

Against Women's Act [VAWA] last year, funding for the important programs created by VAWA has lagged. Earlier this year, the House approved the Commerce, State, Justice appropriations bill which provided \$124.5 million for VAWA programs. This figure is \$50 million more than originally recommended by the House Appropriations Committee, however, it is still \$50 million less than the amount authorized by VAWA. This is appalling.

Last year, Congress appropriated \$10 billion to help the survivors of the Los Angeles earthquake. In 1991, we sent \$900 million in aid for victims of Hurricane Bob. After the Los Angeles riots in 1992, the Federal Government contributed to the cleanup efforts. In the same year, Congress provided assistance for many victims of Hurricane Andrew. Spending this money was necessary and I supported it. But just as we assist victims of periodic natural disasters, we must also help the victims of the on-going tragedies which occur in our backyards everyday—survivors of domestic violence.

Domestic Violence Awareness Month is an opportunity to inform the public about this devastating crime. But more needs to be done. We, in Congress, have an obligation to ensure the safety of all women in this country and I will continue to work toward this goal.

DR. FRANK P. WRIGHT RESIGNS

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1995

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial published in the Indianapolis News this past weekend, does not overstate the accomplishments and the goodness of Dr. Frank P. Lloyd. It would be impossible to say too much good about this magnificent man.

[From the Indianapolis News, Oct. 28, 1995]

A ONE-IN-A-MILLION LEADER

Too often, the work of a soft-spoken leader goes without due recognition. Such is the case with Dr. Frank P. Lloyd, who resigned last week from the White River State Park Development Commission.

Lloyd has served tirelessly on that body since 1979, when it began its work to create an urban park for the people of Indianapolis. His work for the commission, however, is just one of many of his efforts to better this city.

Upon hearing of Lloyd's resignation, U.S. Rep. Andy Jacobs Jr. called him a "civil saint" and one of "God's noblemen."

A summary of a few of his accomplishments explains that description.

Lloyd, who will turn 76 this month, received his medical degree from Howard University in 1946 and built a career as an obstetrician. Along the way, he also became involved in many community projects.

In 1968, Lloyd got the idea to give Indianapolis its first radio station with a goal to serve the black community. He and 11 Democrats put their money together and bought a license and began to broadcast on WTLC-FM.

Lloyd also was the chairman of Midwest National Bank, where he put high priority on opening up lending opportunities for minorities.

In a 1993 interview with News reporter Marion Garmel, he said: "What I believe as a black male is that if you're going to try to do something in a community at all, you need three things: access to media, access to money and access to the political world."

He has been successful at all three.

Lloyd has served on the boards of many organizations, including Indiana Bell Telephone, Ameritech, the Christian Theological Seminary, Community Leaders Allied for Superior Schools and the Indiana Advisory Board of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

He was president of the Metropolitan Planning Commission in the 1970s and was chairman of the prestigious American Planning Association, which develops urban policy.

Lloyd also has recognized women deserving of leadership positions. During his stint at Methodist Hospital, from which he retired as president and chief executive officer, Lloyd promoted two women to senior management positions, something that had not been done before.

He also has mustered support for health programs for women and children. When Sen. Richard Lugar was in Indianapolis a few weeks ago, he praised Lloyd during a luncheon speech, crediting him for his work.

"I remember Dr. Frank Lloyd, when I was mayor, said that the best index of the civilization of this city is the infant mortality rate. It tells you very rapidly the sense of concern that people have for each other in a community sense," said Sen. Lugar.

Lloyd clearly has a strong sense of concern for the people of Indianapolis. His accomplishments—there have been for so many to list here—bear that out.

Although he would not seek out recognition for his good deeds, we choose to acknowledge them here, as well as offer a heartfelt thank-you on behalf of the entire community.

ABUSE OF PROCESS ON OMNIBUS RECONCILIATION BILL

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1995

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply concerned about the process the House followed in considering the omnibus reconciliation bill. Those concerns are outlined in my statement before the Committee on Rules on this bill.

I believe that his process represents an unprecedented attack on this institution. I hope my colleagues will keep in mind the concerns outlined in my statement as the House and Senate meet to conference this bill.

H.R. 2517, THE OMNIBUS RECONCILIATION BILL

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Moakley, and other members of the Committee on Rules, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you on H.R. 2517, the omnibus reconciliation package.

I am here today because I am troubled by the pattern of abuse of the legislative process that has been developing during this Congress. This bill exemplifies that abuse.

Now I know that reconciliation bills under Democratic majorities were not pure. Problems with the process have been growing over the years, given that the original reconciliation bill dealt with \$8 billion, and today we cannot even estimate the total sums both "reconciled" and authorized in this package.

