Mr. COBLE. 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. 1761, as amended.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I rise in opposition to the motion to instruct conferences.

Mr. Speaker, that American people are caught in a tax trap. The longer they work, the harder they work, the more they pay. And that is wrong.

Now the American people are simply paying too much. Perhaps it was unexpected, but they are paying too much. And the strongest proof of this is the fact that the IRS is now accumulating more cash and will accumulate more cash in the future.

Americans are sending too much money to Washington, and there is actually more money than is projected for the government’s needs in which to operate.

Mr. Speaker, the problem is not that Washington does not have enough money. The problem is that Washington does not spend money efficiently, prudently, productively. We should begin to cut out the waste instead of saying we have got to have
more money and more money and more money.

I know there are those who believe that Washington knows best how to spend the people's money and they should not be given the opportunity to do it because maybe they might make a mistake; but it is their money, not ours and I am proud that the House and Senate on a bipartisan basis think this is unfair and have passed good plans to let people keep more of their money. Yes, the plans are different, but they are both based on the principle that all Americans deserve to keep more of what they have earned. After all, it is their money. If we keep it in Washington, politicians will most surely spend it.

That has been the way it has been throughout history. And over the last hundred years right here in Washington, over 70 percent of all the surpluses that have ever been generated into the Federal Government have been spent by politicians. Unfortunately, the motion before us is designed to keep hundreds of billions of dollars in excess taxpayer money in Washington to be spent. All along, we warned that there would be enormous pressure and great temptation to spend this budget surplus on more government programs, and it looks like we were right. But, Mr. Speaker, we do not need full-time government and part-time families. We need part-time government and full-time families.

This motion guts broad-based tax relief for the taxpayers who created the budget surplus in the first place. This motion threatens marriage penalty relief. This motion would make it tougher for people who care for elderly relatives at home by blocking health and long-term care insurance incentives. This motion would stand in the way of pension modernization that will help more men and women enjoy retirement security.

This motion would take away education incentives to make college more affordable and to give parents the ability to save for their children's education and that is what is fair.

Mr. Speaker, we can save Social Security, strengthen Medicare, and provide for prescription drug benefit for needy seniors, pay down the debt and provide tax relief for the American people. Mr. Speaker, 25 cents out of every dollar of surplus is what we are talking about in this tax relief bill. There is plenty to do all of these other things.

I hearken back again when I say deja vu to 1995, 1996, and the beginning of 1997 with the people who oppose this motion to instruct said, oh, we cannot give tax relief until after we have balanced the budget. First things first.

Yet, most of them voted for a tax relief bill when we did not even have a balanced budget. Most of them voted for a tax relief bill almost as big as this one to say that they call risky and irresponsible when we had no surplus projections at all.

We heard not one word about Social Security. We heard not one word about Medicare. We heard not one word about paying down the debt. My how things have changed.

To my colleagues on the other side who say we cannot, I simply remind them of the Democratic Senator from Nebraska, Bob Kerrey's comment about their argument. He said, 'To suggest that we cannot afford to cut income taxes when we are running a $3 trillion surplus is ludicrous.'

Mr. Speaker, I urge opposition to this motion to instruct conferees.

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

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. MATSUI).

Mr. MATSUI. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to make a couple observations as the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Social Security who has studied the issue of Social Security now for 2½ years, I have to say that there was a lot of misleading information passed on by the House of Representatives last week when we discussed this bill.

There has been a lot of talk about a lockbox and $3 trillion. The fact that $2 trillion will be put in a lockbox, that in fact is Social Security money. That is payroll tax money coming in over the next decade, 15 years, the $2 trillion. The problem is that will not preserve Social Security.

The gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. WATTS) said last week that that will solve Social Security. That will not save Social Security. By putting the $2 trillion in a lockbox, all that does is make sure that Social Security problem does not get any worse, that it does not get any worse. That is what the issue is. But it will not solve that problem.

In fact, what will be needed, if we do not want to cut benefits, is general fund money going into the Social Security system. The bill of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Archer) and the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Shaw) puts general fund money into the Social Security system.

Now, we have a $1 trillion dollars surplus that is projected, it is only projected over the next decade in the on-budget, non-Social Security surplus. If in fact this tax cut goes through and becomes law, and we all agree it probably will not, but assuming my colleagues vote for this tax bill, that essentially means that they are going to favor cuts in benefits over the Social Security system.

I have to say the purpose of this vote is to put Members on record so that the American public in the year 2000 will find out who wants to protect Social Security and maintain the level of benefits we have now or who wants to cut benefits. Because this vote, if my colleagues vote against this motion to recommit, they are saying, in the year 2001, when we try to deal with Social Security, that they are going to cut benefits, or an alternative, they may want to raise payroll taxes, although I do not believe that is true, so they are going to be cutting benefits.

So this vote against the motion to recommit will be to cut benefits and Social Security. What we are talking about here is a reduction in benefits of 25 percent of the Social Security benefits.

