

and MURTHA changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CAMP). The question is on the resolution.

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

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 378, nays 33, not voting 19, as follows:

[Roll No. 16]

YEAS—378

| | | |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| Abercrombie | Davis (IL) | Hill |
| Ackerman | Davis (VA) | Hilleary |
| Aderholt | Deal | Hilliard |
| Allen | DeFazio | Hinchee |
| Andrews | DeGette | Hinojosa |
| Archer | Delahunt | Hobson |
| Armey | DeLauro | Hoekstra |
| Bachus | DeLay | Holden |
| Baesler | Deutsch | Hooley |
| Baker | Diaz-Balart | Horn |
| Baldacci | Dickey | Houghton |
| Barcia | Dicks | Hoyer |
| Barrett (NE) | Dingell | Hulshof |
| Barrett (WI) | Dixon | Hutchinson |
| Barton | Doggett | Hyde |
| Bass | Dooley | Inglis |
| Bateman | Doyle | Istook |
| Becerra | Dreier | Jackson (IL) |
| Bentsen | Duncan | Jackson-Lee |
| Bereuter | Dunn | (TX) |
| Berman | Ehlers | Jefferson |
| Berry | Ehrlich | Jenkins |
| Bilbray | Emerson | John |
| Bilirakis | Engel | Johnson (CT) |
| Bishop | English | Johnson, E. B. |
| Blagojevich | Ensign | Johnson, Sam |
| Bliley | Etheridge | Kanjorski |
| Blumenauer | Evans | Kaptur |
| Blunt | Everett | Kasich |
| Boehlert | Ewing | Kelly |
| Boehner | Farr | Kennedy (MA) |
| Bonilla | Fattah | Kennedy (RI) |
| Bonior | Fawell | Kennelly |
| Borski | Fazio | Kildee |
| Boswell | Filner | Kilpatrick |
| Boucher | Foley | Kim |
| Boyd | Forbes | Kind (WI) |
| Brady | Ford | King (NY) |
| Brown (CA) | Fossella | Klecicka |
| Brown (FL) | Fowler | Klink |
| Brown (OH) | Fox | Klug |
| Bryant | Frank (MA) | Knollenberg |
| Bunning | Franks (NJ) | Kolbe |
| Burr | Frelinghuysen | Kucinich |
| Camp | Frost | LaFalce |
| Campbell | Gallegly | LaHood |
| Canady | Ganske | Lampson |
| Cannon | Gejdenson | Largent |
| Cardin | Gephardt | Latham |
| Carson | Gibbons | LaTourette |
| Castle | Gilchrest | Lazio |
| Chambliss | Gillmor | Leach |
| Christensen | Gilman | Levin |
| Clay | Goode | Lewis (CA) |
| Clayton | Goodlatte | Lewis (GA) |
| Clyburn | Goodling | Linder |
| Coble | Gordon | Lipinski |
| Coburn | Goss | LoBiondo |
| Collins | Graham | Lofgren |
| Combest | Granger | Lowe |
| Condit | Green | Lucas |
| Conyers | Greenwood | Luther |
| Cook | Gutierrez | Maloney (CT) |
| Cooksey | Hall (OH) | Maloney (NY) |
| Costello | Hall (TX) | Manton |
| Cox | Hamilton | Manzullo |
| Coyne | Hansen | Markey |
| Cramer | Hastert | Martinez |
| Crapo | Hastings (FL) | Mascara |
| Cummings | Hastings (WA) | Matsui |
| Cunningham | Hayworth | McCarthy (MO) |
| Danner | Hefley | McCarthy (NY) |
| Davis (FL) | Hefner | McCollum |

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| McCrery | Pickett | Smith (TX) |
| McDade | Pitts | Smith, Adam |
| McDermott | Pomeroy | Snowbarger |
| McGovern | Porter | Snyder |
| McHale | Portman | Souder |
| McHugh | Poshard | Spratt |
| McInnis | Price (NC) | Stabenow |
| McIntyre | Pryce (OH) | Stark |
| McKeon | Quinn | Stenholm |
| McKinney | Radanovich | Stokes |
| McNulty | Rahall | Strickland |
| Meehan | Ramstad | Stupak |
| Meek (FL) | Rangel | Sununu |
| Meeks (NY) | Redmond | Talent |
| Menendez | Regula | Tanner |
| Metcalf | Reyes | Tauscher |
| Millender- | Riley | Tauzin |
| McDonald | Rivers | Taylor (MS) |
| Miller (CA) | Rodriguez | Thomas |
| Minge | Roemer | Thompson |
| Moakley | Rogers | Thornberry |
| Mollohan | Ros-Lehtinen | Thune |
| Moran (KS) | Rothman | Thurman |
| Moran (VA) | Roukema | Tierney |
| Morella | Roybal-Allard | Torres |
| Murtha | Rush | Towns |
| Myrick | Ryun | Trafciant |
| Nadler | Sabo | Turner |
| Neal | Salmon | Upton |
| Nethercutt | Sanchez | Velazquez |
| Neumann | Sanders | Vento |
| Ney | Sandlin | Visclosky |
| Northup | Sanford | Walsh |
| Nussle | Sawyer | Wamp |
| Oberstar | Saxton | Waters |
| Obey | Scarborough | Watkins |
| Olver | Schaefer, Dan | Watt (NC) |
| Ortiz | Schumer | Watts (OK) |
| Owens | Scott | Waxman |
| Oxley | Serrano | Weldon (FL) |
| Packard | Sessions | Weldon (PA) |
| Pallone | Shadegg | Weller |
| Pappas | Shaw | Wexler |
| Parker | Shays | Weygand |
| Pascrell | Sherman | White |
| Pastor | Shimkus | Whitfield |
| Paxon | Shuster | Wicker |
| Payne | Sisisky | Wolf |
| Pease | Skaggs | Woolsey |
| Pelosi | Skeen | Wynn |
| Peterson (MN) | Skelton | Yates |
| Peterson (PA) | Slaughter | Young (AK) |
| Petri | Smith (MI) | Young (FL) |
| Pickering | Smith (NJ) | |

NAYS—33

| | | |
|-----------|------------|---------------|
| Ballenger | Gutknecht | Pombo |
| Barr | Herger | Rogan |
| Bartlett | Hostettler | Rohrabacher |
| Burton | Hunter | Royce |
| Calvert | Jones | Schaffer, Bob |
| Chabot | Kingston | Sensenbrenner |
| Chenoweth | Lewis (KY) | Spence |
| Crane | McIntosh | Stearns |
| Cubin | Mica | Stump |
| Doolittle | Norwood | Taylor (NC) |
| Gekas | Paul | Tiahrt |

NOT VOTING—19

| | | |
|----------|--------------|--------------|
| Buyer | Harman | Schiff |
| Callahan | Johnson (WI) | Smith (OR) |
| Clement | Lantos | Smith, Linda |
| Edwards | Livingston | Solomon |
| Eshoo | Miller (FL) | Wise |
| Furse | Mink | |
| Gonzalez | Riggs | |

□ 1252

Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 355, the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

VOTER ELIGIBILITY VERIFICATION PILOT PROGRAM ACT OF 1998

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 1428) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to establish a system through which the Commissioner of Social Security and the Attorney General respond to inquiries made by election officials concerning the citizenship of voting registration applicants and to amend the Social Security Act to permit States to require individuals registering to vote in elections to provide the individual's Social Security number, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 1428

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Voter Eligibility Verification Pilot Program Act of 1998".

SEC. 2. VOTER ELIGIBILITY PILOT CONFIRMATION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General, in consultation with the Commissioner of Social Security, shall establish a pilot program to test a confirmation system through which they—

(1) respond to inquiries, made by State and local officials (including voting registrars) with responsibility for determining an individual's qualification to vote in a Federal, State, or local election, to verify the citizenship of an individual who has submitted a voter registration application, and

(2) maintain such records of the inquiries made and verifications provided as may be necessary for pilot program evaluation.

In order to make an inquiry through the pilot program with respect to an individual, an election official shall provide the name, date of birth, and social security account number of the individual.

(b) INITIAL RESPONSE.—The pilot program shall provide for a confirmation or a tentative nonconfirmation of an individual's citizenship by the Commissioner of Social Security as soon as practicable after an initial inquiry to the Commissioner.

(c) SECONDARY VERIFICATION PROCESS IN CASE OF TENTATIVE NONCONFIRMATION.—In cases of tentative nonconfirmation, the Attorney General shall specify, in consultation with the Commissioner of Social Security and the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, an available secondary verification process to confirm the validity of information provided and to provide a final confirmation or nonconfirmation as soon as practicable after the date of the tentative nonconfirmation.

(d) DESIGN AND OPERATION OF PILOT PROGRAM.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The pilot program shall be designed and operated—

(A) to apply in, at a minimum, the States of California, New York, Texas, Florida, and Illinois;

(B) to be used on a voluntary basis, as a supplementary information source, by State and local election officials for the purpose of assessing, through citizenship verification, the eligibility of an individual to vote in Federal, State, or local elections;

(C) to respond to an inquiry concerning citizenship only in a case where determining whether an individual is a citizen is—

(i) necessary for determining whether the individual is eligible to vote in an election for Federal, State, or local office; and

(ii) part of a program or activity to protect the integrity of the electoral process that is uniform, nondiscriminatory, and in compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.);

(D) to maximize its reliability and ease of use, consistent with insulating and protecting the privacy and security of the underlying information;

(E) to permit inquiries to be made to the pilot program through a toll-free telephone line or other toll-free electronic media;

(F) subject to subparagraph (I), to respond to all inquiries made by authorized persons and to register all times when the pilot program is not responding to inquiries because of a malfunction;

(G) with appropriate administrative, technical, and physical safeguards to prevent unauthorized disclosure of personal information, including violations of the requirements of section 205(c)(2)(C)(viii) of the Social Security Act;

(H) to have reasonable safeguards against the pilot program's resulting in unlawful discriminatory practices based on national origin or citizenship status, including the selective or unauthorized use of the pilot program.

(2) USE OF EMPLOYMENT ELIGIBILITY CONFIRMATION SYSTEM.—To the extent practicable, in establishing the confirmation system under this section, the Attorney General, in consultation with the Commissioner of Social Security, shall use the employment eligibility confirmation system established under section 404 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-208; 110 Stat. 3009-664).

(e) RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL SECURITY.—As part of the pilot program, the Commissioner of Social Security shall establish a reliable, secure method which compares the name, date of birth, and social security account number provided in an inquiry against such information maintained by the Commissioner, in order to confirm (or not confirm) the correspondence of the name, date of birth, and number provided and whether the individual is shown as a citizen of the United States on the records maintained by the Commissioner (including whether such records show that the individual was born in the United States). The Commissioner shall not disclose or release social security information (other than such confirmation or nonconfirmation).

(f) RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE.—As part of the pilot program, the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service shall establish a reliable, secure method which compares the name and date of birth which are provided in an inquiry against information maintained by the Commissioner in order to confirm (or not confirm) the validity of the information provided, the correspondence of the name and date of birth, and whether the individual is a citizen of the United States.

(g) UPDATING INFORMATION.—The Commissioner of Social Security and the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service shall update their information in a manner that promotes the maximum accuracy and shall provide a process for the prompt correction of erroneous information, including instances in which it is brought to their attention in the secondary verification process described in subsection (c) or in any action by an individual to use the process provided under this subsection upon receipt

of notification from an election official under subsection (i).

