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House of Representatives

The House met at 12:30 p.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. ISSA).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

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

WASHINGTON, DC,

June 9, 2003.

I hereby appoint the Honorable DARRELL E. ISSA to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

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

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Monahan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 1308. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to end certain abusive tax practices, to provide tax relief and simplification, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the bill (H.R. 1308) "An Act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to end certain abusive tax practices, to provide tax relief and simplification, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. LOTT, Mr. BAUCUS, and Mrs. LINCOLN, to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

MORNING HOUR DEBATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 7, 2003, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for

morning hour debates. The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with each party limited to not to exceed 30 minutes, and each Member except the majority leader, the minority leader or the minority whip limited to not to exceed 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida (Mr. STEARNS) for 5 minutes.

HONORING PRESIDENT CHEN OF TAIWAN

Mr. STEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Chen Shui-bian, president of Taiwan, on his third anniversary in office. On March 18, 2000, Mr. Chen Shui-bian and Ms. Annette Lu were elected as the 10th-term president and vice president of the Republic of China.

With their inauguration on May 20, 2000, the peaceful transfer of presidential power to another political party is a profound reminder to all of us that the democratic process is rapidly maturing in Taiwan. In fact, it is an outstanding example for developing democracies around the world, as well as in the Chinese mainland.

Mr. Chen's story is one that is often heard in America, but it is an extraordinary one considering the political climate in Taiwan at the time he was born. He was born in 1950, but because he was a sickly child and not expected to live, his family did not officially register his birth until 1951. He was born to a tenant farmer family in rural Taiwan; but despite serious poverty, his family encouraged their son to pursue a brighter future. So important was education to him and his family that the family borrowed money to help pay for his schooling. He excelled academically all through grade school and finally into law school where he first developed his deep passion for true democracy in Taiwan.

Now, in 1980, there was an incident. It was called the "Kaohsiung Incident,"

and what happened is it resulted in the arrests of many activists after a mass demonstration turned violent with hundreds injured. Now, the defendants were sent for trial under martial law. The arrests and trials clearly articulated a need for changes in the government and focused world attention on the political situation in Taiwan.

Mr. Chen used his legal skills to defend their right to protest an authoritarian government. For his service, he was imprisoned for 8 months.

President Chen has served as a Taipei city council member and, of course, as the mayor of Taipei and in the legislative Yuan. Now, all of these experiences helped him to govern Taiwan in a way in which I think will prioritize peace and security without relinquishing democratic principles.

He has continuously expressed his good will to the Chinese mainland and opened the possibility of holding a dialogue and conducting cooperation, under the premise of maintaining Taiwan's sovereignty, its dignity and security.

Taiwan and the United States have enjoyed a close relationship with each other for almost 50 years. It is a politically, economically, and culturally rich association for both. In fact, despite its size, Taiwan is our eighth largest trading partner, and we are Taiwan's largest trading partner. For this and other reasons, the United States must unabashedly stand behind the Taiwan Relations Act, which will communicate our resolve for a peaceful resolution in Taiwan.

Taiwan also deserves our congratulations on the recent accession to the World Trade Organization, though that is only the first step. We must support Taiwan's movement to gain membership in the International Civil Aviation Organization and especially observer status in the World Health Organization. The recent outbreak of SARS is a good demonstration of what Secretary

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

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



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of State Colin Powell said recently: "Infectious disease knows no borders and requires an effective and coordinated response at local, national, and international levels."

Taiwan is a part of the world that has been impacted by SARS and needs to play its proper role in preventing the spread of the disease.

For this reason, Mr. Speaker, it is clear that Taiwan deserves active participation in the World Health Organization. We must lend Taiwan support of Taiwan's democracy at home in its campaign to join international organizations abroad.

Taiwan is a reliable ally of the United States. Taiwan stood with us shoulder to shoulder right after 9-11 and has given us support with our war in Iraq and promised humanitarian aid to support postwar Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege of meeting with President Chen and was impressed with his vision and commitment to the continual democratization of Taiwan. I want to congratulate him on his past accomplishments and wish him continued success.

JOBS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH PACKAGE HELPS MARRIED COUPLES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. WELLER) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Speaker, I would really like today to take a few minutes to celebrate the enactment into law of the Jobs and Economic Growth Package legislation that was passed by a majority of this House and a majority of the Senate and signed into law just 2 weeks ago, legislation that will help every Federal income tax payer. It will help revitalize our economy. It takes the approach that if you put extra money in the pocketbooks of consumers, they will have more money to spend to meet their families' needs and also to give incentives to businesses to invest. It will create jobs.

One of the benefits of this package is it not only helps everybody who pays Federal income taxes, but also 3 million low-income families who 2 weeks ago paid income taxes will no longer be required to pay income taxes because we lowered the rate so they no longer have to pay Federal income taxes benefiting 3 million low-income taxpayers.

I would like to focus on one provision that was a key and central part of the Jobs and Economic Growth Package and is really a provision that not only put extra money in the pocketbooks of families, but it also brought fairness now, fairness this year to the Tax Code, and that is the provision which wipes out the marriage tax penalty this year for 42 million married working couples. As one of those who has raised this issue over the last several years, I congratulate President Bush for signing this legislation into law. It

is really an issue of fairness. Is it right, is it fair that under our Tax Code 42 million married working couples on average paid \$1,700 more in higher taxes just because they were married?

Think about that. Husband and wife, they are both in the workforce, they file their taxes jointly when they are married; and because of that, our Tax Code previously pushed them into a higher tax bracket and required them on average to pay \$1,700 more. If you think about it, that is a lot of money.

Take Jose and Magdalena Castillo of Joliet, Illinois. A working family in Joliet. They work hard. They have two children, Eduardo and Carolina. They are construction workers. For this family, for Jose and Magdalena Castillo, their marriage tax penalty was about \$1,450. Now here in Washington, for some that is chump change; and they would rather spend the Castillos' income here in Washington rather than allow the Castillo family to keep more of what they earn to meet their needs.

If you think about it, \$1,450, that is a semester's worth of tuition at Joliet Junior College. It is several months of day care for Eduardo and Carolina while mom and dad are at work. It is several months' worth of car payments. It is a mortgage payment or two for the average family in Joliet, Illinois. So by eliminating the marriage tax penalty, we really help the Castillo family.

So I want to thank the President for signing into law the Jobs and Economic Growth Package because as a result of the President signing the Jobs and Economic Growth Package into law, 42 million married working couples like Jose and Magdalena Castillo of Joliet, Illinois, they no longer pay the marriage tax penalty this year.

We help married couples in two ways. There are two kind of taxpayers. Those who itemize and those who do not itemize. If you own a home, if you donate to your church or charity or synagogue, you probably itemize. And the way we benefit those who are married and are both in the workforce and who have suffered the marriage tax penalty before is we widen the 15 percent tax bracket so that a two-earner couple, a married couple, could earn twice as much as one single person. And by earning twice as much, they would still stay in that 15 percent tax bracket. So we essentially eliminate the marriage tax penalty for 42 million couples.

For those who do not itemize, we have doubled the standard deductions. If you do not itemize, you use the standard deduction; and we make the standard deduction twice that for joint filers, for married couples. Twice the size of a single filer's standard deduction.

The bottom line is, we eliminate the marriage tax penalty for 42 million married working couples. Whether they itemize their taxes or whether they do not itemize their taxes, we eliminate their marriage tax penalty. And for a

married couple like Jose and Magdalena Castillo, who like 42 million other married couples across this country suffer the marriage tax penalty, they will have extra money that really, rightfully should be theirs. The Castillo family should not have to pay higher taxes just because they chose to get married. It is not right. It is not fair. And really it punishes society's most basic institution, to punish marriage.

I want to thank the President. I want to thank the majority of this Congress for passing the Jobs and Economic Growth Package. And we should be celebrating the fact that 42 million married working couples will see their marriage penalty tax eliminated this year.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until 2 p.m.

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess until 2 p.m.

□ 1400

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. STEARNS) at 2 p.m.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer: After Moses, Your servant, died, Lord, You spoke again to Joshua and You speak to Your people even today. "I will be with you, as I was with Moses. I will not leave you, nor forsake you."

Relying on Your Word, we seek Your companionship today. Lord, be present to us in the House of Representatives. Guide the Members in right judgment, that they may respond in the very best ways to the deepest needs of Your people. Make them bold in goodness and practical in service.

Because You have laid upon their shoulders the burden of power, just as You did to Joshua, sustain them also in virtue and fashion them as good leaders of the American people. Confirm within them a sense of direction that will bring this Nation to an exploration of the future which will bring You glory, now and forever. 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 Ohio (Mr. TURNER)

come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. TURNER of Ohio 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.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER
PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8, rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered or on which the vote is objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

Record votes on postponed questions will be taken after 6:30 p.m. today.

WALT DISNEY POST OFFICE
BUILDING

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 1610) to redesignate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 120 East Ritchie Avenue in Marceline, Missouri, as the "Walt Disney Post Office Building".

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 1610

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. WALT DISNEY POST OFFICE BUILDING.

(a) REDESIGNATION.—The facility of the United States Postal Service located at 120 East Ritchie Avenue in Marceline, Missouri, and known as the Marceline Main Office, shall be known and designated as the "Walt Disney Post Office Building".

(b) REFERENCES.—Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the facility referred to in subsection (a) shall be deemed to be a reference to the Walt Disney Post Office Building.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) and the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN) each will control 20 minutes.

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

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. 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. 1610.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 1610, introduced by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES), redesignates the facility of the United States Postal Service located at East Ritchie Avenue in Marceline, Missouri, as the Walt Disney Post Office Building. The entire delegation from the

State of Missouri has cosponsored this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation honors the great pioneer of animation and entertainment, Walt Disney. From Mickey Mouse to Donald Duck, from Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs to "Finding Nemo," and from Disney World to Disneyland, and, yes, even Euro Disney, what other name is more synonymous with family entertainment than Disney?

Born in Chicago, Illinois, on December 5, 1901, Walter Elias Disney transformed the initially struggling motion picture industry into the producer of the preeminent modern American art form. The list of Disney's classic animated films reads like an all-time favorites list of kids everywhere: "Cinderella," "Pinocchio," "Bambi," "Alice in Wonderland," "Beauty and the Beast," "Dumbo," "101 Dalmations," "The Jungle Book," "Aladdin," and "The Lion King."

The corporation founded by Walt Disney also has succeeded in appealing to a new generation of animated movie lovers with recent hits such as "Toy Story," "Pocahontas," "The Hunchback of Notre Dame," "Mulan," "Monsters Inc.," "The Emperor's New Groove." And, finally, one cannot forget such timeless live-action films like "20,000 Leagues Under the Sea," "Swiss Family Robinson," "Treasure Island," "Honey, I Shrunk the Kids," and "The Santa Claus," to name a few.

Despite the American people's familiarity with him and his countless works, it may not be widely known that Walt Disney was a production pioneer as well. He invented the multiplane camera, which was a breakthrough in the movie production field. It created the illusion of depth that greatly improved the picture quality of his animated films. The three-dimensional effects offered by the multiplane camera were first seen in "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," which premiered December 23, 1937, as the first full-length cartoon in history.

Mr. Speaker, Walt Disney died in 1966 following a battle with lung cancer; but clearly his legacy has been firmly established for years in the minds of young people throughout the world, and those slightly more grown up who remain young at heart. I regret that debate is limited to only 20 minutes on our side for consideration of this bill, because in that period of time one can only give the briefest overview to all of the achievements and impact of Walt Disney's outstanding life.

I urge all Members to vote in favor of H.R. 1610. I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Missouri, for introducing this important measure that honors a man whose creative genius continues to entertain children and adults throughout the world.

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

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

As a member of the House Committee on Government Reform, I am pleased

to join my colleague, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER), in the consideration of a measure which names a postal facility after Walt Disney. H.R. 1610, which was introduced by Representative SAM GRAVES on April 3, 2003, has met the committee policy and has been cosponsored by the entire Missouri congressional delegation.

Walt Disney was born on December 5, 1901. Shortly after his birth, his family moved to the peaceful town of Marceline, Missouri, where they lived in a small house on farmland owned by an uncle. It was during his boyhood years in Marceline that little Walt began to draw pictures. He continued to pursue his interests in art while attending McKinley High School in Chicago, Illinois. There he studied art, often selling his drawings to make extra money, and photography.

At the age of 16, Walt tried to enlist in the military. Unfortunately, he was too young, so he joined the Red Cross and spent time driving an ambulance. It was not until after the war that Walt began to use his artistic talent as an advertising cartoonist.

As a young man, Walt created his first animated cartoon and moved to Hollywood to create another first, an animated live-action film. From there, things continued to spiral up. Walt created three cartoons featuring a character he dreamed up, Mickey, as in Mickey Mouse. Walt Disney continued to make animated films, going on to create "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," "Pinocchio," "Fantasia," "Dumbo," and "Bambi." Walt Disney went on to create theme parks and is a pioneer in animated film production. A long-time smoker, Walt Disney died of lung cancer on December 15, 1966.

Mr. Speaker, I commend my colleagues for seeking to memorialize Walt Disney by naming a postal facility in his hometown of Marceline, Missouri. By all accounts, Walt cherished the time he spent in the little house on the farm.

I want to say as a representative of Southern California, which is a place that we feel is very much part of Walt Disney's life, we have Disneyland, we have Disney Studios, we are soon going to have Disney Hall. We feel that it is only fair that we allow a post office to be named after him in the town in which he was raised.

I urge my colleagues to pass this legislation. I think it is another of many tributes that this country can hope to pay, but never completely repay, Walt Disney for the enormous contribution he has made to America and to the world.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I only want to add that I have my daughters with me, Jessica, 11, and Carolyn, who is 8. Jessica, who is 11, says that her favorite Walt Disney movie is "Pocahontas"; Carolyn

says that hers is "Mulan." So certainly, looking at their favorites, it is in further support of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I again want to thank the gentleman from Missouri for introducing this important legislation. I know he regrets that he was unable to be here today for the consideration of H.R. 1610. I urge all Members to support the adoption of this measure.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) has his children here with us today, especially in this tribute to Walt Disney, whose life and career meant so much to all children all over the world. It is a fitting tribute that we pay to him to name a postal facility after him in the town in which he was raised. I urge passage of the legislation.

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

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1610.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

HONORING DAYTON, OHIO, AND ITS MANY PARTNERS FOR HOSTING "INVENTING FLIGHT: THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION"

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 162) honoring the City of Dayton, Ohio, and its many partners, for hosting "Inventing Flight: The Centennial Celebration", a celebration of the centennial of Wilbur and Orville Wright's first flight.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 162

Whereas 2003 marks the centennial of Wilbur and Orville Wright's achievement of the first controlled, powered flight in history;

Whereas Wilbur and Orville Wright grew up and worked at a bicycle shop in Dayton, Ohio, where they developed, built, and refined the first successful, heavier-than-air, manned, powered aircraft;

Whereas the Wright brothers developed the world's first flying field, the world's first flying school, and the world's first airplane manufacturing company in the Dayton, Ohio area;

Whereas many legacies of the Wrights' inventiveness and creativity still exists in the

region, including Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, the Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park, the United States Air Force Museum, the National Aviation Hall of Fame, the Wright "B" Flyers, the Engineers Club of Dayton, among many others;

Whereas the city of Dayton, area communities, a number of civic groups, private businesses, government agencies, and military partners, are joining together to honor the Nation's aerospace achievements;

Whereas Dayton is considered the "Birthplace of Aviation" and the region will host "Inventing Flight: The Centennial Celebration", from July 3 through July 20, 2003, which will be the largest public centennial event in Ohio celebrating the first flight and one of only 4 events nationwide endorsed as a full partner by the United States Centennial of Flight Commission; and

Whereas the celebration will feature pavilions housing aviation displays, blimp and hot-air balloon races, dance and cultural performances, river shows, historical reenactments, an international air and space symposium, National Aviation Hall of Fame ceremonies, and a military and general aviation show at the Dayton International Airport: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That Congress honors the city of Dayton, Ohio, and its many partners, for hosting "Inventing Flight: The Centennial Celebration", a celebration of the centennial of Wilbur and Orville Wright's first flight.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) and the gentleman from California (Mr. WAXMAN) each will control 20 minutes.

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

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H. Con. Res. 162.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, House Concurrent Resolution 162 honors the City of Dayton, Ohio, and its many partners for hosting Inventing Flight: The Centennial Celebration, a celebration of the centennial of Wilbur and Orville Wright's first flight.

Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to speak on behalf of Concurrent Resolution 162 as an original cosponsor, along with every member in the Ohio delegation, in honoring the City of Dayton, Ohio, as they begin to celebrate 2003, Inventing Flight: The Centennial Celebration.

On December 17, 1903, Wilbur and Orville Wright launched man's first-ever sustained and controlled flight in a heavier-than-air engine-powered aircraft at Kill Devil Hill, near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. Although the first flight lasted only 12 seconds and covered approximately 120 feet, this achievement changed the world forever.

The Wright Brothers had been fascinated by flight from an early age. The vision they shared of sweeping across the sky without boundaries, limits or rules, led to countless hours of imagination, experiments, and pure hard work. Their lives centered around the possibility of flight.

Together they opened a bicycle shop in Dayton, Ohio, in 1892. Upon seeing the countless bicycle shops already in existence during the newly industrialized America, they began to believe in the ability of flight.

The lonely hours and late nights spent at drafting tables and workshops in Dayton fueled the brothers' obsession with making their dream a reality. With every failed trial came a new way of thinking. With every small success, they were a step closer to their vision.

In 1899, they began building kites and gliders to test the theories that had been so diligently part of their work. Eventually, they met with success and began building their own plane. They built their first plane in Dayton, Ohio, and took it to Kitty Hawk to fly it in the coastal winds of North Carolina.

□ 1415

Remarkably, a mere 11 years after the Wright Brothers opened their bicycle shop in Dayton, the first successful flight was completed.

After watching the brothers in flight, an Ohio merchant remarked, "Imagine a locomotive that has left its track and is climbing up in the air without any wheels, but with white wings instead, and you have something like what I saw."

In a telegram sent by the Wright Brothers from Kitty Hawk, North Carolina to their father, Reverend Milton Wright, on December 17, 1903, they said, "Success. Four flights Thursday morning. All against 21-mile wind. Started from level with engine power alone. Average speed through air, 31 miles. Longest, 59 seconds. Inform press. Home Christmas."

Success, their achievement, changed our world, making it smaller and bringing us all closer together. The super highways of the sky have united families, cultures, and encouraged the spread of ideas across the world. The achievement of flight, through the determination and innovation of the Wright Brothers, changed the world forever on a winter day in 1903.

Upon achieving their first flight, the Wright Brothers returned to Dayton, Ohio where they continued to study aerodynamics and perfected flight. The location where they learned to sustain flight and, most importantly, to turn the aircraft is today the location of Wright Patterson Air Force Base where the Air Force continues to perfect flight and advance our advantage in aerodynamics and composite structures for airplanes.

In his youth, Wilbur Wright was afflicted with the belief that flight is possible. Together the brothers were

crazy enough to believe that they, two men from Ohio, the heartland of America, could change the world with the achievement of flight. It is our great good fortune in their youth their hearts were touched with fire.

Leonardo DaVinci envisioned a flying machine that would be carried upward and freely roam the skies in search of adventure, new places, and far-away cultures. The Wright Brothers applied their knowledge of mechanics and motion to achieve their collective dream. Today, flight remains as magical and awe-inspiring as it did when DaVinci dreamed of flying and the Wright Brothers first took to the skies.

In honor of the Wright Brothers' flight, Dayton, Ohio invites the Nation to a celebration of the first century of powered flight with the Inventing Flight Celebration, a 17-day event starting on July 3 and ending on July 20 with the Dayton Air Show. Some of the groups performing include the U.S. Navy's Blue Angels, the U.S. Air Force Thunderbirds, and the Canadian Forces Snow Birds. This once-in-a-lifetime show will be of Olympic proportions, complete with fireworks, blimp races, acrobatic air maneuvers, special guest speakers, children's centers, and orbit zones. Attendees can enjoy the Wright Brothers National Park, which includes the original and first airplane of the Wright Brothers that was capable of sustaining flight; the United States Air Force Museum, which hosts over 1 million visitors a year; and the National Aviation Hall of Fame, which chronicles the accomplishments of our aviation history.

In closing, let me thank the members of the Ohio congressional delegation for joining me in sponsoring this legislation. I also want to thank the people of Dayton, Wright Patterson Air Force Base, and the surrounding communities for their enthusiastic support of the Inventing Flight Centennial celebration. I would also invite all Members of Congress and their families and their staffs to come to Dayton, Ohio with us to celebrate one of the world's most remarkable achievements: flight. Mr. Speaker, I urge passage of this resolution.

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

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

I want to commend the gentleman from Ohio for introducing this resolution commemorating the work of Wilbur and Orville Wright, who manned the first successful, controlled, and sustained power flight, and to signal that at this time we are going to celebrate, with a Festival of Flight in Dayton, Ohio, their accomplishments. It is fitting on the day that we commemorate Walt Disney for his flight of fancy that we also have the Festival of Flight for the Wright Brothers as part of the agenda on the schedule for today, as our rhetoric soars as well and flies ever higher in salute of great Americans.

In October of 1998, this body passed a bill to establish the commemoration of the centennial of powered flight and the achievements of the Wright Brothers. The commemoration activities set forth in that bill will come to fruition this year with the Festival of Flight. The festival will consist of four events that will be held nationwide to celebrate the first flight of the Wright Brothers.

The Wright Brothers originally had a bicycle store in Dayton, Ohio. They later moved to Kitty Hawk, North Carolina for the hills, strong and steady winds, and the soft, sandy ground, all ingredients for successful flight. They went back to Dayton and built a 6-foot wind tunnel to conduct experiments with over 200 different wing models. They developed the first reliable tables on the effects of air pressure on curved surfaces, the principles that we use today and that we see on every airplane. In 1903, the Wright Brothers completed the construction of a larger plane, powered by their own lightweight gas-powered engine, and returned to Kitty Hawk on December 17, 1903. Four men and a boy witnessed the first flight, a flight which dramatically changed the course of transportation, commerce, communication, and warfare throughout the world.

I hope that the Festival of Flight will educate Americans to the achievement of the Wright Brothers and their contributions to the development of this Nation. I want to join my colleague in urging all of the Members to support this resolution.

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

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Government Reform for being here for the consideration of this legislation, and I again invite everyone to come to the Wright Dunbar National Park, the United States Air Force Museum, and the National Aviation Hall of Fame as part of the celebration in Dayton.

I have no other speakers. Again, I urge all of the Members to support the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 162.

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution to honor the city of Dayton, Ohio, and its many partners, for hosting "Investing Flight: The Centennial Celebration," commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Wilbur and Orville Wright's first flight.

It is with great excitement that the U.S. House of Representatives is considering this resolution. It is rare that the United States, or the entire world for that matter, can come together in celebration of one truly historic and life changing event. This event occurred 100 years ago on December 17th, and lasted for an unprecedented 12 seconds. During those 12 seconds, Wilbur Wright sustained the first controlled, powered flight in history.

Events are already in full swing for the Centennial of Flight. The new Huffman Prairie Interpretive Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base is now open to visitors, the flying replica

of the Wright Brothers original aircraft is making its first flights, and with the support of Congress, the Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historic Park is ready to receive thousands of enthusiastic visitors.

The year promises to hold many special events that will bring national attention and provide a fitting tribute to the aviation pioneers of Ohio. North Carolina can claim the location of the first flight by the Wright Brothers, but it is their hometown that saw the laborious construction and endless testing that are required to allow it to take to the sky.

Best of all will be the main event. I encourage all of you to mark your calendars for July 3 as we begin the festivities to celebrate this great achievement in human history. The entire event will last from July 3 to July 20, 2003, and will be the largest public centennial event in Ohio celebrating the first flight. Additionally, it will be one of only 4 events nationwide endorsed as a full partner by the United States Centennial of Flight Commission.

From the Wright Brothers to today's cutting edge aerospace research at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton has a rich aviation tradition that will be evident to all of this year's activities and commemorative events. One cannot help but ponder what the next 100 years will hold for flight, but I am certain that Ohio will continue to play a major role in our ongoing quest to push the limits of air and space flight.

As an Ohioan, I am proud to reside in the same state as the two brothers whose invention changed the world.

Mr. Speaker, I join today with my colleagues, aviation enthusiasts, and people across the country in support of this resolution.

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in October 1998, this body passed a bill to establish a commemoration of the centennial of powered flight and the achievements of the Wright brothers.

The commemoration activities set forth in that bill will come to fruition this year with the Festival of Flight. The Festival of Flight will consist of four events that will be held nationwide to celebrate Wilbur and Orville Wright's first flight.

Wilbur and Orville Wright manned the first successful controlled and sustained powered flight. The Wright brothers, originally bicycle store owners from Dayton, Ohio, moved to Kitty Hawk, North Carolina for the hills, strong and steady winds, and the soft-sanded ground—ingredients for successful flight.

They went back to Dayton and build a six-foot wind tunnel to conduct experiments with over 200 different wing models. They developed the first reliable tables on the effects of air pressure on curved surfaces, the principles that we use today and that you see on every airplane.

In 1903, the Wright brothers completed the construction of a larger plan powered by their own lightweight gas-powered engine and returned to Kitty Hawk. On December 17, 1903, four men and a boy witnessed the first flight—a flight which dramatically changed the course of transportation, commerce, communication, and warfare throughout the world.

I hope that the Festival of Flight will educate Americans to the achievements of the Wright brothers and their contributions to the development of this nation.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Con. Res. 162, honoring the City of Dayton, Ohio for its Inventing Flight celebration commemorating the 100th anniversary of powered flight.

In addition to commending Dayton's efforts this year, efforts which actually began back in 1989, we would be remiss if we neglected to pay tribute to the dedication Dayton, the Miami Valley community, and the military and civilian personnel at Wright Patterson Air Force Base have shown in both preserving Wilbur and Orville Wright's legacy and advancing the dream of human flight.

One hundred years ago, the Wright Brothers made Ohio the "Birthplace of Aviation." It was in their bicycle shop in Dayton, now part of the Aviation Heritage National Historical Park, that the Wright Brothers researched and designed the first successful, heavier-than-air, manned, powered aircraft. It was there in Dayton, on the Huffman Flying Prairie, where the brothers learned to fly—where they learned to control and maneuver their aircraft.

Today, the tradition of the Wright Brothers lives on in the Dayton community. Engineers, scientists, and inventors continue to research, develop, and test the latest advances in airpower at the Wright Patterson Air Force laboratories. At the Air Force Institute of Technology, they learn the technical skills to build the aircraft of the future. At the United States Air Force Museum, three hangars attest to the commitment the community has to preserve the history of the Air Force and its contributions to the advancement of powered flight.

July 3, 2003 marks the beginning of the month-long Inventing Flight activities, transforming Dayton into an international hub of aviation entertainment. The Centennial Celebration, the largest public centennial event in Ohio celebrating the first powered flight, is one of only four nationwide events endorsed as a full partner by the United States Centennial of Flight Commission. The Centennial Celebration includes the Dayton Air Show at the Dayton International Airport. This year's show will include an unprecedented joint appearance by all three North American jet demonstration teams: the Air Force Thunderbirds, the Navy Blue Angels, and the Canadian Forces Snowbirds.

I am proud to represent communities working so tirelessly to preserve and promote powered flight, a community where the Wright Brothers lived, dreamed, invented, and perfected man's first powered aircraft. In Dayton, the legacy of aviation is celebrated for its critical contributions to the economy, to business and personal travel, and to our military. I salute Dayton's legacy and extend an invitation to everyone throughout our country to visit this city and all of the Southwest Ohio and to join the celebration where Imagination Takes Flight.

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, today, I rise in support of H. Con. Res. 162, a resolution honoring the City of Dayton, Ohio for its celebration of Wilbur and Orville Wright's first flight in 1902. This important resolution is supported by the entire Ohio delegation.

From military aircraft to NASA shuttles, these brothers are responsible for the foundation of the modern aviation industry and they deserve our gratitude. In their hometown of Dayton, the brothers worked in a bicycle shop, which would become their aviation laboratory. Although they were not the first to conceive a

fixed-wing aircraft, their tinkering eventually led them to design the first craft that could be controlled. Aircraft, robots and even submarines rely upon the principles the brothers developed to control yaw, pitch and roll. Their innovations have allowed our world to become connected by rapid air travel.

Today, the City of Dayton, and the State of Ohio, remain an important aviation center, with Wright-Patterson Air Force Base and NASA facilities Glenn and Plum Brook Station near my district.

I want to thank my colleague for introducing this important resolution and the City of Dayton.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STEARNS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 162.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. TURNER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

BIRCH BAYH FEDERAL BUILDING AND UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE

Mr. PEARCE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill (S. 763) to designate the Federal Building and United States courthouse located at 46 East Ohio Street in Indianapolis, Indiana, as the "Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse".

The Clerk read as follows:

S. 763

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. DESIGNATION OF BIRCH BAYH FEDERAL BUILDING AND UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE.

The Federal building and United States courthouse located at 46 East Ohio Street in Indianapolis, Indiana, shall be known and designated as the "Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse".

SEC. 2. REFERENCES.

Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the Federal building and United States courthouse referred to in section 1 shall be deemed to be a reference to the Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. PEARCE) and the gentlewoman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. PEARCE).

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

Mr. Speaker, S. 763, which is identical to H.R. 1082 introduced by the gentlewoman from Indiana (Ms. CARSON), designates the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 46 East Ohio Street in Indianapolis, Indiana as the "Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse." This bill has the bipartisan support of the entire Indiana delegation.

Senator Birch Bayh was born in Terre Haute, Indiana in 1928 to schoolteachers; and it is from them that he inherited an ethic of public service. Upon graduation from high school, Senator Bayh volunteered for and served in the United States Army from 1946 to 1948.

Upon his return, he attended and graduated from the Purdue University School of Agriculture at Lafayette in 1951. This education served him well, since throughout his long career, he always found time to work on and oversee the family farm, growing corn and soybeans for more than 4 decades.

Senator Bayh's political career began in 1954 when at the age of 26 he was elected to serve in the Indiana House of Representatives. While serving in that body, he served as Speaker in 1959 and as Democrat floor leader in 1957 and 1961. Despite these responsibilities, he also found time to attend and graduate from Indiana University School of Law in 1960 and was admitted to the bar in 1961.

In 1962, at the age of 34, Senator Bayh entered the United States Senate where he served three terms from 1963 to 1981. While in the Senate, he served as chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, worked with the CIA, the National Security Agency, and the FBI. He also was a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation, where he called for and funded efforts to build the District of Columbia's Metro subway system and to modernize the Amtrak rail system.

Senator Bayh is best known as chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee where he authored two amendments to the Constitution; the 25th amendment on Presidential and Vice Presidential succession, and the 26th amendment, which lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 years of age.

This is a fitting tribute to a dedicated public servant. I support this legislation and encourage my colleagues to do the same.

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

Ms. CARSON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, and I thank the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. Speaker, Senate bill 763 is a bill that designates the Federal Building and United States Courthouse in Indianapolis, Indiana as the Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse. Our senior Senator from Indiana, Senator LUGAR, who heads the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate, was so kind and gentle enough

to usher Senate bill 763 through the United States Senate. I had introduced the House version of this bill, H.R. 1082, which is cosponsored by the entire Indiana delegation.

Born to two schoolteachers in Shirkeyville, Indiana, but also call Terre Haute, Shirkeyville on January 22, 1928, he began his political career at the young age of 26 with his election to the Indiana House of Representatives in 1958. Having been a citizen of that State for many years, I grew to admire and respect the kind of leadership that the Senator displayed in the Indiana House of Representatives. Senator Bayh rose to become minority leader in 1957 and then went on to become Speaker of the House in 1959.

In 1962 he entered the United States Senate and distinguished himself on the Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Committee on the Judiciary. His expertise in constitutional law led him to author two amendments to the Constitution, the 25th amendment on Presidential and Vice Presidential successions which was ratified in 1967, and the 26th amendment lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 years of age, which was ratified in 1971. No lawmaker since the Founding Fathers has successfully authored two amendments to the United States Constitution.

In addition to his constitutional work, Senator Bayh wrote landmark legislation on behalf of women. He authored Title 9 of the Higher Education Act, which provided equal opportunities for women, students, and faculty. He also worked diligently on the Juvenile Justice Act and played an integral role in the passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

At present, Senator Bayh is a partner in the Washington, D.C. law firm of Venable, Baetjer, Howard and Civiletti.

