

But the fortunes of war were not all negative as testified to by him in this entry in the summer of 1864 off Portugal:

"[W]e made a steamer and stood for her. She kept on her course without any until we got within 5 miles of her when she suddenly changed her course. We beat to Quarters and Fired a shot. She showed the English collars [sic]. We Fired another. When she came to be boarded her and found her to be the Rebel Privateer 'Georgia' from Liverpool on her way to refit a cruiser. But the next cruise that she makes will be for Uncle Samuel . . . this capture makes a crew feel verry [sic] proud."

While in the English Channel:

"[W]e took on board an English Pilot who brought the thrice glorious news of the sinking of the 'Alabama' by 'Kearsarge' off Cherbourg . . . [A]lthough we have been disappointment to us in not getting a shot at the 'Alabama' we are satisfied that she is out of the way."

And in 1864 while serving on the *Niagara* he said about the people that he saw in Spain:

"[I]t looks very strange in this country which nature have lavished with riches that there should be so many Poor People."

And again on the shameful treatment of black soldiers on his ship:

"Yesterday about 900 men of the Maryland (colored) regiment came on board (they being transferred to the Navy) and took dinner then departed for Portsmouth, New Hampshire. They were treated very rough by the crew. They refused to let them eat out of the mess pans and call them all kinds of names. One man [had] his watch stolen from him by these scoundrels. In all they were treated shamefully."

On the proposed colonization of blacks to Africa or the Caribbean:

"We see by the papers that President [Johnson] intimates colonization for the colored people of the United States. This move of his must and shall be resisted. We were born under the Flag of the union and never will we know no other. My sentiment is the sentiment of the people of the States."⁸

All of this ended in 1865 and provided William B. Gould with his chance at life. Sometimes I think about his thoughts as he walked the streets of Wilmington a young man and what would have been had he stayed in North Carolina and the events of those four critical years had not taken place. Most certainly his great-grandson would not be here today addressing you as Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

I am privileged to have this opportunity in 1995 to contribute to the public good in the most inspirational and progressive Administration in Washington since the 1960s—one which is unabashedly committed to the principles of those who fell 130 years ago.

My hope is that I can reflect well upon the first William B. Gould and the chance that he made for me by rising out of his "fixed station," to use Lincoln's words, and I am all too aware of the limitations of time as we move rapidly toward a new millennium.

As William B. Gould said on December 31, 1863, in New York harbor:

"We are obliged knock off on the account of the storm. It blew very hard from South East. The old year of '1863' went out furiously as if it was angry with all the world because it had finished the time allotted to it. Sooner or later we must follow."

My first major impression during my first trip outside of the United States in 1962, as a student at the London School of Economics, is of the grand and majestic statue of President Lincoln which sits in Parliament Square today. Now I live in Washington within a mile of the great Lincoln Memorial in which his brooding historical omnipresence is made so manifest.

You and I, the entire nation and the world honor President Lincoln and his policies tonight. Both personally and professionally they are with me always as is the legacy provided by him and so many others in what my great-grandfather called:

"[T]he holiest of all causes, Liberty and Union."⁹

FOOTNOTES

¹Basler, Roy P., Editor, "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln," Volume VII, page 259, (1953).

²Ibid., Volume IV, pp. 24-5.

³Boritt, Gabor, S., "Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream," page 184, (1978).

⁴Ibid., page 185.

⁵Basler, Roy P., Editor, "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln," Volume III, pp. 477-8 (1953).

⁶Of course, I advanced such ideas in the context of proposals for comprehensive labor law reform. See W. Gould, "Agenda for Reform: The Future of Employment Relationships and the Law," pp. 109-150 (1993).

⁷B. Quarles, "The Negro in the Civil War," pp. 59-61, 64 (1953). On blacks in the U.S. Navy see generally, D. Valuska, "The African American in the Union Navy: 1861-1865," (1993).

⁸Of course, President Lincoln had earlier proposed colonization within the context of compensated emancipation.

⁹Diary May 6, 1864. The full text actually states, "[H]eard of the departure of one battalion of the 5th Regiment Massachusetts Cavalry from Camp Meigs for Washington, D.C. May God protect them while defending the holiest of all causes, Liberty and Union." As William B. Gould III wrote in an entry adjacent to the diary: "Camp Meigs was in Readville, Massachusetts, about two miles east of where William B. Gould made his home at 303 Milton Street, East Dedham, Massachusetts."