(h) LIMITATION ON USE OF THE PILOT PROGRAM AND ANY RELATED SYSTEMS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, nothing in this section shall be construed to permit or allow any department, bureau, or other agency of the United States Government to utilize any information, data base, or other records assembled under this section for any other purpose other than as provided for under this section.

(2) NO NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION CARD.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize, directly or indirectly, the issuance or use of national identification cards or the establishment of a national identification card.

(3) NO NEW DATA BASES.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize, directly or indirectly, the Attorney General and the Commissioner of Social Security to create any joint computer data base that is not in existence on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(i) ACTIONS BY ELECTION OFFICIALS UNABLE TO CONFIRM CITIZENSHIP.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—If an election official receives a notice of final nonconfirmation under subsection (c) with respect to an individual, the official—

(A) shall notify the individual in writing; and

(B) shall inform the individual in writing of the individual's right to use—

(i) the process provided under subsection (g) for the prompt correction of erroneous information in the pilot program; or

(ii) any other process for establishing eligibility to vote provided under State or Federal law.

(2) REGISTRATION APPLICANTS.—In the case of an individual who is an applicant for voter registration, and who receives a notice from an official under paragraph (1), the official may (subject to, and in a manner consistent with, State law) reject the application (subject to the right to reapply), but only if the following conditions have been satisfied:

(A) The 30-day period beginning on the date the notice was mailed or otherwise provided to the individual has elapsed.

(B) During such 30-day period, the official did not receive adequate confirmation of the citizenship of the individual from—

(i) a source other than the pilot program established under this section; or

(ii) such pilot program, pursuant to a new inquiry to the pilot program made by the official upon receipt of information (from the individual or through any other reliable source) that erroneous or incomplete material information previously in the pilot program has been updated, supplemented, or corrected.

(3) INELIGIBLE VOTER REMOVAL PROGRAMS.—In the case of an individual who is registered to vote, and who receives a notice from an official under paragraph (1) in connection with a program to remove the names of ineligible voters from an official list of eligible voters, the official may (subject to, and in a manner consistent with, State law) remove the name of the individual from the list (subject to the right to submit another voter registration application), but only if the following conditions have been satisfied:

(A) The 30-day period beginning on the date the notice was mailed or otherwise provided to the individual has elapsed.

(B) During such 30-day period, the official did not receive adequate confirmation of the citizenship of the individual from a source described in clause (i) or (ii) of paragraph (2)(B).

(j) AUTHORITY TO USE SOCIAL SECURITY ACCOUNT NUMBERS.—Any State (or political

subdivision thereof) may, for the purpose of making inquiries under the pilot program in the administration of any voter registration law within its jurisdiction, use the social security account numbers issued by the Commissioner of Social Security, and may, for such purpose, require any individual who is or appears to be affected by a voter registration law of such State (or political subdivision thereof) to furnish to such State (or political subdivision thereof) or any agency thereof having administrative responsibility for such law, the social security account number (or numbers, if the individual has more than one such number) issued to the individual by the Commissioner.

(k) TERMINATION AND REPORT.—The pilot program shall terminate September 30, 2001. The Attorney General and the Commissioner of Social Security shall each submit to the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and to the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Finance of the Senate reports on the pilot program not later than December 31, 2001. Such reports shall—

(1) assess the degree of fraudulent attesting of United States citizenship in jurisdictions covered by the pilot program;

(2) assess the appropriate staffing and funding levels which would be required for full, permanent, and nationwide implementation of the pilot program, including the estimated total cost for national implementation per individual record;

(3) include an assessment by the Commissioner of Social Security of the advisability and ramifications of disclosure of social security account numbers to the extent provided for under the pilot program and upon full, permanent, and nationwide implementation of the pilot program;

(4) assess the degree to which the records maintained by the Commissioner of Social Security and the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service are able to be used to reliably determine the citizenship of individuals who have submitted voter registration applications;

(5) assess the effectiveness of the pilot program's safeguards against unlawful discriminatory practices;

(6) include recommendations on whether or not the pilot program should be continued or modified; and

(7) include such other information as the Attorney General or the Commissioner of Social Security may determine to be relevant.

SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There are authorized to be appropriated to the Department of Justice, for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, for fiscal years beginning on or after October 1, 1998, such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PEASE) and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PEASE).

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

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

Mr. Speaker, there is no more precious right of citizenship than the right to vote. When noncitizens falsely claim to be citizens in order to vote, this right is cheapened for everyone else.

Congress recognized the significance of vote fraud by aliens in passing the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996. The act makes falsely claiming to be a citizen in order to register to vote or to vote a Federal criminal offense.

There is currently no satisfactory way for local registrars to ensure that there are no noncitizens on their voting rolls or for the Justice Department to enforce the criminal penalties. Attempts have been made to check voting rolls against Immigration and Naturalization Service records in order to ferret out noncitizens; however, INS data at best can only tell us that a voter is a legal alien or a naturalized citizen. INS data cannot tell us whether a voter is a native born U.S. citizen or an illegal alien.

Our colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN), introduced a bill to resolve this dilemma. H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Pilot Program Act of 1998, will provide us with the means to identify noncitizens who are either trying to register to vote or are already registered. The bill will set up a 3-year pilot program in which registrars on their own initiative can send their voting rolls to the Federal Government to be checked against both Social Security Administration and INS records.

Checking the rolls with both agencies is the key to a successful verification program. Just about everyone has a Social Security number. Therefore, checks against Social Security Administration records can tell us whether someone is fabricating an identity and whether someone is a native-born citizen.

As I mentioned, the INS maintains naturalization records. Comparing information on voters against both agencies' records will let us know conclusively whether individuals are U.S. citizens or not. Illegal aliens will not be able to escape notice simply because the INS has no record of them.

I know there is opposition to this bill. Opponents will argue today that the Social Security Administration's records do not always indicate whether a person is a citizen. True. But the records do indicate the place of birth, and anyone born in the United States is a citizen.

The opponents may argue that operation of the pilot program will result in discrimination. Not true. The bill specifically states that a registrar's inquiry must be part of a program or activity to protect the integrity of the electoral process that is uniform, non-discriminatory and in compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 1428 and let the American people know that we will not sit back and see their rights demeaned.

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

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, there are 5 important reasons why this bill is a bad idea. The bill's proposed verification system just simply will not work. The bill would expose individuals' Social Security numbers to public inspection, an idea that we have long opposed.

This bill is politically motivated. The bill undermines the Voting Rights Act and the National Voter Registration Act, the so-called motor voter act, and this bill has never ever been considered and voted upon by any committee of this House or any subcommittee of this House.

Those are 5 good reasons that this bill should be defeated.

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

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN), the author of the bill.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, when my Irish great-grandfather came here, the first time he had a chance to vote, he dressed up in top hat and tails to go to the polls. When my German immigrant father came here, he could not afford the top hat or the tails, but the proudest moment of his life was when he cast his first vote in the United States of America.

The vote is precious. American citizens expect the voting rolls to consist of American citizens. But right now there is no way to make that assurance. What this bill does is provide an opportunity in five pilot States over the next three years to test the federal information that a local registrar of voters may seek. It is not compulsory; it is not the Federal Government telling the States how to deal with their voting rolls, but it is the Federal Government providing two tools for the local registrar to use to answer one question: Is the person a citizen or is the person not?

American voters expect citizens to be on that roll, not noncitizens.

□ 1300

The pilot program would be in California, New York, Texas, Florida and Illinois. It would terminate on September 30, 2001, and it would make very clear that State and local governments may require the Social Security number simply as part of the voter registration process. Again, it is a "may." If they do not want to do it, they do not have to do it. But 23 States now request or require at least part of the Social Security number for voter registration purposes. Again, that has been up to the States.

Now, the election official, if he or she found that by accessing the Social Security base that there were noncitizens on the voter roll, then they could go into the INS base to find out if they are naturalized, which is the equivalent of citizenship and is citizenship. If there is no evidence of naturalization,

then the official would have to notify the individual in writing and permit them the opportunity to establish their eligibility to vote. There would be 30 days to provide proof of citizenship.

So it is not a mandate; it is a process that will work, and the data are there, and we should not be hiding it in the hills, we should be letting those data be used to assure the purity of elections in the United States of America.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK).

(Mrs. MEEK of Florida asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I oppose this bill.

I oppose this bill because we have no evidence that it will effectively fight voter fraud.

This nation has had voter fraud for hundreds of years. But the Republican leadership has apparently just noticed it. They are bringing to the floor today a bill that was introduced almost a year ago and is so complicated that it was referred to three committees on April 24, 1997.

But only one Committee has even held a hearing on the bill—on June 25. None of the three Committees has voted on it.

Why is the leadership afraid to let the normal Committee process work? Why are they rushing to the floor today a bill that was introduced almost a year ago?

One of my constituents has an explanation. He says this bill would undermine the Motor Voter Law, erect new barriers to voting, and suppress voting by members of ethnic and racial minorities.

Why are we focusing on only one kind of voter fraud? What about dead people who vote? What about U.S. citizens who vote more than once? What about U.S. citizens who are prevented from voting?

Vote against this bill and send it back to the three committees so that we can develop a thoughtful bipartisan response to the serious problem of voter fraud.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GREEN).

(Mr. GREEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 1428.

I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act. This bill is designed to undermine the voter turnout of our country's naturalized citizens.

How does this bill achieve this goal? H.R. 1428 allows local and state election officials to pull anyone's name and submit it to either INS or to the Social Security Administration for verification of citizenship. If the name can not be confirmed by either agency, this bill will force the voter to provide citizenship verification to the local voter registrar. Therefore if my name could not be confirmed, I would need to present my birth certificate or passport to vote. Who are the targets of H.R. 1428?

The targets are citizens whose names may seem questionable to election officials. Where will they start this search? Are they going to

start with Green, Smith, or Jones? Or are they going to start the search with Gonzales, Torres, or Jimenez?

Conceivably, this bill would allow election officials to send the names of whole neighborhoods for verification. In Texas we have this ability now to challenge voters.

I support all efforts to stop voter fraud. However, this bill does seem to target our immigrant population.

I urge my colleagues to oppose this anti-immigrant bill.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. FILNER).

(Mr. FILNER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition against this measure to intimidate voters in my State of California.

Mr. Speaker, the right to vote is too sacred to be dependent on incomplete, unreliable data bases. To top it off, H.R. 1428 would allow states and local officials to reject voter registration applications and to force the person registering into the intimidating position of trying to prove that two huge bureaucracies' data bases are flawed.

The Social Security Administration and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which are both charged with verifying names of registered voters in this misguided act, say they *cannot do it*. The Social Security Administration did not begin recording citizenship status until 1980. The agency clearly states, "The use of our system for confirmation of citizenship is *not feasible*." The INS has no records of native born American citizens and can only verify the status of those who were naturalized in *recent years*.

How many people will take the time to obtain a copy of their birth or naturalization certificate that they have not had to produce for years?

How many people who are native born Americans will feel that they are being given "the third degree" by local elected officials just because the officials perceive that they appear to be Hispanic or Asian or any other racial or ethnic minority?

It is unfair, illegal and unconstitutional to make voting easy for one group of citizens and difficult and intimidating for another group. That is what H.R. 1428 does.