As a member of the Government Division's Legislative Group, he counsels corporate interests with business before all three branches of government, helping them to affect pending law, build coalitions, advance their causes, and to ensure that their voices and interests are considered in the public dialogue.

Senator Bayh also continues to work on behalf of his long-held passions of education, citizens' rights, and the fight against bias, bigotry, and racism in America. Senator Birch Bayh is respected and admired throughout the State of Indiana and the Nation as a man of dedication and unwavering principles.

□ 1430

This designation, Mr. Speaker, is a most fitting tribute to the outstanding career of a devoted and thoughtful and committed public servant.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of S. 763, a bill to designate the federal building located at 46 East Ohio St. in Indianapolis as the "Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse." This bill has strong bipartisan support and each

member of the Indiana delegation is a cosponsor. The bill was also introduced during the last Congress, but unfortunately, it stalled at the end of the last term. I urge the 108th Congress to enact this legislation so that we may properly honor Birch Bayh.

Birch Bayh was born on January 22, 1928, in Terre Haute, Indiana. He attended public schools in Indiana and joined the Army in 1946. In 1954, he was elected to the Indiana House of Representatives where he served for eight years, including terms as Minority Leader and later, as Speaker of the House. He is a graduate of both Purdue University and the Indiana University School of Law.

In 1962, when he was only 34 years old, Birch Bayh was elected to the first of three terms in the U.S. Senate. Senator Bayh quickly became a leader on issues of education, equal rights, and Constitutional law. As Chairman of the Constitutional Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator Bayh authored two amendments to the Constitution: the 25th Amendment, which sets forth the order of Presidential succession, and the 26th Amendment, which lowers the voting age from 21 to 18 years of age. It should go without saying that authorship of two constitutional amendments is a remarkable achievement. In addition, Senator Bayh was a strong supporter of two landmark pieces of legislation—the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. He was also highly instrumental in enacting the Juvenile Justice Act, which mandates the separation of juvenile offenders from adult prison populations.

Throughout his career, Senator Bayh was a strong champion for the rights of women, children, and minorities. He authored Title IX to the Higher Education Act, which ensures equal opportunities for women students and faculty in our Nation's schools. One result of this legislation is that women's sports teams have been given unprecedented opportunities to excel. To give just one example, the University of Minnesota-Duluth women's hockey team has excelled in the sport and has won the past three consecutive NCAA championships. It is proper that, as we honor Senator Bayh today, we should remember his commitment to equal opportunity and ensure that the Title IX funding mandates remain strong, especially in light of recent proposals to undercut this important piece of legislation.

Since leaving the Senate in the 1980s, Senator Bayh has continued his commitment to public service. He serves as a member of the William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, and the University of Virginia's Miller Center Commission on Presidential Disability and the 25th Amendment.

I urge my colleagues to support S. 763 and to honor the contributions of Senator Birch Bayh to his home state of Indiana and to our Nation.

Mr. VISCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I first came to know Senator Birch Bayh following his election to the United States Senate in 1962, through my father, John Visclosky, the former Mayor of Gary, IN. My father has always had a deep respect and strong feelings towards Senator Bayh. Later, as a Member of Congress, I have always considered Senator Birch Bayh a friend and a mentor. As a citizen, I am grateful that he chose a life of public service.

We will forever be served by Senator Bayh through the two changes he authored to, what

I consider one of the greatest documents ever written, the Constitution. Senator Bayh amended the document first by authoring the Twenty-Fifth Amendment, which created an orderly transition of power in the case of the death or disability of the President and a method of selecting a Vice President when a vacancy occurs in that office. Later, Senator Bayh authored the Twenty-Sixth Amendment, which lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 years old. To think of Birch Bayh improving this document not once but twice is breathtaking, but expected from such a unique person. The structure of the Constitution had not been so impacted by a single lawmaker since its creation by the founding fathers.

Throughout his career, Senator Bayh always remembered that he was working for the people, especially those who were never given a fair chance in life. Senator Bayh fought hard for those who wanted an honest days work at a living wage in order to support their families. For instance, he fought hard and was successful in obtaining crucial funding for a railroad track rehabilitation program that put thousands of unemployed workers back on the job, and improved our nation's infrastructure.

Senator Bayh is a person who developed every talent that God gave him to serve others and is a person of deep compassion and caring. He is also a person who never lost his perspective on life, is fun to be with, and who can always make you laugh. My father would describe Senator Bayh as a "100 percent guy." I would too, and I congratulate him on this great honor.

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

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STEARNS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. PEARCE) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 763.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. PEARCE. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. PEARCE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on S. 763.

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

There was no objection.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair

declares the House in recess until approximately 6:30 p.m.

Accordingly, (at 2 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess until approximately 6:30 p.m. today.

□ 1830

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. OSE) at 6 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, proceedings will resume on motions to suspend the rules previously postponed.

Votes will be taken in the following order:

H.R. 1610, by the yeas and nays;

H. Con. Res. 162, by the yeas and nays; and

S. 763, by the yeas and nays.

The first and third electronic votes will be conducted as 15-minute votes. The second vote in this series will be a 5-minute vote.

WALT DISNEY POST OFFICE BUILDING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the bill, H.R. 1610.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1610, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 384, nays 0, not voting 50, as follows:

[Roll No. 249]

YEAS—384

Abercrombie	Bono	Clay
Aderholt	Boozman	Clyburn
Akin	Boswell	Coble
Alexander	Boucher	Cole
Allen	Boyd	Collins
Andrews	Bradley (NH)	Cooper
Baca	Brady (PA)	Costello
Bachus	Brady (TX)	Cramer
Baldwin	Brown (SC)	Crane
Ballance	Brown-Waite,	Crenshaw
Ballenger	Ginny	Crowley
Barrett (SC)	Burgess	Cubin
Bartlett (MD)	Burns	Culberson
Barton (TX)	Burton (IN)	Cummings
Bass	Buyer	Cunningham
Beauprez	Calvert	Davis (AL)
Bell	Camp	Davis (CA)
Bereuter	Cannon	Davis (FL)
Berman	Cantor	Davis (IL)
Berry	Capito	Davis (TN)
Biggert	Capps	Davis, Jo Ann
Bilirakis	Capuano	Davis, Tom
Bishop (GA)	Cardin	Deal (GA)
Bishop (NY)	Cardoza	DeFazio
Blackburn	Carson (IN)	DeGette
Blumenauer	Carson (OK)	Delahunt
Blunt	Carter	DeLauro
Boehlert	Case	DeLay
Boehner	Castle	Deutsch
Bonilla	Chabot	Diaz-Balart, L.
Bonner	Chocola	Diaz-Balart, M.

Dicks	Knollenberg	Rahall
Doggett	Kolbe	Ramstad
Dooley (CA)	Kucinich	Rangel
Doolittle	LaHood	Regula
Doyle	Lampson	Rehberg
Dreier	Langevin	Renzi
Duncan	Larsen (WA)	Reynolds
Dunn	Latham	Rodriguez
Edwards	Leach	Rogers (AL)
Ehlers	Lee	Rogers (KY)
Emanuel	Levin	Rogers (MI)
Emerson	Lewis (CA)	Rohrabacher
Engel	Lewis (GA)	Ros-Lehtinen
English	Lewis (KY)	Ross
Etheridge	Linder	Rothman
Evans	LoBiondo	Roybal-Allard
Everett	Lofgren	Royce
Farr	Lowey	Ruppersberger
Feehey	Lucas (KY)	Ryan (OH)
Ferguson	Lucas (OK)	Ryan (WI)
Filner	Lynch	Ryun (KS)
Flake	Majette	Sabo
Fletcher	Maloney	Sanchez, Linda
Foley	Manzullo	T.
Forbes	Markey	Sanchez, Loretta
Fossella	Marshall	Sandlin
Frank (MA)	Matheson	Saxton
Franks (AZ)	Matsui	Schakowsky
Frelinghuysen	McCarthy (MO)	Schiff
Frost	McCarthy (NY)	Schrock
Garrett (NJ)	McCollum	Scott (GA)
Gerlach	McCotter	Scott (VA)
Gibbons	McCrery	Sensenbrenner
Gillmor	McDermott	Serrano
Gingrey	McGovern	Sessions
Gonzalez	McHugh	Shadegg
Goode	McInnis	Shaw
Goodlatte	McIntyre	Shays
Gordon	McKeon	Sherman
Goss	McNulty	Sherwood
Granger	Meehan	Shuster
Graves	Meek (FL)	Simmons
Green (TX)	Meeks (NY)	Skelton
Green (WI)	Menendez	Slaughter
Gutknecht	Mica	Smith (NJ)
Hall	Michaud	Smith (TX)
Harman	Millender-	Snyder
Harris	McDonald	Solis
Hart	Miller (FL)	Souder
Hastings (FL)	Miller (MI)	Spratt
Hastings (WA)	Miller (NC)	Stearns
Hayes	Miller, Gary	Stenholm
Hayworth	Miller, George	Strickland
Hefley	Moore	Stupak
Hensarling	Moran (KS)	Sullivan
Herger	Moran (VA)	Tancredo
Hill	Murphy	Tanner
Hinchey	Murtha	Tauscher
Hinojosa	Musgrave	Tauzin
Hobson	Myrick	Taylor (MS)
Hoeffel	Napolitano	Terry
Hoekstra	Neal (MA)	Thomas
Holden	Neugebauer	Thompson (CA)
Holt	Ney	Thompson (MS)
Honda	Northup	Thornberry
Hooley (OR)	Norwood	Tiahrt
Hostettler	Nunes	Tiberi
Hoyer	Nussle	Tierney
Hulshof	Oberstar	Turner (OH)
Hunter	Obey	Turner (TX)
Hypert	Olver	Udall (CO)
Hyde	Ortiz	Udall (NM)
Inslee	Osborne	Upton
Isakson	Ose	Van Hollen
Israel	Otter	Velazquez
Issa	Owens	Visclosky
Jackson (IL)	Oxley	Vitter
Jackson-Lee	Pallone	Walden (OR)
(TX)	Pascrell	Walsh
Jefferson	Pastor	Wamp
John	Paul	Waters
Johnson (CT)	Payne	Watson
Johnson (IL)	Pearce	Watt
Johnson, E. B.	Pelosi	Waxman
Johnson, Sam	Pence	Weldon (FL)
Jones (NC)	Peterson (MN)	Weldon (PA)
Jones (OH)	Peterson (PA)	Weller
Kanjorski	Petri	Wexler
Kapton	Pickering	Whitfield
Keller	Pitts	Wicker
Kelly	Platts	Wilson (NM)
Kennedy (MN)	Pomboy	Wilson (SC)
Kildee	Porter	Wolf
Kind	Portman	Woolsey
King (IA)	Price (NC)	Wu
King (NY)	Putnam	Wynn
Kingston	Quinn	Young (AK)
Kirk	Radanovich	
Kleczka		
Kline		

NOT VOTING—50

Ackerman	Gephardt	Nethercutt
Baird	Gilchrist	Pryce (OH)
Baker	Greenwood	Reyes
Becerra	Grijalva	Rush
Berkley	Gutierrez	Sanders
Bishop (UT)	Houghton	Shimkus
Brown (OH)	Istook	Simpson
Brown, Corrine	Janklow	Smith (MI)
Burr	Jenkins	Smith (WA)
Conyers	Kennedy (RI)	Stark
Cox	Kilpatrick	Sweeney
DeMint	Lantos	Taylor (NC)
Dingell	Larson (CT)	Toomey
Eshoo	LaTourette	Towns
Fattah	Lipinski	Weiner
Ford	Mollohan	Young (FL)
Gallely	Nadler	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE) (during the vote). Members are advised 2 minutes remain in this vote.

□ 1851

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

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HONORING DAYTON, OHIO, AND ITS MANY PARTNERS FOR HOSTING "INVENTING FLIGHT: THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION"

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and agreeing to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 162.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TURNER) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 162, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 378, nays 3, not voting 53, as follows:

[Roll No. 250]

YEAS—378

Abercrombie	Boehner	Carson (OK)
Aderholt	Bonilla	Carter
Akin	Bonner	Case
Alexander	Bono	Castle
Allen	Boozman	Chabot
Andrews	Boswell	Chocola
Baca	Boucher	Clay
Bachus	Boyd	Clyburn
Baldwin	Bradley (NH)	Cole
Ballance	Brady (PA)	Collins
Barrett (SC)	Brady (TX)	Cooper
Bartlett (MD)	Brown (SC)	Costello
Barton (TX)	Brown-Waite,	Cramer
Bass	Ginny	Crane
Beauprez	Burgess	Crenshaw
Bell	Burton (IN)	Crowley
Bereuter	Buyer	Cubin
Berman	Calvert	Culberson
Berry	Camp	Cummings
Biggert	Cannon	Cunningham
Bilirakis	Cantor	Davis (AL)
Bishop (GA)	Capito	Davis (CA)
Bishop (NY)	Capps	Davis (FL)
Blackburn	Capuano	Davis (IL)
Blumenauer	Cardin	Davis (TN)
Blunt	Cardoza	Davis, Jo Ann
Boehlert	Carson (IN)	Davis, Tom

Deal (GA) Kildee
DeFazio Kind
DeGette King (IA)
Delahunt King (NY)
DeLauro Kingston
DeLay Kirk
Deutsch Kleczka
Diaz-Balart, L. Kline
Diaz-Balart, M. Knollenberg
Dicks Kolbe
Doggett Kucinich
Dooley (CA) LaHood
Doolittle Lampson
Doyle Langevin
Dreier Larsen (WA)
Duncan Latham
Dunn Leach
Edwards Lee
Ehlers Levin
Emanuel Lewis (CA)
Emerson Lewis (GA)
Engel Lewis (KY)
English Linder
Etheridge LoBiondo
Evans Lofgren
Everett Lowey
Farr Lucas (KY)
Feeney Lucas (OK)
Ferguson Lynch
Filner Majette
Flake Maloney
Fletcher Manzullo
Foley Markey
Forbes Marshall
Fossella Matheson
Frank (MA) Matsui
Franks (AZ) McCarthy (MO)
Frelinghuysen McCarthy (NY)
Frost McCollum
Garrett (NJ) McCotter
Gerlach McCrery
Gibbons McDermott
Gillmor McGovern
Gingrey McHugh
Gonzalez McInnis
Goode McIntyre
Goodlatte McKeon
Gordon McNulty
Goss Meehan
Granger Meek (FL)
Graves Meeks (NY)
Green (TX) Menendez
Green (WI) Mica
Gutknecht Michaud
Hall Millender-
Harman McDonald
Harris Miller (FL)
Hart Miller (MI)
Hastings (FL) Miller (NC)
Hastings (WA) Miller, Gary
Hayworth Miller, George
Hefley Moore
Hensarling Moran (KS)
Henger Moran (VA)
Hill Murphy
Hinchey Murtha
Hinojosa Musgrave
Hobson Myrick
Hoefel Napolitano
Hoekstra Neal (MA)
Holden Neugebauer
Holt Ney
Honda Northup
Hooley (OR) Norwood
Hostettler Nunes
Hoyer Nussle
Hulshof Oberstar
Hunter Obey
Hyde Olver
Inlee Ortiz
Isakson Osborne
Israel Ose
Issa Otter
Jackson (IL) Owens
Jackson-Lee Oxley
(TX) Pallone
Jefferson Pascrell
John Pastor
Johnson (CT) Paul
Johnson (IL) Payne
Johnson, E. B. Pearce
Johnson, Sam Pelosi
Jones (NC) Pence
Jones (OH) Peterson (MN)
Kanjorski Peterson (PA)
Kaptur Petri
Keller Pickering
Kelly Pitts
Kennedy (MN) Platts

Pombo
Pomeroy
Porter
Portman
Price (NC)
Putnam
Quinn
Radanovich
Rahall
Ramstad
Rangel
Rehberg
Renzi
Reynolds
Rodriguez
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Ross
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ruppersberger
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sabo
Sanchez, Linda
T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sandlin
Saxton
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrock
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shuster
Simmons
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Snyder
Solis
Souder
Spratt
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stupak
Sullivan
Sullivan
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Terry
Thomas
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Turner (OH)
Turner (TX)
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Upton
Van Hollen
Velazquez
Balduino
Ballance
Ballenger
Walden (OR)
Walsh
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett (MD)
Wamp
Barton (TX)
Bass
Beauprez
Bell
Bereuter
Berman
Berry
Biggart
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blackburn

Wilson (SC)
Wolf
Ballenger
Ackerman
Baird
Baker
Becerra
Berkley
Bishop (UT)
Brown (OH)
Brown, Corrine
Burns
Burr
Conyers
Cox
DeMint
Dingell
Eshow
Fattah
Ford
Gallegly
Abercrombie
Aderholt
Akin
Alexander
Allen
Andrews
Baca
Bachus
Baldwin
Ballance
Ballenger
Barrett (SC)
Bartlett (MD)
Wamp
Barton (TX)
Bass
Beauprez
Bell
Bereuter
Berman
Berry
Biggart
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (NY)
Blackburn

Woolsey
Wu
NAYS—3
Coble
Gephardt
Gilchrest
Greenwood
Grijalva
Gutierrez
Houghton
Istook
Janklow
Jenkins
Kennedy (RI)
Kilpatrick
Lantos
Larson (CT)
LaTourrette
Lipinski
Mollohan
Nadler
Nethercutt
Wynn
Young (AK)
Hayes
Pryce (OH)
Regula
Reyes
Rush
Sanders
Serrano
Shimkus
Simpson
Smith (MI)
Smith (WA)
Stark
Sweeney
Taylor (NC)
Toomey
Townes
Weiner
Young (FL)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE
The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). Members are advised 2 minutes remain in this vote.
□ 1859
So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution was agreed to.
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

BIRCH BAYH FEDERAL BUILDING
AND UNITED STATES COURT-
HOUSE
The SPEAKER pro tempore. The pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the Senate bill, S. 763.
The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.
The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. PEARCE) that the House suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill, S. 763, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.
The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 383, nays 0, not voting 51, as follows:
[Roll No. 251]
YEAS—383

Cummings
Cunningham
Davis (AL)
Davis (CA)
Davis (FL)
Davis (IL)
Davis (TN)
Davis, Jo Ann
Davis, Tom
Deal (GA)
DeFazio
DeGette
Delahunt
DeLauro
DeLay
Deutsch
Diaz-Balart, L.
Diaz-Balart, M.
Dicks
Doggett
Dooley (CA)
Doolittle
Doyle
Dreier
Duncan
Dunn
Edwards
Ehlers
Emanuel
Emerson
Engel
English
Etheridge
Evans
Everett
Farr
Ferguson
Filner
Flake
Fletcher
Foley
Forbes
Fossella
Frank (MA)
Franks (AZ)
Frelinghuysen
Frost
Garrett (NJ)
Gerlach
Gibbons
Gillmor
Gingrey
Gonzalez
Goode
Goodlatte
Gordon
Goss
Granger
Graves
Green (TX)
Green (WI)
Gutknecht
Hall
Harman
Harris
Hart
Hastings (FL)
Hastings (WA)
Hayworth
Hefley
Hensarling
Henger
Hill
Hinchey
Hinojosa
Hobson
Hoefel
Hoekstra
Holden
Holt
Honda
Hooley (OR)
Hostettler
Hoyer
Hulshof
Hunter
Hyde
Inlee
Isakson
Israel
Issa
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Jefferson
John
Johnson (CT)
Johnson (IL)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Kelly
Kennedy (MN)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones (NC)
Jones (OH)
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Keller
Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Platts

Pelosi
Pence
Peterson (MN)
Peterson (PA)
Petri
Pickering
Pitts
Platts
Ramstad
Rangel
Regula
Rehberg
Renzi
Reynolds
Rodriguez
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rogers (MI)
Rohrabacher
Ros-Lehtinen
Ross
Rothman
Roybal-Allard
Royce
Ruppersberger
Ryan (OH)
Ryan (WI)
Ryun (KS)
Sabo
Sanchez, Linda
T.
Sanchez, Loretta
Sandlin
Saxton
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schrock
Scott (GA)
Scott (VA)
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Shadegg
Shaw
Shays
Sherman
Sherwood
Shuster
Simmons
Skelton
Slaughter
Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)
Snyder
Solis
Souder
Spratt
Stearns
Stenholm
Strickland
Stupak
Sullivan
Sullivan
Tancredo
Tanner
Tauscher
Tauzin
Taylor (MS)
Terry
Thomas
Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)
Thornberry
Tiahrt
Tiberi
Tierney
Turner (OH)
Turner (TX)
Udall (CO)
Udall (NM)
Upton
Van Hollen
Velazquez
Visclosky
Vitter
Walden (OR)
Walden (OR)
Walsh
Wamp
Waters
Watson

Watt	Wexler	Wolf
Waxman	Whitfield	Woolsey
Weldon (FL)	Wicker	Wu
Weldon (PA)	Wilson (NM)	Wynn
Weller	Wilson (SC)	Young (AK)

763, designating the "Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse," rollcall No. 251.

NOT VOTING—51

Ackerman	Gallegly	Mollohan
Baird	Gephardt	Nadler
Baker	Gilchrest	Nethercutt
Becerra	Greenwood	Pryce (OH)
Berkley	Grijalva	Reyes
Bishop (UT)	Gutierrez	Rush
Brown (OH)	Herger	Shimkus
Brown, Corrine	Houghton	Simpson
Burr	Istook	Smith (MI)
Conyers	Jenkins	Smith (WA)
Cox	Kennedy (RI)	Stark
DeMint	Kilpatrick	Sweeney
Dingell	Lantos	Taylor (NC)
Eshoo	Larson (CT)	Toomey
Fattah	LaTourette	Towns
Feeney	Lewis (GA)	Weiner
Ford	Lipinski	Young (FL)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE) (during the vote). Members are advised that 2 minutes remain in this vote.

□ 1915

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the Senate bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. DEMINT. Mr. Speaker, I was absent during rollcalls 249, 250, and 251. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on each of those rollcalls.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I regret that I could not be present today, Monday, June 9, 2003, to vote on rollcall vote Nos. 249, 250, and 251 due to a family medical emergency.

Had I been present, I would have voted: "yea" and rollcall vote No. 249 on H.R. 1610, to redesignate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 120 East Ritchie Avenue in Marceline, MO, as the "Walt Disney Post Office Building"; "yea" on rollcall vote No. 250 on H. Con. Res. 162, honoring the city of Dayton, OH, and its many partners, for hosting "Inventing Flight: The Centennial Celebration", a celebration of the centennial of Wilbur and Orville Wright's first flight; and "yea" on rollcall vote No. 251 on S. 763, to designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 46 East Ohio Street in Indianapolis, IN, as the "Birch Bayh Federal Building and United States Courthouse."

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, official business prevents me from being present for legislative business scheduled for today, Monday, June 9, 2003. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea" on the following rollcall votes: H.R. 1610, to redesignate the post office located in Marceline, MO as the "Walt Disney Post Office Building," rollcall No. 249; H. Con. Res. 162, honoring the City of Dayton, OH for hosting "Inventing Flight: The Centennial Celebration," rollcall No. 250; and S.

□ 1915

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2143, UNLAWFUL INTERNET GAMBLING FUNDING PROHIBITION ACT

Mr. LINDER, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 108-145) on the resolution (H. Res. 263) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2143) to prevent the use of certain bank instruments for unlawful Internet gambling, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

BRINGING AMERICAN PHARMACEUTICAL PRICES DOWN TO COMPETITIVE LEVELS

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

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, once again I rise tonight to talk about the high cost of prescription drugs here in the United States, and especially the high cost relative to what the rest of the industrialized world pays for the same drugs.

I have told this story to many of my colleagues repeatedly about how about a month ago we went to Munich, Germany, and bought a list of 10 of the most commonly prescribed drugs in America. The total price tag for all 10 of those drugs compared to the average price here in the United States is about triple. It is more than double what we pay in the United States.

I have used the example of this drug, and this is the actual drug, Tamoxifen, one of the most popular, most effective anti-breast cancer drugs ever developed. The interesting thing is that the National Institutes of Health, using taxpayers dollars, paid for most of the research. What makes us even more upset is not just that the American taxpayer paid to develop the drug, but the difference now between what American consumers have to pay for this drug compared to the rest of the world.

This drug, for example, we bought at the Munich airport pharmacy for \$59.05 American. To put that in context, this drug sells at pharmacies here in Washington, D.C., for \$360. In other words, to round off the numbers, \$60 in Germany, \$360 in the United States. Worse than that, the American taxpayers paid for the research.

Like Will Rogers, though, all I know is what I read in the newspaper, and this weekend in The Washington Post there is a very compelling story. What it essentially says is it is not just Tamoxifen any more. In fact, let me just read for you from essentially what is a GAO study.

The headline is, "U.S. Netted Little From Cancer Drug, GAO Reports."

"The U.S. Government spent hundreds of millions of dollars to help develop Taxol, the best-selling cancer drug ever, but failed to get much money back on its investment, according to a government report issued yesterday.

"Drug maker Bristol-Myers Squibb earned \$9 billion from Taxol, which has been used to treat 1 million cancer patients, but the National Institutes of Health received only \$35 million in royalties, the Government Accounting Office found."

Now, on top of that, Medicare has spent over \$687 million on Taxol, so there are more taxpayer dollars going into Taxol.

Finally, the report says, and I am shortening it down to the bottom, but if you want a copy we will have this up on our Web site by sometime tomorrow afternoon, but the bottom line is the GAO, the investigative arm of Congress, said that the NIH spent \$484 million in research on Taxol through 2002.

Mr. Speaker, we subsidize the pharmaceutical industry in three separate ways.

First of all, we subsidize it on all the money we spend on basic research. I am proud of the fact that here in Congress, the NIH, the National Science Foundation, even DOD, we will spend this year about 29 billion taxpayer dollars on various kinds of basic research. Much of that research goes to benefit the pharmaceutical industry. So we subsidize them through the basic research we pay for them.

Secondly, we subsidize them through the Tax Code. They receive very generous tax benefits for the research we do.

Finally, and what disturbs us the most, is we subsidize them in the prices we pay. Americans pay far more than the rest of the industrialized world for prescription drugs.

I believe Americans should pay their fair share. I think we should be willing to subsidize Sub-Saharan Africa, but I do not think we ought to have to subsidize the starving Swiss.

Americans deserve world-class drugs at world market prices. I hope Members will support my bill, which I hope to introduce later this week, to open up American markets to foreign competition to bring prices down to reasonable levels so that all Americans can afford them.

EXTENDING THE CHILD TAX CREDIT TO ALL CHILDREN

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

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, once again, I rise to urge the Republican leadership of this House to bring legislation to the floor which would create the expansion of the child tax credit for many, many more families in America. Last week, many of us spoke on this floor urging the Congress to act, to act for America's children, to act for America's working families. The Senate has acted; and now the main obstacle, indeed the only obstacle to those children having the benefit of the tax credit, is the Republican leadership in the House.

Today, Senator DASCHLE, the distinguished minority leader in the Senate, and I sent a letter to the President thanking him for expressing his support for expanding the child tax credit. Unfortunately, again the Republican leadership in the House is blocking consideration of this vital legislation.

The President's immediate intervention with House Republicans is required to ensure that 12 million working and military families are eligible for the child tax credit. These families need the money now, but this tax relief will not be made available to them apparently unless the President intervenes and urges the Republican House leadership to pass this extension immediately.

How can we pass a tax bill that gives nearly \$100,000 in tax cuts to people making over \$1 million a year, \$100,000 tax cut to those making \$1 million a year, and yet say to people in our country who make the minimum wage, your children are not worthy of a \$400 expansion of the tax credit?

How do we say to our men and women in uniform, whose courage and patriotism we salute on a regular basis on this floor, how can we say to them we appreciate your courage, your patriotism and the sacrifice that you are willing to make for our country, but your children are unworthy of receiving the expansion of the tax credit because your military pay is not enough to qualify you for this tax cut?

Putting money into the hands of these working and military families will help increase demand in our economy, creating jobs and stimulating the economy. There is a very practical and economic reason to do this, in addition to just a sense of decency and doing what is right for America's children.

Because of the economic benefits and the fact that it is the right thing to do, the bill passed the Senate last week 94 to 2. But this week the bill is nowhere in sight.

We want this freestanding bill to come to the House of Representatives. We want the House Republicans to stop their opposition to this tax relief for America's children. We want them to stop refusing to bring it to the floor of the House.

Asking millions of working families who need the tax credit to help make ends meet in this stagnant economy, to sacrifice in order to pay for additional tax breaks for those who need it least

is simply not right. Approximately 250,000 children of our men and women in uniform are being deprived of the expansion of this \$400 tax credit in order to pay for a tax cut for millionaires in our country. I do not think it is an appropriate way to go.

Who is looking after the children in our country? Clearly it is the Democrats.

LOWERING THE COST OF PHARMACEUTICAL DRUGS FOR AMERICANS

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

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I would like the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT) to join me in this small 5-minute Special Order. He just read part of an article in The Washington Post about pharmaceutical products that are manufactured in part with taxpayers money, where the pharmaceutical industry is making billions and billions of dollars while the taxpayer is getting virtually nothing back in return. The American people are paying exorbitant prices for these pharmaceutical products as compared to the rest of the world.

When these products are imported by Americans when they go up to Canada and buy these products, either through the Internet or go to Canada, when they bring them home to use them because they cost one-tenth, one-fifth, or one-half of what they would cost in the United States, the Food and Drug Administration, our regulatory body, says there is a question of safety; and they actually try to block or stop the reimportation of these pharmaceutical products, where the research is paid for in large part by the taxpayers of this country.

So I would like to ask the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. GUTKNECHT), maybe he can enlighten me on this subject. Why is it that the Food and Drug Administration is not investigating why the pharmaceutical industry is manufacturing these products with taxpayers' money, or conducting the research with taxpayers' money, making these exorbitant profits, and the money that is given back to the taxpayer in royalties in this country is very nominal, almost nothing, compared to the \$9 billion the gentleman cited? Why is it the FDA is not investigating this, instead of stopping the American people from getting these pharmaceutical products at a reasonable price?

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, I cannot answer that question; but I think it is the question that we in Congress should try to get the answer to.

Why is it that the FDA is investigating little old ladies trying to save money on Tamoxifen? I spoke recently to the Pharmacists Association, and I asked them, how many of you have had

this experience, where an elderly person comes into your pharmacy, hands you a prescription. You tell them how much this prescription is going to cost, and their head drops, and they go, oh, well, I will come back tomorrow. Because we know from research done by the Kaiser Foundation, 29 percent of seniors in America are saying that they have prescriptions that go unfilled because they cannot afford them.

□ 1930

And the answer is, the FDA is not investigating companies that make \$9 billion off of Federal taxpayer research; no, they are not investigating them, they are investigating little old ladies, treating them as common criminals.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Yes. And the question that comes up is why they are not doing that. They are supposed to protect the American consumer and they are supposed to make sure the American consumer gets a fair deal, and it is simply not happening.

I would like to just read from what the gentleman read, real quickly. Squid made \$9 billion from Taxol, Bristol-Myers Squibb, and it has been used to treat 1 million cancer patients, but the National Institutes of Health got only \$35 million back in royalties. Squibb made \$9 million and they only gave \$35 million back for the research money that was paid for by the taxpayer. And then down at the bottom it says the GAO, the investigative arm of Congress, said NIH spent another \$484 million in research on Taxol through 2002. So the taxpayers paid for all of this research, but Squibb is making all the money and the taxpayer is getting nothing for it, except a shot in the jaw when they try to buy this product from another country where they can get it cheaper. It makes no sense to me.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. It makes no sense to me. It is really time for us as Members of Congress to do something about it.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to join the gentleman and some of our other colleagues, a growing number of our colleagues, in demanding that the GAO do an entire study of this to find out why the American people are being ripped off by the pharmaceutical companies when, in large part, the taxpayer is paying for that research. It makes no sense to me. And why is the FDA, why is the FDA protecting the pharmaceutical industry? It is something that should not be tolerated.

Any other comments from my colleague?

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Well, the FDA is also responsible for all of the fruits and vegetables coming into the country. The issue they raise is safety, yet we import 318,000 tons of plantains that come into our borders, through our borders every year, and we do almost no investigation. We are much more likely to get sick from fruits and vegetables than we are from legal prescription drugs from FDA-approved facilities around the world.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. In fact, we found zero on the importation from Canada, we found zero problems with the reimportation, and yet they say it is the safety they are concerned about. It does not make any sense.

I thank the gentleman for all of his hard work.