THE FOOD STAMP INTEGRITY ACT OF 1995

HON. E de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 1, 1995

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing the Food Stamp Program Integrity Act of 1995. This bill is a comprehensive package of reforms, developed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, targeting fraud and abuse in the Food Stamp Program. It will allow USDA to focus its resources on the small number of retailers who abuse their privilege of participating in the Food Stamp Program. It will expand the current authority of USDA to screen retailers when they apply to participate in the Food Stamp Program, and enhance penalties when retailers defraud the program. It will expand forfeiture authority to allow the seizure of retailer property used or derived from illegal food stamp trafficking. It will increase access to retailer documents to verify the legitimacy of the stores applying to participate in the program.

I believe that this bill can be a vehicle to fashion a program integrity title to food stamp welfare reform, which will be marked up at the Agriculture Committee next week.

THE CORPORATE WRONGDOERS PROTECTION ACT

HON. CARDISS COLLINS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 1, 1995

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, many people may have heard of or read the best-selling book "The Hot Zone" recently. This

thriller details the true story of rare and lethal viruses that have the potential to destroy a significant percentage of the human population in a very short time span.

Well, there is a related type of virus spreading these days on Capitol Hill. It also has the potential to claim countless victims throughout our Nation, perpetrating injuries as serious as any disease or epidemic.

But this virus is one of gross misinformation. What is spreading so rapidly is the fallacy that the GOP's "Contract With Corporate America" product liability legislation, H.R. 917 and H.R. 956, would not hurt consumers.

The fact is, these bills would decrease product safety for all consumers, but, in particular, it would devastate and devalue American women.

Particular provisions within the legislation touted by the majority would shield manufacturers of products like DES, silicone breast implants, and IUD's from punitive damages as long as they receive FDA approval—even when their actions were outrageous and hundreds of women were injured as a result.

These bills would also restrict the recovery of noneconomic damages, so that a highly paid male corporate executive with a 3-month-long injury would be more fully compensated than a woman whose principal injury is the permanent loss of reproductive capacity, or an injured woman who has chosen to stay at home and raise her children.

H.R. 917 and H.R. 956 would also do nothing to restrict the use of secrecy agreements or protective orders that prevent the public from learning about unsafe products, as was the case with the secrecy agreements that kept Dow Corning's information about the dangers of its silicone breast implants hidden from the public eye for so many years. How many women must be severely injured from the same product before we become outraged and take action?

The bottom line is clear: if Congress passes this legislation, women would suffer. Women would face harsher odds when taking the chance of trying a drug or medical device. Women would find that the concepts of justice and full compensation have been significantly carved. Women would find that their safety is less important to manufacturers than corporate profits. Women would find that they are less equal in the eyes of the law.

These are disasters that must not be allowed to occur. If any product liability measure is to advance through Congress, we must be sure that it is first altered so as to protect the safety of America's mothers, sisters, and daughters.

CLOUDS OVER THE WHITE HOUSE

SPEECH OF

HON. DAN BURTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 28, 1995

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, over the past year to year and one-half, we have seen some very disturbing things come out of this administration. A lot of people that the American people put their confidence in have left under a cloud.

Let me just mention a few of them. Webster Hubbell, the second most powerful person in the Justice Department, a very close personal friend of President Clinton, he was Associate Attorney General. He left the Justice Department after having been accused of fraudulent billing practices in his old law firm and he pled guilty to Federal crimes and he is under indictment right now, and I understand he is plea bargaining. He was the second most important, if you will, person in the Justice Department, and he himself is indicted and will probably go to prison unless he plea bargains his way out of that. He was the person who helped influence, in my opinion, helped influence the decision not to indict Ron Brown when they sent the associate justice down to the Miami grand jury about a year ago, and instead of letting the local U.S. attorney down there handle the case, they came back and said they did not indict Mr. Brown because of the Vietnamese affair, because they did not have enough evidence. There was not enough evidence to indict. They did not say they did not have evidence, they said there was not enough to indict.

David Watkins, a White House official, was forced to resign after using Marine helicopters to go play golf. He also was accused of sexual harassment by a Clinton campaign worker, and the campaign, the Clinton campaign settled and attempted to receive Federal matching funds, your tax dollars, to pay for the settlement. They were trying to get taxpayers' moneys as matching funds to help pay this sexual harassment suit. He left under a cloud.

Richard Altman, the Deputy Treasury Secretary, he resigned after congressional hearings exposed the improper contacts he had with the White House officials about the Whitewater investigation.

