will support the Resources Committee request to be represented on any conference on H.R. 1184 or related bill.

H.R. 1184 is scheduled for Floor consideration on April 21 and I will include this letter as part of the floor proceedings.

I, as well as my staff, look forward to working with you if H.R. 1184 should go to conference and also, collaborating with you on any legislation on which we may share jurisdiction in the future.

Sincerely,
F. JAMES SENSENBRENNER, JR.,
*Chairman.*

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

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 1184, the reauthorization of the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program, NEHRP. It has been over 20 years since the Congress first authorized the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act; and, during the intervening two decades, the program has made tremendous strides in combating these natural disasters.

We now have maps that inform engineers, architects, and builders of seismic hazards, model building codes, and greater understanding of the science of earthquake hazards and the response of buildings to seismic movement.

In practical terms, federally funded research in geosciences, social sciences, and engineering has saved countless lives, in addition to saving personal property and critical infrastructures. I am certain that with continued support we can make even greater strides in the innovative areas that FEMA, the U.S. Geological Survey, the National Seismic Foundation, and NIST are currently exploring.

Advances such as early warning of seismic events, more structurally sound buildings, regional analysis of seismic risk, mobile research centers, and widespread use of the Internet and our other telecommunication capabilities are going to make marked reductions in the impacts of not just earthquakes, but almost all natural and man-made disasters.

But the story does not end there. While our increased understanding of earthquake kinematics and the mitigation procedures proves that we have made progress, there are still challenges we must face and assessments that must be made periodically to make sure that we are doing everything that we can to ensure the safety and security of the American people.

There are still earthquake-prone communities that have not adopted appropriate building codes. Monitoring in earthquake-prone areas is still done with less than state-of-the-art equipment, and disparities in earthquake losses due to age and socioeconomic status and physical limitations still exist.

For these reasons and more, the earthquake programs must continue to evolve to address these new challenges.

□ 1230

I feel that the bill before us today will help us meet these new needs.

In addition to authorizing increased funding for these base NEHRP programs, the bill authorizes the Network for Earthquake Engineering Simulation, an effort by the National Science Foundation to modernize earthquake engineering research facilities; the Advanced Seismic Research and Monitoring System, which will enable the Geological Survey to upgrade and expand our seismic monitoring networks to reflect the needs across the Nation, and a study on elements of NEHRP that address the needs of at-risk populations.

Today's bill will not solve all of these challenges that remain, but it will move us in the right direction.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me say that while natural disasters are inevitable, the extent of the damage is not. We must attack the problem from all sides with renewed efforts to implement seismically safe building standards, to increase our pool of data on natural disasters, to respond rapidly to disasters when they strike, and, in general, to understand the risks associated with earthquakes in whatever form they may manifest themselves.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER); the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH), our subcommittee chair, for their work; and certainly our leader, the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN).

I also note that this bill is the product of a bipartisan effort, and I urge passage of this bill, Mr. Chairman.

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

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and also thank him for his leadership on this legislation; of course, along with the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN) and the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON).

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 1184 is legislation to reauthorize what is called the National Earthquake Hazard Reduction Program, NEHRP. It is a bill I am pleased to sponsor on behalf of the Committee on Science.

The National Earthquake Hazard Reduction Program, this NEHRP, has long enjoyed strong bipartisan support in the Committee on Science. The primary purpose of NEHRP is simple: To save lives and to reduce property damage. But while the goal may be stated simply, getting a grip on this problem of earthquakes poses a greater dilemma.

Since its inception in 1977, NEHRP has done a credible job of contributing to our store of knowledge about the causes and effects of earthquakes, and it has reduced our vulnerability to them through engineering research and new building designs. The program's monitoring component also holds the promise of providing real-time warning to citizens and a wealth of data to researchers.

Indeed, improving earthquake warning by just a few seconds can mean the difference between life and death. It can mean those few seconds where we might send a signal to shut off the gas going through gas mains and many other areas which can significantly reduce the damage of earthquakes.

The National Earthquake Hazard Reduction Program also has an international and humanitarian aspect. Because of the almost tens of thousands of earthquakes around the world, all of these countries look to our research and information to help reduce their damage to property and save lives. Many countries around the world continually monitor and use the information that will develop through the authorization in this bill.

The advanced national seismic research and monitoring system, authorized in this bill, is important. Not only will it improve warning times, but the data it collects will provide researchers with information that will lead to safer buildings and designs and a greater understanding of how earthquakes propagate.

The periodic nature of earthquakes can often lead to complacency. Probably that is human nature. But that kind of complacency can carry great risk. Let me just hold up this map a minute, Mr. Chairman, to give my colleagues an idea. If we can see sort out the dark images of little spots across this globe, tens of thousands of earthquakes happen every year. In fact, in

the United States last year there were over 1,000 earthquakes. Some modest, some very severe.

Certainly the earthquake that struck Kobe, Japan in early 1995 caused nearly 6,000 deaths and over $100 billion in damages. And of course, more recently, the tragedy in Armenia, Colombia, in which well over 1,000 people lost their lives I think are stern reminders of the destructive power of earthquakes. The Loma Prieta earthquake caused $6 billion in damage, Northridge earthquake caused $40 billion in damages, and provide, I think, a glimpse of what could happen here if we are not adequately prepared.

As the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER), noted in his statement, 39 States in this country are exposed to a significant earthquake risk, and about 75 million people live in urban areas with a moderate to high earthquake risk. Thankfully, in my home State of Michigan, earthquakes are very rare, but even Michigan is vulnerable to earthquakes.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would again certainly like to thank the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER), the chairman, the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN), and the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON), the ranking member of our Subcommittee on Basic Research of the Committee on Science, for their assistance in preparing this important bill and for their efforts in bringing it to the floor, and I would urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support this bill.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

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

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Chairman, first let me indicate my very strong support for H.R. 1184, which will reauthorize the National Earthquake Hazard Reduction Program, NEHRP.

Since its inception in 1977, and particularly in the last decade, NEHRP has been successful in assessing how earthquakes affect us and what we can do to prepare for the next one. Too bad they cannot prevent earthquakes from happening in the first place.

NEHRP has been reaching out to State and local officials, improving building codes, and assessing the level of seismic risk in different areas across the country. This is a very important program, especially in my Congressional District, which has the San Andreas Fault running through it.

During the Committee on Science markup of this bill, I was pleased that my amendment to H.R. 1184 was unanimously accepted and is in the bill today. My amendment directs FEMA to report on the element that addresses the needs of at-risk populations. Specifically, this includes the elderly, the non-English speaking, persons with disabilities, single parent households and the poor.

There are risk factors that cannot be determined by seismological or engineering research and analysis. These risks deal with the social culture and the economic factors that are presented nationwide when there is a disaster. I am aware that the National Science Foundation, which is a part of NEHRP, supports social sciences research, and I am aware how this research relates to at-risk populations. This would be addressed in our report.

Not only will this report provide valuable information on what has been accomplished to date, it also will bring into focus what needs to be done in the future to reach those populations that incur more damage in disaster because of their age or their economic status or their physical limitations.

Because disasters affect us all, this bill is one that Congress, as a whole, should be very interested in and totally supportive of. I ask that everyone support H.R. 1184.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. LARSON).

Mr. LARSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman from Texas for yielding me this time, and I rise today to support this bill, the Earthquake Hazard Reduction Act.

A few weeks ago we approved this bill unanimously in the Committee on Science. This bill, as before mentioned by my colleagues, would reauthorize nearly $40 million in funding over the next 2 years for earthquake preparedness and programs.

I would also like to thank our esteemed chairman, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER) for his help, and the venerable ranking member of our committee, the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE BROWN), and my colleagues, of course, who have sponsored and introduced this legislation, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH), and the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA) for graciously accepting two amendments I offered during the markup.

My amendments were aimed at making sure information generated under the program is localized and available on the Internet, and specifically that the backbone of the Internet communication system be considered part of the Nation's critical infrastructure. The original law cites communication facilities as lifeline, but not communications infrastructure.

Today, as we all know, there are fiber-optic links dedicated solely to the transfer of information over the Internet. Data traffic is currently increasing about 10 times the rate of phone traffic, therefore creating this need.

We should also be concerned about routers and servers managing and storing this traffic. Disaster recovery plans must account for restoring high-speed links and for backing up critical databases. This increasingly critical data infrastructure should be recognized as part of the bill language and, as amended, is.

Again, I wish to thank my colleagues on the committee for supporting the amendment and encourage all of my colleagues in the House to support this bill.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WU).

Mr. WU. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support today of H.R. 1184, the reauthorization of the National Earthquake Hazard Reduction Program. I particularly applaud the farsightedness of the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER), the chairman of the Committee on Science, and the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN), the ranking member, in authorizing $168 million over the next 5 years for expansion and modernization of the seismic monitoring infrastructure of the United States.

Oregon is, unfortunately, at great risk for earthquakes, and I am looking forward to the benefits that will flow from such a modernization effort in Oregon and nationwide. My amendment, which has been incorporated into the bill, will add an additional $2.8 million over 2 years to the seismic network to procure two portable seismic networks.

Seismologists routinely deploy temporary mobile networks to monitor aftershocks or to better understand the impact of an earthquake in a particular region. The two networks supported by my amendment would be a natural supplement to the permanent monitoring networks.

The chairman has been conscientious in authorizing the elements of a seismic monitoring system contained in a plan that will be forwarded to us shortly by the administration. I believe these portable networks will also be part of that plan.

These portable networks are very necessary to a comprehensive capability for post-earthquake monitoring. I would hate to see any delay in developing them, and I urge adoption of this amendment.

In closing, I would like to commend the chair and ranking member of the Committee on Science and the chair and ranking member of the Subcommittee on Basic Research for facilitating bipartisan cooperation in this bill within the committee and here. With that, Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of this bill.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding me this time. I am enthusiastic about rising to support H.R. 1184 and, of course, it has been a favorite piece of legislation of mine for many years.

I also note that one of our colleagues, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr.

LARSON), has used, I think for the first time on the floor, the description of an elderly member as being venerable. Normally that is an ecclesiastical term, and this is not an ecclesiastical body, but I appreciate the intent.

The point that I wanted to make, I think most strongly, is that in the first 22 years of the existence of this act we actually had a stable and declining funding for this program, much to my regret.

□ 1245

In real terms, the amount authorized for the program decreased by 26 percent over that period of time. Consider the fact that, as has already been mentioned, that in the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake alone, estimates of the cost of damage and business interruptions were more than $10 billion. I think it now becomes clear that the U.S. needs to invest more than it has to date in earthquake hazards reduction.

I would like to congratulate the two committees, Science and Resources, that enjoy joint jurisdiction over this legislation for recognizing that this is an area and now is the time in which we should invest more heavily for the benefit of all the people of this country.

As has been mentioned, I was involved with the passage of the original bill in 1977, which focused almost exclusively on the research necessary for earthquake prediction. We were motivated at the time by rumors that the Chinese had developed novel ways of predicting earthquakes, and we were intrigued by the fact that they could be ahead of us in this regard.

It did not turn out to be true, but it did lead us to some focus on the research necessary for prediction, which is still of great interest but unlikely to bear the economic return that reducing hazards would bear.

The current act which we are considering still contains provisions for research but has been broadened to include seismic safety standards, coordination with State and local governments, dissemination of information, and public education and awareness. And all of these features will add new value to this important piece of legislation.

Looking back at the evolution of the act of 1977, I believe that with its renewed focus on mitigation and preparedness, Congress is now on the right path to reducing the risk to life and property caused by earthquakes.

Mr. Chairman, I thank all of those who have participated in bringing the bill to the floor, and I urge the passage of this important bill.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT).

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Chairman, I support the legislation. There is some money in here for procurement. I will offer a buy-American amendment. It has been standard language.

I remind the Congress that the last month quantified was February 1999 and we set another record trade deficit, close to $20 billion. China and Japan alone accounted for $10 billion in February of 1999.

So it is just a simple, straightforward amendment and says any money expended under this, if they possibly could find it in their heart to buy American, we encourage that. But if they affix a fraudulent made-in-America laden label, then they would have trouble with the further contract.

It is not a major thing, we passed it before, and I would appreciate the support for it.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to this amendment; and I have no further requests for time, so I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of H.R. 1184, a bill to reauthorize the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program—a multi-agency effort to reduce the terrible effects of earthquakes on life and property.

Of particular interest to the Resources Committee, the bill would authorize appropriations for FY 2000 and 2001 to the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) to carry out its responsibilities under the Act, including a related USGS grant program and another program to develop a prototype real-time seismic warning system. Finally the bill would require the USGS Director to establish a Scientific Earthquake Studies Advisory Committee.

The Clinton Administration has testified in strong support of reauthorization of the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program. This program has made significant progress and contributions in the reduction of earthquake risks during its 23-year history. While the Resources Committee's jurisdiction in this matter is limited to activities of the USGS, the effort to reduce earthquake risks is shared among other federal agencies including the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the National Science Foundation, and the National Institute of Standards and Technology. As a native Californian, I am grateful to the fine work done by all of these agencies.

Under this critical program, USGS produces earthquake hazard assessments and national seismic hazard maps for earthquake loss reduction; provides timely and accurate notifications of earthquakes and information on their location, size, and damage potential, and carries out studies and research on earthquake occurrence and effects.

For example, during 1999–2001, USGS will develop more detailed, larger scale products that depict variations in the expected ground shaking across the San Francisco Bay urban area. The data compiled will enable local officials and planners to see probabilities of earthquake occurrence, amplification or extension of shaking caused by geologic deposits and structures, and susceptibility of these deposits to liquefy and slide during an earthquake.

In another major partnership authorized by this program, the USGS, National Science Foundation, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Southern California Earthquake Center are installing a state-of-the-art geodetic network to monitor fault movements and Earth strain in Southern California. Utilizing a satellite navigation system operated by the Department of Defense, which permits points on the Earth's surface to be located to a precision of a millimeter, the network will track the movement of 250 stations concentrated along a corridor through the Los Angeles basin, but also extending south to the Mexican border and east to the Colorado River. Basically, the data derived from this effort will not only improve general understanding of large-scale tectonic processes responsible for earthquakes but will also provide indications where earthquakes might occur in the near future.

Earthquakes are one of the most devastating natural hazards known to man and pose a severe threat to life and property in many regions of our Nation and around the world—and in particular in my home state of California. The United States has a fundamental responsibility and self-interest in reducing the risks associated with earthquakes. Mitigation and finding new applications should continue to be an integral factor in efforts to lessen the terrible consequences of earthquakes on our populace.

At the same time, we must continue to develop a strong scientific understanding of where earthquakes will occur, why they occur, how big they can be, and to learn more about the effects that they will generate. Basic research and monitoring have contributed significantly to our improved mitigation capacity. Good science has also led to application and informed decision-making. The USGS Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program addresses many of the more serious earthquake risks, and I am pleased to support its reauthorization.

I recommend an ''aye'' vote on its passage.

Mr. COOK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1184, the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program. In addition to authorizing funding for basic earthquake programs, H.R. 1184 provides 5-year authorizations for a new program—the Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System. H.R. 1184 authorizes USGS to spend $170.8 million over the next 5 years to modernize the current antiquated system.

The Utah Geological Survey estimates that my district, Salt Lake County, Utah is due for a magnitude 7 earthquake. The UGS estimates that a major quake of this magnitude could kill up to 7,600 people, injure 44,000 more and cause nearly $20 billion in damages.

With this new monitoring system we could send out early warning of impending earthquakes that utilities could use to shut off valves, and schools to rush our children to safety. There also is additional money for the University of Utah to continue their earthquake research on the Wasatch Front. The Wasatch Front is the newest range in the Rocky Mountains and it is getting bigger. It was created by earthquakes and it will continue to grow with the help of earthquakes. Earthquakes occur regularly in my district and we need to be prepared for them. 80% of Utah's population resides on top of active earthquake faults. The University of Utah is one of our nation's leading earthquake research centers. This money will also be used to collect information needed to deploy resources after an earthquake. We will be able to map the severity and location of an earthquake to know how and where to send emergency response teams. This bill is a good investment in protecting our citizens

from a disaster that we know is coming. It would be a disaster for the American people for Congress to run away from their responsibilities and not prepare our country for earthquakes.

I urge all my colleagues to support H.R. 1184.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance my time.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for general debate has expired.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the bill shall be considered by sections as an original bill for the purpose of amendment, and pursuant to the rule, each section is considered read.

During consideration of the bill for amendment, the Chair may accord priority in recognition to a Member offering an amendment that he has printed in the designated place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Those amendments will be considered read.

The Chairman of the Committee of the Whole may postpone a request for a recorded vote on any amendment and may reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the time for voting on any postponed question that immediately follows another vote, provided that the time for voting on the first question shall be a minimum of 15 minutes.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute be printed in the RECORD and open to amendment at any point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The text of the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

*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 ''Earthquake Hazards Reduction Authorization Act of 1999''.*

***SEC. 2. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.***

*(a) FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY.—Section 12(a) of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7706(a)) is amended—*

*(1) by striking ''(1) GENERAL.—'' and all that follows through ''(7) There'' and inserting ''GENERAL.—There'';*

*(2) by striking ''1998, and'' and inserting ''1998,''; and*

*(3) by inserting '', $19,800,000 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and $20,400,000 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2001'' after ''September 30, 1999''.*

*(b) UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—(1) Section 12(b) of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7706(b)) is amended—*

*(A) by inserting ''There are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior for purposes of carrying out, through the Director of the United States Geological Survey, the responsibilities that may be assigned to the Director under this Act $46,100,000 for fiscal year 2000, of which $3,500,000 shall be used for the Global Seismic Network and $100,000 shall be used for the Scientific Earthquake Studies Advisory Committee established under section 6 of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Authorization Act of 1999; and $47,500,000 for fiscal year 2001, of which $3,600,000 shall be used for the Global Seismic Network and $100,000 shall be used for the Scientific Earthquake Studies Advisory Committee established under section 6 of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Authorization Act of 1999.'' after ''operated by the Agency.'';*

*(B) by striking ''and'' at the end of paragraph (1);*

*(C) by striking the comma at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting a semicolon; and*

*(D) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraphs:*

*''(3) $9,000,000 of the amount authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 2000; and*

*''(4) $9,500,000 of the amount authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year 2001,''.*

*(2) Section 2(a)(7) of the Act entitled ''An Act to authorize appropriations for carrying out the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, and for other purposes'' is amended by inserting '', $1,600,000 for fiscal year 2000, and $1,650,000 for fiscal year 2001'' after ''1998 and 1999''.*

*(c) NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION.—Section 12(c) of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7706(c)) is amended—*

*(1) by striking ''1998, and'' and inserting ''1998,''; and*

*(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting '', and (5) $19,000,000 for engineering research and $10,900,000 for geosciences research for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000. There are authorized to be appropriated to the National Science Foundation $19,600,000 for engineering research and $11,200,000 for geosciences research for fiscal year 2001.''.*

*(d) NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF STANDARDS AND TECHNOLOGY.—Section 12(d) of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7706(d)) is amended—*

*(1) by striking ''1998, and''; and inserting ''1998,''; and*

*(2) by inserting '', $2,200,000 for fiscal year 2000, and $2,265,000 for fiscal year 2001'' after ''September 30, 1999''.*

***SEC. 3. REPEALS.***

*Section 10 and subsections (e) and (f) of section 12 of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7705d and 7706 (e) and (f)) are repealed.*

***SEC. 4. ADVANCED NATIONAL SEISMIC RESEARCH AND MONITORING SYSTEM.***

*The Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7701 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:*

***''SEC. 13. ADVANCED NATIONAL SEISMIC RESEARCH AND MONITORING SYSTEM.***

*''(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Director of the United States Geological Survey shall establish and operate an Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System. The purpose of such system shall be to organize, modernize, standardize, and stabilize the national, regional, and urban seismic monitoring systems in the United States, including sensors, recorders, and data analysis centers, into a coordinated system that will measure and record the full range of frequencies and amplitudes exhibited by seismic waves, in order to enhance earthquake research and warning capabilities.*

*''(b) MANAGEMENT PLAN.—Not later than 120 days after the date of the enactment of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Authorization Act of 1999, the Director of the United States Geological Survey shall transmit to the Congress a 5-year management plan for establishing and operating the Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System. The plan shall include annual cost estimates for both modernization and operation, milestones, standards, and performance goals, as well as plans for securing the participation of all existing networks in the Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System and for establishing new, or enhancing existing, partnerships to leverage resources.*

*''(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—*

*''(1) EXPANSION AND MODERNIZATION.—In addition to amounts appropriated under section 12(b), there are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior, to be used by the Director of the United States Geological Survey to establish the Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System—*

*''(A) $33,500,000 for fiscal year 2000;*

*''(B) $33,700,000 for fiscal year 2001;*

*''(C) $35,100,000 for fiscal year 2002;*

*''(D) $35,000,000 for fiscal year 2003; and*

*''(E) $33,500,000 for fiscal year 2004.*

*''(2) OPERATION.—In addition to amounts appropriated under section 12(b), there are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior, to be used by the Director of the United States Geological Survey to operate the Advanced National Seismic Research and Monitoring System—*

*''(A) $4,500,000 for fiscal year 2000; and*

*''(B) $10,300,000 for fiscal year 2001.''.*

***SEC. 5. NETWORK FOR EARTHQUAKE ENGINEERING SIMULATION.***

*The Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7701 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:*

***''SEC. 14. NETWORK FOR EARTHQUAKE ENGINEERING SIMULATION.***

*''(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Director of the National Science Foundation shall establish a Network for Earthquake Engineering Simulation that will upgrade, link, and integrate a system of geographically distributed experimental facilities for earthquake engineering testing of full-sized structures and their components and partial-scale physical models. The system shall be integrated through networking software so that integrated models and databases can be used to create model-based simulation, and the components of the system shall be interconnected with a computer network and allow for remote access, information sharing, and collaborative research.*

*''(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts appropriated under section 12(c), there are authorized to be appropriated, out of funds otherwise authorized to be appropriated to the National Science Foundation, $7,700,000 for fiscal year 2000 for the Network for Earthquake Engineering Simulation. In addition to amounts appropriated under section 12(c), there are authorized to be appropriated to the National Science Foundation for the Network for Earthquake Engineering Simulation—*

*''(1) $28,200,000 for fiscal year 2001;*

*''(2) $24,400,000 for fiscal year 2002;*

*''(3) $4,500,000 for fiscal year 2003; and*

*''(4) $17,000,000 for fiscal year 2004.''.*

***SEC. 6. SCIENTIFIC EARTHQUAKE STUDIES ADVISORY COMMITTEE.***

*(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Director of the United States Geological Survey shall establish a Scientific Earthquake Studies Advisory Committee.*

*(b) ORGANIZATION.—The Director shall establish procedures for selection of individuals not employed by the Federal Government who are qualified in the seismic sciences and other appropriate fields and may, pursuant to such procedures, select up to ten individuals, one of whom shall be designated Chairman, to serve on the Advisory Committee. Selection of individuals for the Advisory Committee shall be based solely on established records of distinguished service, and the Director shall ensure that a reasonable cross-section of views and expertise is represented. In selecting individuals to serve on the Advisory Committee, the Director shall seek and give due consideration to recommendations from the National Academy of Sciences, professional societies, and other appropriate organizations.*

*(c) MEETINGS.—The Advisory Committee shall meet at such times and places as may be designated by the Chairman in consultation with the Director.*

*(d) DUTIES.—The Advisory Committee shall advise the Director on matters relating to the*

*United States Geological Survey's participation in the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program, including the United States Geological Survey's roles, goals, and objectives within that Program, its capabilities and research needs, guidance on achieving major objectives, and establishing and measuring performance goals. The Advisory Committee shall issue an annual report to the Director for submission to Congress on or before September 30 of each year. The report shall describe the Advisory Committee's activities and address policy issues or matters that affect the United States Geological Survey's participation in the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program.*

***SEC. 7. BUDGET COORDINATION.***

*Section 5 of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7704) is amended—*

*(1) in subsection (b)(1)—*

*(A) by striking subparagraph (A) and redesignating subparagraphs (B) through (F) as subparagraphs (A) through (E), respectively; and*

*(B) by moving subparagraph (E), as so redesignated by subparagraph (A) of this paragraph, so as to appear immediately after subparagraph (D), as so redesignated; and*

*(2) by adding at the end the following new subsection:*

*''(c) BUDGET COORDINATION.—*

*''(1) GUIDANCE.—The Agency shall each year provide guidance to the other Program agencies concerning the preparation of requests for appropriations for activities related to the Program, and shall prepare, in conjunction with the other Program agencies, an annual Program budget to be submitted to the Office of Management and Budget.*

*''(2) REPORTS.—Each Program agency shall include with its annual request for appropriations submitted to the Office of Management and Budget a report that—*

*''(A) identifies each element of the proposed Program activities of the agency;*

*''(B) specifies how each of these activities contributes to the Program; and*

*''(C) states the portion of its request for appropriations allocated to each element of the Program.''.*

***SEC. 8. REPORT ON AT-RISK POPULATIONS.***

*Not later than one year after the date of the enactment of this Act, and after a period for public comment, the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency shall transmit to the Congress a report describing the elements of the Program that specifically address the needs of at-risk populations, including the elderly, persons with disabilities, non-English-speaking families, single-parent households, and the poor. Such report shall also identify additional actions that could be taken to address those needs, and make recommendations for any additional legislative authority required to take such actions.*

***SEC. 9. PUBLIC ACCESS TO EARTHQUAKE INFORMATION.***

*Section 5(b)(2)(A)(ii) of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7704(b)(2)(A)(ii)) is amended by inserting '', and development of means of increasing public access to available locality-specific information that may assist the public in preparing for or responding to earthquakes'' after ''and the general public''.*

***SEC. 10. LIFELINES.***

*Section 4(6) of the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 (42 U.S.C. 7703(6)) is amended by inserting ''and infrastructure'' after ''communication facilities''.*

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any amendments to the bill?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. TRAFICANT

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, and I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. TRAFICANT:

At the end of the bill add the following new sections:

**SEC. . COMPLIANCE WITH BUY AMERICAN ACT.**

No funds authorized pursuant to this Act may be expended by an entity unless the entity agrees that in expending the assistance the entity will comply with sections 2 through 4 of the Act of March 3, 1933 (41 U.S.C. 10a–10c, popularly known as the ''Buy American Act'').

**SEC. . SENSE OF CONGRESS; REQUIREMENT REGARDING NOTICE.**

(a) PURCHASE OF AMERICAN-MADE EQUIPMENT AND PRODUCTS.—In the case of any equipment or products that may be authorized to be purchased with financial assistance provided under this Act, it is the sense of the Congress that entities receiving such assistance should, in expending the assistance, purchase only American-made equipment and products.

(b) NOTICE TO RECIPIENTS OF ASSISTANCE.—In providing financial assistance under this Act, the Secretary of Transportation shall provide to each recipient of the assistance a notice describing the statement made in subsection (a) by the Congress.

**SEC. . PROHIBITION OF CONTRACTS.**

If it has been finally determined by a court or Federal agency that any person intentionally affixed a label bearing a ''Made in America'' inscription, or any inscription with the same meaning, to any product sold in or shipped to the United States that is not made in the United States, such person shall be ineligible to receive any contract or subcontract made with funds provided pursuant to this Act, pursuant to the debarment, suspension, and ineligibility procedures described in section 9.400 through 9.409 of title 48, Code of Federal Regulations.

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Chairman, the amendment has been explained in the general debate time. It is a straighforward, buy-American amendment. It has passed on several other pieces of legislation. I encourage the committee to accept it.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER).

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

We are pleased to accept this constructive amendment.

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON).

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to the amendment.

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Chairman, I urge an ''aye'' vote, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT).

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other amendments?

If not, the question is on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended, was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. BONILLA) having assumed the chair, Mr. LAHOOD, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1184) to authorize appropriations for carrying out the Earthquake Hazards Reduction Act of 1977 for fiscal years 2000 and 2001, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 142, he reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on the amendment to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute adopted by the Committee of the Whole? If not, the question is on the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute amendment was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. 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 ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. 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 414, nays 3, not voting 16, as follows:

[Roll No. 95]

YEAS—414

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abercrombie | Bilbray | Campbell |
| Ackerman | Bilirakis | Canady |
| Aderholt | Bishop | Cannon |
| Allen | Blagojevich | Capps |
| Andrews | Bliley | Capuano |
| Archer | Blumenauer | Cardin |
| Armey | Blunt | Carson |
| Bachus | Boehlert | Castle |
| Baird | Boehner | Chabot |
| Baker | Bonilla | Chambliss |
| Baldacci | Bonior | Clay |
| Baldwin | Bono | Clayton |
| Ballenger | Borski | Clement |
| Barcia | Boswell | Clyburn |
| Barr | Boucher | Coble |
| Barrett (NE) | Boyd | Coburn |
| Barrett (WI) | Brady (PA) | Collins |
| Bartlett | Brady (TX) | Combest |
| Barton | Brown (CA) | Condit |
| Bass | Brown (FL) | Conyers |
| Bateman | Brown (OH) | Cook |
| Becerra | Bryant | Cooksey |
| Bentsen | Burr | Costello |
| Bereuter | Burton | Cox |
| Berkley | Buyer | Coyne |
| Berman | Callahan | Cramer |
| Berry | Calvert | Crane |
| Biggert | Camp | Crowley |

Cubin
Cummings
Cunningham
Danner
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis (VA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
DeMint
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart
Dickey
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Ehrlich
Emerson
Engel
English
Eshoo
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Ewing
Farr
Fattah
Filner
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Ford
Fossella
Fowler
Frank (MA)
Franks (NJ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Gallegly
Ganske
Gejdenson
Gephardt
Gibbons
Gilchrest
Gillmor
Gilman
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Goodling
Gordon
Goss
Graham
Granger
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Greenwood
Gutierrez
Gutknecht
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hansen
Hastings (WA)
Hayes
Hayworth
Hefley
Herger
Hill (IN)
Hill (MT)
Hilleary
Hilliard
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoeffel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Hooley
Horn
Hostettler
Houghton
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hutchinson
Hyde
Inslee
Isakson
Istook
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee (TX)
Jefferson
Jenkins
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kasich
Kelly
Kennedy
Kildee
Kilpatrick
Kind (WI)
King (NY)
Kingston
Kleczka
Knollenberg
Kolbe
Kucinich
Kuykendall
LaFalce
LaHood
Lampson
Largent
Larson
Latham
LaTourette
Lazio
Leach
Lee
Levin
Lewis (CA)
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (KY)
Linder
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Lofgren
Lowey
Lucas (KY)
Lucas (OK)
Luther
Maloney (CT)
Maloney (NY)
Manzullo
Markey
Martinez
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy (MO)
McCarthy (NY)
McCollum
McCrery
McDermott
McGovern
McHugh
McInnis
McIntosh
McIntyre
McKeon
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek (FL)
Meeks (NY)
Menendez
Mica
Millender-McDonald
Miller (FL)
Miller, George
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moore
Moran (KS)
Moran (VA)
Morella
Murtha
Myrick
Nadler
Napolitano
Neal
Ney
Northup
Norwood
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Ose
Packard
Pallone
Pascrell
Pastor
Payne
Pease
Pelosi
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Phelps
Pickering
Pickett
Pitts
Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Pryce (OH)
Quinn
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Reyes
Reynolds
Riley
Rivers
Rodriguez
Roemer
Rogan
Rogers
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Rothman
Roukema
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Rush
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sabo
Salmon
Sanchez
Sanders
Sandlin
Sawyer
Scarborough
Schaffer
Schakowsky
Scott
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shimkus
Shows
Shuster
Simpson
Sisisky
Skeen
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (MI)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)
Snyder
Spence
Spratt
Stabenow
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Sweeney
Talent
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Terry
Thomas
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Tierney
Toomey
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Upton
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Walden
Walsh
Wamp
Waters
Watkins
Watt (NC)
Watts (OK)
Waxman
Weiner
Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
Wexler
Weygand
Whitfield
Wicker
Wilson
Wise
Wolf
Woolsey
Wu
Wynn
Young (AK)

NAYS—3

Duncan
Paul
Sanford

NOT VOTING—16

Chenoweth
Deal
Gekas
Hastings (FL)
Klink
Lantos
Metcalf
Miller, Gary
Nethercutt
Nussle
Owens
Oxley
Radanovich
Saxton
Souder
Young (FL)

□ 1315

Mr. DUNCAN changed his vote from ''yea'' to ''nay.''

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. GARY MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 95, I attempted to return from lunch to vote; however, there was an accident and I arrived one minute after the vote was taken. This was unavoidable and beyond my control. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea.''

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, today, April 21, 1999, I was unavoidably detained during rollcall No. 95, and thus my vote on the passage of H.R. 1184 was not recorded. Had I been present, I would have voted ''yea'' in support of the legislation.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. 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. 1184, the bill just passed.

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

There was no objection.

## REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 850

Mr. HOLDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my name be removed as a cosponsor of H.R. 850, the Security and Freedom Through Encryption Act.

My name was erroneously added as a cosponsor to this legislation.

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

There was no objection.

## VIOLENCE AMONG OUR YOUTH, AND THE INCIDENT IN LITTLETON, COLORADO

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as we have heard my colleagues rising to the Floor of the House, I, too, stand with a heavy heart to offer my sympathy and concern to the families of the deceased, to the children, to the students, to all who have been impacted by yesterday's tragic incident in Littleton, Colorado. We are shocked by the sheer randomness of it.

We realize that our schools in America should be safe places for our children to learn, and we are disturbed that these shootings were out of revenge, and because someone made fun of these young people.

Let us now not point the finger of blame, but let the people of America like and organizations like the National Rifle Association, children's advocacy groups, churches, synagogues, and parishes, let us look to solutions such as more health services for juveniles. Two-thirds of our children in America are denied real mental health counseling services when they need it. Let us, on Friday, April 23, 1999, Children's Memorial Day, commemorate the thousands of children and youth who are killed by violence.

As one who works with the Congressional Children's Caucus and chairs it, I ask that all of the caucuses in this House that are concerned about children gather for one meeting to begin a real agenda that deals with safety in schools, getting mental health services to our children, counseling to the families, and stop the blame game.

This is an American crisis. We must heal our Nation. To the people of Littleton, Colorado, my prayers are with you.

Mr. Speaker, I stand today with a heavy heart to talk about the tragic incidents of yesterday in Littleton, Colorado. First of all, I would like to extend my deepest sympathy to the families of the victims of yesterday's horrific shootings.

Along with being shocked by the sheer randomness and senselessness of the violence yesterday, I am dismayed by the string of violent incidents that have occurred in our schools within the past 18 months.

The statistics on adolescent death trends are startling: homicide deaths for teenagers between 15–19 accounted for 85 percent or 2,457 deaths by firearms and suicide rates have increased by more than 300 percent in the last three decades. In yesterday's shootings, more than 20 people were killed including the two suspects who killed themselves.

Schools should be safe and secure places for all students, teachers and staff members. All children should be able to go to and from school without fear for their safety.

According to news reports, these young suspects were outcasts in the school community. During the shooting, the suspects reportedly said that they were ''out for revenge'' for having been made fun of last year. This is truly a cry for help that was not heard in time.

This incident underscores the urgent need for mental health services to address the needs of young people like the suspects from

yesterday. Without concerted efforts to address the mental health disorders that affect our children, we may witness more terrifying violence in our schools.

Friday, April 23, 1999 is Children's Memorial Day to commemorate the thousands of children and youth who are killed by violence each year. On that day, the governors of every state have been asked to fly the Children's Memorial Flag.

As chair of the Children's Caucus, I would like to urge my Colleagues to remember Friday as a national day to honor children whose lives have been cut short by violence. I also ask that we pray for the families who have been devastated by the violence of Monday.

## SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). 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.

## MEDICARE TRUTH IN BILLING ACT OF 1999

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

Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I rise today on behalf of hospitals and Medicare beneficiaries across this country who have a vested interest in changing the way the Health Care Finance Administration, HCFA, and its financial intermediaries itemize the explanation of Medicare benefits and Medicare summary notices, both of which are statements each Medicare beneficiary receives from HCFA for services rendered them that they are reimbursed by Medicare.

Unfortunately for hospitals and Medicare beneficiaries, these statements all too often contain inaccurate and misleading information; specifically, information that overstates the amount that Medicare reimburses hospitals for inpatient services, and understates a hospital's contribution to financing any shortfall in Medicare reimbursements for such services; information that clouds the truth for Medicare beneficiaries instead of clarifying the truth.

At a time when hospitals' margins are shrinking due to changes in Medicare reimbursement rates, at a time when hospitals have been plagued by the inappropriate use of the False Claims Act and at a time when the President in his fiscal year 2000 budget has proposed further cuts in Medicare, it is about time that hospitals be given the credit they deserve for financing part of the inpatient expenses as a result of Medicare's underpayment.

Moreover, at a time when seniors are barraged by vague billing information, it is about time that they be given the full truth regarding the amount Medicare reimburses hospitals for services provided them.

I am happy to announce that I have introduced the Truth in Medicare Billing Act, a measure that will ensure that HCFA reports the correct amount Medicare reimburses hospitals for inpatient services. The Medicare Truth in Billing Act, in addition to requiring HCFA to report the actual amount it reimburses hospitals for inpatient services, will require that HCFA add a line to all Medicare summary statements disclosing the amount equal to the difference between the amount of total inpatient charges incurred and the amount Medicare reimbursed the hospital for those charges.

It is a simple fix to a problem that I believe should be resolved in the very near future.

The initial level of support that the Medicare Truth in Billing Act has received has been tremendous. The measure has been endorsed by the American Hospital Association. In addition, numerous State hospital associations, staff and hospital administrators in my district and throughout the country have contacted my office to express their overwhelming support for the bill. Furthermore, seniors in my district, during my most recent round of town meetings, were very supportive of the measure.

I hope that my colleagues in the House on both sides of the aisle will join me in working with the House leadership, the Committee on Ways and Means and its Subcommittee on Health, HCFA, and most importantly, the hospitals and seniors to ensure that the changes set forth in the Medicare Truth in Billing Act will become law.

## AIRBUS, THE EUROPEAN AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURER, A COMPANY THAT CANNOT FAIL

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

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise this afternoon to bring an important trade issue to the attention of my colleagues. Within the past 2 years, Boeing's share of the aircraft market has fallen from 70 percent to 50 percent. Boeing is losing market shares to Airbus, the European aircraft manufacturer.

Airbus was created in the early 1970s for the sole purpose of maintaining and fostering a European role in the production of large commercial jet aircraft. It is a combination of the major aerospace companies of France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain. Airbus, which is 60 percent owned by private companies, is not the property of the four European nations. However, it is still hard to view Airbus as a private business just like any other business.

First of all, Airbus does not operate as a public corporation but, rather, it has special legal status under French law. This special status allows member companies to pool resources without having to disclose specifics about their combined financial activities. Therefore, Airbus remains a financial mystery.

Also, France still has not completed the privatization of its aerospace firm, Aerospatiale. Given France's long history of substantial support to Aerospatiale, it is hard to believe that the French government will give up complete control of the company any time soon.