HOUSE LEADERSHIP NEEDS TO GET THE MESSAGE

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

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, 3 weeks ago, when the Republicans in the House and the Senate were getting together to decide the final version of the tax bill, under the direction of Vice President CHENEY, they made a very bad decision. They made a decision that families with children who earn between \$10,000 and \$26,000, a year who currently get a portion of the child tax credit, would not get the increase that this bill provides for families with children, a \$400 increase for many, many Americans per child that they will get checks this July. For whatever reasons, and we think we know why, because they used that money to provide additional tax cuts to the wealthiest people in this country; had they given this tax cut to these families between \$10,000 and \$26,000 a year, to those 12 million children, people like Mr. CHENEY, instead of getting \$93,000, would have gotten \$88,000. But they chose instead to take \$93,000 and these children did not get the tax credit.

This tax credit is terribly important to these families. What the Republicans fail to understand is that many of these families are people who the Republicans accused of being on welfare, they have accused them of not participating, but these families get up and go to work every day, and they work in difficult jobs, and they work in jobs that not a lot of people want to have. And at the end of the year, they end up basically poor. So one of the things this government did a number years ago was create the child tax credit. And a number of things we did in the last administration was to make it refundable so that we can make sure that those people would continue to have an incentive to stay in the work force.

Now, if the Republicans do not like the child tax credit, one of the things they could do is they could increase the minimum wage. They could make it easier for these families to earn more money. They would get less tax credit. But the Republicans do not want to increase the minimum wage. They do not want to provide those children health care. They do not want to provide them a tax credit, and yet, somehow, these people, they are not deserving of this effort.

It was a horrible decision they made. But now we see as that decision has

come to light, as the bright light of public awareness is focused on that, last week we saw the Senate, when they realized how upset the country was, how unfair people felt this was, the sense of economic injustice that reigned in the country, that these people would not be taken care of in a tax bill that is going to spend \$350 billion, they could not take care of these people for \$3 billion. The Senate, on a bipartisan basis, voted overwhelmingly to correct this injustice. They passed a bill in the last days of last week to send over to the House to correct this and to give these individuals the tax credit that they should have for their children, for these families who are working very hard, and even to extend it to some individuals in higher incomes.

But yet, what do we see the reaction of the Republican leadership in the House of Representatives, is that they are not going to do this bill. They want to hold these children, they want to hold these families hostage for some other tax cut that they can give to people who may be far less deserving than these children and these families. But they want to hold it hostage so that they can unite it with something they were talking about last week in terms of a \$100 billion bill or more.

These children and these families are entitled to get those checks in July just like every other family in America. It is important to our economy, it is important to the recovery of our economy, and it is important to the wherewithal of these families as they struggle to hold themselves together at low wages.

So the Republicans in the House and their leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the majority leader who has said he does not want to do this, that he was not going to take the bill, they must relent. They must relent for the benefit of these families and for the benefit of our economy.

Today, the President of the United States said he likes the Senate bill. He wants to work to see it passed. The President of the United States got the message. The Senate got the message. The Senate Republicans got the message, the Senate Democrats pushed for it, and were successful. And now what do we see? That it is the House Republicans that somehow cannot get the message that this is a matter of fairness, it is a matter of equity; that these people have played by the rules and they ought to be treated like every other American family with children. The time has come for the majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), to step aside and let this bill be passed this week so these families can get their checks in July to help them with this economy.

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

(Mr. DEFAZIO 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 North Carolina (Mr. MILLER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

HOUSE REPUBLICANS SHOULD FOLLOW SENATE LEAD AND PASS CHILD TAX CREDIT LEGISLATION FOR WORKING FAMILIES

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

Mr. PALLONE. Madam Speaker, I am coming to the House floor this evening to urge the Republican leadership to follow the Senate's lead and immediately approve the legislation that will provide a child tax credit to 12 million children, the children Republicans left out of their tax bill last month.

Included amongst these 12 million children are the children of U.S. military families. A report out last week showed nearly 1 in 5 children of active duty U.S. military families will not benefit from the increased tax credit because their parents earn too little to qualify.

Now, last week, Madam Speaker, Senate Republicans worked with Democrats to expand the child tax credit to the 12 million children they initially left out. And talk about a tale of two Chambers. While Senate Republicans were negotiating with Democrats to craft the bipartisan compromise, Republican leaders here in the House showed nothing but ambivalence towards the terribly unfair treatment of these working families. Madam Speaker, this House should follow the Senate's lead and immediately approve legislation extending the child tax credit to working families.

I hope that my Republican colleagues will follow the lead of their colleagues in the Senate and not their own leadership here in the House. Just last week, the House majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), and many of us have mentioned it, said he would not bring up a legislative remedy to this injustice, and he justified this inaction by saying, "There are a lot of other things that are more important than that." Well, I do not agree with him, and I have to say I hope that Republicans in the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY's) own party recognize the injustice.

Last week, conservative syndicated columnist Arianna Huffington said in the Los Angeles Times: "A magnetic compass always points north; a moral compass should always point out that heaping billions on the rich while ensuring that 1 out of 6 American children do not get a penny is dead wrong."

Conservative Arianna Huffington continued: "But that's exactly what congressional Republicans did in pushing through tax cut legislation last month, and that's what President Bush signed off on."

When hearing about the provision being pulled from the bill and the impact it would have on 1 in every 5 active duty military families, Republican Senator JOHN MCCAIN said, "My God, what kind of message are we sending when we leave out low-income families, exactly those who are in that category of the enlisted men and women who are fighting for us today in Iraq? It is beyond belief."

It truly is.

White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer probably explained it best when he said: "Does tax relief go to people who pay income taxes, or does it go above and beyond the forgiving of all income taxes, and you actually get a check from the government for more than you ever owed in income taxes?" That is what the House majority leader, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) is saying. He basically is backing up Fleischer's claims and he says, "To me, it is a little difficult to give tax relief to people who do not pay income tax."

Well, it is simply not true. These people do pay taxes. What the President's secretary and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY) forget is that these workers pay Federal taxes. Madam Speaker, 7.65 percent of their earnings go to pay for Social Security and Medicare. These hardworking parents also pay State and local taxes as well.

But beyond the issue of whether they pay or not, and they do, it is just the issue of simple fairness. How can the Republicans say it is fair to give a millionaire a tax break of more than \$90,000 while giving nothing to millions of working families? I do not understand how they even could conceive of such a thing.

Now, after realizing that the Republicans had left this provision out of their final tax bill, several of my Democratic colleagues introduced a bill early this week that would repair the damage from this irresponsible tax package. The gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL) has introduced legislation with many Democratic sponsors that would provide greater tax relief to the families of 19 million children, and the legislation is fully paid for, so it would not add to the record deficits created by the President and the Republicans in Congress.

Last week we Democrats in the House said we would not allow business to continue as usual around here until Republicans agreed to address the Rangel legislation. We did some procedural motions and we will continue to do that this week until the Republican House leadership stands up and says that they are going to pass this legislation.

I just do not understand where they are coming from. I do not understand

how they can be so crass and so really unfeeling about these low-income working families. Obviously everybody else here agrees: The President now today, the Democrats, and the Republicans in the other House. The only thing that is holding us up here on this is the House Republican leadership. They have to stop this attack on low- and middle-class families. They have to stop this attack, bring it to an end, pass this legislation. Let us bring it up and pass it immediately.

COMMEMORATING THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VILLAGE OF LYNDON STATION, WISCONSIN

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

Mr. KIND. Madam Speaker, this July the village of Lyndon Station, Wisconsin, in the heart of my congressional district, will be marking its centennial celebration. This beautiful, tranquil village lies in eastern Wisconsin and is surrounded by some of America's richest farmland. The village of Lyndon Station is a jewel in the crown of Juneau County. This community has been a primary contributor to the region's settlement, development of the timber industry, expansion of agriculture, and a hub of community trade and commercial growth for over 100 years.

The first settlers were native Americans who used the banks of what is now called Lyndon Creek to camp and hunt the abundant wildlife in the mixed prairie-woodland of this region. The first European settlement of the present village site was in 1849. Three brothers and two sisters of the Havey family arrived in this area to start a new life, having immigrated from Kildare, Ireland during the worst years of the potato famine. They settled near the present village location and were the beginning of a wave to discover the fertile soils of central Wisconsin.

Other settlers soon followed and established land claims in and near the growing village which became known as Kildare. In 1857, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad spurred new life into the area when it built a railroad station as it pushed its lines of commerce further west.

□ 1945

By 1870, the name Kildare Village was changed to Lyndon Station Village since the name Kildare was already being used for the township. There has been much speculation as to the origin of the name Lyndon, and it still remains a mystery; but such a mystery only adds to the community's charm. In 1903, Lyndon Station was officially incorporated as a village in the State of Wisconsin, even though the name had been on maps for nearly half a century.

The Lyndon Station Village Centennial celebrates the best of rural Amer-

ica. There are thousands of small rural communities across this Nation that form the backbone of rural life. These communities are the incubators of local politics, of commerce and education, recreation, entertainment, and faith for our rural neighborhoods.

Collectively, the hardworking citizens of small-town America are the builders of our great Nation. I am proud to congratulate the citizens of Lyndon Station Village on their 100th anniversary. I believe that it is important to recognize their unique contribution to the development of central Wisconsin and wish them happiness and prosperity during the next 100 years.

QUIBBLING ABOUT PAYMENTS TO IRAQIS IN NO-SHOW JOBS

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

Mr. EMANUEL. Madam Speaker, today the headline in The New York Times reads: "Iraqis are out of jobs, but payday still comes."

With the administration's and the President's blessings, 200,000 Iraqis, employees of the government ministries and government-owned companies, are being paid \$20 a day for no-show jobs. They do not work. They are getting paid \$20,000 a day by the American taxpayers. They do not work.

Let me read from the article. The story describes how "mechanics linger listlessly around machines that don't run; clerical employees wait for assignments that never come. Most don't even bother to show up at all, except on payday," to collect their \$20. There are 200,000 Iraqi people being paid \$20 a day for no-show jobs. Now, I come from Chicago, and I know a couple party bosses in Chicago that would be really envious about 200,000 getting paid \$20 a day for no-show jobs. They do not have to do anything, and they do not have to show up except for payday.

What is interesting is if we do the math, these families in Iraq are getting about \$1,000, equal to what we are asking for the children and their working parents here in America; for hardworking people who pay taxes to get as a child tax credit the same that this Iraqi citizen who has never worked, is not working, is getting, with the American taxpayers footing the bill for \$1,000 for their no-show job.

I go on to read from the article. According to one American official, an American official working for the government, working for the taxpayers of this country, for the U.S.-led administration in Iraq, he says, "This is going to continue for a good while. Nobody is going to quibble about paying a few more dinars into this economy to get things moving."

Well, this person is going to quibble. I do not know where we come off paying \$20 a day to somebody who does not

do any work, does not show up. Yet we have hardworking Americans who are trying to raise their children, who are trying to do right by their children, trying to raise them with the right values, to know the difference between right from wrong; and they are going to deserve a tax credit just like every other child in America. They are America's children, too.

Now, if we can find the good will to pay these Iraqis \$20 a day for no-show, coming to about \$1,000, which is the same amount as we are asking for a child credit for 6½ million American families, they would get \$1,000 per child, it would be the same amount as the Iraqi citizens.

If they do not have a quibble there, I do not have a quibble here. But I have a quibble if we are going to give these people \$20 a day for no-show, \$1,000 in the last 2 months, and we cannot find the wherewithal to give 6.5 million American families, 12 million American children, the same tax break other children are getting or other Iraqis are getting.

President Bush, who often says he likes to note that he is a man of his word, who says what he believes and believes what he says, and says what he does and does what he says, "My jobs and growth plan will reduce taxes for everyone," at the signing of the bill the President said, "We have taken aggressive action to strengthen the foundation of our economy so that every American who wants to work will be able to find a job."

Well, we have people who are working who deserve a tax cut. They are not getting a tax cut. We have got 9 million Americans who are unemployed, 6.1 percent. When this administration started, they had 4 percent unemployment. We have got 6.1 percent unemployment now. We have added \$3 trillion to the Nation's debt, and 3 million Americans have lost their jobs. As we say back in Chicago, what a deal.

That is what has happened here. We have added \$3 trillion to the Nation's debt and 3 million Americans are without jobs. Corporate interests and special interests are getting tax cuts, and the American people are paying with their jobs. Now we are footing the bill for \$20 a day for people who do not show up for work, and yet we are denying 12 million American children their sense of economic justice.

If we do not take care of this problem today and take up what the Senate did, 94 Senators, Democrats and Republicans, if we do not take it up, these children's children, these families, Americans, hardworking families trying to do right for their children will be denied the same tax cut that will be provided for those children of other families here in America and have been denied that same \$1,000 we are providing for the families in Iraq.

I think it is high time, after 3 million unemployed Americans, 5 million more Americans without health care since when the President took over, \$1 tril-

lion worth of corporate assets that have been closed down since this President's economic plan has been adopted, and 2 million Americans walked out of middle class to poverty, I think it is high time we take these 12 million children who are part of 6.5 million families and give those hardworking Americans a tax cut. They deserve the same chance at that dream.

We are going to build a dream for Iraq, a better future for Iraq, one with roads, one with 13 million Iraqis with health care, 4 million Iraqi children will get early childhood education. Yet we are cutting 58,000 Americans from Head Start.

If we are going to do this for Iraq, I call on the Speaker, I call on the President, and I call on the majority leader, who have denied these 12 million children the same economic equality and the same economic vision of a better future tomorrow that we have provided to these Iraqis who are getting \$20 a day from the American taxpayer for no-show jobs.

**BILL DESIGNATING POST OFFICE
AFTER FRANCISCO A. MARTINEZ
FLORES**

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

Ms. SOLIS. Madam Speaker, today I rise to introduce a bill designating a post office after Francisco Martinez Flores, a courageous and dedicated Marine from the city of Duarte in California in my congressional district.

Lance Corporal Francisco Martinez Flores demonstrated his courage and his love of our country when he lost his life serving in Operation Iraqi Freedom just 2 weeks before gaining his U.S. citizenship. I take this opportunity not only to pay tribute to Lance Corporal Martinez Flores as a brave and self-sacrificing Marine, but also to remember him as a loving son, brother, a friend to those living in California's 32nd Congressional District.

Known affectionately by his friends and family as "Panchito", Lance Corporal Martinez grew up in the city of Duarte, having emigrated with his family at the age of 3 from Mexico. He attended Duarte High School, where he displayed both his artistic and athletic talents by participating in the high school football team and jazz band.

After graduating from high school in June of 2000, Francisco enlisted in the Marines and was assigned to the First Marine Division Marine Corps Air Ground-Combat Center at Twenty-nine Palms in California. On January 23, 2003, Lance Corporal Martinez Flores was sent abroad to fight in Operation Iraqi Freedom. While only 2 weeks shy of gaining his U.S. citizenship, he was killed in the line of duty near Nasiriyah, Iraq, on March 25, 2003.

After his death, Lance Corporal Martinez Flores was granted posthumous U.S. citizenship on April 6, 2003. He was

one of those thousands of lawful permanent residents who volunteered their service to protect the United States by joining the U.S. military.

Lance Corporal Martinez Flores was a strong, noble, valiant man who lost his life to ensure the loved ones he left behind could live in a safer and more secure world. His mother, Martha, stated, "He loved the United States so much. He was from Mexico, but he was fighting for America and its ideals."

My heart and my prayers go out to the family and friends of Lance Corporal Martinez Flores, as well as to all those who have lost their loved ones during these turbulent times. The mayor and city council of the city of Duarte have also expressed their support for naming the post office located at 1210 Highland Avenue in Duarte, California, after Francisco A. Martinez Flores.

I urge my colleagues to join me in recognizing the American ideals of hero Lance Corporal Francisco Martinez Flores, who fought for and defended the spirit that we embody here in this House.

I also want to provide attention to his family, because his family is a working-class family. They work very hard to put food on their table, and I could see where they are going to need a lot of comfort and help and support by this Federal Government. I hope, too, that by the end of the week we also can pay them with the child tax credit that they would need that they would not be eligible for at this time.

So I would ask Members to remember a soldier who gave his life, a soldier who represents a working-class family who dedicated himself to the freedoms that we have. Let us not forget our men and women who serve us and those that are giving their lives as we stand here tonight.

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

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

**OFFERING SUPPORT FOR OUR
MILITARY AND CALLING FOR
CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION
OF INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO
CONGRESS AND THE ADMINIS-
TRATION REGARDING WEAPONS
OF MASS DESTRUCTION**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, we have had a very long journey. I think it is important today to first of all again acknowledge the brave men and women who serve us in the United States military; and to add a recommitment to those who are returning home, one, to ensure that they

have full health care, whether they remain in the service or they come out as veterans. In addition, I think it is important to add a \$1,000 bonus to combat veterans on returning, as they move into either their new lives or remain in the United States military.

I can truly say, Madam Speaker, that whether or not we agreed with the policies of the war in Iraq, as Members of the United States Congress and as Americans there was not one divide relating to our support for the United States military.

Even today, as we begin to analyze the aftermath of Iraq, in my meetings with Arab nations just a month or so ago, leaders of Arab nations, many of them offering to work with the United States in the rebuilding of Iraq, just a few days ago I had submitted into the defense authorization bill an amendment to ensure that small and medium-sized minority- and women-owned businesses are engaged in the opportunity of rebuilding Iraq. We realize that we have a responsibility to that nation, as well as to the troops on the ground.

We can also see that the war is really not over inasmuch as we are seeing the loss of our troops on a daily basis. There is much work to do to rebuild hospitals, roads, bridges, and neighborhoods in Baghdad and other places. We believe it is important to do it together.

But I think we have another challenge, Madam Speaker, that is extremely important. Madam Speaker, I recall the debate on the floor of the House. I stand by my vote. I believe that war should have been the last option and the U.N. inspectors should have been allowed to do their job.

But I know my colleagues who voted for the effort to go into Iraq did it out of conviction and the belief that this Nation was under imminent attack. Again, I say that we did not vote in the constitutional way because this Congress did not vote under article 1 to declare war. I maintain that we still had that hurdle to overcome. But the basis of the vote, the overwhelming vote to go forward was on the intelligence that was given by the intelligence community, not only to this Congress but, I assume, to the administration.

I believe it is imperative, Madam Speaker, that we have a special investigation, a special prosecutor to investigate what the intelligence community and officials knew, what information they gave to Congress, what information they withheld. We need to know for sure what information they had, definitive information, about the weapons of mass destruction. The American people need to know, first of all; the United States military needs to know; the United States Congress needs to know; and certainly all of the families of the loved ones of those who we mourn who lost their lives need to know.

Madam Speaker, I am unsure of what the intelligence community knew.

They stand now to say that they have documentation; but 2 months now have gone by, and we have found no weapons of mass destruction.

Many would say we as Members stand on the floor of the House and put ourselves in jeopardy because tomorrow we could find the weapons of mass destruction. I am not in an argument with my government. I hope my government is a government of truth, and whatever they find, it will be in conjunction with the work that they are doing on behalf of the American people.

But it was represented to us that because of the weapons of mass destruction that Saddam Hussein had, this Nation was under imminent threat.

□ 2000

And so the President used his powers to go forward. Without the declaration of war of this Congress, Members of this Congress cried on the floor of the House because they were so conflicted with the idea that they must do what is right for the American people and go forward with war, because they believed in the information that was given.

In order for this Nation to be a true democracy, for the Constitution to prevail, for us to be a shining example of transparency in this Nation, it is important that we find out the truth. I do not believe we have the truth today. And I think it is imperative that even if Congress investigates this, because we have a one-party government, I think it is imperative that we have a special prosecutor to investigate and/or commission to investigate the tragedy of the war and as well the information that has been given to us.

Madam Speaker, I believe we can do no less to unveil the truth as our troops are fighting for us in Afghanistan and fighting for us in Iraq, as they are offering their lives for the ultimate principles of freedom and justice. It is imperative, again, must I say, that we have the truth. I hope that the administration listens, a special prosecutor, a special independent commission to investigate the existence of weapons of mass destruction and what the intelligence community knew.

ERASED CHILD TAX CREDITS HURT MILITARY FAMILIES

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

Ms. WATSON. Madam Speaker, it is shameful enough that the Republican leadership in Congress has chosen to gamble our children's future on a risky and unsustainable tax scheme such as the one signed into law just a few weeks ago; but what is even more shameful is that Republicans sold out the very men and women who recently fought for our country in Iraq by cutting many of them out of the tax cut.

That is right, only hours before Congress was set to vote on President Bush's big tax giveaway, Republicans cut out provisions to expand the child tax credit for working families in order to give the President's wealthy friends a bigger tax cut.

The child tax credit provisions Republicans erased would have benefited millions of working families, including many families of American soldiers, sailors, and airmen just as they returned from war.

Just this weekend we had POW Shoshana Johnson in the Los Angeles area. During the time she was a prisoner of war, her family who lives in my district held a vigil. They tied those beautiful pink ribbons around the trees in the neighborhood so no one would forget that Americans were held hostage and were captives in Iraq.

So it is outrageous, and my outrage grows when I hear members of the Republican leadership suggesting that we are formulating a new welfare program. I am talking about and referring to working families. I am referring to those who have served their country in a land so far away many cannot even find on a map, in a land that did not have any concrete connection to 9-11, in a land that was headed up by a dictator who was not friendly with Osama bin Laden and we supposedly were going to have terrorism. But still, our troops went over under the command of the Commander in Chief, and they did an exemplary job.

This is the reason why we have set up an institute in Los Angeles that will work with the school district and will work with the community and it is an institute named after Shoshana Johnson, called the Institute for Heroism, Endurance and Patriotism. She had a daughter. Should she have been killed, as was rumored, that daughter would be in the care of someone else or maybe a part of the welfare system. I do not know, but she has a strong family. So in the name of the POWs, in the name of our veterans, we must vote to restore the deleted provisions that have helped millions of Americans and their children and our people who are still in Iraq and they have families back home.

Believe me, their incomes currently make them eligible for Federal programs. We must be sure that they too can take advantage of the child tax credit because, indeed, they are working people. We owe it to them. They deserve it.

AMERICA'S REPUTATION AS PEACEMAKER IS DOUBTED

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

Ms. KAPTUR. Madam Speaker, to win the war on terrorism ultimately America must be able to make more friendships and reduce the number of enemies that face us. In places very far from home, friendship is a matter of

the heart, and it is a matter of the mind. And thus it was with some dismay that I read a poll last week, the results of which I wish to place in the RECORD tonight, done by the Pew Research Center going and interviewing over 16,000 people across the globe, largely in the Muslim world, but also in Europe and other places, asking them whether they had a favorable opinion of the United States or not. And in the very places where we need to make friends, the numbers are not good.

Take Morocco, a country of 31 million people, where there have been, unfortunately, some terrorist attacks, 73 percent of the people have an unfavorable opinion of the United States. In Lebanon, so key to regional peace, 73 percent of the people have an unfavorable opinion of the United States. In Turkey, where the future remains uncertain, one of our staunchest allies from a military standpoint, but 85 percent of the people with an unfavorable opinion of the United States. That is a country of 67 million people. In Pakistan, where we know there are al Qaeda cells, where we know we have madrasas operating, spewing hate every day and instilling young children that they should give their lives in the cause of terrorism, a country of 147 million people, 87 percent, 87 percent have an unfavorable opinion of the United States. In Jordan, right next door to Iraq, a country of 5 million people, over 5 million people, 99 percent of the people have an unfavorable view of this country. And in the Palestinian Authority, where we continue to see such great violence, there really is not any support for the United States. In fact, the number shows zero percent favorable rating for the United States.

I must ask the question, how does one make peace in these circumstances, lasting peace? In that regard, I wish to place in the RECORD a really beautiful article written by David Ignatius in The Washington Post last Friday. I will not quote all of it here, but I will just read it to you in part. It was written from the steps of the American University of Beirut, a place I have personally visited, the university in that region that has produced the leaders, the leaders that have tried to make ties to the West.

The writer says he found himself sitting on the steps talking to some of the students whose generation will have to transform our hope for peace into reality. And the most hopeful thing he could say after visiting with them was that they had an understanding of how powerful America is. But the question seems to be in his mind after speaking with the students that we have a long way to go to restore America's credible role as a peacemaker. The students, to put it bluntly, he says, do not believe that America is serious about its values. Suggest to them, for example, that America really wants to advance democracy and freedom in Iraq rather than grab the country's oil and you get

smirks and guffaws from the students. For these students, America has come to stand for jobs and income, not human rights. It is a way to get paid, they say. That is why these kids are happy to be going to an American university because it is the best way to get on the global gravy train.

For them, America is a good market, one of the students he talked to said, rather than a place with admirable values. In fact, one of the students told him, might makes right in America, does it not?

We were talking under the main gate, he says, of the American University of Beirut, which is inscribed with the words of its founders: "That they may have life and have it more abundantly." But this is the generous spirit that educated generations of Arab leaders, and for decades the United States has been living off the good will that that helped to create, and it is beginning to wane.

He talks about how former presidents of the American University of Beirut have been killed, have been kidnapped and always live under threat. And yet, students are saying to him today, freedom in America has been abolished. One of the young girls said, Look at civil liberties. They do not exist any more in the United States. He says the degree of cynicism among these students is frightening.

Madam Speaker, as I close my remarks tonight, the writer encourages us to look at our basic values of human rights, of freedom and democracy, and give those precedence in all of our efforts towards peace, not just making money in the marketplace.

[From the Washington Post, June 6, 2003]

AMERICA'S DOUBTERS IN BEIRUT

(By David Ignatius)

BEIRUT.—As President Bush was proclaiming America's role as a peacemaker between Arabs and Israelis this week, I found myself sitting on the steps of the American University of Beirut, talking to some of the students whose generation will have to transform this vision into reality.

The most hopeful thing I can say is that the students seem to understand how powerful America is. And while Bush is far from popular here, there seems to be growing respect for his orneriness—for that laconic manner that just possibly might be a match for the stubbornness of the Israelis and the Palestinians.

But judging by the students' comments, Bush has a long way to go in restoring America's status as a credible peacemaker. These students, to put it bluntly, don't believe that America is serious about its values. Suggest to them, for example, that America really wants to advance democracy and freedom in Iraq, rather than grab the country's oil, and you get smirks and guffaws.

For these Arab students, America stands for jobs and income, not human rights. It's a way to get paid. That's why these kids are happy to be going to an American university—because it's the best way to get on the global gravy train.

"We still feel proud to be here. We're getting the best degree in the best university in our region," says Maurice Haddad, a bright 24-year-old majoring in information systems. Like almost all the students I met, he wants

to go to graduate school in the States. But for him, America "is a good market," rather than a place with admirable values. In America, "might makes right," said one student bluntly.

We were talking under the main gate of AUB, which is inscribed with the words its founders used in 1866 to describe its mission: "That they may have life and have it more abundantly." The generous spirit educated generations of Arab leaders, and for decades the United States has been living off the goodwill it helped create.

I am a shameless fan of AUB. I sat here more than 20 years ago with AUB President Malcolm Kerr shortly before he was assassinated; I talked with AUB President David Dodge before he was kidnapped; I began debating Arab bureaucracy with the current AUB president, John Waterbury, in 1981. I deeply admire these men and the university they have bravely struggled to maintain.

But I had the sense this week that for the students, the tank is beginning to run dry. "Freedom in America has been abolished," said a 21-year-old medical student named Lamia. She offered a summary of court cases to buttress her argument that civil liberties in America have been compromised in Bush's jihad against terrorism.

The degree of cynicism among students is frightening. We began talking about the 9/11 terrorist attacks, for example, and nearly every student expressed doubt that Osama bin Laden's suicide bombers had really toppled the twin towers. "It was a play to make it look like the Arabs did it," said a young woman named Natalia.

When I asked the students how they could believe such conspiratorial nonsense even though they had seen the buildings collapse on television, they shouted our alternative theories. "The tape was altered," said one. "Technically those two buildings couldn't have collapsed unless there were bombs set at the bottom," insisted another. "How could someone in a cave in Afghanistan have done all that?" Asked a third.

"It's your fault!" argued one young woman in a ponytail. "Your movies have taught us that any image can be manipulated."

Students can be forgiven for saying crazy things. But I worry that their comments reflect a deeper problem. Sociologists distinguish between the "normative" and "instrumental" attributes of an institution or nation. For past AUB students, America appeared to stand for normative values. For this more cynical generation, America is instead an instrumental machine for getting jobs and making money.

Waterbury took a laudable step this week in trying to reconnect the Arab world with America and its values. Thanks to a \$5.2 million gift from Saudi Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, AUB will soon found a new center for American studies. Maybe that will help.

AUB is an example of what people mean when they say "soft power." All the armor in America's awesome hard-power military will end up rusting in the sand if Arabs don't come to believe that those tanks represent a culture that promotes freedom and democracy—and that America lives by those values.

FAVORABLE OF USA (Population in millions)

Nation	Favorable rating (percent)	Population
Israel	79	6.1
Great Britain	70	59.7
Canada	63	31.9
Australia	60	19.5
Italy	60	57.7
S. Korea	46	48.3
Germany	45	83.2
France	43	59.7

FAVORABLE OF USA—Continued
(Population in millions)

Nation	Favorable rating (percent)	Population
Spain	38	40.1
Russia	36	144.9
Brazil	34	176.0
Kuwait	63	2.1
Nigeria	61	129.9
Morocco	27	31.1
Lebanon	27	3.6
Turkey	15	67.3
Indonesia	15	231.3
Pakistan	13	147.6
Jordan	1	5.3
Palestinian Authority	0	2.1

TAX PLAN EXCLUDES POOR FAMILIES FROM CHILD TAX CREDIT

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

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Madam Speaker, approximately 2 weeks ago the administration signed into law one of the largest tax cut breaks ever for the wealthiest Americans. He did so at a time when the unemployment is on the rise. Since President Bush took office, approximately 2 million jobs have been lost, and the Hispanic community is being hit hard; and the minorities throughout this country are being hit hard. Those hardworking Americans are now at 7.5 percent unemployment, a lot more in proportion than the rest of the population.

People want to work, but the jobs are simply not there. But instead of pursuing policies to stimulate the economy, instead of looking at creating jobs such as providing resources to improve our infrastructure in this country, when we have the decaying bridges, when we have decaying infrastructure, when most of our dams are 50 to 60 years old, instead of investing in our country and in the next generation, the administration has chose to push through a plan that includes a tax cut that does nothing to address the financial problems and worries that are facing millions of Americans.

While making false promises that the tax cut will create jobs and stimulate our economy, these tax cuts are targeted primarily at the large corporations; and the wealthiest of Americans, such as those that earn \$1 million a year, will see a tax cut of nearly \$100,000. We understand that people who pay taxes deserve a break, but we have gone from record surpluses to skyrocketing deficits.

We get elected to come up here to respond to the problems that confront Americans, those problems that our senior citizens continue to have difficulty with, such as prescription drug coverage. Our seniors are still having difficulties in not being able to buy prescription drugs. Our seniors are still having difficulties not being able to have access to affordable health care. In a country that has the most, the best health care in the world, our seniors are having, and Americans throughout are having, difficulties hav-

ing affordable and accessible health care.

We need to make sure that we address the problems that our seniors continue to confront in prescription drug coverage. We need to make sure that we continue those efforts on Social Security to ensure that the next generations will not be left without and left in poverty. We cannot meet our obligations to support critical health and education programs with a tax cut this size, as it does, because we all recognize how irresponsible it is.

Now, we find that in addition to favoring the wealthiest of this country, the administration's tax cut plan excludes those that need the assistance the most, the low- and moderate-income families. Families that make in between \$10,500 to \$26,625 a year are now, under law, excluded from collecting the \$400 child tax credit.

□ 2015

Those who could benefit the most from the tax credit have been left out and find themselves unable to qualify.

In my district the median income is approximately \$23,000, and so more than half would fall under this category. The child tax credit has long been crucial for working families who deeply are affected by tax burden. They also are entitled to this child tax credit.

While more than 85 percent of Hispanic males are in the workforce, which is the largest percentage for any ethnic group or anyone, many Hispanics work in low-wage temporary and seasonal jobs. Latinos are out there working hard, making things happen; yet those are the ones that are being left out from being able to participate in a child tax credit. How can the administration argue that this plan helps working men and women when working families are the ones that are left out?

The hardworking Americans may not be one of the wealthiest, but they are the future of this country. They are the ones that make the economy go. They are the workforce of this country. Our communities deserve the gratitude and respect from the leaders that represent them, and they deserve a fair share of any proposed tax relief plan, not just the crumbs left over after the Nation's wealthiest few.