To take information trickling out of an incomplete, inaccurate and highly bureaucratic system of flawed data bases and turn it over to local officials with discretion in interpreting this data will have only one effect—illegally preventing people from exercising their constitutional right to vote. This democracy depends on its citizens' faith in the voting system—those citizens will have no faith in a system which intimidates them and prevents them from participating in it. Vote no on H.R. 1428!

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER).

(Mr. HEFNER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Voter Suppression Act.

A better title for this bill is the "Voter Suppression Act." Not only will it discourage new citizens from exercising their rights, but it could easily prohibit natural-born and naturalized citizens from voting.

This bill hands control over voter lists to state and local officials with no requirements that they act in ways that are uniform and do not discriminate. Citizens could be purged from the voter rolls—denied their constitutional right—simply because they had an "ethnic-sounding" surname or because they live in a predominantly minority neighborhood.

And what would be their recourse? Well, under this bill, they would have to depend on the INS and the Social Security Administration to "confirm" their citizenship, even though neither agency is equipped for that purpose.

Citizenship cannot be confirmed by checking a person's Social Security number. The Social Security Administration does not require information about citizenship and only started requesting it 20 years ago. And the INS only keeps records of immigrants—not natural-born citizens.

Our nation decided long ago that tests for voter eligibility—like the poll taxes and literacy tests used in the South—were wrong and abhorrent. We enacted the Voting Rights Act to cast aside—once and for all—the barriers concocted to keep minorities from exercising their constitutional right to vote.

I remember the days before the Voting Rights Act. I remember when some citizens could exercise their right to vote while others had arbitrary and ridiculous hurdles placed in their way.

This bill is a return to those days. I find nothing to be proud of in that history. And I do not—and cannot—support repeating it.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

(Mrs. CLAYTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this bill.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise against this misguided legislation. This bill is a dagger in the heart of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It destroys not only the spirit, but the very soul of the Voting Rights Act. Too many people have died so that every American can exercise their right to vote. Jimmy Lee Jackson, Mickey Schwerner, James Cheney, Andy Goodman. These are not just names. I knew these young men. We have come a long way in this country toward protecting every American's right to vote. This bill erases the gains we have made. It forgets those sacrifices.

Many of my colleagues over the last 12 years since I have been in the Congress have come to me and said, "I wish I had been there with you. I wish I had fought those battles with you."

Let me say: If you wanted an opportunity to stand up, if you say you wanted to go on the freedom rides, if you say you wished you had marched across the bridge in Selma, if you

wanted to stand up for the right of all Americans to participate in our democracy, now is your chance. Now is your turn, now is your time.

Like the poll tax, like the literacy test, this bill is intended to keep people from participating in our political process. That is a shame; it is a disgrace. It harks back to another period, a dark period in our history.

We have come too far to go back to the days of Bull Connor, Sheriff Jim Clark, and George Wallace. We cannot go back, we must not go back, and we will not go back.

I urge all of my colleagues to do what they know is right in their hearts. Support one man, one vote. Let us not erase the progress we have made in our Nation. Defeat the Horn bill, defeat this bill, and defeat it now.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN).

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to respond to my good friend from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS).

I happen to have been on the drafting team in the Senate where we wrote that bill in the Republican leader's back office. There were four of us on the staff from the Republican leadership side, and there were five on the Democratic side, including the Department of Justice. If we had thought in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that this was a law so that noncitizens could vote, we would have been laughed out of Congress. The fact is, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has nothing to do with this issue.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HORN. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I was on the bridge from Selma to Montgomery. I almost lost my life on March 7, 1965, because I was fighting for the right to vote, to open up the political process. I do not know, maybe the gentleman has changed his ways or maybe he has seen a different light, but that is the effect of this legislation. It will destroy the heart and the very soul of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I would say to the gentleman, the fact is, every single African American born in this country is automatically a citizen of the United States.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS).

(Mr. CONYERS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I thank and commend the ranking member of the subcommittee, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT). I rise to express how sorry I am that the name of the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN) would be on the document that we are opposing today.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, today is the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, the father of the Republican Party. I think that President Lincoln is turning over in his grave today, because this proposal flies in the face of the legacy of President Lincoln, the legacy he left his party and the legacy that he left his country. He would be appalled.

This proposal clearly is aimed at denying minority voters their legal right to vote. This bill not only threatens the rights of minority voters, it violates the values of privacy that are at the very foundation of a free society. This is a value that everyone in this Chamber holds very dear, or should hold dear.

This proposal would amend the Social Security Act, overturn the Privacy Act protections, by allowing States to require Social Security numbers for voter registration. But the proposal does nothing to protect or ensure the privacy of those Social Security numbers submitted on voter registration applications. This is one more attempt at intimidation. All Americans should be aware.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to remember the legacy of Abraham Lincoln today. Vote "no" on this proposal.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BUNNING).

(Mr. BUNNING asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. Speaker, first of all, I would like to include in the RECORD a letter from the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ARCHER) to the Speaker of the House of Representatives the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGRICH).

The letter referred to follows:

FEBRUARY 11, 1998.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
The Speaker, The Capitol, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I am writing regarding consideration of H.R. 1428, the "Voter Eligibility Verification Act of 1998," which was introduced on April 24, 1997, by Representative Horn, et. al. the bill, as introduced, was referred to Committee on Judiciary, and in addition, to the Committees on Ways and Means and House Oversight.

As introduced, the bill would amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to establish a system through which the Commissioner of Social Security and the Attorney General respond to inquiries made by election officials concerning the citizenship of voting registration applicants, and amends the Social Security Act to require individuals registering to vote in elections to provide their Social Security number.

As you know, provisions dealing with national social security are within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, and under normal circumstances the Committee would meet to consider this bill. However, it is my understanding that Chairman Hyde or his designee will be offering an amendment on the floor to address the concerns of the Committee on Ways and Means and its Subcommittee on Social Security.

Among other things, the bill, as amended, would provide for the Attorney General, in consultation with the Commissioner of Social Security, to establish a pilot program to

test a confirmation system through which they will respond to inquiries made by election officials concerning the citizenship of individuals who have submitted voter registration applications. Department of Justice funds would be authorized to carry out the pilot program.

Based on this understanding, and in order to expedite consideration of this legislation by the full House, I do not believe a markup by the Committee on Ways and Means will be necessary. However, this is being done only with the understanding that it does not in any way prejudice the Committee's jurisdictional prerogative in the future with respect to this measure or any similar legislation, and it should not be considered as precedent for consideration of matters of jurisdictional interest to the Committee on Ways and Means in the future.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter. With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

Mr. Speaker, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act was originally introduced by the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN) on April 24, 1997. H.R. 1428 was referred to the Subcommittee on Social Security of the Committee on Ways and Means on May 1, 1997. The subcommittee has not taken any action on the bill due to the concerns regarding the impact of certain provisions on the Social Security program and its administration.

Social Security was created to provide a comprehensive package of protection against the loss of earnings due to retirement disability and death. Voter registration does not relate to Social Security programs' purposes. Therefore, Social Security trust funds may not be used to pay for the activities assigned to the Social Security Administration and the agency would need to be reimbursed.

Secondly, this new and potentially significant workload would interfere with SSA's ability to fulfill its basic responsibilities to the American public. In addition, the Social Security Administration is not in a position to definitely confirm citizenship as they are not the official custodian of records which construct evidence of citizenship. The agency's records on citizenship are not necessarily current. Accuracy of the SSA's records is dependent on the validity of the documents presented as evidence.

Last year the Federal Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act made it explicitly illegal for noncitizens to vote. State and local officials, however, can do little to enforce the law without having a way to verify registrants' eligibility. In a spirit of cooperation, the Committee on Ways and Means' Subcommittee on Social Security has worked with the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on House Oversight to reach an agreement on needed legislation. The revisions and provisions of the Voter Eligibility Verification Pilot Program Act of 1998 responds to the concerns of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Social Security.

This bill provides for the Attorney General, in consultation with the com-

missioner of Social Security, to establish a pilot program to test and confirm a system. SSA and INS will respond to inquiries made by election officials concerning the citizenship of individuals who have submitted voter registration application. Department of Justice funds, not Social Security trust funds, are authorized to carry out the pilot program.

The pilot program lasts only 3 years, operated in a minimum of 5 States, and is used on a voluntary basis by election officials and will include safeguards to protect the privacy and avoid discriminatory practices.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN), the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SMITH), chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims, the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS), chairman of the Committee on House Oversight, and their staffs for their willingness to work to achieve an agreeable solution.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA).

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

Perhaps without knowing it, I believe that my colleague from California (Mr. HORN) made a very prophetic comment in response to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) just a few minutes ago when the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS) raised some concerns that African Americans here in this country fear so much by this legislation when he said, "but blacks are born in this country, they get automatic citizenship."

I say to the gentleman, he forgets that there are a lot of black Americans in this country who came to this country from Haiti, African countries, and are now American citizens but came as immigrants. And there are many, many, many Latino Americans who came from Latin American countries and Asian Americans who came from Asian countries who, when they first were here, could have been questioned about their citizenship, and still may be questioned about their citizenship because of their looks and because of the way they may speak.

But let us not forget that there are Irish in this country, there are Italians in this country, there are Bulgarians in this country whom, on appearance, one may believe were born here and are entitled to automatic citizenship and automatic right to vote, but that may not be citizens. And by empowering these local officials, without any kind of guidance to decide they are going to check people, what we are doing is returning us to the days when we had poll taxes and the like.

We are suppressing the vote; we are going to raise hurdles to participation, and we are trying to do it with a system that cannot work, because Social Security, the administration has said, a Social Security number has never

been more than a way to tell people if they qualify for Social Security, not for anything else.

□ 1315

The INS will say that their records cannot tell if someone is eligible to vote; only if someone has naturalized. So we are getting ready to embark on something which will deny American citizens who have the right to vote that opportunity. Mr. Speaker, that is the worst signal we can give on the birthday of a man who made most possible the right for all Americans to vote.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the balance of time on both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PEASE) has 10½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) has 14 minutes remaining.

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

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. KENNELLY), the next Governor of Connecticut.

Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I am speaking as the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Social Security, and I want to emphasize the negative impact this bill would have on the Social Security Administration.

Mr. Speaker, the bill would impose an enormous work load on the same agency that is responsible for sending every Social Security check out every month. These are so important. As we know, tens of thousands of older women have only the Social Security check to rely on. And even if additional funds are provided, urgent needs such as the revision of the Social Security computer system for the year 2000 approaches and needs attention. Even though voter registration is so legitimately important, it is not what the Social Security Administration should be doing.

More importantly, the Social Security Administration does not keep the kinds of records necessary for this requirement. Prior to 1971, Social Security Administration data was based on only what a citizen told the agency. No documentation was required until 1981.

Furthermore, the legislation would undermine the motor voter law discouraging voter participation undermining voter rights. We have worked so hard to encourage citizens to get to the polls on Election Day. This bill would force us to take a step backwards in our efforts to promote voter registration by establishing an unnecessary obstacle to voter registration and taking away from the participation of many citizens.

This legislation would discourage voter participation, divert important resources away from the Social Security Administration, and also the central purpose of that administration, as

we know, is to send those checks out on time, to be effective when the people call the agency, to serve the people of these United States.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote against this bill. This bill does not provide the adequate support system necessary to carry out what its intentions might be. But what it will do, and I think necessarily will do and should not do, is take away from our very important Social Security agency which is so important to the citizens of this country.