Perhaps most importantly, the European Commission has the ability to save Airbus from bankruptcy if the need ever arises. Therefore, Airbus, due to its government backing, is a company that cannot fail. This gives Airbus a tremendous advantage because it has the luxury of making its business decisions with very little risk compared to Boeing, which must defend its business decisions to questioning stockholders, not supportive government officials.

Airbus contends that it has earned its increased market share against Boeing by simply building the type of aircraft the airline industry wants to buy. It is important to note, however, that Airbus' success was achieved with significant governmental assistance. Because Airbus does not publish financial statements, it is difficult to know exactly how much government support it has received over the course of the years. However, it is known that the largest amount of financial support was provided in the 1980s when Airbus launched major development programs for new aircraft such as the A–320, the A–330 and the A–340. Therefore, Airbus was able to make new and different types of aircraft which helped attract new customers only because of increased, direct governmental aid.

Although most of the government aid was in the form of repayable loans, it was still a subsidy because it would have cost Airbus much more to raise money on the private market. It would be nearly impossible for a private company to obtain aircraft development funds at a government borrowing rate. It is true that Airbus must repay the government aid with interest, but only as aircraft are sold. Therefore, there is no risk for Airbus when it develops new products, because if customers do not buy their new product, Airbus does not have to repay the loans.

Again, Airbus, due to its government backing, is a company that cannot fail. It is no wonder that Boeing continues to lose market shares to Airbus. Airbus enjoys a tremendous competitive advantage because of the substantial and direct government aid it receives from four European nations.

Airbus is no longer a young company trying to enter the aircraft market. It is number two in the market and gaining on Boeing each and every day, yet Airbus still relies on substantial government support. This is not right. We should not sit idly by as Boeing continues to lose out simply because it does not enjoy the same protectionist treatment as Airbus.

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

(Mr. SHADEGG 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 gentlewoman 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 Michigan (Mr. STUPAK) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. STUPAK 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 Missouri (Mr. HULSHOF) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HULSHOF addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

(Mr. RUSH 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 South Carolina (Mr. DEMINT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DEMINT 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 Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. MEEHAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

## ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, every year it is a solemn moment when we gather on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives to remember and commemorate the victims and the survivors of the Armenian genocide, but this year the unspeakable crimes against humanity and genocidal acts perpetrated by the Turkish Ottoman Empire against the Armenian people carry an even more profound resonance. The desperate cries of the Armenian people as their villages were pillaged and burned, as their family members and community leaders were murdered before the eyes of their children, as children were separated from their parents, as they were driven from their homes and forcefully marched into war camps and exiled, as the land worked by Armenian hands for generations was taken by force, the cries of these Armenians are echoed in today's headlines and broadcast from the Balkans.

In 1915, at the start of the systematic and premeditated genocide of the Armenian people by the young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire, there were no television broadcasts from the field to let the world see what was happening. There was no NATO to punish the Turks for their actions against a defenseless civilian population, and there was no resolve on the part of the international community to return Armenians to their homeland.

In the end, 1.5 million people perished at the hands of the Turks between 1915 and 1923, through direct killings, starvation, torture and forced death marches. Another million fled into permanent exile from their ancestral homes. An ancient civilization was expunged from its homeland of 2,500 years.

Mr. Speaker, scarcely 250 days away from the start of the 21st century, we remain a world of generations haunted by the ghosts of the victims of genocide, from the Armenians at the beginning of the century to the ethnic cleansing of Kosovar Albanians.

□ 1330

In Worcester, Massachusetts, which it is my honor to represent, Mayor Raymond Mariano has designated April 24th as Armenian Martyrs Day, for that is really what we are talking about: A century of martyrs. It is important to remind the current generation and future generation that the seeds of the Holocaust and the seeds of ethnic cleansing were planted by the Turks in their genocide against the Armenian people at the beginning of the 21st century. When Raphael Lemkin coined the word ''genocide'' in 1944, he cited the 1915 annihilation of the Armenians as an example of genocide.

In Worcester, we are blessed with a number of survivors whose lives not only teach us the lessons of history, but also about the resiliency and dignity of the human spirit. I would like to name but a few of them today:

Marion Der Kazarian, Nevart Kinosian, Sara Sahakian, Almas Boghosian, Sarah Bulbulian, Aghavni Garabedian, Mary Kalashian, John Kasparian, Ovsanna Nordigian, George Ogden, Raffi Samkiranian, Hrant Yaghmourian and Nouemzar Sarkisian.

Along with all of the other members of the Armenian-American community in Worcester in the Third Congressional District of Massachusetts, they enrich the life of our communities and society.

If there is one lesson of the 20th century, it is that these heinous acts against humanity will continue if we allow ourselves to forget history. We must all commit ourselves to never forget. That is why I am proud to join my colleagues, the gentleman from California (Mr. RADANOVICH) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR), on their bill to officially observe the Armenian Genocide, to have the United States officially recognize this period of history as the Armenian Genocide, and to have the United States press the Turkish government to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide.

Yet, in the shadow of Kosovo, our Nation and other nations still resist acknowledging the Armenian Genocide. Last May, the French National Assembly passed a bill to publicly recognize the Armenian Genocide of 1915. This spring the French Senate and the government of France, under pressure from Turkey, are in a turmoil over whether to approve this legislation. In the United States, we find the government of Turkey attempting to influence our universities, to pretend these acts of genocide against the Armenian people did not happen, and we find U.S. strategic interests in arms sales to Turkey are more influential in setting our foreign policy priorities than acknowledging the truth about acts that took place 84 years ago.

That is because in 84 years, the truth of the Armenian genocide is still powerful and still resonates in current events, and that is why it must be officially acknowledged, why it must be taught in our schools, remembered in our houses of worship and honored in our communities. Now, more than ever, we must recognize, acknowledge, commemorate, mourn and remember the Armenian Genocide. To do less is to doom future generations to repeat and relive these horrors.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PORTER) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) in particular for their leadership on this issue, and I hope that this government will do the right thing.

## NATIONAL DISCUSSION CALLED FOR CONCERNING CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS FOR VIOLENCE AMONG NATION'S YOUTH

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

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, everyone was horrified by these terrible shootings in Littleton, Colorado yesterday. This is one of the worst tragedies that has ever occurred in this Nation. There is nothing worse that can happen to parents than to outlive one of their children, and certainly, the sympathies of all of us go out to the families who lost loved ones in Colorado yesterday.

Many years ago I taught American government and journalism at T.C.

Williams High School here in Alexandria, Virginia. I go to 75 or 80 schools each year and have 15 or 20 school groups visit me here in Washington, as well as speaking to many, many youth groups through the year. I am around thousands of teenagers each year. So this tragedy has really been on my mind last night and today.

I remember several months ago, after one of these other school shootings, I was driving to the airport here in Washington to go home to Tennessee. The national head of the YMCA was on the CBS national radio news. He said something that I have never forgotten. He said that our children are being neglected today in this country as never before in our history.

I am a father too. In our quest to get ahead, almost all of us in our quest to get ahead and to make more money and really to feel better about ourselves, we are not spending nearly enough time with our children.

No one can ever fully explain these shootings that occurred yesterday. I am sure there are many reasons for these horrible events. There is far too much violence on television and in the movies. There is too much warped, weird stuff on the Internet. I know we are supposed to worship the computer today, but much of what is on the Internet is harmful, especially to children, and parents should realize that.

But probably the thing that concerns me the most is the trend toward mega schools, bigger and bigger schools. I read not long ago that the largest high school in New York City had 3,500 students, and then they broke it up or divided it up into 5 different high schools and most of the drug and discipline problems became much, much better. When students have to go to huge high schools such as the one in Littleton yesterday, most young people are not able to make a sports team or be a cheerleader or be president of a group. Most students are just numbers and feel anonymous. Most can handle this okay, but some unfortunately resort to weird, warped or at times even criminal behavior to get noticed or a desperate cry for attention. Young people who feel good about themselves would never do anything even remotely close to the horrible events that occurred in Littleton yesterday.

I think another thing that has caused many serious problems is the breakup of the family. Before coming to Congress, I spent 7½ years as a criminal court judge in Tennessee, trying felony criminal cases. I have always remembered that the first day I was judge they told me that 98 percent of the defendants in felony cases came from broken homes. I know that many, many wonderful people, many successful people have come from broken homes. But I read thousands of reports over those years which said, the defendant's father left home when defendant was two and never returned; defendant's father left home to get pack of cigarettes and never came back.

Then, after I came to Congress, I remember reading in one of the Washington papers a few years ago that two leading criminologists have studied 11,000 felony cases from across the country and they found that the biggest single factor in serious crime, bar none, nothing else was even close, was father-absent households.

So I rise today to make a plea for fathers to stay with their children. This is so very important, and there are so many young people growing up in this country today without the love or the discipline or the encouragement or the support or the combination of all of those things that they really need. If the families keep breaking up at such a tremendous rate in this country, we are going to see problems continue to grow and grow and horrible events such as we saw in Littleton yesterday.

Yet, there is a government role, because in 1950 the government at all levels, the Federal Government took about 4 percent of the income of the average family, the State and local governments took another 4 percent, and many mothers had the privilege of staying home with their children. And now, government at all levels takes about 40 percent of the income of the average family and regulatory costs take another 10 percent, and so many, as FRED THOMPSON said one time, Senator FRED THOMPSON said, one spouse works to support the family while the other spouse works to support the government. Many mothers who would like to stay home with their children do not have that choice or that option. So if we could decrease the cost and size of our government, it would help more families stay together because most families break up in arguments over finances.

When we put all of this together, it is hard to explain, but we need to have a national discussion, Mr. Speaker, about the causes of events such as what happened in Littleton yesterday, and we need to do everything we possibly can to see that nothing like that ever happens again in this country.

## IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 84TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, as I have for the past 6 years, to acknowledge the atrocities suffered by the Armenian people at the hands of the Ottoman Turks over 84 years ago. This Saturday, April 24, will mark the 84th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the very first genocide of the 20th century. On that date, more than 200 Armenian religious, political and intellectual leaders were massacred in Turkey. It is important that we take this time to remember one of the greatest tragedies that humankind has ever witnessed.

Little did anyone know that April 24, 1915, would signify the beginning of a Turkish campaign to eliminate the Armenian people, eliminate them from the face of the Earth. Over the following 8 years, 1.5 million Armenians perished and more than 500,000 were exiled from their homes. Armenian civilization, one of the oldest civilizations, virtually ceased to exist. Of course, that was the Turkish plan. Unfortunately the Armenian Genocide is not as well-known in history as it deserves to be.

Little attention was paid to this tragic episode in history by the victorious allied powers at the end of World War I, or by historians. So much of it had faded into our painful memories, and many people are beginning to forget what occurred in those terrible times. Even worse, as time passes by and people are distracted and distanced from the atrocities, naysayers and revisionists may prevail.

In fact, some might say it is a waste of time to continue fighting to get recognition for this, the first genocide of the 20th century. Mr. Speaker, I strongly disagree. This fight is not a waste of time. I believe it is a battle worth fighting, one where we have already made great strides. We are making great leaps forward in educating people as to what really occurred to the Armenians at the hands of the Ottoman Turks, and also what is really happening with the widespread network of denials since the genocide.

Still, because of the failure of some nations to acknowledge this horrible tragedy, the Turkish crimes have remained unpunished. An international court has yet to condemn the holocaust of an entire Nation. This impunity has permitted the Turks to repeat similar crimes against the Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor, the Syrian orthodox people and, recently, the people living in Cyprus.

Fortunately, despite this unspeakable tragedy committed 84 years ago, Armenians today remain a proud, dignified and compassionate people. Despite the unmerciful efforts of the Turks, Armenian civilization lives on and thrives today.

It lives on in the Independent Republic of Armenia, and it lives on in communities throughout America, particularly in my home State of California. In fact, every proud Armenian is the product of generations of perseverance, courage and hope, hope always for a better tomorrow.

So today, we honor the innocent Armenians who tragically lost their lives. Today we acknowledge that the Ottoman Turks committed genocide against the Armenian people.

Mr. Speaker, I look forward to the day when the world says in one united voice, we remember Armenian genocide, and it will never be repeated. Until that day comes, I will continue to remind the House of Representatives that it is our responsibility to learn

from the past, and it is our responsibility to prevent any such atrocity in the future.

## PROTECTING THE MEMORY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. RADANOVICH) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) for their work to introduce the resolution this week which will ensure that the United States of America continues to play an active role in protecting the memory of the Armenian Genocide that began 85 years ago.

As we so unfortunately see in Kosovo today, documenting the horrors of genocide, or ethnic cleansing as they call it, as it is called and it is supposed to be an euphemism I am sure for the murderers, it is vital to get these records if we are ever to stop such actions from occurring again on this Earth.

The resolution that is being introduced calls upon the President of the United States to collect and house all relevant U.S. records relating to the Armenian Genocide and provide them to Congress, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Armenian Genocide Museum in Yerevan, Armenia.

It is necessary to do this because there are many who live in denial. Sadly, among those who live in denial are those in the government of Turkey, 85 years later, that somehow continue to deny what we know from repeated testimony of thousands of immigrants, and we knew at the time from reporters and others.

□ 1345

The Turkish government continues to deny what occurred at the beginning of this century, just as there are some misguided people who still deny the Jewish Holocaust, where 6 million people were murdered by the Nazi Germans, and probably some are still denying the murderous efforts of Pol Pot in Cambodia, where he and his gang of ideologues murdered 2 million Cambodians.

The innocent civilians in the Balkans, the innocent civilians in South Asia, the innocent civilians in the Middle East and in Germany, all of those are why we should talk about their problems and their genocide on the appropriate occasions.

No one can take for granted the ability of some people to clearly look at the facts and still deny that the facts do not exist. Each year we join the world commemoration of the Armenian genocide because it must not be forgotten. Time, distance, current events frequently cloud the past and reduce horrible events to little more than a footnote in history.

The Armenian genocide is not a footnote. Neither is the Jewish Holocaust. Neither are the 2 million Cambodians murdered by Pol Pot. The 1.5 million Armenians killed by the Turkish government and others, and the deep scars left upon those who survived, deserve our vigil, because too many want us to forget.

Even in our country, on the situation in civil rights, where black citizens were beaten in the South and other parts of the United States, and we passed laws to overcome that, even this generation of young high school people does not know what this Nation went through and does not know what other nations have gone through.

Documenting the horrors of the genocide cannot stop those who would deny it, any more than the extensive documentation of the Holocaust has stopped individuals from denying that abominable period. However, we cannot begin the fight against ignorance if we do not preserve the records of those crimes as they were committed.

The Armenian genocide marked the beginning of a barbaric practice in the 20th century, and is it not ironic that we are ending the 20th century and those practices still exist in the Balkans, as vis-a-vis Serbia and its neighbors? By remembering, if we can help prevent future actions and punish the guilty in the future, this will be a noble cause.

I recall the Armenians in my own county when I grew up in San Benito County and in Long Beach, and some of the men and women who were maybe small children, and their parents got them through the Turkish lines and they escaped death. As with other immigrants, including my father, the Armenians, the Jews, the Cambodians, and we have 50,000 in Long Beach, California, from Cambodia, they know what freedom means. They know what the United States means.

I will never forget a dinner when Governor George Deukmejian, a child of Armenian parents who had escaped, had many of his Armenian friends and supporters at that dinner. Tears streamed down all of our eyes. These people were in their seventies and their eighties, and they knew those horrors. They knew the haven that America was, a haven of freedom. Some have called it the city on the Hill. What it means is this is a place where we would not tolerate that.

But we thought other countries would not tolerate that, and yet that is exactly what happened. They killed people with whom they disagreed, whether it be for religion, whether it be the color of their skin. This must not happen, and the world should do something about it.

## REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF H.R. 987

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have my name removed as cosponsor of H.R. 987.

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

There was no objection.

## CALLING FOR SIGNIFICANT REFORMS IN AMERICA'S SANCTIONS POLICIES

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

Mr. DOOLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to be an advocate for the United States making significant reforms in our sanctions policy. It is becoming increasingly apparent that an increasing share of our gross domestic product and indeed the growth of our economy is becoming related to trade.

It is obvious, I think, too, to most Americans when we look at the fact that only 4 percent of the world's population live inside our borders, with 96 percent living outside our borders, that this country has to adopt policies to ensure that we will have the greatest access to these markets, because that is where the interests of increased job opportunities that are so important to the working men and women of this country as well as the market opportunities for the businesses lie.

I have beside me here a chart which really demonstrates one of the reasons and makes one of the most compelling arguments for sanctions reform. We currently impose some form of sanctions on over 75 countries. The most distressing aspect of this is the fact that it is costing our economy up to $15 to $20 billion a year in lost imports, and that means we have $200,000 fewer jobs, high-paying jobs in this country because of the sanctions we have imposed.

I have introduced a piece of legislation with my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Crane). It is a bipartisan piece of legislation that is asking us to adopt a new policy to ensure that we will use sanctions only as a last resort.

It does not say that Congress and this country cannot impose unilateral economic sanctions, but it does require that before we do so we have to do an analysis and make sure that when we impose a sanction, that it will indeed achieve the objective of mitigation of the behavior of a country which we are targeting.

It also goes further, to say to Members of Congress that we need to have a study to analyze what will be the cost to our economy, what will be the cost in terms of jobs lost, what will be the cost to our economy in terms of markets lost to U.S. companies by the imposition of that sanction?

I am confident that once Members of Congress have that information in front of them, they are going to realize that the policy and the utilization of unilateral economic sanctions is a policy that harms the interests of the working men and women, as well as the businesses in this country.

A group of us who work closely with the New Democrat Coalition have made

this one of our highest priorities, and we are also expanding our effort to deal with some issues which are important to the technology sector.

It is clear when we look at the fact that the United States has almost remained an island of prosperity and economic growth in the midst of a world which is suffering from financial crisis, that in large part that is due because of the fact that the United States has the relative advantage internationally in the development of new technology.

Yet, we have some sanctions and some export restrictions in place which jeopardize our opportunity to continue to have this advantage internationally. It is time for us to relax some of our restrictions on the export of technology, and particularly restrictions on encryption technology.

Unfortunately, we have a policy that restricts the sale of some of our computers embedded with an encryption technology that is using a technology that is over 10 years old. The fact that we have a policy in place now that will preclude U.S. companies from marketing some of their computers and other technology internationally because of our restrictions on encryption, how ludicrous this is witnessed by the fact that anyone in the world today can go to the Internet and download encryption that is far more powerful than that we are imposing upon or restricting our companies from selling that product overseas. That just does not make sense any longer.

We also have a policy in place in this country where we restrict the speed of computers and microprocessors that we can export outside of our borders. That might have made sense 10 years ago or even 5 years ago, when we were worried about jeopardizing the national security of this country by giving powerful computers and putting them in the hands of some of the people who threaten world peace.

But unfortunately, we have maintained an old policy that has not kept pace with the advancements in technology. Back 20 years ago when we had our Cray supercomputers, that were certainly so powerful and so important that we needed to have responsible restrictions on them, today we have reached the point where there is going to be a computer sold today, or in this next 6 months, with a chip developed by Intel which will have the capacity to perform the number of operations per second, and that chip alone will exceed the restrictions we have in place.

It is time for us to make some responsible reforms in encryption policy, our restrictions on computer technology, and the overall reform of our sanctions policy.

## IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise this afternoon in remembrance of a dark period in American history, or actually in history, period. That point is the Armenian genocide.

When most people hear the word ''genocide'' they immediately think of Hitler. They think of the persecution of the Jews during World War II. Most individuals are unaware that the first genocide of the 21st century occurred during World War I and was perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenian people.

Concerned that the Armenians would move to establish their own government, the Ottoman Empire embarked on a reign of terror that resulted in the massacre of over 1.5 million Armenians. This atrocious crime began on April 15, 1915, when the Ottoman Empire arrested, exiled, and eventually killed hundreds of Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders.

Once they had eliminated the Armenian people's leadership, they turned their attention to the Armenians serving in the Ottoman army. These soldiers were disarmed and placed in labor camps, where they were either starved or executed.

The Armenian people, lacking political leadership and deprived of young, able-bodied men who could fight against the Ottoman onslaught, were then deported from every region of Turkish Armenia. The images of human suffering from the Armenian genocide are graphic, and are as haunting as the pictures of the Holocaust.

Why, then, it must be asked, are so many people unaware of the Armenian genocide? I believe the answer is found in the international community's response to this disturbing event.

At the end of World War I, those responsible for ordering and implementing the Armenian genocide were never brought to justice, and the world casually forgot about the pain and suffering of the Armenian people.

This proved to be a grave mistake. Just a few years later in a speech on the eve of World War II, Hitler justified his brutal tactics with the infamous statement, ''Who today remembers the extermination of the Armenians?'' Six years later, 6 million Jews had been exterminated by the Nazis. Never had, as the phrase goes, ''Those who forget the past will be destined to repeat it,'' been more applicable.

If the international community had spoken out against this merciless slaughtering of the Armenian people instead of ignoring it, the horrors of the Holocaust might never have taken place.

As we commemorate the 84th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, I believe it is time to give this event its rightful place in history. So let us pay homage to those who fell victim to their Ottoman oppressors, and tell the story of the forgotten genocide, for the sake of the Armenian heritage. It is a story that must be heard.

## GUN SAFETY

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

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, my concern as a Member of Congress is that the Federal Government does everything it can to be a full partner in promoting the livability of our communities, because at the end of the day, what our families care about is that their children are safe when they go out the door to go to school in the morning, that the families are economically secure and healthy. Of those factors, the most important, I am sure, is the safety of those families.

We have had within the last 24 hours another tragic reminder that handgun and firearm violence continues to be either the first or second leading cause of death and injury to America's children. It does not have to be this way. A few weeks ago I was honored to host a forum on this topic with several distinguished scholars who discussed ideas with Members of Congress of things we can do to reduce firearm violence with our children.

For instance, we have the opportunity to make firearms safer. All we need here in Congress is the will to change Federal policy so that gun manufacturers meet consumer safety standards for their products.

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It is a shame and a national disgrace that toy guns currently have higher consumer product safety standards than real guns. It is outrageous in America that we cannot adopt the simple suggestion to require an indicator that will tell somebody whether or not a gun is loaded or require, for a few cents or maybe a couple of dollars, a device that will not let a gun fire if the clip has been removed, or requiring a trigger lock on a gun.

It is sad that, given the tragic nature of gun injuries and violence, that there is not a single source of information in the entire United States Government to help us understand the pattern, to isolate the patterns and types of violence and be able to do something about it. It is not the case in other parts of American society.

There are regulations that will in fact make a difference to disrupt this pattern of violence. We have demonstrated that by taking away the right to own guns from people who have demonstrated that they are not responsible gun owners; that we can make a difference in how those guns are used. We have shown that there are consistent areas of support to expand that pattern of denial to people who have consistently shown patterns of violent and reckless behavior. The vast majority of the American public supports it. The majority of gun owners support it.

It is time for us to take that simple step to reduce unnecessary gun violence. It is time for the Federal Government to step forward and stop purchasing firearms for our use that do not have smart gun technology that ensures that that gun that we give to a law enforcement officer cannot be used against him or her, to personalize the weapon. Similarly, we would not think of having an automobile that did not have a key that personalized its use, so we should do the same with firearms.

There are other important areas that we have tried to bring before people in this Chamber. Law enforcement wants us to help them tackle the all-too-frequent problems of firearm violence. Fifteen States have child access protection laws which make it harder for children to gain access to guns.

We have had the tragic example of Jonesboro, Arkansas where the children's first stop was at a home that used safe storage of the weapons. There, even using a blowtorch, they were unable to get access to weapons. They went to the next home, and there the weapons were open and accessible. The rest is tragic history.

The horror that we witnessed yesterday in Colorado is part of a larger pattern. How many more examples are we going to have to witness before we come to our senses on the floor of this Chamber and take simple steps?

There is no one single solution to solve the epidemic of gun violence, but we have the responsibility to undertake these simple, common sense steps. I pray the Republican leadership will allow us to vote on some of them in the course of this session.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of my special order.

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

There was no objection.

## 84TH COMMEMORATION OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, today I come to the floor to again commemorate the anniversary of one of the darkest stains on the history of modern civilization, the genocide of the Armenian people by the Ottoman Turkish Empire.

I greatly appreciate the strong support of so many of our colleagues in this effort, especially the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), my fellow cochairman of the Armenian Issues Caucus. I commend him for arranging this special order and for his continued dedication to these vitally important issues.

I would also like to recognize the gentleman from California (Mr. RADANOVICH) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR) for introducing a resolution calling for a collection of all U.S. records relating to the Armenian genocide.

Mr. Speaker, I wish, as every Member does, that this special order did not have to take place. We would like to believe that such a tragedy could never have happened in the modern world because it is painful to accept that man is capable of committing and tolerating such atrocities.

Unfortunately, we have seen over and over the tragic results of hatred and ignorance: the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide, and today the ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia. Far too often the so-called civilized nations of the world have turned a blind eye.

I cannot stand here at this moment and talk about genocide without mentioning a genocide which is happening right now before our eyes. Today the United States is not sitting by and simply watching this happen, unlike its reaction to the Armenian genocide 84 years ago. The United States is embarking on a new phase of foreign policy.

This is perhaps, Mr. Speaker, the first time in all of human history that the greatest power in the world is not using its power with the aim of advancing itself and its own interests, but with the intent of protecting and defending a group of oppressed people. The American people can be proud that we are finally using every effort to stop the ethnic cleansing of innocent people. These efforts were not made in the past, resulting in the genocides of the Holocaust Rwanda, and Armenia. They are, thank God, being made today.

Today, I come to the House floor to commemorate a very specific genocide which began on April 24, 1915. On that date, over 200 Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders were arrested in Istanbul and killed, marking the beginning of an 8-year campaign which resulted in the destruction of the ethnic Armenian community which had previously lived in Anatolia and Western Armenia. Between 1915 and 1923, approximately 1.5 million Armenians were killed and more than 500,000 were exiled.

The U.S. Government was aware of what was happening during these tragic years. U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, Sr. sent back graphic descriptions of death marches and mass killings, as did other Western diplomats. Although the U.S. and others voiced concerns about the atrocities and sent humanitarian assistance, little was actually done to stop the massacres.

The Armenian genocide was the first genocide of the modern age and has been recognized as a precursor of subsequent attempts to destroy a race through an official systematic effort. We must call this what it was, genocide, and we must never forget that it happened. Congress has consistently demanded recognition of the historic fact of the Armenian genocide.

The modern German government, although not itself responsible for the horrors of the Holocaust, has taken responsibility for and apologized for it. Yet, Mr. Speaker, the Turkish government continues to deny that the Armenian genocide even happened. This, unfortunately, is consistent with the Turkish government's position that it, today, has no problem concerning the rights of its Kurdish population.

Armenia and Armenians will remain vigilant to ensure that this tragic history is not repeated. The United States should do all that it can in this regard as well, including a clear message about the historic fact of the Armenian genocide. We do Turkey no favors by enabling her self-delusion, and we make ourselves hypocrites when we fail to sound the alarm on what is happening in Turkey today.

Armenia, Mr. Speaker, has made amazing progress in rebuilding a society and a nation, a triumph of the human spirit in the face of dramatic obstacles. Armenia is committed to democracy, market economics and the rule of law. We must continue to take a strong stand in Congress in support of these principles and respect for human rights, and I am proud to stand with Armenia in so doing.

Mr. MCKEON. Mr. Speaker, I join many of my colleagues today in remembering and acknowledging the atrocities endured by the people of Armenia earlier this century.

Eighty-four years ago, on the night of April 24, 1915, the Turkish government placed hundreds of the most prominent public figures in the Armenian community under arrest. They were apprehended and sent to prison. In the end, most of these cultural leaders and scholars were executed. The most disturbing part is that these deaths were only the beginning as an attempted extinction of an entire civilization was to shortly follow. For this reason, April 24 is commemorated as the date of the beginning of the Armenian Genocide.

The atrocities committed against the Armenian people during this time can be categorized as a genocide because such an organized killing of a people would require the central planning and resources only a government is capable of implementing. The Armenian Genocide was centrally planned and administered by the Ottoman Empire against the entire Armenian population under its rule. It was carried out during World War I between the years 1915 and 1918. The Armenian people were subjected to deportation, torture, massacre, and starvation. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians were forcibly moved from Armenia and sent to the desert to die of thirst and starvation. Others were methodically massacred throughout the region.

Most estimates illustrate that one and a half million Armenians perished between 1915 and 1923. There were an estimated two million Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire prior to World War I, and more than one million Armenians were deported in 1915. Hundreds of thousands more were either killed or died of hunger or exhaustion.

Even after the systematic and deliberate actions of the Ottoman empire and the millions of Armenian lives that were taken, there still remains a denial on the part of the Turkish government that this genocide actually occurred. This is a mistake. This is wrong.

Our world today is filled with nations fighting against one another. The lives of thousands of men, women, and children are taken every day from these conflicts. If we hope to ever stop these merciless killings and ensure that lives can be saved, it is imperative that we acknowledge the perilous acts of our past. We can learn from our history and make sure that it never repeats itself.

Today, I join my colleagues in condemning the atrocities committed against the Armenians and continue to emphasize our need to prevent similar tragedies from developing. We must recognize and openly acknowledge the atrocities committed against humanity before we are able to prevent them from happening again in the future.

I am proud to have been able to participate in this special tribute to the Armenian community.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, once again I rise, along with my colleagues, in solemn commemoration of the events of April 24th, 1915. On that day, a group of leaders of the Armenian community in Turkey was murdered. That fateful day marked the beginning. By 1923, about a million and a half Armenians had been killed and 500,000 more had been deported. The Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire was uprooted, as this bloody century witnessed its first genocide.

Many survivors came to the United States to rebuild their lives. As a community and as individuals, they attained remarkable successes, contributing greatly to their new homeland and consolidating Armenians' longstanding reputation for resourcefulness and resilience. But they never forgot their roots or their ancient homeland or the terrible wrong done to them. Our remarks today demonstrate our solidarity with them as they grieve over their losses, even while contemplating how much Armenia and Armenians have accomplished in this century.

Every commemoration of the Armenian Genocide is somber. But 1999's ceremonies are especially so. After all these years, after all the invocations and prayers, after all the memorials, it is horrifying to realize that the century is ending as it began. Once again, a government is using all its instruments of war against a civilian population solely because of its ethnic and religious affiliation. In Kosovo, marauding soldiers and paramilitary groups are terrorizing and killing men, women and children, in the implementation of a deliberate policy devised by truly evil people, led by Slobodan Milosevic. The twisted drive for ''purity'' is bad enough when reflecting the sincere convictions of intolerant and unenlightened masses of people; but it is somehow even more awful when stirred and manipulated by cynical politicians, determined to hang on to power and willing to employ literally any means—even the most unconscionably savage—to do so. The worst instincts of the human heart are claiming new victims, despite our earnest pledges that such atrocities would never happen again.

In this century, Armenian Christians, European Jews, and Muslims in the former Yugoslavia—among others—have been singled out as targets. The fate that has befallen them all demonstrates the universality of the lesson of their suffering. If the international community ignores the massacre of minorities, its perpetrators will be emboldened. Though nothing can compensate the Armenians for the losses of the genocide, the sacrifice they made earlier this century helped change the world's consciousness. I pray that we have learned from the hard lesson taught us by the Armenians and their sufferings. Days of commemoration are meant to honor those who have gone before us, and hopefully the lessons learned will provide some solace to the grieving on this sacred day.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the 84th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide that took place in Turkey between 1915 and 1923. This antecedent for all subsequent 20th-century genocides began on April 24, 1915, when the rulers of the Ottoman Empire began the systematic and ruthless extermination of the Armenian minority in Turkey. By the end of the Terror, more than 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children had been massacred and more than half a million others had been expelled from the homeland that their forbearers had inhabited for three millennia.

Last weekend I traveled to the Kosovo war zone with other members of a bipartisan, bicameral Congressional Delegation. The official briefings were important and informative; but the visit to a refugee camp was staggering. I saw whole landscapes of misery, broad vistas of suffering, vast panoramas of despair and destruction. Yet I heard very little. The silence was deafening. It was the sound of deep sadness. I was in Macedonia, but I suspect that the scenes I was witnessing are reminiscent of the Anatolian plateau circa 1920, when the Armenian population was experiencing a demographic disaster of Biblical proportions.

As we enter the Third Millennium of the Christian Era, it behooves us to remember. If we ignore the lessons of the Armenian Genocide, then we are destined to continue our stumblings through the long, dark tunnel of endless ethnic-cleansings, genocides, and holocausts. Let us, then, remember to remember.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember and commemorate the Armenian genocide of 1915 through 1923. Each year, we pause from our legislative schedule to pay tribute to those killed in the terrible Armenian Genocide, which began in 1915 under the Ottoman Empire. We take time to remember those who were forcibly removed from their homeland and relocated, killed or imprisoned solely for their Armenian heritage. One reason we do this is to draw importance to the event so it never happens again. Unfortunately, we are in the midst of another ethnic cleansing in the Balkans.

One and one half million people perished during the Armenian genocide. Virtually the entire Armenian population was eliminated from the Ottoman Empire in the eight years of the Armenian Genocide. This terrible point in history marked the first genocide of the 20th Century. It is a sad and shameful period in history. We must remember it, and work toward preventing such terrible atrocities in the future.

In my district in Southwestern Illinois, there is a significant population of Armenian-Americans. I would like to pay special tribute to those survivors who eventually made their way to the 12th District. These survivors suffered terrible atrocities and upheaval. They have never forgotten their ordeal, and through them we hear their history. These survivors are an important link to a past that we cannot ignore. Many in the Armenian community in my district attend St. Gregory's Armenian Apostolic Church in Granite City, Illinois. St. Gregory's has a strong tradition of preserving Armenian heritage and remembering the atrocities of the Genocide of 1915–1923.

I would like to mention that I am a cosponsor of Rep. RADANOVICH and BONIOR's resolution which affirms the U.S. record on the Armenian Genocide. This important resolution calls on the President to collect and house all relevant U.S. records on the Armenian Genocide and provide them to the House International Relations Committee, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Armenian Genocide Museum in Yerevan, Armenia. The legacy of the genocide must be remembered.

Each year, my colleagues and I take to this floor to pay tribute to the victims of a terrible crime against humanity. This is just one way in which the Congress can continue to pay recognition to those who were killed during this terrible episode in Armenia's history. It is my sincere hope that we and future generations will never forget these atrocities.

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share my thoughts on one of the most atrocious events in human history—the genocide of the Armenian people. I would like to thank Mr. PORTER of Illinois and Mr. PALLONE of New Jersey, the co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on Armenian issues, for holding this special order.

It shames and saddens me to say that the human race is no stranger to genocide—the great purges in Russia, during which Stalin methodically killed millions of Russians; the holocaust, in which 6 million Jews were systemically slaughtered by the Nazis; and less well known, but certainly just as significant, the Armenian genocide in which 1.5 million Armenians were exterminated by the Ottoman Turks.

I feel a special kinship to the Armenian people. As many of you know, I am a Greek-American, and my ancestors, too, suffered at the hands of the Ottoman Turks.

In fact, every March, I conduct a special order in this Chamber to commemorate Greek Independence Day. On that day, one hundred and seventy-eight years ago, the Greeks mounted a revolution which eventually freed them from the tyranny of the Ottoman Empire.

Unfortunately, the Armenians were not as fortunate as their Greek brothers and sisters. This atrocity lasted from 1915 till 1923. In the end, one and one half million Armenians had been systematically eliminated and hundreds of thousands were driven from their homes by the Ottoman Turks. They were people like you and me. People with families and friends, hopes and dreams, and they were all destroyed by the Ottoman Turks.

Today, I want to acknowledge this dark moment in history and remember the Armenian people who tragically lost their lives. We in Congress must always remember tumultuous moments in history where people suffered because they were different.

Of course, we all want to forget these horrific tragedies in our history and bury them in

the past. However, it is only through the painful process of acknowledging and remembering that we can keep similar dark moments from happening in the future.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask that we take a moment to reflect upon the hardships endured by the Armenians. In the face of adversity the Armenian people have persevered. The survivors of the genocide and their descendants have made great contributions to every country in which they have settled—including the United States, where Armenians have made their mark in business, the professions and our cultural life.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to observe one of the most tragic events in our history, the Armenian Genocide, which took place during the final years of the Ottoman Empire. Each year on April 24th, the Armenian community, along with their friends and supporters around the world gather in remembrance of the 1.5 million Armenians who lost their lives.

The facts on the Armenian genocide are well documented. By the direction of the Ottoman Government, thousands of Armenian citizens were ruthlessly killed in their eastern Anatolian villages. Hundreds of thousands more were forcibly deported to Syria and then marched into the desert and abandoned without water, food, or shelter. This tragedy of history has left deep scars in the hearts and minds of its survivors and their descendants. In remembrance of one of the twentieth century's darkest chapters, we must make a commitment to ourselves and to our children that such atrocities will not be allowed to repeat themselves ever again.

Following the war, hundreds of displaced Armenians came to the United States to rebuild their shattered lives. Their contribution, as well as that of their descendants, has greatly enriched American society. It is my hope that the memories of the past will serve to remind us of the importance of tolerance and respect for the diversity of our people.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my appreciation to Mr. PALLONE and Mr. PORTER for organizing this special order today to commemorate the Armenian genocide. This year, as NATO fights ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, it is especially important for us to remember the Armenian genocide, and to remember our promise of ''never again.''

On April 24, 1915, more than two hundred Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders were arrested and killed. From 1915 to 1923, 1½ million people lost their lives in the slaughter. Another half million lost their homes and property, and watched as the symbols of their religion and culture were destroyed.

Anyone who has studied or discussed these tragic events 84 years ago—not to mention the preposterous historical revisionism that still exist to this day—can fully understand how important this tribute is to the Armenian community in this country, some of whom still live with the memories of the horror.

Regrettably, the world's inaction in the face of these atrocities sent a message that human rights violations would be tolerated. The line from Armenia to Auschwitz is direct. When contemplating the destruction of the Jewish people, Hitler is reported to have said, ''who remembers the Armenians?''

This day is set aside to remind us that those who forget history are doomed to repeat it. As we speak, in Yugoslavia, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is engaged in gross violations of the human rights of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. The images splashed across our television screens and newspapers of ethnic cleansing, forced deportations, and random executions there are horrors for which the Armenian genocide was a tragic precedent.

Today, we honor the memory of the victims of the Armenian genocide, and vow once more that genocide will not go unnoticed and unmourned. We gather today to reaffirm our unwavering commitment to fight all crimes against humanity.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. I rise today to join my colleagues in paying homage to the countless number of Armenians who were deprived of their freedom and senselessly killed because of their religious or political beliefs. The Armenian Genocide that occurred between 1915–1923 represents a disgraceful period in world history that should not be ignored or distorted.

Armenians have endured many hardships and unwarranted treatment by foreign countries throughout their history. This was most prevalent during the late 19th and early 20th century when Armenians were persecuted by Ottoman and Russian leaders for attempting to reform their political system. The Ottoman government, in particular, was responsible for causing the death of more than 1 million Armenians between 1915 and 1923. As disgraceful as these acts were, the Armenian people persevered and eventually seceded from the USSR to become an independent state. In 1992 they became a member of the United Nations and in 1995 held their first open legislative elections as an independent country.