We need to make sure that the tax plans are plans that are appropriate. They need to be responsive. We also need to make sure that we address the issues that confront us, such as the need for health care and other things.

MCI WORLDCOM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. BLACKBURN). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. MEEKS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MEEKS of New York. Madam Speaker, MCI WorldCom represents the largest corporate fraud in United

States history, costing shareholders more than \$180 billion and still counting. So far, more than 22,000 jobs have been lost, and the company just received a tax refund from the Federal Government totaling \$300 million for the so-called overpayments on the fraud MCI WorldCom committed.

Meanwhile, the impact in New York has been devastating. MCI WorldCom has laid off 30 percent of its workforce in New York, with most of the cuts coming in Long Island. New York State's pension fund, the second largest in the Nation, has lost about \$306 million on MCI WorldCom, the worst single loss in the firm's history. Not to be excluded, New York City's five pension funds reported that they lost \$160 million on WorldCom stock.

Why should we care? Because these pension funds represent a portion, possibly a significant portion, of New York State's public sector employees, policemen, firefighters, teachers, et cetera, who became victims of MCI WorldCom's fraud. Just the State pension fund alone represents more than 950,000 active and retired public employees and their beneficiaries.

There is so much more that can be said of this case; however, since time is brief, I will focus my remarks on what I believe are the most egregious items of this case.

First, the proposed settlement with the Securities and Exchange Commission. I am extremely disappointed with the SEC's decision to settle with MCI WorldCom for a mere \$500 million, and I know that sounds like a lot, but the original \$1.5 billion fine represented less than 1 percent of the losses amassed by shareholders because of the company's fraud. This eye-popping ruling brings the SEC's credibility into question. Such ostrich-like attitudes by the SEC will only increase cynicism from investors on the SEC's legitimacy.

As MCI begins to rebrand its corporate image and seeks to distance itself from its criminal stigma, it is incumbent upon the SEC to act in a decisive manner that adequately punishes MCI WorldCom for its massive crimes. Their clever attempts to return to corporate normalcy cannot be realized until MCI WorldCom makes complete restitution for its criminal acts. As the regulatory agency tasked with overseeing corporate behavior, the SEC should serve as a strong enforcer and not a willing accomplice that rewards criminal activity.

Last week, I filed a petition with the U.S. district court requesting that Judge Rakoff delay any decision in the MCI WorldCom-SEC settlement until adequate information is available publicly to enable the thorough evaluation of the company's fraud, the proposed settlement, and MCI WorldCom's current and future plans for compliance with applicable law. I also urged the court to hold a hearing on the findings set forth in the upcoming reports of the examiner in bankruptcy and the

special investigative committee and evaluate the proposed settlement only when the SEC's investigation of the company is complete.

The second issue regarding this case is MCI WorldCom's attempt to use the Federal bankruptcy laws under Chapter 11 reorganization. As a member of the House Committee on Financial Services and a supporter of reforming our bankruptcy laws, I can tell my colleagues this is not the intent of Congress. Reorganization under the bankruptcy laws should not apply when the assets are the product of criminal activities. Bankruptcy should not be a vehicle for laundering stolen goods.

I am shocked and appalled that MCI WorldCom, or any other company for that matter, can manipulate our laws in this manner after admitting to criminal behavior. This is why I am working on a legislative remedy that will correct this and plan to introduce that legislation very soon. It is important to realize that if MCI WorldCom is allowed to reemerge from bankruptcy with 90 percent of its debt eliminated and retain the fruits of its crime, they will gain a significant artificial advantage over its competitors who played by the rules. If this happens, the message that regulators, policymakers, and other government officials would then send to the marketplace is crime does indeed pay; cook your books, defraud your investors, and you too can seek bankruptcy protection and become a more viable competitor.

The security laws are intended to protect innocent parties from fraud in the marketplace, while the Bankruptcy Code is intended to facilitate the reorganization of financially troubled companies who make unwise but honest business decisions; not companies who commit fraud.

The case with MCI Worldcom is clear. There actions were to defraud investors, their employees and the public. And they did so very successfully.

Before I conclude, I need to make two final points. MCI Worldcom executives have stated that they are owed tax refund on profits they "really didn't make." Also, according to Business Week, the company plans to carry forward its newly recognized losses—"at least \$6.5 billion"—from prior years in order to shelter future earnings from taxes.

This loophole allows MCI Worldcom to abuse the tax code because under Internal Revenue Code Sec. 108(a), income from the cancellation of debt (COD) is excluded from a taxpayer's gross income if the cancellation occurs in a Title 11 bankruptcy proceeding or under other specified circumstances. Under the code, sec. 108(b), a taxpayer benefiting from this income exclusion must reduce its tax attributes, including net operating losses (NOLs).

MCI Worldcom is exploiting an obscurity in the law. Rather than treat its NOLs and other tax attributes on a consolidated basis, the company is interpreting the law in a manner that allows it to deal with the NOLs on a separate basis. This would allow MCI Worldcom to preserve its NOLs and other tax attributes, so an estimated \$10 billion or more of income to

the new MCI Worldcom will be tax free. This means that the company will not pay taxes into the foreseeable future.

Now, although I support targeted tax relief and I realized long ago that the Bush tax cuts benefitted those at the very top, this is ridiculous. Here again, I will introduce legislation to clarify the treatment of tax attributes under section 108 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for taxpayers who file consolidated returns.

Finally, I need to address MCI Worldcom's best customer—you, me and everyone who pays federal taxes. Why? Because the federal government continues to be its biggest and best customer despite the company's criminal behavior. For a matter of fact, the company is getting no-bid contracts like the one to build a wireless network in Iraq, a line of business the company is not even in.

Curious? You bet. The federal government did not have this same policy with Enron and Arthur Andersen. Since committing the largest fraud in U.S. history MCI Worldcom has moved up to the eighth largest federal technology contractor according to a review by Washington Technology, with \$772 million in sales. Why would the government award business to a criminal organization who is very unstable? You will have to get your answer from the Bush Administration.

To allow a corrupt, criminal enterprise like MCI Worldcom to perpetuate its violation of the securities laws and visit this injury on an already distraught sector would be an injustice to the millions of its victims nationwide. Whether it is the proposed settlement, its bankruptcy proceedings, its abuse of the tax code or the awarding of federal contracts, MCI Worldcom must pay for its crimes and make full restitution. Anything less will be the biggest fraud of all.

REPUBLICANS LOOK AFTER AMERICA'S CHILDREN, TOO

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. MCINNIS. Madam Speaker, first of all, I would like to address the preceding comments from the gentleman from New York in regards to WorldCom. His remarks are right on point. I would urge the gentleman to look even further at the WorldCom situation and take a look at the \$27 million house that Scott Sullivan has off Florida, take a look at Bernie Ebbers and the money that guy has put into this. That is a clear case of not just corporate fraud but criminal fraud. Any one of us, any normal citizen in the United States, in my opinion, would have already been put into prison having committed the kind of fraud that cost tens of thousands of people their jobs at WorldCom and perhaps one of the biggest bookkeeping frauds in the history of corporate America.

So I think that the gentleman from the other side of the aisle, his comments are in order.

I want to address some of the other comments. For the last hour or so,

only the Democrats have been speaking on the floor, and their remarks time after time after time have been very partisan, very political, and full of a lot of rhetoric. Although it is not the main topic of my discussion this evening, I think it is important that at least some rebuttal be put into the record so that the Democratic, which was led off by the minority leader over there, that these partisan remarks, which as I said earlier were full of rhetoric and, in my opinion, inaccuracies, that these remarks do not go into the RECORD without some type of clarification or at least hearing from the other side.

Let me begin with the minority leader, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), and her remarks. Her remarks are the Democrats look after the children in this country. As long as I have served in politics, as long as I have served in elected office, I have yet to find a Republican or a Democrat or an unaffiliated officeholder that does not care about children, and for the minority leader to stand up here and try and claim a monopoly, that only the Democrats care about children, is nothing but pure partisan politics. In fact, I think it is fundamentally unfair to play off this type of, in essence, using the children to forward a political point that the Democratic Party wants to make.

What this is, that only the Democrats care about children, what this effort by the minority leader is is simple spin, S-P-I-N. We can tell we are coming up on a Presidential election. All we have to do is listen to some of these 5-minute comments. All it is is spin, spin, spin, not debate or not discussion as to how to move this country in a positive forward manner, but clearly focused on how to defeat President George W. Bush in this upcoming election.

It is fundamentally unfair to stand at this podium and say that any of our colleagues, whether they are Democrat or Republican, any of our colleagues are against the children, or only one side of the aisle down here cares about the children.

I would say, and I think my comments are 100 percent accurate, that every woman, every man, Congressman, every Republican, and I think we may have one unaffiliated in these Chambers, every one of us cares about the children, and it is unfair in a debate to continue to try and put the children in front of them as kind of a screen to push another political point. And I wish the minority leader would get off that and come back here and debate and discuss the substance of the issue instead of standing up here in front of a microphone, in front of us, and saying only the Democrats care about the children, only the Democrats will help the children, and the remarks go on from there.

We have got the gentleman from Texas, from San Antonio, a very fine gentleman, a good guy, but he gets a

little exaggerated when he says that the Republicans, they are not investing in the future generation; only the Democrats are worried about investing in the future generation.

Give me a break. There are Members on both sides of the aisle back here in the Nation's Capital who care very, very much about the future generation of this country. In fact, I would say that by far, if not unanimously, I would say by far the huge majority, whether they are Republican or whether they are Democrat, care about the future of this country. And for the Democrats to stand up simply because they know nobody is going to debate them, there is nobody to rebut their comments, they have been up here 1 hour nonstop, nonrebutted, that is why they think it is safe to stand up here and say it is only the Democrats who care about the future generation of this country, only the Democrats care about the children of this country. Even to go further, the gentleman makes the remarks, the working families are left out. So the Democrats stand up for the working families.

The working families are out of this tax cut. My gosh, the majority of working families in this country are the ones who are the primary beneficiaries of this tax cut. There are working families above \$20,000 income. I think the gentleman believes that in his mind the only working families, or at least his comments seem to portray is that the only "working families" in this country are the families that make less than \$20,000 or make less than \$10,000 a year.

I want to tell the gentleman and tell him directly, I have got a lot of families where both the man and the wife, both of them are working, and they have happen to make \$40,000 a year, and they would take deep offense by the fact that they work 50 hours a week, both of them, the one couple I am thinking of, and the gentleman would stand up here and say, well, that is not the working families. Apparently, the working families are those who make \$20,000 and less a year.

There are a lot of people, regardless of income in this country, there are lots of people that are working families. In fact, the majority of families in this country are working families, and for the Democrats to stand up here, again only because they are not rebutted, only because there is nobody to say the other side of the story, they stand up here and make it sound like they are the only ones that stand for "working families" and the only working families in this country are those in the low-income bracket.

Whether it is low-income income or upper-low-income or lower-medium-income or medium-high-income or higher-medium-income, whatever classification, I know families, in fact almost all the families I know in any of those income brackets, are hard-working families.

□ 2030

It is not a sin in this country, and it is not disrespectful in this country, and it is not ignoring the future generations of this country for us to pass legislation that benefits people that make more than \$20,000 a year. There are a lot making \$40,000 a year; and in a family of say two or three kids, that is not a lot of money. That money is stretched very, very thin. Just because of the fact that you have kids and you and your wife both work and you only manage to bring down \$40,000 a year does not mean you should be classified by the Democrats as the wealthy class in our economy.

The only reason I can figure out why these remarks were made is because they did not think that somebody on the other side of the aisle was going to be sitting in the Chamber, as I was listening, to these remarks, and they thought they were going to go into this CONGRESSIONAL RECORD completely un rebutted. We have kind of a doctrine of fairness around here. Let us talk about the facts.

They may be against the tax cut, so just say you are against the tax cut. Do not come out to the House floor and say the Republicans, because of the tax cut, do not care about working families. The Republicans, because of the tax cut, it means that only the Democrats care about the children of this country, as the minority leader, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), said at the beginning of her remarks.

There ought to be a sense of fairness here, and I want to talk for a few minutes about what we looked at on that tax cut, what is important about that tax cut; and I think when we discuss the reason for the tax cut, we have to take a look at where we are. We have an economy that is right on the edge. It is not an economy that is in a depression, but it is an economy where we are suffering from higher unemployment. By the way, although an administration alone does not have enough control, in my opinion, to take an economy out of a recession or put it into a recession, the fact is this economy, which goes up and down, this economy always cycles. There is the old theory, everything that goes up has to come down.

This economy began its downward cycle under the previous Democratic administration. That is not to say that administration drove it in because the economy was also going in an upswing during a Democratic administration. It does say, however, we have to face these cycles. If we look at economic history, especially with specific tax cuts, it has been proven very effective as a tool to take you out of the downturn of the economic cycle; tax cuts are a stimulus to put you in the upturn. However, the tax cuts have to be focused. We do not want to go out and create a welfare program. The reason that bill did not include income tax cuts for people that did not pay income

taxes is because that is a welfare program. We are focusing on the people who pay taxes. If you do not pay taxes, you should not get an income tax rebate or refund or credit.

That does not mean that they should not get some kind of assistance. That is up to you to vote whether you want to provide that assistance or not; but what we are trying to do with this economy, and by the way, there are a lot of people on the Democratic side that want this economy to improve regardless of who gets credit for it. We want these people back to work. One of the ways to do it is to put in a very targeted tax cut.

This tax cut is a lot like jumping a car with a dead battery. Some Members would argue that to be fair to the car, you would take the jumper cables and attach them to the bumpers, attach the jumper cables to the door handles, make sure all of the car got a jump off the battery. The fact is you need to target a specific part of the car. You need to put the jolt, the shock, the charge on the battery. So you put the jumper cables on the battery. If you get the battery started, the whole car benefits and moves along.

It is the same thing here. This tax cut was designed, for example, through the capital gains reduction. Now in our country, it is not just the wealthiest people of this economy who benefit from a tax cut on capital gains. There are a lot of people out there, lots of people out there who benefit from capital gains reduction. But the biggest benefit from reducing the capital gains taxation is the economy as a whole, the society as a whole. If you take a look at economic history from an economic historical perspective, every time the government has reduced the capital gains taxation rate, you have seen an up-tick in the economy.

So it is true that only people who have capital assets and sell them with a capital long-term gain may directly benefit from that reduction. That benefit to that targeted area benefits the economic picture as a whole. That is very, very important here. If you take a look at the various elements of that tax cut, the dividends, for example, first of all, you should have a tax system. Your Tax Code should be fair. It is not fair to tax a person with double taxation. Dividend taxation is a double taxation. Not even the most liberal of the Democrats argue that it was not double taxation. However, the most liberal of the Members of Congress argue that is okay because mainly the people above \$26,000 a year can afford to be double taxed. Remember, anytime you fund one of these liberal programs that some of these people want to fund, anytime you give money to somebody that is not working, it is a transfer. The government does not create wealth. The people that create wealth are the people that are working and exchanging their labor for some kind of a product, the creative aspect of it. All the government does is act as a transfer

agent. For example, to give money to people that do not work, and there are a number of people that do not work that our society thinks have a legitimate case for not working and believes that the working people should support; and as you know, there are a lot of people that ought to be working and are not, by their choice they are not working, but the issue here is anytime you give money to people who are not working, you have to take it from people who are working.

It is the same thing with this tax credit. When you take the money from people or give money that are not paying taxes, give them a refund or some kind of credit rebate, you are taking it from people who do pay the taxes. My point in bringing this up is that is okay for a while, but you better be able to look right in the eye of the taxpayer or look in the eye of the person that is working and be able to explain to him legitimately why you are going to take money from those people, look right at them and say you are working, so I am going to take money from you and give it to this person over here who is not working.

Now when you do that, the average Joe or the average Jane over there that is working, and you say I am going to take some of your money that you have worked hard for and I am going to give it to person A over here who is not working, the first legitimate question that the working Joe or working Jane is going to say is, why are you giving them the money when they are not working? You might say, well, they are physically handicapped or mentally handicapped. They are not capable of working. You can expect the working Joe or working Jane is going to say that is a legitimate reason. Our society ought to help where we can with that kind of cause.

But when you go to working Jane and working Joe and say, look, we are going to take money from you because you are working, and we are going to give it to somebody over here who is not working, and they say why are they not working, and you say, well, because they have chosen not to work, then you begin to see problems. It does not work. That is why with this tax cut what we are trying to do is target it. It is a good plan. It alone will not turn the economy in that up-cycle; but I feel, I already feel confidence that the economy is beginning to recover. Our stock market is showing some strength.

The fact is that the people on the dividends, the capital gains, speeding up the tax brackets, the caps on the tax brackets which will help tens of millions of taxpayers in this country, by doing that you are getting the battery jumped and the car moves as a whole. That is the issue here. We want this economy to benefit as a whole. This tax cut will allow that to happen.

Now, let me tell you that a few of the people who have opposed this, for example the minority leader who contin-

ually stands up here and spins and bashes this tax cut and bashes the policies of the tax cut, what is their answer? You cannot just sit back and complain. You cannot just sit back and do nothing. I have always believed that at some point you have to quit talking and quit complaining; and at some point you have to get up and lead or get out of the way. I think that this shows good leadership. There was lots of negotiation that went on with this tax cut. There was lots of effort that went into this tax cut.

As I said, while I do not think this tax cut alone is going to lift this economy into that up-cycle, I think it is an important element of moving this economy towards that up-cycle. You combine that, and hopefully we can get our fuel costs under control, although right now we face a natural gas shortage, a pretty significant natural gas shortage around this country, but if we can keep oil supplies reasonable and a hand on unemployment, consumer confidence is very, very critical, if you can get consumer confidence to stay high so people go out and buy and if you can effectively, through leadership of the interest rate by the Feds, if you can keep the deflation threats from occurring, you are going to see this economy improve. But it is a fragile economy. We are trying to do something to help it. Because you stand up and are trying to help this economy recover does not mean that you care less about children. It does not mean that the only working families in this country, as expressed by some of the Democrats this evening, are those people that earn less than \$26,000 a year. That is not what it means.

It means that we recognize that working families are spread all over America; that if you can benefit those working families all over the income brackets, those people who pay income taxes, those people who are out there, and mind you, we will hear the comment, and I heard it this evening, that they do pay these taxes, and you can vote one way or the other on that. You ought to be accurate about your facts. They do not pay Federal income taxes. The group that they are talking about getting a rebate for, they do not pay Federal income taxes. They do pay State income taxes, sales tax, gasoline tax and 7.5 percent or 7.6 percent on their Social Security; but they do not pay Federal income tax.

What the minority leader is saying and what some of the Democrats are spinning up here, they are making it sound as if these people do pay Federal income tax and for some reason just because they are poor, they are being cut out of the tax cut. That is not accurate. That is a blatant, inaccurate statement.

Now, whether you vote to give these people a rebate or not, the fact is that anybody that enters this debate ought to acknowledge up front that the issue is not whether or not they pay income taxes because they do not pay Federal

income taxes in that income bracket. The issue is then do you give them money, even though they do not pay, do you give them a tax rebate, even though they do not pay taxes, or should you call that program some other type of welfare program and go ahead and transfer it under that type of description.

But to attack the entire tax cut, to stand up here and say that the only working families happen to be those families under \$26,000 or \$20,000 a year, to stand up here and attack the tax cut under the guise of protecting the children and that the Democrats are the only ones that protect the children is a misleading effort, and it is inaccurate. On this floor we ought to at least debate on a fair basis. If you take a look at this tax cut, it is not perfect; but so far nobody else has come up with a better solution.

It is interesting to hear these people talk about the Federal deficit. Let me say something about the U.S. Congress. I think it would be interesting for every Member that talks about how terrible the Federal deficit is, I think it would be interesting to look at their bills that they have introduced and see what their bills do to that deficit. Those people that stand up here and criticize, for example, as they have done this evening, criticize the Republicans on the deficit, whoever does that criticism, take a look and see what their votes look like, what programs they vote for and what those programs have done to the deficit.

□ 2045

It is funny how people vote one way and speak another way. When I first got elected to office, somebody said, "The best trick is to vote liberal in Washington and speak conservative in your home district." I do not believe we ought to be running our business that way. I think we ought to be as, what was it, McCain that had straight talk? Let's talk it straight.

This tax cut is targeted. This tax cut is targeted to benefit the entire economy. This tax cut is targeted to move all of us forward, so that our unemployment can go down, so that our stock market can go up, so that our consumer confidence can go up, so that the interest rate, the prime rate, can stay down. That is what we have in our radar. That is what we are trying to accomplish. It should not be attacked by a minority leader who stands up here and says, well, it's about the children and the Republicans don't care about the children, and only the Democrats care about the children. Or from the gentleman from Texas that says, only the Democrats care about the future generations of this country. Give me a break.

Let me summarize these remarks by saying obviously everybody in this room, even the ones I most ardently disagree with, I would never say they do not care about the children. I have never met a person in elective office, I

have never met an elected officeholder that really does not care about children or would do something to hurt the children. I have never met them. I have never met one officeholder in my career that did not care about future generations. I do not care what their party affiliation is. And to stand up here and use those kind of statements, you talk about spin, you talk about political rhetoric, and that is the definition of it.

I want to address another subject that I am hearing a lot about recently on the news. First of all, let me give you a little background. I used to be a police officer. When I went to the police academy, we used to have a training exercise, I guess you would call it, where they would show a movie on a big screen, and we used wax bullets. We had wax bullets in our weapons, our service weapons. On the movie screen, the training episode was called "Shoot or Don't Shoot." They would have different instances. It was up to you to make a determination. The film would depict somebody, for example, coming out from a trash can with a weapon. It was up to you within 1 or 2 seconds to decide whether that person really was a threat and whether you needed to draw your service weapon and, even more serious, whether you should discharge your service weapon, and then you would fire your wax bullet and it would measure, of course, on this big screen whether or not you hit the suspect and saved somebody. It is tough to make that decision. There were a number of times where the person would aim a gun at you and it would be a toy gun but it looked like a real gun, it would be a squirt gun or something, and you had to make the decision as the police officer, do I draw and shoot? On a lot of different occasions, myself included, we shot and then we found out that the person on the film actually, like I said, had a water gun or a toy gun. What happened right after that, after you would do that, then more likely than not the next person would have what looked like a non-threat, not a serious threat and something that looked obviously like a toy gun and it would be a real gun, so you would hesitate and the person on the film would go boom-boom, and all of a sudden you got docked points because they just shot you.

My point in talking about this training film is to move into this discussion of weapons of mass destruction. We have had incidents in the past where a police officer has shot a suspect and after they got control of the suspect and they grab the weapon, after they shoot the suspect, let us say in the example they kill the suspect, the police officer does, and the investigating team seizes the weapon from the suspect and they find out the weapon did not have any bullets in it. There are always people that with hindsight say, why did that police officer shoot old Joey over there? Sure, Joey pointed a gun at him, but he didn't have any bul-

lets in it. Why did the cops have to shoot him? He didn't have any bullets in that gun. Somehow they think that the police officers had 20/20 vision or Superman's vision so that they could see right through the weapon and determine that there were no bullets in there.

That is the same thing on these weapons of mass destruction. All of a sudden we have weapons experts, kind of the Blame America First crowd. We are starting to see them. Oh, my gosh, the United States of America has not found these weapons of mass destruction, so they can't justify this war. How convenient it is that these very people continue to ignore what an evil man Saddam Hussein was. Just take a look at what he did to half his population. The women in Iraq, take a look; if we just had one incident like that in this country, understandably and justifiably, this country would be enraged that a woman was treated that way as an American citizen in the United States. But yet this crowd, the Blame America First crowd, ignores all of that. They are putting on blinders. They are putting on blinders about the mass graves. They are putting on blinders about the fact that Saddam Hussein on a number of occasions, of which I will show you here in just a moment, used weapons of mass destruction to kill his own citizens.

In this country at Kent State when our National Guardsmen shot, I think they shot and killed four students who were protesting back in the sixties or seventies, this country went ballistic. What do you mean our own military people killed our own citizens? That is four. Yet the Blame America First crowd out there is making Saddam Hussein look like somewhat of a Robin Hood, ignoring the fact that while maybe he did not have these weapons of mass destruction or at least that we have not found any yet, that we ought to focus entirely on the gun that did not have bullets in it, although it was pointed at us, and criticize us for that instead of taking a look at the history of that evil man.

This guy, Saddam Hussein, even if we do not find weapons of mass destruction, and, by the way, it is Saddam Hussein, I am going to also show you a poster on that, the weapons of mass destruction that he himself admitted that he had. He admitted they had them. But for the sake of argument here, let us say that Saddam Hussein did not have weapons of mass destruction. Take a look at what the proof of the pudding is. Take a look at what he did to his own citizens. By the way, on this particular poster to my left, these murders were accomplished with weapons of mass destruction. In the history, we know, for example, going back to my police officer incident, that the guy that is pointing the gun at us on a number of occasions used that gun to kill people. So it is a natural and justifiable thought process to believe that when this guy points a gun at you, con-

sidering his history that he used a gun repeatedly, repeatedly, repeatedly, it is a logical thought process that that gun is loaded and he is going to use it on you.

Take a look at this. In 1983, mustard gas killed about 100 people. Mustard gas in 1983 killed 3,000. These are his own citizens, by the way. These are all confirmed. In 1984, 2,500, mustard gas. In 1985, mustard gas 3,000. I am skipping down here. Right down here, mustard gas 5,000. In 1987 mustard gas, 3,000. In 1988, mustard gas and nerve agents, hundreds of people, Iranians and Kurds. This is a country that used these type of weapons when they were at war with Iran. So sure, maybe we have not gotten our hands on these weapons yet, but the fact is there is a long history, a long history of the country of Iraq using these types of weapons. It is very clearly justified for you to expect, in fact I think you would be negligent not to suspect, that Saddam Hussein and his lieutenants had these type of weapons.

Some are saying, "Well, it's the Republicans. It's George W. Bush. He's a cowboy." Let me say to you, first of all, being a cowboy out in the West is kind of an honorable title. We do not think it is a degrading remark. We kind of look at it in a romantic fashion. But back here some people think being a cowboy is a negative term. They say, "It must be George W. Bush. He's just a cowboy. He's the one that has overstated the threat of Saddam Hussein. He's the one that took this Nation into war and it's an exaggerated threat."

Let me show you what the leader of the Democratic Party says about it. Again, the poster to my left. President Bill Clinton. President Clinton on Saddam's threat. He made these remarks, this is an exact quote, on February 18, 1998. This is what Bill Clinton says: What if Saddam Hussein fails to comply—this is with the inspection process—and we fail to act? What if Saddam Hussein fails to comply and we fail to act? Or we take some ambiguous third route which gives him, speaking of Saddam, yet more opportunities to develop his program of weapons of mass destruction and continue to ignore the solemn commitments that he made? Well, he will conclude that the international community has lost its will. He will then conclude that he can go right on and do more to rebuild an arsenal of devastation and destruction.

Let me point out, on the next poster, these are the weapons of mass destruction that the country of Iraq admitted in documents that they submitted to the United Nations, or to the international community, these were weapons that they admitted that they had at some point in time. Mustard gas, 2,850 tons. All you need, by the way, of mustard gas is about a teaspoonful and you got real problems on your hands. This is about 3,000 tons of mustard gas. Not what George W. Bush or Dick Cheney or Colin Powell or Condoleezza

Rice or our commanders, our chief of staff over there, this is not what they said Iraq had, this is what Iraq says Iraq had. Sarin, nerve gas, 795 tons. All you need is a little whiff of that Sarin and you're a goner. VX, nerve gas, 3.9 tons. Tabun, nerve agent, 210 tons. Anthrax, 25,000 tons. We saw in this country what happened with just a few little crumbs, a few little particles of anthrax stuck in an envelope. We saw what happened in this country with that. Iraq, by their own admission again, not a statement made by our leadership in this country but an admission made by the country of Iraq, they had 25,000 tons of that stuff. Uranium, 400 tons; plutonium, 6 grams. Six grams does not sound like a lot but that is exactly what you need to create a heck of a nuclear weapon.

My point this evening with you is to say it is a cheap shot, for lack of a better word, it is a cheap shot, it is a comment made from that group of people, that Blame America First, the crowd that partially is driven for political self-interest, the crowd who believes that America can never do right, the crowd who constantly criticizes America, it is that Blame America First crowd whose voice has become louder and louder over the last 2 weeks about the fact that weapons of mass destruction have not been found.

My point tonight is not to address that crowd. You can talk until you are blue in the face and you will never convince the Blame America First crowd that America is anything but the devil itself. You are not going to get them. They will claim they are good Americans, they will claim that they have this patriotism and their patriotism is demonstrated by the fact that they have enough guts to stand up and cry about America's sins and apologize for this country around the world and talk about how horrible we are and this and that, but the fact is this: This country, the leadership of this Nation, the Republican President George W. Bush, the Democrat President Bill Clinton, all knew and had a history of weapons of mass destruction's usage in the country of Iraq.

Again coming back to my example, what has happened here so far, the investigation shows, we had a suspect. That suspect, and I am trying to draw a comparison here, that suspect had a gun pointed at us. The gun was pointed at us. That suspect had a history, like Iraq did, had a history of murder, had a history of using that gun. That suspect had a history of admitting that he had used that gun to kill people. That is a suspect that is looking at us with a gun. So before that suspect, Saddam Hussein, could use that gun against us, we fired first. In the investigation it may appear, and I say "may" because we have only been in Iraq 7 or 8 weeks under this kind of a look for a search for weapons of mass destruction, it may occur to us or may end up being a result, and certainly at this point, the gun appears not to have had bullets in it.

□ 2100

So, what happens? The Blame America First crowd cannot wait to get out on the street and say you should have never shot him. Despite the fact he pointed a gun at you, somehow you should have had superior information that that gun did not have bullets in it, despite the history of the person holding the gun.

This Nation has an absolute right to go out there and preempt a threat. We do not have a right for preemption; we actually have an obligation for preemption. Do you think we say to our police officers in any community in this country that you cannot discharge your service weapon until you are fired upon first, you have to be shot first before you are allowed to discharge that weapon?

No. What we say to our officers in law enforcement is we expect you to go out there; and if a threat exists, one, we want you to be as accurate as you can possibly be as to whether or not a threat exists; but if a threat does exist, it is your job, it is your obligation, and we expect you to carry out your duty to stop that threat.

That is exactly what Bill Clinton was talking about when he was President of the United States, and that is exactly what George W. Bush did now that he is President of the United States.

So I hope as colleagues begin to hear this rhetoric about we have not found any weapons of mass destruction, so blame the United States, forget the fact the United States has brought to the Iraqi people things they have never seen in their entire lives. Forget the fact that the women in Iraq are now going to have rights, are going to be treated as individuals over there. Forget the fact that the United States of America has stopped the mass murders. Forget the fact that the United States of America, if there are weapons of mass destruction, will find those weapons of mass destruction and will destroy those weapons of mass destruction.

All of that is ignored by the people that I call Blame America First. What they are trying to do is hitch their horse to this one pole; and that pole is, ha, ha, ha, you have not found a weapon of mass destruction, so everything you have told us is a lie. This is exaggerated. We should have never done this.

They intentionally, not by accident, but they intentionally ignore the historical facts of the mass murders that that guy has done. They ignore the admissions by Saddam Hussein's country of the weapons of mass destruction that they did possess in the past. They ignore all that, because they do not want to listen to the facts. They do not want the facts to enter this picture.

What they want to do is use this as a spin, either in their continued all-out effort to blame America first, or in a spin for some type of political purpose or self-serving political motive, especially in light of the fact that we have

a Presidential election coming up here in the next year or so.

What I am asking my colleagues to do is stand behind America. Stand strong with America. When that suspect pointed a gun at us, we had every right to discharge our weapon; and we had a right to discharge our weapon first. We knew the history of that individual. To the best of our knowledge, we believed that individual had bullets in his gun. We could not see in the gun, but the gun was pointed at us, and we do not feel and we should stand by this position that we do not think it is necessary we get shot at first, like we did on September 11.

Let me tell you, after September 11, of course, the Blame America First crowd came out and said, oh, America's intelligence failed. It is because America does not do enough for the poor in the world and America is pompous and America does not share its wealth and America enjoys too much of the good things and America has too much food. That is why September 11 came about. The Blame America crowd came in.