So I urge a "yes" vote on the motion of the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

Mr. THATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute simply to respond to the gentleman from California (Mr. MATSUI), and he is my friend.

This is the same sort of statement that we heard when we passed the last tax relief bill; we cannot balance the budget and pass tax relief. One will be cutting benefits. One will be doing all these awful things. But we did it.

I say, Mr. Speaker, today we can save Social Security, we can save Medicare, we can give a prescription drug benefit, and we can pay down the debt, and we can give a small amount in tax relief to the people who earned it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the respected gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, as Ronald Reagan once said "Here we go again." Whenever Republicans want to lower the tax burden on families, my friends on the other side always say it is going to somehow hurt people when they lower their taxes.

Now, where I come from, people tell me their tax burden is too high. Our tax burden today is 21 percent of our economy which is consumed by the Federal Government.

Since 1993, the tax burden has continued to go up. In fact, in 1993, the tax burden was less than 18 percent. Today it is 21 percent of our gross domestic product going to the Federal Government.

That tax burden is too high.

When it comes to Medicare and Social Security, thanks to this Republican Congress, we have a balanced budget, the first balanced budget in 28 years. It is now projected to provide a $3 trillion surplus over the next 10 years.

Under our budget, of course we do something that Congresses of the past and Presidents of the past for the last 30 years have refused to do; and that is, we saved 100 percent of Social Security for retirement security to save Medicare and Social Security.

Now these 3 dollar bills I have, each dollar bill represents $1 trillion. Under
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our budget, we set aside $1 trillion, $2 trillion. In fact, we set aside two-thirds of the so-called surplus over the next 10 years for taxes, Social Security, leaving one-third for other purposes.

We believe the vast majority of that extra surplus, the non-Social Security surplus, should go to help working families, helping working families by lowering their taxes.

Now, folks complain their taxes are too high. That is a common concern. But folks also tell me back home that the tax code is too complicated. They are frustrated that they will have to hire someone else to do their taxes. They are frustrated about the unfairness of the tax code. Frankly, a lot of them are just plain angry that, under our tax code, a married working couple on average pays $1,400 in higher taxes just because they are married. In fact, they pay the average marriage tax penalty of $1,400. Their combined income is about $60,000.

Under our legislation we passed out of the House, 70 percent of taxpayers receive direct marriage tax relief. I believe by the time the House and Senate work out their differences, more families like Michelle and Shad will receive marriage tax relief.

We work to address the marriage tax penalty, addressing the unfairness in the tax code, and also simplify the tax code. Because in the House-passed tax relief, 6 million couples will no longer need to itemize.

I would also point out that, under our legislation, since Michelle is due to have a baby, like many moms like to do, she is a working mom, she may take some time off from being in the work force to be home with her baby. Under the legislation we passed out of the House, 70 percent of taxpayers receive direct marriage tax relief, and Shad Callahan, they are going to let Michelle make up missed contributions to her retirement accounts with catch-up provisions. That will help Michelle and Shad and working families just like Michelle and Shad Callahan.

This legislation is good legislation. We simplify the code by eliminating the marriage tax penalty for millions of working couples, by eliminating the death tax which is suffered by family farmers and family businesses, by providing alternative minimum tax relief to millions of middle class families that now suffer the alternative minimum tax. Also, if one is self-employed, an entrepreneur, we give 100 percent deductibility for one’s health insurance, the same corporations get. Today, one only gets percent, and we believe taxes when we are running a trillion dollar surplus is ludicrous.”

Cutting taxes deserves bipartisan support.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 seconds to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELKER) making this so personal in sharing the happiness of Shelly and Shad Callahan, and I would like to wish them well. But if they are really looking for a simplification from what is going on in the House and Senate conference, they are in for a nightmare.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN).

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, first, let me correct the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELKER) in that we do not have a balanced budget. We do not have a balanced budget today unless they count the surplus for Social Security generated income, and none of us want to do that.

They talk about $3 trillion over the next 10 years. We do not have that. If they look at what is the on-budget surplus that we all acknowledge is money that could be used, we have a projected trillion dollar surplus over the next 10 years; and we have not seen dime one of it yet. Yet, the Republicans want to spend the surplus before we get the surplus. That is not responsible.

We are talking about what should the priorities be, and Social Security, socialized health care, it makes it clear that our priorities should first meet our current responsibilities under Social Security and Medicare, not an expanded role, but meet our current responsibilities. We think that should be our first priority.

Why do we say that? If they look at the Republican bill to pass this House, it not only spends the trillion dollars during the first 10 years, but then it explodes after that, because it is backloaded. It shoots up to $4 trillion over the next 10 years. Just as the baby boomers are reaching the age of eligibility for Social Security and Medicare, we are not going to be able to meet our obligations for Social Security and Medicare. That is why we say they cannot do both. We cannot do both.

Our priority is to protect Social Security and Medicare. And how about paying off some of the debt? That will help everybody. The Republicans talk about one hand offer tax relief, they say; and then, on the other hand, they are going to increase interest rates because of their irresponsibility.