Although Armenia has made great strides to become an independent state, the scars of their past remain. The senseless acts of violence inflicted upon their ancestors deserve historical recognition. It is important to ensure that future generations are made aware of the countless number of Armenians who were killed because of their religious and political affiliation.

With similar acts of human rights violations occurring in the Balkans and elsewhere, the world should never forget the atrocities that occurred in Armenia.

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I am once again rising to honor the anniversary of the 1915 Armenian Genocide to remember the 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children who were killed, and the additional 500,000 Armenians who were forcibly deported by the Ottoman Empire during an eight-year reign of brutal repression.

As history reveals, a group of Armenian leaders were forcibly taken into Turkey on April 15, 1915, and subsequently murdered. Over the next eight years, Armenians were deprived of their homes, their humanity, and ultimately their lives. In addition, post-World War I did not see those who were responsible come to justice. Although the Allied Powers, England, France, and Russia, jointly issued a statement that for the first time charged another nation with committing ''a crime against humanity,'' war criminals were never brought to justice. In years to come, firsthand sources indicate that Hitler proclaimed, ''Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians;'' thus allowing him to believe that his ''Final Solution'' could not only begin but also would be forgotten.

It brings me great sadness to remark on these terrible events not only because of the tragedy itself but also because we are seeing history repeat itself in Kosovo. Genocides occur when humanity ignores the cries of those being exterminated and forgets to hold those responsible accountable. We cannot and should not let that happen again.

As we in Congress grapple with the problems of today, I ask that we learn from the terrible events of yesteryear and move to educate today's generation about the lessons we have learned. The fact that the United States still hasn't even formally recognized the Armenian Genocide remains a stain on our heritage and the values we hold dear to us. It is for this reason that I am proud to be an original cosponsor of the ''U.S. Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution'' that will be introduced this week. This resolution directs the President to provide a complete collection of all United States records related to the Armenian Genocide to document and affirm the United States record of protest and recognition of this crime against humanity. Co-sponsoring this resolution is a small step but an important one.

In closing, I would like to thank Representatives PALLONE and PORTER for their ongoing support of Armenian issues and for organizing this special order remembering the people and events surrounding the Armenian Genocide. I am proud of my Armenian heritage and the contributions of so many Armenians to our great nation. It is my sincere hope that we not forget this tragedy and that we learn from it so that we never repeat its course.

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today on this somber occasion to pay tribute to the victims of the Armenian Genocide, and to remind our nation and the world about one of the greatest tragedies and darkest moments of the 20th Century.

On April 24, 1915, the Armenian Genocide began. Within the next eight years, 1.5 million Armenians had been massacred and 500,000 more had been deported during the final years of the Ottoman Empire. They were denied their freedom, deprived of their possessions, and systematically massacred.

For those who have spent years attempting to refute the facts or minimize the extent of this tragedy, the facts are indisputable. The Armenian Genocide is a fact, a disturbing fact. Those who deny it are guilty of historical sabotage, and just as guilty as those who continue to deny that six million Jews were murdered during the Holocaust in Europe. I am certain that years from now some will also deny the human tragedy and ethnic cleansing taking place in Kosovo today.

Many survivors of the Armenian Genocide came to America in search of freedom. Their

stories, passed from one generation to the next, serve as a record of the horrors faced by millions. Their stories will help in our efforts to ensure that history is not distorted and that future generations are fully aware of what truly happened.

On this solemn day, I commend Armenian Americans for their contributions to our nation and join with them in paying tribute to the victims of the Armenian Genocide.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to stand and join with my colleagues in commemorating the 84th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. I would like to thank the other members of the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues, and particularly the co-chairmen Mr. PORTER and Mr. PALLONE, for their tireless efforts in organizing this fitting tribute.

84 years ago Saturday, April 24, 1915, the nightmare in Armenia began. Hundreds of Armenian religious, political, and educational leaders were arrested, exiled, or murdered. These events marked the beginning of the systematic persecution of the Armenian people by the Ottoman Empire, and also launched the first genocide of the 20th century. Over the next eight years, 1.5 million Armenians were put to death and 500,000 more were exiled from their homes. These atrocities are among the most cruel and inhumane acts that have ever been recorded.

As we reflect today on the horrors that were initiated 84 years ago, I cannot help but be disturbed by those who wish to deny that these deeds occurred. Despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary—eyewitness accounts, official archives, photographic evidence, diplomatic reports, and testimony of survivors—they reject the claim that genocide, or any other crime for that matter, was perpetrated against Armenians. Well, History tells a different story.

Let me read a quote from Henry Morgenthau, Sr., U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time: ''When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.* * *''

The world knows the truth about this tragic episode in human affairs. We will not allow those who wish to rewrite History to absolve themselves from responsibility for their actions. This evening's event here in the House of Representatives is testament to that fact. We can only hope that the recognition and condemnation of this, and other instances of genocide, will prevent a similar instance from happening again as we move into the 21st Century. I would like to once again thank the organizers of this event and I would like to once again reaffirm my sincere thanks for being given the opportunity to participate in this solemn remembrance.

Ms. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, April 24th marks the 84th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, an act of mass murder that took 1.5 million Armenian lives and led to the exile of the Armenian nation from its historic homeland.

It is of vital importance that we never forget what happened to the Armenian people. Indeed the only thing we can do for the victims is to remember, and we forget at our own peril.

The Armenian Genocide, which began 15 years after the start of the twentieth century, was the first act of genocide of this century, but it was far from the last. The Armenian Genocide was followed by the Holocaust, Stalin's purges, ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, and other acts of mass murder around the world.

Adolf Hitler himself said that the world's indifference to the slaughter in Armenia indicated that there would be no global outcry if he undertook the mass murder of Jews and other he considered less than human. And he was right. It was only after the Holocaust that the cry ''never again'' arose throughout the world. But it was too late for millions of victims. Too late for the six million Jews. Too late for the 1.5 million Armenians.

Today we recall the Armenian Genocide and we mourn its victims. We also pledge that we shall do everything we can to protect the Armenian nation against further aggression; in the Republic of Armenia, in Nagorno-Karabagh, or anywhere else.

Unfortunately, there are some who still think it is acceptable to block the delivery of U.S. humanitarian assistance around the world. Despite overwhelming international condemnation. Azerbaijan continues its blockade of U.S. humanitarian assistance to Armenia.

It is tragic that Azerbaijan's tactics have denied food and medicine to innocent men, women, and children in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabagh, and created thousands of refugees. The U.S. must stand firm against Azerbaijan's brazen violations of international law until it ends this immoral blockade. We must make clear that warfare and blockades aimed at civilians are unacceptable as means for resolving disputes.

Mr. Speaker, after the Genocide, the Armenian people wiped away their tears and cried out, ''Let us always remember the atrocities that have taken the lives of our parents and our children and our neighbors.''

As the Armenian-American author William Saroyan wrote, ''Go ahead, destroy this race.* * * Send them from their homes into the desert.* * * Burn their homes and churches. Then see if they will not laugh again, see if they will not sing and pray again. For, when two of them meet anywhere in the world, see if they will not create a New Armenia.''

I rise today to remember those cries and to make sure that they were not uttered in vain. The Armenian nation lives. We must do everything we can to ensure that it is never imperiled again.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, I rise somberly to remember and commemorate the tragedy of the Armenian Genocide.

During the final years of the Ottoman Empire, from 1915–1923, 1.5 million Armenians had been massacred and 500,000 more were forcibly removed from their native land. April 24 is the day which is annually remembered by not only the world's Armenian community, but by people all over the world who hold basic human rights sacred. On this day in 1915, hundreds of Armenian leaders and intellectuals were arrested in Constantinople and killed. Additionally, thousands more were murdered in the streets. The attempt at systematic extermination of the Armenian people was conducted over the next eight years.

The lack of an international response to this disaster is frightening. Hitler saw this as proof that he could carry out the holocaust with no consequences, and, like tyrants afterward, used the Armenian Genocide as a blueprint for his campaign of terror.

Unfortunately, the Turkish government, despite overwhelming evidence, refuses even today to acknowledge that the genocide ever occurred. The disaster we commemorate today has sadly been repeated often throughout the century. Today we sometimes refer to it as ethnic cleansing, but it all adds up to the same result—mass murder. We see this terror continue throughout the world today. In Somalia, Hutus systematically murdered hundreds of thousands of Tutsis, and afterward received refugee assistance from the United Nations once the Tutsis gained control. The massacre of Christians and other peoples in Somalia by Muslims goes practically unnoticed by the world.

Today we must make sure that we never forget the Armenian Genocide, and work to ensure that individuals who commit these atrocities are brought to justice.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I rise to address the Houston on this very sad day. In Colorado, parents are grieving their murdered sons and daughters. In the Balkans, Albanian refugees are running for their lives, having been kicked out of their homes by Serbian thugs who rape, torture, and kill their former neighbors. In central Africa, civil wars are rocking the Cargo furthering the horror started there by the genocidal murders of Hutus and Tutsis. In China, North Korea and Cuba, communist dictators continue to deny their citizens basic human rights and imprison anyone who dissents.

That is the world today. But I rise, joining my colleagues, to remind the world of a genocide that happened 84 years ago in the part of the world we now call Turkey. On April 24, 1915 more than 200 Armenian religious, political and intellectual leaders from Constantinople—what is Istanbul—were arrested and sent into exile. By silencing the leading representatives of the Armenian people, the government of the Ottoman Empire was able to proceed with its premeditated and methodical extermination of the Armenian people. Between 1915 and 1923, more than 1.5 million Armenian men, women and children were deported, forced into slave labor concentration camps, tortured, and murdered. The goal of this atrocity was to remove all traces of the Armenian people and their rich heritage from Anatolia.

At the time, the world had not coined such terms as concentration camps, genocide, ethnic cleansing or holocaust. It is tragic that in this century we have had to come up with new words to describe Man's inhumanity to Man. And it is tragic that as we end this century, history is repeating itself as Serbs in Yugoslavia unleash their cruelty upon the Kosovar people.

It is vital that we remember the countless victims of the Turkish genocide against the Armenians. We honor the memory of those killed and the bravery of those who, having been forced out of their homes and off their land, traveled throughout the world and re-established themselves in distant lands far from home.

We remember, Mr. Speaker. We remember and we speak here today so that History will record that 80 years later, the victims of this genocide are not forgotten. It is important that people like Mr. Slobodan Milosevic and other tyrants around the world realize that we do not forget and we will not let the world forget the evils they perpetrate against their own people.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise along with many of my colleagues, to commemorate

the Armenian Genocide of 1915–1923. Many of us here are already quite familiar with the details: on April 24, 1915, 84 years ago this week, over two hundred Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders were executed by the Turkish government. This mass execution was not an isolated incident, but rather was the beginning of a systematic campaign perpetrated by the Ottoman Turk government. These executions had also been preceded by a historic pattern of persecution officially sanctioned by the Ottoman Sultan. To Armenians around the world, April 24th marks the start of an organized campaign by the government of Ottoman Turkey to completely eliminate the Armenian population from the Ottoman Empire. During the following eight years, from 1915–1923, 1.5 million Armenians lost their lives, whether directly or indirectly at the hands of the Ottoman government.

I stand here before my colleagues to also praise the efforts that we make today to end persecution and genocide around the world. I rise not as a Democrat or a Republican, but as a human being, honoring the memory of those massacred, so that this will never happen again. It is our responsibility and obligation as humans to acknowledge these tragic events in history and to ensure that the memories of those massacred are honored and respected for all time. In that light, we must not allow the Turkish government's denials of the Armenian genocide to go unanswered. Explaining away the Genocide as a series of internal conflicts during and after WW I that caused the unfortunate death of many Armenian people, not only insults the memories of the victims and survivors, but also offends our own sensibilities. It is therefore our responsibility to ensure that events such as the Armenian Genocide are not forgotten and NEVER repeated. As a Congressman, a Jew, and as a person, I stand here today to honor the memory of those who have been massacred by totalitarian governments throughout history. In fact, there are many comparisons between the suffering of the Armenian people and the Jewish people. Quite simply, just as we pledge to never forget the tragedy of the Holocaust, we must also not let the Armenian Genocide go unacknowledged, as that would be the equivalent of forgetting. The obvious lesson in this is that we must not ever turn our backs to the suffering of any people. In fact, I think this lesson resonates loudly in our actions today in Kosovo.

Lastly, I want to thank my colleagues, Congressmen JOHN PORTER and FRANK PALLONE, for leading this effort in the House of Representatives. Their combined leadership on the Armenian Issues Caucus makes us all proud to work together on this issue of concern to all human beings.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I join Armenians throughout the United States and around the world on this solemn day of remembrance commemorating the genocide of innocent Armenian people perpetrated during the waning days of the Ottoman Empire. On this day, the 84th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide committed in Ottoman Turkey from 1915 to 1923, it is crucial that we recall the horrific events of this dark chapter in world history and dedicate ourselves to preventing such atrocities in the future.

History shows that in 1915 the systematic massacre of Armenian political, religious, and intellectual figures began. This slaughter continued until 1923, although the memories of this campaign of terror still haunt us today. From 1915–1923, the Armenian population was expelled from their homeland. One and a half million Armenians lost their lives and over 500,000 surviving refugees rebuilt their lives outside of Armenia, many of them coming to the United States to build their new homes. The Armenian-American population, many of whom reside in my district, have prospered in the United States and contributed to our cultural enrichment, enhanced our diversity and become strong members of our society.

Despite the calculated effort to banish the Armenian people from their land and eradicate Armenian culture and tradition, today the Republic of Armenia is striving to establish a strong and progressive nation committed to establishing democratic institutions and ideals. The Armenian government has launched a program of industrial reform, privatized agricultural land, and made substantial progress in small-enterprise privatization. Armenia has also made an effort to take steps to resolve the Karabagh conflict and moved to stabilize its economy based upon free market principles. I am proud we are here today to demonstrate American solidarity in our support of Armenian efforts to achieve a bright future.

As we acknowledge the 84th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, we join with our Armenian friends in remembering those who lost their lives as a result of this terrible tragedy. While we reflect upon the past and commit ourselves to learning from the history of this humanitarian disaster, we also look forward to a brighter future for Armenia. We look forward to a time in which Armenia will, we hope, grow prosperous, achieve economic strength, and, above all, enjoy peace.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, in a dark time in Europe, a nation slowly collapsed. At this tumultuous time of great societal transformations, uncertain futures, and with governmental change looming on the horizon, leaders fell back on the one proven weapon that assured their personal survival. It is a weapon that feeds upon fear, desperation, and hatred. It transforms the average citizen into a zealot, no longer willing to listen to reason. This weapon is, of course, nationalism. It's result is ethnic strife and senseless genocide, committed in the name of false believes preached by immoral, irresponsible, reprehensible leaders.

Today I rise not to speak of the present, but in memory of the victims of the past, who suffered needlessly in the flames of vicious, destructive nationalism. On April 24, 1915, the leaders of the Ottoman government tragically chose to systematically exterminate an entire race of people. We gather in solemn remembrance of the results of that decision, remembering the loss of one-and-a-half million Armenians.

The story of the Armenian genocide is in itself appalling. it is against everything our government—and indeed all governments who strive for justice—stands for; it represents the most wicked side of humanity. What makes the Armenian story even more unfortunate is history has repeated itself in all corners of the world, and lessons that should have been learned long ago have been ignored.

We must not forget the Armenian genocide, the holocaust, Rwanda, or Bosnia. Today, on this grim anniversary, we must remember why our armed forces fight in the skies over Yugoslavia.

We must not sit idly by and be spectators to the same kind of violence that killed so many Armenians; we must not watch as innocent Kosovars are brutalized not for what they have done, but simply for who they are. Ethnic cleansing is genocide and cannot be ignored by a just and compassionate country. We owe it to the victims of past genocides to stamp out this form of inhumanity.

It is an honor and privilege to represent a large and active Armenian population, many who have family members who were persecuted by their Ottoman Turkish rulers. Michigan's Armenian-American community has done much to further our state's commercial, political, and intellectual growth, just as it has done in communities across the country. And so I also rise today to honor the triumph of the Armenian people, who have endured adversity and bettered our country.

But again, Mr. Speaker, it is also my hoe that in honoring the victims of the past, we learn one fundamental lesson from their experience: Never Again!

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in commemorating the 84th anniversary of the Armenian genocide.

We observe the Armenian genocide today so as not to forget. We remember the horrific conflagration that engulfed the lives of 1.5 million innocent Armenian men, women, and children so that governments around the world will know that they will be held accountable for their bloody deeds by the consciousness of mankind. In one of the darkest chapters of the 20th century, the government of the Ottoman Empire systematically implemented a policy of extermination against its Armenian population through ruthless marches of forced starvation and endless waves of bloody massacres.

Over 8 decades have now come and gone since the tragic event unfolded and, yet, the Turkish Government continues to deny the undeniable. The Armenian genocide is a historical fact that has been indelibly etched in the annals of history. If cannot be erased from our collective memory.

To heal the open wounds of the past, the Turkish Government has a moral obligation to acknowledge and recognize the Armenian genocide. Turkey must come to terms with its past. It must also come to terms with its present actions against the Republic of Armenia.

The government of Turkey should immediately lift its illegal blockade of Armenia, which it has had in place since 1993. Turkey must also stop obstructing the delivery of United States humanitarian assistance to Armenia. This is not only unconscionable but it also damages American-Turkish relations. Turkey is indeed an important ally of the United States. However, until Turkey faces up to its past and stops its silent but destructive campaign against the Republic of Armenia, American-Turkish relations will continue to be strained.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join with my colleagues in remembering the Armenian people who lost their lives in one of history's greatest atrocities, the Armenian genocide. Today, the importance of such a commemoration could not be more timely, as our brave troops in Yugoslavia struggle to stop another similar atrocity. As new reports of ethnic cleansing, torture and rape continue to arise in the Balkans, I believe it is especially important that the United States officially recognize this horrible episode.

Mr. Speaker, despite attempts to minimize its effect, the Armenian Genocide is a historical fact. This was an episode so terrible that our ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at the time, Henry Morgenthau, commented, ''The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.''

On April 24, 1915, Turkish officials arrested and exiled more than 200 Armenian political, intellectual and religious leaders. This symbolic cleansing of Armenian leaders began a reign of terror against the Armenian people that lasted for the next 8 years, and resulted in the death of more than 1.5 million Armenians. In the assault, another 500,000 Armenians were exiled from their homes.

Acts of deportations, torture, enslavement and mass executions obliterated the Armenian population and changed the world forever. These mass exterminations and incidents of ethnic cleansing are the first examples of genocide this century, and have often been referred to as the precursor to the Nazi Holocaust.

Mr. Speaker, the accounts by survivors of this incident are chillingly similar to those we are currently hearing from those lucky enough to escape Milosevic's terror in Yugoslavia. It is amazing how often history will repeat itself, and how often we don't listen to the past. The memory of the Armenian Genocide, no matter how cruel and brutal, must serve as a lesson to us all to never ignore such actions. We owe that to the Armenian people who showed such bravery in a time of great pain and tragedy.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, on this occasion each year we remember the terrible events that took place in Ottoman Turkey 84 years ago.

While the rise of independent Armenia just 8 years ago serves as a clear symbol of the Armenian nation's will to survive, the tragic events that occurred over 80 years ago should not be forgotten—and have not been forgotten.

Beginning in 1915, the decaying Ottoman Empire, in a final struggle against its own disintegration, engaged in a genocidal campaign of executions and attacks against many of its ethnic Armenian residents in a vain effort to turn the tide of the First World War.

Those attacks, while failing to turn the tide of war, resulted in the loss of tens of thousands of lives of innocent men, women and children.

This special order today honors those victims and commemorates their untimely deaths.

Mr. Speaker, as I have said on earlier occasions, I am hopeful that, as we today honor the memory of those who lost their lives long before the Armenian nation regained its independence, we can nonetheless look forward to that day when the new, independent Republic of Armenia and its people will live in peace with their neighbors—a peace that will never see Armenian men, women and children subjected to the horrors and atrocities their ancestors experienced over 80 years ago.

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to announce that later this week I will be joined by my colleagues Mr. ROGAN, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. PALLONE and a bipartisan group of legislators in introducing legislation to affirm the U.S. historical record on the Armenian Genocide.

We take this step to bring together in a collection all the U.S. records on the Armenian genocide and then to provide this collection to the House International Relations Committee, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, here in Washington, DC, and the Armenian Genocide Museum in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia.

In so doing, we reaffirm the principled stand taken by U.S. diplomats, religious leaders, and government officials during the years of the Genocide, and in the years since that terrible tragedy.

Our archives contain extensive documentation of the widespread opposition to Ottoman Turkey's brutal massacres and deportations. They contain, as well, records of the unprecedented efforts of the American people to bring relief to the survivors of this, the century's first genocide. As many in this Chamber know, the United States led the international humanitarian campaign to aid those who escaped the Genocide, the countless thousands who found refuge in the camps and orphanages established through the generosity of the American people.

In introducing this legislation, we also take a stand against those who would, in a cold political calculation, deny genocide, past or present. By affirming the U.S. historical record of the Armenian Genocide, we challenge this denial and reinforce our national resolve to prevent future genocide.

Please add your name today as a cosponsor of this legislation and join with me at the Armenian National Committee's Genocide Observance being held this evening in the Rayburn House Office Building.

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, this Saturday, April 24, marks the 84th anniversary of the beginning of the Armenian genocide. I rise today to commemorate this terrible chapter in human history, and to help ensure it will be forgotten.

On April 24, 1915, the Turkish government began to arrest Armenian community and political leaders. Many were executed without ever being charged with crimes. Soon thereafter the government deported most Armenians from Turkish Armenia, ordering that they resettle in what is now Syria. Many deportees never reached that destination. From 1915 to 1918, more than a million Armenians died of starvation or disease on long marches, or were massacred outright by Turkish forces. From 1918 to 1923, Armenians continued to suffer at the hands of the Turkish military, which eventually removed all remaining Armenians from Turkey.

We mark this anniversary of the start of the Armenian genocide because this tragedy for the Armenian people was a tragedy for all humanity. It is our duty to remember, to speak out and to teach future generations about the horrors of genocide and the oppression and terrible suffering endured by the Armenian people.

We should not be alone in commemorating these horrific events. We will know that humanity has progressed when it is not just the survivors who honor the dead but also when those whose ancestors perpetrated the horrors acknowledge their terrible responsibility and honor as well the memory of genocide's victims.

Sadly, we cannot say that such atrocities are history. We have only to recall the ''killing fields'' of Cambodia, mass ethnic killings in Bosnia and Rwanda, and ''ethnic cleansing'' in Kosovo to see that the threat of genocide persists. We must renew our commitment never to remain indifferent in the face of such assaults on humanity.

We also remember this day because it is a time for us to celebrate the contribution of the Armenian community in America—including hundreds of thousands in California—to the richness of our character and culture. The strength they have displayed in overcoming tragedy to flourish in this country is an example for all of us. Their success is moving testimony to the truth that tyranny and evil cannot extinguish the vitality of the human spirit.

Surrounded by countries hostile to them, to this day the Armenian struggle continues. But now with an independent Armenian state, the United States has the opportunity to contribute to a true memorial to the past by strengthening Armenia's emerging democracy. We must do all we can through aid and trade to support Armenia's efforts to construct an open political and economic system.

Adolf Hitler, the architect of the Nazi Holocaust, once remarked ''Who remembers the Armenians?'' The answer is, we do. And we will continue to remember the victims of the 1915–23 genocide because, in the words of the philosopher George Santayana, ''Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.''

Mr. LEVINJ. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join with my colleagues in Congress, Armenian Americans in my district, and Armenians all over the world as we commemorate the 84th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.

Between 1894 and 1923, approximately 2 million Armenians were massacred, persecuted, or exiled by the Ottoman Empire. Today, fewer than 80,000 declared Armenians remain in Turkey. The Eastern provinces, the Armenian heartland, are virtually without Armenians. There are still Armenian refugees and internally displaced persons in Russia, an issue not well-known internationally. They face extreme difficulties and hardship.

The years since the Armenian Genocide have magnified its tragedy, not diminished it. It is true for the hundreds of thousands who lost their lives as well as their families for whom the void can never be filled.

It also has been true for all the world. The Holocaust of the 1930's and 1940's has been followed by a number of genocides in the last three decades. The failure of the Turkish government to acknowledge the sinful acts of its predecessors sent the wrong message to the rulers of Cambodia, Rwanda and Yugoslavia. It is especially poignant at this time to observe and remember the Genocide against the Armenian people in 1915 as the world watches man's inhumanity to men, women and children in Kosovo in 1999.

The failure of countries of the world to take prompt notice of these modern atrocities should remind all of us of the failure of other nations to promptly acknowledge the massacre of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

There is more that the United States can do to ensure that history does not forget the Armenian genocide. Along with Representatives BONIOR and RADANOVICH, I will shortly join as an original cosponsor of the ''United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Resolution.'' This legislation calls on the President to collect all U.S. records on the Armenian Genocide and provide them to the House International Relations Committee, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Armenian Genocide Museum in Yerevan, Armenia.

It is the duty of all of us to join Armenian Americans in remembering the Armenian

genocide. We have been fighting this battle for formal acknowledgment by the Turkish government for many years. We must not give in until the battle is won.

Mr. DOOLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in commemorating the 84th anniversary of the Armenian genocide.

Like the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide stands as a historical example of the human suffering which persecution and intolerance have brought far too often this century.

One and one-half million Armenian people were massacred by the Ottoman Turkish Empire between 1915 and 1923. More than 500,000 Armenians were exiled from a homeland that their ancestors had occupied for more than 3,000 years. A race of people was nearly eliminated.

However great the loss of human life and homeland that occurred during the genocide, a greater tragedy would be to forget the Armenian genocide took place. As recent events in the Balkans illustrate, to ignore the horror of such events almost assures their repetition in the future. Adolf Hitler, in preparing his genocide plans for the Jews, predicted that no one would remember the atrocities he was about to unleash. After all, he asked, ''Who remembers the Armenians?''

Our statements today are intended to preserve the memory of the Armenian loss, and to remind the world that the Turkish government still refuses to acknowledge the Armenian genocide. The truth of this tragedy can never, and should never be denied. The ethnic Albanian refugees of Kosovo attest to the suffering which accompanies forced exile.

This 84th anniversary also brings to mind the current suffering of the Armenian people, who are still immersed in tragedy and violence. The unrest between Armenia and Azerbaijan continues in Nagorno-Karabakh. Thousands of innocent people have already perished in this dispute, and still many more have been displaced and are homeless.

In the face of this difficult situation comes an opportunity for reconciliation. Now is the time for Armenia and its neighbors, including Turkey, to come together, to work toward building relationships that will ensure lasting peace.

Meanwhile, in America, the Armenian-American community continues to thrive and to provide assistance and solidarity to its countrymen and women abroad. Now numbering nearly 1 million, the Armenian-American community is bound together by strong generational and family ties, an enduring work ethic, and a proud sense of ethnic heritage. Today we recall the tragedy of their past, not to place blame, but to answer a fundamental question, ''Who remembers the Armenians?'

Let us take this opportunity today to contemplate the Armenian genocide, and with the global community standing as witnesses, affirm that we do remember them.

Mr. WEYGAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in somber recognition of the beginning of the Armenian genocide. This horrific tragedy claimed the lives of over one million Armenians in a nine-year campaign of systematic persecution, expulsion, and violence, and displaced at least a further 500,000 Armenians from their historic homeland in eastern Turkey.

Few Americans are aware that the Holocaust of World War II was in fact the second genocide of this century; for political reasons, the United States government has long refused to recognize the Armenian exterminations and expulsions as a genocide. Make no mistake: this persecution was not the accidental and unfortunate by-product of a period of upheaval and chaos. From 1915 through 1923, the Young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire attempted to erase all trace of the Armenian people and culture from Turkey. In order to achieve this goal, government forces engaged in direct killing, starvation, torture, and forced death marches. The term ''genocide'' constitutes the only means sufficient to describe such an outrage, and the suffering of the Armenian people dictates that we acknowledge the Armenian genocide as such.

While paying tribute to the victims of the Armenian genocide, however, we must not forget to celebrate the fortitude and persistence of the Armenian people who have survived and thrived in spite of this persecution. The United States has a large Armenian-American population which has made significant and positive contributions to their communities and to this nation as a whole. The Republic of Armenia struggled through the turmoil of the dissolution of the Soviet Union to emerge as a force for democracy and a strong civil society in that region. The Armenian people have transformed tragedy into triumph, and I salute the power of their spirit.

As many of my colleagues may recognize, this anniversary becomes particularly poignant in light of the ongoing crisis in the Balkans today. I am reminded of the words of President Theodore Roosevelt, who observed, ''* * * the Armenian genocide was the greatest crime of the war, and the failure to act against Turkey is to condone it * * * the failure to deal radically with the Turkish horror means that all talk of guaranteeing the future peace of the world is mischievous nonsense.'' Sadly, these words are all too applicable to the situation we now face in Kosovo and Serbia.

Hitler, when outlining the strategy that culminated in the ''Final Solution,'' reportedly remarked: ''Who today remembers the extermination of the Armenians?'' Today, let us all prove Hitler wrong by not only remembering and mourning the Armenian genocide, but also by continuing our efforts on behalf of the Kosovar people to ensure that such a tragedy can never again be visited upon any people in this world.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I stand with my colleagues today to remember the Armenian genocide which occurred between 1915 and 1923.

Eighty four years ago the Ottoman Empire began a systematic eight-year purge of Armenians within its borders. Ultimately, 1.5 million men, women and children were executed. In addition, 500,000 Armenians were forced to leave their homes and seek refuge in other countries. Many of those refugees came to the United States. In the decades since, these immigrants have made innumerable contributions to American society.

This first genocide of this century of genocides demonstrates the depths of brutality and evil that humanity can reach. By remembering it, we remember how important it is to work to prevent such evil from recurring.

I have a special connection to the fate that befell the Armenians, as my family has also fallen victim to ruthless genocide. My family was nearly destroyed by the genocide that Hitler led throughout Europe against the Jews. Two of my grandparents were killed in the Holocaust. My father survived the extermination of his village by the Nazis and my mother spent the war fleeing the Nazis by going deeper and deeper into Russia. I was born in a displaced-persons camp in Germany after World War II.

Today, we look across the world and see history repeating itself in the most horrific terms. We are in the midst of a battle in the Balkans to confront the genocide being carried out by Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic.

However, even the most terrible events can have a ray of hope for the survivors. We can look at Armenia today and see that a people can indeed be restored after suffering such a devastating blow. After the genocide, the Armenians were oppressed for decades by the Soviet Union, but they persevered. Finally, in 1991, the Armenian people voted for, and achieved, their independence. Their young republic was the first of the former Soviet republics to achieve economic growth. This is a proud people, and with good reason. They are survivors—survivors who look to a brighter future, but who will never forget what happened. As you can see by the outpouring in Congress today, Mr. Speaker, we won't forget either.

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great sense of honor, compassion and resolve that I rise to speak on the floor of our United States House of Representatives on behalf of the 1.5 million Armenian victims of the 1915 genocide. As a member of the Congressional Armenian Caucus, I am deeply honored to represent a large Armenian community located in the city of Montebello in my 34th Congressional District.

Together with my colleagues, I share a heartfelt compassion for the tremendous suffering visited upon the Armenian populations as a result of the systematic and deliberate campaign of genocide by the rulers of the Ottoman Turkish Empire during the period of 1915 to 1923. Let no succeeding generation forget these unspeakable atrocities, nor seek to deny the terrible truth of its occurrence.

The United States Archives are replete with material documenting the Ottoman Turkish government's premeditated exterminations, including the executions of the Armenian leadership in Istanbul and other Armenian centers, and the male population conscripted into the Ottoman Army. The surviving women, children and elderly were sent on horrific death marches through the Syrian Desert and subjected to rape, torture and mutilation along the way.

Mr. Speaker, the Armenian-American communities throughout the United States, as well as all people of goodwill, stand firm in our resolve not to let the world forget the Armenian genocide of 1915. In solidarity with the countless victims of the Jewish Holocaust, the Cambodian genocide and the present massacres being committed in Kosovo, we must continually recognize these crimes against humanity and reaffirm the American people's commitment to steadfastly oppose the use of genocide anywhere in the world.

It is altogether fitting that on this last anniversary of the Armenian genocide of 1915 in this 20th century, and in recognition of the atrocities being committed in the Balkans today, to restate from this same floor of the House, the truly memorable words of our late

colleague, the Honorable Les Aspin, then chairman of the House Armed Services Committee on April 28, 1992:

We look back in order to memorialize those who died under Ottoman rule, to restate that they shall not have died unmourned and unnoticed, to shout that millions of us, Armenians and non-Armenians alike, will never forget.

We look forward to declare that this must never happen again, that the deaths of one and a half million people must serve as a perpetual warning to the world, alerting us to the threat of evil and uniting us to combat anyone who might again think of committing wholesale murder.

Mr. Speaker, in remembrance of those Armenian leaders executed during the genocide of 1915, I am honored to recognize some of the outstanding Armenian-American leaders of today, who have contributed so much to the betterment of our nation, our beloved state of California and our communities in the 34th Congressional District.

In particular, I wish to honor the Most Reverend Archbishop Lapajian, and the Reverend Babouchian, Pastor of the Holy Cross Armenian Apostolic Cathedral in Montebello, California for their faithful spiritual guidance.

And, it is appropriate to recognize two former Armenian-American elected officials who made an enormous contribution to the State of California and the communities of the 34th Congressional District, the Honorable George Deukmejian, who served as a Member of the State Assembly, state Senator, Attorney General and Governor of California; and the Honorable Walter J. Karabian, who served as Majority Leader of the California State Assembly. Their exemplary service has been a beacon of hope to all that wish to realize the American dream of opportunity and success.

In addition, I am pleased to recognize the service of the Honorable Tom Malkasian, City Treasurer of the city of Montebello, and member of the board of the Armenian Mesrobian School.

I have also recently had the privilege to visit several worthy leaders and institutions of the Armenian community in my district including Raffi Chalian, President of the Armenian National Committee; David Ghoogasian, Principal of the Armenian Mesrobian School; Anita Haddad, Co-Chairwoman of the Armenian Relief Society; Manouk Zeitounian, leader of the Homenetmen Athletics and Boy Scouts; Joseph Gharibian, Member of the Board of Representatives of the Holy Cross Armenian Apostolic Cathedral; and most significantly, Lucy Der Minassian, Co-Chairwoman of the Armenian Relief Society, and herself a survior of the Armenian genocide of 1915.

Mr. Speaker, in closing let every American stand with our Armenian brothers and sisters noting this anniversary throughout the world, together with the victims of torture and genocide whenever and wherever it occurs, to honor their precious memory, in compassion for their terrible suffering, and with unflinching resolve to never, never forget.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, today, we solemnly observe the Armenian genocide, a tragedy that took place nearly 84 years ago.

The courage and strength of the survivors and the memory of those who perished are an inspiration to all of us to stand up here today. It is our task to make sure that the Armenian genocide will never be forgotten.

Over 6 million people of Armenian descent live in this country. Many of them can still recount the persecution they faced from the Ottoman Empire and the stories of the night of April 24, 1915, the night the genocide began.

In observance of this date, we must remember the hard lessons learned from this tragedy so that we will never forget our duty to fight against human rights abuses, "ethnic cleansing," genocide and other crimes against humanity.

As we support the brave men and women fighting to stop the genocide of ethnic Albanian's in Kosovo, we see that genocide is not simply a sad chapter in history. The lessons of the Armenian genocide are ever salient. In the Kosovo case, our country's message must be clear. When a leader decides to erase a race of people from the earth, we will react with all due force and determination to make sure that leader fails.

The blood of genocide victims stains not only the hands of the perpetrators, but also those who do nothing to stop it. We can not wash our hands of this tragedy. We must remember the crimes of the past and work to end all types of genocide. This includes dedicating ourselves to ending the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, we must never forget what happened to the Armenians 84 years ago, just as we must never overlook the human rights violations which are happening today in all corners of the world.

## SAN JACINTO DAY

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

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to continue with a series of speeches designed to explain to my colleagues the history of my home State of Texas.

On March 2 of this year I spoke to this body of the brave actions taken by 54 men who signed the Texas Declaration of Independence, a document modeled after the one signed almost 60 years earlier by our Founding Fathers.

I also spoke to my colleagues of the brave sacrifices of the defenders of the Alamo and of the massacre of Texas forces at Goliad. Six weeks later, on the banks of San Jacinto River, approximately 750 Texans under General Sam Houston assembled, determined to avenge their brothers.

On the morning of April 20, 1836, over 1,500 Mexican soldiers under General Santa Ana approached the Texans' position. Driving off by fire from the famous "Twin Sisters" cannon, he fell back to regroup.

The Texans, inspired by their initial success, were champing at the bit. Houston, however, held them back, and sent his most trusted spy, Erastus "Deaf" Smith, with a few men to burn Vince's Bridge, thus cutting off the path of retreat for the Mexican Army. Mr. Speaker, Vince's Bridge is in the 29th Congressional District that I am proud to represent.

On the 21st, today's anniversary, though, Houston was ready to strike. With the Mexican Army still in its camp, Houston gave the order to advance, and the Texans did not hesitate. I say "Texans," Mr. Speaker, because that force was made up of a lot of new immigrants to Texas from the United States. Texas has always been an immigrant State.

When within 70 yards the word "fire" was given, the Texan shouts of "Remember the Alamo" and "Remember Goliad" rang along the entire line. Within a short time 700 Mexican soldiers were slain, with another 730 taken as prisoners. The whole battle lasted less than 30 minutes.

From that point on, Texas was firmly established in the community of nations, seeking recognition. For 10 years she would remain an independent nation, until President James K. Polk signed the treaty admitting Texas to the United States in 1845.

A panel on the side of the monument at the San Jacinto battleground today underscores the importance of the battle after more than a century and a half of reflection: "Measured by its results, San Jacinto was one of the most decisive battles of the world."

The freedom of Texas from Mexico won here led to annexation and to the Mexican War in 1845, resulting in the acquisition by the United States of the States of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California, Utah, and parts of Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

Now, Mr. Speaker, at one time or another I am sure, coming from Texas, we claimed all those States as part of Texas, but they really were not. Almost one-third of the present area of the American Nation, nearly a million square miles, changed sovereignty starting with the battle of San Jacinto.

The San Jacinto battlefield was in the 29th Congressional District until 1996 when the Federal courts changed our lines, and now it is in the 25th Congressional District.

This major event in our history is remembered not only as a battle for Texas independence, but is a victory over freedom and dictatorship. Mr. Speaker, I hope the House and all of America will join those of us from Texas in celebrating that victory for freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following for the RECORD:

[From the Houston Chronicle, Apr. 21, 1999]

SAN JACINTO

A DAY TO REMEMBER GREAT, UNVARNISHED HISTORY OF TEXAS

"Measured by its results, San Jacinto was one of the decisive battles of the world."