Bernard Nussbaum, the chief White House counsel, the right-hand legal man at the White House for President Clinton, he resigned after improper contacts with the Treasury Department over the Whitewater investigation came out. He is also the person who went into Vince Foster's office and took files out right after they found Vince Foster dead under suspicious conditions over at Fort Marcy Park. Mike Espy, the Agriculture Secretary, he resigned under investigation by independent counsel for accepting illegal gifts. Joycelyn Elders, the Surgeon General, resigned after advocating legalization of drugs and teaching masturbation in schools.

There are other Clinton administration nominees that were controversial who were not confirmed, Lani Guinier, Morton Halperin. Morton Halperin could not be confirmed as Assistant Secretary of Defense. What did they do? Because of his leftist policies, they took him over to the White House, put him in the NSC, National Security Council, advising the President where he would not have to be confirmed. Zoe

Baird and Kimba Wood, nominees for Attorney General, they withdrew them after they investigated them.

Those are just a few of the nominees and people in the administration who left under a cloud. This administration has had a policy of picking people that had not been thoroughly examined and people who have come, we have come to find out, have done some things very questionable, of very questionable nature.

Now, I want to talk about Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown. He was the fellow about 1½ years ago or 2 years ago that was accused of taking a \$700,000 bribe from the Vietnamese Government to normalize relations with that country. The FBI conducted a 6-hour lie detector on his chief accuser, a man named Ben Lee, and the man passed it. They even put a bug on this man. Yet when Webster Hubbell was over at the Justice Department in the No. 2 position after President Clinton took office, they took the FBI off of the case, and when the press got so hot on this issue and a grant jury was impaneled down in Miami, the Justice Department, again, Webster Hubbell was still second in command over there, they sent one of the assistants down to conduct the grand jury investigation instead of having it done locally, and they did not have enough evidence to indict. That was the Vietnamese affair.

Now, we have a lot of other problems with Mr. Brown, Secretary of Commerce. I doubt if any Cabinet Secretary in recent history has had as many bad investments and delinquent loans as Commerce Secretary Ron Brown. He and his business partners have on several occasions borrowed large sums of money through shell corporations to avoid personal responsibility for the loans, and then failed to repay them.

Ron Brown is now the subject of a second Justice Department investigation into his finances. In 1993, the Justice Department investigated allegations that he was offered this \$700,000 bribe to have the embargo against Vietnam lifted even though we did not have a full accounting of the 2,300 POW-MIA's, and we still do not have that.

The Justice Department did not indict Mr. Brown in that case, but they did not exonerate him either. They said they just did not have enough evidence to indict him.

The Justice Department has launched a second investigation, this one into Secretary Brown's financial relationship with a lady named Nolanda Hill. Under the independent counsel law, the Attorney General has 90 days to recommend to a three-judge panel whether to appoint an independent counsel.

Now, let me give you some highlights of Secretary Brown's bad debts and forgiven loans. The first one is really interesting. NBC, the National Broadcasting Co., forgave a \$10 million loan to Ron Brown. The Washington Post

reported this weekend that NBC has agreed to forgive a \$10 million loan to one of Ron Brown's companies, Albimar Communications.

In 1988, NBC agreed to sell Washington, DC, radio station WKYS-FM to Albimar Communications for \$42½ million. Albimar was formed by Ron Brown, Secretary of Commerce, and his partners, Bertram Lee and James Kelly, husband of former D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly.

To make the deal possible, NBC loaned Albimar and Ron Brown \$10 million, because Brown, Lee, and Kelly are all black. NBC received a \$15 million tax break for minority business people as a result of the sale.

The House just voted to rescind this tax break with some justification, I might add. The investment quickly went sour, and Ron Brown and his partners became seriously delinquent on the loan from NBC.

Earlier this year, Brown, Kelly, and Lee agreed to sell WKYS to another company for an \$8.5 million loss. The key to the deal was NBC forgiving the \$10 million loan.

Now, here are some questions that the Congress and this Government need to have answered. First, was this arrangement with NBC approved by the Office of Government Ethics? And if it was not, why not?

Second, is it legal for a sitting Cabinet Secretary in a Presidential administration to receive a financial windfall of this magnitude from a major corporation over which he has some control? Agricultural Secretary Mike Espy is being investigated for accepting a pair of football tickets from a company regulated by his agency, much less than the \$10 million loan that was forgiven I just talked about from NBC.

Third, does NBC have an interest in any matters pending before the Commerce Department? Now, it is hard to believe that a major broadcasting company would not have something pending before the U.S. Commerce Department, and here they are forgiving a \$10 million loan to the Secretary of Commerce. NBC is owned by RCA, Radio Corporation of America. How many Federal agencies are considering regulatory matters that RCA has a stock in, cellular phones, all kinds of new technologies that are being developed by RCA and other corporations that go before the Commerce Department? And do those companies that NBC is affiliated with, do they have any interest in things pending before the Commerce Department?