That couple that was so nice that they are trying to help, they are going to lose all that money by increased interest rates if they have any credit responsibility under any charge accounts or financing a car. They are going to end up paying back more that is in the Republican tax bill.

This is an irresponsible and reckless proposal. That is why our motion to instruct an attempt to try to bring some sanity to what left this House as far as the tax relief is concerned.

Fortunately, this bill will not become law. That is the good news. The President is going to veto it if it passes anywhere near its current form. We do not believe that we should go back to the 1980s when we tried trickle-down economics and we were told that tax cuts were going to help our economy, and actually it did was grow our debt.

Now, I understand the Republicans did not support the 1993 economic program that brought about our prosperity. We understand that. But do not turn the clock backwards and try to do it again.

We do have projected surpluses in the future. Let us use that to pay down our debt so that we can continue the economic prosperity that we have. Let us meet our obligations under Social Security and Medicare. Let us invest in the priorities that are important, including responsible tax legislation.

This bill is irresponsible. The motion to instruct corrects it. I urge my colleagues to support the motion.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I want my colleagues to look up in the web page www.dsusa.org. It stands for Democratic Socialists of America.

In there, the Progressive Caucus, 58 Members of the Democratic party belong to that. What do they want, Mr. Speaker? This is their own 12-point agenda, not mine, but their 12-point agenda. They want government control of health care. They tried that when they had the White House, the House, and the Senate. They wanted government socialized health care. It failed miserably.

They want government control of education and environmental laws. They even want government control of private property. They want union over small business. They want the highest possible socialized spending, and they want the highest possible progressive tax that they can get. The highest progressive tax, income tax.

That is what the Democratic Party is controlled by, their leadership, the Democratic Socialists of America, the Progressive Caucus. Guess what, one of the agendas is also to cut defense by 50 percent to pay for that spending.

We fought to save Medicare, and the Democrats fought against it, dead fought against it. $100 million of union
Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to get back to the subject at hand. When the Republican leadership was trying to find the votes for the bill, the majority leader said this: "You always know how many horses are in the herd, it is just a question of how long it takes to get them into the barn." Well, I hope that some of the horses that went into the barn will take a second look and get out of this barn before we get a roaring deficit once again that would burn it down.

The proponents of this bill like to talk about a $792 billion cost, but look at the second 10 years. It would be $3 trillion, $3 trillion. And the timing could not be worse, as this chart shows. Because at the time there would be an explosion, an explosion, in terms of revenue loss that same second 10-year period, the Social Security surplus begins to fall. During the same period, Medicare runs out of money, 2015. And during that same period, non-Social Security budget surpluses begin to fall. Look, there could not be anything worse in timing. But to make it even worse, the projected surpluses do not even include recognition that there may be emergency supplemental.

Listen, I say to the Republicans, to a fellow Republican, Alan Greenspan, who serves in a nonpartisan position at the moment. Here is what he has said about the Republican bill. "Hold off for a while," "the timing is not right for your bill," "allow the surpluses to run for a while."

The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means refers to the 1997 tax bill, $275 over 10 years. This is a $3 trillion tax cut over 20 years. This is a ridiculous, a reckless, and an irresponsible proposal. It would return our country to the days of borrow and spend.

I heard the chairman of our committee say we can do it all; it is easy. We can do everything. Do not worry, be happy. Well, if this law ever were enacted, this country would be very sad. The Republican Party is becoming the spendthrift party. The spendthrift party.

This is reckless, it is irresponsible, let us vote for the motion to instruct.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. I would say to the gentleman from Michigan, I did not say it was easy. I did not say it would be easy to balance the budget and give tax relief, but we did it. And the President himself spoke over and over again about the accomplishment of a tax bill that we pushed, and a balanced budget that we pushed. He claims that.

I did not say it would be easy. It will not be easy. But I say it is not that Washington does not have enough money to spend, but if we get tough and eliminate the waste and we become prudent and productive in the utilization of the taxpayers' dollars, we do not have to keep adding bushels and bushels of money by taxing the American people more and more and more. They earned it; they produced it; they worked hard for it; and Washington is enjoying a windfall. Maybe there could be a tax cut on the windfall to Washington to let the people keep more of their money.

As far as Alan Greenspan is concerned, a lot of what he said has been taken out of context and it needs to be set straight. He said, "If you can save the money, save it." If.

And he knows full well what the halls of history teach this country and other countries that are democracies, and that is that politicians will spend the surplus. Let me repeat again that in the last 100 years every surplus generated by the Federal Government, 70 percent has been spent by the politicians. That is a history of surpluses that are left to "ride" unencumbered.

What does the President do? In his budget, and I now cite from the CBO documents, "The President's proposals would spend most of the projected on-budget surpluses." Would spend them. And the debt would increase by a greater amount than under the budget that we Republicans passed this year and is now the congressional budget for the United States of America.