"So begins the simple inscription at the base of the towering San Jacinto Monument. The obelisk, visible from the modern glass castles of downtown Houston, holds its head high over a few quiet, lowland acres at the confluence of Buffalo Bayou and the San Jacinto River. There fate and the future noisily and auspiciously crossed paths and swords on this date in 1836.

"The freedom of Texas from Mexico," the inscription continues, "won here led to annexation and to the Mexican War, resulting in the acquisition by the United States of

Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California, Utah, and parts of Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas and Oklahoma. Almost one-third of the present area of the American nation, nearly a million square miles, changed sovereignty.''

That is more than worthy of note and remembrance.

But, even unvarnished, Texas history is a magnificent story in and of itself. And that is too often lost in these days of headline news and semi-literacy and our natural preoccupation with the present.

When Gen. Sam Houston and Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana, and their respective armies, met on the field that day, the combat lasted but 18 minutes—the killing went on for more than two hours. Knowing and understanding the reasons why, indeed the reasons there was a battle in the first place, ought to be at least as much a part of modern Texans' knowledge base as, say, what the weather might be tomorrow.

But, sadly, it far too often is not. Yes, we remember the Alamo, but too few of us these days can remember and recount exactly why.

And so, we pick a day of anniversary, a day of remembrance to give more than just a passing thought to what and why and how what we see before us, both the good and the bad, came to be.

We observe San Jacinto Day with good cause here in Texas, our Texas.

CEREMONIES TO MARK BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO

Chief Justice Tom Phillips of the Texas Supreme Court will deliver the keynoted address today during a ceremony marking the anniversary of the Battle of San Jacinto.

The 10:30 a.m. ceremony at the San Jacinto Monument is to honor the Texans who died April 21, 1836, when a small force led by Sam Houston surprised and defeated a larger Mexican force led by Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.

The Mexican leader fled during the battle but was captured a short time later, leading to Texas' independence from Mexico.

Today's ceremony also will salute the 30th anniversary of the modern-day Texas Army, which appears in costume at such events and performs cannon and musket salutes.

Musical entertainment will be provided by the Skylarks and by K.R. Woods and the Fathers of Texas. A barbecue also is planned, for which tickets are $10. Admission to the ceremony is free.

On Saturday, the San Jacinto Volunteers will present their ninth annual re-enactment of the Battle of San Jacinto. The living history camp will feature Texan and Mexican armies beginning at 10 a.m., with uniformed characters demonstrating camp cooking, candle and soap making, weapons and other activities from the Texas Revolution era.

A narrated ''battle'' is set for 3:30 p.m. with cannons booming, muskets firing and battle drums echoing to signal the clash of Texan and Mexican cavalry and infantry. The day concludes with a re-enactment of Santa Anna's surrender to Houston and a ceremony honoring those who died in the battle 163 years ago.

The San Jacinto Battleground is on Texas 134, or Battleground Road, north of Texas 225. For more information call 281–479–2431.

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

(Mr. HUTCHINSON addressed the House. His remarks will apper hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

## FAIR TRADE LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 1999

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

Mr. ENGLISH. Mr. Speaker, the headlines are very grim today. We are facing in America a record trade deficit, one that threatens to cut the economic growth rate of this country. This is in the context of an international economic malaise in which unfair trade practices and naked mercantilism have proliferated on the part of our trading partners.

What America needs, Mr. Speaker, is not only a stronger trade policy but stronger legal protections put in place to guarantee a level playing field in this challenging international environment.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce, on behalf of myself and six bipartisan cosponsors, the Fair Trade Law Enhancement Act of 1999. This bill takes a broad approach to trade law reform and includes important necessary changes to the antidumping and countervailing duty laws. These reforms are essential if we are going to keep the trade laws effective and relevant to current conditions in a newly turbulent global economy.

America's trade laws have long been critically important to U.S. jobs in both the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. These laws form the last line of defense for U.S. industries, which must operate on market-based principles even though their foreign competitors frequently do not, against injury caused by unfairly traded imports.

The basic covenant at the heart of U.S. trade policy holds that while America maintains an open market to fairly traded goods of any origin, our trade laws will ensure that our industries and workers will not be subject to injury from unfairly traded imports.

□ 1430

Unfortunately, American industry and our working men and women have suffered because we have failed to update these laws even as the world economy continues to change. The trade laws must now be strengthened to prevent unfairly traded imports from undermining our manufacturing and agricultural base.

The last general reform of the U.S. trade laws, unconnected to any particular trade agreement, occurred more than a decade ago. In that time, the problems to which these laws must respond have changed considerably, as underscored by the recent Asian and Russian economic disasters and the steel trade crisis that has ensued. It has become painfully clear, for example, that the current trade laws are not capable of responding to the kinds of sudden import surges, causing dramatic and rapid injury, which now seem to be part of the international economic scene.

The reforms in my bill are fully consistent with WTO rules and fall into three categories: One, amendments to the safeguard law; two, amendments to the antidumping and countervailing duty laws; and, three, provisions establishing a steel import notification program.

The safeguard amendments update the remedy in section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974 to make it more effective for U.S. industries trying to deal with damage in import surges. In particular, the amendments conform some of section 201's unnecessarily stringent standards to the more appropriate standards in the WTO safeguards agreement.

The antidumping and countervailing duty law amendments would amend Title VII of the Tariff Act of 1930 in light of some of the new global economic realities and conditions to which those laws must now respond. Some of these changes reverse flawed court decisions that have limited the laws' remedial reach in a manner never contemplated by Congress. Again, the primary focus of these reforms is to eliminate unnecessary obstacles American manufacturers and farmers face in securing relief under current law, and to assure through WTO-consistent means that U.S. firms and workers can face their foreign competitors on a level playing field.

Having effective and up-to-date trade laws in place is important to internationally competitive U.S. farm and manufacturing industries, especially the steel industry, where international trade has been more heavily distorted by subsidies, closed markets cartelization and dumping than any other economic sector.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting the Fair Trade Law Enforcement Act of 1999. These fundamental reforms will help keep a credible and effective deterrent against unfair trade in place into the next millennium, and they deserve enthusiastic support from friends of America's manufacturers and farmers and workers all over.

## CONDOLENCES EXTENDED TO PEOPLE OF LITTLETON, COLORADO

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

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Speaker, I am profoundly shocked and saddened by yesterday's school tragedy in Littleton, Colorado, where two students opened fire on their classmates and then turned their guns on themselves.

The most common question we ask ourselves in a situation like this is ''why?'' Well, we do not know yet all the ''hows'' or ''whys'' of this tragedy, and we may never understand it. What we can do, without question and hesitation, is extend our thoughts and prayers to the families who have lost their loved ones, to the parents who

have lost their beloved children, to the wounded children and their families, and to the people of the community of Littleton, Colorado.

Mr. Speaker, I can empathize with what the people of Littleton are going through. There was an incident of senseless school violence in my own south Texas congressional district a little over 1 year ago. On January 13, 1998, two masked gunmen, armed with automatic assault rifles, stormed into a building at South Texas Community College and opened fire where students were registering for class. Two students were seriously wounded and one security guard died in that shooting.

In McAllen, Texas, this was certainly not something that we ever imagined possible on a community college campus. Shock and grief swept across our community in the immediate aftermath of the violent incident. To this day, it remains a shock and a horror.

In the days ahead, it is important that we do all we can to hammer home to our children and to young adults that violence is wrong. As a member of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, school safety is an issue that I take very seriously. In fact, it is the number one educational concern of hundreds of my constituents I surveyed earlier this year.

Today, Mr. Speaker, as we struggle to understand this tragedy, our hearts go out to the people of Littleton, Colorado. On behalf of every man, woman and child of Texas's 15th Congressional District, please accept our deep condolences and sympathy.

## COMMEMORATING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in remembrance of the victims of the Armenian Genocide. I would like to thank the cochairs of the Armenian Caucus, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRANK PALLONE) and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JOHN PORTER) for arranging this important special order in observance of this tragic event.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, between the years 1915 and 1923, the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire became a target of heightened persecution by the Ottoman Turks. These persecutions culminated in a 3-decade period during which more than 1.5 million Armenians were systematically uprooted from their homelands of 3,000 years and eliminated through massacres and deportation.

Mr. Speaker, this historic event can no longer be denied. Vast amounts of documentation exist in the United States archives, as well as in the public domain, which lend proof that the horrific event surrounding this period did in fact take place. It is important that we, as Members of Congress, continue to officially recognize the genocide because it is an important part of our world history, just as historically important as World War II, and a prelude to the Holocaust that followed. It is a shame and an outrage that the Genocide is still not recognized by many, many nations.

Mr. Speaker, it is also important that we continue to mark this event on an annual basis. Although most of the survivors of the Genocide are unfortunately no longer with us, their relatives continue to remember and to mourn them to this day. I am proud that the State of New York is one of the few States which has offered a human right/genocide curricula for teachers and students to use at their discretion, which includes the Armenian Genocide. I was a sponsor of that curricula, and I believe educational programs such as this allow our children to learn more about the tragic events such as the Armenian Genocide, hopefully ensuring a peaceful existence for future generations.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot forget that the persecution and mistreatment of the Armenian people continues today in Nagorno-Karabagh. Since 1988, fighting there has left more than 1,500 Armenians dead and uprooted hundreds more, forcing them to flee to other parts of this unstable region. As a member of the Congressional Armenian Caucus, I will work to end the repression of the Armenian people in Nagorno-Karabagh and will continue to support their efforts to ensure a stable future for their people.

## COLUMBINE HIGH SCHOOL SHOOTING

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

Mr. UDALL of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, as a Coloradoan and as an American, I am profoundly shocked and saddened by the shootings at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, yesterday. My thoughts and prayers go out to the families who have been victims of this terrible crime.

I can hardly imagine the horror and pain experienced by the families who lost loved ones in this tragedy, and as the father of two school aged children, I am deeply distressed by the prospect that our schools have become places where this kind of violence can take place.

Today, however, is not a time to rush to judgment about the causes or cures for this tragedy. I do believe, however, that parents, community leaders and policymakers at all levels, including school boards, State legislators and our national government need to come together in coming weeks and reflect upon this tragedy. We need a fuller discussion of the values we share as Americans, and we need to work more actively than ever before to make our schools safe and to ensure that our Nation's classrooms are places for learning and for nurturing the full potential of our young people.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that as a Nation we will respond to this incident by looking beyond our prejudices and political leanings. My concern is that the violence that took place in Colorado has deeper implications for our future than we can fully fathom at this moment. I fear it goes deeper than observations about a decline in our values or moral decay as a society.

Ultimately, this tragedy will challenge us to carefully explore our understanding of rights and freedoms, whether it is access to the Internet or access to guns. Moreover, it will challenge us to place an even greater priority on the quality of our lives and the lives of our children.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. ESHOO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

## COMMEMORATION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY of New York) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, as a proud member of the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues, and the representative of a large and vibrant community of Armenian Americans, I rise today to join my colleagues in the sad remembrance of the Armenian Genocide.

First, I would like to commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) and the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PORTER), cochairs of the Caucus, for all of their hard work on this issue and other issues of human rights.

April 24, 1999 marks the 84th anniversary of the beginning of the Armenian Genocide. It was on that day in 1915 that over 200 Armenian religious, political and intellectual leaders were arrested and murdered in central Turkey. This date marks the beginning of an organized campaign by the young Turk government to eliminate the Armenians from the Ottoman Empire. Over the next 8 years, 1.5 million Armenians died at the hands of the Turks, and a half million more were deported.

As the United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, Sr. has written, and I quote, ''When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race. They understood this well and made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.''

As a supporter of human rights, I am dismayed that the Turkish government

is still refusing to acknowledge what happened and, instead, is attempting to rewrite history.

In a sense, even more appalling than Turkey's denial is the willingness of some officials in our own government to join in rewriting the history of the Armenian Genocide. It is vital that we do not let political agendas get in the way of doing what is right.

Mr. Speaker, the issues surrounding the Armenian genocide should not go unresolved. I call upon the United States Government to demand complete accountability by the Turkish Government for the Armenian genocide of 1915–1923.

To heal the wounds of the past, the Turkish Government must first recognize the responsibility of its country's leaders at that time for the catastrophe. Nothing we can do or say will bring those who perished back to life, but we can require them and bring everlasting meaning by teaching the lessons of the Armenian genocide to future generations.

The noted philosopher George Santayana has said, ''Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.'' We should heed this wise principle and do all we can to ensure that those that died, the people of the Armenian genocide, that these people are not forgotten.

## VICE-PRESIDENT GORE'S VIEWS ON ENVIRONMENT

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

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, today marks the first in a series of special orders members of the Conservative Action Team and Western Caucus hope to hold on the record of Vice President AL GORE.

For the past 6½ years AL GORE has been Bill Clinton's point man on the environment and on a number of key issues. He has been particularly aggressive in attacking the work of congressional Republicans, often portraying the positions of congressional Republicans as being very extreme and very anti-people, if you will.

The members of the Conservative Action Team believe it is important for the American people to understand why AL GORE finds our record of cutting taxes, balancing the budget, eliminating wasteful government, and restoring commonsense environmental policies so contemptible, and to do this we think we must look at what AL GORE actually stands for.

Today we will examine the Vice President's views on the environment. This examination is important because, upon being elected, Bill Clinton ceded control of his administration's environmental policy to AL GORE. In fact, GORE was given the authority to select the EPA Administrator and other high-ranking environmental policy positions.

The timing of this special order also is important because tomorrow is Earth Day. Earth Day is a curious event, curious because we will not hear as much talk about protecting the environment, which all Americans support, as we will about what the Federal Government and Federal bureaucrats can do to curtail individuals' rights to use private property.

What makes Earth Day more curious is that the first such celebration took place in the 100th anniversary of communist revolutionary Vladimir Lenin's birthday.

One thing we have come to expect is that AL GORE will use Earth Day to criticize Republicans for not micromanaging every river, wetland, and estuary across America from Washington, D.C.

AL GORE's extreme views on the environment have not been given the attention they deserve, despite the fact that he has written an entire book explaining them. That book is entitled ''Earth in the Balance,'' and I would encourage all of my colleagues to buy a copy and to read it. I think it will be most instructive. Let me just cite a couple of things out of the book in the limited time I have:

''The 20th century has not been kind to the constant human striving for a sense of purpose in life. Two world wars, the Holocaust, the invention of nuclear weapons, and now the global environmental crisis have led many of us to wonder if survival, much less enlightened, joyous and hopeful living, is possible. We retreat into the seductive tools and technologies of industrial civilization, but that only creates new problems as we become increasingly isolated from one another and disconnected from our roots.''

Does any reasonable person really sit here and wonder if survival is even possible? I mean, this is unimaginable. And to compare this threat that he sees to the two world wars or to the Holocaust? And yet we live in a time of unimagined prosperity and a time when people in many ways are more well off than ever. I just think this is an interesting observation, to see that someone of this high office actually holds this kind of view which is so far out of the mainstream.

The Vice President made a statement about the future of cars, and that is in the book and I will quote within that. Mr. Speaker, I will end on this note: Within the context of the Strategic Environment Initiative, which I understand to be a proposal the Vice President has worked on, it sought to be able to establish a coordinated global program to accomplish the strategic goal of completely eliminating the internal combustion engine over, say, a 25-year period.

Let me just observe, the internal combustion engine has been a great blessing to Americans and to people around the world. I have never really heard of an adequate replacement for it. And it has certainly been the source, in the manufacture of that and related industries, that has created hundreds of thousands of jobs. And yet here the Vice President is essentially lauding the elimination of the internal combustion engine.

We will conduct further discussions on this in the weeks ahead.

## TIME HAS COME FOR THE UNITED STATES AND IRAN TO HAVE DIRECT COMMUNICATION

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

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, Bruce Langden was a hostage in Iran with the takeover of the embassy; and as he has stated many times in the past couple of years, it is time for the two countries to talk.

It has now been 20 years since the United States and Iran have had any direct communications with each other. Official exchanges have all been indirect via the Swiss. Its embassy in Tehran today officially represents the American interests there. But these have been very rare and limited amounts of contact.

On the face of it, that fact makes little sense, for either country to not talk, given the way the interests of the United States and Iran in that part of the world overlap. We cannot ignore the reality of Iran. Neither can Iran ignore the reality of America's strategic interests and military presence today in the Persian Gulf.

We have some obvious shared interests. An improved situation in the Mideast is good for the world and good for us and good for Iran. We obviously also share interests of better control of traffic in narcotics in the region and freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf for everyone.

But the absence of dialogue with Iran inevitably impacts even more broadly on our strategic interest throughout the region. More specifically, Mr. Speaker, it complicates our relationship with the Central Asian states that evolved out of the former Soviet Union, with whom Iran has had historic cultural and strategic interests.

It also denies contact in commerce between the two countries, which can benefit many of the Iranian people and also the American people. It leaves the vast oil and gas sector of Iran, in serious need of infrastructure modernization and expansion, open to European interests but not to the Americans.

It also postpones the time when we inevitably will need to accept the reality of Iran's naval presence in the Gulf and the need for Iran to be included in essential long-term, multilateral security arrangements in those waters.

It denies us conduct with the emerging generation of future leaders in that country, particularly amongst the young people. Some 50 percent of Iran's population are under the age of 25, and

the educational exchanges between the two countries would be of benefit to everybody.

Now, we never are going to be able to communicate by saying, ''These are the four points that we are unhappy with with Iran,'' and Iran saying to the United States, ''These are the four points we are unhappy with.'' I think we simply have to agree to begin to talk and to communicate.

Now, regrettably, the Tehran government continues to assert that it is not open to dialogue except under conditions that make dialogue impossible; in other words, no dialogue from government to government. And it is clear that the continuing political confrontation in Iran between conservative elements and those preaching moderation makes overtures towards the U.S. unlikely soon.

We also have our own amounts of arguments in our democracy here about whether we should or should not commune. I am sure other Members of Congress would take a different point of view, Mr. Speaker, from what I am saying today.

But on our part, I think we need to make it clear that we are ready to communicate and agree to talk with each other. One immediate way to signal that interest would be for us to facilitate the license that would be needed under our current trade embargo for the sale of up to 500,000 tons of American agricultural commodities that American and Iranian private interests seek to complete. According to Secretary of Agriculture Glickman, the request remains under review.

Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, in a speech at the Asia Society in New York, urged the reestablishment of relations between the two countries. Looking down the road, a restored relationship between Iran and the United States would find special strength in one important factor. The U.S. today is the second largest Persian-speaking country in the world.

Some million and a half Iranian Americans now live here in the United States. Many had fled the country or emigrated since the Iranian revolution. Like the many other ethnic minorities who make up our country, that is a special strength for the long term. Families should be able to go back and forth. Iranians should be able to visit their families here.

So I conclude, Mr. Speaker, by just saying that the time has come to at least begin to agree to communicate so that differences that we have can be brought to the table, and I think it will make for a better world and a better Mideast and more of a resolve to have peace on our planet.

## U.S. POLICIES RESTRICT GROWTH OF CERTAIN EXPORTS

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. Mr. Speaker, one of the most important issues we face as a country and will continually face is the issue of economic growth, basic prosperity, creating an economy where all of our constituents can have good jobs that last and enable them to take care of themselves and their family.

We must always be thinking of ways to increase economic growth, to increase economic prosperity to provide those jobs. I think that is one of those basic and fundamental services that I think of myself providing for the people I represent in the 9th District of the State of Washington, is to try to help do what we can to encourage a strong economy, and one of the cornerstones of a strong economy is exports.

In order to create a possibility for economic growth, we have to have a strong export market, and a few basic facts make this point clear. Ninety-six percent of the world's population lives outside of the United States. But despite the fact we only make up 4 percent of the world's population, we consume 20 percent of the world's goods and services and products.

So we can basically look at those figures and realize that if we are going to have economic growth, it is probably going to have to occur outside of the United States. We are going to have to do something to get access to that 96 percent of the world that does not live here.

There is massive potential for growth in those markets for all of our products. Technology products, goods, services, you name it, exports are an incredible possibility for growth. Currently we have a number of policies in the U.S. that restrict the ability of those exports to grow, and that is what I want to address the House about today.

Now, there are some very good reasons for why these restrictions on exports exist. Unfortunately, as times have changed, those reasons are no longer valid, so it is very important that we reexamine our policy of restricting exports. And there are two that I want to touch on today. One is unilateral economic sanctions, and the second is restrictions that we police on the exportation of certain technologies, certain software and certain computers.

When we look at the issue of unilateral economic sanctions, it is important to first look at why we do it. We do it because we want to change the policies of other countries, policies that we are absolutely right in condemning and wanting to change, policies such as restrictions on religious freedoms, restrictions on democratic freedoms, restrictions on economic freedoms, and basic human rights concerns.

Unilateral economic sanctions are perceived as one way to get other countries to change those policies. But the problem is we live in a global economy, and in a global economy a unilateral, which means only us, the U.S., placing export restrictions on our companies doing business with other countries, does not get us there because those other countries have dozens of other options. They can go to other countries and get their goods and services elsewhere, and all that happens is that we lose market share and those policies that we are concerned about do not change.

Economic sanctions, in order for them to work, must be multilateral in order for them to have full impact. I brought a chart with me today to show my colleagues, in red, the countries that we have placed some sort of economic restriction on. In other words, these are countries that there are some sort of restrictions on U.S. companies exporting to them. These are markets that we are shutting off or reducing access to for U.S. companies.

□ 1445

Mr. Speaker, the important point here is it just does not work. If it worked, if we could actually change human rights policy, change democracy policy, change economic repression through a policy of unilateral economic sanctions, certainly it would be worth doing it, but it does not work. We need to reexamine that policy.

Mr. Speaker, we have a bill in the House to do that sponsored by the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLEY), who spoke earlier on this issue. I think it is critical that we support that.

On technology, we restrict it for a slightly different reason. We restrict it for national security concerns. Perfectly valid concerns, but the question is: Do our restrictions on encryption software and computers actually help national security? I would argue, first, that they do not and, second, that they actually hurt our national security interests.

This technology is not something we can put our arms around. It is growing so fast and in so many countries other than the U.S. We are not the only ones making encryption software in computers. Other countries are doing it. Therefore, these countries that we want to restrict access to will get access to it anyway. All we will do is hurt our own companies and hurt their ability to grow.

This is not a choice between commerce and national security. In fact, I would argue that our national security could be best enhanced by opening up these markets to our U.S. technology companies so that U.S. technology companies can continue to be the leaders in technology and, therefore, share that technology with our national security interests. We are not going to be able to get the sort of interplay back and forth between the private sector and our defense companies if Germany or Canada or any number of other countries suddenly is out in front of us in technology. We will lose our national security edge.

So, paradoxically, the policy of restricting the ability of our technology

companies to have access to other markets for goods like computers and encryption software winds up harming our national security policies.

The world has changed. It is global, and technology is very accessible. We need to reexamine old policies that no longer accomplish what they set out to do.

## ADMINISTRATION SHOULD CALL ON OUTSIDE COUNSEL TO HELP DEVELOP BALKAN STRATEGY

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

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express concern over the conditions in the Balkans. I am particularly concerned with the continued deterioration in the lives of ethnic Albanian refugees ripped from their homes in Kosovo at the direction of Serbia President Milosevic. I have been concerned enough to visit this troubled region twice in the past 2 months. I watched conditions get worse and worse and worse. Reports indicate that half a million refugees have fled Kosovo for Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, with many more than that uprooted and hiding in terror in Kosovo. And the free world has found no way to stem this fall into despair for over a million men, women and children.

Relief efforts are underway to help the refugees. Mr. Speaker, while it may be too late and too little, help is beginning to be provided. But nothing has worked to date to overturn the root cause. Milosevic has campaigned to drive ethnic Albanians out of Kosovo in a manner so evil that fear will linger in their hearts forever.

NATO and Clinton administration efforts thus far have not stopped the brutality. Despite daily briefings to the contrary, bombing in Serbia is just not going that well. At the rate things are going, it may take a long time to stop Milosevic, and the refugees do not have forever. For too many, time has already run out. The Clinton administration has so many times ruled out the use of ground troops that Milosevic may have been emboldened by what he perceives as a lack of commitment by the other side to win. I fear that the Clinton administration has no clear strategy or idea as to what it will take to win in the Balkans.

Last Friday I called the White House and spoke with someone on the National Security Council about this issue. I asked if they had sought outside thinking from knowledgeable and previously experienced people, such as Warren Christopher, George Shultz, Larry Eagleburger and others, including battle-proven former military commanders. I was told they had not, but this idea might be an idea they would entertain. To my knowledge they have not followed up.

I personally would have chosen a different plan than the current effort of trying to bomb Milosevic into compliance. I believe a fiercely enforced embargo might have been a better first step. An effort to induce Milosevic to step aside by telling him he would have been forcibly pursued and taken and tried as a war criminal would have also been worth trying. But NATO and the Clinton administration chose another course that has led to where we are today.

Even though the results are so far not what we would like to see, we are committed to the effort and cannot back off. We must win, not only for the sake of the refugees and for stability in Eastern Europe, but now for the credibility of both the U.S. and NATO. If credibility is lost, will there not follow a host of other tyrants eager to challenge the will of the free world in pursuit of their own gain?

Today I call on President Clinton to assemble a group of American leaders knowledgeable of and with proven ability in foreign affairs, diplomacy, warfare and statecraft to provide counsel and direction to the Balkan effort which now seems to be stalled. I hope he considers men and women of high stature and achievement such as George Shultz, Warren Christopher, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Senator Sam Nunn, Casper Weinberger, Bob Zoellick, Morton Abramowitz, William Perry, Frank Carlucci, Max Kampelman, Paul Wolfowitz, Lee Hamilton, Robert Hunter, James Baker, Lawrence Eagleburger, Jeane Kirkpatrick, former Admiral William Crowe, former General Schwarzkopf and former General Colin Powell. These would be men and women who would sit at the table with their President not to criticize what has or not been done, but to suggest a workable plan for the future. They would offer privileged counsel to the President rather than critical critique to the press. They would help define an acceptable way to end the Balkan strategy.

All Americans want to bring peace to the Balkans and help the refugees from Kosovo. Mr. President, I call on you and I urge you to call on some of the best people in America to help show the way, and please, please do it soon.

## COMMEMORATING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with some of my colleagues who have been here today to commemorate the Armenian genocide. This observance takes place every April, for it was in that month in 1915 that more than 200 Armenian religious, political and intellectual leaders were arrested in Constantinople and murdered. Over the next 8 years persecution of Armenians intensified. By 1923 more than 1.5 million had died and another 500,000 had gone into exile. At the end of 1923, all of the Armenian residents of Anatolia and western Armenia had been either killed or deported.

The genocide was criticized at the time by U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who accused the Turkish authorities of, quote, giving the death warrant to a whole race, unquote. The founder of the modern Turkish Nation, Kemal Ataturk, condemned the crimes perpetrated by his predecessors, and yet this forthright and sober analysis has been spurned by Turkey and the United States during the last decade.

The intransigence of this and prior administrations to recognizing and commemorating the Armenian Genocide demonstrates our continued difficulty in reconciling the lessons of history with real politic policies; that is, those who fail to learn the lessons of history are condemned to repeat them. We have seen continually in this century the abject failure to learn and apply this basic principle. The Armenian Genocide has been followed by the Holocaust against the Jews and mass killings in Kurdistan, Rwanda, Burundi and the Balkans. Many of these situations are ongoing, and in most cases there seems little apparent sense of urgency or moral imperative to resolve them.

Commemoration of the Armenian Genocide is important. It is important not only for its acknowledgment of the suffering of the Armenian people, but also for establishing a historical truth. It also demonstrates that events in Armenia, Nazi Europe and elsewhere should be seen not as isolated incidents, but as part of a historical continuum showing that the human community still suffers from its basic inability to resolve its problems, to resolve them peacefully and with mutual respect.

I hope that today's remarks by Members concerned about Armenia will help to renew our commitment and that all of the American people will oppose any and all instances of genocide.

## TURKISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO DENY ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. Speaker, today I join with my colleagues to commemorate this day, April 24, as the day of the Armenian genocide carried out by the young Turk government of the Ottoman Empire in 1915. It was on that day in 1915 when 300 Armenian leaders, writers and thinkers were rounded up, deported and killed, and 5000 of the poorest Armenians were killed in their homes. Between 1894 and 1921 there were 1.5 million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire that were killed, and 500,000 were deported.

This Armenian genocide was carried out in a tragically inhumane and systematic fashion. First, Armenians in

the army were disarmed, placed into labor battalions and then killed. Next, Armenian political and intellectual leaders were rounded up and killed as well. Finally, the remaining Armenians were called from their homes and marched to concentration camps in the desert where they were left to starve to death or were placed on barges and sunk in the Black Sea. During that time Turks who protected Armenians were killed.

To this day, Mr. Speaker, the Turkish government denies that there was an Armenian genocide and claims that Armenians were only removed from the eastern war zone. America has benefited in countless ways from the survivors of the genocide who have come to the United States with their families and now their descendants. As a representative from Michigan, we have been blessed by the contributions of the Armenian community in our cities and counties across Michigan.

Today I call on the Republic of Turkey to stop being the only country in the world to deny the Armenian genocide. It is time to admit what happened. The Republic of Turkey must show goodwill as well by allowing American aid to present-day Armenians to pass through to their citizens unhampered.

This is a day to remember, a day to pause in prayer and a day to commemorate our desire and commitment for this not to happen again.

## HONORING THE MEMORY OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. ROGAN. Mr. Speaker, imagine an entire village, 10,000 people, drowned at once. Imagine watching as your fathers and brothers are burned to death. Imagine watching men in your community tied to horses and dragged away. Or watching children see their mothers and sisters raped and then beaten and dragged away. Imagine, if you will, smiling soldiers posing alongside the corpses of those who were just moments before family, friends and neighbors. Imagine if all this happened in front of your eyes, and then as you grew old, history and indeed nations of the world choose to ignore it all.

Mr. Speaker, these memories were not imagined, they were witnessed by thousands. Today these memories live in the hearts and minds of many of my friends and thousands of my constituents. It is our duty not to let these memories fade.

□ 1500

Mr. Speaker, I rise to support legislation that will forever recognize the atrocities committed against the Armenian people at the hands of the Ottoman Turks between 1915 and 1923. In eight short years, more than 1.5 million husbands, wives and children suffered and died.

The eyewitness accounts of this tragedy come not from the history books but from my own hometown. Today, nearly one-quarter of a million Armenians reside in the Los Angeles area, a majority in my hometown of Glendale, California. This is the largest concentration of Armenian Americans outside the Republic of Armenia. I have been blessed with their friendship.

Armenian Americans have served our country faithfully as members of the armed services, as public officials, as business and community leaders. Their story is the story of America, one of hard work, dedication, commitment to faith and to family. I have heard their story. I have heard it from survivors of the genocide and from their descendants.

My good friend Gregory Krikorian has told me the story of his grandmother, Yegnar Atamian, who after witnessing the brutal death of her father, the capture and slaughter of her brothers, the rape of her mother and sisters, endured her own deportation through the deserts of Syria. Her faith and her will to live somehow guided her to America.

She is not alone. Last year, I spoke of the tragedy witnessed by another constituent, Haig Baronian. As a child, he watched his own mother dragged away, never to be seen again.

In the memory of their families and in reverence to our founding principles of liberty at all costs, we must not let these images be erased from history. We must work together today to put to rest the painful memories of these and so many Armenians who were forced to begin their lives anew, far from their homeland. We must properly acknowledge the past.

I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting our efforts to commemorate the genocide against Armenia. Let us join together to close the gaping wound history has scored on the body of humanity. Let us give the martyrs of the Armenian people the eternal rest they have been seeking for nearly a century.

## ALAMEDA COUNTY CHILDREN'S MEMORIAL DAY AND FLAG PROJECT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask that my colleagues join me in supporting a Children's Memorial Flag Project and establishing a National Children's Memorial Day to remember all of the children who die by violence in our country. As I speak today, my thoughts and prayers go out to the Littleton, Colorado, community and the families of the students and faculty members who were tragically murdered yesterday.

Not only during January, when we celebrate Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, should we discuss and teach nonviolence. Demonstrating and teaching our children that violence is wrong should be a part of our daily lives.

Each day in the United States five infants and children die from abuse and neglect and seven teens are murdered. In fact, more children lose their lives to criminal violence in the United States than in any of the 26 industrialized nations of the world. Many would be shocked at these statistics.

The Children's Memorial Flag Project was created to raise awareness about the violence towards children in our country and to organize community and national prevention strategies. It is with pride that I say that this project was originated in 1996 in the district which I represent, the 9th Congressional District of California.

In the past 5 years alone we have lost more than 140 children in Alameda County to preventable violence. Each time a child is killed, we fly the Children's Memorial Flag at half-staff. The Child Welfare League of America has adopted Alameda County's Children's Memorial Flag and promotes it nationally.

Last year 33 states participated on Children's Memorial Day, the fourth Friday in the month of April, which is both Child Abuse Month and Crime Prevention Month. This year we anticipate 20 States flying the flag at half-mast, with 13 others memorializing the children by other means.

Soon my friend and our Bay Area colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. STARK), will introduce legislation that would adopt the Children's Memorial Flag and establish the fourth Friday in April as National Day of Observance. I ask my colleagues to cosponsor and support this legislation, and honor the memory of children lost to violence in our country on this Friday, April 23rd. I will continue to work to establish this day as a remembrance to honor children by flying the Children's Memorial Flag at half-mast, and I urge my colleagues to join with me in this effort.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise on behalf of one of our society's most valuable and most vulnerable groups of citizens: our Children.

For more than a decade, April has been recognized as Child Abuse Prevention Month. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reported that nearly one million children were abused and neglected in 1997.

Child abuse is society's concern. Prevention of child abuse demands that everyone—Federal, State and local government as well as community service providers, teachers, businesses, families, friends and neighbors must work as a unit to protect our children.

This Friday is Children's Memorial Day; a day set aside to memorialize the thousands of children and youth killed each year as a result of child abuse. I challenge each Member of Congress to help expand awareness and encourage prevention efforts for this nationwide problem.

Violence against our children must end. Preventing child abuse is everybody's business. Make it yours.

## MANY ARMENIAN SURVIVORS CAME TO THE UNITED STATES SEEKING A NEW BEGINNING

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

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I rise before the House today, taking this opportunity to speak out about one of the 20th century's earliest atrocities and worst atrocities. I do so because this subject is close to my heart.

Mr. Speaker, I am the son of a second generation Armenian American. My own grandfather, a native Armenian, witnessed the bloodshed firsthand when on April 24, 1915, 254 Armenian intellectuals were arrested in Istanbul and taken to the provinces in the interior of Turkey, where many of them were later massacred.

My grandfather often told my sisters and I how he had witnessed the execution of his own uncle and his teacher in a one room classroom as a child. In total, approximately 1.5 million Armenians were killed in a 28-year period. This does not include the half a million or more who were forced to leave their homes and flee to foreign countries like our own.

Together with Armenians all over the world and people of conscience, I would like to honor those that lost their homes, their freedom and their lives. Many Armenian survivors came to the United States seeking a new beginning, among them my grandfather, who was a recipient of the Russian Medal of Honor during World War II as a demolition specialist. He was awarded this honor for his incredible valor in the midst of this premeditated genocide. In fact, my grandfather went back to his own country to fight the Turks, to fight the Turks to stop the massacres of his family and his friends.

It is important that we do not forget about these atrocities. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud of my Armenian heritage, and I believe my Armenian grandfather, if he were still alive today, would be proud to know that he has such strong defenders of Armenians in the United States Congress, and I thank my colleagues who have risen today to support this recognition.

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

(Mr. SANDERS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

(Mr. MCINTOSH addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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

(Mr. CAPUANO addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

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## WE MUST EXAMINE THE KOSOVO CRISIS IN LIGHT OF OUR VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS

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

Mr. KASICH. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the NATO summit in Washington this weekend, I would hope that this will be a somber occasion for serious reflection about the issues of war and peace that confront us.

It seems clear that the crisis in Kosovo is nearing a decision point. There are reportedly some in the administration and in other NATO governments who are contemplating the commitment of ground forces to secure Kosovo. Before we consider such a step, and before our country even thinks of putting more Americans in harm's way, it is essential that we stop, pause for reflection and examine the Kosovo crisis in light of our vital national interests, our humanitarian obligations and our enduring need for a more peaceful and stable world.

It would be a grave error to replace no long-term policy, which is what I believe the administration has executed thus far, with the wrong long-term policy. We need to carefully draw up a strategic road map of the Balkans, a road map that gets us as quickly as possible to our desired outcome.

The fundamental question we must answer is whether our military intervention in a centuries-old civil war in the Balkans is likely to be either resolved on our terms or be successful over the long term. Make no mistake about it, this is a centuries-old conflict dating to 1389. If it could be accomplished, intervention on the ground might be worth doing, assuming casualties could be minimized, but I have come to the conclusion that military escalation is neither in the national interest nor can it achieve a stable long-term peace in the region.

Those who have called for ground troops have not specified the goal. Is it to take Kosovo, fortify it and occupy it for years, perhaps decades, against the threat of Serbian guerilla warfare? Or should the goal be to conquer all of Serbia, with incalculable consequences to wider Balkan stability, our relationship with Russia and our ability to respond on short notice to other regional flash points around the world?

Do those who advocate such a course understand that it may take months to properly build up such an invasion force? How much more misery and devastation will have occurred by then? In this particular conflict, does ratcheting up the violence serve our national interests or, for that matter, the interests of refugees and innocent civilians?

Those who say we should pursue victory by any means necessary and at all costs fail to answer the question, what would victory be if in the process it brought us a bitterly hostile Russia, made even more dangerous than the old Soviet Union by the volatile combination of loose nukes and a restive military? Do we strengthen our national security by potentially undoing all the good work that we have done since the fall of the Berlin Wall in getting Russia to be a responsible power?

The issue of the refugees is, of course, a terribly, terribly important issue and cannot be dodged by anyone in the debate on Kosovo. I am deeply moved by their plight. The United States has a moral obligation to get Milosevic to withdraw his forces from Kosovo, help return the refugees in an orderly manner and generally assist in reconstruction.

Just as surely, we need to help Albania and Macedonia get up on their feet economically, but we must ask ourselves whether military escalation is the best way to achieve those goals in light of our moral reasoning, which teaches us to preserve human life and limit material destruction as best we can.

The problem is now bigger than Kosovo, and America should actively encourage the mediation of a settlement before this crisis flashes over into a wider conflict. Rambouillet was almost destined to fail because it required the acceptance by both parties of a draft document with no substantive changes allowed. The administration's absolute requirement for a NATO implementation force and the probability of independence for Kosovo after 3 years were conditions of Rambouillet that neither Yugoslavia or any other sovereign country was likely to accept.

A realistic mediation needs the efforts of neutral parties to develop a flexible framework to get the parties to say yes. To the objection that mediation will never work, I say that judgment is overly pessimistic. We will never know unless we try. Rather than seeking opportunities to escalate the military campaign, we should be seeking opportunities for peace. It is strategically wise to involve the Russians, not only because of their influence with Serbia but because we must tangibly show Boris Yeltsin and other democratic forces in Russia that they will be rewarded, not spurned, for their efforts on behalf of peace.

