

only Turcophiles and the uninitiated place any weight on them. It also explains why the archives' administrators publicly complain that serious scholars have not come to review what has been released.

The last denial argument I would like to touch on is a "character" argument—that is, "Turks are hospitable, good people" and good people would not do what the Armenians allege happened under Ottoman reign. Let me say that the character of the Turkish people is not at issue here. Turkish hospitality is well known, and many Turks proved their sense of humanity during the genocide by protecting individual Armenians. That does not change what the government did to the Armenians from 1915 to 1923, the fact that the racist ideology of Pan-Turkism (Turkey only for Turks) was and still is prevalent, or that the government continues to have a poor human rights record and severely discriminates against Armenians in Turkey today.

You should also know that the 1915–1923 Armenian genocide was not an isolated event. From 1894 to 1896, Sultan Abdul Hamid openly and proudly ordered the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Armenians, ostensibly to send the Armenians a message about their place in Turkish society. Lord Kinross gave the following example of the atrocities in this period:

"[The Massacre's] objective, based on the convenient consideration that Armenians were now tentatively starting to question their inferior status, was the ruthless reduction, with a view to elimination of the Armenian Christians, and the expropriation of their land for the Moslem Turks. Each operation, between the bugle calls, followed a similar pattern. First the Turkish troops came into a town for the purpose of massacre; then came the Kurdish irregulars and tribesmen for the purpose of plunder. Finally came the holocaust, by fire and destruction, which spread, with the pursuit of the fugitives and mopping-up operations, throughout the lands and villages of the surrounding province. This murderous winter of 1895 thus saw the decimation of much of the Armenian population and the devastation of their property in some twenty districts of eastern Turkey. Often the massacres were timed for a Friday, when the Moslems were in their mosques . . . Cruellest and most ruinous of all were the massacres at Urfa, where the Armenian Christians numbered a third of the population . . . When the bugle blast ended the day's operations, some three thousand refugees poured into the cathedral, hoping for sanctuary. But the next morning—a Sunday—a fanatic mob swarmed into the church in an orgy of slaughter, rifling its shrines with cries of 'Call upon Christ to prove Himself a greater prophet than Mohammed.' Then they amassed a large pile of straw matting, which they spread over the litter of corpses and set alight with thirty cans of petroleum. The woodwork of the gallery where a crowd of women and children crouched, wailing with terror, caught fire, and all perished in the flames. Punctiliously at three-thirty in the afternoon the bugle blew once more, and the Moslem officials proceeded around the Armenian quarter to proclaim that the massacres were over . . . the total casualties in the town, including those slaughtered in the cathedral, amounted to eight thousand dead."

Similar accounts of massive Armenian massacres during this 1894–1896 period abound. In 1909, for similar reasons, the government set another prelude to the 1915–1923 genocide. Then, it ordered and carried out

massacres in Adana which killed 30,000 Armenians.

Today, as I have noted, the Turkish government is engaged in an all out effort to deny the Armenian genocide. In addition to its efforts in the United States, it is eradicating the physical evidence of any Armenian existence in Turkey. At the beginning of this century Armenians had two thousand churches in Turkey. Now, under two hundred are standing. As for the rest, the government has: destroyed them; converted them to mosques, warehouses, cinemas, and other uses; or allowed them to be plundered and destroyed. In Armenian schools, Armenians are forbidden to teach history and geography, those subjects can only be taught by Turkish officials. As a final example, Turkey strictly forbids open discussion of Armenian history or any other matters which do not comply with government policy. In March of this year, the Independent Magazine reported that:

"In early December 1986 Hilda Hulya Potuoglu was arrested by the Turkish Security Police and charged with 'making propaganda with intent to destroy or weaken national feelings.' The prosecutor of the Istanbul State Security deemed her offense as meriting severe punishment and asked for between a seven-and-a-half and a 15-year jail sentence.

Potuoglu's crime was to edit the Turkish edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. In this was included a footnote which read as follows: 'During the Crusades the mountainous regions of Cilicia were under the hegemony of the Armenian Cilician kingdom' . . .

