a country like Rwanda. That was so destabilizing, because the politicians get hold of the money and they use it for political reasons. Money to help a country must go in because conditions are beneficial, that encourage investment, that encourage the market to work.

Mr. Speaker, I would argue that there is a different interpretation, but I know that the support for this measure is justified.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON].

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I cannot help but respond to my colleague's comments. While I think he is well-intentioned, there are some issues that I think have to be addressed.

The United States, at the end of World War II, spent $16 billion in 1950's dollars in western Europe because we understood that while the best avenue may be the private-sector initiatives and other issues at hand, the reality was that without that economic assistance, there was a danger that western Europe would destabilize and that much of it would be taken over by Soviet influence. We recognized that short-term expenditure was the right thing to do for human rights, for economic opportunity, for political rights. I think to say that that model only worked about one time in history frankly does not meet the historical test.

If we take a look at the countries that are our biggest purchasers of grain products today, they are many of the countries that started off under a PL–480 program. To argue that there are still some countries in the world that have not recovered is not, frankly, an astounding argument. When we look at any program, it works best on certain areas, and other areas are more difficult to get to. It does not mean that there is not a benefit to us in that area.

Let me finish with these two points, and I will yield to the gentleman from Texas.

That is, every place we have played a major role in establishing democratic governments, governments that respect human rights, not only have we done the right thing, we then turn out to have the best markets there; but it has taken a cooperation between government and the private sector, and we cannot do it without both.

I would say the same thing has happened in agricultural sales: that in the countries where we have provided the most generosity of the American people to providing assistance, those are the countries that have turned out to be the largest purchasers of American agricultural products, which helps our trade balance immensely.

Lastly, I would say that if the gentleman thinks the tax burden in this country is distributed badly, I agree with that. Let us vote for a progressive tax. There is a very easy solution to that.

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

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

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I would vote to change the taxes, but mainly to lower them for everybody. The point that I am trying to make is that the large amount of capital that helped Europe recover did not come from the taxpayers. That was a small amount. There were a lot of other investors that went into Europe. The key reason was the political stability and the good economic climate which Erhard helped to introduce. I think that is much important.

There is a difference between what happened in Europe versus the waste that we had in Rwanda. We did not do the people, the poor people of Rwanda, very many favors by sending money down there that became a political weapon to suppress the poor.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to respond to some of the observations the gentleman from Texas made.

I think the gentleman from Texas is correct in recognizing the importance of private investment flows to Europe. I think they played an absolutely critical role in European recovery. But I wonder whether he would not agree with me that without creating the framework of political stability, military security, the rebuilding of the infrastructure, the absolutely indispensable achievements of the Marshall plan, none of that capital would have flowed into Europe.

I was in Europe in 1945 and in 1946 and in 1947 and it was a continent of devastation, destruction, hopelessness and despair. No American company was interested in investing in a battlefield, which Europe was at the end of the Second World War. It was the creativity and the vision of American political leadership on a bipartisan basis that created the framework for all of the subsequent investments and trade which flowed after the basic preconditions were created by the Marshall plan.

My friend from Texas should rejoice with us that this was a shining moment of American history. It was one of the most beautiful moments of American history when we went in to do good and succeeded in doing well for us and for our European friends.

I do not see any point in diminishing this achievement of President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall and Senator Vandenberg and Congressman Christian Herter, who served in this body and who as a Republican did so much to support these measures. When the history of this century is written, there will be a shining moment of American bipartisan political leadership which is represented as we celebrate it with the Marshall plan.

What is called for now is a recognition that the Marshall plan, because of Soviet occupation of central and eastern Europe, could only do half the job. It could only do the job in western Europe. We along with our European friends now have an opportunity to complete the job.

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

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

Mr. PAUL. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I think that there could not be an argument made that every dollar that we sent to Europe did not have some beneficial effect. Quite possibly it did. But my point is that if that money from the taxpayer had not been sent, there is nothing that says it might not have been sent through the investors, but it depended on the political climate and what they did. I do not want to deemphasize that. That is the important reason why this foreign aid was not as harmful as it usually is, and it had some benefits, mainly because of the political climate.

Mr. LANTOS. If I may reclaim my time, not only was it not harmful, it was the inevitable precondition of development. The gentleman should be open-minded enough to admit that this was an enormously statesmanlike and incredibly successful measure, and I have difficulty visualizing the need 50 years later, looking at a success story, trying to denigrate it.

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

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

I want to thank the distinguished gentleman from Texas for his important, constructive contributions to this debate. I would like to note to our colleagues, in our proposed Foreign Policy Reform Act, we are trying to move from government-to-government aid to aid that benefits the private and voluntary sectors. We are involved in trying to reform foreign aid and to encourage and stimulate private investment in the developing world.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 63.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the concurrent resolution just agreed to.