A too rigid rejection of Russian peace overtures, by contrast, would simply strengthen extremists in Russia. Other countries such as Sweden and the Ukraine should be encouraged to take part, and we must consult actively with countries in the region. From Italy and Bulgaria to Greece and to Turkey, they will have to live with any settlement in the Balkans for decades to come.

I do not underestimate the difficulties involved, but should Milosevic

balk, we will retain the ability to apply military pressure and continue to apply military pressure from the air. Once a settlement is reached, an international force may be necessary to assist the refugee return and to oversee reconstruction. We should be more flexible about the makeup of this force than we have been in the past. Rather than making its composition a nonnegotiable end in itself, we should bear in mind that the international force is the means to an end. That means to an end is peace and stability in Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians can live in safety and with autonomy.

□ 1515

World War I began in the Balkans because a great power, Austria-Hungary, scoffed at the idea that Russia would intervene on the behalf of its Serbian ally. The world has turned over many times since 1914, but it could be an equally grave mistake to assume that the Russians will remain passive indefinitely. They have already sent truck columns carrying relief supplies to Yugoslavia, and there is public agitation in Russia to send military equipment.

This situation is far too dangerous for the U.S. public debate to get carried away by amateur generals in and out of public office. Many of these people insist that the Russians are too weak to do anything about it, precisely the error the Austrians made in 1914. There is a better way. Who doubts that Theodore Roosevelt, one of our greatest Presidents, knew the national interests and acted vigorously in its behalf. Of course he did. But he also knew when military action brought no advantage and actually weakened a Nation, when a source of regional instability arose, such as the war between Russia and Japan, his every instinct was to be an honest broker and mediate peace. His efforts were rewarded with the Nobel Prize.

While we are now a party to the Kosovo dispute, we should be seen as a supportive element in such a solution. Americans need the moral courage to lead in peace as well as war. I have urged the President to use the occasion of NATO's 50th anniversary summit to call for a special meeting of the group of eight nations, the so-called G–8, to begin a formal effort to achieve a peaceful settlement. This G–8 meeting should help initiate a framework for a diplomatic solution of the crisis, and begin to put into place the foundation for economic assistance to this region. Delegations from Ukraine and other affected regional countries should also be invited to participate in the G–8 session.

I emphasize that this is not a panacea. It is only the beginning of a long and difficult process, but it is a step our country should not be afraid to take. The fact that negotiation is a long-term process should be no obstacle to our trying to achieve it.

The United States can and should remain strongly engaged internationally, because regional instability will not solve itself. But we must choose our tools very carefully, for the stakes do not allow failure. Power is a finite quantity. If we wantonly expend it all over the world for every thinkable cause, we diminish ourselves. America should carefully husband its military power. We should act militarily only in the cases of clear national interests and always keep an eye on the strategic end game: Protecting the American people and using our power effectively where it will provide greater stability and security for the world.

A mediated settlement of the Kosovo crisis may not be politically popular at the moment, but it may look considerably wiser to us and our children in the future.

## 84TH ANNIVERSARY OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the thoughtful remarks of my colleague, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KASICH), the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, before I begin my remarks.

On this 84th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, we take a moment to remind ourselves anew of the atrocities that people are capable of committing against others. The Armenian Genocide of 1915 to 1923 ranks among the most tragic episodes of the 20th century. It serves as a constant reminder for us to be on guard against the oppression of any people, particularly based on their race or religion. Too often during this century, the world has stood silent while whole races and religions were attacked and nearly annihilated. This cannot be allowed to happen again. Particularly as we face revived and brutal ethnic hatred in Kosovo, we must take this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the achievement of liberty and peace worldwide.

I would also like to take a moment, thinking about the individuals who lost their lives during that Armenian genocide. One-and-a-half million innocent Armenians had their lives snuffed out mercilessly. When we try to contemplate the idea of one-and-a-half million lives, it is a staggering number, almost incomprehensible. But we must remember the victims of the genocide as they were. Not numbers, but mothers and fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins and friends. Each and every victim had hopes, dreams and a life that deserved to be lived to the fullest. It is our duty to remember them today and everyday.

As a member of the Congressional Armenian Caucus, we work every day with many of our colleagues to bring peace and stability to Armenia and its neighboring countries. Division and hatred can only lead to more division and hatred, as the genocide proved. Hopefully, the work of the caucus and of the others committed to the same cause will help ensure that an atrocity such as the genocide will never happen again. Kishar paree and Shnorhagalootyoon. I thank you for your time.

## MEMORIALIZING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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

Mr. MCNULTY. Mr. Speaker, I join with my many colleagues today in remembering the victims of the Armenian Genocide. But rather than repeat what has already been said, let me say a few words about the very positive spirit of the Armenian people, because they endured a great deal before, during and after the genocide, and they were under the totalitarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union for many decades.

That all ended in 1991, and I was there to see it. I was one of the four international observers from the United States Congress to monitor that independence referendum. I went to the communities in the northern part of Armenia, and I watched in awe as 95 percent of all of the people over the age of 18 went out and voted in that referendum. And of course, the thought did not escape me how great it would be if we could get that kind of participation in our own democratic government here in the United States of America. But, as always, sometimes we take things for granted.

But the Armenian people had been denied for so many years, they were so excited about this new opportunity, almost everyone was out in the streets, and that number, I am sure, Mr. Speaker, was not inflated because as best I could determine it, no one was in their homes. They were all out into the streets going to the polling places. I watched people stand in line literally for hours to get into these small polling places and vote.

Then, after they voted, the other interesting thing was that they did not go home, because they had brought little covered dishes with them, and all of these little polling places across the country, they would have little banquets afterwards to celebrate what had just happened.

What a great thrill it was to be with them the next day in the streets of Yerevan when they were celebrating the great victory, because 98 percent of the people who voted, of course, voted in favor of independence. It was a great thrill to be there with them when they danced and sang and shouted, Getze Haiastan, long live free and independent Armenia. That should be the cry of all freedom-loving people throughout the world today.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. CARSON 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 gentlewoman from Oregon (Ms. HOOLEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. HOOLEY 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 California (Mr. BERMAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BERMAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

## HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT, PRESERVATION OF SOCIAL SECURITY, AND RELATED ISSUES

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 am going to have several Members of Congress join me today, and we are going to talk about several issues, but I wanted to start out on this one, and I want to apologize to the people who are seeing this over C–SPAN in that they cannot read it. But I think it shows a tremendous disparity in our foreign policy that most of us do not understand, and I think we are not very well educated on it as a Nation.

So I want to take some information that is provided by our State Department. This is the latest year's report on two separate countries that we have dealings with presently. This is the report straight from the U.S. State Department's 1998 Human Rights Practices Report.

Country A: The government's human rights record worsened significantly during the last year. There were problems in many areas, including extrajudicial killings, disappearances, torture, brutal beatings, arbitrary arrests and arbitrary detentions.

Country B: This government's human rights record deteriorated sharply beginning in the final months of 1998 with a crackdown against organized political dissent. Abuses included instances of extrajudicial killings, torture, and mistreatment of prisoners, forced confessions, arbitrary arrests and detention, lengthy incommunicado detention, and denial of due process.

Country A: The government infringes on the citizen's right to privacy.

Country B: The government infringes on the citizen's right to privacy.

Country A: The government severely restricts freedom of speech and of the press.

Country B: The government continued restrictions on freedom of speech and of the press.

Country A: Discrimination and violence against women remained a serious problem. 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 included forced abortion and forced sterilization, prostitution, trafficking in women and children and abuse of children are all problems.

Country A: The government infringed on 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.

Country A: Police committed numerous serious and systematic human rights abuses.

Country B: Security police and personnel were responsible for numerous human rights abuses.

Country A is a constitutional republic; country B is an authoritarian state.

Let me describe these two countries. This is Yugoslavia. We are presently bombing it as we speak. This is China. We presently give them Most Favored Nation's status. The President just spent a week in association with trying to establish World Trade Organization status. There is something wrong with our foreign policy when we take two countries who have equal human rights abuses, one we are trying to make a friend and do things for economically; the other we are bombing. Very, very difficult for us to understand.

As we bring about this discussion of the bombing and the war, the only reason I want to bring it up is because of how it is going to impact what the major topic is that I want to talk about, and that is honesty in government and the preservation of the Social Security system and the utilization of Social Security funds for Social Security and not something else. I would like to yield to my friend from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT).

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of Members like myself who were not listening carefully at the beginning of your presentation, it sounded as if you were quoting from some magazine or document. Where did the gentleman get the quotes he was talking about?

Mr. COBURN. This is from the United States Department of State Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998. This is our government's own evaluation of these two countries.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, one of the countries was Serbia and the other was China?

Mr. COBURN. Correct.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. It is hard to tell which was which from the comments?

Mr. COBURN. One cannot tell which is which from these excerpts from the Human Rights Report.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. This is a nonpartisan group in the State Department?

Mr. COBURN. This is a nonpartisan group. This does not have anything to do with Republicans or Democrats. This has to do with our international relations and our assessment of human rights status, and we do this on every country that we deal with, it is required by law, and here is the assessment for those two countries.

□ 1530

It blows the mind to think that we have the same evaluation by the U.S. State Department, and one country we are trying to befriend and economically aid, and the other country we are bombing today.

### THE BUDGET

Mr. COBURN. What I really want to talk about today is the budget, the money. The U.S. Congress for the last 45 to 50 years has been dishonest with the American public about the budget.

I am in my third and final term as a Member of the House from Oklahoma. I am a practicing physician. I have continued to practice medicine since I have been in the House. I delivered 97 babies last year as a Member of Congress. It is the thing I do that I think keeps my perspective the same as those people that I represent.

I heard in the State of the Union, and I also would tell the Members that I am not partisan; my district is mainly Democrats, and I am reelected as a Republican because I am seen as nonpartisan.

But I want to share some of the things that the President said in his State of the Union, and then I want to show the Members that the government is complicit in being less than honest with the American public about where our financial situation is, what the risk of that is to us for the future, what the risk is for our children and grandchildren, and that we tend to minimize, and we talk out of two sets of books.

The first principle that I want to make sure that we understand is the only time the Federal Government really has a surplus is when the debt goes down for our children.

We currently have almost $6 trillion of debt that my grandchildren, and I have two of them, they are going to help repay that debt. That is because we have used a double accounting standard. We do not speak as a body truthfully to the American public about our accounting system or our deficits and our surplus, and neither does the executive branch.

I want to use a couple of points to bring that out, and then I really want to try to make sure that the American public knows where we are in the social security trust fund, how we solve that problem, and what a surplus is and what a surplus is not. Because we continually hear today that we are in a

surplus. We are not in a surplus. We do not have a budget surplus associated with this government.

At the State of the Union speech, I want to give the Members some quotes that I heard. I hope that Members will be patient to understand why this is important. This is not about Democrats and Republicans, it is about returning the people's House to the people by truthfully speaking about what our situation is, so they can in fact have confidence that we are going to deal properly with it, rather than telling a little white lie about what the situation is, and the public knowing that we cannot be trusted to deal properly with it.

President Clinton said this in the State of the Union speech this year: For the first time in three decade, the budget is balanced. From a deficit of $290 billion in 1992, we had a surplus of $70 billion last year.

That is not true. We actually, and I want to show that, if we had a surplus last year in 1998, how come the debt went up $200 billion? How come our children owe $200 billion more this year than they did last year, if in fact we had a surplus? We did not. We borrowed $200 billion, almost, in terms to fund and run the Federal Government above what we actually took in.

It is true, some of that we borrowed from the social security trust fund, but any time we put an IOU to the social security trust fund, we are recognizing a liability that our children are going to have to pay back.

We also are going to have to pay interest, so it is like borrowing from our retirement account to pay off the debt, and then saying we do not have a debt anymore, because we have a debt. If we allowed public companies to raid their retirement programs, we would put the people who made that decision in jail, because we have said that they cannot touch retirement funds. They are projected and protected for the purpose that they will be there in the future.

If we look at this chart, the politicians in 1997 said we had about a $20 billion deficit. But the debt rose from $5,200,000,000,000 to $5,325,000,000,000. In 1998, voila, we have a surplus, the first time since 1969, but look what happened to the debt. The debt rose. How can we have a surplus?

This is a politician's surplus. This is the difference between what we took in in social security and what we paid out and we did not spend, of that difference. If we took in $10 and we spent $6, then we had a $4 difference and we are calling that a surplus, where we still owe the social security system $10.

So it is important for the American public to understand what a surplus is.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD).

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

If we might, just in comparing our respective charts, because I want to show this thing off, staff has been kind enough to put this together, it illustrates the exact point that the gentleman is getting at, which is the yellow here basically is what we borrow in total from each of my three young boys each year. I have a 6-year-old, a 5-year-old, a 3-year old, and a 6-month-old.

The yellow number, for instance, back here in 1994, we borrowed $293. The deficit was $203. In 1995 it was——

Mr. COBURN. If I can interrupt the gentleman, the difference between what we borrowed and what the deficit was is what we stole from social security.

Mr. SANFORD. That is exactly right.

Mr. COBURN. The spin on programs other than social security.

Mr. SANFORD. Yes. So basically $100 billion, to keep the math simple, got borrowed here, and 277 versus 164, again a difference of about $100 billion that was borrowed in 1995. In 1996, $261 was what we borrowed, and 107, a little more than that. We could round it out to be in the neighborhood of $100 billion.

Then going back to the number that the gentleman just talked about, which I think is interesting, because this is this $70 billion surplus, and yet we borrow over $100 billion. So the gentleman is exactly right, common sense and regular language and regular accounting back home would say what we are running right now is not exactly what the rest of America would call a surplus.

Mr. COBURN. Let us spend a little time and tell why it is important that we start being honest with the American public.

Even with the latest numbers that most people in America have read with social security's outflow-inflow changing by 1 year to the year 2014, what we can see is the bars in black represent more money coming into social security than we are paying out.

We can see until the year 2014 we are going to be doing okay. We are going to have more money coming into social security than we are actually going to pay out, so there is cash there that the Federal Government has.

It is smart to borrow that and pay off external debt. I do not deny that that is a smart thing to do. But it does not lower the total debt that our children and grandchildren are going to have to pay back. It is an untruthful statement to say that it lowers our debt. It does not. It just lowers that portion of the debt that the public holds, that Japan holds, that Switzerland holds, that Germany holds. It just lowers that percentage and shifts more IOUs to the social security system.

What is important about fixing social security, and fixing it on the basis that we are going to start being truthful about the surplus, we are going to be truthful about the surplus in the social security account, which is totally different than the surplus for the Federal Government, is that look what happens after the year 2014.

If we take all money that comes from social security, starting in 2014, plus all this, what we will find is we are going to have to go to the taxpayer or to our general revenue. We are going to start having to cut a whole lot of other spending to keep a balanced budget, if in fact we are going to be able to pay what we owe for my generation, the baby-boomers.

I was born in 1948. I am the proverbial baby-boomer. There are going to be a whole lot fewer people working when I get ready to draw social security than were working when I started paying into it. Consequently, we can see out here at the year 2035, $850 billion a year is going to be required in additional revenues for us to just meet the payments of the baby-boomers, just to meet the needs.

We have a couple of ways that we can deal with that.

Mr. SANFORD. As the gentleman is pulling that chart up, Mr. Speaker, what I think is interesting about what the gentleman was getting at, again, is this whole notion that we have said we are going to have surpluses basically as far as the eye can see.

Last year, as the gentleman mentioned earlier, the surplus was $70 billion, but we borrowed $100 billion to get there. Next year they are talking about a surplus of again around $80 billion, but borrowing $130 to get there; the year after that, a surplus of about $100 billion, but again, borrowing $100 billion to get there.

Mr. COBURN. The point we are saying is we do not truly have a surplus until we quit borrowing money external to the United States. Until our debt stops rising we have not achieved a surplus, and it is not proper to tell the American people that our books are balanced until we quit adding to the debt for our children and grandchildren.

We have three options when we get to the year 2014 at that time. We can, one, save 100 percent of the social security surplus, transition to a system with a portion of that in individual accounts, so that what we invest in social security we get a decent return on. Right now the average over the past 30 years has been about 1.2 percent on our investment. We could have had it in a passbook savings and done three times better.

Number two, we can repay the money taken from the trust fund by raising everybody's income taxes, and it is important to understand what that does. That lowers the standard of living for our children and our grandchildren, because the politicians in Washington have not had the courage to be honest and not spend money that belongs to the social security system. Or we can delay the benefit structure. We can say we are going to wait until we are a certain age, or we can cut the benefits.

There are only three things that we can do to fix social security. There are not more than three things to do. We have to do one of those three things. We can deny, the politicians can deny this as a problem, because they are

really more interested in getting reelected; or they can say, we have a problem with social security and it is okay to talk about that, because I do not have one senior citizen in my counties, and that is 18 of them in Oklahoma, who want their grandchildren to lose an opportunity because the politicians in Washington have not done the right thing. They would much rather sacrifice dollars for their grandchildren.

We have an obligation before us. We are at a turning point. The first turning point is being honest with the American people about the budget, not letting the politicians' lingo, because it sounds better, it is easier, and we will not be subject to criticism if we are a little bit untruthful. It is the old question about, a half truth is a full lie. My daddy taught me that from the time I was 2 years old. And a surplus is a half truth. It is a surplus in social security.

We have to do one of these three things. I notice that the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) has joined us. I wanted to welcome him and thank him for being here to discuss this issue with us.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA).

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Oklahoma, for yielding to me.

The options that the gentleman lays out are probably the range of options that we have, although under option one, we probably have a number of different alternatives for how we would reform and strengthen the foundation for social security.

I hope that that is the option that this Congress pursues and pursues aggressively, because if we begin in 1999 to take a look, a serious look at reform, and if we implement reform in this Congress, that gives us, then, you know, we have a time window then of 14 or 15 years to get ready before we hit that wall in 2014. That is a much better option than the number two, which is raising taxes.

Or we end up cutting a bunch of services in the other area of the government, but I do not think that will ever happen, or to change the fundamental structure of social security by delaying the retirement age or cutting benefits and those types of things.

So the opportunity, and really, the thing that we have to take a look at in this Congress is reforming social security along the lines that our colleague is developing a plan on, but that is the mandate that is in front of us.

Mr. COBURN. It is interesting to note, as this deficit, this amount of money that we are going to have to take from the general fund comes up, what we are going to do is we are either going to raise taxes or we are going to raise FICA taxes to take care of this, it is estimated a 25 percent FICA tax instead of the 12.5 percent FICA tax.

The other thing to note, so everybody can really understand this idea about the debt, is the debt is growing at $275 million a day right now. Right now the national debt is growing at $275 million a day.

□ 1545

That is a number that I cannot comprehend, let alone billions. If we divide it up to individuals, look what the individuals now owe. In 1997 every man, woman, and child in this country was responsible for $19,898; 1998, $20,123; 1999, at the end of this fiscal year, they will be responsible for $20,693.

That does not include the interest that is being charged on that every year, which is now, I guess, the largest or fast becoming the largest component of the Federal budget at about 17 or 18 percent of the money that we collectively spend of the tax dollars that come in.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I wonder if the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD) would put that chart up again.

The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) did not come in in the class of 1994, but the rest of the three of us did. I might just say that I almost wish that the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. COBURN) had not promised to limit himself to three terms, and I believe the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD) did the same. We desperately need people like them in the Congress because they have been valuable Members and people who have been willing to take the tough votes to make the progress.

I want to point out I think whenever we are talking about the budget or making any kind of long-term plans, we have sort of got to look at where we are and where we are going. I think the important thing about this chart, it really points out two things.

First of all, we still have got a problem. But I think it also points out that we have made significant progress. I think the voters back in 1994 said enough is enough and they said let us send a whole new team to Washington that really is committed to balancing the budget, fiscal responsibility, and what I call generational fairness, because at the end of the day what we are talking about is being fair to the next generation.

But I want to point out, though, that at least we are moving in the right direction as it relates to the deficits, no matter how we measure them, because in 1994 we were looking at deficits of over $200 billion, and actually we were talking over $300 billion if we included the Social Security Trust Fund money. In fact, the Congressional Budget Office told us in the spring of 1995, based on the President's budget recommendations, that that deficit was going to grow from about $225 billion to about $690 billion.

Some of us said that that is not the direction that the American people want to us go. We got busy. We eliminated 400 programs. We have cut the rate of growth in Federal spending by more than half. As a result, at least we are headed in the right direction.

But I think the point of this discussion today is there is so much more to be done. I do want to say at least a good thing about the budget that we recently passed, I think there are four important points that need to be made about the budget resolution that just passed this House, and in fact passed the House and the Senate in the form of a joint budget resolution.

But first and foremost, every penny of Social Security taxes for the first time is going to be reserved for Social Security. Secondly, we preserve the spirit of the balanced budget agreement of 1997 in saying that we do intend to keep those spending caps. Third, we actually begin to pay down some of the debt that is owed to the public.

We are not talking about the overall debt because we have got this big problem with Social Security. Frankly, the only thing that Social Security surpluses can go to is buying government bonds. That may be something that we want to look at as we go forward.

But, finally, and I think this is important as well, we make room for some tax relief for working families. Americans today are paying the highest total tax rate that Americans have paid since World War II.

So we do believe that if we can exercise the fiscal discipline that we need to exercise over the next several years, we can actually begin to strengthen Social Security, have honest budget surpluses, and provide tax relief for the American families if we are willing to continue to apply the kind of fiscal responsibility that we have had for the last 4 years.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Speaker, let me show my colleagues how that plays out. Down here is the President and Vice-President Gore's budget as submitted to the House and the Senate. Here is the budget that was passed, that passed the House. In terms of the effect, the zero line is right here. This is real surplus. This is honest accounting. This is not playing games. I would remind people, this is not my opinion, this is Congressional Budget Office and OMB numbers. All right, so they are not my numbers.

If we restrain spending, as the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT) just discussed, where we stay within the budget caps that were agreed to in 1997 and that we get our hands off Social Security, what we see is that somewhere right after the year 2000 we start running a real surplus. As a matter of fact, there are people who are projecting this year that because the economy is so good, and because one is paying so much in taxes and that we have restrained spending, that we may have a $6 billion or $7 billion true surplus, real honest non-Washington-based surplus this year.

But if we do not restrain spending, and we increase taxes as the President

has suggested and we increase programs and we increase spending, look what happens. Under his plan there is no real surplus till 2004. All this in the red below the line and all this in the green below the line goes to our children in debt. Everything above the line, the little bit of red there and the whole bunch of green there, reduces the debt. So we do have a way to take this burden of lack of opportunity for our children away from the future, and that is restraining spending.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I think this is a point that I do not think we can drive home often enough. There are those back in our districts who talk about cutting spending. We have not cut spending.

Mr. COBURN. That is right.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, what we have done is we have slowed the growth of Federal Government. So my colleagues know spending has not been cut. What we have done over the last 3 or 4 years, and what we did in the balanced budget agreement of 1997, which we continue in this budget agreement that we just passed a couple of weeks ago, is we agreed to live within the caps that restrain the growth of new spending that we would incorporate here in Washington.

So we said, government, we are going to allow it to get bigger, we are just not going to grow it quite as fast. By just slowing the growth of government and sticking to that plan, we achieve real surpluses, and we achieve a significant surplus over the years beyond 2000 and allow some room for some of that money to go back to the American people.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Speaker, let me make a little correction. We hope to achieve real surpluses if the tendency of Washington is restrained to throw money at everything, and so that is our job.

We are going to be talking here in a little bit about how what the President has put us into in terms of Kosovo is going to affect all these numbers. It is important that we have a discussion about that and how it is going to impact us.

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD) actually has a chart that shows what has happened.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I just want to follow up what the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) is suggesting.

I have got friends back home that said, ''MARK, are you all a bunch of green-eye-shade-covered accountant types in Washington, or are you not the guys that are cutting spending in Washington, taking stuff away from people?'' Again, as the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. HOEKSTRA) just pointed out, no. In other words, that may be the rap that at times people send in this direction, but reality is very, very different.

That is, if we look at this one-way upward curve, what we are talking about is trying to restrain the growth and spending in Washington as opposed to cutting. There is not any cutting that is going on here, but an attempt to restrain the growth. The reason that I think that is so important is well illustrated with the second chart, which shows that basically Washington has been getting a lot more of a pay raise than folks back home.

If we look at each year, the purple line is the degree to which spending has been going up in Washington versus the orange, I guess that is orange, orange line showing the rate at which growth or incomes have been going up at home. All we are trying to do is keep the two equal. In other words, if Washington is getting a pay raise, it ought to be equal with what folks are doing back home, not above that.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield for a minute, when we are talking about a Washington pay raise, we are not talking about what they pay Members of Congress versus what people back home are getting.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, we are talking about how much goes through this place, which is $1.7 trillion.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, we are talking about the money that Washington believes we ought to spend, instead of the American people spending, on a variety of programs and services.

Mr. COBURN. So even with the hard work we have done in trying to restrain spending since the three of us came to Congress, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT), the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD), and myself, Federal Government spending has still, including this budget that we just passed, risen 20 percent. Over $300 billion a year, us fighting with all our energy to try to limit spending, it has still gone up by that. So it is very important that this concept of restraining spending be helped.

I want to get back to Social Security just for a minute, if we can, because the other thing that is important, and we talked about what is going to happen, is Social Security taxes. If we just let the tax rate rise on one's working wages, remember, this hurts middle income and lower income more than it hurts anybody because there is a maximum limit at which one pays Social Security taxes on. So what happens is the rate is going to go from this 12.5 percent to a rate of almost 20 percent as we get out into the next millennium, the next century.

So if we take the fact that right now we are paying 12.5 percent, and we are going to take and almost double that rate of taxes on our children so that we double the amount of money that is coming out of their paycheck every month, we can see very easily what we are going to do is lower their standard of living. So it is a real problem. It is a problem we have to address.

One other thing that I think is important is, if we look at the demographics of the Social Security system, and if one happens to be 65 right now, one will have a life expectancy of about 82.5 years. If one earned the average wage in 1998, one will have to live 5.1 years past one's life expectancy ever to get the money that one puts into Social Security back, let alone get any earnings off of it.

If one is 54 right now, one's average life expectancy is 82.9. One will have to live to 99.1 years to just get even with one's money.

The third age group, 44, one's life expectancy is 83.3 years. One is going to have to have to live to 102 to ever get one's money back that one put in, let alone any benefit off that money.

If one happens to be 34 years of age, one is going to have to live an extra 16.7 years past one's life expectancy ever to get one's money back.

There is something fundamentally unfair about making our grandchildren drop their living standard to pay for their retirement when we can do it another way and still provide every benefit that has ever been promised to anybody that is on Social Security or who is going to be on Social Security.

So it is not an impossible problem, but it is a problem that the politicians use to drive wedges between candidates when our real job up here ought to be solving the problems for the American public, not trying to make political hype.

So I think this is one of the most revealing things. It is unfair to our children and our grandchildren to ask them to pay into something that they know they are never going to get the return back.

The polling data, which I hate polling data but I like this one, more young people believe in UFOs than believe that they are going to get their money back out of Social Security. And they are right, because they are not going to get their money out of Social Security the way the system is set up today.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, it is funny what those numbers translate into, because I had seen recent numbers that showed for a young person born in 1970, making $24,000 a year, which is average income, assuming they never made a pay raise, in other words they never had an increase in their pay over the course of their lives, they kept earning that $24,000 a year, what they could expect to get returned to them on their Social Security was 0.4 percent if they were male. That is not 1 percent, that is four-tenths of a percent. If they are female, it is 0.7, seven-tenths of a percent.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, it is important that we explain what that means because a lot of people at home may not. That means if one had $100, one would get 40 cents for it if one were a male. If one had $100 invested and one were a female, one would get 70 cents for it.

If one puts it in a CD or even a passbook savings, one gets $3.50 on it. So

one gets four to five to six to even almost nine times, if one is a man, more money investing the same amount of money into a passbook savings account that is guaranteed by the Federal Government to $100,000, than one would by paying one's Social Security money.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, the same study, if one were black, one would actually earn a negative rate of return on the investment because of the shorter life expectancy with black males.

So this translates into real money over a person's retirement, because that difference that the gentleman from Oklahoma pointed out, the difference between $3.50 or $4 of earnings on $1 versus 70 cents or 40 cents can make a big difference over time.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield.

Mr. COBURN. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, I think the other thing that is important when the gentleman is talking about explaining this, the numbers, when one takes a look at one's check stub and it says the FICA and the Social Security and one sees the 6.25 percent, recognize that one's employer matches that dollar for dollar.

One of the bills that I have introduced says that at the end of the year when one gets one's W–2, that the W–2 ought to state clearly what one has paid in FICA taxes and what one's employer has paid in matching FICA taxes, because really it is all one's income. That is paid specifically on how much one makes. If the employer did not have to be paying that in taxes to the Federal Government, that could be a part of one's wage.

It is a hidden tax on each and every American. Again it is one of these ways, secret ways that a time back they went to Washington and they said how can we get some more money without letting the American people know how much we are really taxing them? They said, well, there is the employee's share. Let us create a matching employer's share. It never gets reported anywhere.

□ 1600

It never gets reported anywhere, but it clearly is income. It is revenue that an employer receives that, if they did not have to pay it in taxes to the Federal Government, they could pay it to the employee. Then when an individual gets a .004 return on that, he or she is not only getting a .004 return on the money that the employee had set aside; it is the same return that the money that is being set aside by the employer is earning. And that is not right.

Mr. COBURN. There is an interesting case law on this. There was a company, I will not mention their name, that had several thousand employees in the State of Colorado who decided to do that on their paycheck stubs, and the IRS and the Social Security System took them to court and made them stop and they won.

So the idea that there is some secrecy about this is true. If the American public actually recognizes the amount of money withdrawn from their paycheck, and paid also additionally by their employer, and that that money is really theirs that they cannot have because Washington is consuming it, the participation rate and the recognition of the value of what they are getting would rise in terms of their acknowledgment of it, and we would see much more activity on the part of the regular citizen to help us try to change the mindset of spending more of their money.

One final point I would make is that all through this we have shown this graph that depicts the rise in spending. And the question that I continue to be asked, and the question that I ask to people in my district, is how many people believe that the Federal Government is efficient? They kind of snicker.

That is not to say we do not have some great Federal employees, but bureaucratic run programs typically are not very efficient. There are exceptions to that. But the fact is that we have allowed growth while we are sitting here scraping our fingernails against the chalkboard trying to hold down growth in the Federal Government. We have still allowed a $300 billion increase over the last 5 years in terms of budgets. This counts the fact that we have not really squeezed any efficiency into this government yet. We have just trimmed some of the programs.

But there are many gains that can be made in efficiency. There is over 100,000 IRS employees. How many people in this country are spending tons of money having their taxes prepared? How many of them understand how to fill out their taxes? There are productive jobs for everybody that works at the IRS somewhere else in the economy today. And if we take and drop 90,000 or 95,000 people out of the Internal Revenue Service and put them into productive jobs elsewhere, and we have simplified the Tax Code where we know what we will pay and we do not have to have 90,000 additional people to collect the money, we get benefits both ways. We save money paying our taxes and the government spends less money collecting.

So there are just hundreds and hundreds of things we can do, but we do not have the political power to do it yet and it is because America is not awake. They were awake a little bit in 1994, and they fell back asleep because they were disappointed because they felt all politicians were the same. I am here to tell them that we are not. There are those who want to change things. We want Americans to send people here, I certainly want them to send people here who are willing to make the sacrifices and the political sacrifice to do some of the changes.

I think the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD) had a very interesting chart, and this has to do, and I will let him introduce it, but I want to give it a little preview.

Had the politicians done what they said they were going to do starting in 1938 with Social Security, what we would find out is the amazing principle the gentleman is about to talk about.

Mr. SANFORD. This just goes back to what we were talking about, which is the very poor rate of return that could be projected for future retirees in the current system. That is not to say that Social Security has not done a lot of good for my mom or my grandmom. It is simply a question of the demographics that are coming our way that the gentleman outlined earlier.

That translates to a real squeeze in the system and a real squeeze in terms of the rate of return that a young worker can expect to get out of the current system.

One of the things I most frequently hear from folks back home is, ''You know, MARK, if you all would just keep your hands off my Social Security money, I would have been fine.'' And we actually looked into that, and it turns out they are right.

Because if the surpluses that had come along in past years, and again we missed the number 1937 in the upper left-hand corner, but in 1937 there was a surplus of $766 million in the Social Security System. If instead of that money being borrowed and spent on other things in government, if that had gone into a real account and it had grown and compounded over time, and again this is not a hypothetical number, if it simply had been invested in the stock market, and I am not saying we should put all of Social Security money in the stock market, I am not saying anything like that, just using this as an example of the power of compound interest, if that money had simply gone into the S&P 500, it would today be worth $1.17 trillion.

If we follow this argument out, in 1938 our surplus was $365 million in Social Security. If we had put that in the S&P 500, let it grow and compound over time, today that would be worth $485 billion.

In 1939, our surplus for Social Security was $590 million. If we had invested that money in the S&P 500, and simply let it grow and compound over time, today that would be worth $680 billion.

When we add all these up, we are looking, between the years 1938 and 1942 alone, if Washington had kept its hands off the money, we would have $4 trillion in the bank, which would be solving the whole problem we are here discussing in the place.

Again, I am not saying this to suggest that we should put all Social Security money in the stock market.

Mr. COBURN. What the gentleman is saying is, if we had had a 12 percent rate of return rather than 6/10ths of 1 percent of real rate of return, we would not have a problem with Social Security.

Mr. SANFORD. Right.

Mr. COBURN. And the other answer to that is, when are we going to start?

And we have to start now. Now is the opportunity. The American public is awake and knows that there is a problem with Social Security. It is time to be totally honest about that regardless of what the political costs are. We were sent here to solve problems, not to protect ourselves politically.

Mr. SANFORD. That is right.

Mr. COBURN. And if we start today by preserving what money there is, and allowing it to earn a rate of interest that is comparable with other investments that we can have in a retirement program, and we can do that, and we can do that without putting it in the stock market, then we will start on the road to making it healthy again.

The other point that I would make is that had we done what the gentleman suggested just for those 6 years, just those 6 years and not done it for any of the rest, we would have $4 trillion earning about $300 billion a year, which is more than what we are going to pay out in Social Security this year. And we would not be having to pay a penny in Social Security taxes. In other words, the power of compound interest, had we saved the money instead of spending it, we could lower everybody's Social Security taxes now.

So we have to move to that, and we have to create that opportunity for our children.

The gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I was not listening as carefully as I should to our colleague's presentation about the magic of compound interest because I was visiting with our former colleague, also a classmate of 1994, Mr. Neumann from Wisconsin, who is here with us today. And we are delighted to have him back in Washington because he was one of the people who really was a trailblazer in terms of balancing the budget, paying down debt, and actually becoming honest with the way we account for Social Security.

I want to come back to a couple of points that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD) raised, and I think they are very important points, the first of which is, and many Americans do not know this, that one of the most brilliant Americans, one of the most brilliant people of the 20th century, was, arguably, Albert Einstein. I think most people would agree with that. And he was the one who was once asked what the most powerful force in the universe was. And he said, somewhat in jest, the magic of compound interest. So when we have one of the most brilliant men of the 20th century talking about the magic of compound interest, it adds even more credibility.

I have been giving this presentation on Social Security in my town hall meetings, and I talk about generational fairness. I have talked to seniors, and I give the presentation to high school kids, and I give the presentation to baby boomers, rotary clubs, wherever I can get a chance to talk about this, because I do think people need to understand where we are, where we have been and where we need to go. I think in terms of generational fairness we need to talk to all those groups. But I always ask them, whatever age group I am speaking with, and it is particularly true of the younger people, how many of them would put 12.5 percent of their income, because that is, in effect, what people put into Social Security right now, how many of them would put 12.5 percent of their income into a retirement plan which, over the last 20 years, has had an average rate of real rate of return of 1.9 percent.

None of them. Absolutely none of them. In fact, it is a tribute to our American educational system because our kids in high school and college today are smart enough to figure out that is not a very good rate of return 1.9 percent. And I must apologize to them, because I was not quite as familiar with the numbers. Actually, for those younger people, people who are in high school and college and younger workers perhaps under the age of 30, it is not a 1.9 percent rate of return on their money, it is actually a negative rate of return on their money.

And at some point I think we have to be honest with all those generations, and I say it from this perspective. I was born in 1951. And, actually, there were more kids born in 1951 than any other year. I represent the peak of the baby boomers. My parents are both living. The last thing we are ever going to do is pull the rug out from under our parents. We cannot do that. Medicare, Social Security, my parents depend on it and lots of people's parents depend on Medicare and Social Security.

As a baby boomer, though, I recognize that we represent such a huge glut that it is going to take some Herculean efforts on the part of our kids to keep this thing afloat. So we are going to have to make some adjustments. And I am one who says that baby boomers ought to be able and ought to be willing, in order to save the system for our kids, to take some modest changes.

I do not know if any of my colleagues agree with this, but I think, on behalf of our generation, I would be willing to work another year, maybe another 2 years. I would be willing to adjust the way the cost of living adjustments works. I would be willing to make some rather significant adjustments, if only, and this is a big if, if I and younger generations could have an opportunity to at least take a portion of that 12.5 percent tax that we pay on Social Security and be able to put that into some kind of a personalized retirement account.

Because I am nervous about letting the Federal Government invest in the stock market. And many seniors that I have talked to are very nervous about having the Federal Government invest directly in the stock market. Alan Greenspan has argued that. But I do think we ought to set up a system that allows individuals to invest a portion of that 12.5 percent in their own personalized retirement account.

I hope that is the direction this group and this Congress is going to go.

Mr. SANFORD. If the gentleman will yield, one of the reasons I think the gentleman's point is so interesting is the Supreme Court decision of 1960, which was Fleming v. Nestor. And, basically, what it said is that none of us have any legal claim whatsoever to our own Social Security money.

So this whole issue of private property rights, the issue of owning our own account, seeing a monthly statement, knowing to the penny how much is there, I think, is very, very important.

Mr. COBURN. I want to discuss just one more little learning model that we can learn from the past. One of the ways Social Security got in trouble is called political expediency.

If I want seniors to vote for me, I give them more benefits. But I do not ever tell them that the cost for that benefit is, number one, we cannot afford it; and, number two, if we are really going to pay for it, it will cost their grandchildren and their children a whole lot of money. And what has happened over the past 40 years, as things have been added in terms of Social Security, as benefits have changed and have been raised, the politicians did not have the courage to say, wait a minute, from an extrapolation and a demographics standpoint, this does not work. Well, we will ignore that; that can be somebody else's problem down the road.

Well, we are at that point. We are down the road. We have not in the past done the responsible thing to make sure Social Security was viable. The only thing we can take from that is learn from it and not make the same mistakes.