Will it be easy? No. It will not be easy. We need to assure the taxpayers that the money that they send here is spent right and not wastefully, instead of merely saying we have to throw more money at it. And there is more than enough money in the Social Security surplus to pay down the Federal debt, to save Social Security, to save Medicare.

The charts that my friend from Michigan used are a little outdated. I am sure he did not prepare them recently, in the last 24 hours. The Senate already, by their rules, prohibits any additional revenue loss outside of the 10-year window. They are shut off totally. Not $1 is permitted to be used for tax relief outside of the 10-year window.

Besides that, there are no official projections for the years after 10 years, so one can only guess. There are not official government documents, but under the Senate provisions that must be complied with, there is not $1 of revenue loss outside of the 10-year window. So the gentleman needs to find a new chart for his next speech.

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

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

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Democratic motion to instruct conferees on the Republican tax bill.

America needs a fiscally responsible tax bill, not an excessive and reckless $800 billion tax cut, almost a trillion dollar tax cut. A tax bill of this magnitude stands in the way of strengthening Medicare and Social Security and threatens the progress we have made in eliminating the deficit and reducing the national debt, and it does nothing, it does absolutely nothing, to help our crumbling public schools.

My constituents have demanded this Congress strengthen and protect Social Security and Medicare as well as to continue to pay off the national debt, rather than give tax breaks to the top 1 percent of Americans. I am not arguing there are no Americans who need tax relief, but let me just add that no one on this side of the aisle has said no one in this country needs some tax relief. We are saying just do not give it to the wealthiest, richest people on this planet. Many middle income families would greatly benefit from affordable tax cuts, however, these families are not the ones assisted by the Republican tax bill.

Mr. Speaker, please listen to the American people. And if my colleagues will not listen to them, they should listen to the chairman of the Federal Reserve, Mr. Greenspan, who has vocally denounced a massive tax cut initiative such as the ones passed by the House and the Senate as potentially harmful to our nation.

This bill does not strengthen Social Security and Medicare and it does not prepare our schools for the 21st century. A single-room classroom with 50 kindergarten students in it, two teachers, and no funds under this tax proposal to improve the situation in the near future.
Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this motion to instruct congressmen.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, because again Mr. Greenspan's comments are taken out of context. He said that as between tax relief and spending, he would far prefer tax relief. In fact, he said, "It is not even a close call."

The Congressional Budget Office has just certified that the President proposes to spend almost all of the projected on-budget surplus. Mr. Greenspan would most certainly say that tax relief is better than spending from the surplus. In fact, he did say it and he will continue to say it.

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

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. Moorhead).

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, I also would like to speak to the last gentleman who spoke and say that I also heard Mr. Greenspan in the Committee on Banking and Financial Services. I heard what he said, and what he said was, "My first preference is to pay down debt." My first preference is to pay down debt. Now, maybe the majority knows something Alan Greenspan does not, but I do not think so. I do not think so.

We have a $5.6 trillion debt in this country. We have an opportunity for the first time in a generation to do the right thing and put our financial house in order. The question is whether we will step up to the plate and do that or we will not make the money and run and hand the debt to our children and grandchildren.

It is simply not right. It is unconscionable and we should not do it. The fiscally prudent and the financially sound thing to do is to use 50 percent of the surplus to pay down debt, 25 percent for tax relief, and 25 percent for Social Security and Medicare.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire how much time is remaining on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARCHER) has 14 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) has 13 minutes remaining.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. PORTMAN), a respected member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I would like to say that he deserves a lot of credit for getting this bill through the House and for having spent this weekend working with the Senate to come up with a compromise package that will, in the end, be able to give taxpayers the relief that they so well deserve.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the motion to instruct. I was watching it in my office and thought I should come over and talk about the fact that the Financial Freedom Act that the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARCHER) and others have put together, so many of us have had a part in this, is, in fact, not fiscally responsible. It is simply saying what is $3 trillion in projected surpluses over the next 10 years and allowing the taxpayers to keep a little more of their hard-earned money, roughly one-third of that amount, rather than spending it here in Washington on new programs.

It comes down to a philosophical difference, really. The philosophical difference is that Republicans believe people should be able to keep more of their hard-earned money, and the other side believes that it ought to be spent.

Now, we have talked about Alan Greenspan here a lot today. I heard Alan Greenspan testify before the Committee on Ways and Means, and I questioned him. He was very straightforward. He said if it is going to be spent or it is going to be spent in terms of tax relief, he would far prefer tax relief. In fact, he said it is not even a close call.

Now, Alan Greenspan may believe if it were to stay here in Washington that it would be used to reduce the surplus. I find that hard to believe when I look at the President's own budget proposal, which in fact spends the money. In fact, in this tax bill there is more debt relief than there is in the President's proposal, based on what the Congressional Budget Office, the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, just told us last week.

Second, I believe that if we look simply at the record of the last 40 years, we understand every time there is indeed a surplus in this town, Congress turns around and spends it, expanding Federal programs already in place and creating new programs.