That is exactly what would have happened if Iraq, by the way, would have shot first, had they used a weapon of mass destruction against the free world. Blame America would have come out and said where was George W. Bush? Where was President Bill Clinton? When they should have known about this, why did they not know about it? So no matter what you do, you are going to have the Blame America First crowd out there criticizing you.

But the fact here is we should put them aside. What we need to make sure is that the average American out there understands that this country is a good country. This country did what it believed was in the best interests, not just of itself, but in the best interests of many, many innocent Iraqi citizens. This country did what we thought was in the best interests of many, many citizens who were murdered and so on in Afghanistan. We did what we thought was best for the world.

It is this country that has led the world in standing up when the going gets tough. It is the United States of America that is the first one out of the foxhole. And it is a little tough, when you are the first one out of the foxhole, you are standing on the battlefield taking the bullets, and somebody hiding in the foxhole behind you is saying, I told you so. You should not be out there. That is kind of how I feel about some of this criticism.

America has no need to apologize. The United States of America has done a lot of good for a lot of people for a lot of countries for a lot of history for its entire history. Oh, sure, we got a blooper here and there. But the fact is, you can stack America up, I will stack America up against any other country in the history of the world. Not just in the history of the United States, but I will stack America up against any other country in the history of the

world; and defy you to show me a country that even comes close to doing the good that this Nation has done.

The United States of America does not have to apologize for anything that we have done. What we have done was for a just cause. What we have done, in my opinion, was the right thing. I think the majority of Americans believe in that.

AMERICAN ECONOMY NOT RECOVERING

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FEENEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, on Friday of last week there was more bad news about the economy. The unemployment rate hit 6.1 percent, the highest rate in more than a dozen years. Since this recession started in March of 2001, we have lost 3.1 million jobs in the private sector. That is a loss of 2.8 percent of all the jobs in the private sector; and in percentage terms that makes this one of the worst recessions in the postwar period. That is one of the problems we have got; 6.1 percent does not sound alarmingly bad compared to prior recessions, but it does not begin to tell the story of what is happening in this economy.

First of all, this unemployment rate, 6.1 percent, does not indicate the persistence of this recession. Unemployment is not only up at 6.1 percent, but it has been stuck in this range for more than a year.

As you can see from this particular chart, this graph, this recession is not following the pattern of previous recessions. In previous recessions, the red curve, the U-shaped curve, plots the path that unemployment has taken. It reaches a peak, as it did in March of 2001, typically reaches a trough in about 12 to 18 months and then starts back up again. It takes awhile for recovery, it takes awhile for employment to get back on its feet, but eventually things come back to normal.

There may be a lot of people in this country and in this Congress who think, well, this is your regular postwar recession, it is not a depression, it will come back. But what we trouble about is it is not following the pattern of the postwar recessions of the past, because this black line plots the path the economy has taken. It has not headed back up.

Employment has not headed up, even though we have had signs of a recovery. It feels like a recovery. This is a jobless recovery. Worse still, the job situation is actually getting worse, as this line plots, because, if you follow that line, if you can see the bottom index, this means that jobs should have recovered 12 to 18 months ago, at the very least. We should have seen an uptick, an upturn in jobs; and it should have been at this level by now. Instead,

we are still way down here below the trough of the recession. So this is not a recession like any we have had before, particularly when it comes to jobs. Twenty-five percent of all the people who are out of jobs have lost all of their unemployment benefits. They are "exhaustees," we call them.

Second, the unemployment rate we are looking at does not count the 2 million people who have dropped out of the job market. It may be more than that, but at least that number. They have given up the search for a job because they flat cannot find one.

If they were counted in the labor force, the unemployment rate would be in the range of 6.6 percent. But even this figure, 6.6 percent, would not reveal the number of workers who have lost their jobs and found another, typically with lower wages and lower benefits. I see that all the time in my district, anecdotally, and I suspect it is happening everywhere in America.

These folks do not show up in the employment statistics because they are working, but they are working at much less favorable terms than before this recession started. One indication of that is the loss of manufacturing jobs, 53,000 in the month of May alone. Every month for 12 months we have lost at least 50,000 of these jobs, which are the best jobs in industrial America. Manufacturing jobs are hemorrhaging right now.

These workers do not show up as unemployed. They are industrious workers. They have found a job somewhere else, but not at the same terms they once enjoyed. In truth, they are underemployed; but we do not have a number to reflect their status.

Third, this unemployment rate does not say anything about household income. But when you consider the fact of unemployment, which is prevalent, and underemployment, you have to believe a toll is being taken on household income. Rising unemployment has to mean declining household income.

In real terms, in fact, after inflation, the median household in America has seen its income fall by 2.2 percent, or \$934. This is serious in itself for the individual household; but it is serious for the economy as a whole, because it means cutbacks in consumption, and it is consumer demand that drives two-thirds of the economy when it is at full employment. If you have weak household income, declining household income, you are not going to have the restoration of demand that is necessary to get this economy up and running.

Fourth is another indicator. Look at real wages of full-time workers on a weekly basis. Let us take the median worker, the person who makes more than half of the workforce and less than the other half of the workforce, the guy who is stuck right in the middle.

Over the last four quarters, the real wages of median workers has fallen every quarter. That is a fact. Now, that

may not sound catastrophic. The rate of decline was just 1.4 percent, but it is catastrophic if it is your pocketbook, your household, your median wage. And these widespread weaknesses, moreover, are what are causing our economy to lag and drag and remain mired in a jobless recovery. We saw evidence of that in the numbers we saw last Friday; more evidence of it still, the latest data. We have been seeing this for weeks now, for months now.

Last December, when the Republicans left here and did not extend unemployment benefits and gave a very, very backhanded present to those who are out of a job over the Christmas holidays, we started looking hard at the circumstances and asking what can we do to ameliorate this economy.

On January 6, 6 months ago, we offered a solution. We offered a package of short-term stimulus and long-term balance. We proposed to give all American workers, working families, a tax rebate, \$600 at least, based on their 2002 incomes. We proposed to speed up depreciation for all businesses, large and small, to encourage them to invest. We proposed to give the States \$36 billion of fiscal assistance, going to Medicaid and highway construction and homeland security, all of this to get the economy up on its feet and running.

But we proposed these remedies for 2003 alone so that the budget would recover when the economy recovered. We did not want to be mired in debt, long-term debt, because we recognize that long-term deficits and deeper national debt would only mean higher interest rates and, therefore, less growth and fewer jobs.

It took our Republican colleagues almost 6 months to do anything. We were about to leave here for the Memorial Day holiday when they finally acknowledged our prodding and agreed to extend unemployment benefits, but not by merely as much as we would have, not for as long and not for the same people, particularly those who exhausted their benefits already.

□ 2115

They have now come up with a package, mainly tax cuts, 62 percent of which go to the top 5 percent on the income scale; they provided some help for the States, and I think that is good, but I think they took that page from our book, not as much as we proposed, though. They proposed tax rebates, again, not as much as we proposed and not to those that we proposed to give the tax rebates to, because we think they should go primarily to the unemployed, to working families with children who need the money and who also will spend the money. We were told today and have been told before by Macroeconomic, by Economy.com, that it is their rule of thumb that for every dollar of unemployment benefit we extend, we generate about \$1.73 in economic activity in the economy over the ensuing year.

Well, our Republican colleagues claim that the package that they proposed and passed now will create 1.4 million jobs over the next year. We had an important effort, which the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT) saw this morning when Lawrence Michel testified before our small ad hoc committee of Senate and House Democrats and pointed out that the economy itself, if you believe the Council of Economic Advisors and what they are putting on their Web page and what they have been projecting and testifying to, the economy itself, if it recovers as they project over the next 12 months, will generate over the next 12 to 18 months 4 million jobs.

So Michel proposed a yardstick. He proposed we will be able to tell whether or not the President has succeeded, the Republicans' package has achieved its goal if it creates 5.5 million jobs over the next 16 months, between now and November of 2004. Mr. Speaker, 1.4 million for the package itself, and 4 million for the economic growth that the economy is supposed to generate in any event.

Now, is this fair? Is it fair to hold the administration to this kind of test? I say it is fair, because I think what we are going to see as a result of this test will be hard to meet, but it is fair in comparison to what the first Bush administration achieved and also what the Clinton administration achieved. It should be recalled that Mr. Clinton took office in a recession, too, and notwithstanding that, in the first 4 years of his administration, more than 10 million jobs were generated by this economy. Among other things, at that point in time, we raised taxes, but we also cut spending and we started working down the deficit so that every year for 8 straight years the bottom line of the budget got better, the Federal Government literally got out of the capital markets and started paying off debt; \$400 billion in debt was retired, paid off between 1998 and 2000. And, in the year 2000, we were in balance without counting Social Security for the first time in 40 years, the first time since the year 1960.

So we believe it is fair to hold the Bush administration to this account, to release 5.5 million jobs. The President says that he wants every American who wants to work to be able to find a job. Well, there are 8 million unemployed Americans waiting for that promise to be fulfilled, for that goal to be attained. We are saying here, at least 5.5 million of those jobs ought to be generated if this package comes true over the next 16 months.

But there is another problem that is seldom talked about when the effects of this stimulus jobs and growth package, so-called, are discussed. And that is that unlike the package we proposed last January, what the Republicans have proposed and put in place right now will have such a huge tax revenue impact or cost, that going out into time, we will accumulate, it is our ex-

pectation, as much as \$4 trillion in additional debt over the next 10 years. And every economic advisor who has looked at this projection and found it reasonable has said, if that happens, we cannot help but lose jobs and lose economic growth, because the additional credit demands of the Federal Government are bound to drive up interest rates; and when interest rates go up, the growth in the economy will go down, and jobs will go down with it.

So that is the dilemma we face here. That is the problem we face here. The President's package which was proposed and passed just a couple of weeks ago bore a price tag of \$350 billion. The problem is, every tax concession in that package has a sunset date, an expiration date, and not a Member of this House, nor a Member of the other body, the Senate, believes that those sunset dates will ever stick. We all believe that when those dates are reached, sooner or later, they will be repealed. The expirations will be relieved, and, therefore, when we take out all of the sunset dates in the tax package that passed here as a stimulus package, the cost of it in revenues is not \$350 billion, it is \$1 trillion.

Furthermore, to make permanent the tax cuts that were passed in the year 2001 will cost another \$600 billion. And, to deal with the problems of the alternative minimum tax, the AMT which the Treasury tells us will affect more and more taxpayers, rising from affecting 2 million taxpayers today to 30 million in 10 years, when we take care of that, try to limit the number of taxpayers whom we never intended for it to apply to, what will happen? It will cost at least \$600 billion in revenues over the next 10 years.

So that is the tax cut agenda, and the built-in tax cuts that are bound to unfold here, and that is our concern; that even if the package the administration offered, given its size, does something for the economy, if you raise spending and cut taxes, you are bound to stimulate the economy to some extent. Number one, it is questionable about how much it will do, since 62 percent of it goes to the top 5 percent who probably will not change their behavior in response to it; but in addition, in the long run, it can have a real downward drag on the economy, because it is bound to increase interest rates and bound to slow down the growth of this economy, job creation, stifling growth and stifling job creation. That is our concern. We are not trying to be Cassandra, we are not trying to dump discredit on every proposal that comes forward that we do not happen to agree with 100 percent, but we have deep and real concerns about the long-term direction of the budget that is being given here by Mr. Bush.

I will wrap up my remarks and yield to my colleagues after noting this: The numbers that I have just described, \$4 trillion in additional deficits and in additional national debt over the next 10 years are not fabricated or invented by

us on the Democratic side, not by our own staff on the House Committee on the Budget. If we look at the budget resolution which our Republican colleagues brought to the floor, and look on page 93 of it in particular, we will see that on that page they summarize on one chart, one table, the effects of their budget and they show that gross Federal debt, all the debt of the United States, will grow from about \$6.5 trillion today to over \$12 trillion 10 years from now. If we go to CBO's analysis of the President's budget issued in March of this year, and look at it, look at the top line on table 1, the very top line, it shows that \$4.4 trillion in additional deficits would be generated if those budget proposals were fully enacted. And, in fact, we are on that course right now, and that is our concern tonight.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would take a few questions I would certainly appreciate it, because I would like to have a dialogue with him on these issues.

My impression is that most Members of this Congress, most folks back home are probably finishing up their supper, tired after the long day at work; if they are tuned in to C-SPAN, all of them are wondering where is the straight talk about the U.S. economy, where is straight talk about their job and their future, or how long will their unemployment continue to last. People want real information, real facts. So many of the Federal budget numbers are so large that it is hard for the average citizen to comprehend. It is hard for the average Congressman or woman to understand.

I know the gentleman from South Carolina has played a long and constructive role in budget debates for many years now, helping, for example, in the Clinton years to build a surplus.

If the gentleman would turn to that chart, I think that is a period of real pride in American history. I think the gentleman just passed the chart right there, where we got out of a sea of red ink and actually built up toward a surplus and achieved a surplus in 8 short years, the first time that had been done in some 40 years in American history. So that was a truly significant accomplishment but, unfortunately, it has been largely voided by recent events.

I know that the gentleman is a positive and constructive force in this debate, and we try to seek out positive ways that our country can grow and advance. But it is important for us to first realize the predicament we are in.

Is my understanding correct that the job performance that we are witnessing right now is the worst in half a century?

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, there have actually been job losses in the private sector, gains in the public sector, but the net job loss is somewhere

around 2.2, 2.3 million people. The private sector job loss number is 3.1 million jobs since the peak of this recession, which was March 2001, shortly after the President took office.

Mr. COOPER. So since March 2001, our economy has lost 3.1 million jobs.

Mr. SPRATT. Private sector jobs. Private sector jobs.

Mr. COOPER. And that is the worst job creation performance of any President since 50 years ago and Harry Truman?

Mr. SPRATT. The Clinton administration, which inherited an economy just coming out of a recession and had to deal with the credit crunch and other problems that were dragging the economy then, nevertheless generated more than 10 million jobs during its first 4 years and more than 10 million jobs during its second 4 years. The first Bush administration was marred by a recession for the second half of it and had a poor performance. The Reagan administration had an adequate performance, but it did not come close to the performance of the Clinton administration.

And what happened in the Clinton administration? This chart shows it. The gentleman is absolutely right. When he came to office, the deficit was at a record high: \$290 billion and headed up. The President left his economic report on the desk for Mr. Clinton to pick up on January 20 when he came to office. On page 69 of that report, they showed that they expected the deficit to hover in the range of \$300 billion or \$330 billion for the next 5 years.

The gentleman from Tennessee was here, I believe, and the gentleman recalls well what happened. The President sent down his budget on February 17. We passed it with one vote in the House and the Vice President's vote in the Senate, and for every year thereafter, the bottom line of the budget got better. It went from 290 to 255 in 1994, to 203 in 1995, on down to 164, and finally to the point where, in 1998, as I said, we had a surplus of \$236 billion, more than any surplus in the postwar period. Without counting Social Security, it was the first time we were in surplus in 40 years. That happened at the same time, at the same time, as opposed to hindering growth, we saw the economy boom as we had never seen it since the 1960s.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to imagine a starker policy contrast than the one that you are exhibiting right there to show that we were drowning in red ink until 1991, and then we climb up to the surface and can breathe again, and now we are drowning one more time in another sea of red ink.

Mr. SPRATT. That is our concern. That is what we are talking about tonight, the future as it looms ahead of us. And each time we pass one of these mammoth tax bills, we take another step down this road and it becomes all the more irreversible for us, and that is our concern.

Mr. COOPER. The gentleman mentioned a Democratic stimulus package, and if he could elaborate on that, because it is my understanding that the Bush tax cut plan actually has very little stimulus in the short term for our economy, whereas the plan that the gentleman put forward actually had much more of a stimulant effect to help our economy today get out of the ditch. Could the gentleman elaborate?

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, we said we wanted to go to everybody who filed a return in the year 2002 and who earned up to \$6,000 in income and give them 10 percent of what they had earned, up to a ceiling of \$600, and send them a check for it right away. That way we would have reached 17 million American families who did not get a rebate in the year 2002. We would have put money in the pockets of people who were most likely to spend it, \$60 billion to \$70 billion for that purpose alone.

We also said we want to go to the States and help the States because what they are doing is contractionary, and if we do not counteract that to some extent then they will undercut what we are doing and there will not be any effect on our economy. Medicaid, a shared State-Federal program, we said we wanted to give the States \$15 billion to \$20 billion to help them meet the extraordinary cost of the Medicaid program. We also said as to businesses, we wanted to give them an incentive to invest; for small businesses, we said \$75,000. You buy that new equipment or new computer or new desk, you can write it off the year you buy it, the year you purchase it.

□ 2130

And as to large businesses, we said, we will give them a bonus if you go invest it in 2003.

Now, the Republicans have been into bonus depreciation before, but they wanted to stretch it over a 3-year period of time. We said to give the economy a real jolt, let us say to American industry, do it this year when we desperately need it and we will give you a reward, 50 percent write-off in the year of purchase. That was our package. The net cost of it was about \$100 billion and \$100 to \$136 billion. Over time, some of that washed out.

The key thing was after 2003, 2004, there were no net effects on the economy. As the economy recovered, ours faded out and faded away and did not constitute a long-term drain on revenues.

Mr. COOPER. Let me make sure I heard this right. In the short run, the Democratic bill would have been twice as stimulative as the Republican bill, \$130 billion versus \$60 billion, and in the long run we would not have had any of the deficit hangover that the Republican bill has?

Mr. SPRATT. The gentleman is absolutely correct. The Council on Economic Advisors put on their Web page their estimate of what the President's proposal would do and the methodology

they were using. They had a model developed by macroeconomic advisers who were retained by them to give them macroeconomic econometric advice. They gave the methodology of how they estimated their jobs.

We took the same methodology and applied it to our proposal and we got, for a fraction of the impact on revenues, twice the impact on jobs. Our program would have created 1½ million jobs. Theirs would create around 600,000 or 700,000.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, the Democratic proposal would have stimulated consumer demand with the rebate program and business investment with the depreciation incentives.

Mr. SPRATT. Which is critically important, because this is a demand-deficient economy which we are living in today. Two-thirds of the demand that typically drives the economy at full employment is a consumer demand, and that is why we are trying to boost consumer demand.

Let me now yield to my friend, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SCOTT), also a member of the Committee on the Budget, who has a whole battery of charts he would like to talk about.

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

As we have said, this chart tells the story. When people ask, what is the Democratic plan to get us out of the mess, the green is the Democratic plan. We ought to remember history on how that green was created, because as the gentleman has indicated, not a single Republican, 218 to 216 in the House, not a single Republican in the House, 50-50 in the Senate, not a single Republican in the Senate voted for the plan that started digging us out of this great deficit.

When the Republicans used those votes that created the green ink, they used those against us in the campaign and took over both the House and Senate. Now they want to take credit for some of the green. But remember, after the 1994 election, 1995, they passed these trillion-dollar tax cuts and President Clinton vetoed those tax cuts. In fact, they threatened to shut down the government, and he vetoed them again. In fact they shut down the government, and he vetoed them again.

We had gotten the budget deficit down from 290 down to less than 10 before they finally agreed to a budget that the President could sign. That is right up in here somewhere. All of this was without any Republican votes, so they finally jumped on the bandwagon right at the last minute.

When President Bush came in, the Republican Congress passed the trillion-dollar tax cut and President Bush signed those tax cuts. Here is what we have as a direct result.

Now, who got the tax cuts? This is by 20th percentile. The lowest 20 percentile got that little bit, here is the middle 20 percent, and here is the upper 20 percent. Right at about 50 percent is

what the upper 1 percent of the income got out of that tax cut. So we ruin the budget by giving tax cuts to the rich, and we are told that would create jobs.

Here is the job chart that has been referenced. The first chart is what was created during the Truman administration. Each administration, all the way through. Then they had 2½ million jobs lost.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman suspend just a minute? That is the chart I was looking for just a minute ago. The gentleman had it. I am glad to see it.

The two tall bars right there beside the bar below the X axis are Clinton administration job gains. Is that correct?

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. This is the first Clinton administration and this is the second Clinton administration.

Mr. SPRATT. What are the numbers there?

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Over 10 million jobs created each 4-year term.

Mr. SPRATT. What is the number below the line so far for the Bush—

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Minus 2½ million so far and dropping. We ought not refer to September 11, because this chart going back to the Truman administration includes the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the beginning and end of both of those wars, the Cold War, hostages in Iran, the first Persian Gulf war. All through that period of time, coming and going, through everything that has happened in the economy, jobs were created. Not after we passed this trillion-dollar tax cut.

I just want to point out, again, who benefited, because obviously people did not get jobs as a result. This is by income. We will see \$10,000, \$10,000 to \$20,000, \$20,000 to \$30,000, and \$30,000 to \$40,000. We begin to see a little benefit here at \$75,000 to \$100,000, but those who are making over \$1 million are off the chart.

Now, we should not be surprised that we did not create jobs. This is a study by the Joint Committee on Taxation, with a Republican majority, on how many jobs would be created if we passed this plan. We will see that there is a short-term spike in jobs, but right after that, at best we will end up where we started. Most of the models show we will end up with fewer jobs had we done nothing at all.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

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

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the proponents of the tax cut have justified the remarkable difference in benefits by the job growth that is not predicted by the charts the gentleman just showed. So I think it is important to go back and talk about the disparity.

As I understand it, if the gentleman or I were to make \$1 million, and certainly we, like every American, dream of achieving that level of wealth some day, we will receive an average tax cut of about \$95,000 under this tax cut. So

if the gentleman makes \$1 million, he will get about a \$95,000 tax cut.

Most regular Americans are, on the other hand, going to get an average of I think about \$100 or less on the tax cut. I would ask the gentleman, is that correct?

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, this chart shows, and we can hardly see, compared to what the millionaires get, we can hardly see the benefit we get if we are in the \$50,000 to \$75,000 or less range. This chart shows what we would get.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. The tax cut that the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) referred to, for which there was a bipartisan consensus, was a tax cut that evenly spread the benefits out and provided a true stimulus. The tax cut that was passed on an extremely partisan basis, only 5 percent of it will take effect immediately as a stimulus, and the rest results in this exploding difference the gentleman is describing.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. The reason we are not creating many jobs is that by the time we have run up all the deficit and we are worse off than we started, it is because the tax cut was not targeted to those who will actually spend it. It was not targeted and the spending was not done in such a way that it would actually stimulate the economy. It would just help those in the upper-income brackets.

There were a number of other alternative ways of stimulating the economy. The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) indicated if we continue the unemployment benefits, those people what are used to a paycheck, no longer having a paycheck, will spend that money before the check clears. As soon as they get the check, they will deposit it and the money will be spent. They have overdue bills and they have things they have to buy. It is the only income they have. They will spend that money.

If we give a few thousand to a millionaire, if they wanted a television they would have bought a television. If they wanted a car, they would have bought a car already. They are much less likely to spend the money and help stimulate the economy.

One study was done on the dividend tax decrease; that for every dollar we lose in tax revenue, the economy is stimulated by 7 cents. Every dollar we put into unemployment compensation, the economy is stimulated \$1.73. So if our goal is to stimulate the economy so everyone can benefit, there are other things we can do other than reduce the taxes on dividends, capital gains, and for those in the upper income.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. A lot of citizens and taxpayers from my home in Florida are confused about this tax cut. They have said to me, at a minimum, tell us the truth. It has been described as a \$350 billion tax cut. On that basis, the proponents of the tax cut have said that we are taking a responsible approach to the deficit.

That in fact is not the case. As I understand it, this is really a tax cut in excess of \$1 trillion. Could the gentleman explain what the truth is? The public is at least entitled to know the truth about the size of the tax cut.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. First of all, I think we ought to suggest that if we are this far in the red already, we ought to be talking about something other than additional tax cuts. We use the adage around here that if we find ourselves in a hole, the first thing we ought to do is stop digging.

This chart is actually somewhat out of date, because on the more recent numbers there is more red ink down here than this chart shows. The present situation is actually worse.

But as the gentleman has suggested, they concocted a plan that they call \$350 billion because they would pass a tax cut, but then in a couple of years they would what is called sunset it; that is, stop the tax cut and revert back to present law. Everyone expects that when you get to that point in time, that instead of a sunset we will have a sunrise, and continue the tax cut into the future.

If we assume, as everyone does, that the tax cuts will be eventually made permanent, it is not just \$350 billion but approximately \$1 trillion, three times bigger, particularly if we add on the interest and other fixes that have to be made when we have those kinds of tax cuts.

Mr. DAVIS of Florida. In my home State, Florida, the historically low interest rates have contributed to prosperity for so many more than any tax cut I have ever heard promised in Washington.

What has Chairman Alan Greenspan said in front of the Committee on the Budget about the impact on low interest rates and student loans and credit card debts and mortgages if we continue with this level of deficits?

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. He has said on numerous times that if we run up significant deficits and increased debt that it will eventually have an effect on interest rates. It will increase interest rates. For a person with a mortgage, car loans, and credit cards, every time we increase interest rates we have taken money out of their pockets.

As we look at this, we just have to wonder how bad does it have to get before we notice that something is not right. As I indicated, we are not creating jobs. The Joint Committee on Taxation shows that in several years after we have passed this thing, as a direct result, we will have fewer jobs than if we had done nothing.

Now, running up debt has consequences. Even if we do not pay the debt off, we have to pay interest on the national debt. Under the Clinton administration we left a surplus that was in the process, by all projections, of paying off the entire national debt, debt held by the public, by 2008; and by 2013 or so, pay off the entire national debt. So as this green bar shows, the

interest on the national debt would be going towards zero.

Unfortunately, because of all the new debt we are running up, the interest on the national debt that we can actually pay in red is going up to almost \$500 billion. To put this number, since it is a big number, in perspective, I have put in blue the defense budget. We are going to be paying, instead of zero interest on the national debt, almost as much in interest on the national debt as we are paying on defense.

Now, we can make it personal and divide the interest on the national debt by the population, multiply it by 4, so we have the family of four's portion of the national debt, interest on the national debt, just interest. Right now it is about \$4,500. We are paying a family of four's proportionate share of interest on the national debt, and it is growing by 2013 to \$8,500.

Now, the difficulty, the challenging thing about this is when we consider that chart and the Social Security cash flow, we are running about a \$100 billion surplus in Social Security; but soon, by 2017, we will be running a significant deficit.

□ 2145

As the interest on the national debt is increasing, how are we going to pay the Social Security for the baby boomers on out?

Now, the egregious thing about the tax cut is if you look at this challenging chart and wonder how we can possibly pay Social Security in the future, we did some calculations and found that if, instead of the tax cut given to the top 1 percent, if that amount of money had been allocated to the Social Security trust funds, that would have been enough money to have paid Social Security benefits for 75 years without any reduction in benefits. We had a choice: make Social Security solvent for 75 years or a tax cut for the upper 1 percent. And this House and Senate passed a tax cut for the upper 1 percent and left Social Security who knows where.

Mr. KIND. It is one of my chief concerns as a member of the Committee on the Budget, as a Member of this House, the fact that the fiscal decisions being made today, if carried out the way we have intended is going to set up future generations for failure. As a member of the Committee on the Budget, I do believe deficits matter. As a father of two little boys back home, I do believe deficits matter. At a time when we should be investing in our children's and grandchildren's future, we are borrowing against their future.

This is happening at exactly the worst moment in our Nation's history, when we have 80 million of the so-called baby boomers all marching in lockstep to their retirement, which will start in a few short years; and we are digging this fiscal hole deeper and deeper and deeper at a time when the next generation will be taking over the reins of leadership. We will be setting

up future Congresses and the younger generations for failure unless we can reverse course.

I appreciate the voice of my colleague in this deficit wilderness of warning the Nation of the consequences of these fiscal policies. The ranking member on the Committee on the Budget, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT), has been telling us for a very long time that we need to keep an eye on the bottom line with the spending and the revenue streams and try to maintain some balance.

The question I have for both of the gentlemen here is that it was such a remarkable turnaround during the decade of the 1990s, unfortunately, we do not have another decade like that to prepare for the onset of the baby boom generation's retirement; but were there some fiscal tools available during the 1990s that no longer exist today, that we should consider putting back in place in order to develop some fiscal discipline and some fiscal responsibility in this House again before it is too late?

Mr. SPRATT. In 1990, when the first President Bush was in office, we prevailed upon him to sit down and negotiate with us a 5-year budget, a so-called budget summit deficit reduction plan. The negotiations went on for 4, 5, 6 months at Andrews Air Force Base; and they culminated in a budget agreement which, frankly, only about 60 Republicans voted for the first time it hit the House floor, failed then because there was no support there for it. It was modified and passed by the House mainly with Democratic votes. It was eclipsed by the recession.

It was an important piece of work because it established a ceiling for discretionary spending, that is the money we appropriate every year in 13 different appropriation bills. It also took on the Medicare entitlements, Medicare and Medicaid; and it addressed revenues. It increased revenues; and, of course, that caused Mr. Bush a lot of trouble in his own party.

In 1993 when Mr. Clinton came to the White House, because the results of that had been aggravated by recession, it was not evident; but he proposed a second 5-year plan that would have taken us until about 197. That plan was designed to cut the deficit by a bit more than half. Once again, it extended a ceiling on discretionary spending. It actually cut the rate of growth in some of the health care entitlements, and it raised revenues. The revenue increases went largely to upper tax bracket taxpayers. And as it so happened, the boom of the 1990s resounded more to their benefit than any other income class; and so they paid more taxes. Capital gains taxes went up from \$40 billion a year in 1995 to \$120 billion, by a factor of three, over a period of 5 years.

We finally got that budget passed here by one vote, the Vice President's vote in the Senate. Everyone said it would cut the economy off at its knees.

We had bought ourselves a one-way ticket to recession, said Phil Graham over in the Senate. And what happened? The economy got up and ran. It took off like never before. For 10 straight years we had a phenomenal economy, partly because we were paying off our debt for the first time in years, adding to the pool of capital in this country, driving down interest rates and the economy prospered like never before to the point where we got to a \$236 billion surplus. It is a matter of record. It is hard to believe now because it was just 3 short years ago, but that is where we were when President Bush came to office.

Now, we do not have those rules that limited the growth of entitlements before the so-called PAYGO rule. We do not have the PAYGO rule that says for every tax cut it has to be deficit neutral. It cannot impact the bottom line. You have to have offsetting spending cuts or offsetting revenue increases. We do not have the ceiling on discretionary spending anymore. None of those rules that we put in place in 1993 and 1997 with the balanced budget agreement any longer applied. We have a budget in free fall, an ad hoc budget.

Mr. KIND. I think the gentleman makes a very important point. The PAYGO did require fiscal discipline because for any proposed increase in discretionary funding, there had to be an offset in the entitlement in order to maintain balance. And it put the Nation in a position where there was a true lockbox on Social Security and Medicare trust funds, where the money was not being robbed to pay for other aspects of Federal spending which has gone out the window again in 2 short years. They have taken all the money out of the Social Security and Medicare trust fund to pay for these tax cuts or to pay for other spending programs when we should be downloading our debt in anticipation of this massive retirement boom.

One final point on the tax cut that was recently enacted into law, there was a lot of fanfare and Rose Garden ceremony, naturally, for the tax cut that the President signed. But what did not receive as much attention was the day before, unceremoniously and very quietly, within 20 seconds, the President also signed an increase in the debt ceiling by a trillion dollars.

Mr. SPRATT. \$984 billion.

Mr. KIND. That is over next year alone.

Just to put this in context, the entire national debt in 1980 for the preceding 200 years was roughly \$900 billion, and they are proposing to have a \$1 trillion increase in the debt ceiling in 1 year alone. This was not economic stimulus that he signed into law. It was major structural tax reform, and it should be referred to as such. And no less an expert on capital accumulation in this Nation and the world, Warren Buffett has also weighed into decrying this tax cut. He says there is something fundamentally unfair with a tax cut proposal which will reduce his marginal

tax rate, Warren Buffett, who is worth about \$55 billion, will reduce his tax rate to roughly 5 percent when the receptionist in his own office has a marginal tax rate of 30 percent. Even Warren Buffet says that is not fair; that is not the values that reflects our great Nation. But that is what this tax cut was about. A major restructuring of the Tax Code, who is going to pay and who is going to be left on the hook. And, unfortunately, again, no less an expert on capital accumulation than Warren Buffett, he says it does not fly and it is very troubling.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. I was just going to ask the ranking member, since we have run out of the surplus and Social Security, Medicare and other surplus, as you pass a tax cut, how is it funded if it is not under the PAYGO rules?

Mr. SPRATT. How is the tax cut funded? It was not funded at all. It simply goes straight to the bottom line.