Fifth, what did NBC and RCA expect to get in return for forgiving this loan, if anything?

Now, this is not the only thing Ron Brown has been involved in. First International, Inc., and Corridor Broadcasting cost the taxpayers \$40 million. In the 1980's Ron Brown and Democratic activist Nolanda Hill formed a corporation named First International Communications.

Nolanda Hill owned a second corporation named Corridor Broadcasting. Corridor operated out of the same office as First International and used all of the same computers, the same phones, and the same office equipment.

Corridor Broadcasting defaulted on \$40 million in loans and left the taxpayers holding the bag. While it could not repay these loans, it was paying, at the same time they could not repay the loans to the taxpayers, it was paying \$12,000 a month in interest to Ron Brown and Nolanda Hill through First International. They were in the same office using the same phones, same computers, and everything else.

Ron Brown said he did not know anything about what was going on with Corridor Broadcasting. It was in the same office, and Corridor Broadcasting, which defaulted on a \$40 million obligation to the taxpayers, was paying \$12,000 a month in interest to Ron Brown's company. Although Ron Brown invested none of his own money in the company and the company had no known successful ventures, Nolanda Hill paid Secretary Brown, now get this, she paid him \$400,000 for his share of the company. He put no money into the company, no investment whatsoever. The company that was paying the freight, Corridor Broadcasting, Inc., Corridor defaulted. The taxpayers are soaking up \$40 million in losses.

Ron Brown made no financial investment in the company that was in the same office, and yet he was paid \$400,000, and the company went defunct. The company went belly up, and he gets \$400,000. For what? That is the question. For what?

Now, Ron Brown, in addition to the \$400,000, had \$190,000 in personal debts. According to Secretary Brown's lawyer, part of the payout from First International was \$190,000 Nolanda Hill spent in 1994 paying off Ron Brown's debts. She paid off \$190,000 of his debts. He paid no money for the company, got \$400,000 out of it, and she pays \$190,000 off on his personal debts.

Question: To whom did Secretary Brown owe the \$190,000? This is information that the Congress and the public deserves to know.

And then there was another company in that same office. This is the third company in the same office called Know, Inc. In 1992 Nolanda Hill, through a third shell company, called Know, Inc., loaned Ron Brown \$78,000. Brown used this money to repay a personal debt to the National Bank of Washington. This was done just before his confirmation hearings before the U.S. Senate. After his nomination had been confirmed, now get this, Nolanda Hill forgave this debt also, so he got \$190,000 that she forgave, paid for, I assume out of the \$40 million that they defaulted on, \$190,000 she loaned him, and forgave or paid, and \$78,000 she loaned him and forgave, and then \$400,000 he got for no investment. Boy, I want to tell you, that is the kind of investment I would like to make.

Now, I serve on the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, and the chairman of that committee is Chairman CLINGER, and he and the staff of our committee have conducted an investigation, and he has contacted Attorney General Janet Reno and asked there be a special investigator, special counsel, appointed, independent counsel, to investigate allegations against Ron Brown. This investigation has developed specific allegations which the committee believes are sufficient to warrant the appointment of an independent counsel, Mr. CLINGER said. The allegations are divided into five categories: First, submission of incomplete, inaccurate, and misleading financial disclosure statements; second, supplementation of salary; third, potential conflicts of interest; fourth, misinformation to Congress, and fifth refusing to respond to Congress.

Now, let us go through these allegations real quickly. The first allegation, Secretary Brown failed to report his interest in and income from First International Communications, Limited Partnership, on his annual incumbent financial disclosure form. Why did he not put that on that report? The factual basis for the allegation is this; Secretary Brown's annual incumbent financial disclosure report, signed May 16, 1994, failed to identify an interest in First International Communications, Limited Partnership. He did not even tell he was involved in that corporation, and he got \$400,000 for it for no investment. Although it is unclear whether the Secretary still held an interest in First International Communications, Limited Partnership, on December 31, 1993, the Secretary received three \$45,000 payments from First International Communications, Limited Partnership, during that year 1993. The first two checks dated April 15 and July 21 state that the checks were for "Partnership distribution." Distribution of what? The company was going under. They had no assets except what was in that office that was owned also by Corridor, Inc., and yet he has getting all this money for no investment.

The third check, dated October 15, simply says "Distribution." Secretary Brown should have reported these payments as income during 1993 even though he no longer held an interest in the partnership at the end of that year.