So what we are saying is very simple, which is one dollar out of the three ought to go back.

Second, I want to make the point that this tax bill contains a number of wonderful provisions for the taxpayer in terms of relief from excessive compaction of the Tax Code and also in various areas like the marriage penalty, and one I really want to focus on is retirement security.

In this bill our provisions are the most fundamental changes in retirement security in all over a generation that allow every American to have the ability to save more money for their retirement. It lets everybody save more on their 401(k) account. It allows everybody coming back into the workforce at age 50 or above, particularly helpful to women who have stayed at home to raise kids, to put more into their defined contribution plans, 401(k)s, 457s, 403(b)s, and it expands all the defined benefit plans. These are plans that are, unfortunately, dying on the vine out there. There are fewer and fewer of them prepaid. We need to put the money and run and we will.

We enable people to save more. We enable people to get more in terms of a benefit. We enable people who are in multi-employer plans, section 412, to be able to get more into their own retirement, taking away some limits that do not make any sense. It will help in the end every single American.

What I love about this is that 77 percent of pension participants are precisely the people we are trying to help the most who make under $50,000 a year. It is in this bill, and it is precisely what this Congress ought to be doing, in the context of tax relief, simplifying the Tax Code, increasing the savings rate in this country, and finally providing retirement security for millions of Americans.

Sixty to 70 million Americans do not have any kind of pension at all now. Millions of those Americans will be able to get immediate retirement security from the legislation that is contained within this tax bill.

Again, I commend the chairman. I hope we can move on from this motion to instruct, get this legislation to the Senate where I yield the balance of my time, and others have testimony is not fiscally irresponsible. The question is whether we want to instruct, get this legislation to the President so that he can sign it for the American taxpayer.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TURNER).

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, the Republican tax message is one that we cannot trust Congress to act responsibly with the surplus. It takes money out of town before it even arrives here yet. Is it a little bit ironic to think their theme is one cannot trust the Congress to manage money wisely, when they in fact are in the majority? Do my colleagues not think that we could be disciplined enough just to run one true budget surplus before we spend what we do not even have yet?

If a business had borrowed money from a bank to operate for 25 years straight and for the first time in 25 years showed a small profit, would we not think we would try to pay down that huge debt?

Two weeks ago this House had a historic opportunity that every businessman and woman understands. That is, when faced with a choice of paying down the debt or spending the surplus, we should pay down the debt. We had a motion on the floor that would dedicate 25 percent of the on-budget surplus to paying down the debt, 25 percent to tax cuts, 25 percent to priority spending needs such as Medicare and Social Security.
Today we are trying again. Where have all the fiscal conservatives gone in the Republican Party? Fiscal conservatives do not spend money that we do not even have yet. Fiscal conservatives do not ignore the advice of Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan. Fiscal conservatives do not gamble with our economic security, our health security, our retirement security. Fiscal conservatives understand that paying down the debt means lower interest rates. Fiscal conservatives do not pass on debts to our children and our grandchildren. And fiscal conservatives do not backload tax cuts into an uncertain future.

The President is right to veto this bill. We can take it up next year. What is the rush anyway? There is only $5 billion in tax cuts next year out of the $792 billion in the bill, and half of that is extenders. Only six-tenths of 1 percent of the tax relief will be effective next year, fiscal year 2000. The 10 percent across-the-board tax cut, the increase in standard deduction to reduce the marriage penalty, those could not even happen next year. There is little tax relief in the bill next year, so what is the rush?

I say pay down the debt. Do what is right for our children, right for Social Security, right for Medicare, and right for America.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, what is the time proration again, please?

The Speaker pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). The gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARCHER) has 10½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) has 11 minutes remaining. The gentleman from New York has the right to close.

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

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the motion to instruct. I hope we will vote for this motion to be responsible and to be prudent.

We have to remember, we are not at a crap table in Washington, D.C. This is not Vegas. And I have seen the trick made with the $3. I hope that all Americans understand that the $3 we keep hearing about, these $3 which represent $3 trillion, when we talk $2 trillion being saved for Social Security, we are not saving it for Social Security; we are just telling all the people who contributed this money, the Social Security contributors, the taxpayers who give out of that payroll taxes that money, that we are going to reserve it.

Because that is what it was supposed to go for. It was never meant to be spent for tax cuts or something else. So when my colleagues talk about the three, take the two off the table. Because no one would want us to play with that money.

When we take out of people's paycheck every month Social Security taxes, we do not tell them it is for tax cuts or anything else. We tell them it is for their retirement.

So we are left with $1 trillion, this $1 bill. Most of that, under this Republican bill, would go to tax cuts, some $800 billion dollars.

Now, if we take that $800 billion tax cut, two-thirds of all that money, two-thirds of this $1 trillion is going to go to 10 percent of all of America. The 10 percent wealthiest tax filers get two-thirds of this dollar. That means the remaining one-third is left 90 percent of America. That is what we get with this tax bill.