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

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ).

(Ms. VELÁZQUEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, the road to the ballot box for women and minorities has never been easy. Now, Republicans want to begin a new and tragic chapter in our country's voting rights history.

Mr. Speaker, I was born in this country. As a Puerto Rican, I am just as American as anyone from Massachusetts or Virginia. Yet, the Horn bill could easily deny me the right to vote. The simple fact is that H.R. 1428 gives election officials too much power to rely on INS data to bar people from voting.

As natural born citizens, millions of Puerto Ricans with no record at INS could unfairly be stopped at the ballot box. This is wrong, pure and simple.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleagues that the only purpose for this hostile legislation is to torment citizens. If we silent the voices of any Americans, we destroy our democracy. I urge my colleagues to defeat this voter suppression bill.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on House Oversight.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is appropriate at this time to rise and provide some facts for the record since there has been a series of statements that are just factually inaccurate.

First of all, this is not a new or innovative idea, that is using Social Security numbers for voter identification. There are currently more than half a dozen States that do it. So my assumption is that those who have gone to the well on the other side of the aisle to argue that this is somehow un-American believe that the States of Georgia, Hawaii, Kentucky, New Mexico, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia are all un-American because they utilize Social Security numbers for verification.

In addition to that, I found it interesting that the gentlewoman from Con-

necticut (Mrs. KENNELLY) is concerned about the burdens on the Social Security Administration, after we heard from the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BUNNING) with his praise of the amendments that made sure none of the trust fund money would be spent. There are no dollars from the Social Security trust fund that are going to be utilized for this purpose. What the chairman did say, if we listened to him, was that the program was going to be modeled after an employer's program that is already on the books. We are allowing elected local officials to function as employers currently do in a pilot program.

Returning to the question of the INS and its records, obviously after our inquiries and our attempt to work with the professionals at INS, although we were stonewalled by the political appointments at the Department of Justice, the INS professionals have come to realize that they have to do better; do better for all Americans.

The Coopers & Lybrand report said that they are going to have to have digitized photographs and electronic fingerprints at several stages of the citizenship process. My assumption is that the INS and the Clinton administration will now be called racist because they want verification. What is wrong with verification?

Frankly, if we have voter rolls that people know are honest, that would strengthen motor voter, not weaken it. To the degree we have people going on the rolls and we continue to have fraud in voting, there is going to be a massive effort to fundamentally reform the motor voter bill. This effort will be led by the local election officials who have to enforce motor voter.

If my colleagues were truly interested in trying to make sure that a person's right to vote is protected, they would be supporting this kind of legislation. Then we can ensure that the rolls are accurate and that the motor voter law is not undermined.

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, how much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) has 30 seconds remaining.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman from Rhode Island would like to ask me a question on his time, I would appreciate it because I have a very short time. Does the gentleman have time?

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I have time, but it is coming up in 3 minutes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, okay, then I will be with the gentleman in 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this is a very modest attempt, based on what we now know from the contested election in California's 46th District that there will be people who go to the polls and who will not be voting legally.

Any Member who does not want to support this very reasonable check to

provide election officials with tools to make sure their voting rolls are accurate are, in fact, damaging the very argument they argue that they are trying to support, and that is the advances that we have made in allowing more people to come on the rolls would be sustained.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 15 seconds.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from California is talking about something that may exist in the future. Unfortunately, this process has to verify voters now. As soon as it is put in place. And the INS and Social Security have both said unequivocally they do not have the capacity to do this.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. FORBES).

(Mr. FORBES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to what I think is an ill-conceived measure that would, frankly, do more to create a big government bureaucracy centralized here in Washington, D.C., and do little, if anything, to get at the question of voter fraud.

This is an ill-conceived measure. I think that we are turning back the clock and creating a mechanism that will only enhance discrimination. It will further divide this Nation. And, frankly, if we truly care about voter fraud, we would do some other kinds of things working with local governments in the States, rather than this Republican majority creating a big government bureaucracy that is composed of, again, the watchful eye of Big Brother.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, did the gentleman from New York use his entire minute?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman has 15 seconds remaining.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to make sure that we were reserving the time for our side. We have many speakers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Does the gentleman, then, reserve the balance of his time?

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Yes, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER).

(Mr. DREIER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I have the highest regard for my colleagues who have stood in opposition to this measure. But the fact of the matter is they are using little more than rhetoric. The gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) got right to the facts.

We have a responsibility in this Congress. It is the responsibility to protect that very precious franchise: the right to vote. Everyone acknowledges that we have witnessed fraud in elections

that have taken place. And as an institution, we have been over the past several Congresses encouraging greater participation. And yet what has happened? We have seen a lowering in participation and an increase in fraud. This is, as my friend said, a very cautious step.

The gentleman from California (Mr. HORN) is one of the key authors of the Voting Rights Act, and I know that he would do nothing whatsoever, nothing whatsoever to overturn that very important legislation which he worked on.

Mr. Speaker, we should support this very modest measure to ensure that that franchise is in no way jeopardized.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN), the former secretary of state of the State of Ohio.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, what is this bill really all about? Last month the Los Angeles Times ran a story: "National GOP Officials Outline Poll Watcher Plan."

Behind closed doors at last month's Republican National Committee meeting, Republicans cooked up a plan to put "poll watchers" and "challengers" at key precincts on Election Day.

Mr. Speaker, are they putting them in Beverly Hills? No, they are targeting, quote, "districts with substantial racial or ethnic populations."

The L.A. Times reported: "For many in Orange County, the proposed poll watchers would be reminiscent of the uniformed security guards that the GOP placed outside voting sites in Assemblyman Curt Pringle's district in 1988. Republicans ended up paying \$400,000 to settle a civil lawsuit brought by several Latinos outraged by the incident."

Mr. Speaker, every American should be outraged. Whether they are white, black, brown, Hispanic, Asian Americans, African Americans, this bill is an outrage. The Republicans should be ashamed of themselves.

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

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Ms. LOFGREN).

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, no one in this body is for fraud, but unfortunately this bill has nothing to do with fraud. As the gentleman from Indiana, my friend and colleague, has mentioned, unfortunately, the immigration records cannot prove U.S. citizenship.

Mr. Speaker, as the letter from OMB received yesterday points out, the Social Security Administration records also will not definitively reveal the status of citizenship. When we put the two together, we do not get anything more than what is there to begin with. We cannot prove citizenship with these records.

So why are we here today? We are here today to consider a bill that would deter and discourage Americans who are not Anglo from voting. Whether intended or not, that will be the effect.

Mr. Speaker, I listened to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. LEWIS). I was a school girl 34 years ago when the gentleman from Georgia stood on that bridge for voting rights. Today I think that all Americans need to stand together once again to overcome the forces that would take us back to the days of Jim Crow, that would take us back to the days when poll taxes were in place.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to stand together for America.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. BILBRAY).

(Mr. BILBRAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Speaker, until 3 years ago, I was a county supervisor supervising the registration system for voters in a county of over 2.5 million people, and I know now what I knew then. There are two ways of violating a voter's rights. One is not to allow qualified voters to vote, and the other is to allow unqualified voters to vote and negate those qualified voters from voting.

Now there is a lot of talk on this floor year after year about democracy and how important it is. This vote is about the integrity of our electoral process that sends every one of us here. And if what we are trying to say now is that the integrity of that vote, that qualified voters are being given the right to make their vote count, then vote for the bill offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN). It is a very moderate approach.

□ 1330

If my colleagues want to find excuses to walk away from this issue, I ask them to consider the fact that in the 1960s there were those who found excuses not to stand up for the right of voters to be able to have their vote count. Today, in the 1990s, sadly there are those who are finding excuses to allow unqualified people to have access to the voting polls to disqualify good, qualified voters.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CUMMINGS).

(Mr. CUMMINGS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from North Carolina for yielding me the time.

I rise today in opposition to this resolution which will add barriers to the free exercise of voting for many Americans. The fundamental right to vote is the foundation on which our democracy is based. The right to vote was directly attributable to the American Revolution, enactment of the 15th amendment, women's suffrage and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In the segregated South, poll taxes and literacy tests were used as weapons against the right to vote. Now, more than 120 years later, 28 years after enactment of the 15th amendment and 3

years after enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, we are considering legislation that could once again inhibit the right to vote. H.R. 1428 would give wide discretion to State and local officials to deny legalized citizens, presumed to be illegal immigrants, the right to register to vote.

This is a bad piece of legislation.

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

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ).

(Mr. MENENDEZ asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, with H.R. 1428, which I call "the voter suppression and antivoter privacy act," Republicans are proving that they are the party of big, prying and intrusive government. Republicans want the Social Security Administration, the INS, the Justice Department to run background checks and share private information on American citizens who simply want to register to vote. Unless things have changed since I was in law school, Americans have the right to vote without going through a security check by "big brother" government.

Why would Republicans do this? Maybe it is that they just finished blowing a million taxpayers' dollars in a 14-month investigation in the LORENTA SANCHEZ case that they could not prove.

What is next in the Republican plan? Will the FBI run checks on everyone who gets a driver's license? Will Social Security recipients be fingerprinted by the INS? And who will be targeted by the Republican efforts? Americans of Hispanic descent and other minorities who have common last names often found on immigration lists and who simply do not look like our typical mode.

We have to make it more convenient for our citizens to vote, not more difficult and intimidating. If that scares Republicans, more working families mean fewer Republican votes.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, how much time remains?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) has 6 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PEASE) has 5½ minutes remaining.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. GUTIERREZ).

Mr. GUTIERREZ. Mr. Speaker, it is obvious why the Republicans drafted this bill. Republicans learned in 1996 that there is a price to pay for practicing the politics of prejudice. Latino voters grew tired of hearing Republicans' red-hot rhetoric and cold-hearted legislation targeting our communities, so in response Latinos voted for tolerance, opportunity and equality. In other words, Latinos voted for Democrats.

What is the Republican reaction? To change course to end their anti-Latino

anti-immigrant behavior? No. Now they want to create unnecessary fear within the Hispanic community and create unwarranted fear of the Hispanic community in the eyes of our fellow Americans.

I am not in the business of giving advice to NEWT GINGRICH, but let me say this: Latino voters are American voters. When we vote, we remember who stood with us and who stood against us. And we are not alone; Americans of diverse backgrounds are united. They detest discrimination, are sick of scapegoating and are fed up with finger-pointing. The Republicans will go on record today not simply as opponents of Latinos but as opponents of the principles that should make each of us proud to be an American.

Well, I'll tell you what kind of name Gingrich is—it's an American name.

Every bit as American—in fact—as Garcia. Or Morales. Or Jimenez.

Each one an American. Each deserving the right to vote. Each deserving of respect.

And none deserving of the scapegoating, suspicion, and cynicism that the Republicans have aimed at them with this legislation.

It's obvious why the Republicans drafted this bill:

Republicans learned in 1996 that there is a price to pay for practicing the politics of prejudice.

Latino voters grew tired of hearing Republicans' red-hot rhetoric and cold-hearted legislation targeting our community.

So, in response, Latinos voted for tolerance, opportunity, and equality.

In other words, Latinos voted for Democrats.

And what is the Republicans reaction? To change course? To end their anti-Latino, anti-immigrant behavior?

No. Now they want to create unnecessary fear within the Hispanic community, and create unwarranted fear of the Hispanic community in the eyes of our fellow Americans.