(B) First International Communications Corp. and First International, Inc., allegations, Secretary Brown failed to accurately describe the basic activities of First International on his new entrant financial disclosure report. On his new entrant financial disclosure report signed January 1, 1993, Secretary Brown stated First International "is a company that provides international and domestic consulting and investment services." Contrary to the Secretary's contention, the committee's evidence indicates First International was not involved in any sort of consulting or investment services at

all. He misled what the intent of the company was on his report.

Rather, its primary source of income was interest generated by a promissory note worth approximately \$875,000 payable by Corridor Broadcasting. I would like to know where that \$875,000 came from.

Despite having defaulted on federally insured loans in excess of \$40 million by 1993, Corridor Broadcasting apparently continued to pay monthly interest payments of approximately \$12,000 to First International on the \$875,000 note. In short, while the American taxpayers were forced to absorb more than \$40 million of Corridor's indebtedness, Corridor continued to pay \$12,000 a month to Mr. Brown's company.

Third, well, let me give you some factual basis on that real quickly. According to his annual incumbent financial disclosure report, Secretary Brown divested his interest in First International December 15, 1993, receiving between \$250,000 and \$500,000. We believe it was around \$400,000.

Secretary Brown states in exchange for his share of First International he received direct payment of \$135,000 and on and on and on. I covered a lot of this already. I will not go into it again.

(D) Purchase of a town house. Allegation: On his annual incumbent financial disclosure report, Secretary Brown failed to report either the execution of a promissory note or a gift of \$108,000 used as downpayment for a town house located in Washington, DC. According to his annual incumbent financial disclosure report in 1993, Secretary Brown had a mortgage of \$250,000 to \$500,000 on a town house located at 4303 Westover Place in Washington, DC. The mortgage was held by First Federal Savings and Loan of Rochester. In addition, Secretary Brown disclosed \$5,000 to \$15,000 in rental income generated by this property in 1993.

Although this townhouse is the residence of Secretary Brown's friend, Lillian Madsen, the deed of trust lists Ronald H. Brown and Michael Brown, his son, as owners of the property. Other relevant real estate documents indicate that a down payment of \$108,000 was made to purchase the property.

As reported by U.S. News & World Report in February of 1995, Brazilian businessman Jose Amaro Pinto Ramos arranged for a substantial loan for a down payment on the townhouse to be made to Lillian Madsen through a bank in Paris, France. Ramos claimed he never spoke to Secretary Brown about the loan, and he was unaware that the Secretary owned the property. Unaware?

According to the deed of trust now in effect, Ronald Brown and Michael Brown jointly own the property, subject only to the first mortgage of \$252,000. No second mortgage or other encumbrance is listed on the property. Thus the Browns are the owners of \$108,000 equity down payment. If Ms. Madsen provided the down payment, if

Ms. Madsen provided the \$108,000 down payment which is now owned by the Browns, the Secretary should have reported that down payment as a gift or as income. Where did she get \$108,000 to pay down on that?

You know, it was alleged Ron Brown got \$700,000 in payment from the Vietnamese Government to normalize relations with Vietnam. The FBI verified that there was an electronic transfer of funds from the North Vietnamese Communist Government to a bank in Singapore just like the accuser, Mr. Bun Lee said. So maybe that \$700,000 was paid. The money was transferred. There was a large sum of money transferred to a bank in Singapore, just as the accuser said.

On the other hand, if Ronald Brown or Michael Brown arranged some sort of off-the-record agreement to eventually repay Ms. Madsen, Secretary Brown should have reported that agreement as a liability on his annual incumbent financial disclosure report.

Funds provided by Ms. Madsen were not reported as a gift, as income, or as a liability on Secretary Brown's annual incumbent financial disclosure reports.

Next allegation: Secretary Brown failed to report on his financial disclosure report that his interest in Boston Bank of Commerce Associates was a general partnership. Secretary Brown's new-entrant financial disclosure report does not identify Boston Bank of Commerce Associates as a general partnership. According to the Office of Government Ethics, the fact that the Boston Bank of Commerce Associates is a general partnership was discovered in April 1993. According to ethics law, the known interests of a general partner are imputed to the other owners, the other general partners. One of Secretary Brown's partners in Boston Bank of Commerce Associates provided Digital Equipment Corp. stock as capital in return for his partnership share. Thus imputing an interest in Digital to Boston Bank of Commerce Associates and the Secretary.

Upon discovery, an apparent screening process was instituted to bar the Secretary from taking official action that would affect Digital.