But forget about all that because all this is just projections. We do not know what kind of surplus we will have. The projection is we will have a large surplus, something like playing craps on a crap table. They are shooting and hoping and praying that they win.

But what happens if they do not? Let me put it to my colleagues this way: the average tax cut for someone who earns about $50,000, a couple who earns about $50,000 under the Republican tax bill is about $200 per year. And that is when we have got some of these provisions fully phased in. Because, by the way, in the year 2000 no one is going to get $200 in tax relief if they earned about $50,000. They have got to wait until all these provisions are phased in.

But say they are all phased in. They get about $200 in tax cuts. They are not going to have it. Because all they have to do is save that money, use it for debt relief; and if they have a $20,000 debt, interest rates go down by one percent, they will save $200. Do not vote for the tax bill. Vote for this motion to instruct.

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

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I have so many speakers, perhaps the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means might yield some time to us so that we could allow the Members to speak out.

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

Mr. RANGEL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I would be happy to yield adequate time to anyone on the side of my colleague who wants to speak against the motion to instruct.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, that does not sound fair.

Let me say this. Would the chairman want me to have all of the Democrats speak and then close the argument debate?

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, I served in the minority for 24 years, where I was greatly outnumbered. So I feel very comfortable today being by myself here.

Mr. RANGEL. Well, I guess that makes sense. But what I am trying to do is to find out whether or not my colleague intends to be the last speaker before I close the debate. Because I have half a dozen people here and I just want to know, with the time being what it is, I have 8 minutes and my colleague has 11, I do not know how to space it.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, when he gets to his last speaker, then I will be glad to yield the balance of my time.

Mr. RANGEL. Very good. I understand.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT), a member of the committee.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, this Republican tax bill has declared Christmas while it sizzles.

On this Christmas tree that has been erected here in Washington, one will find a package wrapped up for anyone who has a lobbyist and a political action committee.

There is one break after another. They think nothing of having the taxpayers subsidize 80 percent of the cost of a $100 bottle of cabernet or a two-martini lunch. They want the taxpayers to subsidize our defense contractors to go out and start more arms races around the world. And these conneries will even be considering a tax subsidy for chicken manure, something that many people have said symbolizes this entire bill.

Instead of simplifying the Tax Code, this bill makes the Tax Code even more complex, and it certainly does not reduce the abusive billions of dollars that occur in corporate tax shelters that all the rest of us end up having to pay. And of course when it comes to fairness, this Christmas tree, while it sizzles, is one that provides a third of its proposed individual tax benefits to the wealthiest one percent of Americans.

It is truly amusing to listen to this debate about Alan Greenspan. After all, what difference does it, really make? Well, the difference I think centers on the fact that he is a President Ronald Reagan appointee, an admitted Republican, who has been given credit by many people, Democrats and Republicans, for the success of our economic expansion.

It has been said he would prefer tax cuts to spending. My guess is he prefers tax cuts to death, as well. But that is not the alternative that he was presented. There is the alternative instead of this massive tax cut bill of reducing the Federal debt. When he was asked last week about this House and Senate Republican approach to taxes, he said
Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH), a respected member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the esteemed chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, for yielding me the time.

As I walked onto the floor, Mr. Speaker, I was greeted by the familiar incendiary rhetoric of my friend from Texas. While I appreciate his ability to frame the most extreme terms what is a reasonably prudent bill and action to give the American people more of their hard-earned dollars, give it back to them, I do find it interesting that my friend from Texas supported tax reduction in 1997 when this government was still in a deficit and yet he would use all matters of extreme rhetoric to try and mischaracterize the essence of what we are doing here as the responsible majority in the United States House of Representatives so we prepare to go to conference with our friends from the other body.

I think the motion offered from my good friend from New York (Mr. RANGEL), the ranking member of the committee, shows the length to which the minority will go to separate the American people from their hard-earned money. It is sad but true, and the rhetoric indicates it and so does the motion to recommit.

Mr. Speaker, as we have documented before, we talk so much about billions and trillions of dollars in this body and on the airwaves across America that sometimes we tend to lose focus about what it is our common sense majority proposes.

I think the best way to characterize it, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, is to ask us to take a look at these $3 bills and let them represent the $3 trillion of surplus that this government will have in the years to come. This is what we propose to do, to lock away almost $2 trillion dollars to save Social Security and Medicare. And that leaves the rest of the $1 trillion dollars to save Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid.

This is the crux of the question, when we get through all the legislative leg-endemain and the name calling, this question remains at the end of the day.

To whom does this money belong? We would say, in the common sense majority, this money belongs to the people who earned it, not to the Washington bureaucrats. Let us take this money and return it to the hardworking taxpayers who have been called on again and again and again to feed the gaping maw which is this insatiable Washington bureaucracy.

And so the gentleman’s motion to instruct conferees again asks us, after we have seen the largest tax increase in American history, so extreme a tax increase that over 10 years’ time it asked for an additional $900 billion from the pockets of every American, we are told somehow that is responsible, a tax increase so extreme that it was retroactive, to take money from taxpayers beyond the grave in terms of the death tax.

