

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Friday, June 26, 1992

The House met at 10 a.m.

Rev. Donald R. Allen, Capitol Hill Presbyterian Church, Washington, DC, offered the following prayer:

Let us unite our hearts and minds in God. Spirit of the living God, Creator of goodness and overseer of nations, be present once again in this assembly.

Convict us by our common humanity—that our wills transcend the center aisle and our vision and courage be renewed for the common good.

When we are storm-tossed, buffeted by the winds of the moment, help us to steer by the stars and maintain the course for which we are appointed.

May our votes be by the heart as well as the head.

Humble us to consider the truth which may be on the other side.

And, O Lord, support us all the day long that we may retire having a clear conscience and the peace that comes from Your "well done." Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. 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. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Goss] to lead us in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. GOSS 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.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

WASHINGTON, DC,
June 26, 1992.

HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
The Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in clause 5 of rule III of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Clerk received the following message from the Secretary of the Senate on Friday, June 6, 1992 at 12:08 a.m.: That the Senate passed without amendment H.J. Res. 517.

With great respect, I am

Sincerely yours,

DONNALD K. ANDERSON,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to clause 4 of rule I, the Speaker signed the following enrolled joint resolution on Friday, June 26, 1992:

H.J. Res. 517. Joint resolution to provide for a settlement of the railroad labor-management disputes between certain railroads and certain of their employees.

SUMMER YOUTH JOBS

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

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, it is my habit to go home just about every single weekend and, when I am home in Louisville, to walk around and sort of check with the neighborhoods and see how things are going.

I recently made exactly such a trip and such a visit and came away with the great feeling that we do have an important responsibility to create jobs in the urban parts of America, and particularly for the young people of urban America.

Mr. Speaker, I was therefore very pleased last week when this body passed the bill that basically aided the city of Los Angeles and the city of Chicago, and also had in it over \$500 million for summer jobs for our youth across the country.

With respect to my community, I am told that translates into about \$1.5 million in Louisville and Jefferson County to create jobs for young people this summer. In total, some \$7 million comes into the Commonwealth of Kentucky for the purpose of creating jobs.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud that work. It certainly should help. It may not be nearly enough, but it does respond to the very concerns and the very anxieties which were expressed to me just a couple of weeks ago by the people of Louisville.

Mr. Speaker, we do have to have something for our young people to do, and this is one step in that direction.

CONGRESS MUST DEAL WITH BUDGET CRISIS

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

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday this House proved that it was capable of reacting swiftly and responsibly to a national crisis. We were faced with the challenge of a labor dispute that disrupted nationwide travel and commerce, and we met it head on and successfully.

This country currently faces a crisis the scale of which is several thousand times greater than that of a nationwide railroad strike. I'm speaking of our national debt—every citizen of the United States has a five-figure debt hanging over his or her head today thanks to the prolific spending habits of Congress. Instead of meeting this crisis head on, we seem to find it more convenient to look the other way and run up a record \$400 billion deficit.

Mr. Speaker, it was Congress who saddled the country with this burden, and we are the only ones who have the power to remove it. The People of my southwest Florida district want to know why it is that we can't deal with our fiscal crisis with the same speed and determination with which we addressed the rail strike. Mr. Speaker, so do I.

OPPOSING HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 192, CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I want to register my strong dissent to the recently approved House Concurrent Resolution 192, congressional reform.

First, my objections are based on timing. We are facing a 25- to 33-percent turnover in the House in 6 months. It is wholly inappropriate for us to study, analyze, and make recommendations to change in substantial ways the way the House operates when many Members will not be around to implement or be affected by those changes. By appointing committee members now, the new Members will not be allowed any input. Instead, we should let the new membership of the House study, analyze, and make recommendations for changes they deem necessary—don't saddle them with our prejudices. More importantly, don't saddle the voters who will be electing new Members with what we think might be needed—let them express their views at the polls in November and then let their elected Representatives be a part of the process of determining the direction this Chamber takes during the next 2 years.

Second, my objections are based on substantive considerations of the history of this

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

Chamber, the intent of those who designed our form of government, and the provisions of the U.S. Constitution.

In the past few weeks, with the matter of the House bank subpoena, the House post office subpoena, and various other so-called scandals that have been discussed, the House has surrendered its independence, coequality, and separateness as it never has since the founding of Congress in 1789 pursuant to the adoption of the Constitution. Even during times of great stress such as the Civil War, the House and Senate upheld the independence of the legislative branch of the Government. Now, we are actually undergoing a new form of McCarthyism, and it is most dangerous to the well-being of the national interest.

The separation of powers is the basis for our Government—it is what makes us unique, and it is what has given stability to our Nation for over 200 years. We cannot simply deny our duty to defend the first principle of the Constitution which is an independent and free legislature. These constitutional principles are far more important than any particular complaint or any current scandal because they underlie and give authority to our form of government. Sacrifice them today for expediency and they will be gone when they are needed most desperately to retain the moral authority and the integrity of the Congress as one of the three branches of this Government.