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

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 408, INTERNATIONAL DOLPHIN CONSERVATION PROGRAM ACT

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 153 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 153

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 1(b) of rule XXIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 408) to amend the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 to support the International Dolphin Conservation Program in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Resources. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. In lieu of the amendment recommended by the Committee on Resources now printed in the bill, it shall be in order to consider as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the Congressional Record and numbered 1 pursuant to clause 6 of rule XXIII. That amendment shall be considered as read. Points of order against that amendment for failure to comply with clause 7 of rule XVI are waived. No amendment to that amendment shall be in order except the amendment printed in the Congressional Record pursuant to clause 6 of rule XXIII, which may be offered only by Representative Miller of California or his designee, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and shall not be subject to amendment. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. Any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the amendment in the nature of a substitute made in order as original text. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

□ 1330

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The gentleman from Washington [Mr. HASTINGS] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. SLAUGHTER], pending which I yield myself as much time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

(Mr. HASTINGS of Washington asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Committee on Rules granted an unusual request from the Committee on Resources. As my colleagues know, under the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. YOUNG], the Committee on Resources has typically brought its bills to the floor under open rules. However, in the case of H.R. 408, certain provisions of which also fall under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, special circumstances clearly warrant granting a modified closed rule.

H.R. 408, the International Dolphin Conservation Program Act, essentially codifies an international agreement between 12 nations known as the Declaration of Panama. Were the House to make any significant changes to H.R. 408, this historic agreement would be lost.

Mr. Speaker, it is worth noting that the negotiations that produced this agreement could serve as a model for environmental policymaking on many other issues because virtually every important viewpoint on the tuna-dolphin debate was represented at the table. These negotiations not only involve the governments of 12 nations, but also include key representatives from both the environmental community and the fishing community.

As a result, Mr. Speaker, it is an agreement that enjoys unusually broad support from Vice President AL GORE to the Committee on Resources chairman, the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. YOUNG], from Greenpeace to the American Sports Fishing Association, and from the Tuna Boat Owners Association to the labor unions whose members work on those boats. The broad support was most visibly demonstrated on July 31 of last year when the House passed an almost identical bill by an overwhelming bipartisan majority of 316 to 108. Clearly the time has come for the United States to ratify this important measure without further delay.

For that reason and in recognition of the delicate nature of this international agreement, the Committee on Rules has reported a modified closed rule that allows for an up or down vote on the bill.

The bill provides that in lieu of the Committee on Resources amendment, the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and numbered 1 shall be considered as the original bill for the purposes of amendment, and said amendment shall be considered as read.

The rule further provides for the consideration of an amendment printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to be offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER]) or his designee. Finally, the rule, which was agreed to in committee by voice vote without dissent, also provides for one motion to recommit, with or without instructions.

Mr. Speaker, Members who are committed to protecting the dolphin populations in the eastern Pacific will agree that it is vital that we move forward with this legislation. During the coming debate, we will hear differing viewpoints on how this legislation may impact dolphins, but keep in mind that the Clinton administration's experts, our own Committee on Resources and a wide variety of environmental organizations all believe that this bill will save dolphins' lives and that it will also do so in a more effective way than current law will.

H.R. 408 backs up that claim by mandating that every tuna boat operating in the eastern Pacific carry an observer to certify that not a single dolphin was killed when the tuna nets were hauled up. Even one dolphin death would prevent the entire catch from being sold in the United States as dolphin safe. Under today's standards American consumers do not have this kind of guarantee.

However, this proposal is not just about saving dolphins; it is about preserving other endangered marine species, such as sea turtles as well as billfish and juvenile tuna. Those of us who support H.R. 408 are pleased that it will address the entire eastern Pacific ecosystem as a whole and not just one aspect of it.

Simply put, Mr. Speaker, Members desiring to protect dolphins, sea turtles and other important marine life should support this rule to pass the International Dolphin Conservation Program Act.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I do not oppose this rule, but I do have some reservations about the legislation that the rule would make in order.

The public outrage at the high level of dolphins slaughtered by tuna fishing fleets in the eastern Pacific was so strong that in 1990 the U.S. tuna canning industry announced a voluntary policy of refusing to purchase tuna caught by harming or killing dolphins. This voluntary policy led to the now well-known dolphin safe label found on cans of tuna that are sold in the United States. Under the current statutory definition of dolphin safe, which was supported by the Bush administration and virtually all environmental organizations when it was enacted in 1990. No tuna product can be labeled dolphin safe if caught by chasing, harassing or netting dolphins. But Mexico and other Latin American countries who are eager to gain access to our billion-dollar American tuna market have protested that the labeling practices constitute a trade barrier.

So to accommodate those nations H.R. 408 would change our definition of dolphin safe upon which American consumers have relied for years. Under the new definition included in this bill dolphins can be injured, chased and netted without limit in the course of catching tuna which, will then be stamped deceptively with the dolphin safe label