I am not in the business of giving advice to NEWT GINGRICH. But let me say this:

Latino voters are American voters. When we vote, we remember who stood with us who stood against us.

And we are not alone. The Republicans will go on record today not simply as opponents of Latinos . . . but as opponents of the principles that should make each of us proud to be an American.

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

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS).

(Mr. DAVIS of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act. A great man once said give me liberty or give me death. I say give me the ballot box free and unencumbered or give me death.

I find it ironic that we stand here today in February—the month set aside for the celebration of Black History and we are debating a bill that threatens to undermine with the franchise rights of millions of Americans.

Fannie Lou Hamer, Dr. King, Goodman, Chaney, Schwerner, and countless others gave up their lives to ensure that every American would have the right to vote. The days of requiring Americans to count how many bubbles are in a bar of soap, before giving them the right to vote must never return. This legislation disguised as a bill to prevent voter fraud could take us back to the days when a series of tests dictated whether one had the right to vote.

At a time when voter registration and participation should be encouraged—this bill seeks to discourage potential voters and especially minorities. This bill must be rejected for four reasons. First, there has been no evidence of widespread voter fraud. Secondly, this bill infringes on privacy rights of individuals by requiring that voters Social Security numbers be listed. Thirdly, the Department of Justice and Social Security Administration have stated that this bill is untenable and unsafe.

Finally, this bill should be rejected because it is an assault on the Motor Voter bill.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to resist the temptation of interfering with the franchise in this manner—reject this bill and protect the rights of millions of Americans to participate in the democratic process.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE). (Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for his leadership.

I rise with strong opposition to the recognition that every single one of us was one day an immigrant coming to this Nation, believing in freedom and liberty and seeking an opportunity to serve this Nation as a citizen. Whether it be at war or at peace, immigrants from all over the world came for justice and freedom.

Now, today, in this House this Republican leadership and majority want to take away and clothe the Voter Rights Act with the cover of the Ku Klux Klan and deny those new immigrants who become citizens the right to vote. How tragic that we have come to this. Hispanic voters, Asian voters, new voters from the continent of Africa, yes, this is what this bill will do. It cannot be implemented, Mr. Speaker.

The reason is, the Social Security Administration does not know how to implement it. They do not have any kind of data beyond 7 years ago. I ask any one of you who is an American today, would you want this to have happened to your grandmother and your grandfather? Then stand up for those who have come for freedom and are legal citizens. Vote down this horrible stab in the Voter Rights Act.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in opposition to H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act. H.R. 1428 purports to eliminate voter fraud by requiring proof of citizenship for registered voters and applicants for voter registration. In fact, this bill is nothing more than a thinly veiled tool for suppressing the minority vote.

At a time when voter turnout is at record lows, Republicans are proposing a bill that

would make sure that fewer voters participate in future elections. H.R. 1428 effectively undermines the Voting Rights Act and the National Voter Registration Act.

H.R. 1428 will empower local election officials to drop citizens from voter rolls if the Social Security Administration and the Immigration and Naturalization Service are unable to confirm a person's citizenship status. However, according to testimony from both the INS and SSA, H.R. 1428 is utterly unworkable because neither agency can conform the citizenship of a majority of Americans.

When names which have been submitted for verification to the INS and SSA come back "unverifiable," state and local election officials are left with the sole discretion to decide who will be allowed to vote. The legislation provides no means by which to ensure that these officials act in ways that are uniform and non-discriminatory. Since there is no criteria for challenging whether a voter on the rolls is a citizen or not, election officials may choose to block access to the ballot box based on a person's appearance, accent, or "foreign-sounding" name.

Ensuring fair participation in the political process is fundamental to our democracy. Increasing voter participation, rather than stifling it, is the only way to guarantee that more American voices are heard in the ongoing national debate over the future of this country. We do not want this experiment in Texas. We do not want this attack on Hispanic, Asian, or other new immigrants who are legal citizens.

I urge my colleagues to join me in opposing this dangerous and discriminatory piece of legislation.

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute and 30 seconds to the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN).

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with great interest to my colleagues on the other side. Usually in the debate on a bill we have a few facts that are facts on both sides. This morning I have heard hardly any facts.

It is very simple. A vote against this bill says "We do not want to check citizenship. We want illegals and non-citizens to vote in American elections."

Now, if Members think this is wrong, may I say, we all stand up and take the oath in this Chamber to abide by the Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment says: All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. And we look at the Fifteenth Amendment: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

You will notice the Civil War—Reconstruction legislators put this language together to differentiate between "person" and "citizen." It is very clear. They are saying only citizens in the United States should vote. They are not saying persons. They are saying citizens. That is the basic choice.

The framers of the Constitution and the framers of these amendments—the

great post-Civil War amendments—knew what they were doing, and they differentiated. They knew the difference between "person" and "citizen." The last I knew, we wanted citizens of the United States to vote. The millions who have come here—including my father, who left tyranny for freedom, and my great-grandfather—could hardly wait to be naturalized and become an American citizen.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Ms. WATERS).

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, "The Landlord's Tale, Paul Revere's Ride," he describes the will and resistance of those who came from Britain who had fled their mother country and created the 13 colonies seeking freedom and democracy. He described, "One if by land, two if by sea, on the opposite shore I will be, ready to ride and sound the alarm through every Middlesex village and farm."

Today we are here sounding the alarm. H.R. 1428 is unAmerican. It is unfair. It is an outrageous attempt to deny immigrants democracy. H.R. 1428 is quite simply a frontal assault on our Nation's essential voting rights.

The bill would seriously undermine the Federal laws governing the uniform and nondiscriminatory registration of voters. It is reminiscent of the poll tax and literacy tests, of Jim Crow.

This bill would allow local political officials to make arbitrary and potentially discriminatory decisions by selectively targeting groups of voters and forcing them to prove their citizenship, using an incomplete and inaccurate database.

Vote down this bill. It is unAmerican. It is unfair. America deserves better than this kind of misguided public policy.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, would the Chair advise us of the time remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) has 3 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PEASE) has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. TORRES).

Mr. TORRES. I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my strong opposition to this legislation, which is yet another attempt to undermine the voting rights and discourage voter participation of certain ethnic groups. Rather than encouraging every willing American citizen to exercise his or her right to vote, I must say, this restricts that very right.

This bill is based on the misguided perception that voting by noncitizens is a major problem in this country. Yet the most inflated studies estimate that illegal voting constitutes but a mere fraction of all voters. Neither the Social Security Administration nor the INS is capable of providing this infor-

mation accurately, and both agencies are already on record opposing this.

Mr. Speaker, it seems that the colleagues who want to return to this antialien ideology of the Know-Nothing Party of the 1850s, that is what is in question here. Within the current political climate this could only be construed as a means to prevent the participation of ethnic minorities in the electoral process.

This is discrimination of its worst kind. It is indeed, as the gentlewoman said, un-American.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my strong opposition to H.R. 1428. This is yet another attempt to undermine the voting rights and discourage voter participation of certain ethnic groups. Rather than encouraging every willing American citizen to exercise his or her right to vote, my colleagues want to restrict this right. Over the past few years, the ills of our nation have been blamed on immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. This is discrimination of the worst kind. My heritage within the borders of this great nation goes back five generations. But it is people like me who this bill attempts to repress and rob of an active political life.

This bill is based on the misguided perception that voting by noncitizens is a major problem in this country. Yet, even the most inflated studies estimate that illegal voting in this country constitutes but a mere fraction of all voters. The INS is required to and has fully cooperated with election officials during investigations of voter fraud. Not only is this bill unnecessary, it is impractical.

Neither the Social Security Administration nor the INS have accurate databases to confirm citizenship status. These agencies are incapable of providing this information accurately and both the Social Security Administration and the Justice Department have already voiced their opposition to this legislation. The INS is already working to become more efficient, reforming its system to reduce backlogs and prevent criminals from becoming citizens. Forcing it to take on further unnecessary, time-consuming duties would be a waste of taxpayer dollars that are intended to naturalize, not penalize.

Many U.S. citizens were naturalized before the INS began keeping computer records at all. These Americans, who have been voting for years, are among the most likely to have their voting rights revoked and their participation suppressed. If election officials are allowed to "confirm" citizenship status of registered voters and applicants, we grant them the prerogative to reject applicants and drop voters from the rolls. A name returned "unconfirmed" would be deemed ineligible to vote. Millions of native-born and naturalized citizens would be turned away and have to prove they are citizens.

The bill we have before us today would overturn the Voting Rights Act and invalidate the National Voter Registration Act or "Motor Voter Law." This landmark legislation successfully established procedures that encourage voter participation nationwide. Since its enactment in 1993, 13 million new voters have registered, including senior citizens, disabled citizens, military personnel, and many others. This is the intention and design of a democracy. Reinstating obstacles to this achievement would be counter-productive. Within the

current political climate, this can only be construed as a means to prevent the participation of ethnic minorities in the electoral process.

Millions of Americans take for granted the rights they have in this country. For a recently naturalized citizen, voting is an opportunity to fully experience a newly earned freedom. It is something to be practiced with pride and self-respect. But many of these new citizens do not carry, on their person, documents to prove their citizenship. How many of us in Congress carry such documents? Some of these new citizens have a yet to receive these papers due to tremendous backlogs at INS. Even those who are already registered would be subject to new requirements.

This bill is nothing but a spiteful attempt to retaliate against the Latino community for sending Bob Dornan to the unemployment line. It is more of the same failed tactics used by the Republican leadership in a continue effort to cast a cloud of suspicion on a large percentage of Americans and reduce minority participation in the 1998 and 2000 election cycles. This is an unjustified assault on Americans of color, those with foreign surnames or particular accents. Such subjective scrutiny will have a chilling effect on the voting power of Latinos and Asian Americans.

Mr. Speaker, I call upon all of those who believe in democracy and those who continue to believe in the "American Dream" to vote against this misguided bill.

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

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. KENNEDY).

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the gentleman from North Carolina for yielding me this time.

As I was growing up in my family and I read about my uncles, President Kennedy and Robert Kennedy, and I read about their leadership in the 1960s and read about the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, I thought my uncles had done it all. Growing up in my family, I thought, how could I ever fight the same fights they fought for, because I wanted so much to be a part of their fight.

I am telling my colleagues today, I never thought I would see the day when their fight was not over. But it is not over; it is carrying on with this bill, 1428, as we speak on the floor.

Last year, the Republicans put before this House a bill that said for teachers and principals to choose the students out of their classes that they thought were illegal aliens. In New England, where I represent Rhode Island, the highest illegal immigration problem is Irish overstays, Mr. Speaker, Irish overstays.

Do my colleagues want to know how many teachers and how many principals and how many voting people are going to question Irish people who look like me when they go into the voting booth versus how many are they going to question that look like the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. WATT) or the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ). That is what

this bill is all about. It is wrong. It is un-American. We should turn it around.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The question is what problem are we trying to solve by this bill? I submit to Members that the problem we are trying to solve by this bill is one that the Republicans are trying to create.

□ 1345

They are seeing an unregistered voter behind every tree and they are seeing them vote for Democrats. That is what this bill is all about. They have spent over a million dollars on a wild goose chase and now they bring a bill to the American people which they know will fail to cover their tracks and make it look good.