So the integrity of being honest about the problems in Social Security, the commitment to making sure that those that are dependent on it today and in the future will have, that are the two principles that we have to follow as we try to solve this problem. And the number one portion of that is to try to keep the Social Security money out of the hands of spending in the U.S. Congress.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. If the gentleman will yield, I think the reason that we are now in the Social Security debate is because of the progress that we have made in the last 3 or 4 years, where, relatively speaking, we are near or at a surplus. This year we may have an actual surplus, disregarding the inflow into the Social Security Trust Fund.

□ 1615

Now is the time to have that debate. And as we said in our budget, the first thing we want to do is to set aside all of the Social Security dollars so that we can have a meaningful debate on Social Security reform, we can have a meaningful debate on Medicare reform.

I mean, we see it every day. There are all kinds of suggestions out there

about how we should take this ''surplus'' and how we should spend it. And as my colleague from South Carolina has said, what that means is, if we got a surplus, there are all kinds of ideas how people are now suggesting that this surplus stays here in Washington and we spend it rather than securing our future for the next generation or paying down the debt or reducing the taxes. It seems like there are a lot of people who believe Washington should be first in line and we ought to accelerate now that growth in spending, and that is the wrong thing to do.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Speaker, let me go into one area so that we are completely honest with the American public.

The President has sent the House and the Senate a supplemental bill. There is great debate on what the deficit is in terms of the need of our military, especially now when we are now exposed on one front and potentially exposed on another front. There is no question that we have underfunded the requirements to have a readiness capable military. There is some debate about the money.

But the American public needs to make known to this body and to the Senate that if in fact they do not want Social Security money used to pay for that, they better let their representatives know it, because that is exactly what is going to happen.

The group of gentlemen that are with me have routinely fought to pay for everything that we do up here by cutting some program somewhere else. I do not believe that is going to happen this time, and it is not ever going to happen until we continue to contrast that when we spend money, that we are not willing to have the courage to cut spending somewhere else.

Where are we getting the money? We are stealing it from Social Security. We should not run from that issue. We should talk about that issue. And as we talk about it, I believe the public will demand on the body politic in this country to do the sharpening and cut the fat and promote the efficiency that we need.

Mr. SANFORD. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would further yield, Madeleine Albright came and testified before one of the committees that I am on, the Committee on International Relations, today, and she testified before the Senate yesterday. And on this very point, I think her reply was interesting, because when asked, should we offset the proposed supplemental for Kosovo, the answer was no, because if we did that it would mean money could come out of USAID, the State Department and a host of other priorities, as she put it, here in Washington.

The simple question the people need to ask back home is, is USAID and State Department spending a higher priority for them or is the money going to their Social Security a higher priority, is a question that needs to be asked.

Mr. COBURN. Absolutely. And it needs to be raised and continue to be talked about so that Washington hears. I know what that answer is in the American public. It is the same everywhere. ''Get your hands off my Social Security money. Make the hard choices somewhere else.''

Mr. HOEKSTRA. I think the other interesting question is not only to ask is this more important than Social Security, it is if we are risking young men and young women's lives in Kosovo, is there no place else in the budget that we could find $6 billion? Is the only thing to say it is an emergency, not say everything else is as equal of a priority?

I think as we have taken a look at all of this, we spend $1.7 trillion per year. We all know that there is lots of bureaucracy, there is lots of red tape. There are other places where, if we really went after it, we could find the dollars to fund this without raiding Social Security and be able to do Kosovo and just say for those Members that believe it, this mission in Kosovo is so important we are willing to reduce spending in some other areas because this is a new priority.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I want to follow up on that because I think sometimes that does get lost in this whole debate.

This budget we are talking about this year is $1,700 billion. Even $6 billion, which I think is a little bit pricey for what we hope to achieve in Kosovo, but that is a separate debate, even that, though, represents a relatively small percent and about one-half of 1 percent of the total Federal budget. So the idea that we cannot find the money with offsets somewhere else in the budget, I think outside of this Capitol and outside of the circle here in Washington, I think most people do not believe that.

But I want to come back to another point, and really it does come back to in terms of our cost for defense in these special supplemental appropriations and I think it is an important one. I think the American people need to know that over the last 40 years, up until the last 8 years, the United States had deployed troops around the world 8 times, but in the last 8 years, we have deployed troops 33 times. And I think sometimes we have to ask, is all of this really that necessary? Is it worthwhile? I mean, this is an enormous expense to the taxpayers.

I think there is another question that needs to be asked before we vote on the supplemental, and that is about burden sharing. When President Bush decided that we had to stand up to Saddam Hussein, he went to our allies and he got them to pony up. And the net was the war in the desert actually made money for us. We actually came out ahead on the Desert Storm operation.

I think it is time for us to be brutally honest with our allies in Europe, that if they want us to help participate in a war that is really much more important to Europe than it is to people of the United States, then there ought to be a better cost sharing, a burden sharing.

Because right now, basically, our obligation to NATO is to pick up between 22 and 25 percent of the cost. Some of us believe that is still a little bit steep. But right now we are flying 75 percent of the sorties, we are delivering 90 percent of the ordnance, and I suspect when the accounting is done, we are shouldering about 75 to 90 percent of the cost of this operation.

And those are legitimate questions and I think we, as representatives of the people of the United States, have a right to ask those questions and demand honest answers.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Speaker, I want to close this out. One of my heroes is Martin Luther King. And I have said this many times on this floor, but I do not think it could be said often enough, his last major speech that he made was at the National Cathedral here in Washington; and in that speech he said, ''Cowardice asks the question, is it expedient? And vanity asks the question, is it popular? But conscience asks the question, is it right?''

It is popular to not talk about the problems we have with Social Security. It is politically very expedient not to be honest about the budget. But it is not right. And until this body, all sides of the body, until the executive branch starts becoming honest and accurate with the words they use about our budget and our situation with Social Security, we are not going to solve the problems.

We have to ask the right questions. And the first question we have to ask is, ''is it right?''

## REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 999, BEACHES ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT, CLEANUP AND HEALTH ACT OF 1999

Mr. REYNOLDS, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 106–103) on the resolution (H. Res. 145) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 999) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to improve the quality of coastal recreation waters, and for other purposes, which was reported to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

## DEMOCRATS CELEBRATE EARTH DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. NEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, this year the Democrats are celebrating Earth Day, which is tomorrow, by continuing our efforts to leave a real environmental legacy for this year and future years, for this generation and for the next generation. And we are proving that environmental protection and economic competitiveness are not mutually exclusive. In fact, they will be

even more compatible as technology continues to advance and as we head into the next millennium under a Democratic administration.

On the other hand, my colleagues on the other side, the Republicans, and particularly the Republican leadership, will once again try to look green for a day on Earth Day. They will tout their one or two token environmental bills.

I already heard the gentleman from the Committee on Rules, I believe, report one of those bills which is ready for tomorrow. They are going to tout these one or two token environmental bills that actually are far weaker than Democratic alternatives.

Let us really compare our agendas. Already this year the Republicans have defeated the defense of the environment amendment, designed to hold Republicans accountable for back-door attempts to roll back 25 years of environmental protection. The Republican budget also would drastically cut environmental funding by $5.3 billion over the next 5 years. And the American people can do the math, they can see through the Republican Party's empty Earth Day gestures.

For Earth Day last year, the Republicans held a rally, and Newt Gingrich, the then Speaker, visited a zoo. However, the Republican majority spent the rest of the year gutting environmental programs in the budget and loading up appropriation bills with anti-environmental riders. These riders attempted to construct roads through national parks and forests, delay the release of important environmental standards, allow the dumping of PCBs into other nations' rivers, and increase haze in our national parks.

In fact, last year was a record year, with over 40 anti-environmental riders. In 1995 the Republicans' inability to give up on these kind of riders resulted in a government shutdown. And during the 104th Congress, the Republicans introduced the dirty water bill, which would have significantly lowered treatment standards for nearly 7,000 toxic pollutants, allowed more sewage to be dumped in the ocean, and exposed much of our remaining wetlands to pollution or development. They also proposed changes to Superfund that would have let major Fortune 500 companies off the hook for hazardous waste pollution they caused. So do not let them fool my colleagues, not even for a day.

Meanwhile, the Democrats and the Clinton-Gore administration have been working hard to strengthen health, safety, and environmental protection across the Nation, and will continue to do so into the next century.

Together, the Democrats in Congress and the administration have worked to preserve precious land, fight water pollution, improve air quality, and protect communities and children. President Clinton and Vice President GORE have completed twice as many Superfund cleanups in the last 5 years as in the previous 12 years of Republican administration, and the Clinton-Gore administration established tough new clean air standards to protect our Nation's children from asthma and other illnesses.

This year the Clinton-Gore administration's Lands Legacy Initiative will protect, enhance, and expand our national parks, forests, and wildlife refuges. The initiative will also set aside $150 million for urban parks.

Now, while the Republicans were busy gutting the environment, the Democrats also enacted legislation to protect children's health, fully funded right-to-know and water monitoring initiatives, and issued a directive extending the moratorium on offshore oil drilling. Vice President GORE, I should add, spearheaded a nationwide Smart Growth Initiative to build livable American communities as a foundation for continued economic competitiveness in the 21st century.

Mr. Speaker, speaking on the subject of economic competitiveness, as I said at the outset, Democrats have continually proven that we can protect the environment without harming the economy. In fact, many environmental improvement efforts actually create jobs. Jobs and the environment, job creation and environmental protection go together, and we have proved that as Democrats.

Brownfields development, for example, conserves resources by turning abandoned waste sites into productive industrial property, instead of using pristine land and encouraging urban sprawl. This creates jobs in the construction industry. But the Republicans have repeatedly held funding for Brownfields cleanups and they hold it hostage to their sham of an environmental agenda. They refuse to do it.

Let me talk about energy efficiency and renewable energy programs promoted by the administration that save energy and money and simultaneously improve environmental protection. Development of newer, more efficient and renewable technologies also creates jobs, and such efforts also enhance our competitiveness both domestically and internationally.

The administration's Smart Growth Initiative I mentioned serves as another example of providing tools to protect the environment and preserving economic competitiveness and, yes, creating new jobs. An example of the administration's success in preserving the environment and protecting our economic security can best be found in my own backyard in New Jersey, in my district. Let me give my colleague this example.

The Port of New York and New Jersey generates $4.6 billion in annual revenue for the New Jersey and New York region and supports over 160,000 jobs. Maintaining the port's depth, the depth, if you will, for the ships to come in, is critical to the region's economy. But the Port of New York and New Jersey requests for dredging permits were continually delayed over objections of the disposal of dredge materials.

Let me explain that the traditional practice, and this was off the coast of my district, was to dispose of contaminated dredge spoils at an ocean dump site about 6 miles off the coast of my district, 6 miles really off the coast of where I live in my town, literally in our backyard. We felt that this practice was unacceptable not only to our area but for the environment in general, because of the impact on the ocean of that contaminated dredge material.

Well, the result, though, was that because the Port could not be dredged because the material could not be disposed of because of the objections to the contaminants in the disposed dredge materials, that dredging was not taking place, and there was a potential impact on the Port of New York and New Jersey in terms of jobs if shipping moved out or commercial cargo could not come in.

Well, there was a struggle. The industry and the labor people struggled for many years because of these delays. Both sides threatened litigation. But all of a sudden Vice President GORE came along and he brought everyone to the table. He brought the environmentalists who did not want the toxic dredge spoils dumped in the ocean. He brought the industrial representatives who wanted to be able to ship their goods in and out of the New York/New Jersey Harbor. And he brought the labor representatives who were concerned about the jobs.

□ 1630

He brought them all to the table, and he was critical. He was critical in brokering an agreement to close the mud dump site, the toxic waste site in the ocean, and simultaneously allow critical dredging projects at the port to move forward. So now we have major funding to do the dredging, we have closed the ocean dumping site so that the environment is no longer threatened, and we are developing beneficial reuse alternatives for the dredged material which allows the material to be used for other purposes, perhaps on land, and doing all this essentially promotes the port's viability, allows the commercial shipping to increase, allows the environment to be protected and allows even more jobs to be created in the port.

I use that as an example because I want to stress on the eve of Earth Day the leadership that the President and Vice President GORE have taken not only on environmental issues but in an effort to try to deal with environmental concerns in a way that also protects jobs and leads us toward a new technology and a new future where the environment and industry and jobs all basically work together for growth and for a good environment.

There are a lot of other examples I could use like that to show how the environment and jobs and the economy can work together.

The reason I mentioned it in part is because I think it is wrong for the Republican leadership on the other side of the aisle to make these sort of stealth attacks on the environment that they have been making for the last few years since they have been in the majority here in the House as well as in the Senate, and I think that they do not understand that by trying to break down the last 25 years or 26 years of environmental protection that has been a hallmark of the Democratic years in Congress since the first Earth Day, that by making these stealth attacks and trying to break down the legislation, the laws that protect the environment, that they are very much out of touch with the American people and what the American people want.

Mr. Speaker, the American people understand that you can have a good environment and good jobs, and they want us here in this Congress, together with Vice President GORE and President Clinton, to promote that agenda.

So I just want to say one last thing, and then I would like to yield to one of my colleagues.

On this Earth Day I am proposing a challenge to the Republicans. First, I challenge them not to do anything on the environment; in other words, try to do something progressive. I also challenge them not to gut the environment by sneaking harmful riders into the appropriations bills. That appropriations process is about to begin, Mr. Speaker. I challenge them not to sneak the harmful riders into the appropriations bills this year. I also challenge my colleagues on the other side not to cater to corporate interests and not to slash funds for important environmental health and safety programs. Rather than just making a little show tomorrow on Earth Day with one or two bills that are not very meaningful, I would challenge the Republicans to join us in creating a real environmental legacy for our children by passing the administration's livable communities and lands legacy initiatives on a broadly bipartisan basis.

And let us say that on the eve of Earth Day 1999, let us once again talk about truth. The truth is the health of our environment is in jeopardy at the hands of the Republican majority in this Congress, and the truth is that Democrats and President Clinton and Vice President GORE are the true protectors of the environment.

Mr. Speaker, with that I yield to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS), who is here with some others to join me this evening.

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment my colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Pallone), for his outstanding leadership and his record as a Member of this Congress in support of the environment.

All of us are saddened today of course by the events yesterday out near Denver, Colorado. Our sympathies go out to the families and to the schoolchildren who suffered through that terrible crisis yesterday, and none of us here today, and I think all of us are saddened by that, and we are not about to get into a partisan fight, but I think it is obvious to me that on the day before Earth Day we should take the floor to talk about the record of the Democratic Party in the Congress, the record of the Vice President and the President.

I am proud to be a Democrat because of our consistent record over the years in support of environmental legislation. I can remember when I was a staffer working in the other body when the Clean Water Act was passed, the Clean Air Act, the Endangered Species Act was enacted, and it is interesting. As my colleagues know, there were some Presidents in the past like Richard Nixon who signed some of these important legislative vehicles into law, and there was broad bipartisan support in the 1970s here in this Congress for improving the environment.

So I hope that today we will remember that this is the 29th celebration of Earth Day. The first one was April 22, 1970, and it is appropriate to call attention here in the House of Representatives to the progress that has been made in those past three decades, and certainly to the progress we have made during the 1990's to the initiative of the Clinton- GORE administration, and that is why a lot of us were concerned when we saw in the Roll Call this week that the majority leader of the majority party had decided that he was going to form a truth squad to talk about the Vice President's record on the environment.

Mr. Speaker, if it is a truth squad, it is going to be a very positive report then, because I do not think there has been a public official in my career that has done more during their term of office to work on environmental issues than Vice President GORE .

Now under this administration we have made great progress in protecting the environment, toughening enforcement of clean air and clean water laws, improving the safety of our drinking water and the food we eat, and, as my colleagues know, a couple years ago we had a terrible disaster in the State of Washington related to E. coli, and, as my colleagues know, I came back here, I talked to Secretary Glickman. We wanted to make certain that we got tougher standards for our meat packing plants in order to protect our kids from E. coli. Frankly, I was shocked in the Committee on Appropriations when one of my colleagues got up to offer a limitation to stop those regulations from going into effect, and it was enacted at the Committee on Appropriations level and then later was dropped. And I was glad that it was dropped here on the floor of the House because it would not have strengthened these safety regulations, it would have in fact weakened them. And so we were glad that that was prevented.

Also, this administration, and I can talk to my colleagues about this, has been active in restoring and preserving roadless and wilderness areas across the Nation, and we have done all this while the Federal budget has been brought into balance and largely while the majority party here in the Congress has fought against our environmental protection efforts.

So I think the Vice President, certainly Vice President GORE, must be given a large share of the credit for this administration's successes.

I know from my State of Washington how involved and constructive the Vice President has been in helping us address some of our toughest environmental challenges in the last 6 years. He was there with President Clinton at the Forest Summit in early 1993, one of the first acts of the Clinton-Gore administration, helping to balance the need to protect habitat for endangered species and the need to sustain a way of life in the timber communities in our State. The Vice President's leadership was critically important at that time in assembling the Northwest Forest Plan which has been a great success. He was there for us when we needed help in approving several habitat conservation plans in Washington State which have become blueprints for balancing the requirements of protecting critical habitat and providing certainty for people and businesses who make their living off the land, and he is still there today helping Washington and three other West Coast States address the new challenge of the salmon listings.

I asked the Vice President and the President if they would not add $100 million in the budget for a west coast salmon recovery initiative, and that money was added, and we are very much appreciative of it. I also asked the Vice President if he could help us with a conservation reserve enhancement program between the Department of Agriculture and the State of Washington, and he intervened to help make sure that that happened, sent Secretary Glickman again out to our State to work with us on these important issues.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER).

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for yielding, and I want to build just for a minute on the remarks that he said.

I do not know where this attack or the truth squad comes with respect to the Vice President, but clearly his record is unparalleled not only in getting our country to address and be aware of problems concerning the environment, but as a troubleshooter and as a problem solver.

We all remember the Forest Summit. Prior to that in the previous administration all we had was a train wreck where nothing was being done, more and more people were losing their job, it looked like more and more endangered species were going to be threatened, and nothing was being done. And

as a result of the Vice President and President Clinton's work and your work and others, we have started to work our way out of that problem. We have started to put new jobs back into the forest, we are starting to reconstruct some of the damage that has been done in the past, we have worked out habitat conservation areas. But that is true in the Everglades under the leadership of the Vice President. That is true on the Conference on the Oceans. That is true in Lake Tahoe. These huge natural assets, wonderful ecological environmental assets that are the jewels in this Nation, the forests of the Pacific Northwest, the Tongass, the rain forest in Alaska, the Everglades, the southern Utah wilderness areas, Lake Tahoe I have already mentioned, Monterey Bay Sanctuary; these are areas where we had nothing but controversy before, nothing but controversy and arguments and at the same time having the ecosystems deteriorate and go downhill.

This administration, under the leadership of the Vice President, stepped in and started to get communities to work together so we see in the most recent and dramatic listing of the salmon, we see the City of Seattle, we see the Governor of Washington, the Governor of Oregon, the Mayor of Portland, people talking about making this an event that they can work with, that they can help bring economic activity to the area and save the environment at the same time.

That has been the thinking of this Vice President, that the environment could be a win-win. He has also told America about the markets that are available in trade on environmental equipment to help clean up the environment in other countries. He has pushed to open those markets, billions of dollars in business that is available for companies in the United States.

So I think that, as the gentleman points out, and I will have more to say about those who would attack them and what their record would be on the environment, but my colleague makes an incredibly important point, that he has been a troubleshooter and he has brought communities together, he has given people a seat at the table where they never had one before, and as a result of that in a number of these instances we are working out a consensus, we are working out a consensus on California water, a consensus on the Everglades, a consensus on the marine resources in this Nation because people have been given a stake in the outcomes of those arrangements.

So I think you have raised a very, very important point about his role and his effectiveness over the last several years.

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the gentleman for his statement, and I always appreciate working with the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER), who probably, as our ranking member on the Committee on Natural Resources, has probably been the strongest advocate for protecting the environment that there is in the Congress. And his point about the northwest timber situation was so absolutely on point. We were enjoying, there were zero sales coming off the Federal timber lands.

Now, as my colleagues know, there are some people in my district who were not thrilled about the levels that we got to, but at least we got something going, and at the same time the Vice President worked to get 1.2 billion over 5 years to help all these communities in northern California, in Oregon, in Washington State that had been affected by this and helped them diversify their economies, helped them get into other new businesses.

So it was not just leaving these people out there. They resolved the problem and then helped the communities deal with the transitional period.

Mr. Speaker, that is why I think that instead of attacking the Vice President, we should be praising the Vice President for that kind of a problem-solving, constructive, sensible approach to dealing with environmental issues.

□ 1645

I have known this man. He was in my class. We came to Congress together. He deeply cares about these issues, and I will say this, there is nobody who is more informed. He does his homework. He looks into these matters in great detail, whether it is national security issues, environmental issues or economic issues.

The other point my colleague makes that is so important here is that the economy today in the United States is as good as it gets. As the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) said, here we are, we have decided as a country we are going to protect the environment, that Earth Day means something to us, and we still have the lowest unemployment, the lowest inflation.

The Vice President has been in charge of doing a lot of work on reinventing government to try to deal with regulations that are unnecessary and to help in those respects.

I do not think the House floor should be used to go out and attack people, especially when we have an agenda. We have to get down and get busy now and start dealing with Medicare. We have to get busy on education. We have to get busy on Social Security. We have to start passing the appropriations bills.

So for the majority to say they are going to waste the time, I think, of the House getting into a partisan attack, it just does not make any sense. We should be spending that time trying to work together in a bipartisan way to deal with these issues.

One of those issues, by the way, is the environment. I will say this, one thing that I am pleased about is that there is a sensible group of people on the other side of the aisle who have joined with the Democrats, the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT), the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST) and people of that nature who have joined with us on the important environmental issues and, frankly, I think we have a majority, a significant majority in this House in favor of protecting the environment.

So I think we should make this an issue that is bipartisan, that we work together on, not trying to go out and scapegoat, take partisan advantage. There is plenty of time for politics when we get to the year 2000. I think we have to do the people's business now, work on legislation, develop a record, and we can all go home and run again in 2000 on the basis of getting something done rather than playing political games.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS) for his remarks. Just briefly, if I could support some of the things the gentleman said.

I was listening to what the gentleman said about the Republicans, and it is true there are some Republicans on the other side, and historically we have had Richard Nixon supporting most of the environmental legislation in the seventies, signing the law; Teddy Roosevelt with the conservation movement. I just do not understand why the Republican leadership now and for the last 4 or 5 years has taken this track of basically trying to tear down every major environmental legislation; and now, as the gentleman has said, based on this article in Roll Call, literally discussing coming to the floor to attack the Vice President rather than to do something constructive.

I just wanted to say, I was listening to what the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER) said about the Vice President bringing people together, developing a consensus, giving people a seat at the table. It was amazing, when we had this whole battle over the Port Authority, how true that was. Until he came in, everybody was at odds; everybody was fighting. Nobody wanted to do anything. Nobody even wanted to sit down. We could not even get people to sit down at a table and talk, but when he showed up and then took the initiative from there, all of a sudden people were willing to listen, and they ended up standing on a stage together signing an agreement that I never thought was possible. He managed to achieve that.

I just wanted to say one more thing in that regard. The gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS) pointed out how there are important issues here legislatively that can be dealt with in this same way. I will just use the example of the Clean Water Act. For the last 5 years now, every effort that we have made to try to reauthorize the Clean Water Act has failed because the Republicans do not want to do it. The Republican leadership refuses to bring it up.

Interestingly enough, I went to a New Jersey building trades meeting

earlier this week, and the number one issue that the building trades were concerned about was the Clean Water Act. They said we need the jobs that are created, because if we do not have the money and higher authorization levels for infrastructure needs, to build new sewage plants or other ways to deal with clean water that creates all kinds of jobs that we would like to have, those needs are unmet.

There again is an example of how we can do something to protect the environment, clean up the water, and at the same time create jobs. They recognize it themselves. Labor recognizes it themselves. So this notion that somehow jobs and the environment and economic growth do not go together is false.

The kinds of things that AL GORE has done to point out how we can bring people together to achieve those goals together is a perfect example of why it can be done if we just have a positive attitude.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) for yielding and very much appreciate being able to join two of the gentlemen from the West who know firsthand the importance of preserving the environment. Since I join them out West in Texas, a State that appreciates open space, I too come to the floor to share the shining examples that have benefited Texas but as well the Nation.

If I might join my colleague, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS), in saying how sad I am that we have to even have this kind of debate in the shadow of the tragedy that has befallen our friends in Colorado, and to their families and to the young people that have been injured and those who have lost their lives. I clearly think that we will have a time in the future to collaborate on saving lives of young people, ending the violence.

Tragically, the day before Earth Day we are here because we hear rumors that some will come to the floor, my friends on the other side of the aisle, and begin throwing dirt one day before Earth Day about who is better for the environment or who is not, or whose position is contrary to that which promotes economic development, promotes economic stability, and I am saddened that we would do that.

This is a day, of course, that I want to offer all of my sympathies to those families.

I think it is important that we speak more positively, and in speaking more positively, I think it is important to note the facts. In particular, let me note the Vice President's assistance and support for some of the activities that we think are important in Texas. I am reminded of the hard work of former land Commissioner Gary Mauro, who worked for some 12 years in the State of Texas to promote cleaning up beaches and keeping those areas attractive for all of Texas and all of America to enjoy.

It was the Clinton administration, the Clinton-Gore administration, that was most helpful in those efforts to recognize that our beaches, our waterfront areas, are national treasures; and therefore led the fight, along with former Commissioner Gary Mauro, to excite the people of Texas to clean up their beaches and to have the resources to do so.

I remember very much joining with members of this caucus and Members of this House to fight against eliminating the Environmental Protection Agency, which is something that had been sought by those who did not see the value. Vice President GORE was out front in preserving the Environmental Protection Agency.

How many of us remember growing up with brown water, or knowing what can happen when one turns on their faucet and the water is not clean?

So I am very grateful that Texas has been the beneficiary of some of the valuable efforts by the administration to clean up water, such as with new sewage resources. The City of Houston is in the process of a major overhaul of its sewage wastewater system, something that is extremely important, a local issue that impacts our day-to-day lives.

Particularly I think the Vice President has been a leader on tough limits on smog and soot, accelerating toxic waste cleanups, expanding the public's right to know about toxins released to air, water and land. Talk to those who suffer from asthma and other respiratory ailments and they will say who has been soft on the environment. They will say how they are pushing for us to do more about the Clean Air Act, how they are pushing to ensure that they do not have to walk around every day, whether it is in Houston, Texas, or Washington, D.C., with the air inhaler because of the difficulties in breathing.

So I think it is important to really take this day and highlight the needs of this Nation and really call a spade a spade, or to call the facts. Let us call the roll on what the Vice President has been able to do.

I will tell a personal story. Houston is known for its enormous geography, its wide spaces, enormous freeways and round-abouts and everybody in their cars, and that creates just a terrific traffic jam; the frustration of the early morning traveler, the late evening traveler; and also its desire, although we have still a long ways to go to preserve green space, to sort of encourage people to get into green spaces so that hopefully the air will be clean enough for them to be outdoors.

We are a very warm city but we are encouraging that, and in doing so we have a commitment to more hike and bike trails because we want people to get out in nature in the cities. We want the inner city to be warmly receptive to families and children. So it was the Vice President's leadership, along with the President's leadership, that helped this transportation bill not only to be a bill of rebuilding hard infrastructure but also to focus on hike and bike trails.

I am very proud that we were able to secure some of those resources so that inner city residents in Houston, Texas, and particularly in my district, will have hike and bike trails constructed as we speak, to give them the opportunity to experience the beauty of nature, along with our clean air, to walk the trails, to see the trees, to enjoy the birds. That is all at the leadership of the Vice President.

So I think it is extremely important that we do more, and I join the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) in welcoming the efforts of the Livable Communities Task Force. I am a member of it. The legislation that they offered today, what a perfect example to show our constituents that we can work together on things that pain them: suburban sprawl, the difficulty of living in an urban area, everyone in their cars, the lack of public transportation.

I hope we can get that legislation moving. I certainly am supporting it, certainly will be encouraging the City of Houston to join in. I would simply say that it is of great desire that we do something positive and not do something negative as it relates to the environment. That is why I am here today, to say let us move the engine of change for promoting the environment and not listen to rumors about who has been doing the best and who has not. The Vice President has been at the forefront of these very important issues.

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

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

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) for her remarks. She raises a number of very important points. We have talked about what the Vice President has done in the past, but also the fact that the Vice President has vision in talking about the future and clearly talking about issues in terms of livable communities that all of our constituencies struggle with on a daily basis.

I represent a district on the east side of San Francisco Bay where people find themselves locked in on the Interstate 80, which runs through my district, at 15 miles an hour on a good morning. People have to get up at 4:00 in the morning to commute long distances to their work.

The Vice President has asked that we start to address these issues and start to use his influence to get people to address these issues so that people can have a more livable community. That shows the kind of vision he has.

I think also when we read in the newspaper that there is going to be an attack by the leadership, the Republican leadership, on the Vice President, maybe it is a compliment. Maybe we

know a man by his enemies, because if we look at the Republican leadership it is rather shocking.

Senator LOTT has a zero rating with the League of Conservation Voters. Senator NICKLES has a zero rating with the League of Conservation Voters. Our Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HASTERT) has 17 percent; the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARMEY), the Majority Leader ARMEY, 17 percent; the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) has 10 percent; Senator MURKOWSKI, Chairman YOUNG, 3 percent.

Maybe we know the Vice President's effectiveness. Maybe we know his vision and maybe we know his record by those who would seek now to attack him and somehow try to diminish his stature in the environmental movement, not only in this country but around the world.

We have to understand that just in the last session, when we had the McGovern amendment to restore State park funding, 78 percent of the Republicans voted against it. The Waxman global climate change amendment, 88 percent of the Republicans voted no. The amendment I offered to stop subsidized road construction in the Tongass National Forest, 93 percent of the Republicans voted no.

We used to have a coalition here, Conservation in the United States. It was a bipartisan coalition. Many people go back and properly give Teddy Roosevelt credit for starting that. It is interesting that Business Week, hardly a voice of environmental activism, laments that the Republican Party tradition under Teddy Roosevelt of protecting land is being trashed, and it is shameful. It is the leaders of that effort who are now somehow going to attack the environmental credentials of the Vice President or say that he is wrong-headed.

□ 1700

The fact is, through his efforts both in the House and in the Senate, and as the Vice President of the United States, he has led the efforts to clean up our air, to clean up our water, to clean up the toxic sites in this Nation; to clean up the Superfund sites that plague our communities, the brownfields campaign that he started that allows us to take these toxic sites and turn them into economic opportunities, and as we have seen now in Palo Alto, California, in Richmond, California, in communities that now have economic opportunities that did not exist there before that kind of program under the leadership of this administration.

So we know what the Republicans have been doing, and we know certainly what the Republican leadership has been doing, and that is that they have launched, the minute the Gingrich revolution came to town, their first effort was to launch an attack on the basic and fundamental environmental laws of this Nation.

Now let us look at what the Vice President has been doing. He has been going out to communities that have great environmental strife, that have had all kinds of controversy, and he has brought people together to try to sit down and work those things out. Most recently in California where we had the headwaters forest deal, where we were going to lose some of the last of the ancient grand redwoods in this Nation on the face of this Earth, it was the involvement of the Vice President and this administration that finally secured a deal. I do not like all of it, but I will tell my colleagues, it secured a deal by which we can protect those redwoods, we can allow some timber activity to continue, and the economy in that area can continue. That had been years of controversy before the administration got involved.

The same is true in California water, where the administration has brought people together to solve one of the most difficult problems, the survivability of San Francisco Bay, the survivability of the San Francisco Bay delta. In our huge, complex Federal and State water systems that are the cornerstone of our future economic growth in California, there has been the involvement and the leadership of the Vice President.

The Everglades speaks for itself. The Everglades speaks for itself. Working with the Florida delegation, making sure that the Corps of Engineers thought about the future as opposed to the past, changed the manner in which the Kissimmee River flowed, the flow of the water through the Everglades, the cleaning up of the marine resources, all with the leadership of the Vice President working with local communities. That has been the hallmark.

Finally today let me say, I know that there are many on the other side that want to attack the Vice President for his positions on global warming. Today I sat in my office with the CEO of an energy company that is building a new generation of gas-fired turbines to replace the old that will clean up the air, will provide new jobs that did not exist before, will provide a lower rate of energy because of the efficiency of these new generators, and will allow us in California, he is one part of a large industry that will allow us to start trading in the old polluting industries, get higher efficiency, lower cost out of a new generation, because of the concern. And they are willingly doing this. They have investors, they are putting venture capital into this, putting money at risk to clean up the air, recognizing and responding to the concerns about global warming.

So I want to thank the gentleman for bringing this special order. I agree with the gentleman from Washington that it is sad that we have to do this; it is sad that somehow some on the Republican side would believe that Earth Day should be celebrated by attacking the vice presidential environmental credentials, his motives and his actions and his work that has been so sterling and has meant so much for this Nation, for the health of our water, the health of our air and the health of our families and our communities. It is unfortunate.

I believe we are in the process of restoring that bipartisan environmental coalition. More and more we see Democrats and Republicans working together. But the Republican leadership apparently still has not gotten the message, and somehow they want to try to make mileage by attacking the Vice President. It is a horrible mistake for them, and the biggest problem of it is it simply has no credibility, it is not true, and their record does not allow them to speak with any credibility about the environmental record of the Vice President or anyone else in this Nation.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman, and particularly for this idea of what Vice President GORE and this administration have tried to do is to be people of action. They think that we can accomplish some of these environmental goals and still save jobs and still have economic growth. There are so many examples we can use of things that need to be done in the future: Superfund, clean water, brownfields, whatever, and they have the positive attitude. Now we have the Republicans on the other side just wanting to waste our time with all of these personal attacks.

I yield to another gentleman from Washington (Mr. INSLEE).

Mr. INSLEE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding to me.

It is a great opportunity to address on Earth Day an interesting thing, and I think it is interesting that we are here today just before Earth Day.

I am told that some of my colleagues across the aisle are going to have some occasion where they seek to attack Vice President AL GORE on the environment, which seems to me a bit like attacking Mohammed Ali for not having a quick left hook. But nonetheless, we are here to discuss an important issue. Maybe somebody has already said this, but sort of attacking the Vice President the day before Earth Day on the environment, it is sort of disappointing to me. This ought to be Earth Day, not Dirt Day, and trying to spread a little dirt is disappointing.

Nonetheless, I want to add my voice to those who say that we have someone in leadership on environmental issues that are important to real people with real problems. I think when we test anyone's leadership, we ought to test it in five ways. I am going to give five tests that we ought to test the Vice President on. We ought to test whether his leadership has been real rather than abstract; we ought to test whether it has been practical rather than pie-in-the-sky; we ought to test on whether it is based on optimism rather than pessimism; and we ought to test whether he is out front and not behind; and whether or not he is a fighter or he has just given up.

I want to test him on those five issues. I want to start with whether he is a realist instead of just in the abstract. I want to tell my colleagues that I think America, Mr. Speaker, is waking up to the fact that Vice President AL GORE has come to address real, tangible, everyday concerns of commuters and workers in my district in north Seattle who are sitting in traffic, wasting their time when they could be home with their children, sitting in traffic because we have not adopted the public transportation solutions we need and we have not fully come to grips with creating livable communities. There is no one, no one, myself included, who has been as vigorous an advocate, Mr. Speaker, to say that our communities should be armed with the tools to develop livable communities, to be able to do the land use planning to stop urban sprawl. I point this out because this is not an abstract issue of my constituents; it is whether they can get home at night to play catch with their kids. That is a real issue, and this Vice President has been a realist, not an abstract, thinker.

Second, as he suggested, practical solutions. Well, I want to tell my colleagues, we have a real challenge up in the Northwest right now on salmon issues. We are losing our salmon runs and they are now on the endangered species list, and we have real challenges. This Vice President has not sat around in an ivory tower just sort of abstractly thinking about this problem. He has rolled up his sleeves, he has come to the Pacific Northwest more than any Vice President in American history, and he has gotten down literally in the trenches and the streams to talk about how we are going to solve those salmon problems, how we are going to improve habitat for salmon, how we are going to make sure salmon can spawn. He is not in Washington D.C.; he is in my district helping communities solve these salmon problems. I appreciate that, and so do the people of these communities. He is practical.

The third issue, is he an optimist or is he one of those guys that sort of says, Chicken Little, the sky is falling. Well, if we listen to what this Vice President has been saying, for instance, about the greenhouse gas problem, and everybody knows we have a problem, $CO_2$ emissions are going up huge amounts, this is creating a greenhouse effect, and people are fully familiar with that. But what I have heard this Vice President say, instead of wringing our hands and saying we are going to be destroyed by this problem, he has shown optimism which good leaders need to do. Because what he has said is, we are going to go out and we are going to develop the technologies, the alternate technology sources that do not create these greenhouse gases. That is optimism, and that is what leadership is. Without a vision, people will perish. The good book was right. And having a vision saying that our country is going to have the best technology in the world and we are going to make money off of this technology, and there is nothing wrong with making money, we are going to have the most competitive, energy-efficient technology in the world and it is going to be good for our economy. That is optimism and that is what we need when we talk about the environment.

The fourth issue, is he out front. Is he up front or is he behind the parade? I want to tell my colleagues a little story about AL GORE, those who happen to be watching this on C–SPAN. We ask ourselves, who was the first member of this body to give a speech that the American people could actually see unless they were lucky enough to get one of these few seats up in the Chamber, and it was AL GORE who gave the very first speech on C–SPAN because he was the fellow who fought to open up this Chamber to the American people so that they could watch it at home on C–SPAN. He was way ahead of the curve, way ahead of the curve when a bunch of fuddy-duddies were around here saying we cannot let the American people know what we are doing. That is typical of his efforts to be out front, and he is out front on the environment too.

The fifth issue, is he a fighter or does he give up? I want to tell my colleagues that when some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle came to try to weaken the Clean Air Act, came to try to weaken our safe food provisions which are really important. We had E. coli deaths, kids dying of E. coli poisoning in my hometown a few years ago, and incredibly, people in this body wanted to, and still want to reduce some of our food protections in our food inspection system, incredibly. Who stood up and said no to those efforts to reduce our food safety? Who stood up and fought them tooth and tongue and even said, even if you threaten to shut down the Government of the United States, I am not going to yield on that issue. It was AL GORE. He had a little help from President Bill Clinton as well.

He was right, and the American people knew he was right, and even though the folks on the other side of the aisle shut down the U.S. Government, he did not yield, he stood as a stone wall and said, you are not going to weaken the environmental laws of this country, and America knew it and America said, in part; some people, including myself, to stand up for the environment.

So, Mr. Speaker, I would like to suggest that by any test of leadership we have a Vice President who has been real, who has been practical, who has been optimistic, who has been out front, and who is a fighter, and it does not get much better than that.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman. I thought that test that the gentleman brought forward was really a good way to show how valuable the Vice President has been on these environmental concerns and just in general.