Something very significant happened this year. This year when the Office of Management and Budget sent us the President's budget, they sent with it an analysis and a forecast which said, the surplus we have projected in the year 2001, for 2002 through 2011, that 10-year surplus we projected back then, was \$5.637 trillion over 10 years. We made a mistake, said OMB.

Looking at the economy as we see it and understanding it today, according to OMB, the true surplus today for that same time period, 2002 through 2011, is really about \$2.492 trillion. We were off by that much, \$3.2 trillion.

They went on to say that of that \$2.4 trillion, \$2.5 trillion, more than that amount, about 2.6, has already been committed to tax cuts, spending increases, national defense, homeland security, and other things. Already committed. As a consequence, you start the process this year with no surplus. So if you have additional tax cuts or additional spending, it will go straight to the bottom line. There is no mitigation; no offset. It adds dollar for dollar to the deficit. And what did Mr. Bush propose? He proposed \$2 trillion, 1 trillion 990-something billion dollars in additional budget actions that would add that much to the deficit over the next 10 years.

It is a matter of record; OMB acknowledges it. So there was no PAYGO rule, which in the past would have required that all of these things be offset by some spending cut or revenue increase. Instead, they proposed \$2 trillion in additional budget actions, all of it going to the bottom line and swelling eventually to a deficit in 10 years of about \$4 trillion cumulative deficit over that period of time.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Now, we had the previous speaker before our Special Order suggest that it was wrong to give income tax relief for those who do not pay income tax. There are some that have lower income that do not pay income taxes, but I was wondering if they paid a payroll tax.

Mr. SPRATT. Of course they do pay a payroll tax on their gross earnings, not on net earnings, on gross earnings up to a ceiling of about \$86,000. And for the lower- and moderate-income people, that payroll tax which essentially is about 16 percent when you include the employer's share is a big percentage of their income.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. Now, do they pay a sales tax?

Mr. SPRATT. Of course they pay a sales tax. They pay property taxes on the homes they own, on the cars they drive, all of these taxes they pay; and we are trying to give them some tax relief, because let us face it, they need it more than anybody else.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. The suggestion was that we would just pick one tax, the income tax, and only those that paid, there are other taxes that a lot of people do not pay; a lot of people do not pay estate taxes. What portion of the people have estates when they die over \$1 million?

Mr. SPRATT. No more than 1 to 2 percent of all estates.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. So if we focus all of our tax relief on that, it would not surprise anybody that it would not be broadly based. It would just be aimed at the 1 or 2 percent. So it does not make much sense to complain that if we are trying to give tax relief to everyone, particularly when we are also trying to stimulate the economy, that we would give tax relief, however we can, to everyone, particularly those that might actually spend the money and help stimulate the economy.

Mr. SPRATT. Exactly. That is the complete and full point, namely, that we have got an economy with deficient demand. It is lagging. It is mired in a jobless recovery. And to get it up on its feet and running, you have got to put money in people's pockets to spend so that they can go buy things, work down inventories, and get the economy running at full speed again.

Mr. KIND. That is really the point of tonight's Special Order is what is going to get the economy back on track. That is what all of America embraces. We need to grow the economy, create jobs, stimulate investments. There is nothing that solves problems better for our Nation than a growing economy. But the fact of the matter is over the last 2 years, and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) recited these stats, is we have lost 3 million jobs in this economy. Two million of our citizens have gone from middle class back into poverty. During the 1990s when we had declining deficits and surpluses, 8 million of our citizens went the other way, from poverty into middle class. We have had over a trillion dollars of corporate assets that have been foreclosed upon over these last 2 years, one of slowest worker productivity rates in the last 30 years.

The economic policies are not working. And that is what we need to do is get together in a bipartisan fashion and figure out a plan that is going to

work for working families and for all Americans throughout the country so we can stimulate economic activity and create jobs again. That is what we need to do rather than pursuing an ideological agenda that has a poor track record during the 1980s, the first part of the 1990s, and now it is *deja voodoo* economics all over again here in the new century. And that is really the task that lies before us today. But unfortunately, there is an unwillingness with the administration and leadership of Congress to admit that things are not working.

Most reasonable and logical people, when they find themselves in a hole, stop digging. Ideological extremists ask for a bigger shovel. And later this year, as true as we are standing in this well today, there is going to be another trillion dollar tax cut proposal coming before this body with everything including the kitchen sink involved in it. They are just clinging to this mantra that tax cuts solve all the problems that this country is facing, when, in fact, the record belies that and it is very troubling.

□ 2200

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. We just want to remind people who asked what our plan is, our plan is the green. If we had our ways, we would be running up back into surplus with the stock market high, unemployment low. This is what we would do if we had the choice.

Unfortunately, this is where we are because of all the deficit spending and the tax cuts which basically went to the wealthiest Americans.

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

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

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman makes a great point, talking about the 12 million kids who are left out of the tax cut. Right now, as I understand it, this House is considering whether to repair that mistake. The other body in the Senate has voted, I think overwhelmingly, 94-2, to help the 12 million poor children. The question before this House is whether we will take action to correct the mistake, to help the 12 million kids who should have been covered by the tax bill.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. We have legislation pending in this body that would do that. Interestingly enough, that tax cut would be paid for under the standard that we had adopted helping to create the green, that if you pass a tax cut it ought to be paid for with other tax increases or spending cuts so that the tax cut does not add to the deficit. And we close some loopholes and do other things that pay for the tax cut that would give relief to those in the \$10- to \$25,000 range. And people have said that is close to the minimum wage. A full-time worker at minimum wage makes about \$10,000.

So when you get up to 25, you are 2½ times the minimum wage. So it is just not the bottom of the scale. You have

gone quite a ways up of people that were left out that would be compensated and would be able to get the benefit of the tax cut without adding to the national debt, because in our plan that would be paid for, and that is the fiscally responsible way of doing it.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, we have talked about the economy. We have talked about fiscal policy and budget propriety.

We have not talked about the moral question of intergenerational burdens. That is a fancy way of saying what we are doing here, if we continue down the path we are on right now, stacking debt on top of debt, building \$4 trillion in deficits and debt over the next 10 years, is take the tab of these tax cuts, the defense build-up and everything else that we are doing now but not fully paying for, and leaving it to our children. We are leaving them a legacy of debt.

On top of the responsibility of maintaining and sustaining the Social Security program, which is underfunded and will be significantly underfunded with 77 million baby boomers, doubling the number of beneficiaries in a matter of a few years; Medicare, same situation, the same increase in benefits that is looming in the future; they will have to sustain both of those promises, both of those programs, the benefits promise. And on top of that, if that were not enough, we are telling our children, the next generation, that they are going to have to bear as much as \$12 trillion in gross statutory debt subject to limit.

It is just totally immoral, not just bad fiscal policy, not just bad economic policy. It is immoral and the wrong thing for us to do to our children and their children.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. When we spend without paying for it, we run up debt and you have to pay interest on the national debt. This is a family of four's portion of interest on the national debt. It is going up year after year after year.

When President Clinton left office, the projection was at that time if you did not take any action the interest on the national debt, just maintain services, kept the Tax Code as it is, interest on the national debt by 2013 would be zero. Instead, a family of four's portion of the national debt would be \$8,500 and rising. At the same time, the Social Security Trust Fund would stop running the surplus that we have been spending and turned into a significant deficit.

Mr. SPRATT. The gentleman made a very significant point a minute ago, namely, in 2001, we stood at the fork of the road. Prior to Mr. Bush coming to office, we were on the cusp of adopting a very conservative economic policy which would have called upon us to forswear ever again spending anything in the Medicare or Social Security Trust Funds except for those benefits, and using the funds in the meantime solely to buy up outstanding debt, not newly issued debt, but outstanding debt so

that over a period of about 10 years we could have just about paid off the debt held by the public, and therefore, Treasury would have been interest free, would have had no interest obligation to pay to the public at a time when the baby boomers began to come to the Treasury or at least assert their demands for benefits which they had been promised and draw down their benefits. The Treasury would be in a more solvent situation than it has been in since the Second World War.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. During the Presidential campaign, everyone had agreed that you would have a lockbox; you would not touch the Social Security money that was supposed to be for Social Security, and Medicare money collected for Medicare should be reserved for Medicare. Instead, we passed a \$1 trillion tax cut and dipped into that spending, into great deficit.

Mr. SPRATT. More than dipped into it. For every year that we forecast, all 10 years to get to the right-hand edge of the paper, cannot see anymore, we will fully expend the Social Security surplus, fully draw it down and spend it for non-Social Security purposes.

Mr. SCOTT of Virginia. You wonder how you could pay the Social Security challenge that is shown on this chart, because instead of a nice surplus that we have been spending, we are going to have to actually come up with even more money. At the same time, the interest on the national debt is increasing. We are going to have to come up with more cash to pay this. And the tax cut, the amount of money that went to the top 1 percent in 2001, not 2003, 2001, that tax cut to the upper 1 percent only would have been sufficient to cover all of this red ink, for 75 years, no reduction in benefits.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, if I can reclaim my time, we are about to be gavelled down. Basically what we have said tonight is we are not opposed to a tax cut. We have proposed them before. We will propose them again. We recognize they can stimulate the economy if they are directed in the right manner. But we are deeply concerned about deficits and debt, and of course, we are primed for stacking deficits upon deficits and building the debt ever bigger every year. We simply do not believe that is the right prescription for our economic future.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FEENEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. TANCREDO) is recognized for half the time until midnight, approximately 56½ minutes.

Mr. TANCREDO. Mr. Speaker, it has been very elucidating listening to the folks who have such concerns about the possibility of a tax cut going to people that think they deserve it, and although it is not the topic of my discussion tonight or my presentation, I still

feel it is worthy of some sort of rhetoric, and that is what we are really seeing, interestingly, is a discussion of what should be the tax cut policy of this country as proposed by the Democrats.

That is great. It is great to hear. It is a wonderful thing actually to hear Democrats say things like we need a tax cut. I am sure they almost have to gag when they say it, but the reality is we need a tax cut. It is just not the one that you guys proposed. You guys proposed a tax cut for the rich and all this and other stuff, but what is even more fascinating about this, Mr. Speaker, is that we all know, there is not a single person in this body who thinks, and perhaps I hope very few people in the listening audience in America who think, that there would be any tax cut proposal from the other side tonight or any other time had not we proposed one first.

Does anybody really believe that if the other party were in charge of the Congress of the United States or the White House that there would be any sort of tax cut proposal we would be debating? Does anybody really think for a second that there would have been something that the Democrats would have said we need a tax cut, because those words do not emanate freely and easily from our friends on the other side. They are prompted, they are urged and they come with great difficulty; and so they say, well, okay, we have a tax cut, we want a tax cut, but in reality, it is not the one that you guys have proposed.

We will take a tax cut anytime, anywhere, anywhere. A tax cut is essentially and generally a good thing. Having people pay less of their hard-earned money for the task of expanded government is a good thing, I think, and so the fact that we would have even gotten the Democrats into the position of debating what their tax cut policy would be is a great, great boon for America. It is a great thing for all of us to have them try to stand up and defend a tax cut policy that they would never have put in place in a million years. No one thinks it, no one believes it, no one has the slightest idea that that would have come out of the Democratic Party had they been in charge of the Congress of the United States.

That is part of who we are and what we are all about is reducing the cost of government to the people of this country; and so they think, well, we have to figure out a way to attack that. We have to attack the President. We have to attack the Party, the Republican Party, for doing this. How do we do it? I know. Let us drag up all of those things that we have used, time after time after time, somewhat successfully. Let us always say that it is the rich guys that the Republicans are giving a break to and it is the poor that are not getting their due rewards, and maybe they will buy it this time, or I should say maybe they will still buy it. Maybe we can still get the people who

believe that, in fact, people should not be, that people do not, in fact, earn what they attain through the labor and the sweat of their brow, and that somehow or other everyone in this race of life should end up at the finish line at the same time.

I used to teach ninth grade social studies at Jefferson County Drake Junior High, and one time one of my students asked about the difference between conservatives and liberals and how I would describe that. I said, I am a conservative and I want you to take that into consideration when I tell you how I think about that. I said, this is the way I really do envision our division in our country between these two major philosophies of the Republicans generally and Democrats generally. Republicans are generally conservative. Democrats are generally liberal. Not all, of course; differences on both sides. But for the most part, you can say this: that if you look at life as a race, and start at birth, and the finish line is death, and a lot of things can happen to you in between time, and you are trying to accomplish certain goals as you move through life, that for the most part a liberal would say that everyone has to end up at the finish line at the same time. That is the important role of government, to make sure that everyone ends up at the finish line at the same time, that there are no winners and there are no losers; everybody gets there at the same time.

That is an idealistic approach and idealistic thought and philosophy. And remember, I am trying to explain this to ninth graders. I said, then, on the other hand, you have conservatives I think are saying if the government has any role at all, it makes sure the gate opens up exactly at the same time and everybody has the same opportunity, and if government has any role at all, it is to make sure there are no obstacles in the way, but no one is going to make sure you end up at the finish line at the same time because if you do that, of course, it is not a race. Pretty soon, if you do that, everybody walks because why should you run? It does not matter; we will all be at the finish line at the same time.

It is true, it can be portrayed as hard-hearted from a conservative standpoint to say that government's responsibility is to simply make sure that the gates open on time and that from that point on make sure that there are no obstacles in the race, and there will be losers, there will be winners, and people will say how dare you, how can you accept that? That is, the government should not be in the position of accepting the idea that there are winners and losers. That is the way of life.

I wish I could be on an NBA team. I am not tall enough. I am not capable of it. There are a lot of things I cannot do as a result of some of the shortcomings, literally and figuratively, that I think I face. And so no matter how much I would like the government

to make sure I could get on that team, and therefore participate, and want the government to make sure that I am able to make baskets the same way as any other member of that team, it does not work that way.

So I think our position is right. I think that in fact in the race of life, the government has relatively few responsibilities, and that the most important one is to make sure that the gates open up exactly at the same time and there are no obstacles in the track and that whoever ends up at the finish line, some win and some do not, and there are a hundred different races. We all are better at some things than others. It is not just where you race. We all accomplish certain things that we can do better than other people, and that is, again, the way of life.

□ 2215

We have to accept that. But our friends on the other side of the aisle keep suggesting that somehow or other we have to say that in fact all people will end up at the finish line at the same time, and that is a winning sort of political proposal. People will respond, especially those who know they cannot make it to the finish line will say, yes, we should have the government stop everybody else until I get there. But in the total scheme of things, I do not think that will be the best for the country. I hope America understands when we start talking about tax cuts and who should get them and who should not, the reality is that if the Democrats were in charge of this place, there would be no tax cuts, there would be tax increases because that is the way they run government. That is the way they ran it for 40 years. That is why we are in power, and they are not.

Now I want to get on to the issue that I wanted to address tonight, and that of course revolves around the issue of immigration and immigration reform. Tonight I want to talk about a couple of things. First of all, I want to talk about the impact of legal and illegal immigration on American society in one particular area, the area of jobs. A lot of the rhetoric we have heard on the floor and we will certainly hear over and over again revolves around whether or not the tax cut package we have just passed in this Congress and signed by the President, whether or not that will create jobs because we all know that is an important thing for the country and that is what we all want.

The creation of jobs, I do not know of a single person in the Congress who would be opposed to it. Members recognize it is an important thing for us all, and it will be the stimulus for America in terms of us getting on the road to economic recovery.

Well, there are various ways to do that; and I believe firmly that tax cuts do in fact create a stimulus that will improve the opportunity for many Americans and improve the job oppor-

tunities, especially for millions of Americans. I believe that. But there is something else, Mr. Speaker, that could be done and that no one, not our side, not their side, no one wants to talk about, and that is the number of jobs that would be created if we enforced our immigration laws. That is all. Just that. Not even impose new immigration laws or try to deal with the fact that we have got crossing our borders every day literally thousands and thousands of people coming, low-skilled people who are seeking jobs in America and getting them by employers who are using these folks and, in fact, abusing them in many ways.

But if we just enforced the laws on the books, and surprising as it may be, it is against the law to hire someone who is here illegally. Now, who does not know somebody who may be or probably is hiring somebody or is in fact working for somebody in violation of that law. We all do. We all have anecdotal references we make to instances where somebody may be here working and they may be here illegally. We all know that.

Now the first thing we usually hear when we raise the question is the question of real-world impact on American jobs and employment, and that these millions of illegal immigrants take only the jobs that Americans do not want to do. That is a mantra. We have to have people here from all over the world taking jobs because in fact there are a few jobs that Americans will not do, and we need all these folks to do the hard stuff.

I am sure Members have heard that refrain many, many times. If it were true, the other problems brought about by illegal immigration would still remain, but we would not be worried about the loss of jobs or an adverse impact on wage rates. But is it true that illegal immigrants are taking jobs that no one else would take, no American citizen? I believe that the weight of the evidence is that it is not true. I believe there is ample evidence to the contrary. I believe there is ample evidence that illegal immigrants are increasingly taking jobs that American citizens would do willingly if wage rates for these jobs were not artificially suppressed by the ready supply of cheap labor from so-called undocumented aliens.

Mr. Speaker, about 6 months ago now, there was an article in the Denver paper, the Rocky Mountain News, and it was interesting because it was a news article rather than a want ad; but it was a news article about a want ad and the article was about an ad that had been placed in the paper by a restaurant in Denver, a restaurant I have visited many times and know well, it is called Luna Restaurant. It is in an area where I grew up in north Denver. The article was interesting because it said Luna Restaurant puts an ad in the paper for a \$3-an-hour waiter. We all know that waiters and waitresses make less than minimum wage because tips

are included. So this position was for a \$3-an-hour waiter. The article was in the paper because it was a news story. And what was the news story? The news story was the day that the article appeared there were 600 applicants for the job.

Mr. Speaker, maybe some of those people, maybe a majority of those people were here illegally and were willing to do jobs that no one else was willing to do, but I do not believe that all 600 applicants were illegal immigrants. I believe a lot of them were American citizens looking for a job.

It is undoubtedly and undeniably true that illegal aliens will work for lower wage rates than legal immigrants or American citizens. They do so because the wage is higher than they would earn back in Mexico, Guatemala, or other poorer nations. We all understand this, and most Americans sympathize with their plight. We can admire people willing to travel thousands of miles and evade the U.S. Border Patrol to get to Chicago or Philadelphia or Seattle in order to better their lives economically. There is nothing wrong with that goal in and of itself, and we can respect it because it is the goal that was in front of all of our grandparents or great grandparents or however long ago our family heritage established roots here in the United States.

But there are several things wrong with the consequences of that behavior; and they need to be discussed even though it is not popular to do so, even though people get very antsy when you bring this up. They sort of go, oh, gosh, he is going to start talking about immigration again. I do not like dealing with that because people might think I am a racist or a xenophobe, so let us not talk about. Well, it needs to be talked about.

First of all, one of the consequences of the behavior is that people are entering our country illegally, and the habit of breaking one law for economic benefit often creates a disregard for law and a willingness to violate other laws for personal benefit. And the more we choose to ignore it, the more we pretend that it is a law that we can wink at, a law that, gee, I know it is a law, but, and I have heard that 100 times. If it is a law, but, if it is a law that does not have importance, if it is a law that is not meaningful, then I urge this body to do what it should do.

Mr. Speaker, if there are laws in the books in America that are no longer valid and meaningful, repeal them. I urge this body to actually address this issue head on and bring a bill forward in this body that says we will repeal all laws regarding immigration. We will essentially erase our borders. We will eliminate the Border Patrol, close the stations, the ports of entry because after all, we cannot control it. And if people want to come to the United States, for the most benign or most wonderful reasons, the reasons that we can all applaud, let them come. Why

should we call someone here illegal? Why should we draw any sort of conclusions about someone who came into this country without our permission? Let us just let them all come from wherever they want to come and as many as wish to come.

Now, I want that debated in this House. I want Members to vote yea or nay to this concept. If you vote "yea," you are for erasing the borders. You can make that case to your constituents. Try and make that case. Some of us will be able to do so. Some of us will not be at all excited about that possibility and will vote "no." I will not vote for such a bill, of course. I am a "no" vote because I do not believe it is good for America. I will tell Members I am a "no" vote on the issue of eliminating borders. I believe it goes to the very basic, to the heart of what we call our country, to the heart of national sovereignty. I will make the case as strongly as I can against any sort of bill that would in fact invalidate the borders. But that is exactly what we are doing, Mr. Speaker, every single day.

That is the problem. It is happening, our opponents, the people who want the elimination of borders, know they can accomplish their goal by pretending that they support national sovereignty and national security. They can stand up and suggest that all day long. They do not want to vote on this idea of whether or not we should erase our borders because in their heart of hearts many people want to, and many times they want to for political reasons. They know that people coming into this country as immigrants tend to vote for one party over the other. They tend to vote for the Democrats. The other side of the aisle knows that.

Again, this is not brain surgery we are dealing with here. It is politics 101. How do they gain supporters, especially when their side is losing? Where do they look? If the majority of Americans are now turning to the Republican Party or becoming more conservative and expressing that, where do the Democrats look for people who will support their efforts? Where do they look for people who support their efforts, for greater welfare and expanded government? They go to the immigrant class coming into the United States.

So it is not unusual, it is not illogical, it is not crazy for us to deal with it in that way, for political parties to look at it that way. So our friends on the other side of the aisle see massive immigration and say, I do not care whether they are coming here legally or not. They eventually become my voters, so I am for it. So I am going to on the one side of my mouth I am going to suggest that we need national security, everybody should come in legally, wink, wink. On the other side I am going to say we need your help, we need your labor, and vote for me when you get here, whether you do so legally or not.

On our side of the aisle, on the Republican side of the aisle, we have

many Members who look at this whole thing and say there is an awful lot of cheap labor that is coming into this country, and that is good for business. That keeps wage rates low, prices low, and what is good for business, as Calvin Coolidge said, is good for America.

Mr. Speaker, in this case it is not good for America. I would challenge my opponents on the other side of the aisle and I would challenge my opponents on this side of the aisle that massive immigration today both legally and illegally is not good for America.

Now, as I mentioned, the first consequence of ignoring the fact that people come in illegally and break our laws is that is the wrong way to start off your citizenship in the United States. Of course it is not citizenship, your residency in the United States.

□ 2230

The second consequence of this law-breaking behavior, the consequence of entering our country illegally, is that they also enter our labor market illegally. It is this consequence that I wish to talk about this evening.

I want to ask you to consider, Mr. Speaker, some aspects of this underground labor market that is not getting much attention or discussion in the press and not much attention by this body or policymakers in general. In the first place, with the possible exception of a few agricultural jobs, it is simply not true that Americans will not do certain jobs because of their low status or because they involve hard labor. We have done these jobs throughout our history and well into the second half of the 20th century. Mechanization of agriculture over the past 100 years has led to a diminishing need for farm labor and our food is the least expensive in the world because of this. This trend was well established long before agricultural interests started relying on migrant labor and becoming more and more dependent on illegal migrant labor. Fewer and fewer Americans were needed to harvest our crops and there was an adequate supply of indigenous labor in the vast majority of cases. Harvesting peaches and tomatoes and strawberries is indeed very hard work. Mechanization has taken over in many crops but there is still a need for some amount of seasonal physical labor in some sectors of agriculture. Does this require 8 or 10 or 13 million illegal immigrants? I do not think so.

There is another aspect of this that is very important to understand, Mr. Speaker, and, that is, when we allow massive immigration of low-skilled, low-wage workers, we have a tendency, therefore, to screw around with the market in a way. What we do is actually delay the implementation of the use of technology to accomplish certain goals. Specifically I remember when we used to have a bracero program in the United States. That was a program that allowed migrant workers, mostly from Mexico, to come in and do

agricultural labor. And they had to return to Mexico and they could not bring families. When that program was ended, there was an outcry from the tomato growers in the United States. There was a massive sort of rush to legislative remedies. They wanted us to do something because they kept saying, it is impossible for us to actually do our job. We cannot possibly grow tomatoes, we cannot harvest tomatoes, without the help of this kind of labor. So we ended up in a situation where we went ahead and eliminated this bracero program. And what happened? Did tomato growers go out of business as they said they would? No. They were forced to actually invest in technology, to invest in different kinds of technology and actually develop some sort of mechanized approach to doing the labor that had been done heretofore by individuals. So today tomato growers in the United States are far more productive than they ever were before when they relied solely on individuals picking tomatoes. Now they can do it with machines, now they can do it more cost effectively, and they are more productive in the process.

So when we import massive numbers of illegal workers into this country, or even legal workers who are low-skilled, low-wage workers, we need to actually again get involved and kind of skew the marketplace. We mess up the process that should lead to a development of greater use of technology and productivity. To the extent that American workers cannot be found for some seasonal agricultural jobs, that need can be met by a new guest worker program. I intend to introduce legislation to accomplish that goal very soon. A well-designed and properly managed guest worker program would allow migrant workers to come into this country legally, work as long as they are needed in jobs that are certified as requiring foreign nationals and then return to their homes. That is the important part we ought to remember about guest worker. Guest worker is a program that allows people to come into the country for a period of time, do a specific job, and return to their country of origin. That is a guest worker program. On the other side, you can have people come into the country and begin the process of becoming a citizen of the United States; that is called immigration. Two different things.

We are right now by far the most liberal Nation on the planet in terms of who we let come into the country legally, 1 million, 1.5 million every year. We are also, of course, the most liberal Nation in the world in terms of who we let come into the country illegally, 1 million, 1.5 million people every year, that we turn a blind eye to. We do so for the reasons I mentioned earlier, political advantage for the Democrats, a business interest for the Republicans. And so we ignore the law.

Once again I go back and say to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, if you want to accomplish your goals and

let people into the country at their desire, not in any way, shape, or form connected to our needs in this country, if you want to do that to the Democratic Party, fine. To Republicans, if you want to just have a massive influx of low-skilled, low-wage workers in order to reduce the cost of labor, fine, let us tell America that is where we stand. Let us have a bill that actually eliminates the borders, allows people to come at their desire, not in response to our need. Let us do that. Let us let Americans know how you feel about this. Unfortunately, I do not think we are going to get that bill in this session or the next session, because I have never seen it introduced by anybody on either side of the aisle.

And so when the other side of the aisle, the Democrats, talk about job creation and the need to protect workers in America, I find it always fascinating that they never ever want to talk about the thing that would protect American workers to a very large extent, and that is to actually control our own borders and to allow people into this country based upon our needs and to determine what those are. If they are, in fact, needs that can only be filled by low-skilled, low-wage workers, fine. If that is it, fine. If in reality, quote, no American wants to do these jobs, then, yeah, they are open to anybody who wants to come in and work hard and accomplish their life's goals.

What about the jobs in other areas, the so-called low-status jobs that now employ illegal aliens? What about restaurants and car washes and leaf blowers and gardeners and carpet installers and hotel and motel housekeeping staff? These are a few of the typical jobs we are told that cannot be filled except by illegal aliens who will work for less money than legal workers or citizens. But should we stop and think about the statement they will work for less money, because that is really what we should add to the first part of the statement. There are jobs Americans will not do, at least for the money someone is willing to pay them to do it. It is true, but it is half a truth and hides a deeper reality. The illegal aliens will indeed work for less money because they can, because they come from a culture where \$6 an hour is more than a living wage, and that family members often pool their incomes and share living quarters. This is to their credit. I do not mean to demean their efforts. They are doing exactly what my grandparents did and our great grandparents or however long ago our individual families ended up in this country. Most of them came for the same reason. I do not for a moment mean to demean that particular goal. But it is only half the story and the half that everyone sees and understands. The other half is that American workers used to do these jobs before the supply of cheap foreign labor drove down wage rates relative to the rest of the economy. In other words, the conventional wisdom has the story exactly

backwards. We do not have 8 to 13 million illegal aliens in this country because we need them to fill jobs. We have 8 to 13 million illegal aliens in this country because there is a ready supply of cheap labor to keep wage rates low. We have that ready supply of cheap labor because we have an open border policy.

Once again, maybe you can make this case, Mr. Speaker. Maybe it is something that all Americans will agree with. Maybe our friends on the other side of the aisle and my colleagues on this side will in their heart of hearts say, yes, it is true that we have to keep people in very low-wage situations because it is good for the economy. I just want them to make that case to their constituents, that is all. That is all that I ask. I want them to tell the people who are struggling in those low-wage jobs that they are there and they are going to be there for a long time, and there is no real opportunity for advancement because open borders will keep wage rates low and, therefore, the economy moving.

Do we need an open borders policy? Not to help our economy, which would adjust and prosper without the supply of cheap labor, just as I mentioned earlier in what I described about what happened in the tomato growing industry. It is interesting how business does adjust and how the economy does in fact relate to these things called labor shortages. We would adjust and we would prosper without the supply of cheap labor. But because it benefits Mexico and maintains good relations with the Mexican Government and because it benefits the cheap labor advocates in the Congress of the United States and the political advantage that our friends in the Democratic Party get because of massive immigration, we will continue the program. If these workers were not available, if we did not maintain an open border policy, our economy would adjust and we would continue to be the most prosperous Nation in the world. The few companies that must have such low-wage workers in order to compete in the marketplace will move their plants to the source of the labor. But our history teaches that most employers will not do this. Denied a source of below-market cheap labor, employers will generally not move their operations. Instead, they do one of two things. They will either mechanize their operations, as agriculture has in fact done steadily over the past 150 years, or they will raise their wages to attract American workers or legal workers.

Actually there is another part to this. We will increase productivity. That is what we have done. Because in reality, no matter how much we talk about the need for open borders, it is very difficult to compete in a world in which, today especially, you can move work to worker anywhere in the world. So how does American labor compete? It is not, frankly, with just the importation of cheap labor; it is with the development and the continual increase

of productivity by the American worker. When this is done across the entire industry, it does not disadvantage any one employer because all employers are in the same boat. Costs to the consumer will rise as the cost of labor rises, but the product will be produced and will be available on the market. To cite one of the most obvious examples, if restaurants in New York City and San Francisco and Dallas could not employ these illegal immigrants as their dishwashers and busboys and valet parking attendants, they would be forced to pay slightly higher wages to legal workers. Would they all go out of business? No, they would not. I respectfully submit that it would not be a calamity for our economy to have to pay a price for a prime rib dinner that would move from like \$16 to \$16.50, and the price of delivery of pizza to go up 50 percent, if the car wash goes up from \$12 to \$13, if the price of a Motel 6 room increases from \$34.95 in Lubbock to \$36.95.

I recognize that this might be a difficult adjustment for some people, but we have been through hardships that we endured and we can endure this one. To offset these temporary adjustments in our life-style, there would be many favorable things that would happen in our economy if the supply of cheap labor and illegal labor was cut off. The first thing we would notice is that our college students could in fact find summer jobs and part-time jobs year around. Some of the 8 million unemployed Americans would find jobs in the service industries at a higher wage than is now offered. As the job magnet disappears, the flow of illegal aliens across our borders, now estimated at 1.5 million a year, would stop. This would have some very positive effects on our economy. Hospitals, law enforcement agencies, and public schools all across the border States and in many of our bigger cities would notice a diminished burden on their budgets. As a result, State and local governments all across the West and South would discover they have revenues available that had previously been devoted to the needs of a growing immigrant community. Legal immigrants seeking jobs would not be competing with people willing to work for below-market wages. The U.S. Border Patrol and the Customs Service could concentrate all of their energies on stopping the flow of illegal drugs into our Nation instead of worrying about the flow of illegal people; people like several members of my own community in Denver, Colorado; people in my own neighborhood. One gentleman in particular comes to mind. He is employed in the high-tech industry, and we will talk about that in a few minutes, about exactly what is happening there because we have spent most of the time talking about low-skilled, low-wage workers, but there is just as big a problem, if not more so, in the area of white collar workers, high-skilled workers in the United States and the

various programs that we operate to bring people into this country to displace American workers in this area. My friend is one of those.

□ 2245

He is an individual that has been out of work for a year or year and a half in the high-tech industry. He now works a little bit for us, and at nighttime drives a limousine to keep a roof over his head and food on the table. If you ask him, you know, when you were a high-tech worker and in this very high position in this industry that you were involved in, would you believe that you would be driving a limousine at night picking people up and taking them to the airport, he would said no; but it does not matter, because that is what I need to do. That is what I have to do today.

That is the case for millions of Americans. They are looking for ways to keep the roof over their heads and food on the table. They will take jobs. They will take jobs, if available.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, the 600 people that applied for that \$3-an-hour job at the Luna Restaurant as a waiter were not all illegal immigrants. I do not know how many, but I would guess 50 percent were people who have lived here all their lives. They were American citizens, and they were looking for a job; and their chances of getting it were diminished by the fact that so many people are here and working here and living here illegally.