This bill will not work. The Social Security Administration and the INS have already told us that they do not have the records. Who will be sent there to check their citizenship? People who look like they are not American citizens: Hispanics, blacks, people who are minorities. This bill is un-American. They will then be given 30 days to take an appeal, but that 30 days will expire after the next election.

So what happens when I walk into the polling place and try to cast my vote? I will be told, oh no, you cannot vote because you do not look American. The Republicans are seeing diversity behind every tree. Stand up and understand that this country is about diversity and honoring diversity, not destroying it. That is what this bill will do. That is what it is intended to do.

No committee has marked up this bill. It comes to the floor today in the wake of the Sanchez dismissal as cover for my Republican colleagues. That is the sole reason it is here.

This bill is un-American. It should be voted down and we should be ashamed for bringing it to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD a letter dated February 11, 1998, from the Congressional Budget Office regarding this bill:

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
U.S. CONGRESS,

Washington, DC, February 11, 1998.

Hon. MELVIN L. WATT,

Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims, Committee on the Judiciary,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: On February 10, you requested CBO's analysis of H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act. H.R. 1428 was introduced last June, but it has not been reported by a Committee, and CBO has not completed a formal estimate of its budgetary implications.

The bill, as introduced, would direct the Social Security Administration (SSA) and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to respond to inquiries from state and local election officials about the citizenship of prospective voters. It is difficult to estimate the likely costs of the bill, because neither SSA nor INS now maintains the information that would be necessary to provide definitive confirmation of citizenship for the

vast majority of the voting-age population. SSA issues Social Security numbers (SSNs) to native-born citizens, naturalized citizens, and aliens legally admitted for permanent residence; the citizenship information in SSA's files may not be up-to-date or (if the SSN was issued before 1981) based on documentary evidence. The INS has information about naturalized citizens but not about native-born citizens; even those data contain gaps, are not entirely automated, and rely on the alien registration number rather than the SSN.

Because the limitations of these data would soon become apparent to state and local officials, the number of inquiries is likely to be small, as would the cost of responding to them. Filling the gaps in the agencies' data would require the creation of new data bases, clearly an expensive undertaking, but one that would be barred by the bill.

I hope that this information is helpful to you. If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me, or have your staff contact Kathy Ruffing of my staff at 226-2820.

Sincerely,

JUNE E. O'NEILL,
Director.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the H.R. 1428, the so-called Voter Eligibility Act. Despite its name it would do nothing to verify eligible voters. Instead this bill will undermine the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Motor Voter Act, create a national database system and unnecessarily invade the privacy of millions of Americans. That the Republican leadership would bring such a bill that diminishes a citizen's constitutional right to vote, to the full House under suspension, circumventing three House committees that have jurisdiction, and making seven substantive changes to the bill the night before, is a disgrace.

This verification scheme in this bill is simply unworkable. The Social Security Administration (SSA) and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) do not have the records to verify citizenship. The SSA is unable to confirm citizenship because SSA is not the official custodian of birth, naturalization, or other records that constitute evidence of citizenship. The INS database is severely flawed because it does not include any information on any native born citizens. And the INS database does not include citizens naturalized before computer records were kept or citizens who were recently naturalized. We are all against voter fraud, but H.R. 1428 is requiring a confirmation process for citizenship which is just not possible with any existing federal database.

The bill would also be very costly. Since the bill was not reported from any committee the CBO did not complete a formal estimate. But, in a letter dated today the CBO states "... filling the gaps in the agencies' data would require the creation of new databases, clearly an expensive undertaking, but one that would be barred by the bill." So the proponents of the bill can't have it both ways. But it is impossible to confirm citizenship without creating a new expensive national database. Watch out! Big brother is watching and checking your citizenship!

H.R. 1428 is also a threat to privacy because voting registration records are public records. Nothing in the bill would protect or ensure the privacy of Social Security numbers. But the darkest provisions of this bill is its impact on the Voting Rights Act and the Motor

Voter Act. At a time when voter turnout is dangerously low, this legislation seeks to discourage voter registration. Why should citizens have to bear the burden of proving their citizenship? How do you prove this? Should we now require everyone to carry a birth certificate or other document at all times? This is an unacceptable burden would have a disproportionate impact on low-income, language minorities and elderly who may not have access to the resources to pursue a complicated, confusing procedure for confirmation of citizenship. This effort is the equivalent of a modern day poll tax that was designed a century ago to keep African Americans from the voting booths.

Motor voter has been a great success. In a Subcommittee hearing last year, the League of Women Voters testified that the Federal Election Commission reports that 1996 saw the highest percentage of the voting age population registered to vote since reliable records were available in 1960. Nearly 73 percent of eligible Americans are registered to vote. Why do we under the unsubstantiated guise of voter fraud do we need to reverse this trend?

Many Americans, including many members in this House on both sides of the aisle have worked hard to eliminate barriers, test and devices which would hinder people from registering to vote. Why are we bringing legislation to floor which will turn back the clock on the efforts to preserve the constitutional right to vote for all Americans? Bringing this legislation to floor, under suspension, represents yet another sad day for this Congress. I urge the members to oppose this extreme short-sighted measure.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my opposition to the Republican majority's attempt to control the electoral process. H.R. 1428 could keep millions of Americans from voting. American citizens, could be selectively removed from the voter lists. This kind of federal interference in the local electoral process would have a chilling effect on millions of new citizens who would be frightened away from this most sacred expression of the people's will.

This Republican bill will lead to discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities. Citizens could be purged from the voter rolls solely on the basis of an ethnic-sounding surname or the fact that they live in a predominantly minority neighborhood.

Sadly, it appears this legislation is part of a larger Republican effort to suppress Hispanic voter turnout. This campaign began with the year-long, million-dollar investigation into Congresswoman LORETTA SANCHEZ'S defeat of Republican Bob Dornan in California's 46th district.

This bill will not work. Both the INS and Social Security have already said they cannot confirm the citizenship of most Americans.

We need to remove obstacles to participation not build fear into the electoral process.

Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD. Mr. Speaker, earlier today this chamber voted to end the probe into the election of Congresswoman LORETTA SANCHEZ.

Congresswoman SANCHEZ was vindicated, and the voice of her constituents was reaffirmed.

It should have never been questioned!

And now Republicans want to set our nation back. They want to create new barriers to voting for every American.

Mr. Speaker, our right to vote is among our most sacred duties as Americans.

As our nation has evolved, so has our electoral process.

The days of the infamous poll tax are gone, and the 19th Amendment ensures that all of our nation's citizens are granted representation through their vote.

H.R. 1428, the so-called "Voter Eligibility Verification Act" is a misguided Republican attempt at curtailing the Voting Rights Act as well as key provisions of the Privacy Act.

The bill allows federal, state, and local officials to randomly challenge the right to vote of any person they choose, and it directs the Social Security Administration and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to investigate the citizenship of any individual at the request of election officials.

The INS and the Social Security Administration both oppose this bill. They know that many of their files are outdated and that they cannot accurately verify the citizenship of Americans.

Furthermore, by allowing states to require Social Security numbers on voter registration forms—a practice which is prohibited under the Privacy Act—this bill would overturn key provisions of current law, and make the Social Security numbers of Americans public information.

Mr. Speaker, let's keep this Congress from violating the fundamental rights of Americans.

I strongly urge my colleagues to vote against H.R. 1428.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act.

The only purpose this bill serves is to undermine the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the National Voter Registration Act, more commonly referred to as the Motor Voter law. H.R. 1428 is exclusionary in nature, and its motives are questionable.

Mr. Speaker, if ever we as legislators wanted to discourage American citizens from voting, this bill would get the job done. There is no argument that persons who are not citizens of this country should not be permitted to vote. However, this bill is not the answer.

When immigrants become citizens of the United States, they are very proud and have an earnest desire to contribute to and participate in the greatest democratic nation in the world. Whether it is to join the workforce and contribute to the economy, or to cast a vote and participate in the democratic electoral process, we ought to embrace our new countrymen and women with respect.

H.R. 1428 would take away that respect. We would be saying to everybody—even those born in this country—"Prove to us that you are a true American. Prove to us that you are entitled to vote in our Democratic electoral process."

What's next, Mr. Speaker? Will we have to start carrying our personal papers on our person at all times in the event that we will suddenly prove our nationality when we cross state lines as they did in World War II Europe?

This bill is also an affront to the 35 million plus voting aged Americans with disabilities who have benefited greatly from mail-in registration since, in many instances, these individuals are physically unable to go to a registration site. Americans with disabilities already register to vote at a rate 20% below the

rest of the population. If H.R. 1428 were enacted, that number would drop even lower.

This bill is flawed in many ways. First, H.R. 1428 says that for persons born prior to 1978, the Social Security Administration would be required to report where that person was born. If a person was born 70 years ago in another country, but has since become a naturalized U.S. citizen, his or her INS records are archived in a federal vault. There would be no way to verify the citizenship of long term, naturalized Americans through this scheme.

Second, the bill would provide a 30-day "appeal" period, which would allow a person whose citizenship is unverifiable to submit "supplemental" materials. At the end of those 30 days, the local or state registrar of that voter will then decide whether to permit the person to vote. This is an incredible affront to the Voting Rights Act. To give a registrar the ability to deny an American citizen their right to vote is a disgrace and an injustice.

This is America, Mr. Speaker. This bill was conceived out of paranoia and xenophobia and it would severely threaten the voting rights of all Americans. Mr. Speaker, rather than discourage, we should encourage Americans to participate in the Democratic electoral process and to become fully engaged in the affairs of the country, which is their fundamental right.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on H.R. 1428.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, today, we examine a flawed bill targeted against minority voters in this country, H.R. 1428 is crafted not only to intimidate voters and fail to preserve citizens' privacy, it also places an undue burden on the Social Security Administration (SSA) and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

H.R. 1428's mechanism to ensure voter authenticity is through confirmation from the SSA and INS. However, these organizations themselves stated that they cannot guarantee U.S. citizenship for all Americans for the following reasons: The SSA's citizenship data is self-reported (before 1978, the SSA did not require citizenship information); INS has accuracy problems with current computer-recorded information (before the INS began keeping computer records, thousands of individuals were already naturalized; these are Americans who will be "missed" if this system is in place).

H.R. 1428's attempts to ensure a voter's American citizenship is shadowed by a greater offense to our constituents. It sends a clear signal for minorities not to come to the ballot box because they will be harassed and unduly questioned about their loyalties. According to H.R. 1428, if the SSA and INS cannot confirm an individual's citizenship, local and state officials can deny a person the vote. Now, if your last name is Nguyen or Santos, I can assure you that you should expect more questions and obstacles than if your name was Newton or Smith.

Let us not forget that American ethnic minorities are valuable members of our society. Introducing legislation which is flawed in conception and implementation and targeted to this segment of society is counter to our American ideals of fairness and democracy. I urge my colleagues to vote no on H.R. 1428. We cannot afford to decrease the number of Americans voting in this nation. We are a democracy after all, not an oligarchy.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, it is ironic that on the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican Leadership in the House of Representatives is bringing to the floor a proposal that says if you are African American, if you are Hispanic American, if you are Asian American, the Republican Party does not trust you to vote. The measure before us builds barriers and creates a coercive environment with the election and voting process.