Indeed, the American system is an elaborate system of checks and balances. John Adams described them as follows: First, the States are balanced against the Federal Government; second, the House of Representatives is balanced against the Senate and the Senate against the House; third, the executive authority is balanced against the legislature; fourth, the judiciary is balanced against the legislature, the executive, and the State governments; fifth, the Senate is balanced against the President and all appointments to office and in all treaties; sixth, the people hold in their own hands the balance against their own representatives by periodic elections; seventh, the legislatures of the several States are balanced against the Congress; and eighth, the President and Vice President are balanced by votes of the people.

These checks and balances have been undermined in recent months and years. It was bad enough when Congress was under attack by the President—especially by President Reagan and now President Bush. But now we ourselves are undermining constitutional principles of separateness, independence, and equality. It is fratricidal and suicidal. And if the perception among Members is that making reforms is necessary now because the public has a low opinion of Congress, I suggest that it is not because we have a certain committee structure, a certain number of staff, and a certain salary level, but because we have lost our identity. We have relinquished our rights—our warmaking rights, our budgetmaking rights, our legislative rights—because we no longer stand up for ourselves as a coequal branch of this Government. We seem to act more and more like a sub-Cabinet, willing to let the President set the agenda and even more willing to help him carry it out—whether or not it is wise, constitutional, or reflective of the wishes and needs of the American people. In relin-

quishing our rights, what we have actually done is relinquish the rights of the American public.

Rearranging committees, changing rules, reducing the number of staff members we have—these will be about as effective as rearranging the chairs on the deck of the *Titanic* would have been for those who perished in that disaster. We are going down fast—and all the reforms in the world won't keep us afloat; neither will they keep alive our rights and the rights of the American people under the Constitution.

I offer today the notion that if we remember that we Members of Congress are transitory and that the only constant is the Constitution we will find the direction to take to restore effectiveness in a truly representative government. Our oath of office is to the Constitution—not to the President, not to Congress or the House or the Senate, not to the leadership, not to each other, and not even to the American public. We certainly are not sworn to concern ourselves with perceptions and polls and media. Yet, the proposals to reform Congress are addressed to perceptions and polls and media—not to the Constitution. Here we have relinquished in recent weeks and months our rights to act independently, to declare war, to control the Nation's budget, and to otherwise legislate according to the Nation's needs. Yet, these matters of tremendous national importance are not being addressed in reform legislation—and they will not be restored one iota if all the proposed reforms are adopted.

A rededication to the strength inherent in the Constitution—to the strengths based on separation, independence, coequality, and leadership through representation—is the only true reform that is needed or that will make any real difference.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. GEKAS (at the request of Mr. MICHEL), for after 8 p.m. on June 25, on account of medical reasons.

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. GOSS) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. RIGGS, for 60 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. STARK, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GOSS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BROOMFIELD.

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. MONTGOMERY) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. STARK in two instances.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. ROSE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.J. Res. 517. Joint resolution to provide for a settlement of the railroad labor-management disputes between certain railroads and certain of their employees.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 7 minutes a.m.), under the previous order the House adjourned until Monday, June 29, 1992, at 12 noon.

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. ROSTENKOWSKI: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 5429. A bill to establish the Social Security Administration as an independent agency, which shall be headed by a Social Security Board, and which shall be responsible for the administration of the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program under title II of the Social Security Act and the supplemental security income program under title XVI of such Act; with an amendment (Rept. 102-621). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MONTGOMERY: Committee on Veterans' Affairs. H.R. 5192. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to make improvements to veterans health programs; with amendments (Rept. 102-622). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. STARK (for himself, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. COYNE, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, and Mr. CARDIN):

H.R. 5502. A bill to establish the framework for a health care system that will bring about universal access to affordable, quality health care by containing the growth in health care costs, by improving access to and simplifying the administration of health insurance, by deterring and prosecuting health care fraud and abuse, by expanding benefits under the Medicare Program, by expanding eligibility and increasing payment levels

under the Medicaid Program, and by making health insurance available to all children; jointly, to the Committees on Ways and Means, Energy and Commerce, and Education and Labor.

By Mr. BONIOR (for himself, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. RAHALL, and Ms. OAKAR): H. Con. Res. 339. Concurrent resolution expressing continued support for the Taif Agreement which brought a negotiated end

to the civil war in Lebanon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 993: Mr. GUARINI, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. PURSELL, Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. GILLMOR, Mr. EVANS, and Mr. ATKINS.

H.R. 3561: Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Mr. SMITH of Oregon.

H.R. 5208: Mr. SOLARZ.

H.R. 5496: Mr. FROST.

Table with 3 columns: Name, Party, District. Lists names of sponsors for H. Con. Res. 339.

As the matter was agreed to, the ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore with the addition of Senators voting who did not answer the question call a quorum absent present.

THE CHAIR: The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore under the previous order the Senate will now state in recess until the call of the Chair. The Senate at 12:45 p.m. the Senate recessed subject to the call of the Chair.

ORDER OF PROCEEDURE: THE PRESIDING OFFICER: The Chair recognizes Senator Reid of the State of Idaho.

SENATOR REID: I ask the Chair what time I may speak. I ask the Chair what time I may speak. I ask the Chair what time I may speak.

MR. HELPS: Mr. President, I wish to bring to the attention of the Senate...

THE ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore: A quorum is not present. The Chair will now call the names of the Senators present.

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MR. STANLEY: I announce that the Senate will adjourn until 10:00 a.m. tomorrow.

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