This reconciliation bill enters a new universe in its breadth, the sheer number and complexity of proposals, and the extent to which committees of jurisdiction—and thus, all Members of the minority—were shut out of developing this package.

The reconciliation package contains three large items and several smaller provisions

that fall within the jurisdiction of the International Relations Committee.

First, H.R. 2517 contains a major legislative proposal dramatically changing the configuration of the Commerce Department. The Committee has jurisdiction over international trade issues, so the dismantlement of the Commerce Department causes great concern. The Committee never considered the measure.

Second, the bill "deems" enacted the entire foreign affairs agencies' reorganization bill. Action has not yet been completed in the Senate.

Third, the bill contains the text of H.R. 927, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, approved by the House last month. This bill was altered substantially by the Senate, and should be scheduled for conference.

The purpose of a reconciliation bill is to bring direct spending in line with the targets set by the budget resolution. Among the many problems with this bill, these items in the jurisdiction of the International Relations Committee have nothing to do with budget reconciliation. These items will cost money.

Quite simply, this is the wrong way for the House to go about its business.

PROBLEMS WITH THE PROCESS

(1) This process places enormous power in the Leadership, who will consult only with those persons and groups they want to include.

The Committee is bypassed, an entire House of the Congress is bypassed. All decisionmaking about the issues occurs behind closed doors in a group formed by the leaders of the majority. Final decisions are made by the Speaker. You have created a largely secret system.

This is a system which reduces accountability. It is an entirely closed process. The average American has no way of learning which Members are involved, which special interest groups are consulted or locked out, and what positions Members have taken on a proposal until it is too late and the House has voted.

Many members of both parties with significant expertise were simply not welcome to contribute to the process.

(2) This process bypasses and undermines the entire committee system.

When the Chairman decides to waive consideration of bills that are central to the committee's jurisdiction, most Members—including all Members of the minority—are shut out. The Commerce proposal in a case in point. Our Committee had no role in developing that proposal. We held no hearings on this proposal, there was no debate, we had no markup, no amendments were permitted, we did not vote. We defaulted on our responsibilities.

The Committee is also stripped of its responsibilities when items that it has considered and moved through the House are included in the reconciliation package. Moving the Committee's foreign affairs reorganization bill or the Cuba bill through the reconciliation bill removes the Committee from meaningful participation in a conference. It puts these major foreign policy bills into a conference with a mix of 1000 other domestic items. The substance of these bills will not likely be discussed in a reconciliation conference.

In the last Congress, Republicans and Democrats working on congressional reform talked about streamlining, modernizing, rationalizing, and enhancing the committee system. Congressman Dreier and I worked many long hours on these issues. But we did not talk about what has come to be in the Congress: bypassing committees on major policy issues.

(3) This process produces a monster bill.

This bill is simply overwhelming. What we have before us—all 1754 pages—is not really the entire bill. It does not yet include the Medicare package. There are several other bills that are hundreds of pages themselves—such as H.R. 1561 and the welfare reform package—that this bill incorporates by reference.

This reconciliation package will include bills that majority votes in committees rejected. The "Freedom to Farm" bill, for example.

It includes bills the bulk of which the House has rejected, such as the mining patents and national park concessions proposals.

It includes bills such as the Cuba bill, that have passed the House and Senate in very different forms. There is every reason to send this bill to conference under regular process.

It includes bills—for instance, the Commerce proposal—created by a task force made up only of Members of the majority party, after committees have reported out different measures and some committees—such as the International Relations Committee—were apparently instructed by the Leadership not to act at all.

(4) This process will include a tightly constrained rule.

Reconciliation bills traditionally impose severe constraints on time for debate and the opportunity to amend. You will undoubtedly prescribe a restrictive rule, a rule designed to keep the package intact.

The Senate accords only 20 hours of debate (12 minutes per Member) on the bill. In this bill, that means just over one minute per page.

We have had only a few days to digest this enormous bill. And the contents of the bill we take up on the floor are anyone's guess—I expect your rule will include significant "self-executing" changes.

We will probably know even less about the contents of the reconciliation conference report before we must vote on it.

(5) This process is not defensible because the ends do not justify the means.

I understand that the current Leadership has a very different view of the committee system. If the Leadership is driven only by outcome then process is irrelevant. Having the votes at the end of the day is all that matters.

I believe that the essence of democracy is process, and that the end does not justify the means, that the means is as important as the end.

That means a process that guarantees that all Members will have an opportunity to be heard, if they do not have the chance to prevail.

It means a process that allows every Member to offer amendments and to vote, and every constituent to track how their representative has voted as a bill winds its way from committee, to the floor, to conference, and to the President.

It means a process that allows those who have spent time developing expertise in a particular area to have a seat at the negotiating table.

Eliminating consideration by committees, by one House, silencing voices, reducing the number of people at the negotiating table may get bills through the House faster. You may get bills out of conference more quickly. But in the end we will not get better laws. And we will erode the foundations of this institution.