In its worse manifestation, H.R. 1428, the "Voter Suppression Act," could return us to the "good old boys" days of Jim Crow laws. It is a proposal that has the effect of intimidating minority voters and creating a double standard that makes it more difficult for American citizens, who do not meet these new Republican superimposed criteria, to vote. For the Party of Lincoln, the Party of "states' rights" to interject this unprecedented level of big brother, big government is a shame.

Minnesota has led the nation in voting participation for the past few decades by providing election day registration and extended absentee ballot procedures. To date, there have been no examples of widespread scandal or voter fraud. At a time that we should be doing more to empower new voters and facilitate the voting process, this measure moves backwards to a process which is a proven failure.

Mr. Speaker, none of us condone illegal voting. But this is an issue that has been and should continue to be addressed at the state and local level. If the Republican members are truly concerned about how minority voters vote, maybe they should end their policies designed to divide our nation and penalize minorities instead of trying to frustrate the legitimate exercise of their franchise, the right to vote. I urge a "No" vote on H.R. 1428.

Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 1428 which seeks to limit eligibility for voter registration by the creation of a new federal voter eligibility system to confirm the citizenship of registered voters.

This apparently politically-motivated bill would amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to establish a system through which the Commissioner of Social Security and the Attorney General must respond to local voting officials who question, for one reason or another, the citizenship of voter registration applicants.

My colleagues, I ask you is this bill necessary? What evidence is there of widespread voter registration fraud by noncitizens?

Instead of combating voter registration fraud H.R. 1428 would likely foster discrimination instead, because it would allow state and local officials to drop American citizens from the voter rolls solely on the basis of their "ethnic sounding" last name or because of the fact that they live in a predominantly minority neighborhood.

Additionally, it is an unworkable bill since neither the Social Security Administration nor the INS can confirm the vast majority of citizens born in the U.S.

I urge my colleagues to oppose this potentially discriminatory and mischievous bill. At a time when voter turnout is already at record lows, this bill would make sure even fewer citizens vote.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the Voter Eligibility Verification Act (H.R. 1428). My opposition to this bill is not because I oppose taking steps to protect the integrity of

the voting process, but because the means employed in this bill represent yet another step toward the transmutation of the Social Security number into a national identification number by which the federal government can more easily monitor private information regarding American citizens.

The Social Security number was created solely for use in administering the Social Security system. Today, thanks to Congress, parents must get a Social Security number for their newborn babies. In addition, because of Congress, abuse of the Social Security system also occurs at the state level such in many states, one cannot get a driver's license, apply for a job, or even receive a birth certificate for one's child, without presenting their Social Security number to a government official.

Now Congress is preparing to authorize the use of the Social Security number to verify citizenship for purposes of voting. Opponents of this bill are right to point out that, whatever protections are written in this bill, allowing states to force citizens to present a Social Security number before they can vote will require the augmentation of a national data base—similar to those created in the Welfare Reform and the Immigration Bills of 1996.

Mr. Speaker, clearly we are heading for the day when American citizens cannot work, go to school, have a child, or even exercise their right to vote without presenting what, in effect, is quickly becoming a national I.D. card.

National I.D. cards are trademarks of totalitarian governments, not constitutional republics. I'm sure all of us have seen a movie depicting life in a fascist or communist country where an official of the central state demands to see a citizen's papers. Well the Founders of the Republic would be horrified if they knew that the Republic they created had turned into an overbearing leviathan where citizens had to present their "papers" containing a valid government identification number before getting a job or voting.

In order to protect the privacy rights of America's citizens, I plan to soon introduce the Privacy Protection Act, which will forbid the use of the Social Security number for any purpose other than for the administration of the Social Security system. I would urge my colleagues to support this bill when introduced and vote against the Voter Eligibility Act. It is time for Congress to protect the Constitutional rights of all Americans and stop using the Social Security number as a de facto national identification card.

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Speaker, all Americans are concerned with maintaining and improving the integrity of our nation's elections. We know that, in some recent cases, illegal immigrants and others not legally qualified to vote have registered and cast ballots. A number of bills have been introduced in this Congress to deal with this problem.

Regrettably, H.R. 1428, while attempting to restore electoral integrity, actually threatens to return us to a darker era in our nation's history, when people's voting rights were frequently challenged or harassed and their right to cast ballots was denied.

H.R. 1428 would allow local officials to check the eligibility of registered voters by submitted names from the voting rolls to the Immigration and Naturalization Service or the Social Security Administration. But how will the names be chosen? Will the Smiths, the Johnsons, and the Andersons be scrutinized,

or will the efforts of local officials be more focused on the Singhs, the Martinezes, and the Nguyens? Unfortunately, the historical record would indicate the latter.

In addition, the bill presumes that the INS and the SSA will have their records available and updated for use by local officials, which we know is not likely to be the case. And should local election officials not be able to confirm citizenship, they can drop voters from the rolls without having proven that they are not qualified to vote.

Mr. Speaker, rightly or wrongly, Hispanic-Americans and other immigrants to our country feel a growing bias against them. U.S. citizens living in my district who were born in Latin America have expressed their growing frustration and fear with harassing INS raids which treat all immigrants as suspects; they are being denied the presumption of innocence. A Salvadoran-American woman living in my district, who has been a resident and a citizen for more than 20 years, never leaves her house without her U.S. passport, for fear that she may be harassed or detained by immigration or other law enforcement authorities.

H.R. 1428 threatens to intensify the growing feeling of alienation among immigrant U.S. citizens, without assuring that it can easily, reasonably, or fairly accomplish its objective of ballot integrity. For these reasons, I must oppose H.R. 1428.

Mr. POSHARD. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Protection Act. This legislation would permit state and local voting officials to verify the citizenship of registered voters through the Social Security Administration or the Immigration and Naturalization Service. I would urge my colleagues to vote against this misguided attempt to undermine one of our most precious, fundamental and hard-fought rights, the right to vote.

It is clear to me that this bill would intimidate voters by subjecting them to a burdensome process of citizenship verification. Most upsetting is that it would disproportionately impact Americans of color, who will be suspect for no other reason than the way they look. At a time when we should be continuing our efforts to open the electoral process to more Americans, particularly more minorities, to ensure that all groups are adequately represented, I am astonished that my colleagues would even consider a measure that will undoubtedly have the opposite effect. H.R. 1428 threatens to keep millions of voters from exercising their rights, and that is the very last thing this Congress should be doing.

In addition to the shamefully discriminatory impact that will result from this legislation, there is the simple fact that the measure will not work. Both INS and SSA have themselves admitted that they lack the capacity to accurately verify the citizenship status of voters. H.R. 1428 would violate the privacy rights of voters, undermine the Voting Rights Act and the National Voter Registration Act, discourage eligible Americans from voting, and foster discrimination when we should be working to eradicate it and instead celebrate the diversity that is such a critical component of this great nation. All this, and the legislation would not even accomplish its purported goals.

I will oppose this measure, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with grave concern regarding legislative

initiatives to restrict voter registration and turnout. The so-called "Voter Eligibility Confirmation System" in effect threatens voting rights of the American constituency.

As introduced, this legislation would establish a federal program for state and local elected officials to "confirm" the citizenship of registered voters and voter registration applicants. The proposal would allow elected officials to submit the names of voter registration applicants and registered voters to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Social Security Administration for citizenship confirmation through a computerized system.

With all due respect to my Colleague, this is bad policy! The data on which this system is based is inaccurate. The fact is that an American citizen can have a social security number and stand the possibility of not being confirmed as a citizen by the Social Security Administration. Thousands of U.S. citizens were naturalized before the agency began keeping computer records at all. As a result, our fellow Americans will be targeted to have their voting rights undermined by the use of such a system.

Historically, women and minorities in our Nation have been singled out and questioned based on their surnames or appearance. Although this American struggle has made many progressions, this act of discrimination should not and must not be tolerated by our distinguished House.

Under current federal and state laws, both voter registration fraud and voter fraud are crimes. The notion that massive citizenship verification procedures are needed does not align with the facts. The data received from the House Oversight Committee hearing in 1995 revealed that the real problem of voter fraud had to do with the abuses of State absentee ballot laws, NOT by Latinos or Asian Americans.

Let's get real. This bill attempts to set measures that not only overturns the Privacy Act projections, but recreates a system that affects the minorities in our America.

As the Honorable Jimmy Carter so eloquently stated in his 1981 farewell address, "America did not invent human rights. In a very real sense . . . human righters invented America."

As we move into the new millennium, let us continue to build bridges in our Nation. We need to address the facts of this proposed legislation and not be distracted by the rhetoric.

All Americans should have the inalienable right to vote and that right must not be determined based on whether an elected official decides that one of our fellow Americans is "ethnic-looking" versus "American-looking."

In closing, I will leave with the powerful statement of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in staunch and vehement opposition to H.R. 1428, the Voter Eligibility Verification Act. This bill would repress the participation of legal, U.S. citizens in the process of both registering to vote and participation in elections. Furthermore, it would erode the hard-earned gains of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and I encourage my colleagues to oppose this legislation on final passage. This bill, which was not considered in either the House Judiciary Committee nor the House Oversight Committee for a markup, is being pushed onto the floor under

the "suspension of the rules" calendar. This method does not allow Members of Congress, in support or opposition to this bill, to offer amendments or engage in more than 40 minutes of debate.

H.R. 1428 would require American citizens, whom the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Social Security Administration could not confirm to be citizens, to be selectively removed from registration lists. As a Member of the House Oversight Committee, I have first-hand knowledge of how flawed, by the INS's own admission, the INS database is. According to researchers of the INS database during the contested election of California's 46th Congressional District, William Thomas was listed as a possible person who might not be eligible to vote in the 46th Congressional District in California. The INS database does not contain data on any native-born citizens. Even naturalized citizens—citizens who pay taxes, work legally, and are probably going to fight and possibly die, in another war against Iraq—are not included in this INS database.

What is worse is that the database for the Social Security Administration is equally flawed. Before 1978, the Social Security Administration did not collect information on citizenship or country of origin. Therefore, citizens—including the vast majority of the membership of Congress—who received a Social Security card before 1978 probably would not be able to register or vote under H.R. 1428. This bill would also make Social Security numbers part of the public record. As many Members of Congress know, two employees of the Legislative Resource Center were fired by Chairman WILLIAM THOMAS because of their alleged mis-handling of the Social Security numbers of employees of the House of Representatives. If it is wrong for Congress to make the Social Security numbers of its employees public, it is wrong for states and municipalities to do the same.

This legislation does nothing to ensure that naturalized citizens or U.S. born citizens will not be discriminated against. As an African American, I cannot recount the number of times that I felt the sting of discrimination or prejudice because I did not fit someone's mind-set of what an "American" looked like. It is one thing if a blue-eyed, white male is trying to register or vote. It is another thing for a dark-skinned, Latina female with an accent to try to register or vote. This bill harkens back to the days before the adoption of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in which there were grandfather clauses, poll taxes, literacy tests and outright intimidation by "poll watchers" to determine just who could or could not either register or vote.

It saddens me to know that, after a generation, some of the same issues of equality and fairness that one of my constituents, civil rights titan Rosa Parks, stood for are being eroded today. It saddens me to know that, after a generation, some of the same issues of freedom and enfranchisement, a citizen of the City of Detroit, civil rights martyr Viola Liuzzo, died for are being threatened today. It saddens me to know that, as a current Member of Congress, I receive the notice of threats against my life to fight for justice. Let the record reflect that I am not placing my meager work on the same standard as these two courageous and brave persons. What I am saying is that it is regrettable that we, as a nation, have obviously learned so little from the struggle

fought, lives lost, and freedom gained from 33 years worth of challenge and controversy.