I want to reiterate, it is not a slam against those people. They are doing what they need to do, what they want to do, what they have to do to try to improve their lives. I totally understand and relate to that. I empathize with them in every single way. I know what my grandparents went through, and I hear this a thousand times, that we are a Nation of immigrants and everybody came here and worked hard.

Mr. Speaker, this is a time when in America we have to determine what our needs are, what our needs are, and to what extent we want to disenfranchise and do things that do not benefit the American citizens of this country, so as to improve the lot of those people who are not citizens. How much of what we have in America do we wish to diminish? How much has to sink in order to allow this other part to rise? This is something we have to think about. It is harsh. I know that to many people, they feel that to be something that they would just as soon not think about, not deal with; but it is important for us to understand and deal with.

Is it right? Is it okay? If it is, if you believe so, if you come down on the side that says that we need to in fact allow for markets to work and simply have as many people who want a job in the United States to come across the border and get it, if that is true, if that is what we want, then eliminate the border. Erase the border. Forget about a border. Allow people to come to this

country at their whim, at their desire. Allow them to come from every country in the world.

Now, what would happen, I ask? Would all of our lives be benefited? Would everybody in the United States be better off, the people living here, would they be better off as a result? Would the quality of our life go up, or would it be diminished? If it would increase, let us do it. Let us pass the bill. Let us put it on the floor; let us debate it. To the extent you can make the case to the American public that the United States should be open to every single person in every single country who wants to come here, then let us do it.

The thing I just hate, the thing that I rail against, is the idea that we are going to actually accomplish that goal, but we are going to sneak it through. We are not going to tell Americans that is what we want, that is the goal we are trying to accomplish, to reduce everyone's standard of living in order to accomplish this sort of idealistic libertarian goal of having markets actually determine all aspects of our society. Let us just say it. That is what I want from this Congress. That is what I expect from my colleagues and the President of the United States. I expect him to tell the truth about where we are going, about what they want to accomplish, because it is one or the other. We cannot have it both ways. Either you have unlimited massive immigration into the country, the elimination of the borders, or you do not.

There is another very important dimension to this whole debate over illegal workers, and it is a good news story when you really look into it and understand it. I am thinking of the role that millions of American workers play in our Social Security trust fund and the actuaries for payout to tomorrow's retirees.

One of the arguments frequently heard in this Capitol is that the Nation benefits from all these illegal workers because many of them do in fact pay into the Social Security system, but they never gain any of the benefits. The argument runs that if they are a net-plus for the system, they will help fund the future payouts for retirees.

A recent research report by economist John Attarian called "Immigration: Wrong Answer For Social Security" examines the numbers and the projects and comes to a different conclusion entirely.

Dr. Attarian's analysis of all the most pertinent research by many organizations and many pro-immigration advocates shows that in order to make any significant dent in the long-term deficit projected for the Social Security system, we would have to quadruple the number of high-wage immigrants in the technology field, not the low-wage workers who come from across our borders illegally. Moreover, the actual fiscal effects of massive illegal immigration are probably negative,

because the low-wage workers contribute less in Social Security payroll taxes than the workers they displace.

If you depress the wage rates paid to workers in order to hire illegal aliens instead of higher-wage citizens, you decrease the net income of the Social Security trust fund. You do not increase it.

Yet there is another aspect of this labor market that needs greater attention and some serious scrutiny. We have talked only about the myth of low-wage jobs that supposedly no one wants to do. There is a growing problem with higher-level jobs that are now being taken by illegal aliens and that no one wants to talk about.

This is a strange thing, this public silence about the loss of jobs in the construction industry, jobs that pay \$12, \$14 and \$15 an hour, that are being filled by illegal workers.

Please, someone explain to me how it is that contractors cannot find legal workers to do these jobs? Do you really believe, does anyone in this body, anyone even in Washington, where the air here is so rarified that it has sometimes affected all of our thinking and we have a hard time relating to the people we represent, the working Americans, does it really occur to anyone that there are in fact many Americans who will not take \$12 to \$14 or \$15 hour jobs in the construction industry, and therefore they go begging and we have to import illegal aliens?

The explanation, however, is simple. The jobs that a contractor is willing to pay an illegal worker \$14 an hour to do, he would have to pay \$16 to \$18 to carpenters, union workers, brick masons and union workers. More importantly, when hiring the illegal worker instead of the American worker, the employer does not have to pay withholding tax or workman's comp or health benefits. Thus, he reduces his labor costs by as much as 50 percent by breaking the law.

You may be surprised to learn that this practice is very widespread in our Nation, especially in the West and Midwest. The Denver Post recently ran a front page investigative report on this phenomenon. The investigative reporter revealed that there is a large underground network of labor brokers who specialize in providing illegal workers for the construction industry. They provide buses and transport illegal workers from one site to another when a project is completed. There are thousands of workers involved in this scheme all across the West and Midwest.

Two very interesting questions arise when looking at this matter. The first one is obvious: Why does the U.S. Labor Department let employers get away with this violation of our labor laws? Why are arrests and prosecutions so rare?

The second question is not so obvious, but it is equally curious: Why are the labor unions not objecting to this loss of jobs to their members? Thou-

sands of jobs, and probably tens of thousands on a national scale, are going to illegal workers who are not union members.

Where is the voice? Where is the process of the AFL-CIO when union workers lose their jobs and are displaced by illegal aliens? Where is the protest from our deficit hawks when the IRS loses millions of dollars in withholding because these illegal workers are paid off the books or as independent contractors who do not have to pay withholding?

Where is the protest by the proponents of workers' safety rules and standards when it is revealed that hundreds of thousands of workers are not being covered by workman's comp laws because employers are skirting the law in wholesale fashion, and neither the U.S. Labor Department nor State authorities are willing to do anything about it?

Where are the Nation's frontline newspapers and news networks? Is this story not told because it is not politically correct to talk about it?

I will soon introduce a new guest worker program that will offer a real and equitable solution to the so-called labor shortage. We will authorize unlimited guest workers into this country to fill legitimate jobs that cannot "be filled by citizens and legal residents." If the employer can demonstrate a real need, if he can offer a job to a foreign national, then that worker can enter the job market and work at it for up to 2 years. There will be penalties for fraud, and a part of the worker's wages will be withheld until he or she returns to the home country.

This is another issue. We will see other Members introduce legislation for guest worker programs; and for the most part, they will be disguised as a guest worker program with the purpose of creating amnesty for people who are here illegally. This cannot be. This is absolutely inappropriate. We should never, ever, ever reward people for breaking the law, whether it is the employer who benefits or the illegal alien. We should not do that as a Congress; we should not do that as a Nation.

So if you need to come into this country and if we need the labor, we should have a legal process for that to occur, a process that guarantees the rights of the people coming into the country so they are not abused by the people who are hired by them to sneak them into the country, the coyotes, the people that packed them into the back of semis, like in Texas, where they died, 19 of them just recently, or where they bring them into the country or bring them near the border and the women are raped and the men in the family are robbed and they are shoved into the border.

We have testimony from people who have ranches near the southern border, and at nighttime they can hear the screams of women being raped by the coyotes who have taken them to this point where the promised land is just

on the other side, but at that point they take advantage of them in every single way imaginable and shove them into the desert and they die there by the hundreds.

We can protect them. We can stop them from doing that. We can stop the coyotes from doing this. We can protect workers coming into the United States and make sure they are paid at least the minimum wage. We can be sure they are in fact given the kind of protection that American workers deserve, that all workers deserve.

On the other hand, we can protect our own interests in this country and protect the interests of Americans who need jobs. If there are truly "jobs that Americans will not do," fine, let somebody prove that; and when they prove it, let them import labor for that purpose. It is okay with me. But I will assure you that if that test were really that difficult, if we truly put it out there in that way, prove that no American wants this job for what you are willing to pay, for what the going rate is, by the way, not just what you are willing to pay, what the going rate for this job is, okay, you can bring in a guest worker. But I guarantee, Mr. Speaker, that most of these jobs that we are being told would only be taken by people we have to bring in here illegally would in fact be taken by American citizens. To the extent that is not true, fine, import workers. Bring them in legally so that they are protected in their rights and so that our rights are also protected.

There would be penalties for fraud, and part of the workers wage would be withheld, as I say. The penalties for fraud are important, because we have to stop the demand side of this equation just as much as the supply side. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of American corporations that are taking advantage of our laws, that are importing workers, that are actually involved in the process, not just of hiring illegal aliens, but bringing them into the country.

Tyson's Foods, Tyson's Foods in Arkansas is being prosecuted by the U.S. Government, and it is a showcase. I really and truly applaud the Immigration and Naturalization Service for bringing this case, because I hope people in Tyson's Foods, if they are found guilty, actually go to jail for what they have done, because they are part of, according to the government's case anyway, Tyson's Foods and the executives at Tyson's Foods were actually involved in the importation of illegal workers.

□ 2300

Well, that even goes one step beyond just hiring someone who is here illegally, and the people who did that should go to jail. American corporations who knowingly hire people who are here illegally should be punished to the fullest extent of the law, and we should not wink at it and we should not just pretend that it is the problem of the illegal worker coming into this

country. He is coming or she is coming for a job. That job is being offered by an American corporation or an American company or just an American citizen, and we have to stop that. Each are culpable. When those people died in Victorville, California, the people who are responsible for their death, beyond those individuals who put themselves in harm's way, who decided to actually take the risk of coming into this country illegally, beyond those people, there is still more culpability. Part of it goes to those American employers who enticed these people into the United States. Part of it goes to our own government and every Member of this Congress who refuses to deal with the issue of illegal immigration. Yes, it is our responsibility. Yes, their blood is on our hands.

Mr. Speaker, I state that categorically, that we have, over the course of the last couple of decades, made it enticing for them to come to the country illegally; made it illegal to do so, of course, to come without our permission; but, on the other hand said well, if you can do it, if you can make it, we will look the other way. So, of course, millions do, and some of them get caught in this trap, and some of them die. It is our fault. We share the blame. So does the Mexican Government for encouraging this flow, for doing everything possible to move unemployed young Mexican workers into the United States to reduce their own problems in Mexico and to increase remittances from people who come to the United States and send money back to Mexico, which becomes a significant part of their own GDP.

They also encourage the flow of illegal immigrants into the United States from Mexico in order to have them, as I was told by Juan Hernandez, who was at that time the head of the ministry in Mexico called the Ministry for Mexicans Living in the United States. He said that it helps them influence our government's policy, the massive number of Mexican nationals living in the United States helps them, he said, influence our government's policy vis-a-vis Mexico. So Mexico has a role to play and is equally culpable for the deaths of the people that have come across this border and found themselves in horrible circumstances and died as a result or were harmed in the process.

Mr. Speaker, all of these people have some role to play and some degree of culpability, and I say to every single one of them, I challenge you to actually deal with this forthrightly. Stand up in front of the American public and state unequivocally that what you want is, in fact, a Nation where there are no barriers to immigration, where people can come at their will. Say that. It may win. It may win a majority of the votes in the Congress of the United States and the President may sign that kind of a bill. I, as I say, am a "no" vote, but it may happen. I just want the debate. I want it to happen in this

body. I want it to be done in a de jure fashion, not in a de facto way.

I know that what we are doing in America today is in fact moving in exactly that direction. We are eliminating our borders, but we are not doing it through a legal process; we are doing it in a de facto way, by looking the other way. And there are many, many bad things that happen as a result of that desire on our part to look the other way. Well, I want to force this Congress, I want to force this Nation, I want to force the President of the United States to look at this straight in the eye, and say we are going to deal with it one way or the other. Open our borders or secure them. Those are the only two options open to us as a Nation. Take your pick. Vote on one side or the other. Let us get this job done. Let us tell the people where we really stand. Let us get this problem solved one way or the other.

POSTWAR IRAQ: WINNING THE PEACE AND FINDING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FEENEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I will be joined by several colleagues this evening in a discussion about Iraq, with two fundamental questions to be addressed: First, are we winning the peace in Iraq after our impressive and important military victory, are we winning the peace in Iraq? And secondly, where in the world are the weapons of mass destruction?

I will be joined shortly by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ), the minority caucus chair and a senior member of the Committee on International Relations, and by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT), a senior member of the House Committee on International Relations, and several others. We would like to have a colloquy this evening amongst ourselves to discuss this issue, to raise these issues for the American people.

Let me make a few points to get us started. We all agree that our Armed Forces performed brilliantly in Iraq. We are very proud of our young men and young women in uniform, and the military victory we won was important in that it removed the threat posed to regional and even world peace by the murderous regime of Saddam Hussein. But while the military victory is ours, the military mission is not yet accomplished, because we have not found and disarmed and dismantled the weapons of mass destruction.

There must be an accounting to Congress, to the American people, and to our allies regarding the weapons of mass destruction. They are certainly, in the hands of a terrorist, the greatest security challenge we face, and yet we do not know where the weapons of

mass destruction are today. We need to determine what we must do to disarm and dismantle them. We must determine who has the custody of those weapons and what steps we must require of any new custodian to render those weapons harmless. If the weapons have been destroyed, then how did that happen, and how is it possible that our security agencies would not have known? And, fundamentally, did the Bush administration overstate its case for war against Iraq, based upon weapons of mass destruction? Did the administration mislead the Congress and the American people intentionally, or not, about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program? Did the Bush administration misuse the intelligence gathered by our national security agencies? Did they hear only what they wanted to hear? Did they believe only what they wanted to believe? Or did they tell us only what they wanted us to hear about the weapons of mass destruction?

The Bush administration has a growing credibility gap, Mr. Speaker, regarding the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, and we must have a full accounting.

Let me quickly touch on the second topic before turning to my colleagues, and that would be whether we are winning the peace in Iraq. We are faced with enormous challenges: peacekeeping, humanitarian aid, reconstruction, and building a new government. And the truth is that events in post-conflict Iraq are not going as well as they should. Security is a huge problem. Rampant lawlessness is blocking the economic recovery and the establishment of a civil society that we all want to achieve. Humanitarian aid is lacking. Reconstruction has not even started. And the establishment of a pluralistic and representative government seems a very long way off as the demands of religious and ethnic groups are loud and unresolved.

What are we doing in Iraq to deal with this? We have replaced all of the senior administrators that we first sent under Jay Garner and have replaced them with a new crew under Paul Bremmer. We have won the United Nations' approval by the Security Council of U.N. Resolution 1483 which names the U.S. and Great Britain as occupying powers, occupying powers under international law in Iraq. So we are responsible for the recovery, the reconstruction, the administration, and the establishment of a new government in Iraq as the occupying power.

Well, what have we done to get the ball rolling here? First came the Chalabi plan, Ahmed Chalabi, a 30- or 35-year exile from Iraq, head of the Iraqi National Congress. He visited my office on October 3, 2002. I believe he was making the rounds of members of the Committee on International Relations. To tell my colleagues the truth, I found Mr. Chalabi to be a blowhard, to be a blusterer, full of spin, the kind of man my grandfather would have called a four-flusher.

□ 2310

I am not quite sure what that means, but I think Achmed Chalaby meets the definition.

The Pentagon civilian leadership believed Achmed Chalaby, believed him when he said that Saddam Hussein had vast stores of weapons of mass destruction. Those weapons have not been found. They believed Chalaby when he said there was a close connection between al Qaeda and Hussein. That connection has not been established.

The Pentagon civilian leadership believed Chalaby when he said the Shiite Muslims in the south of Iraq would greet American military forces as liberators, greet them with open arms. Instead, they are treating us as occupiers and colonizers.

We flew Mr. Chalaby in with 700 followers. We armed him. We gave him arms, Mr. Speaker. We have now had to take those arms away because he does not have credibility.

The second plan was the Group of Seven plan to take seven so-called leaders, mostly exiles like Chalaby, and put them in as an interim authority to run Iraq. We have had to give up on that. Jay Garner could not get that to happen.

The third plan now is the Bremer plan. Under the Bremer plan, Paul Bremer, the new viceroy, American Viceroy in Iraq, will appoint a 25- to 30-person advisory council to give us advice on how to rule Iraq. We are not forming an interim authority or government, as we spoke of before. We hope to establish by fiat what really should come from within, from the people of Iraq.

So we have some very real challenges. I have more comments to make, but I have colleagues here who are anxious to join this debate and engage in a colloquy.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT).

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me. I want to congratulate him on conducting this particular Special Order because I think it is very important.

Clearly, newspaper reports, interviews over the course of the past several days, have raised these issues, really, to a level that I know our respective offices are receiving numerous telephone calls by constituents that are expressing profound concern.

Earlier this evening, a Republican colleague of ours talked about these issues. I think he was suggesting that they were emanating from a crowd that he called Blame America First. I respectfully have to disagree with him. I think these are questions that have to be asked. I think it is our responsibility to ask them on behalf of the American people.

We are not the only ones that are asking these questions. If there is a Blame America crowd, there are many people in that crowd who are not only highly regarded and highly respected but are Members of both parties.

I think it is important to note that the top Marine officer in Iraq, Lieutenant General Jim Conway, and again, this is from a report in The Washington Post, when no such weapons had been found and the move was announced just hours ago, and we are talking about a reorganization of the group that is missioned or tasked to look for these weapons of mass destruction, he said in a press conference that U.S. intelligence was simply wrong in leading the military to believe that the invading troops were likely to be attacked with chemical weapons.

This is a statement by Lieutenant General James Conway. I doubt that he is part of any group that would blame America, but he is making a statement that deserves an answer.

The Republican Chair of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of this House, highly regarded, well respected on both sides of the aisle, in a letter dated May 22, 2003, and I am referring to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), he co-signed a letter to the director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Let me just simply quote several sentences:

"The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence believes that it is now time to reevaluate U.S. intelligence regarding the amount or existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and that country's linkages to terrorist groups such as al Qaeda.

"The committee wants to ensure that the intelligence analysis relayed to our policymakers from the intelligence community was," and I am quoting the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), "accurate, unbiased, and timely in light of new information resulting from recent events in Iraq." He goes on: "The committee is also interested in understanding how the CIA's analysis of Iraq's linkages to terrorist groups such as al Qaeda was derived."

No one in this body would ever describe the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) as a member of the Blame America Crowd.

When we raise questions about the planning and the efforts of reconstructing Iraq after that war, I am confident that no one would ever accuse the Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard Lugar, as part of the Blame America Crowd. Let me read, Mr. Speaker, to my colleagues and to the American people what Senator LUGAR, a Republican from the State of Indiana, chairman of the foreign relations committee, had to say in an opinion piece that he wrote on May 22 of this year:

"But transforming Iraq will not be easy, quick, or cheap." These are his words: "Clearly, the administration's planning for the post-conflict phase in Iraq was inadequate. I am concerned that the Bush administration and Congress has not yet faced up to the true size of the task that lies ahead or prepared the American people for it. The administration should state clearly that we are engaged in nation-build-

ing." That is Senator LUGAR's phrase. "We are constructing the future in Iraq. It is a complicated and uncertain business, and it is not made any easier when some in the Pentagon talk about quick exit strategies or saying dismissively that they don't do nation-building. The days when America could win battles and then come home quickly for a parade are over."

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman if he is aware of some of the comments made by the administration last fall in the lead-up to the votes, the very important votes taken in Congress and in the United Nations regarding the war on Iraq. Statements of certainty from the President and other high administration officials have not been supported by recent disclosures from the intelligence agencies, the kinds of problems that I believe are leading to the credibility gap that I see growing here.

Let me give the gentleman a couple of examples, and I would be interested in his comment.

President Bush said in the Rose Garden on September 26, 2002, that the Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemical weapons. The Iraqi regime is building the facilities necessary to make more biological and chemical weapons."

However, at the very time, the Defense Intelligence Agency was circulating a report in September of 2002 which said there was "no reliable information on whether Iraq is producing or stockpiling chemical weapons, or whether Iraq has or will establish its chemical agent production facilities."

□ 2320

This and other information led Greg Thielmann, who retired from the State Department in September 2002 as director of the Strategic Proliferation and Military Issues Office in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, who reviewed this classified intelligence gathered by the CIA and other agencies in the run-up to the debate in the Congress and the U.N., to accuse the administration of distorting intelligence and presenting conjecture as fact. And he was quoted this week by the Associated Press as saying, "What disturbs me deeply is what I think are the disingenuous statements made from the very top about what the intelligence did say."

Is the gentleman aware of these statements and inconsistencies, and would he care to comment on them?

Mr. DELAHUNT. Yes, I am clearly aware of them and it even goes beyond to simply Mr. Thielmann. In fact, there is such outrage among intelligence professionals, people that have committed their lives to this work who I am sure are devoted to their country and are clearly not part of the Blame America Crowd; but they have come together and formed a group, Veterans Intelligence Professionals for Sanity.

They wrote recently to President Bush to protest what they call a policy, and, again, I am quoting here, "a

policy in intelligence fiasco of monumental proportions. While there have been occasions in the past when intelligence has been deliberately warped for political purposes," this is their letter, "never before has such warping been used in a systematic way to mislead our elected representatives in voting to authorize war."

That is a very serious accusation; and the American people deserve to have these individuals, other individuals come before in public session, the appropriate committees in Congress, and listen to what they have to say and provide us with an opportunity to inquire to them, let us lift the veil of secrecy. This is a democracy.

When we talk about American values, we talk about transparency and accountability; and I am profoundly concerned as to what I am witnessing over the course of the past 2 or 3 weeks, specifically as it relates to the issues of weapons of mass destruction and the issue of links with al Qaeda and the Saddam Hussein regime.

Mr. MENENDEZ. On the gentleman's very point, I want to thank our colleague for convening this opportunity to talk about a very important issue. I would like to ask both of the gentlemen, you sat, as I did here, during the State of the Union speech. You heard the President, as I did, say that one of the concerns is that Iraq sought to buy uranium in Africa. And that was included in the President's State of the Union speech, one of many compelling reasons why supposedly we had to be alarmed about Iraq and Saddam Hussein. And yet we read in today's Washington Post that the National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice conceded that that was an inaccurate claim. And yet here before the entire body of Congress and the American people, we were told that one of the compelling reasons, why do you buy uranium? You buy uranium for nuclear devices. Iraq is something that we need to be concerned about.

And my question to both of my colleagues is, does this not go to the fundamental issue that if the President's preemption doctrine, not that many of us agree with that as a doctrine that should be followed by the United States, but this doctrine of preemption which basically says we cannot wait for the risk to rise to a level that is a threat to the national security of the United States, we have to go in there in any country and preempt that threat, that even if one is to ascribe themselves to that view, that it is based upon the ability of the United States to gather accurate intelligence and make honest assessments? Does that not go to that very purpose of that doctrine?

When we see the revelations that seem to be coming forth like Condoleezza Rice saying, yes, that statement that the President made before Congress and the whole Nation about uranium purchases in Africa being false, that those begin to raise

concerns. How do we begin to have any credibility in any such preemption doctrine when the fundamental underpinnings seem to be at question, which is what I think the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT) is saying.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Exactly. I think the point is, how in the future, if we face a genuine threat to our liberty, to our democracy, do we turn to our allies and the rest of the world and say this is a moment when the United States must take action, given what appears to be, what appears to be issues surrounding the quality of our intelligence.

Let me just go a bit further with the example that you alluded to. It was so shoddy, the intelligence work, that a local police department, let alone our intelligence agencies, would have, I hope, discovered that this information was false. It was based on forged documents. It was one of the documents being signed by the foreign minister of this particular nation which happens to be Niger, not Nigeria, but Niger on the continent of Africa, signed by the foreign minister. And simply taking the name of the foreign minister and doing an Internet search would have revealed that the foreign minister whose signature appeared, in fact, had left that particular role, had resigned from government for 10 years, 10 years.

What does that say about the quality of the intelligence that was relied on by the President and by those who supported the military intervention in Iraq?

And yet some would suggest that to even pose these questions or raise these concerns is Blame America First? I respond by saying it is defending America, defending our democracy, defending our credibility, defending our claim to moral authority among the family of nations. Not to do so would be unpatriotic.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman's point is well taken. As a matter of fact, one of the things that I was additionally concerned about, and the gentleman did mention the Internet and how anybody who just did a casual search would see that this foreign minister had not been in office in a decade, and yet we rely upon it as fact by which we act and we do not even do a rudimentary study to find out whether that document had legitimacy.

It is interesting to note that one of our allies in this regard seems to have the same problem in this regard. There is an article that appeared in The New York Times that talks about how the top aide to Prime Minister Blair wrote to the head of Britain's Intelligence Service earlier this spring conceding that the government's presentation of a report on Iraqi arms was mishandled. And the report which is entitled, "Iraq, Its Infrastructure of Concealment, Deception and Intimidation," was used as part of the reason to pursue an invasion of Iraq and Saddam Hussein. And it is now referred to in the British news

media as the dodgy dossier because of evidence that part of it was down loaded from the Internet, completed with typographical errors from an American student's thesis that relied on 12-year-old public information. And it is now being reviewed by two parliamentary committees in Great Britain because it raises doubts about its central claim that Iraq's chemical and biological weapons were in such a state of readiness that they could be launched within 45 minutes, within 45 minutes.

□ 2330

That type of information is incredibly frightening when that is the basis under which we would deploy American troops, put at harm American soldiers.

There is no question, I think we would all agree, that Saddam Hussein was a dictator, was a bad actor, happy to see him leave from the world stage; but the question is, what invokes the policy of preemption, the use of U.S. forces and power abroad, under what basis? That is why so many of us who asked questions at the time and say, well, what is the foundation, what is the clear and present danger to the U.S., what is the imminent threat, have real concerns now as I think we see this intelligence information suggesting that there was not necessarily a clear and present danger, any imminent threat to the United States.

I think it puts us in a serious doubt with the international community when the next situation arises. I do not know what my colleague thinks about it.

Mr. HOEFFEL. The certainty that was used by the Bush administration to present this information in the fall of 2002 I think is a critical issue here. It is not completely clear at this point what all of the intelligence agencies were saying. Their information is becoming declassified and is beginning to be made public, but it is very clear what administration leaders were saying. In addition to the President, whom I already quoted also on September 26, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld told reporters, "Iraq has active development programs. Iraq has weaponized chemical and biological weapons." Yet a national intelligence estimate of October 2002, which was reputed to have said that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, when we look at the backup material that is just being declassified, it is much more equivocal.

The question is was the intelligence wrong or were the political leaders who were getting that intelligence misusing it? Were they hearing what they wanted to hear? Were they telling us what they thought we ought to hear? Were these innocent mistakes? Were they unintentionally mishandling the information, or was it more sinister?

I think these are fundamental questions that need to be asked if the gentleman is right; that if we are going to evaluate this new doctrine of preemption, a fundamental part of that has to be faith and credibility that our fear of

imminent attack from another nation is an accurate fear, and if it is not an accurate fear, then the whole notion of preemption cannot possibly work.

I know my colleagues are anxious to respond, but we have been joined by a senior member of the House, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. MCDERMOTT) who is sitting patiently and I think has quite a bit he would like to add to the discussion. So I would be happy to yield to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. MCDERMOTT).

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for coming out here at 11:30 at night to discuss this. The tragedy and really travesty of this whole thing of us being out here at this hour of the night, we have no mechanism to which we can get at the truth. They will never have an investigation in this House that ought to be done on what the President has said, what he has led to believe.

In Great Britain, they are calling for an independent judge to look at the whole question. What do we do in this House? Our distinguished colleague, who was mentioned before, from Florida was, Let's have the intelligence community look at their reports and see if they can evaluate how they did. That is about like asking the fox to go down to the hen house and check the lock, see if the key works. I mean, that makes no sense at all in my view.

It is clear we have two choices. We either have the choice that the President and those people who presented the evidence, or whoever presented him bad information, which implies stupidity, or we have a situation where they manipulated us. I voted against it because it was clear to me from September that they were so eager to go to war that they were going to say whatever they had to, and they shifted from al Qaeda to weapons of mass destruction to aluminum tubes to cake from Niger. Anything they could grab they threw up here and said this is the reason we have to go to war.

The other day Wolfowitz said the reason we had to go to war was because we did not have any other way to get at him. They were sitting on a lake of oil so we could not manipulate him financially anymore so we had to attack. North Korea, we can manipulate them financially because they are broke. We can squeeze them, but there was no way to squeeze the Iraqis.

In my view, we were going to go to war from about the first of September on. They had made the decision, and they came out here and repeatedly presented information.

In one of the training sessions before they went to the United Nations, they were rehearsing with Mr. Powell, and he finally got so frustrated looking at this stuff he threw pages up in the air and said bull-, and he used the word from the barnyard. He said this is nonsense. But yet the next day he got up and presented it to the whole world as this was the truth. And here we are, 80

days after they say the war is over. I mean, the President stages this photo op out there and lands and says, well, we have conquered it. You know why he does not say the war is over? Because if he did, he would have to face the reality or the real travesty of this thing is that they never planned for after the war.

The mess they have got over there right now is incredible, and I mean all we have to do is read the BBC. The BBC says that the incidence of diseases such as cholera, dysentery, and typhoid are 2½ times greater in the month of May 2003 than they were in the month of May 2002. That is what democracy brought the children of Iraq. That is what our President says he was going to bring. We are going to bring democracy, we are going to bring you cholera, we are going to kill kids on the basis of diarrhea.

The electric lights are not on. Why? Because they are having a big squabble with Bechtel about whether they ought to privatize the electric industry. The water is not clean because they are having a squabble with Bechtel about privatizing utilities.

And the worst thing was in today's newspaper. In today's newspaper, the New York Times on page 15, here we have a colonel that is responsible for 500,000 people in southern Baghdad. He has got 700 paratroopers and he is supposed to run a city of half a million people. He says, "I was in Haiti but I arrived here with zero experience running a city. We all wonder if we can go back and apply for an honorary degree in public communication. A lot of this stuff we are just completely feeling our way in the dark." This is a colonel in the United States military talking.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, if I can ask the gentleman a question, I am glad he moved us on to the questions of reconstruction and new governance in Iraq. It seems to me the biggest problem facing America in post-conflict Iraq is the perception, if not the reality, that we are an occupying colonial power as opposed to a liberating power, anxious to work internationally with existing organizations to develop a representative government.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. My colleague is absolutely correct. The Arab world has had this before. They saw the West come in into Palestine, into Algeria, into Egypt. They were going to be there just a couple of years to get things stabilized after the Ottoman Empire was over and the First World War was done, and they stayed for 25 years. These people see us, they have got a memory, and they are just saying, hey, get out of here, let us run it; you said we were going to be able to elect our own people. My colleague from Pennsylvania has already pointed out that we have already said we cannot have an election until you learn to pick the right people. So we are going to give you a group of 10 that we will select, and that way we will put an Iraqi face on the government.

Now, if you cannot ask where is our democracy, I do not know. They certainly have a right to choose their own government. It should not be decided by our government who is going to run that country.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts I think has a comment.

□ 2340

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, let me pick up on the issue that the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. HOEFFEL) raises and the gentleman from Washington (Mr. MCDERMOTT).

Our troops made us proud. We all support them. Every American supports them. Now they are being asked to do something, as the gentleman indicates, that they have not been trained for. There they are on the ground in a situation that at best is unstable. I do not even want to calculate the number of dead American soldiers on a weekly basis that have occurred as a result of guerrilla-type attacks, ambushes. It is simply not fair.

And the irony of this is that the Army Chief of Staff, General Shinseki, indicated before the war that it was his judgment, his estimate that we would need several hundred thousand troops in Iraq for an extended period of time. He was dismissed by the Secretary of Defense. I think maybe it was the Under Secretary of Defense, Mr. Wolfowitz, maybe Mr. Rumsfeld.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. It was Mr. Rumsfeld.

Mr. DELAHUNT. But that was grossly exaggerated. Now we discover that General Shinseki is absolutely correct. When I asked during the course of a House Committee on International Relations hearing to the Under Secretary of Defense, Mr. Dan Fife, simple questions, I think his responses are informative; and if I could indulge, I asked Secretary Fife, "We read different estimates of the cost of reconstruction to the American taxpayers. What is the current estimate of the administration in terms of the cost to the American taxpayers for the reconstruction of Iraq?"

"Mr. Fife: There is no total estimate for the whole government for the whole range of things.

"Mr. DELAHUNT: There is no estimate. Is there a range?"

"Mr. Fife: I am not aware that anybody has pulled together all of the threads."

So then I said, "Well, I would hope that they would pull the threads together, and if you can get that information to me in writing, I would appreciate that."