What we simply say is, Americans have had enough of this. We should put the death tax to death, we should reduce the marriage penalty, and I am glad my friend from Texas mentioned the special interests. Because, as we have seen throughout the years, no one accedes to the special interests more than the previous liberal majority.

Mr. Speaker, I stand with my friends on the right. Reject the motion to instruct conferees.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding me this time. I rise to support the motion to instruct.

Mr. Speaker, I wish we had time for a philosophical debate as was just given by my esteemed colleague, but we have business. I would simply tell him that from the far reaches of my district and the people that I have spoken to, businesses, they say they do not want a tax cut that is so enormous that it damages Social Security and Medicare, they do not want a tax cut that will increase the national debt by $1 trillion over the next 10 years, will increase the national debt by an additional $4.4 trillion over the next 10 years. What they want is a family-friendly, middle-income tax cut and what the Harris County citizens want is the ability to be able to support the Harris County Hospital District with Medicare and Medicaid dollars so that we do not have to cut 165 beds, cut the treatment for AIDS and cancer, and I would imagine the public hospital systems around this Nation are crying now because we are taking $800 billion away from treating sick people, closing beds, denying them service.

What we want is a motion to instruct to protect Social Security, Medicare, and provide more Medicaid dollars. I would hope my colleague from Texas and all of my colleagues, Republicans and Democrats, will come down on the side of middle-income tax cuts and saving Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid.

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

Mr. Speaker, the one thing that has not been debated tonight yet is what is in the Democrats’ motion to instruct.

One thing that is not in it is a 10 percent across-the-board tax relief to all working Americans and families, men and women who made this surplus possible. What is not in it is marriage penalty relief for millions of Americans who are being punished simply because they got married. That is not in their motion to instruct. They do not include education incentives on student loan interest payments, education savings accounts, and making prepaid college tuition plans tax-free. Those education provisions are not in their motion to instruct. Health care provisions, providing a tax deduction for people who buy their own health insurance and for long-term care help for people who take care of their elderly in their own homes. Our plan has those provisions. It is nowhere to be found in the Democrats’ motion to instruct. The Democrat motion has no strengthening of our pension system to help more American workers, particularly women, get a pension and have greater retirement security. No, that is not in their motion.

To 100 million American investors, the Democrats say, “Sorry, you’ve got to keep paying taxes on your savings every time you sell an asset.” To 68 million Americans who have small savings accounts, the Democrats have no provision in their motion to instruct to help. And the Democrats’ tax cuts go because that is what they proposed in their substitute, and this motion does not even lessen the unfair death tax or the punitive alternative minimum tax. This motion is a turnback to the days of more taxes and more spending and away from the days of economic growth and opportunity for every American.

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

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. MORAN).

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I think the biggest problem with this tax cut is that it is built upon a false assumption, a false assumption that at least the majority party is not willing to admit, and, that is, that of the $792 billion tax cut, $720 billion is going to be used to cut veterans spending by 28 percent, and, that is, that at least the majority party is not willing to admit, and, that is, that of the $792 billion tax cut, $720 billion is going to be used to cut veterans spending by 28 percent. Are you going to cut transpor-tation by 23 percent, are going to cut defense by $68 billion? You are not going to do it.
The Committee on Appropriations met last week. It did not do it. It will not do it. And so if you will not do it, $720 billion of the $792 billion tax cuts is not there. It evaporates because it is built upon a false assumption. You know it and we know it and that’s why you should support this truthful instruction.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CAMP).

Mr. CAMP. I thank the distinguished gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to point out that we are here talking about this measure only after we have a balanced budget. We have passed legislation to set aside the surplus to save Social Security and Medicare. We have locked that Social Security surplus away in a lockbox, and we are talking about part of what is left.

I think it is important to point out that the average American family, and I repeat, the average American family today pays double in taxes what it paid only in 1985. Today’s tax burden is the highest ever in peacetime history.

I think the key question is, should your hard-earned tax dollars stay here in Washington to be spent on new Federal programs? Or should they be returned to you, the taxpayer, who sent them here in the first place? I think the answer is pretty clear that you, the taxpayer, deserves the money.

We have over $1 trillion in non-Social Security surplus, and I think we absolutely must return the taxpayers’ money to the people who sent it here. Our bill means that the average Michigan family of four, and the average family today pays double in taxes what it paid only in 1985. Today’s tax burden is the highest ever in peacetime history.

Mr. Speaker, I believe tax relief is needed. There is no doubt about that. We have balanced the budget, we have set aside money for Social Security which pays down the debt, and I think now is the time for the American people to reap the rewards of their hard work. I urge that we vote against the motion to instruct.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. STENHOLM).