Mr. Speaker, it is interesting. I have been listening to what some of the speakers have been saying about different programs where one can both protect the environment and save jobs and where the economy can grow, and I think it was the other gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS) that said that the problem with the Republican leadership is that they do not want to move forward on this agenda.

A very good example of that, I think someone mentioned, is brownfields. I live in the most densely populated State in the country. We have more Superfund sites and more hazardous waste sites that are not on the Superfund list, but still need to be cleaned up, than any other State. Yet, at the same time in our urban areas where a lot of these sites are located, if they could be cleaned up and used again for commercial or industrial or other purposes, it would mean such an economic boost to those communities because jobs would be created, new businesses would be created, and Vice President GORE has been pushing forever since he was the Vice President and when he was in the Senate and the House that we take the initiative on brownfields. Yet, this Republican leadership has continued to say, well, they do not want to deal with that, we have to deal with Superfund in general; maybe we will take it up in the context of Superfund, and they never get to it.

So there are so many examples like this where we need to move in a positive way. As the gentleman said, Vice President GORE has been very optimistic and knows we can be positive about these things, but we are constantly stymied by the other side, so I want to thank the gentleman.

I yield to the gentlewoman from Illinois, (Ms. SCHAKOWSKY).

Ms. SCHAKOWSKY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding his time.

Tomorrow is Earth Day, and I remember well as a young mom in 1970 when Earth Day was established, and at that time, we really had an environmental crisis. We had a desperate need for passage of legislation to guarantee clean air and clean water. We had toxic waste sites that were crying out for something to be done. So Earth Day highlighted that. As a result, we did see the passage of this important legislation.

We have made progress, and this is a time to really celebrate that progress. We now have Superfund legislation to clean up toxic sites, the clean air and clean water legislation, and we have a booming economy, and that is a surprise to some, not to me and others on our side of the aisle, but those are compatible concepts, that they go hand in hand, a booming economy and environmental protection.

The environment really is a nonpartisan issue when one goes to a national park or one breathes clean air,

regardless of whether one is a Democrat or a Republican, these issues are important. But unfortunately, over the recent years, it has become just that, and it is so unfortunate, even today, that it has been raised in a partisan context.

□ 1715

It does, however, give us the opportunity, as Democrats, to celebrate our Democratic administration and all that it has done to fend off efforts to turn back the clock, if we look at what happened in 1995 when the Republicans actually allowed corporate lobbyists to draft attacks on environmental standards. Or when the Republicans passed bills that cut environmental funding by 25 percent, or what I really want to talk about for a minute is the regulatory reform bill that would have actually dismantled the food inspection program.

In my district lives a woman named Nancy Donley, who, because of her own personal tragic situation, that is, the death of her 6-year-old son Alex from eating meat poisoned with E. Coli bacteria, created an organization. She turned her tragedy into an organization that will now fight to make sure that no other children die called STOP, Safe Tables Our Priority.

As a result of working with this administration, and in particular Vice President AL GORE, the food safety initiative was adopted. They were able to defeat the so-called regulatory reform which would have dismantled the meat and poultry inspection system in this Nation, and actually pass new regulations that began in 1998, more sophisticated ways of inspection.

That inspection program was really initiated in the Upton Sinclair days at the beginning of the century and really required updating, not dismantling. So we now have a more sophisticated system that is being phased in over time. It began in 1998, and the establishment of a food safety initiative.

As part of that initiative I know that Nancy had, Nancy Donley, had Vice President AL GORE, at the announcement of what we call PulseNet, which is a new program that we have to track food-borne illness outbreaks over the Internet, so we are now able to link an outbreak of food poisoning in Maine with one that might happen in Montana, and be able to see that it is from the same cause.

In fact, there was a terrible outbreak of Listeria, which is a virulent form of foodborne illness, deli food, soft cheeses, et cetera, last year that resulted in major recalls across the country of those foods, and has already proven itself to save lives.

At the announcement of PulseNet, our Vice President, AL GORE, was there to talk about it as an initiative that would save lives. As we know, he has been the person who has figured out how to use the most high-tech systems to bring them down to protecting families and now protecting our food supply.

So as we look forward to Earth Day this year and we look forward to the 21st century, I think we can be happy that we have someone who has been our point person on the environment, who has been an advocate and a fighter, and has implemented already those programs that will make our air, our water, and our world safer for our families.

Mr. PALLONE. I want to thank the gentlewoman. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY).

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

Last year when the appropriation bills were folded into an omnibus bill, the majority here added a long list of anti-environmental riders. They could not get those proposals through on their own merits, but they tried to hold funding for all Federal programs and services hostage to those riders. They figured that their opponents in Congress would be forced to swallow them, and that the President would agree to accept them to keep other programs operating.

But the President did not accept them. He insisted that they be taken out of the appropriations bill before he would sign it. That surprised the people who wrote the riders.

The factor they did not count on in their strategy was the Vice President of the United States, AL GORE. The President relies on AL GORE for advice on environmental matters, and it was AL GORE who said no, we cannot allow these things to happen. We have to take a stand. We have to take a stand, so that the riders faded away.

Let me give some examples of what AL GORE would not allow. He said no to proposals that would have blocked the EPA from conducting research or educational activities on global warming, a gag rule to block even a discussion of what may be the most serious environmental problem of our time.

He said no to a proposal that would have blocked clean-up of toxic PCBs, even in places where children could be affected.

The Vice President said no to proposals that would have blocked the EPA from reducing children's exposure to pesticides, and we now know that pesticides pose a much greater risk to children than they do to others, much more than we thought.

He said no to proposals that would have canceled environmental reviews on timber sales, where logging could threaten wildlife. He said no to a proposal to build a road through the middle of a migratory bird refuge, a place that is supposed to be wilderness.

He said no to proposals that would have required uneconomical logging that would have permanent damage to one of our most pristine forests. He said no to proposals that would have barred EPA from trying to improve air quality in our national parks. Because AL GORE took a firm stand, those proposals were blocked.

He has stood with us when we blocked efforts to roll back 25 years of work on cleaning up our rivers. He stood with us when we blocked efforts that would have prohibited EPA from doing more to clean up the air that we all breathe.

He stood with us on protecting children's health from asthma caused by airborne pollution, illness caused by food poisoning, and pesticide poisoning, permanent damage caused by toxic wastes let loose in the environment. The Vice President stood with us on all those issues.

The American people want clean air and water. They want freedom from pollution and contamination. They want protection of our beautiful public lands and forests, and they want protection for our wildlife. AL GORE wants them, too, and he wants all of them to have them as well. He is willing to stand up and fight for it to see that they get it.

He has been a very big help by having the courage to say no and to mean it. I am looking forward to seeing what he can do when he gets the opportunity to say yes.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman, and everyone who participated in this special order this evening. It is the eve of Earth Day. Earth Day is tomorrow. I think there is a lot of talk up here about what the truth is.

The truth is that the health of our environment is in jeopardy at the hands of the Republican majority in the Congress. The truth is that the Democrats and the Clinton-Gore administration are the true protectors of the environment for this Earth Day and the Earth Days in the future.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). The Chair will remind all Members to address their remarks to the Chair, and not to refer to residents of the gallery.

Members should also not make personal references to Members of the Senate.

## A TRIBUTE TO MAYOR RALPH J. PERK

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

Mr. LATOURETTE. Mr. Speaker, tonight Cleveland, Ohio, is much poorer than it was yesterday because of the passing of Mayor Ralph J. Perk. If we were to ask residents of the city of Cleveland about et cetera city's recent history, they might point us to the bridge at State Route 21 over the Cuyahoga River as the point where 25 years ago the Cuyahoga River caught on fire, or they might direct us to the factory where Mayor Perk, while attempting to show some blue collar voters that he

was proficient in the use of a blow torch, accidentally set his hair on fire.

But Clevelanders love to tell the story about when Mayor Perk, a Republican, was invited to a State dinner by then President Richard Nixon, and it conflicted with his wife Lucy's bowling night, so he was not able to be in attendance on that particular evening.

Mr. Speaker, Ralph Perk was vintage Cleveland, and he will be greatly missed. He is best known as Cleveland's mayor, but he had a distinguished career as a public servant. He began his political career in 1940 as a Republican precinct committeeman, and was appointed to the staff of the Ohio Attorney General's Office in 1950. He then went on to represent the Broadway East 55th Street area of Cleveland as a councilman from 1953 to 1962.

He was then elected to county-wide office, and served as the county auditor for 9 years. When he was elected mayor, Mayor Perk had the distinction of being the first Republican mayor of Cleveland since the 1930s. In fact, only two Republicans have served as the mayor of Cleveland in my lifetime, Ralph Perk and also our new Senator from Ohio, GEORGE VOINOVICH.

God love Ralph Perk, Mr. Speaker. He was a Republican in the days when being a Republican was not very cool. His political base was found in Cleveland's heavily Democratic ethnic communities, which supported him regardless of party label. He won folks over with his heart and his ability to be just like everyone else, to connect with his fellow man without pretense.

If another mayor had turned down a State dinner at the White House because of his wife's bowling engagement, it would have been a serious breach of etiquette. To Ralph Perk and the city of Cleveland, it is a badge of honor.

Mayor Perk served as mayor from 1972 to 1977, at a time when the city was developing some financial difficulties, but Ralph Perk was able to work with the Federal Government and the Nixon White House to secure funding to alleviate a number of those difficulties.

He is credited with establishing a regional sewer district, and he is also credited with paying off the bonds, using city funds to pay off the bonds of the financially strapped Cleveland Transit Authority to create what is now the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority.

Mr. Speaker, although it has been more than 20 years since Ralph Perk served as the mayor of our fair city, he has never been nor will he ever be forgotten. He was a true Cleveland original, a man who loved his hometown with all of his heart and served it with great spirit and dedication. He will be sorely missed.

Mayor Perk was reelected as mayor in both 1973 and 1975. In 1977, there was a nonpartisan primary and he was defeated by two other individuals. One was a Member who served in this House, Ed Feighan, and the other is my very distinguished greater Clevelander, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DENNIS KUCINICH), who then went on to serve as mayor of Cleveland, and now serves with us in the House.

I yield to my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH) for his thoughts and remembrances of Mayor Perk.

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

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LATOURETTE) also for the opportunity to share in this very important reflection on a former mayor of the city of Cleveland, Mayor Ralph J. Perk.

Ralph Perk leaves us at a time when the world could use the message of his life, which was to unite people across racial and ethnic lines. For generations he led us in celebrating the beautiful cultural mosaic that is our inheritance in greater Cleveland. He understood the beauty and the strength of each individual expressing his or her own uniqueness.

I shared with Ralph many a platform, festooned with colorful flags, many an ethnic picnic, many polka-filled moments. He had a great enthusiasm for life. He was a wise and dedicated public servant who served Cleveland long and well as a city councilman, a county auditor, and mayor. His greatest strength was his common touch, his ability to stay close to the life of Cleveland's neighborhoods.

Throughout his long life he never left the city he loved, and because of his dedication to Cleveland, his memory will never leave us. My deepest sympathies go out to his dear wife, Lucy, and to his children.

I will miss Ralph, but I shall never be able to think of him without smiling about this engaging, energetic, passionate public man and dear friend.

## U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND NATO'S INVOLVEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA AND KOSOVO

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. PAUL) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, supporters of internationalism celebrated NATO's 50th anniversary with the Senate's 1998 overwhelming approval for expanding NATO to include Eastern European countries. This year's official inclusion of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic made all NATO's supporters proud, indeed. But in reality, NATO now is weaker and more chaotic than ever.

In the effort to expand NATO and promote internationalism, we see in reaction the rise of ugly nationalism. The U.S. and NATO policy of threats and intimidation to establish an autonomous Kosovo without true independence from Serbia, and protected by NATO's forces for the foreseeable future, has been a recipe for disaster. This policy of nation-building and interference in a civil war totally contradicts the mission of European defense set out in the NATO charter.

Without the Soviet enemy to justify the European military machine, NATO had to find enemies and humanitarian missions to justify its existence. The centuries-old ethnic hatreds found in Yugoslavia and the militant leaders on all sides have served this purpose well. Working hard to justify NATO's policy in this region has totally obscured any objective analysis of the turmoil now raging.

Some specific policy positions of NATO guaranteed that the ongoing strife would erupt into a full-fledged and dangerous conflict. Once it was determined in the early 1990s that outsiders would indict and try Yugoslavian war criminals, it was certain that cooperation with western negotiators would involve risks. Fighting to the end became a practical alternative to a mock international trial. Forcing a treaty settlement on Serbia where Serbia would lose the sovereign territory of Kosovo guaranteed an escalation of the fighting and the forced removal of the Kosovars from their homes.

□ 1730

Ignoring the fact that more than 500,000 Serbs were uprooted from Croatia and Bosnia with the encouragement of NATO intervention did great harm to the regional effort to reestablish more stable borders.

The sympathy shown Albanian refugees by our government and our media, although justified, stirred the flames of hatred by refusing to admit that over a half million Serbs suffered the same fate and yet elicited no concern from the internationalists bent on waging war. No one is calling for the return of certain property and homes.

Threatening a country to do what we the outsiders tell them or their cities will be bombed is hardly considered good diplomacy. Arguing that the Serbs must obey and give up what they see as sovereign territory after suffering much themselves as well as face war crimes trials run by the West makes no sense. Anyone should have been able to predict what the results would be.

The argument that, because of humanitarian concerns for the refugees, we were forced to act is not plausible. Our efforts dramatically increased the refugee problem. Milosevic, as he felt cornered by the Western threats, reacted the only way he could to protect what he considered Serbia, a position he defends with international law while being supported by unified Serb people.

If it is the suffering and the refugees that truly motivate our actions, there is no answer to the perplexing question of why no action was taken to help the suffering in Rwanda, Sudan, East Timore, Tibet, Chechnya, Kurdish, Turkey, and for the Palestinians in Israel. This is not a reason; it is an excuse.

Instead, we give massive foreign aid to the likes of China and Russia, countries that have trampled on the rights of ethnic minorities.

How many refugees, how many children's death has U.S. policy caused by our embargo and bombing for 9 years of a defenseless poverty-ridden Iraq. Just as our bombs in Iraq have caused untold misery and death, so have our bombs in Serbia killed the innocent on both sides, solidified support for the ruthless leaders, and spread the war.

This policy of intervention is paid for by the U.S. taxpayer and promoted illegally by our President without congressional authority, as is required by the Constitution.

The United States Government has in the past referred to the Kosovo Liberation Army leaders as thugs, terrorists, Marxists, and drug dealers. This current fight was initiated by Kosovo's desire for independence from Serbia.

The KLA took on the Serbs, not the other way around. Whether or not one is sympathetic to Kosovo's secession is not relevant. I for one prefer many small independent governments pledged not to aggress against their neighbors over the international special interest authoritarianism of NATO, the CIA, and the United Nations.

But my sympathies do not justify our taxing and sending young Americans to fight for Kosovo's independence. It is wrong legally and morally; and besides, the KLA is not likely to institute a model nation respecting civil liberties of all its citizens.

The biggest irony of this entire mess is to see the interventionists, whose goal is one world government, so determined to defend a questionable group of local leaders, the KLA, bent on secession. This action will not go unnoticed and will provide the philosophic framework for the establishment of a Palestinian state, Kurdistan, and independent Tibet, and it will encourage many other ethnic minorities to demand independence.

Our policy of intervention in the internal affairs of other nations, and their border disputes is not one that comes from American tradition or constitutional law. It is a policy based on our current leaders' belief that we are the policemen of the world, something we have earnestly and foolishly pursued since World War II and in a more aggressive fashion since the demise of the Soviet Union.

Interventionism is done with a pretense of wisdom believing we always know the good guys from the bad guys and that we will ignore the corporate and political special interests always agitating for influence. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Instead of being lucky enough on occasions to pick the right side of a conflict, we instead end up supporting both sides of nearly every conflict. In the 1980s, we helped arm, and allied ourselves with, the Iraqis against Iran. Also in the 1980s we supported the Afghan freedom fighters, which included Osama Bin Laden. Even in the current crisis in Yugoslavia, we have found ourselves on both sides.

The United States, along with the United Nations, in 1992 supported an arms embargo against Kosovo essentially making it impossible for the Kosovars to defend themselves against Serbia. Helping the Albanian Muslims is interpreted by some as token appeasement to the Arab oil countries unhappy with the advantage the Serbs got from the arms embargo.

This balancing act between three vicious warring factions was doomed to fail and has only led to more instability and the spreading of the war in the region.

Instead of pretending to be everything to everyone, while shifting alliances and blindly hoping for good to come of it, we should reconsider the advice of the Founders and take seriously the strict restraints on waging war placed in the Constitution.

Not much long-term good can come of a foreign policy designed to meddle and manipulate in places where we have no business or authority. It cannot help the cause of peace.

Unfortunately, our policies usually backfire and do more harm than good. When weaker nations are intimidated by more powerful ones, striking back very often can be done only through terrorism, a problem that will continue to threaten all Americans as our leaders incite those who oppose our aggressive stands throughout the world.

War has been used throughout history to enhance the state against the people. Taxes, conscription and inflation have been used as tools of the state to pursue wars not popular with the people. Government size and authority always grows with war, as the people are told that only the sacrifice of their liberties can save the nation. Propaganda and threats are used to coerce the people into this careless giving up of their liberties.

This has always been true with military wars, but the same can be said of the war mentality associated with the war on drugs, the war on poverty, the war against illiteracy, or any other war proposed by some social do-gooder or intentional mischief maker.

But when a foreign war comes to our shores in the form of terrorism, we can be sure that our government will explain the need for further sacrifice of personal liberties to win this war against terrorism as well. Extensive preparations are already being made to fight urban and domestic violence, not by an enhanced local police force, but by a national police force with military characteristics.

Even the war against national disasters led by FEMA, usurps local authority while imposing restraints on movement and controlling recovery efforts that should be left to local police, private insurance, and voluntary groups.

Our overseas efforts to police the world implies that with or without success, resulting injuries and damage imposed by us and others will be rectified with U.S. tax dollars in the form of more foreign aid, as we always do. Nation building and international social work has replaced national defense as the proper responsibility of our government.

What will the fate of NATO be in the coming years? Many are fretting that NATO may dissolve over a poor showing in Yugoslavia, despite the 50th anniversary hype and its recent expansion. Fortunately for those who cherish liberty and limited government, NATO has a questionable future.

When our leaders sanctioned NATO in 1949, there were many patriotic Americans who questioned the wisdom and the constitutionality of this organization. It was by its charter to be strictly a defensive organization designed to defend Western Europe from any Soviet threat. The NATO charter clearly recognized the Security Council of the United Nations was responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Likewise, the legislative history and congressional testimony maintained NATO could not usurp from Congress and the people the power to wage war. We have drifted a long way from that acknowledgment, and the fears expressed by Robert Taft and others in 1949 were certainly justified.

United States and NATO, while deliberately avoiding a U.N. vote on the issue, have initiated war against a sovereign state in the middle of a civil war. A Civil War that caused thousands of casualties and refugees on both sides has been turned into a war with hundreds of thousands of casualties and refugees with NATO's interference. The not-so-idle U.S. threats cast at Milosevic did not produce compliance. It only expanded the violence and the bloodshed.

The foolishness of this policy has become apparent, but Western leaders are quick to justify their warmongering. It was not peace or liberty or national security they sought as they sent the bombs flying. It was to save face for NATO.

Without the Soviets to worry about, NATO needed a mission, and stopping the evil Serbs fit the bill. It was convenient to ignore the evil Croates and the Kosovars, and it certainly was easy to forget the United Nations', NATO's, and the United States' policies over the past decade that contributed to the mess in Yugoslavia.

It was soon apparent that bombing was no more a successful diplomatic tool than were the threats of dire consequences if the treaty, unfavorable to the Serbs, was not quickly signed by Milosevic. This drew demands that policy must be directed toward saving NATO by expanding the war. NATO's credibility was now at stake and how could Europe, and the United States war machine, survive if NATO were to disintegrate.

Hopes as expressed by Ron Brown and his corporate friends were not extinguished by the unfortunate and mysterious Air Force crash while on their way to Bosnia to do business deals. Nobody even bothers to find out what U.S. policy condones business trips of our corporate leaders in a war zone on an Air Force aircraft. Corporate interests and the military-industrial complex continues to play a role in our Yugoslavian war policy. Corporate America loves NATO.

Most politicians and the public do not know what NATO's real mission is, and today's policy cannot be explained by reading its mission statement written in 1949. Certainly our vital interests and national security cannot justify our escalation of the war in Yugoslavia.

The excuse that we are the only superpower is hardly a moral reason to justify bombing nations that are seen as uncooperative. Military strength gives neither a right to bully nor a monopoly on wisdom. This strength too often, when held by large political entities, is used criminally to serve the powerful special interests.

The Persian Gulf and Yugoslavia obviously are much more economically intriguing than Rwanda and Sudan. There are clearly no business benefits for taking on the Chinese over its policy toward Tibet. Quite the contrary, we do business with China and subsidize her to boot.

In spite of the powerful political and industrial leaders' support behind NATO, and the budgets of 19 Western countries, NATO's days appear numbered. We shall not weep when NATO goes the way of the Soviet Empire and the Warsaw Pact. Managing a war with 19 vetoes makes it impossible for a coherent strategy to evolve. Chaos, bickering, bureaucratic blundering, waste and political infighting will surely result.

There is no natural tendency for big government to enjoy stability without excessive and brute force, as was used in the Soviet system. But eventually the natural tendency towards instability, as occurred in the Soviet Empire, will bring about NATO's well-deserved demise. NATO, especially since it has embarked on a new and dangerous imperialistic mission, will find using brute force to impose its will on others is doomed to fail.

It has been said that, in numbers, there is strength. But in politics, it can also be said that, in numbers, there is confusion as differences become magnified.

Nationalism is alive and well even within the 19-member NATO group. When nationalism is non-militaristic, peace loving, and freedom oriented, it is a force that will always undermine big government planners, whether found in a Soviet system or a NATO/U.N. system.

□ 1745

The smaller the unit of government, the better it is for the welfare of all those who seek only peace and freedom. NATO no longer can hide its true intent behind an anti-communist commitment.

Some have wondered how a 1960s generation administration could be so proned to war. The 1960s were known for their rebellion against the Vietnam War and a preference for lovemaking and drugs over fighting, even Communists. In recent months four separate sovereign nations were bombed by the United States. This has to be some kind of a record. Bombing Belgrade on Easter has to tell us something about an administration that is still strangely seen by some as not having the determination to fight a real war. There is a big difference between being anti-war when one's life is at risk as compared to when it is someone else's. That may tell us something about character, but there is more to it than that.

Many who were opposed to the Persian Gulf and Vietnam Wars are now strongly supporting this so-called just and humanitarian war to punish those who are said to be totally responsible for the Yugoslavian refugee problem. The fact that Serbia is not Communist in the sense of North Vietnam may play a part for some in making the decision to support this war but not the war in Vietnam. But the Persian Gulf War was not at all about communism, it was about oil.

Some from the left, if strongly inclined toward internationalism, supported the Persian Gulf War, but for the most part the opposition came from those who chose not to support a president of the opposite party, while today, supporting one's own party's position to bomb the Serbs becomes politically correct.

The same can be said of those who are opposed to the Yugoslavian war. Where they supported the Persian Gulf War, this administration has not garnered their support for partisan reasons. The principle of interventionism, constitutionality and morality have not been applied consistently to each war effort by either political party, and there is a precise reason for this, over and above the petty partisanship of many.

The use of government force to mold personal behavior, manipulate the economy and interfere in the affairs of other nations is an acceptable practice endorsed by nearly everyone in Washington regardless of party affiliation. Once the principle of government force is acknowledged as legitimate, varying the when and to what degree becomes the only issue. It is okay to fight Communists overseas but not Serbs; it is okay to fight Serbs but not Arabs. The use of force becomes completely arbitrary and guided by the politician's good judgment. And when it pleases one group to use constitutional restraint, it does, but forgets about the restraints when it is not convenient.

The 1960s crowd, although having a reputation for being anti-war due to their position on Vietnam, has never been bashful about its bold authoritarian use of force to mold economic conditions, welfare, housing, medical care, job discrimination, environment, wages and working conditions, combined with a love for taxes and inflation to pay the bills. When in general the principle of government force to mold society is endorsed, using force to punish Serbs is no great leap of faith, and for the interventionists is entirely consistent. Likewise, the interventionists who justified unconstitutional fighting in Vietnam, Panama, Nicaragua, Grenada, Libya and the Persian Gulf, even if they despise the current war in Yugoslavia, can easily justify using government force when it pleases them and their home constituency.

Philosophic interventionism is a politician's dream. It allows arbitrary intervention, domestic or international, and when political circumstances demand opposition, it is easy to cite the Constitution which always and correctly rejects the use of government force, except for national self-defense and for the protection of life, liberty and property.

Politicians love interventionism and pragmatism, the prevailing philosophy of our age, a philosophy based on relative ethics. No rigid adherence to law or morality is required. Even the Constitution can be used in this delicate debate of just when and for whom we go to war. The trick is to grab the political moral high ground while rejecting the entire moral foundation upon which the law rests, natural rights, rejection of force and the requirement politicians be strictly bound by a contract for which all of us take an oath to uphold.

What does this hodgepodge philosophy here in the Congress mean for the future of peace and prosperity in general and NATO and the United Nations in particular? Pragmatism cannot prevail. Economically and socially it breeds instability, bankruptcy, economic turmoil and factionalism here at home. Internationally it will lead to the same results.

NATO's days are surely numbered. That is the message of the current chaos in Yugoslavia. NATO may hold together in name only for a while, but its effectiveness is gone forever. The U.S. has the right to legally leave NATO with a 1-year's notice. That we ought to do, but we will not. We will continue to allow ourselves to bleed financially and literally for many years to come before it is recognized that governance of diverse people is best done by diverse and small governments, not by a one-world government dependent on the arbitrary use of force determined by politically correct reasons and manipulated by the powerful financial interests around the world.

Our more immediate problem is the financing of the ongoing war in Yugoslavia. On February 9 of this year I introduced legislation to deny funds to the President to wage war in Yugoslavia. The Congress chose to ignore

this suggestion and missed an opportunity to prevent the fiasco now ongoing in Yugoslavia.

The President, as so many other presidents have done since World War II, took it upon himself to wage an illegal war against Yugoslavia under NATO's authority, and Congress again chose to do nothing. By ignoring our constitutional responsibility with regards to war power, the Congress implicitly endorsed the President's participation in NATO's illegal war against Yugoslavia. We neither declared war nor told the President to cease and desist.

Now we have a third chance, and maybe our last, before the war gets out of control. We are being asked to provide all necessary funding for the war. Once we provide funds for the war, the Congress becomes an explicit partner in this ill-conceived NATO-inspired intervention in the civil war of a sovereign nation, making Congress morally and legally culpable.

Appropriating funds to pursue this war is not the way to peace. We have been bombing, boycotting and killing thousands in Iraq for 9 years with no end in sight. We have been in Bosnia for 3 years, with no end in sight. And once Congress endorses the war in Yugoslavia with funding, it could take a decade, billions of dollars, and much suffering on both sides, before we put it to an end.

Bellicosity and jingoism associated with careless and illegal intervention can never replace a policy of peace and friendship whenever possible. And when it is not, at least neutrality. NATO's aggressive war of destruction and vengeance can only make the situation worse. The sooner we disengage ourselves from this ugly civil war, the better. It is the right thing to do.

## COMMEMORATION OF THE REMEMBRANCE OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BASS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I know I am the last Speaker before the staff goes home, and they will be gratified to know that I will use roughly half the allotted time. Even with half the allotted time, 30 minutes is quite long, perhaps too long to devote to a single subject, and that is why I wish to give, in effect, three separate speeches.

The first speech I would like to give is in commemoration of the remembrance of the Armenian Genocide. April 24 is the day when Armenians and those of good conscience around the world remember the genocide that took place at the beginning of this century. Because it was on April 24 that 200 Armenian religious, political, intellectual leaders were rounded up in Constantinople, taken into the interior and executed.

This was a seminal day in a pattern of oppression that began in the 1890s, and at a level of oppression which between 1915 and 1923 caused the death of 1.5 million Armenians in mass executions in forced marches, through disease, and through starvation, thus eliminating virtually the entire Armenian population of Anatolia and Western Armenia.

There were many contemporaries who were there to see this first genocide. Perhaps no one speaks with the authority of our own ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Ambassador Henry Morgantheau. I will probably mispronounce our ambassador's name, so I will simply refer to him as our ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. He recounts in his statement, ''When the Turkish authorities gave orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race. They understood this well, and in their conversations with me made no particular attempt to conceal this fact.''

In the poignant passage in his book, Black Dog of Faith, Peter Balakian relates the story of a genocide survivor. After seeing the massacre of Armenians in her own village, her father beheaded and crucified on the door of their home on one morning, the Armenian woman was forced to dance in the village square while being brutalized and set on fire, as their children clapped, and other images too horrific to describe. The death march and the Euphrates so filled with blood and corpses that no reasonable person could see it and not be sick.

The first genocide of this century laid the foundation for the Holocaust, the largest genocide and the most horrific of this or any century. It was interesting that our ambassador to the Ottoman Empire happened to be an American Jew who was told by Turkish authorities, ''These people, these Armenians, are Christians. Since you are a Jew, why don't you let us do with the Christians as we please?''

Well, whether it is in Anatolia or in Europe or anywhere in the world, we cannot countenance genocide simply by saying the victims are not of our religion or ethnic group. No wonder 30 years later Adolf Hitler uttered his infamous statement about the Armenian Genocide.

Eight days before the invasion of Poland, which would place 3 million Jews under his control and which allowed Hitler to send them to their deaths, he told those in his inner circle who thought that the world might question this policy, ''Who today remembers the extermination of the Armenians?'' Clearly, the impunity that the Turkish government felt that they had in annihilating the Armenians emboldened Hitler before the worst of the Holocaust.

□ 1800

And that is why those of us of Jewish faith, Armenians, and everyone of good conscience must say, ''never again.''

The last act of a genocide is genocide denial. Because those who have committed it wish to blot out even the memory of those who they have killed. And it is, in fact, unfortunate that the Turkish Government continues its genocide denial, a genocide denial that is not just passive, not just intransigent, but takes the form of trying to erase from the history books of others that which happened at the beginning of this century.

Today I was honored to meet with the new chancellor of UCLA, my alma mater. And I am proud of UCLA. I was a Bruin when Walton was on the basketball court. And I was proud to meet our new chancellor, who described what is happening at UCLA. But the proudest day for UCLA was when it rejected a gift of over a million dollars from the Turkish Government, rejected a gift of over a million dollars.

It is not in the nature of universities to reject gifts, but this gift came with strings attached. It was to fund a chair in Ottoman history with various strings and provisos that virtually ensured that the Turkish Government would control who sat in that chair. It would not have been a chair for legitimate inquiry into historical facts but rather a chair in genocide denial. And UCLA stood firm and rejected that gift and said that the academic integrity of my alma mater and the academic integrity of all American universities is not for sale.

It is time for the American State Department to show this same level of courage and determination. It is time for the State Department and the U.S. executive branch of Government not just to remember the day April 24 but to use the word that describes what that day remembers. The word is ''genocide.'' And it is time for the State Department to recognize what happened.

Clearly, at a time when the State Department is trying to rally our support to prevent mass murders in the Balkans, they should be honest as to what happened in Anatolia some 80-plus years ago.

### PLAN NEEDED TO PROVIDE DIRECTIONAL SIGNS AT U.S. CAPITOL COMPLEX

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would now like to address a completely different subject and one that is not nearly so grave.

I had a chance to meet with the Architect of the United States Capitol, the man who keeps the facilities here running, to talk to him about some of the ways we could make this institution work better as a physical plant.

Mr. Speaker, we get four to five million tourists every year. Now, that does not cause us to rival Disneyland, although there are those who assert that the U.S. Congress rivals Disneyland in other respects, but it is indeed a large number of people to accommodate. And yet, I will just illustrate the problem with a story that happened last year.

Some constituents of mine came and visited the gallery, right up there. And

after watching their fill of Congressional pontificating, they decided to walk back to my office in the Longworth building through the tunnels. For it was winter and the tunnels were warm. And, as everyone knows, there are a network of tunnels that connect the Capitol with the House office buildings. Well, they walked down into the tunnels and they have not been heard from since. For that labyrinth, that maze, lacks almost any sign to tell them where they are going.

Now, as a serious matter, the absence of signage so far has not been responsible for somebody being lost to the point where they were never heard from again, but it does imperil the efficiency not only of this House's business, the efficiency of those who come here to persuade us on various issues, but it also impairs the efficiency of the Capitol Police that are here to protect us. And last year the importance of that protection was illustrated.

If we talk to any Capitol policeman or Capitol police woman, if we talk to them for a while and ask them to let down their guard a little bit, they will tell us they spend less than a third but close to a third of their time giving directions.

Well, that is not surprising. There are four to five million tourists here each year not to mention a few freshmen and sophomore Members of Congress who ourselves do not always know the best way to get from one place to another. We need a plan to provide signs throughout the Capitol complex.

I am happy to report to the House that the architect has already signed a consulting contract, half of that contract is completed, for a plan to put signs virtually everywhere, literally thousands of new directional signs so that people who visit us will know where they are and how to get to where they are going.

I was told once, if we want to influence what happens in Washington, we need to hire an expensive lobbyist who knows his way around the Capitol. I thought that meant understanding parliamentary procedure. But parliamentary procedure is simple compared to the labyrinth of tunnels underneath this building, and knowing our way around Washington may very well mean simply knowing how to get from one building to the other.

Thousands of directional signs throughout the buildings and tunnels will make it easier for people to do business whether they are here for a day or whether they are just coming to Congress as freshmen or new staffers. I will simply point out that the way they test the intelligence of rodents is they put them in a maze of tunnels and see how quickly they can figure out their way around.

I personally am not going to go one-on-one against the more intelligence white rats because, if my own experience in the tunnels is any indication, I am not certain that I would prevail. We need these directional signs.

And I am also happy to report to those who protect the entrance at the southeast corner of the Longworth building that I have the assurance of the Architect that a new series of signs will be put up there very soon so that they can do their job instead of telling people that they are in the Longworth Building and where the Rayburn Building is and where the Cannon Building is.

There is one other step that we could take. It has been analyzed by the consultants. I believe the consultants have not embraced it, but it deserves some additional attention. And that is the idea of putting colored striping not in the beautiful buildings but in the I will use the term ''ugly'' tunnels that are underneath this building.

I think my colleagues are well aware that those tunnels are not in any way aesthetic. They have open pipes and dangling wires, and certainly colored stripes on the ground would do nothing to decrease their aesthetic appeal. But those colored lines could direct people from one building to the other effectively and direct them to the Capitol building effectively.

There is perhaps a plan to make those tunnels a little bit more aesthetically consistent with the rest of the Capitol; and if that is the case, I would well understand why colored lines on the ground are inconsistent with that. But if the tunnels are going to remain the functional-only tunnels that they are today, then nothing should be ruled out as far as making them more usable and providing some direction to those who use them.

A second issue I would like to raise would perhaps make it easier on Americans by not requiring them to even come to Washington at all, although it is beautiful and I urge Americans to come here to see their Government in action, and that is an idea that has been used in the California capitol in Sacramento for over 20 years.

Each of the hearing rooms for each of the committees here in Congress has a microphone system and anywhere in that room we can hear whoever is speaking, and that means their voice is going through a wire to the loudspeakers. But, unfortunately, that wire only goes to loudspeakers in that hearing room.

As has been remarked on many occasions, Congress in committee is Congress at work. What goes on in committee is every bit as important as what goes on on this floor. And if my speech lasts as long as it might, perhaps many would argue that what goes on in committee is far more interesting than what is going on on the floor.

But, in any case, what goes on in committee, whether it is a subcommittee or full committee, is of critical importance. And yet in Sacramento, if we are anywhere in the capitol complex, they have at their desk a box and they can simply turn a 1970s technology dial on that box and listen through a speaker to what is happening in committee hearing room number 1 or number 2 or number 15 or number 22, so that every legislative assistant in Sacramento can hear what is going on in their Ways and Means Committee while at the same time being able to prepare their member for what is going to go on in their Appropriations Committee.

Just as C-SPAN plays what is going on on the House floor, which is of occasional interest to the legislative assistants, they could instead listen to what is going on in an appropriations subcommittee of direct relevance to the district that their Member represents.

So I think that we can also rig up a system at virtually minimal cost so that each of us in each office here in the Capitol could listen on a box to what is going on in the committee hearing room of our choice, listening perhaps on one hour to what is going on in the International Relations hearing room and then turning a dial to listen to what is going on in Ways and Means.

But we do not have to stop at 1970s technology. We could work our way up to 1980s technology. We could take those same 20 or 30 audio choices and put them on an 800 number. Or if we wanted to be cheap, we could put them on a 900 number. But either way, we can allow people all over the country to dial in and hear what is going on in this or that committee of the House of Representatives.

Today there their only alternative is to hire some expensive lobbyist to come monitor a committee or, alternatively, to fly to Washington so that they could be there for a committee hearing.

Now, I know that C-SPAN covers what seems to be an interminable number of committee hearings. But, in fact, only two or three percent of the committee hearings are carried live and those interested in what is going on in committee and subcommittee have to be physically in the room to hear what is going on. We could, through 1980s technology, provide that to every American everywhere in the country. And I know there are people who watch this floor on C-SPAN who would prefer to know what is going on in the committee that is relevant to them.

But we do not even have to stop at 1980s technology. As we approach the new century, we could even think of 1990s technology. At virtually no cost, we could put that same audio signal on the Internet and anyone with a computer and a modem and 10 or 20 bucks to provide their Internet service provider could listen anywhere in the country to what is going on in any committee room here in the House of Representatives.

This is the people's House, but the people should not have to fly to Washington to hear what is going on.

Now, I realize that the system will not be perfect. They will not necessarily be certain who is speaking when listening on a squawk box or listening on the Internet. But certainly

this is an option that we should provide. And those who listen carefully will hear who the chairman or chair woman of a committee has recognized and will be able to remember who is speaking.

Mr. Speaker, I would now like to give my third speech. And while I said that I would use only half of the allotted hour, I fear that I may use perhaps two-thirds of it. And I apologize to those staff members who are extremely anxious to leave.

□ 1815

THE CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS

But the third issue that I would like to address is the one that is on all of our minds, and that is the conflict in the Balkans, and I have a few basic observations before I would like to give a more organized and cogent presentation.

The first observation is that we are about to play host to the NATO ministers. They are coming here to celebrate 50 years of NATO, but I fear that what they are here to celebrate is 50 years of us spending on our defense budget enough money to protect them and the peace of their continent while Europe fails to spend enough on its own defense.

Now when NATO was born 50 years ago, the European economies were in shambles, and the concept of burden sharing was perhaps not applicable. But today, as the alliance engages in military affairs in the Balkans, the most that can be said is the Europeans are helping us.

Europe is the richest continent on the planet. Its gross domestic product exceeds that of the United States. We are told that the reason we are focusing on Kosovo is that this is destabilizing to the most powerful continent on the planet, Europe, and yet somehow the most this great colossus can provide is some assistance while a North American country is required to do the work. And we are even told that we should be grateful that they are assisting our efforts to protect their continent.