CONCLUSION

We are subverting the entire legislative process here, decision by decision. We are taking bills to the floor that have not been

written or even considered by the committees of jurisdiction and expertise.

Protecting the committee system in this House should not be a partisan issue. Safeguarding the legislative process is not partisan.

For these reasons, I urge you to support Mr. Hall's efforts to strip the foreign affairs reorganization provisions from H.R. 2517. I would also support any efforts to strip the Commerce and Cuba provisions from this bill.

And I ask that you think very seriously about the entire way you're planning to move this reconciliation package. Subverting the legislative process does a grave disservice to this body, and to the American people.

TRIBUTE TO HTC ALBERT MONROE ON 20 YEARS OF NAVY SERVICE

HON. GERALD B.H. SOLOMON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 31, 1995

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I don't need to tell anyone in this Chamber about my high regard for veterans, and for the men and women who serve in the Armed Forces. That service is always rendered at great sacrifice, and often at considerable danger. The entire country owes a debt of gratitude to the Americans who have served.

I'd like to single out one of those patriotic Americans today. HTC Albert Monroe of Ballston Lake, NY is retiring after 20 years of outstanding service in the U.S. Navy.

Mr. Speaker, geography makes this a maritime Nation, situated as we are between two large oceans, with the responsibility, as leader of the free world, of keeping our sea lanes free. This places a primary burden on our Navy. The backbone of that Navy, Mr. Speaker, is its noncommissioned officer corps, of which Chief Monroe is a shining example of leadership and service. To the usual burdens of military life are added occasional long deployments at sea, where the psychological pressures would multiply without such leaders as Chief Monroe.

The Navy looks to its chief petty officers as the most important link in the chain of command, the transmitters of orders and monitors of morale. Chief Monroe has met these challenges, as proven by the award of five Good Conduct Medals: a Meritorious Unit Commendation, and Navy Commendation Medal, among his other decorations.

Mr. Speaker, I have inspected our new, all-volunteer Armed Forces on every continent and on most of our U.S. installations. They are the best-trained, best-equipped, and most motivated military forces in our history, and I am proud of them. That level of excellence is directly due to the presence of career personnel like Chief Monroe.

I congratulate Chief Albert Monroe for his 20 years of service, and wish him, his wife Susan, and children Craig and Holli all the best in the future. Mr. Speaker, I ask you and all Members to join me in a salute to this outstanding American.

SEVEN-YEAR BALANCED BUDGET RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. ROBERT W. NEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 26, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2491) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 105 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1996:

Mr. NEY. Mr. Chairman, as the House debates a budget reconciliation I would like to give my support to the provisions in the bill renewing generalized system of preferences [GSP] duty-free import program. This program was designed as a way to help less developed nations export into the U.S. market. The GSP Program allows duty-free imports of certain products into the U.S. from over 100 GSP-eligible countries. The bill wisely provides that import-sensitive products are not to be subject to GSP treatment. Ceramic tile is a clear example of an import sensitive product and is exactly the type of product which should not be subject to lower tariffs under the GSP Program.

Imports have dominated the U.S. ceramic tile market for the last decade and they currently capture nearly 60 percent of the market. This extraordinary level of import penetration is a result, in part, of over 30 years of documented unfair predatory foreign trade practices including dumping, subsidies, customs fraud import diversion, and abuse of a loophole in the GSP. The American ceramic tile industry, though relatively small, is efficient and competitive at normal tariff levels.

From its inception in the Trade Act of 1974, the GSP Program has provided for the exemption of "articles which the President determines to be import-sensitive." In light of the history of unfair trade in ceramic tile and the significant and growing import participation in the U.S. ceramic tile market, the U.S. industry has been recognized by successive Congresses and administrations as import sensitive, dating back to the Dillon and Kenney rounds of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT]. During this period the American ceramic tile also has been forced to defend itself from over a dozen petitions filed by various designated GSP-eligible countries seeking duty-free treatment for ceramic tile into this market. If just one petitioning nation succeeds in gaining GSP benefits for ceramic tile, then by law, every GSP beneficiary country is also entitled to GSP duty-free benefits for ceramic tile. If any of these petitions were granted, it would eliminate American tile jobs and could destroy the industry.

A major guiding principle of the GSP Program has been reciprocal market access. Current GSP eligible beneficiary countries supply almost one-third of the U.S. ceramic tile imports and they are increasing their sales and market shares. U.S. ceramic tile manufacturers, however, are still denied access to many of these foreign markets. Many developing countries maintain exclusionary tariff and non-tariff mechanisms which serve to block the entry of U.S. ceramic tile exports into these markets. Industrial countries, including the European Union [EU], may use less transparent