Albimar Communications, Inc., allegations: Secretary Brown failed to report on his new-entrant financial disclosure report and his annual incumbent financial disclosure report that his interests in Albimar Communications was a general partnership. According to both of his financial disclosure reports, Secretary Brown held an interest in Albimar Communications, which owns a radio station, WKYS, in Washington, DC. I have already gone into that. That is the loan that was forgiven, \$10 million, by NBC.

Payment of Secretary Brown's personal debt obligation, allegation: Secretary Brown failed to accurately report the future income he knew he would receive in 1994 on his annual incumbent financial disclosure report. According to his own incumbent re-

port, Secretary Brown divested himself of his interest in First International on December 15, 1993, receiving, we believe, around \$400,000. They say between \$250,000 to \$500,000 in this report. Secretary Brown claimed his divestiture of First International, which allegedly occurred on December 15, 1993, included, in part, the payment of some of his personal debt obligations. The evidence shows that the debt obligations were paid by or through Noland Hill, but on December 15, 1993; rather the payments were made during the summer of 1994, specifically nine payments totaling \$190,995, against various debt obligations of Secretary Brown, were made to the following entities on the following dates—and they are all listed here.

I can go on and on and on and on. I would like to submit the rest of these things for the RECORD. I pretty much covered that. But these are things that need to be investigated, if not by the Justice Department, through an independent counsel, they ought to be investigated by the Congress itself. But I talked to Representative CLINGER today, and if the Justice Department does not ask for an independent counsel, it is my belief that we will hold hearings on this and Congress will get to the bottom of it. In other words, we are going to let an independent counsel, if he is duly appointed by a three-judge panel after being asked by Attorney General Reno, we will let it go that route. But if it does not, then the House of Representatives, I believe, will hold hearings and call Mr. Brown to testify to answer these allegations and questions.

The second thing I want to talk about before I get to my good friend, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX], is something that happened today in Little Rock, AR. The special prosecutor, a special prosecutor appointed by the three-judge panel to replace Mr. Fiske, today indicted a man named Neal T. Ainley, who is a bank president in Little Rock, AR. He was president of the Perry County Bank in Perryville, AR, from 1989 until March 1994.

According to this indictment, he loaned \$180,000 to Mr. Clinton during the 1990 gubernatorial campaign. That money was used by the Clinton campaign to buy or try to get some votes. It is alleged that some black ministers were the beneficiaries of a lot of this money that was used in order to get out some of the votes in critical precincts in Arkansas.

The interesting thing about this is, right after the election took place and Mr. Clinton was reelected Governor, the owner of the bank became the secretary of transportation for the State, secretary of the highway department in Little Rock. And he, along with the bank officials, according to the indictment, helped repay the \$180,000 loan that Mr. Clinton incurred during the campaign.

The question is where did that \$180,000 come from? Did it come from highway contractors that the new head of the highway department twisted their arms in order to get those monies to repay those loans? Where did that money come from? That is something that needs to be looked into.

I am sure Mr. Star is doing that.

I might say at this point that Mr. Starr is doing an outstanding job as the independent counsel, and I think everybody in the country ultimately will see that and owe him a great debt of gratitude.

But there are so many cases like that in Arkansas; there is another bank down there where was a \$400,000 loan that was given to try to get legislation through the Arkansas State Legislature, and that money was never repaid either by the person that borrowed the money. And it was in the Clinton administration.

Here you have \$180,000 borrowed that was repaid by a person who got a job in the administration, running the highway department and the person that got the job at the highway department was the owner of the bank that loaned the money.

It sure does smell bad.

Then we come to the Mexican bailout, which 80 percent of the American people oppose. January 31, President Clinton and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin announced a \$49.8 billion—\$49.8 billion; that is not millions, that is billions, three extra zeros—\$49,800,000,000 bailout package for Mexico.

The package included \$20 billion in loans and loan guarantees from the Treasury Department's exchange stabilization fund, which was established in the 1930's to protect the value of the dollar and not other currencies. This exchange stabilization fund was established to protect the dollar in the international financial markets against an assault from other currencies, to protect the dollar. We are using \$20 billion of it to protect the Mexican peso, which is in a free fall right now. So the United States taxpayer is underwriting the Mexican Government's economic mistakes. The key underwriters of Mexico's dollar-denominated bonds, called tesobonos, have been the major United States investment banking firms. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, and this is very important, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin was formerly cochairman of the Goldman-Sachs Investment Co. from 1992 to 1994. Goldman-Sachs was the largest United States underwriter of Mexican bonds. Although Rubin divested himself of his interest in Goldman-Sachs, there is still a conflict of interest. There was \$5.17 billion in investments made by Goldman-Sachs into the Mexican markets, more than double the other companies, the next two highest companies that invested in Mexico.