It is my hope that the wisdom of truth, justice and fairness will prevail today on the floor of the House of Representatives. This bill must be stopped. In the spirit of Rosa Parks, in the memory of Viola Liuzzo, let us stop the erosion of access of freedom and justice. Let us maintain the integrity and validity of our elections. Let us encourage all citizens to register and vote. Vote against H.R. 1428 on final passage.

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

Mr. PEASE. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. GINGRICH), the Speaker of the House.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I could tell from the emotionalism of the attacks that those who are opposed to this bill did not have very many facts to work on so they decided to use rhetoric and symbolism.

This bill is actually quite simple. It has a very simple premise: One should be an American citizen to participate in an American election. This is not a complicated idea. A person can be a black American as a citizen, I would say to my friend; they can be a yellow American citizen, a red American citizen, a white American citizen, a brown American citizen, they can be a tall American citizen, a short American citizen, but they should be an American citizen.

We can have the full range of diversity. Persons may have emigrated from Fiji or emigrated from Ireland. I would say to my friend from Rhode Island, since I was a Doherty on my grandmother's side, certainly we want those Irish who are here legally to vote if they are citizens. But we do not want Irish who are here illegally, nor do we want anyone else who is here illegally to vote.

I listened for a long time to rhetoric, now I think it is time to talk about what this bill is about. This is a narrowly drawn bill. The essence of this bill is simple and it is based, frankly, on the recommendations of the Secretary of State of California. The Secretary of State of California says there are people voting in California who are not citizens and he does not have the means to check them.

Now, somebody said the Immigration and Naturalization cannot support this bill. Frankly, I am shocked that anyone on the other side of the aisle would raise the issue of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. We had a report released Monday that in creating new citizens, according to an outside accounting firm, 90.2 percent of the files were handled wrong. In three offices, 99 percent of the files were handled wrong.

If anything, there ought to be a scandal about the fact that the Immigration and Naturalization Service itself, according to this estimate, last year had 38,000 citizens, had 38,000 citizens made citizens who should not have

been made citizens, 11,000 of whom, 11,000 of whom were criminals.

Now, I would say to my colleagues that, first of all, the real answer ought to be let us overhaul the Immigration and Naturalization Service so it does its job effectively, let us make sure the Social Security system has a computer that works, and then let us allow a State—what are we asking a State to do? It is not complicated. We are saying to a State to make sure that the only people participating in their elections are legal American citizens. That is the only criteria here.

People get up and make all these comments as though somehow, if they yell racist long enough, if they scream diversity long enough, if they somehow come in here and pretend this is about something else—this is a very narrow bill. Members who vote against this bill are saying they do not want to know if illegal immigrants are voting. They do not want to know if noncitizens are voting, many of whom, by the way, may be here legally, may have been told they could register even though they were not citizens and may be innocent.

All we are saying is an American citizen's right to vote is one of their most precious rights. How can we cancel out an American citizen with a non-citizen and not feel that we are somehow cheating the essence of freedom in America? This bill is about citizenship, it is about citizens being allowed to vote.

I want to repeat: If a person is an African American and a citizen, they can vote; if they are Asian American and a citizen, they can vote; if they are a Hispanic American and a citizen, they can vote; if they are a European American and a citizen, they can vote; if they are Native Americans and a citizen, they can vote. And, frankly, if their ancestors come from all five categories and they are a citizen, they can vote.

This is not about diversity, it is about enforcing the law. And I think to try to vote this down with the sham argument of racism is, in effect, a way of covering up the fact that some Members, in fact, favor allowing noncitizens to vote, allowing people who have no right to vote, and that means canceling out the legal vote of a legal citizen who should have that vote protected as one of the hallmarks of democracy.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PEASE) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 1428, as amended.

The question was taken.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 210, nays 200, not voting 21, as follows:

[Roll No. 17]

YEAS—210

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Aderholt | Gilchrist | Norwood |
| Archer | Gillmor | Nussle |
| Army | Gilman | Packard |
| Bachus | Gingrich | Pappas |
| Baker | Goode | Parker |
| Ballenger | Goodlatte | Paxon |
| Barr | Goodling | Pease |
| Barrett (NE) | Goss | Peterson (PA) |
| Bartlett | Graham | Petri |
| Barton | Granger | Pickering |
| Bass | Greenwood | Pickett |
| Bateman | Gutknecht | Pitts |
| Bereuter | Hall (TX) | Pombo |
| Billray | Hansen | Porter |
| Bilirakis | Hastert | Portman |
| Bliley | Hastings (WA) | Pryce (OH) |
| Blunt | Hayworth | Quinn |
| Boehner | Hefley | Radanovich |
| Bonilla | Herger | Ramstad |
| Brady | Hill | Redmond |
| Bryant | Hilleary | Regula |
| Bunning | Hobson | Riley |
| Burr | Hoekstra | Rogan |
| Burton | Horn | Rogers |
| Calvert | Hostettler | Rohrabacher |
| Camp | Hulshof | Roukema |
| Campbell | Hunter | Royce |
| Canady | Hyde | Ryuan |
| Cannon | Inglis | Salmon |
| Castle | Istook | Sanford |
| Chambliss | Jenkins | Saxton |
| Christensen | Johnson (CT) | Scarborough |
| Coble | Johnson, Sam | Schaefer, Dan |
| Coburn | Jones | Sensenbrenner |
| Collins | Kasich | Sessions |
| Combest | Kelly | Shaw |
| Cook | Kim | Shimkus |
| Cooksey | King (NY) | Shuster |
| Cox | Kingston | Skeen |
| Crane | Klug | Smith (MI) |
| Crapo | Knollenberg | Smith (NJ) |
| Cubin | Kolbe | Smith (TX) |
| Cunningham | LaHood | Snowbarger |
| Davis (VA) | Latham | Solomon |
| Deal | LaTourette | Souder |
| DeLay | Lazio | Spence |
| Deutsch | Leach | Stearns |
| Dickey | Lewis (CA) | Stump |
| Doolittle | Lewis (KY) | Sununu |
| Dreier | Linder | Talent |
| Duncan | Lipinski | Tauzin |
| Dunn | Livingston | Taylor (MS) |
| Ehlers | LoBiondo | Taylor (NC) |
| Ehrlich | Lucas | Thomas |
| Emerson | Manzullo | Thornberry |
| English | McCollum | Thune |
| Ensign | McCrery | Tiahrt |
| Ewing | McDade | Turner |
| Fawell | McHugh | Upton |
| Foley | McInnis | Wamp |
| Fossella | McIntosh | Watkins |
| Fowler | McKeon | Watts (OK) |
| Fox | Metcalf | Weldon (FL) |
| Franks (NJ) | Mica | Weldon (PA) |
| Frelinghuysen | Moran (KS) | Weller |
| Galleghy | Myrick | White |
| Ganske | Nethercutt | Whitfield |
| Gekas | Neumann | Wicker |
| Gibbons | Ney | Wolf |
| | Northup | Young (FL) |

NAYS—200

| | | |
|--------------|------------|-------------|
| Abercrombie | Boyd | DeGette |
| Ackerman | Brown (CA) | Delahunt |
| Allen | Brown (FL) | DeLauro |
| Andrews | Brown (OH) | Diaz-Balart |
| Baesler | Cardin | Dicks |
| Baldacci | Carson | Dingell |
| Barcia | Chabot | Dixon |
| Barrett (WI) | Clay | Doggett |
| Becerra | Clayton | Dooley |
| Bentsen | Clyburn | Doyle |
| Berman | Condit | Edwards |
| Berry | Conyers | Engel |
| Bishop | Costello | Etheridge |
| Blagojevich | Coyne | Evans |
| Blumenauer | Cramer | Farr |
| Boehert | Cummings | Fattah |
| Bonior | Danner | Fazio |
| Borski | Davis (FL) | Filner |
| Boswell | Davis (IL) | Forbes |
| Boucher | DeFazio | Ford |

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Frank (MA) | Matsui | Rush |
| Frost | McCarthy (MO) | Sabo |
| Gejdenson | McCarthy (NY) | Sanchez |
| Gephardt | McDermott | Sanders |
| Gordon | McGovern | Sandlin |
| Green | McHale | Sawyer |
| Gutierrez | McIntyre | Schaffer, Bob |
| Hall (OH) | McKinney | Schumer |
| Hamilton | McNulty | Scott |
| Hastings (FL) | Meehan | Serrano |
| Hefner | Meek (FL) | Shays |
| Hilliard | Meeks (NY) | Sherman |
| Hinchey | Menendez | Sisisky |
| Hinojosa | Millender- | Skaggs |
| Holden | McDonald | Skelton |
| Hooley | Miller (CA) | Slaughter |
| Houghton | Minge | Smith, Adam |
| Hoyer | Moakley | Smith, Linda |
| Hutchinson | Mollohan | Snyder |
| Jackson (IL) | Moran (VA) | Spratt |
| Jackson-Lee | Morella | Stabenow |
| (TX) | Murtha | Stark |
| John | Nadler | Stenholm |
| Johnson, E.B. | Neal | Stokes |
| Kanjorski | Oberstar | Strickland |
| Kaptur | Obey | Stupak |
| Kennedy (MA) | Olver | Tanner |
| Kennedy (RI) | Ortiz | Tauscher |
| Kennelly | Owens | Thompson |
| Kildee | Pallone | Thurman |
| Kilpatrick | Pascrell | Tierney |
| Kind (WI) | Pastor | Torres |
| Klecza | Paul | Trafficant |
| Klink | Payne | Velazquez |
| Kucinich | Pelosi | Vento |
| LaFalce | Peterson (MN) | Vislosky |
| Lampson | Pomeroy | Walsh |
| Levin | Poshard | Waters |
| Lewis (GA) | Price (NC) | Watt (NC) |
| Lofgren | Rahall | Waxman |
| Lowey | Rangel | Wexler |
| Luther | Reyes | Weygand |
| Maloney (CT) | Rivers | Wise |
| Maloney (NY) | Rodriguez | Woolsey |
| Manton | Roemer | Wynn |
| Markey | Ros-Lehtinen | Yates |
| Martinez | Rothman | |
| Mascara | Roybal-Allard | |

NOT VOTING—21

| | | |
|----------|--------------|------------|
| Buyer | Harman | Oxley |
| Callahan | Jefferson | Riggs |
| Clement | Johnson (WI) | Schiff |
| Eshoo | Lantos | Shadegg |
| Everett | Largent | Smith (OR) |
| Furse | Miller (FL) | Towns |
| Gonzalez | Mink | Young (AK) |

□ 1412

Ms. BROWN of Florida, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD and Mr. BECERRA changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. GILMAN and Mr. LEACH changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So (two-thirds not having voted in favor thereof) the motion was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

□ 1415

RECOGNIZING AND CALLING ON ALL AMERICANS TO RECOGNIZE THE COURAGE AND SACRIFICE OF MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES HELD AS PRISONERS OF WAR DURING THE VIETNAM CONFLICT

Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on National Security be discharged from further consideration of the resolution (H. Res. 360), recognizing and calling on all Americans to recognize, the courage and sacrifice of the members of the Armed Forces held as prisoners of war during the Vietnam conflict and stating that the House of