This is maybe several weeks ago rather than at the end of the combat, the hostilities announced by the President. I would hope, in fact, that these estimates would have occurred months before the military intervention was launched. Then I go on, "You have answered my question, but I would like to receive something in writing, Mr. Secretary, and I would like to share it

with my colleagues. I think it was General Shinseki that estimated some 200,000 troops would be necessary to secure stability in Iraq. What is the current estimate from the Department of Defense and for how long would they be required?"

The Under Secretary's response: "These kinds of questions have been an issue for some weeks, and we are continually being asked. And we are, obviously, not getting through on a key point which is there are so many things, so many different aspects of reconstruction and security, and each aspect depends on events and it depends on things we do not know about and we cannot know about. For example, how smoothly is the transition to an Iraq interim authority going to take place, and how quickly are the Iraqis going to be organizing?"

I responded, "I respect that, Mr. Secretary, but at the same time I would hope that the department would have been prepared to provide a range in terms of worst- and best-case scenarios. I think we have a right to that information. Let me ask you another question: Do you have an estimate in terms of when an election in Iraq may occur?"

The Under Secretary responded, "No, we do not."

"I appreciate your answers. You indicated there appears to be a narrow popular support for a theocracy similar to the one in Iran. Do we have polling data to support your thesis, or is this just an opinion through intelligence?"

Mr. Fife responded, "It is an opinion that comes from intelligence. It comes from diplomatic reporting."

"But there is no polling data, I take it?"

"I do not know whether there are. I do not know off the top of my head whether there is polling data."

So then I said, "Let me ask this question. Let me pose you a hypothetical question. If we have a free and fair election and if as a result of that election there is a leadership that does not necessarily feel warmly towards the United States, are we unconditionally willing to accept that particular leadership, presuming again free and fair elections?"

Mr. Fife answers, "We are going to be working with the Iraqis to get a government organized, and part of that is going to be organizing a constitution and a bill of rights."

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I think the questioning was a precursor, as mine was, when Secretary Powell appeared before the committee before that, and I asked the Secretary how long, how many lives will we lose, how long will we be there, how much will it cost, and are we nation building?

And I know that my colleagues have listened certainly for the decade that I have been here, listened to our colleagues on the other side of the aisle talk about how they abhorred the concept of nation-building when we were in Bosnia and other places, stopping

real atrocities that were taking place, and hearing we are into nation-building.

And yet as the gentleman was trying to elicit from the witness before our Committee on International Relations, which we both sit on, we have no real planning. There was Jay Gardner, who was designated as the head of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance. Here we have the Department of Defense doing nation-building, something that we consistently heard our colleagues on the other side of the aisle rail against, and he in essence was on the job a full 3 weeks, and after all of that preparation that supposedly took place for him to be there, we get rid of him in 3 weeks. He was going to develop a national assembly of Iraqis, and that did not work. And then his State Department successor, Ambassador Bremer, thought that perhaps seven opposition groups might be able to work effectively as an interim government. That was soon abandoned.

Now we are talking about a so-called advisory council of 20 or 25 Iraqis, but this latest plan of an advisory council seems to minimize, not increase, the participation of Iraqis in the process for months, if not longer.

So here we are in this preemption doctrine for which we now have serious questions about the underpinnings under which we committed massive force because it was alleged at the time that there was a clear and present danger to the United States. We are told by the administration, well, you have to have a lot more time; and yet we did not want to give any more time to U.N. weapons inspectors, but we are asked to give enormous amounts of time here. And we have the full roam of the country uninhibited. And then we supposedly were prepared for the post-Saddam era, and we seem not to be able to put that together, or I am not sure what our intent is.

□ 2350

We do not seem to know where Saddam Hussein is. We also do not seem to know where Osama bin Laden is, and that is a whole other issue in terms of Afghanistan and what happened. And so you have the confluence of all of these issues.

Mr. MCDERMOTT. There is one other one you have left out. That is our allies, the British. Their defense chiefs are quoted in the newspaper as saying they are resisting calls for British troops to be sent to join American forces in Baghdad because they could, quote, be sucked into a quagmire. They do not want British troops caught up in the rising tide of anti-American violence. So even our allies are stepping back now and saying, hey, look, you guys got over in there and you said you knew what you were doing.

It is more complicated even than our own problems.

Mr. MENENDEZ. The point really is that it is the congressional responsi-

bility for oversight that we have on behalf of all of the American people to raise the questions and get the answers that ultimately lead us to make the right choices in the future, informed choices, based upon real substantive information, not perceived or possibly manipulated information, and to be understanding that we have got to be prepared. We won the war; we salute the men and women who did not ask whether this was the right conflict or not but just responded to the Nation's call. I visited one of our bases and the young men and women there told me, Congressman, we don't ask whether this is right or wrong, we don't pick the time, the place or the conflict, we just respond. We salute them for that. But before we send those young men and women, sons and daughters of Americans of this country, we should know that we are sending them on the right information, that we have a plan not only to win the war but then to achieve the peace and to make sure that the seeds that we seek to sow in terms of democracy take place. Those are some of our concerns I think in this process.

Mr. HOEFFEL. The gentleman from New Jersey speaks very eloquently about congressional responsibilities, the things we ought to be asking about. You were talking about how to get a representative government started in Iraq. It seems to me that what Congress ought to be pushing the administration to focus on in our efforts to create liberty is to create the institutions of liberty first. We cannot have a democratic system in Iraq if they do not have the institutions of a free press and a functioning judiciary and the traditions of free speech and a civil society and a noncorrupt bureaucracy. In fact, all that needs to be founded in some written constitution that has public support and public input. What does my colleague think we need to do to achieve that, if he agrees with me that that is the fundamental goal that we have got to establish first before democracy is ever going to come to the people of Iraq?

Mr. MENENDEZ. I think there are a variety of things. I am sure some of our colleagues have some ideas as well. But fundamentally you have to get Iraqi civil society back engaged. You have to create the wherewithal to show that not only were we liberators, hopefully, but at the end of the day that we have also come to help really create a better society and to assist Iraqis to be able to do that. That comes with, first of all, at least having the functioning entities of civil society be able to take place, as you suggested, some of those institutions. As our colleagues suggested, to get some of the basic fundamental services that Iraqis would expect from a liberating force to take place and to begin to act. So, clean water, running sewerage systems, the opportunity for electricity to be present, the return to schools of children, the opportunity for hospitals to

be able to take care of the sick. The rudimentary elements of a civil society start there. And then to engage civil society within Iraq to begin to perform some of their own functions and to also ask the beginnings of Iraq's natural resources to go for the purposes of helping Iraq rebuild itself. I think the American people have the right to know how long are we going to continue to be there? How many more lives will we lose? How much will it cost? And, as I always listen to our colleagues here in the House and in committee, what is our exit strategy? What is our exit strategy?

Mr. DELAHUNT. We do not seem to be hearing that anymore.

Mr. MENENDEZ. No, we do not hear about exit strategies or nation building anymore.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Or lockboxes, either, for that matter. As the both of you were talking about the men and women that really made us all proud, and we consider our very best, I think it is important to state unequivocally that when they return, it is not simply about parades, it is about respecting them and delivering the promise and the commitment to veterans that I know each and every member of our party is willing to make. No cuts in veterans' benefits. None at all. That is unacceptable and would be unconscionable.

But let me end my digression and go back to the issue of nation building and just read a paragraph from the May 19 Washington Post. It is entitled "Plan to Secure Postwar Iraq Faulted." The author writes the following paragraph:

"In interviews here and in Washington and in testimony on Capitol Hill, military officers, other administration officials, and defense experts said the Pentagon ignored lessons from a decade of peacekeeping operations in Haiti, Somalia, the Balkans and Afghanistan."

Let us be candid and let the American people hear this: that in Afghanistan, we are at great risk of returning to that kind of chaos, that kind of volatility, instability that occurred prior to our invasion of Afghanistan. It is a mess in Afghanistan. The President of that country, President Karzai, cannot leave Kabul. The rest of that nation and many sections of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan are rife with Taliban and with other terrorist groups. And we have failed miserably in reconstruction efforts there. I would hope that this administration and this House would look to Afghanistan as an example of what not to do and go forward with a sensible plan that we can all support, because we know our responsibility.

Mr. HOFFFEL. Would the gentleman agree that using NATO as a peacekeeping force might be the right thing to do in both Afghanistan and Iraq?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I think what is rather ironic, of course, is in Afghanistan, our NATO ally Germany is play-

ing a key and vital role. Afghanistan militarily was truly a coalition of the willing, not a coalition of the coerced, the bribed, but a coalition of the willing. But I think it is important that we approach the reconstruction of both Afghanistan and Iraq on a multilateral basis. We cannot ask the American people to continue to bear the full burden. We have already made a comment in Iraq which practically guarantees a new hospital in every Iraqi city, 100 percent maternity coverage for Iraqi women that is going to be funded by the taxpayers of the United States. And what are we doing here in this Congress under this Republican leadership to Medicare? We are cutting it by \$95 billion. That is not fair to the American taxpayer. It is not fair to the American people.

Mr. HOFFFEL. I thank the gentleman for his comments, for his leadership in the House and his eloquence on the House Committee on International Relations.

Would my friend from New Jersey like to make some final remarks as our time is short?

Mr. MENENDEZ. Very briefly, I appreciate the gentleman's engaging in the dialogue, and I hope we will continue it in the future. I think we owe America's young men and women who went into harm's way, that before we call upon them again for a preemptive strike, that we are doing so based upon sound information, that we are based on intelligence that is honest, truthful and transparent, that we ultimately have a plan not only to win the war but to win the peace, because we are losing soldiers every day. It is not as well publicized, but we are losing soldiers every day. We deserve, before we send the finest to answer the Nation's call, and that is where the congressional responsibility takes place, in asking these questions, in getting answers and being able to prepare for the future.

Mr. HOFFFEL. I thank my colleagues for joining me.

CORRECTION TO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 2003, AT PAGES H 5036-H 5037

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO THE MEXICO-UNITED STATES INTERPARLIAMENTARY GROUP

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PORTER), Pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 276h and the order of the House of January 8, 2003, the Chair announces the Speaker's appointment of the following Members of the House to the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group, in addition to Mr. KOLBE of Arizona, Chairman, appointed on March 13, 2003:

Mr. BALLENGER of North Carolina, Vice Chairman,
Mr. DREIER of California,
Mr. BARTON of Texas,
Mr. MANZULLO of Illinois,
Mr. WELLER of Illinois,

Ms. HARRIS of Florida,
Mr. STENHOLM of Texas,
Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA of American Samoa,
Mr. PASTOR of Arizona,
Mr. FILNER of California, and
Mr. REYES of Texas.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. BAIRD (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of an event in the district.

Mr. BECERRA (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of personal reasons.

Ms. KILPATRICK (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of official business.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today and June 10 on account of a family illness.

Mr. REYES (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today on account of personal reasons.

Mr. SMITH of Washington (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today and the balance of the week on account of personal reasons.

Mr. HOUGHTON (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for today and June 10 on account of family matters.

Mr. TOOMEY (at the request of Mr. DELAY) for today on account of official business.

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. PALLONE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:

Ms. PELOSI, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DEFAZIO, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. MILLER of North Carolina, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. KIND, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. EMANUEL, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. SOLIS, for 5 minutes, today.
Mr. MCDERMOTT, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. WATSON, for 5 minutes, today.
Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

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

Mr. BURTON of Indiana, for 5 minutes, today and June 16.

Mr. GUTKNECHT, for 5 minutes, today and June 10, 11, and 12.

(The following Members (at their own request) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. RODRIGUEZ, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MEEKS of New York, for 5 minutes, today.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 222. An act to approve the settlement of the water rights claims of the Zuni Indian Tribe in Apache County, Arizona, and for other purposes.

S. 273. An act to provide for the expeditious completion of the acquisition of land owned by the State of Wyoming within the boundaries of Grand Teton National Park, and for other purposes.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Jeff Trandahl, Clerk of the House reports that on June 6, 2003 he presented to the President of the United States, for his approval, the following bill.

H.R. 192. To amend the Microenterprise for Self-Reliance Act of 2000 and the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to increase assistance for the poorest people in developing countries under microenterprise assistance programs under those Acts, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

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

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 59 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, June 10, 2003, at 10:30 a.m., for morning hour debates.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2554. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Exotic Newcastle Disease; Removal of Areas From Quarantine [Docket No. 02-117-6] received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2555. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Ports Designated for Exportation of Livestock; Portland, OR [Docket No. 02-127-1] received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2556. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Thymol and Eucalyptus Oil; Exemptions from the Requirement of a Tolerance [OPP-2003-0002; FRL-7308-1] received June 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

2557. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, FEMA, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Changes in Flood Elevation Determinations [Docket No. FEMA-D-7537] received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2558. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, FEMA, Department of Homeland

Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Final Flood Elevation Determinations—received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2559. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, FEMA, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Final Flood Elevation Determinations—received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2560. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, FEMA, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Suspension of Community Eligibility [Docket No. FEMA-7807] received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2561. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, FEMA, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Changes in Flood Elevation Determinations [Docket No. FEMA-P-7622] received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2562. A letter from the Acting General Counsel, FEMA, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Final Flood Elevation Determinations—received May 27, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2563. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting the Commission's "Major" final rule—Management's Report on Internal Control over financial reporting and certification of disclosure in exchange act periodic reports [Release Nos. 33-8238; 34-47986; IC-26068; File Nos. S7-40-02; S7-06-03] (RIN: 3235-A166 and 3235-A179) received June 5, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Financial Services.

2564. A letter from the Director, Regulations Policy and Management Staff, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's final rule—Labeling for Oral and Rectal Over-the-Counter Drug Products Containing Aspirin and Non-aspirin Salicylates; Reye's Syndrome Warning [Docket No. 93N-0182 and 82N-0166] (RIN: 0910-AA01) received June 2, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2565. A letter from the Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's report entitled, "The Drinking Water State Revolving Fund Program: Report to Congress"; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2566. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of State Plans for Designated Facilities and Pollutants; Large Municipal Waste Combustors; California [CA216-0400; FRL-7510-2] received June 5, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2567. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; District of Columbia; Determining Conformity of Federal Actions to State or Federal Implementation Plans [DC042-2031a; FRL-7507-4] received June 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2568. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Revisions to the California State Implementation Plan, Bay Area Air

Quality Management District [CA275-0393c; FRL-7495-3] received June 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2569. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Revisions to the California State Implementation Plan, Bay Area Air Quality Management District; San Diego County Air Pollution Control District [CA275-0393a; FRL-7495-1] received June 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2570. A letter from the Principal Deputy Associate Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—State of Massachusetts; Withdrawal of Direct Final Rule [MA-088-7216C; A-1-FRL-7509-2] received June 3, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

2571. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Education, transmitting the semiannual report of the activities of the Office of Inspector General during the six month period ending March 31, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. (Insp. Gen. Act) section 5(b); to the Committee on Government Reform.

2572. A letter from the Federal Co-Chair, Appalachian Regional Commission, transmitting the semiannual report on the activities of the Office of Inspector General for the period October 1, 2002, through March 31, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. (Insp. Gen. Act) section 8G(h)(2); to the Committee on Government Reform.

2573. A letter from the Chairman, Consumer Product Safety Commission, transmitting the semiannual report on the activities of the Office of Inspector General for the period October 1, 2002 through March 31, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. (Insp. Gen. Act) section 5(b); to the Committee on Government Reform.

2574. A letter from the Secretary, Department of Veterans Affairs, transmitting the semiannual report on activities of the Inspector General for the period October 1, 2002, through March 31, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. (Insp. Gen. Act) section 5(b); to the Committee on Government Reform.

2575. A letter from the Chairman, National Credit Union Administration, transmitting the semiannual report on the activities of the Inspector General for October 1, 2002, through March 31, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. (Insp. Gen. Act) section 8G(h)(2); to the Committee on Government Reform.

2576. A letter from the Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy, transmitting a report on the "Fiscal Year 2002 Accounting of Drug Control Funds"; to the Committee on Government Reform.

2577. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. International Trade Commission, transmitting the semiannual report on the activities of the Office of Inspector General for the period October 1, 2002 through March 31, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. app. (Insp. Gen. Act) section 8G(h)(2); to the Committee on Government Reform.

2578. A letter from the Rules Administrator, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, transmitting the Department's final rule—Public Works and Community Service Projects [BOP-1002-F] (RIN: 1120-AA03) received May 13, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2579. A letter from the Congressional Medal of Honor Society of the United States of America, transmitting the annual financial report of the Society for calendar year 2002, pursuant to 36 U.S.C. 1101(19) and 1103; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

2580. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department

of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone; Colorado River, Between Davis Dam and Laughlin Bridge (This section of the Colorado River divides Arizona and Nevada) [COTP: San Diego 03-019] (RIN: 1625-AA00) received May 23, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2581. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Safety Zone Regulation; Fort Vancouver Fireworks Display, Columbia River, Vancouver, Washington [CGD13-03-001] (RIN: 1625-AA00 (Formerly RIN: 2115-AA97)) received May 23, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2582. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Drawbridge Operation Regulations; Berwick Bay, Morgan City, LA [CGD08-03-023] received May 23, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2583. A letter from the Chief, Regulations and Administrative Law, USCG, Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Department's final rule—Notification of Arrival in U.S. Ports [USCG-2002-11865] (RIN: 1625-AA41) received May 23, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2584. A letter from the Administrator, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's report pursuant to Section 1403(c) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002, Pub. L. 107-296; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

2585. A letter from the Regulations Coordinator, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting the Department's "Major" final rule—Medicare Program; Change in Methodology for Determining Payment for Extraordinarily High-Cost Cases (Cost Outliers) Under the Acute Care Hospital Inpatient and Long-Term Care Hospital Prospective Payment Systems [CMS-1243-F] (RIN: 0938-AM41) received June 6, 2003, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2586. A letter from the Deputy Secretary, Department of Defense, transmitting notification of approved payment to the Government of Slovakia pursuant to Pub. L. 107-206; jointly to the Committees on Armed Services and Appropriations.

2587. A letter from the Chairman, Congressional Award Board, transmitting the 2002-2003 activities of the Congressional Award program, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 802(e); jointly to the Committees on Government Reform and Education and the Workforce.

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:

[Omitted from the Record of June 5, 2003]

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey: Committee on Veterans' Affairs. H.R. 1460. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to permit the use of education benefits under such title for certain entrepreneurship courses, to permit veterans enrolled in a vocational rehabilitation program under chapter 31 of such title to have self-employment as a vocational goal, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. 108-142 Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

[Pursuant to the order of the House on June 5, 2003 the following report was filed on June 6, 2003]

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska: Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure. H.R. 2115. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to reauthorize programs for the Federal Aviation Administration, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 108-143). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

[Submitted June 9, 2003]

Mr. SENSENBRENNER: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 1115. A bill to amend the procedures that apply to consideration of interstate class actions to assure fairer outcomes for class members and defendants, to outlaw certain practices that provide inadequate settlements for class members, to assure that attorneys do not receive a disproportionate amount of settlements at the expense of class members, to provide for clearer and simpler information in class action settlement notices, to assure prompt consideration of interstate class actions, to amend title 28, United States Code, to allow the application of the principles of Federal diversity jurisdiction to interstate class actions, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 108-144). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. LINDER: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 263. Resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2143) to prevent the use of certain bank instruments for unlawful Internet gambling, and for other purposes (Rept 108-145). Referred to the House Calendar.

TIME LIMITATION OF REFERRED BILL

Pursuant to clause 2 of rule XII, the following action was taken by the Speaker:

[Omitted from the Record of June 5, 2003]

H.R. 1460. Referral to the Committee on Small Business extended for a period ending not later than July 7, 2003.

[Submitted June 9, 2003]

H.R. 1950. Referral to the Committees on Armed Services, Energy and Commerce, and the Judiciary extended for a period ending not later than June 16, 2003.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. SMITH of Texas (for himself, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. COBLE, Mr. GOODLATTE, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Ms. HART, Mr. BOUCHER, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. WEXLER, and Ms. BALDWIN):

H.R. 2391. A bill to amend title 35, United States Code, to promote research among universities, the public sector, and private enterprise; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CASTLE (for himself, Mr. TANNER, Mr. UPTON, Mr. MOORE, Mr. BOEHLERT, and Mr. ALEXANDER):

H.R. 2392. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to accelerate the increase in the refundability of the child tax credit, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FILNER:

H.R. 2393. A bill to provide that unremarried former spouses of retired and career members of the Armed Forces shall be entitled to military health care and commissary and exchange benefits if married for

at least 10 years during the member's military service and if the former spouse left the marriage due to domestic violence or unbearable conditions; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MOORE (for himself, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Mr. FILNER, Mr. GORDON, Mr. CASE, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee, Mr. MICHAUD, and Ms. LEE):

H.R. 2394. A bill to require full funding of part A of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001; to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

By Mr. RADANOVICH (for himself, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. HERGER, Mr. NUNES, and Mr. OSE):

H.R. 2395. A bill to provide suitable alternative grazing arrangements on National Forest System land to persons that hold a grazing permit adversely affected by the standards and guidelines contained in the Record of Decision of the Sierra Nevada Forest Plan Amendment and pertaining to the Willow Flycatcher and the Yosemite Toad; to the Committee on Resources.

By Ms. SOLIS (for herself, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mrs. BONO, Ms. WATSON, Ms. LEE, Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Ms. HARMAN, Ms. LOFGREN, Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ of California, Mr. HONDA, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. BACA, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mrs. CAPPS, Mr. SHERMAN, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. WAXMAN, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. ISSA, Mr. OSE, Mr. MATSUI, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. POMBO, Mr. ROHRBACHER, Mr. FILNER, Mr. CARDOZA, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. STARK, Ms. WATERS, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mrs. DAVIS of California, Mr. HERGER, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. FARR, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. GARY G. MILLER of California, Mr. COX, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. DOOLEY of California, Mr. MCKEON, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. NUNES, and Mr. DREIER):

H.R. 2396. A bill to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1210 Highland Avenue in Duarte, California, as the "Francisco A. Martinez Flores Post Office"; to the Committee on Government Reform.

By Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas (for himself, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. COBLE, and Mr. CONYERS):

H. Con. Res. 212. Concurrent resolution recognizing and supporting the goals and ideals of the Year of the Korean War Veteran, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. VAN HOLLEN (for himself, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. BAIRD, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BISHOP of New York, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. CARDIN, Ms. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. COOPER, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. DELAHUNT, Ms. DELAURO, Mr. DOGGETT, Mr. DOYLE, Mr. EMANUEL, Mr. FARR, Mr. FILNER, Mr. FORD, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. FROST, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. HILL, Mr. HINCHAY, Mr. HOLDEN, Mr. HOLT, Mr. HOYER, Mr. INSLEE, Mr. ISRAEL, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. KILDEE, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. LANTOS, Ms. LEE, Mr.

LEWIS of Georgia, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. LYNCH, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. MARKEY, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. MICHAUD, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. MILLER of North Carolina, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Ms. NORTON, Mr. OBERSTAR, Mr. OLVER, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. PASTOR, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. POMEROY, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Mr. ROTHMAN, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, Mr. RUSH, Mr. RYAN of Ohio, Mr. SANDERS, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. SERRANO, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Ms. SOLIS, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. STARK, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Ms. WATERS, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Mr. WYNN):

H. Con. Res. 213. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that Federal taxcollection services should not be paid for on the basis of a commission or a percentage of taxes collected; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PLATTS:

H. Res. 262. A resolution supporting the goals and ideals of Pancreatic Cancer AwarenessMonth; to the Committee on Government Reform.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 58: Mr. BACA, Mr. BURNS, Mr. ISRAEL, and Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina.

H.R. 140: Mr. MURTHA.

H.R. 195: Mr. BRADY of Texas.

H.R. 218: Mr. CAMP and Mr. CARTER.

H.R. 284: Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ of California and Mr. CASTLE.

H.R. 290: Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky.

H.R. 294: Mr. BURGESS.

H.R. 296: Mr. VISCSLOSKY.

H.R. 300: Mr. SCHROCK and Mr. SESSIONS.

H.R. 302: Mr. WALDEN of Oregon.

H.R. 303: Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. JANKLOW, Mrs. MUSGRAVE, Mr. CRENSHAW, Ms. LEE, Mrs. MALONEY, and Mr. ISRAEL.

H.R. 375: Mr. SKELTON and Mr. TURNER of Ohio.

H.R. 391: Mr. SMITH of Texas and Mr. KINGSTON.

H.R. 438: Mr. PORTER.

H.R. 528: Mr. CAMP and Mr. FEENEY.

H.R. 636: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.

H.R. 648: Mr. CARTER.

H.R. 660: Mr. JANKLOW and Mr. COOPER.

H.R. 713: Mr. GILLMOR.

H.R. 779: Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California and Mr. BERMAN.

H.R. 806: Mr. GREENWOOD and Mrs. MYRICK.

H.R. 857: Mr. UDALL of Colorado.

H.R. 898: Mr. ALLEN, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Ms. LEE, Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky, Mr. LATOURETTE, and Mr. SKELTON.

H.R. 953: Mr. SHIMKUS.

H.R. 979: Mr. MCGOVERN.

H.R. 997: Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. FORBES, Mr. PLATTS, Mr. NEY, and Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina.

H.R. 1043: Mr. PICKERING.

H.R. 1049: Mr. HOLT.

H.R. 1063: Mr. MILLER of Florida.

H.R. 1084: Mr. BURGESS.

H.R. 1087: Mr. WILSON of South Carolina and Ms. LEE.

H.R. 1100: Mr. CRANE.

H.R. 1115: Mrs. BIGGERT, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. KENNEDY of Minnesota, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. OSBORNE, Mr. DEMINT, Mr. SOUDER, Mr. SCHROCK, Mr. HENSARLING, Mr. PUTNAM, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. MICA, and Mr. CALVERT.

H.R. 1125: Mr. KIRK, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. PLATTS, Mr. INSLEE, and Mr. WHITFIELD.

H.R. 1146: Mr. FRANKS of Arizona.

H.R. 1157: Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts and Mr. DUNCAN.

H.R. 1196: Ms. CARSON of Indiana and Ms. WOOLSEY.

H.R. 1199: Mr. KUCINICH.

H.R. 1205: Ms. LEE, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. RANGEL, and Mr. CROWLEY.

H.R. 1250: Mr. HAYWORTH.

H.R. 1259: Mr. OWENS and Mr. ROSS.

H.R. 1268: Mr. KILDEE, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, and Ms. LEE.

H.R. 1276: Mr. LARSEN of Washington.

H.R. 1279: Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Ms. MCCOLLUM, and Mr. ROTHMAN.

H.R. 1283: Mr. TOWNS and Mr. PAYNE.

H.R. 1295: Mr. GUTIERREZ.

H.R. 1305: Mr. JENKINS, Mr. SHIMKUS and Mr. WHITFIELD.

H.R. 1336: Mr. FROST, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. HAYWORTH, and Mr. STRICKLAND.

H.R. 1340: Mr. LANTOS and Mr. BELL.

H.R. 1377: Mrs. KELLY, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. BOUCHER, and Mrs. MALONEY.

H.R. 1429: Mr. DAVIS of Alabama.

H.R. 1470: Mr. ROSS and Mr. BELL.

H.R. 1473: Ms. SLAUGHTER.

H.R. 1478: Mr. PRICE of North Carolina.

H.R. 1482: Mr. MCDERMOTT, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. FILNER, and Mrs. CAPPS.

H.R. 1523: Mr. BURGESS, Mr. FLETCHER, Ms. WOOLSEY, and Mr. MILLER of Florida.

H.R. 1536: Mr. WELLER.

H.R. 1565: Mr. REYES and Ms. WOOLSEY.

H.R. 1580: Mr. GUTIERREZ.

H.R. 1612: Mr. BURGESS.

H.R. 1657: Mr. HINOJOSA and Mr. OWENS.

H.R. 1675: Mr. UDALL of New Mexico, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, and Mr. HEFLEY.

H.R. 1711: Mr. HEFLEY and Mr. BLUMENAUER.

H.R. 1716: Mr. GILLMOR.

H.R. 1723: Ms. MCCOLLUM.

H.R. 1749: Mr. LAHOOD.

H.R. 1858: Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. FROST, Mr. STARK, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. WEXLER, and Mr. DOYLE.

H.R. 1870: Mr. THORNBERRY.

H.R. 1874: Mr. DEAL of Georgia, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. OLVER, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. KAPTUR, Mrs. MALONEY, and Mr. TURNER of Texas.

H.R. 1887: Mr. KUCINICH.

H.R. 1910: Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. DOGGETT, Mr. REGULA, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. FATTAH, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. QUINN, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. BASS, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. KOLBE, Mr. VISCSLOSKY, Mr. BERRY, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. OLVER, Mr. BELL, Mr. LIPINSKI, and Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi.

H.R. 1943: Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland and Mr. PICKERING.

H.R. 2020: Mr. GOODE, Mr. CLAY, Mr. MEEK of Florida, Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee, and Mr. WELDON of Florida.

H.R. 2028: Mr. KING of New York, Mr. MCCOTTER, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. ROGERS of Alabama, and Mr. GERLACH.

H.R. 2030: Mrs. CAPPS.

H.R. 2096: Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. TERRY, Mr. CARDOZA, and Mr. PLATTS.

H.R. 2118: Mr. SHAYS, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, and Mr. JANKLOW.

H.R. 2176: Mr. CALVERT.

H.R. 2193: Mrs. MALONEY.

H.R. 2198: Mrs. JONES of Ohio and Mr. CRAMER.

H.R. 2202: Mr. MILLER of Florida and Ms. CORRINE BROWN of Florida.

H.R. 2207: Mr. OWENS.

H.R. 2208: Mrs. MUSGRAVE, Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky, Mr. COOPER, Mr. HOBSON, and Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky.

H.R. 2233: Mr. DEFAZIO.

H.R. 2260: Mr. FILNER, Mr. WOLF, and Mr. DAVIS of Florida.

H.R. 2284: Mr. FILNER, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. UDALL of New Mexico, Mr. SERRANO, and Ms. CARSON of Indiana.

H.R. 2286: Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. CLAY, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. PASTOR, Ms. LINDA T. SANCHEZ of California, Mr. BISHOP of New York, and Mr. WEXLER.

H.R. 2291: Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee, and Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.

H.R. 2300: Mr. OWENS, Ms. LOFGREN, and Mr. WEXLER.

H.R. 2318: Mr. PAUL.

H.R. 2319: Mr. CHABOT.

H.R. 2325: Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. TURNER of Texas, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. KIND, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. MOORE, Mr. KILDEE, Ms. KILPATRICK, Mr. WEINER, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Ms. HARMAN, Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Mr. HONDA, Mr. BALLANCE, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. CLAY, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. SABO, Mr. RUSH, Mr. FARR, and Mr. RAHALL.

H.R. 2333: Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. SNYDER, Mr. TANNER, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. ROSS, Mr. PICKERING, and Mr. HEFLEY.

H.R. 2342: Mr. McNULTY.

H.R. 2351: Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Ms. HART, and Mr. GREENWOOD.

H.R. 2358: Mr. SMITH of Texas.

H.R. 2370: Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania and Mr. FROST.

H.R. 2377: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY and Mr. ABERCROMBIE.

H.J. Res. 15: Mr. HOSTETTLER.

H.J. Res. 25: Mr. HASTINGS of Florida.

H.J. Res. 58: Mr. GRAVES, Mr. GOODE, and Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland.

H. Con. Res. 19: Mr. ANDREWS.

H. Con. Res. 37: Mr. GRIJALVA.

H. Con. Res. 93: Mr. SHERMAN.

H. Con. Res. 99: Mr. GEPHARDT.

H. Con. Res. 126: Mr. CUNNINGHAM and Mr. SOUDER.

H. Con. Res. 130: Mr. GRIJALVA.

H. Con. Res. 154: Ms. WATERS, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Mr. TANCREDO, Ms. WATSON, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. FORD, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Ms. NORTON, Mr. CUMMINGS, and Mrs. NAPOLITANO.

H. Con. Res. 169: Mr. OWENS, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. BLUMENAUER.

H. Con. Res. 200: Ms. SCHAKOWSKY.

H. Res. 38: Ms. MCCOLLUM.

H. Res. 66: Mr. MANZULLO, Mr. PENCE, and Mr. TERRY.

H. Res. 103: Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. RAMSTAD, and Mr. COBLE.

H. Res. 199: Ms. MCCOLLUM and Mr. LEVIN.

H. Res. 237: Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, and Ms. KILPATRICK.

H. Res. 259: Ms. KILPATRICK.