When Secretary Rubin joined the White House staff in 1993 as Chairman of the National Economic Council, he

recused himself, stepped aside for 1 year on all issues affecting Mexico. At that time, he was with the National Economic Council. Now he is the Treasury Secretary, and the Treasury Secretary has sole control over the exchange stabilization fund, where they took that \$20 billion out of to give to Mexico. The only person that could stop him from doing that is the President himself, and yet he did not recuse himself this year. He did 2 years ago, when he did not have any power. Now, as Secretary of the Treasury, he can send \$20 billion down there, he does not recuse himself, he stays involved.

Now, there are a lot of questions that arise from that. Why did not he recuse himself? Could it be because of \$5.17 billion that he had his clients invest in Mexico was under assault? That many of the people he recommended put their money into these Mexican financial instruments were going to lose their shirt because the peso was in free fall? And that he might be held responsible? He said he had a very large insurance policy to protect him against suits emanating from his recommendations. But, you know, I used to sell insurance, and I can tell you, if you got a million-dollar policy or \$10 million or even a \$50 million policy, it costs an arm and a leg. Here we are talking about not \$50 million but \$5,000,000,000, \$5 billion. And if he were sued because of making—giving bad financial advice and investing in very bad speculative securities in Mexico, he probably could have been sued and it could have wiped out not only maybe his company, in large part, but himself and his whole personal fortune.

So he had a vested interest, a vested interest in making sure that the money got down to Mexico to try to stabilize the peso in that economy. He should have recused himself. That is why there should be a complete congressional investigation.

I understand the Committee on Banking is going to do that. We had a press conference today, and the chairman of the Subcommittee on Banking said they were going to call Mr. Rubin before them to ask questions about these things.

Now, let me tell you some other things about Mr. Rubin. Employees of his company, Goldman-Sachs, especially Mr. Rubin himself, contributed heavily to the Clinton campaign and the Democrat Party. Goldman-Sachs employees and families were responsible for the largest contribution the Clinton campaign got in 1992 from a single firm, almost \$100,000.

Robert Rubin and his wife contributed \$275,000 to the New York Host Committee for the Democrat National Convention in 1992. A Washington lobbyist for Goldman-Sachs, Michael Berman, was instrumental in setting up President Clinton's legal defense fund and is actively soliciting contributions to it. The fund was established to pay his expenses, President Clinton's ex-

penses in the sexual harassment lawsuit filed by Paul Cobin Jones.

So this company, Goldman-Sachs, and Mr. Rubin are tied inextricably together, and they are the largest investor in Mexico, investing so much of their clients' funds down there and now he is trying to stabilize the Mexican economy, which will help protect his investors' money. If that is not a conflict of interest, I do not know what is. Yet he did not recuse himself and says he did nothing wrong.

This is something that is very, very serious. Mr. Rubin and the administration are evidently using the United States taxpayers' money not to the tune of \$20 billion but overall to the tune of about \$55 billion to help stabilize the Mexican economy, and that is a real crap shoot because if that economy continues to go like it is, the American people, taxpayers, might very well have to pay the \$55 billion. And it will not be worth a dime.

They say that they are going to use the oil sales of Mexico to guarantee repayment of the loan, but there are so many financial obligations against the Mexican Government, not to mention what is coming out of the United States from the exchange stabilization fund and these other funds that if they went under, if they had an economic collapse down there, they could not repay all of these loans. And I doubt seriously if the United States of America would ask them to pay out of their oil sales because they would need that money for current expenses. How would the government, how would the country survive if they did not have any income coming in? They would not have, if we took away something like their oil sales.

So this whole Mexican bailout in a debacle. They could not get it through the Congress of the United States. They could not get the votes so unilaterally the President and Mr. Rubin decided to do it. Now we find out that there may have been some ulterior motives for Mr. Rubin taking this action and President Clinton for going along with it. It is a real mess. I think that my colleagues and I ought to take a hard look at this.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania. [Mr. FOX].

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with the gentleman's permission, I would like to ask a few questions based on the discussions you have had here in the House this evening about the very important questions dealing with Secretary Brown and as well the crisis that we have now in Mexico and with the intervention of the United States precipitously by the President without any congressional involvement.