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Speaker, my friend from Texas left off a few other things. First, let’s be honest, the motion to instruct is all about money. There is no doubt about that. There is no doubt about the $500 in income taxes, and, if that senior citizen pays $500 in income taxes, the board rate reduction will save the senior $1,000 in income taxes. Our across-the-board rate reduction will save the seniors who live in my district over $500 in income taxes, and, if that senior has a mutual fund, will cut her investment-rate so that more of her savings can stay with her, not the government.

Mr. Speaker, I believe tax relief is needed. There is no doubt about that. We have balanced the budget, we have set aside money for Social Security which pays down the debt, and I think now is the time for the American people to reap the rewards of their hard work. I urge that we vote against the motion to instruct.

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the motion to instruct on the Republican tax cut bill. This motion will urge conferees to take responsibility and commit to reducing the debt. I am for a tax cut. I think we all are. But not with funny money. We should be sure that we really have a surplus before we commit to these tax cuts, put the budget on a long-term path, take the so-called surplus and
pay down the debt, deal with Social Security and Medicare first, and then talk about tax cuts. Do not spend projected surplus money that may not exist and certainly do not exist today. Let us take this terrible burden of a $5.6 trillion national debt off our children. Vote for the motion to instruct.

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SHAW), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Social Security.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). The gentleman from Florida is recognized for 2 minutes.

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

In looking at what is before us and the guidelines in which the tax bill is tailored, I feel that we let the taxpayers pay far too much money and that we let the taxpayer keep some of the money that is being paid out. We have heard a lot of rhetoric that we are doing Social Security surplus. Do not kid a kidder. The deficit is going to continue for another 10 to make it 24 is totally absurd.

The motion before us says, let us pay down the debt. The gentleman says already we are paying down the debt. The President opposes the Financial Freedom Act. Government should do more for its citizens than raise their taxes and feed the federal bureaucracy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MILLER of Florida). Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to instruct.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to instruct offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

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

Mr. RANGEL. 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 Chair announces that proceedings will resume immediately following this vote on the rules to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 2488, the Financial Freedom Act of 1999, which offers nearly $800 billion in tax relief for America’s families, including eliminating the death tax, reducing the marriage penalty tax and capital gains tax, a 10 percent across the board income tax reduction for Americans.

Mr. RANGEL. 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 SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion to instruct.

The Chair announces that proceedings will resume immediately following this vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 747 will be not less than 15 minutes in length, followed by a 5-minute vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 1219.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were yeas 205, nays 215, not voting 15, as follows:

[Roll No. 356]

YEAS—205

Ackerman  Amendt  Condit  Frost
Allen  Andrews  Conyers  Gejdenson
Baum  Boyce  Coyne  Gonzalez
Baldacci  Baldwin  Baroody  Gephardt
Barcera  Barret (WI)  Barrett (CT)  Gonzalez
Barton  Bent (FL)  Benton  Green (TX)
Berry  Bers Fond  Berry  Hill (IN)
Berman  Bernhardt  Berkley  Hillard
Berry  Delahanty  Bischoff  Hinckey
Blagojevich  Blagoyevich  Bingaman  Hinojosa
Bilmes  Blumenauer  Bishop  Hinojos
Bonior  Bingaman  Bishop  Hinojosa
Bork  Bonior  Biaggi  Hinojosa
Bosewell  Boswell  Biaggi  Hoekstra
Brocker  Boyd  Boyce  Jackson (MI)
Brady  Boyd  Boyce  Jackson (LA)
Brown (FL)  Brown (OH)  Brown (OH)  Jacobson
Brown (CT)  Brown (CT)  Brown (CT)  Jacobsen
Bucsh  Bucsh  Bucsh  Johnson, E.B.
Carney  Bucsh  Bucsh  Johnson, E.B.
Cardin  Carson  Canan  Johnson, E.B.
Carter  Carson  Canan  Johnson, E.B.
Cass  Carson  Canan  Johnson, E.B.
Chabot  Carson  Canan  Johnson, E.B.
Cleaver  Case  Carnahan  Johnson, E.B.
Clyburn  Ford  Kildee  Johnson, E.B.
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

August 2, 1999

18940

BENs ONTACTED, VITTER, AND LAHOOD changed their vote from "yea" to "nay." So the motion to instruct committees was rejected. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

So ordered against: Mr. McIntosh. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 356, I was detained at the airport. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CALVET). The Chair will announce committees at a later date.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8, rule XX, the Chair will now put the question on each motion to suspend the rules on which further proceedings were postponed the day before today in the order in which that motion was entertained.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

H.R. 747, by the yeses and nays; and H.R. 1219 by the yeses and nays.

The Chair will reduce to 5 minutes the time for the electronic vote on the second motion to suspend the rules.

ARIZONA STATEHOOD AND ENABLING ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1999

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the bill, H.R. 747.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SAXTON) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 747, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and while there were—yeas 416, nays 0, not voting 17, as follows:

[Roll No. 357]

YEAS—416

(Names of Members)

NAYS—0

(Names of Members)

Messrs. TANCREDO, VITTER, and LAHOOD changed their vote from "yea" to "nay." So the motion to instruct committees was rejected. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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