The Encyclopedia Britannica was not the first publication to offend. In 1981 the authorities seized Ankara 50, a guidebook to Ankara produced by the British Institute of Archaeology. The book, when published in 1973, had been passed by the military censor. By 1981, however, times had changed. It was noticed that the book featured a map naming the Roman provinces of Asia Minor including—with perfect historical accuracy—the province of Armenia. The guidebook quickly joined the index of forbidden books along with other such politically dubious publications The Times Atlas of World History and the National Geographic Atlas of the World."

This is the type of action that the Turkish government and those in the United States who deny the Armenian genocide are promoting—the sacrifice of truth and integrity on the altar of perceived political expedience. This is why I am especially glad to have had this time with you today, to publicly expose exactly what we are all up against in fighting denial of the Armenian genocide. Thank you.

REPUBLICAN PLAN PROVIDES SENIORS WITH ACCESS TO AFFORDABLE PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 19, 1999, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. STEARNS) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. STEARNS. Madam Speaker, I rise today to talk about prescription drugs. I think everybody in this House is committed to affordable prescription drugs for our seniors who are on the Medicare program. But this morning I

would like to talk about the difference between the Democrat plan and the Republican plan.

I would also point out, Madam Speaker, that here in the House we passed by a bipartisan margin a prescription drug package for seniors. This was not an issue that just came into place from 1995 on, so I guess a question would be asked, why have the Democrats made this such a major issue, when they had, prior to 1995, an opportunity to solve this issue themselves when they were in the majority in the House and they had the presidency?

I think it is easy to criticize someone else's plan, but we offered a plan and it passed the House. So let us talk about the difference between the two plans.

The Democrat plan provides less choice, because it would provide seniors with a one-size-fits-all government plan. The Republican bill, H.R. 4680, would give beneficiaries a choice between at least two private sector drug plans. It would allow beneficiaries to choose plans that best suit their needs. Our plan is market-based, rather than relying on the government to run the plan.

Now, why is this so important? Because we know that one of the overwhelming components of any plan that we offer is that it should provide individual choice for our seniors. Choice must be the centerpiece, I believe, of whatever plan we adopt here in the House.

Now, how affordable are these plans? Let us look at these two plans and see what they actually provide seniors. H.R. 4680, which was passed by the House on June 28, the Republican plan, uses private insurance companies as the vehicle to begin prescription drug coverage for seniors over 65.

This plan provides taxpayer subsidies to encourage insurers to offer policies with premiums estimated as low as \$35 a month. Participation is voluntary. That is something else important. Seniors taking part can choose between at least two plans. All plans start with a \$250 deductible. It would establish the Medicare Benefits Administration, a new agency, to run this program. Voluntary buying that would be generated is expected to even lower the cost. The legislation covers 100 percent of drug and premium costs for couples with incomes up to \$15,200 and singles with income up to \$11,300. For all participants it covers at least half of drug costs up to \$2,100 annually, and 100 percent, Madam Speaker, of out-of-pocket costs over \$6,000.

The bill is projected to cost just under \$40 billion over 5 years, and the money has already been set aside in our budget just for this purpose. In other words, my colleagues, it is already paid for. That is the Republican plan.

Now let us look at the Democrat plan that the House defeated here. Currently seniors pay a premium and receive reimbursement for a portion of their doctor and hospital costs through Medicare. Under the Democrat's plan, they would use the new government benefit to reduce the cost of pharmaceutical drugs.

Now, what does this mean? The Democrat plan puts government in charge of seniors' prescription drug through the Health Care Financing Administration, HCFA. They run Medicare now. The government would choose and control a drug purchasing contractor for every region of the country; in other words, a new government one-size-fits-all program.

This is key, because a recent survey of seniors with drug coverage found that, by a margin of 2 to 1, they preferred private insurance coverage to government price controls. That being said, the Democrats' measure offers premiums that would range from \$25 to \$35 month, but with no deductible. Medicare would reimburse half of drug costs, up to \$2,000 annually, and all costs above \$4,000 per year.

However, the real question, my colleagues, our seniors are faced with, is who do they trust to run their prescription drug program, the government or the private sector? Do they want to make their own choices and control how their money is spent, or do they want a government-run plan that leaves them without any say about what works best for them?

I believe the choice is clear, Madam Speaker. We offer a plan here, the Republicans, that is voluntary, universal, affordable, with choice and security. For those seniors who are happy with what they have, they do not have to participate, but those that do can.

I believe we can and must work together in a bipartisan manner to help Medicare beneficiaries gain access to affordable prescription drugs. This bill offers coverage that is affordable, accessible, and voluntary for our seniors.