Now is not the time for restructuring the military relationships, but clearly the time has come to end American acquiescence as the Europeans slash their own defense budgets far below what they proved they could afford during the 1980's. If there is a peace dividend, it should be paid to the American taxpayers who bore the lion's share of the economic burden of winning the Cold War. It should not be reaped by a European continent which demanded through its own inaction American protection.

If we look at what is happening in the Balkans, we see that America is now required to mobilize its reserves. Certainly all of the European air forces should have mobilized all of their reserves before Europe asked us or NATO asked us to mobilize ours, and the importance of stopping the mass murder in the Balkans may exceed these concerns for now. But 6 months from now, a year from now, we must make it clear to the Europeans that dialing 911 and reaching the Pentagon is not a substitute for spending their own money for their own defense forces.

The second observation I would like to make is that the vilification of Slobodan Milosevic is justified but may impede our efforts because I do not think, and I will get to this later, that we can be certain of such total battlefield dominance that we can just send a telegram or a fax to Belgrade instructing them what to do. Instead, I suspect that we will have to negotiate a compromise or a settlement with Mr. Milosevic, and while he is a mass murderer, the people of this country must be aware that Saddam Hussein is an even worse mass murderer and we had to negotiate with Saddam, and the government in Beijing has killed millions of Chinese, and we just welcomed their prime minister.

Why must America do this? Why does America do this? Why do we deal with mass murderers? Why must we deal with Milosevic?

I would put forward that if we want to hide from the truth, we could try to convince ourselves that Milosevic is the only malignancy on this planet and that everywhere else governments are free, people are safe, yet nothing could be further from the truth. Half of the people of this world are ruled by governments that have committed mass murder, and as long as the world is as it is rather than as we would like to pretend it is, like to deceive our children and even our voting age citizens into believing it is, as long as half the world is governed by governments guilty of mass murder, we will have to deal with those governments.

Third, I would like to observe an unfortunate tendency in the rhetoric surrounding Kosovo, both rhetoric of our own State Department and rhetoric in London and in other European capitals. That rhetoric is to increase the objectives that we demand that we reach in Kosovo while at the same time, frankly, our military campaign is not working out as we planned. To increase the objective while not achieving any of your objectives on the battlefield, or any of your major objectives, is folly and sets us up for defeat. We must instead recognize that we did not begin these hostilities for the purpose of sending American troops into Belgrade with an arrest warrant for Slobodan Milosevic and the British did not begin their effort alongside us for that purpose either, and while those who are watching action thrillers out of Hollywood may believe that you can land one Jean Claude Van Dam and maybe a Schwartzenegger or two, and rush into the Presidential Palace in Belgrade, extract Milosevic and fly him to the Hague for trial, in fact the overthrow of Milosevic is probably not going to occur, and to enter Belgrade means either you enter us with a small force, which would probably be completely extinguished, and I will point to our lack of success in sending a small force into Tehran to rescue our hostages. Perhaps we should thank God that that force never actually reached Tehran because I am not sure that it would have been successful had it reached that city. In fact, it was not successful in even reaching the capital of Iran.

So, sending in a small force risks the annihilation of that force. Sending into Belgrade, that means all the way through Serbia, a force capable of exercising dominion over that city would probably involve a military campaign involving thousands and thousands of American casualties. So while it is glorious to beat our chests and to say that the world must rid itself of Milosevic, and perhaps some day that will come, to make that an objective of our current campaign is to doom that campaign to failure and perhaps to ensnarl us in a ground campaign that would have very high casualties.

I do want to point out that our actions in Kosovo are motivated by the highest level of idealism, that we are willing to spend our treasure and, more importantly, to risk the lives of our men and women to prevent atrocities and to assure the Albanian Kosovars of a chance to live in peace, security and autonomy. Perhaps there is no more moral statement that can be made about America than that we are willing to do that. But in any such great idealistic undertaking there is a risk that the idealism that motivates the action will cloud your judgment and have idealism cloud the effort to develop a realistic strategy. Realism requires us to remember some unpleasant facts.

The first of these is that Kosovo is not the only place of mass murder, of tragedy and atrocity. It is not a place where we can spend our entire willingness to work for humanitarian ideals, because in fact there are other victims of mass murder, perhaps also that would be just as just for us to try to help as the Kosovars.

I will point out that 800,000 members of the Tutsi tribe were killed in Rwanda, but that is pretty much passed, but today there is massive tragedy, death and atrocity in the Congo, in Myanmar, in East Timor, and especially in southern Sudan where 2 million people have been killed, and the killing goes on every year.

There are those that say we cannot stand by and watch atrocities in the Balkans. We should not watch, but we have demonstrated our capacity to watch atrocity because for 10 years we have ignored the atrocities in southern Sudan where 2 million people have been killed and where America has done almost nothing to help them.

I would hope that our actions in Kosovo are so successful that we are emboldened to provide some limited level of assistance, and I am not proposing sending American Armed Forces, but some limited level of assistance to those in southern Sudan who are trying to protect their lives

from a government more guilty of mass murder than the government in Belgrade.

A second fact that we are perhaps unwilling or at least reluctant to recognize is that our goal creating a multiethnic, autonomous Kosovo, multiethnic and harmonious may be beyond reach. Realistically it is unlikely that Albanians and Serbs will live in Kosovo in harmony and peace in the absence of an outside force. We should remember that it is not just the Serbs who have committed massive atrocities, but the KLA that has committed atrocities on a smaller scale as they have killed Serb civilians, and we may have to settle for a Kosovo in which part is inhabited by Albanians, the lion's share, and part is inhabited by Serbs. The goal of them living side by side is a noble and idealistic goal, but one that a realist might say cannot be achieved any time soon.

Finally, or another important fact to point out, one that we are clouded in our judgment for not realizing, is that this is not a battle between pure good and pure evil. Yes, in an idealistic melodrama there is pure good and pure evil, yet that is not the case here. I have already mentioned that the KLA has engaged in atrocities to try to expel Serbs from Kosovo, far smaller in number, far less heinous a policy, but murder is murder, and the KLA, who are fighting more or less on our side, fighting for the Kosovars, is an organization with some ties to Iran, an organization that Osama Bin Laden has tried to assist and we are not certain of whether those entreaties and offers of assistance have been honored and an organization with ties to drug dealers. Until a few months ago, the official policy of our State Department was to call the KLA a terrorist organization.

Likewise, the Serbs are not just victimizers, but also victims. 180,000 Serbs were ethnically cleansed from Croatia just a few years ago, forced at the point of bayonet and gun to leave homes they had lived in for centuries.

□ 1830

I would point out that during that ethnic cleansing, where Serbs were the victims, America did almost nothing.

It is true, while there were a few murders they did not reach the level of mass murder that has been achieved in Kosovo, but still some murders and 180,000 to 200,000 people ethnically cleansed, this was an atrocity. Yet at the time, the Croatians who were committing this atrocity were our allies with regard to bringing the Bosnian conflict to a conclusion so America said virtually nothing and did absolutely nothing.

Finally, blind idealism would say that we should be increasing our objectives to reach pure justice for our cause, and I have mentioned this earlier, adding on to our objectives the idea that not only Kosovo but all of it would be liberated and under total NATO domination but that Milosevic would be taken prisoner, et cetera, et cetera. In fact, given the situation, militarily it would be wise for the United States to define a more realistic objective.

We should not give up on the idea that the Albanian Kosovars need a place to live in Kosovo where they are safe and where they can succeed with our aid in building a prosperous homeland, but this does not necessarily need to be 100 percent of Kosovo in multiethnic harmony, which is our stated objective.

Let me talk for a moment about some of the strategies that we should at least explore to go along with those that we are using. Today I had the opportunity in hearings to hear from and question our Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Mr. Speaker, if anyone saw me running into this hall it was so that I could make it here on time because we had a meeting, with several of my colleagues, with Sandy Berger, who is the President's national security advisor.

The administration remains welded to its existing policies. They are optimistic that continued bombing will lead to a collapse of the Milosevic capacity to resist. If they are right, we will find out because nothing this Congress does, nothing the people of this country do, will prevent a continued bombing campaign for at least several weeks, perhaps a month, before there is even the possibility that anyone other than the administration would cause in any way a change in policy.

If during those weeks there are not signs and far greater signs than we have seen so far of success, we do need to look at other strategies. One of those strategies is being embraced by the administration but only to a limited extent, and that is to involve Russia in the peacemaking process. Russia is critical because Russia can persuade the Milosevic government to do things and to make concessions they would not make on their own. Russia is important because they can provide a fig leaf or political cover so that Milosevic can make any concessions that he decides are in his interest to make but he needs a political excuse to make.

Finally, Russia is important to the Balkans because Russia could provide an essential part of the peacekeeping force, and I will get to some of the possibilities for a makeup of a peacekeeping force later. Involving Russia in the Balkans may be more important than anything that is happening in the Balkans.

Ten years from now Kosovo may be somewhat forgotten but Russia will remain a critical nuclear arms state, and if we do not treat Russia with respect now the Russian people and the Russian leadership will remember that in the future.

By way of historical footnote, I should mention that 85 years ago Russia mobilized its Army in support of Serbia, and that led directly to World War I. It is not surprising that the Russians, mindful of their own history, mindful of the sacrifices of World War I, believe that they have a definite stake in what happens to Serbia.

So we can and should involve Russia, and if Russia gets the credit for peace that is two good things. It is peace and it is a Russian Government that can hold its head high against the ultranationalists in Moscow and elsewhere.

Second, and this is controversial, we need to signal that we are not demanding that Rambouillet, that the Rambouillet agreement, apply to all of Kosovo's territory but, rather, that it apply to only the lion's share of that territory.

No one doubts that the Serbs, like the Albanian Kosovars, have rights in Kosovo. The Serbs represent 10 percent of the population, the Kosovars a little over 80 percent. Kosovo has been part of Serbia for hundreds of years, and Kosovo is the religious and cultural birthplace of the Serbian nation. In fact, even the Rambouillet agreement recognizes Serb rights in Kosovo by stating that Kosovo should remain part of Serbia.

We should imagine an agreement that does not involve one peacekeeping force but, rather, two geographically separate peacekeeping forces. One of those forces should occupy 70, 80 percent of Kosovo and should be led by NATO. This force will provide the security necessary so that Albanian refugees feel free to return, and on that 80 percent of the territory they will build lives more prosperous than the lives they had before this conflict because they will enjoy not only American aid but, with a little common sense, we will allocate to them all of the former Yugoslavia's textile quota and other trade concessions, aid and trade. This would leave another 20 percent of Kosovo that would be patrolled exclusively by Russian peacekeepers.

The final status of Kosovo could wait, but in this area Serbia would feel secure. In this area, the Serb population would feel very secure and, frankly, in this area I am not certain that refugees would choose to return. This would allow the Serbs to notice that their friends, the Russians, were the force occupying the ancient site and origin of the Serbian orthodox church, the important monastery lands, at least those that are contiguous, and the battlefield of Kosovo Polje, where the Serbs fought the Turks in the 14th century.

By letting the Serbs know that there will be no NATO occupation of this section of Kosovo, we leave them with a reason to bargain. Otherwise, they lose not one more square inch of territory by losing this war than they would if they agreed to our bargaining position. Giving them security in 20 percent of Kosovo gives them a reason to make concessions other than ending the bombing, and clearly ending the bombing has not imperiled them to reach a compromise with us so far.

It is true that the Serbs claim to have monasteries virtually all over Kosovo, but I am confident that they would regard it as a compromise rather than a total defeat if they were allowed to see the Russians, rather than NATO, who is bombing them, occupy the most important sites, particularly in the far west and the far east of Kosovo.

Finally, we need to look at other mechanisms to either defeat the Serbs or perhaps more importantly to let the Serbs know that they may be defeated. Milosevic, I believe, is convinced that he can continue to occupy Kosovo because we will never send in ground troops. His tanks will be there as long as they hide among civilians or dig in so that they cannot be destroyed by our Apache helicopters. What Apache helicopter is going to fire at a tank if they put 10 or 20 unwilling Albanians on top of it? So he can keep his tanks and his heavy armor and his artillery in Kosovo unless a ground force, with tanks and with heavy armor and willing to take casualties, can be deployed against him.

When he sees us training an army of Albanians to use American tanks and American artillery and American heavy weapons, then he will know that such an Army may soon be deployed against him. At that point, a Russian brokered compromise will begin to look far more appealing.

We do not have to let the Albanians take control of these weapons. They can train on them during the day and American soldiers can retain them at night. Therefore, we are not even technically violating any of the rules against providing weapons to any of the residents or citizens of the former Yugoslavia since we are not giving them any weapons; we are just giving them training. If at some point in the future we decide to unleash them, we can give them the custody of those weapons and heavy armored divisions of Albanians with America's best armored weapons can move in to Kosovo along with the lightly armed KLA. That is what it would take to dislodge Milosevic, a ground army with both heavy weapons and lightly armed mobile soldiers and an army willing to take casualties.

I want to talk a little bit about the other alternative, and that is sending in NATO ground troops. One alternative is to send in NATO ground troops behind an Albanian Army, in support of it. Under those circumstances, NATO might take only slight casualties, but if instead NATO has to defeat by itself the Serbian Army deployed in Kosovo, then NATO will take casualties and then the danger is this: What if those casualties are too much for Americans to endure? What if those casualties are too much for the French to endure or the British or the Germans?

The first NATO nation that cries uncle and demands that its soldiers be withdrawn or even moved to the rear will cause the other NATO countries to demand the same level of safety for their soldiers. If all of the NATO troops need to be put at the rear, then our efforts against Milosevic will be over. If that happens, then every tyrant and mass murderer in the world will feel that he can act with impunity. The Vietnam syndrome and the Somalia syndrome will return.

That is why we need at our disposal not only the KLA, and they are operating independently and they will get light weapons with or without us, but also another well-armed Albanian force.

In conclusion, the American people have shown their willingness to commit their treasure and more importantly the lives of our sons and daughters to preventing atrocity, ameliorating tragedy. If we realistically define our objectives and if we prepare to use all of the tools at our disposal, we may secure a reasonable life for the Kosovars, and just as important we may inspire the American people to use limited realistic efforts to try to stop the ongoing atrocities in Sudan and Myanmar, in the Congo and East Timor and elsewhere.

If instead we fail, if we devote inadequate resources to a pristine, perfect, no-compromise objective and fail to achieve it, then this is going to be a tragedy; first for those servicemen and women who die in an unsuccessful American effort.

□ 1845

More importantly perhaps even than that, it will be a tragedy for the Kosovars who will be told that well, we tried, but we did not use all of the options and we are too idealistic to make compromises, and so you will live your life here in a refugee camp.

Finally, if we use inadequate resources to try to achieve the absolute objective, it will be a tragedy for victims of atrocities around the world, both today and whatever atrocities are committed in the decades to come, by tyrants who at that time would know that America had tried in Kosovo unsuccessfully.

It will be a while before the administration is looking for new alternatives. They are convinced that the current strategy will be successful, and I hope that whatever comes out, it is good enough so that the administration can claim that it is a total victory and not a compromise. But we must begin to look at other alternatives, and if, in a few weeks, we recognize that the current strategy has not been successful, we must have the courage to use them.

## SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

The following Members (at the request of Mr. MCNULTY) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:

Mr. LIPINSKI, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. NORTON, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. STUPAK, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. RUSH, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. MEEHAN, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. WOOLSEY, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. TIERNEY, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. DOOLEY of California, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. SMITH of Washington, for 5 minutes, today.
Mrs. MALONEY of New York, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. BLUMENAUER, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. ESHOO, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. LEE, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. GREEN of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. SANDERS, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. CAPUANO, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. STABENOW, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. CARSON, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. BERMAN, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. MCGOVERN, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. CROWLEY, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. NEY, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. ENGLISH, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. HULSHOF, for 5 minutes, on April 22nd.
Mr. KASICH, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. ROGAN, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. EHRLICH, for 5 minutes, on April 28th.
Mr. DOOLITTLE of California, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. DUNCAN, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. MCINTOSH, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at their own request) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. HINOJOSA, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. UDALL of Colorado, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. KNOLLENBERG, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. SWEENEY, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. LATOURETTE, for 5 minutes, today.

## ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 6 o'clock and 48 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 22, 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:

1617. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a request for emergency FY 1999 supplementals for the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the U.S. Agency for International Development; (H. Doc. No. 106–50); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1618. A letter from the Chairman, National Credit Union Administration, transmitting the 1998 Annual Report of the National Credit Union Administration, pursuant to 12 U.S.C. 1752a(d); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

1619. A letter from the Acting Assistant General Counsel for Regulatory Law, Department of Energy, transmitting the Department's final rule—Acquisition Letter—received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1620. A letter from the Deputy Director, Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Office of Policy, Food and Drug Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Mutual Recognition of Pharmaceutical Good Manufacturing Practice Inspection Reports, Medical Device Quality System Audit Reports, and Certain Medical Device Product Evaluation Reports Between the United States and the European Community; Correction [Docket No. 98N–0185] (RIN: 0910–ZA11) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

1621. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 13–44, ''Lease Approval Technical Amendment Act of 1999'' received April 19, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1–233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1622. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 13–46, ''Tax Conformity Temporary Act of 1999'' received April 19, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1–233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1623. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 13–45, ''Motor Vehicle Excessive Idling Fine Increase Temporary Amendment Act of 1999'' received April 19, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1–233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1624. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 12–624, ''Solid Waste Facility Permit Amendment Act of 1998'' received April 19, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1–233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1625. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 13–53, ''Community Development Program Amendment Act of 1999'' received April 19, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1–233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1626. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. Act 13–48, ''Homestead Housing Preservation Amendment Act of 1999'' received April 19, 1999, pursuant to D.C. Code section 1–233(c)(1); to the Committee on Government Reform.

1627. A letter from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, transmitting the Administration's final rule—Fisheries off West Coast States and in the Western Pacific; Pacific Coast Ground Fishery; Trip Limit Adjustments [Docket No. 981231333–8333–01; I.D. 032599A] received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Resources.

1628. A letter from the Director, Torts Branch, Civil Division, Department of Justice, transmitting the Department's final rule—Radiation Exposure Compensation Act: Evidentiary Requirements; Definitions; and Number of Times Claims May Be Filed [A.G. Order No. 2213–99] (RIN: 1105–AA49) received April 16, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1629. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Special Local Regulations; Air & Sea Show, Fort Lauderdale, Florida [CGD07–99–017] (RIN: 2115–AE46) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1630. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Special Local Regulations: St. Croix International Triathlon, St. Croix, USVI [CGD07 99–016] (RIN: 2115–AE46) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1631. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulation; Fireworks Display, St. Helens, Oregon [CGD13–98–037] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1632. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Fort Vancouver Celebrate Freedom Fireworks Display [CGD13–98–036] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1633. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Big Island Upper Reach Cape Fear River, North Carolina [CGD05–98–112] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1634. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Big Island Upper Reach Cape Fear River, North Carolina [CGD05–98–110] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1635. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Big Island Upper Reach Cape Fear River, North Carolina [CGD05–98–109] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1636. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Big Island Upper Reach Cape Fear River, North Carolina [CGD05–98–108] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1637. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Big Island Upper Reach Cape Fear River, North Carolina [CGD05–98–107] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1638. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Big Island Upper Reach Cape Fear River, North Carolina [CGD05–98–105] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1639. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Big Island Upper Reach Cape Fear River, North Carolina [CGD05–98–104] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1640. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway at Mile Hammock Bay; Vicinity of Marine Corps Base Camp Lejeune, North Carolina [CGD05–98–091] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1641. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; West Point Crab Carnival Fireworks Display, [CGD05–98–085] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1642. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Michelob Golf Championship Fireworks Display, James River, Williamsburg, VA [CGD05–98–080] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1643. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Opening Night Fireworks, Newport, RI [CGD01 98–182] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1644. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; First Night Gloucester Fireworks Display, Gloucester Harbor, Gloucester, MA [CGD01–98–181] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1645. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; First Night Marblehead Fireworks Display, Marblehead Harbor, Marblehead, MA [CGD01–98–180] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1646. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Security Zone: Presidential Visit, Newport, RI [CGD01 98–177] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1647. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Security Zone; Presidential Visit, Newport, RI [CGD01 98–176] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1648. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Children of Chernobyl, Hudson River, Manhattan, New York [CGD01–98–169] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1649. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Explosive Load, Bath Iron Works, Bath, ME [CGD1–98–167] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1650. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Tow Of The Decommissioned Battleship Massachusetts, Boston Harbor, Boston, MA [CGD01–98–166] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1651. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: White and Case Fireworks, Hudson River, Manhattan, New York [CGD01–98–164] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1652. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: Bras Across the Hudson, Hudson River, Albany, New York [CGD01–98–160] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1653. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: Yankees Celebration Fireworks, Hudson River, Manhattan, New York [CGD01–98–159] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1654. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: Italian Heritage Month Fireworks, Hudson River, Manhattan, New York [CGD01–98–152] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1655. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: Pier 60 Opening Day Fireworks, Hudson River, Manhattan, New York [CGD01–98–134] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1656. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations: Port of San Juan, Puerto Rico [COTP San Juan 98–073] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1657. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations: San Juan, Puerto Rico [COTP San Juan 98–072] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1658. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; San Francisco Bay, San Francisco, CA [COTP San Francisco Bay; 98–025] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1659. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; San Francisco Bay, San Francisco, CA [COTP San Francisco Bay; 98–024] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1660. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; San Francisco Bay, San Francisco, CA [COTP San Francisco Bay; 98–023] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1661. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Ohio River mile 919.0 to 920.0 [COTP Paducah, KY Regulation 99–001] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1662. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Tennessee Tombigbee Waterway mile 429 to 431 [COTP Paducah, KY Regulation 98–006] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1663. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Tennessee River mile 304.5 to 306 [COTP Paducah, KY Regulation 98–007] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1664. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Mile 94.0 to Mile 96.0, Lower Mississippi River, Above Head of Passes [COTP New Orleans, LA Regulation 98–027] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1665. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Mile 94.0 to Mile 96.0, Lower Mississippi River, Above Head of Passes [COTP New Orleans, LA Regulation 98–026] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1666. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Mile 229.5 to Mile 230.5 Lower Mississippi River, Above Head of Passes [COTP New Orleans, LA Regulation 98–025] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1667. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Mile 94.0 to Mile 96.0, Lower Mississippi River, Above Head of Passes [COTP New Orleans, LA Regulation 98–024] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1668. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Mile 94.0 to Mile 95.0, Lower Mississippi River, Above Head of Passes [COTP New Orleans, LA Regulation 98–021] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1669. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Miami, Florida [COTP MIAMI–98–074] (RIN: 2115–AA97) Recieved April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1670. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Palm Beach County, Florida [COTP MIAMI–98–071] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1671. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S.

Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; Palm Beach County, Florida [COTP MIAMI–98–069] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1672. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Security Zone Regulations; Bal Harbor, Florida [COTP MIAMI–98–067] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1673. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; West Palm Beach, Florida [COTP MIAMI–98–066] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1674. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulations; West Palm Beach, Florida [COTP MIAMI–98–064] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1675. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Licking river, Campell County, Kentucky [COTP LOUSIVILLE 98–003] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1676. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Cancellation; Santa Barbara, CA [COTP Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA 98–011] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1677. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety/Security Zone; Long Beach Harbor, CA [COTP Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA; 98–009] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1678. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety/Security Zone; Long Beach Harbor, CA [COTP Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA; 98–008] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1679. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Pierpont Bay, Ventura, CA [COTP Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA; 98–007] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1680. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Long Beach Harbor, CA [COTP Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA; 98–006] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1681. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety zone; Houston Ship Channel, Houston, TX [COTP Houston-Galveston 98–011] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1682. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: Agana Bay, Guam [COTP GUAM 98–004] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1683. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone: Waters inside the Firing Dangerous Area as designated on NOAA Chart number 81054 [COTP GUAM 98–003] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1684. A letter from the Acting Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Victoria Barge Canal [COTP Corpus Christi, Texas 98–005] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1685. A letter from the Chief, Office of Regulations & Administrative Law U.S. Coast Guard Headquarters, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Santa Barbara Channel, CA [COTP Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA; 99–001] (RIN: 2115–AA97) received April 16, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

1686. A letter from the Chief, Regulations Branch, U.S. Customs Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting the Department's final rule—Import Restrictions Imposed On Byzantine Ecclesiastical and Ritual Ethnological Material from Cyprus [T.D. 99–35] (RIN: 1515–AC46) Recevied April 9, 1999, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1687. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an account of all Federal agency climate change programs and Activities; jointly to the Committees on Appropriations, International Relations, Science, Commerce, 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:

Mr. REYNOLDS: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 145. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 999) to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to improve the quality of coastal recreation waters, and for other purposes (Rept. 106–103). Referred to the House Calendar.

## PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. HANSEN (for himself, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. HILL of Montana, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. SALMON, Mr. STUMP, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. SHADEGG, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. POMBO, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. MCINNIS, and Mr. ROHRABACHER):

H.R. 1500. A bill to accelerate the Wilderness designation process by establishing a timetable for the completion of wilderness studies on Federal Lands; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. MCCOLLUM (for himself, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. HYDE, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. CHABOT, Mr. BARR of Georgia, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. COBLE, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. ROTHman, Mr. WEINER, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Mr. DELAHUNT, Mr. WEXLER, and Ms. LOFGREN):

H.R. 1501. A bill to provide grants to ensure increased accountability for juvenile offenders; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BARCIA (for himself, Mr. BROWN of California, Mrs. MORELLA, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. CAPUANO, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. COSTELLO, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. WEINER, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. GORDON, Mr. WU, and Mr. DOYLE):

H.R. 1502. A bill to minimize the disruption of Government and private sector operations caused by the Year 2000 computer problem; to the Committee on Science.

By Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska (for himself and Mr. POMEROY):

H.R. 1503. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide an exclusion for gain from sale of farmland which is similar to the exclusion from gain on the sale of a principal residence; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CANADY of Florida (for himself, Mr. EWING, Mr. EHRLICH, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. CONDIT, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. BOYD, and Mr. HAYES):

H.R. 1504. A bill to streamline, modernize, and enhance the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture relating to plant protection and quarantine, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, and in addition to the Committees on the Judiciary, Resources, and Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. ENGLISH (for himself, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. REGULA, Mr. COYNE, Mr. NEY, Mr. TRAFICANT, and Mr. ADERHOLT):

H.R. 1505. A bill to amend United States trade laws to address more effectively import crises; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GIBBONS:

H.R. 1506. A bill to provide for the orderly disposal of certain Federal land in the State of Nevada and for the acquisition of environmentally sensitive land in the State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. HANSEN:

H.R. 1507. A bill to require the Secretary of Transportation to grant exemptions under section 41714 of title 49, United States Code, to allow 30 additional slot exemptions at Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport for air carriers to provide daily air service between Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport and other airports that are more than 1, 250 statute miles from Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

By Mr. HUNTER:

H.R. 1508. A bill to prohibit entry of the Russian vessel KAPITAN MAN into any port in the United States at which there is a United States naval presence; to the Committee on Intelligence (Permanent Select).

By Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas (for himself, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. SCARBOROUGH, Mr. REYES, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. HUNTER, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. GARY MILLER of California, Mr. GIBBONS, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. FILNER, Mr. TANCREDO, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. DICKEY, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. HILL of Indiana, Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. EVANS, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. FROST, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. SISISKY, Mr. DIXON, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. BORSKI, Mr. STUPAK, Mrs. MEEK of Florida, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. INSLEE, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. PITTS, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, and Mr. KINGSTON):

H.R. 1509. A bill to authorize the Disabled Veterans' LIFE Memorial Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor veterans who became disabled while serving in the Armed Forces of the United States; to the Committee on Resources.

By Mr. LEWIS of Georgia (for himself, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. HINCHEY, Ms. WATERS, Ms. PELOSI, Ms. LEE, Mrs. MALONEY of New York, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. BISHOP, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. LAFALCE, Mr. FROST, Mr. FILNER, Ms. ESHOO, Ms. NORTON, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, and Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi):

H.R. 1510. A bill to promote environmental justice, public health, and pollution reduction efforts; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure, Agriculture, and Resources, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma:

H.R. 1511. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to require certain additional information in statements of explanation of benefits provided to Medicare beneficiaries under the Medicare Program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD (for herself, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. HINOJOSA, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Ms. CARSON, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. DIXON, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mrs. CLAYTON, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Ms. LOFGREN, Ms. NORTON, Mr. CONYERS, Mrs. MEEK of Florida, Mr. RUSH, Mr. OWENS, Mr. CLYBURN, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. UNDERWOOD, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. CUMMINGS, and Mr. WEINER):

H.R. 1512. A bill to improve the safety of firearms; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. NORTON (for herself and Mr. NADLER):

H.R. 1513. A bill to allow Federal employees to take advantage of the transportation fringe benefit provisions of the Internal Revenue Code that are available to private sector employees; to the Committee on Government Reform.

By Mr. OLVER (for himself, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. EVANS, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. KIND, Mr. FROST, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. NEY, Ms. RIVERS, and Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts):

H.R. 1514. A bill to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to provide for mandatory coverage of services furnished by nurse practitioners and clinical nurse specialists under State Medicaid plans; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mrs. ROUKEMA (for herself, Mr. WISE, Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. BAIRD, Mrs. CAPPS, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. ANDREWS, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Mr. GILMAN, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. SHAYS, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. MICA, Mr. LEACH, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. BOEHLERT, and Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut):

H.R. 1515. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act, Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to prohibit group and individual health plans from imposing treatment limitations or financial requirements on the coverage of mental health benefits and on the coverage of substance abuse and chemical dependency benefits if similar limitations or requirements are not imposed on medical and surgical benefits; to the Committee on Commerce, and in addition to the Committees on Education and the Workforce, and Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. SKEEN (for himself, Mr. MCINNIS, Mr. CANNON, Mr. HAYWORTH, and Mr. UDALL of New Mexico):

H.R. 1516. A bill to amend the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act to provide for payment of compensation to individuals exposed to radiation as the result of working in uranium mines and mills which provided uranium for the use and benefit of the United States Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TRAFICANT:

H.R. 1517. A bill to provide for the test and evaluation by the Armed Forces of the Mobile Expeditionary Accurate Night Vision Compatible Portable Airfield Lighting System; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. WEYGAND:

H.R. 1518. A bill to amend title X of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992 to authorize the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to provide assistance for startup costs of community programs to prevent residentially based lead poisoning in children; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

By Mrs. WILSON:

H.R. 1519. A bill to provide for humanitarian assistance for Kosovar Albanian refugees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on International Relations, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. STABENOW (for herself and Mrs. JONES of Ohio):

H. Con. Res. 90. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that all Members mourn the loss of life at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, and condemn this and previous incidents of deadly violence in our Nation's schools; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mr. SWEENEY:

H. Con. Res. 91. Concurrent resolution authorizing the use of the Capitol Grounds for a clinic to be conducted by the United States Luge Association; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

## ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 53: Mr. HOSTETTLER.

H.R. 72: Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. SESSIONS, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. KING, and Mr. SUNUNU.

H.R. 111: Mr. GOODLING, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, and Mr. COMBEST.

H.R. 179: Mr. DEUTSCH.

H.R. 225: Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. WU, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. KIND, Mr. PHELPS, Mr. SKEEN, and Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas.

H.R. 226: Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. WEINER, Mr. WEYGAND, Mr. BENTSEN, and Mr. BONIOR.

H.R. 230: Mr. PRICE of North Carolina.

H.R. 241: Mr. SHAYS, Mr. KING, Mr. KOLBE, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. COOKSEY, Mr. PAUL, Mrs. THURMAN, and Mr. SHOWS.

H.R. 263: Mr. ENGLISH and Mr. BECERRA.

H.R. 274: Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. WOLF, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. PHELPS, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, and Mr. TIERNEY.

H.R. 275: Mrs. MORELLA and Mrs. NORTHUP.

H.R. 362: Ms. KILPATRICK.

H.R. 371: Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.

H.R. 415: Ms. WATERS.

H.R. 417: Mr. BECERRA and Mr. BLAGOJEVICH.

H.R. 488: Ms. DELAURO.

H.R. 491: Mr. OLVER and Mr. BONIOR.

H.R. 492: Mr. SKEEN.

H.R. 500: Mr. DICKS.

H.R. 516: Mr. ISAKSON.

H.R. 525: Mr. INSLEE, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. WATT of North Carolina, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, Mr. SAWYER, Mr. CAPUANO, Ms. SLAUGHTER, and Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut.

H.R. 527: Mr. CROWLEY.

H.R. 552: Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. HYDE, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. STUMP, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. FROST, Mr. NEY, and Mr. SUNUNU.

H.R. 557: Mr. HALL of Ohio and Mr. SAWYER.

H.R. 582: Ms. WOOLSEY and Mr. DICKS.

H.R. 654: Ms. BALDWIN.

H.R. 708: Mr. LANTOS and Mr. HALL of Texas.

H.R. 716: Mr. HINCHEY.

H.R. 719: Mr. BOEHLERT.

H.R. 732: Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. BORSKI, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. WALSH, Mr. OWENS, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, and Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 739: Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. MARTINEZ, Ms. LOFGREN, and Mr. LEVIN.

H.R. 766: Mr. TALENT.

H.R. 767: Mr. TALENT.

H.R. 773: Mr. KLINK, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. CONDIT, and Mr. GARY MILLER of California.

H.R. 776: Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. CLAY, Mr. OWENS, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. PAYNE, Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mr. SCOTT, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. FORD, Mr. KUCINICH, Mr. HOLT, and Mr. HOEFFEL.

H.R. 827: Mr. MCNULTY.

H.R. 833: Mr. CAMP and Mr. SIMPSON.

H.R. 844: Mr. MCINNIS, Mr. FROST, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. HAYWORTH, and Mr. HOUGHTON.

H.R. 845: Mr. STUPAK and Mrs. EMERSON.

H.R. 924: Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. SPENCE, Mr. STRICKLAND, and Mrs. THURMAN.

H.R. 987: Mr. NEY, Mr. MCCRERY, Mr. GANSKE, Mr. DEMINT, Mrs. NORTHUP, Mr. SIMPSON, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. EVERETT, and Mr. TOOMEY.

H.R. 989: Ms. SLAUGHTER and Mr. GARY MILLER of California.

H.R. 1000: Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. HILL of Montana, and Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota.

H.R. 1046: Mr. COSTELLO.

H.R. 1064: Mr. MARKEY and Mr. WEXLER.

H.R. 1071: Mr. STUPAK, Mr. DIXON, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ, Mr. WU, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. FORBES, and Ms. SCHWAKOWSKY.

H.R. 1082: Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon.

H.R. 1083: Mr. BOEHNER and Mr. SHAYS.

H.R. 1096: Mr. VENTO and Mr. FARR of California.

H.R. 1098: Mr. TANCREDO.

H.R. 1102: Mr. HERGER, Mr. CAMP, Mr. WHITFIELD, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. SHOWS, and Mr. LAHOOD.

H.R. 1108: Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut and Mr. MARKEY.

H.R. 1111: Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. VENTO, and Mr. PALLONE.

H.R. 1123: Mr. LANTOS, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. ACKERMAN.

H.R. 1130: Mr. WYNN.

H.R. 1138: Mr. MENENDEZ.

H.R. 1159: Mr. MARTINEZ and Mr. SKELTON.

H.R. 1168: Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. WALSH, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. CAPUANO, and Ms. RIVERS.

H.R. 1172: Mr. SHAYS, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. EVANS, and Mr. GEPHARDT.

H.R. 1178: Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. CRANE, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. LAMPSON, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. PAUL, Mr. KASICH, and Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin.

H.R. 1187: Mr. WOLF, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. QUINN, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Mr. STEARNS, and Mr. TIERNEY.

H.R. 1200: Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Ms. LEE, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. STARK, and Ms. BALDWIN.

H.R. 1214: Mr. BALDACCI and Mr. RANGEL.

H.R. 1233: Ms. PELOSI and Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California.

H.R. 1238: Mr. LANTOS, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, and Mr. MCNULTY.

H.R. 1239: Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. WEINER, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. RUSH, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, and Mr. UDALL of New Mexico.

H.R. 1247: Mr. HOUGHTON and Mr. HALL of Texas.

H.R. 1250: Mr. POMEROY and Mr. LEVIN.

H.R. 1276: Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. CONYERS, Ms. RIVERS, Mr. RUSH, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, and Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 1286: Mr. HALL of Texas and Mr. STRICKLAND.

H.R. 1294: Mr. SHOWS, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. FOLEY, and Mr. COOKSEY.

H.R. 1298: Ms. RIVERS and Mr. MCDERMOTT.

H.R. 1301: Mr. DELAY, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. NUSSLE, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. MCINTOSH, Mr. BERRY, Mr. BURR of North Carolina, and Mr. STUMP.

H.R. 1304: Mr. NETHERCUTT, Ms. KILPATRICK, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. DAVIS of Virginia, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. ANDREWS, and Mr. WHITFIELD.

H.R. 1307: Mr. PASTOR.

H.R. 1350: Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. WEINER, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. TIERNEY, Ms. DEGETTE, Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. LANTOS, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Ms. RIVERS, and Mr. STARK.

H.R. 1355: Mr. WEXLER, Mr. FROST, and Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 1388: Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. WYNN, Mr. BAIRD, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. CLEMENT, Mr. GREENWOOD, and Mr. BONIOR.

H.R. 1389: Mr. SHOWS, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. MOORE, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. DEFAZIO, and Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin.

H.R. 1402: Mr. BERRY, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. WICKER, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, and Mr. BENTSEN.

H.R. 1408: Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey and Mr. MCNULTY.

H.R. 1414: Mr. WISE, Mr. HOUGHTON, Mr. BALDACCI, Mr. WYNN, and Mrs. EMERSON.

H.R. 1432: Mrs. MINK of Hawaii, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania and Mr. ENGLISH.

H.R. 1443: Mr. WAXMAN, Ms. NORTON, and Mrs. CHRISTENSEN.

H.R. 1459: Mr. FORD.

H.R. 1476: Ms. RIVERS, Mr. SHOWS, Mr. ENGLISH, and Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts.

H.R. 1484: Mr. EVANS.

H.R. 1495: Mr. STUPAK.

H.R. 1497: Mrs. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. FROST, and Mr. BORSKI.

H.J. Res. 34: Mr. HALL of Texas.

H. Con. Res. 21: Mrs. MALONEY of New York.

H. Con. Res. 43: Mr. GARY MILLER of California.

H. Con. Res. 46: Ms. LOFGREN.

H. Con. Res. 51: Mr. HORN, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. MORAN of Virginia.

H. Con. Res. 58: Mr. HALL of Texas and Mr. DAVIS of Illinois.

H. Con. Res. 60: Mr. SNYDER, Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. KUCINICH.

H. Con. Res. 82: Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. MANZULLO, Mr. BARR of Georgia, and Mr. ROHRABACHER.

H. Res. 41: Ms. ESHOO and Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.

## DELETIONS OF SPONSORS FROM PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were deleted from public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 850: Mr. HOLDEN.

H.R. 987: Mr. MARTINEZ.