USING THE TAX CODE TO BUILD SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 19, 1999, the gentleman from California (Mr. SHERMAN) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. SHERMAN. Madam Speaker, here we are, a week before the election. The President is keeping Congress here in Washington, and I think with good reason. One of those reasons is the tax bill which we passed last week, a tax bill which should not be signed by the President until it is made better, particularly on the issue of school construction.

Now, I know it sounds odd to think in terms of a tax bill helping school con-

struction, but in fact we have a tradition in this country of the Federal Government helping school districts build schools through the Tax Code. What we do is we provide that the interest paid on school bonds is tax exempt, and for this reason investors are willing to buy school bonds that pay only 4 or 5 percent interest at a time when they could be earning 7 or 8 percent in taxable bonds. We subsidize the interest cost to encourage school districts to issue bonds and build schools.

Building on that tradition, we Democrats have suggested that a new kind of municipal bond or school bond be issued by school districts in which we, the Federal Government, would in effect pay the entire interest cost. We would provide a tax credit to those who hold the bonds in lieu of them collecting any interest from the school districts. We would go from merely subsidizing the interest cost to actually paying the interest costs on \$25 billion worth of bonds over the next 2 years.

The effect of this would be dramatic for school districts. A school district that would otherwise have to pay \$100,000 a year in order to make payments on school bonds would instead pay \$66,000 a year on those same bonds, reducing its cost by roughly one-third, allowing it to build a new school for only two-thirds of what would otherwise be the cost.

We Democrats have insisted, and the President has insisted, that \$25 billion of these bonds be authorized over the next 2 years. Instead, this tax bill provides only half of these very valuable incentives and facilitators for school construction. What the bill provides is \$15 billion over 3 years, less than half the \$12.5 billion per year that we would like to see.

Moreover, the tax bill that left this House weasels on the Davis-Bacon language, so that school districts can pay substandard wages to build substandard schools in inadequate quantities.

But our Republican colleagues have done something else that we would not do to supposedly help school districts. What they have done is something that will cost the Federal Government over \$2 billion, but is actually worse than nothing for our school districts. They have announced to school districts that they should not use school bond proceeds to build schools for about 4 years; that, rather, they will be allowed to play the market with that money and keep the proceeds.

This will be tempting to school districts who are told, look, you can borrow money at only 5 percent interest, lower than anybody else who is playing the market, and then you can play Wall Street with that advantage. Is that the way we should help school districts build schools? I think not. We should be trying to build a school on

Elm Street, not a skyscraper on Wall Street.

We should remember how Orange County, California, went bankrupt, when it decided to play the market with funds in the county treasury, and we should not tell school districts that our way of helping them is to encourage them to use school bond proceeds to play the stock market. We should provide more to school districts than a free ticket to Las Vegas, and a chance to take the school bond proceeds and bet them on the pass line or the do not pass line.

Where does the impetus for this phenomenally bad idea come from? It comes from my friends, the Tax Bond Council.

Now, I practiced tax law for a dozen or more years, and it was a kind of boring job. But when I emerged from reading the regulations in the smallest type I had but one solace; at least my job was not as boring as the specialist tax lawyers who worked with tax exempt school bonds. They need some excitement, but not a free trip to Wall Street with the tax exempt bond proceeds.

MEETING HALFWAY ON THE BUDGET

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 19, 1999, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Madam Speaker, last week my wife went out to lunch with some of her friends and she told them that Gil was still in Washington and that they were still negotiating the final details of the budget, and they were surprised to learn that. In fact, we now know that most Americans are somewhat surprised that Congress is still in session.

The rumor started back in September that perhaps the President would hold the Congress hostage here in Washington, perhaps to gain some political advantage, perhaps to force some kind of a showdown and perhaps even a government shutdown. But, to the credit of the leadership here in the Congress, we have been pleasantly persistent, we have been negotiating in good faith, and, as a result, we have many of the details worked out. Frankly, I think the ones that are remaining are more about partisan politics than anything else, and simply trying to embarrass the Congress.

As you can see by this chart, these numbers are kind of small, but, frankly, in terms of what we have appropriated versus what the President requested, the differences really at this point do not seem to be very large. We have appropriated more for national defense than the President originally requested and a little bit less in a few