Let me first ask you, with regard to Secretary Brown and the Clinton administration, is it your opinion that the lawyers resigning and the Cabinet members leaving under a cloud, does this tell you anything unusual about the Clinton administration, whether or

not there was sufficient investigations done?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Well, we have found through our investigation, we used to have what was called the Republican Study Committee. I chaired that. We did extensive investigation into Whitewater, Whitewater Development Corp. and the Arkansas Development Financial Authority and a lot of other things. We have found an awful lot of questionable activity that took place under the Clinton administration in Arkansas. And a lot of the people who were involved in the Clinton administration in Arkansas were brought to Washington by President Clinton to help in his administration.

If you look at the things that we are finding out about many of those people, some of their activities, like Webster Hubbell, his illegal activities were taking place prior to the time he came to be in the administration. It seems to me that the President, when he was Governor, would have known or should have known about some of the activities of these people, because he surrounded himself with them during the entire time he was Governor, which was over a long period of time, over 10 years. So it is inconceivable that he could not have known at least something about these people.

It is unfortunate that he brought them to Washington, because now they are leaving. As one of my colleagues said today, it is like a rusty door on rusty hinges. It is about to fall over. It does a disservice not only to the administration but to the entire country.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. What about the \$700,000 bribe? What was the final upshot of that case.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. The \$700,000 alleged bribe, the man who made the allegation was a man named Binh Ly who was working with a Korean or a Vietnamese agent named Mr. Hao. Mr. Ly and Mr. Hao went to Vietnam to try to normalize relations with that government, tried to work out some kind of a normalization relationship. Mr. Ly wanted to do it because he is a patriot. He believed that they ought to get away from the Communist regime and get to free enterprise over there. He thought this was a way to do it.

When he got over there, he found out from Mr. Hao that there was an alleged \$700,000 payment to be made to Mr. Brown as a first installment, a first installment on payments to him as a good-faith installment to get him to help use his position in the government to normalize relations with Vietnam.

We found many cases where Mr. Brown or people on his staff at the Commerce Department did take action at various high level meetings over at the White House to try to get the normalization process started. As you know, they were successful. We are on a path toward complete normalization with Vietnam, even though we have never gotten a full accounting on the POW/MIAs that were left behind and we never did find out if the \$700,000 was

really paid, because Mr. Hubbell and Janet Reno, they sent one of their top lieutenants down there to whitewash the grand jury investigation in Miami, I believe.

As a result, we do not know whether the money was paid. The FBI did say, however, that what Mr. Ly said in the lie detector test, which he passed, took 6 hours, that the money that was alleged to have been sent from the Vietnamese Government to a bank in Singapore could very well have happened because there was a large transfer of funds from the Vietnamese Government to a bank in Singapore at the same time that all this took place. So Mr. Brown could have received that money.

Mr. STOCKMAN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, do I understand you correctly, where we have possible prisoners in Vietnam, we have somebody working for the White House willing to sell out their country for \$700,000? Is that correct?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. That is the allegation that was made because there are still people who believe there are POW/MIAs that may still be alive over there. A lot of people who served in Vietnam believe that. Even if they are not alive, we had a commitment from every single President since the Vietnam war who has said we would not do business or normalize relations with Vietnam until we had a complete accounting. Of the 2,300 that are still unaccounted for over there, I would say probably 2,000 still are unaccounted for. And yet we are normalizing relations. American industry is being allowed to invest over there. Mr. Brown is playing a very key role in getting that down.

The allegation that Mr. Ly made was that the \$700,000 was just a down payment and that Mr. Brown was supposed to get royalties or a percentage of the oil that was developed from the oil fields off the shore of Vietnam, which is supposed to be the third largest oil field in the world.

We are talking about tens and hundreds of millions of dollars.

Mr. STOCKMAN. I just personally find that offensive that we could have our boys back there possibly still in the field before we got a total accounting, that some individual was willing to sell out his country for \$700,000.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I am sure it was more than that. But the bottom line is that when the grand jury investigated Mr. Brown, they did not exonerate him. They said they did not have enough evidence to indict. And when the FBI was pulled off the case, I believe at the request of the Justice Department and Web Hubbell and Janet Reno, I think they did a real disservice to the country and to those families that have those 2,000 or 2,300 people still left unaccounted for over there.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I know the Members of the House would like to know as well as the public, what is it with regard, if we have

delinquent loans and we have forgiven loans which are questionable and we have failure to file with the government authorities on limited partnerships with the Secretary of Commerce here, in your opinion, do you think that we have sufficient evidence or information so that the independent counsel could be appointed?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Yes. I think that the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Chairman CLINGER, of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, made a very, very strong case when he wrote to Janet Reno this week, when he asked her, he cited case after case after case after case where there are allegations of wrongdoing and breaking of the law by Mr. Brown. And he said that he would allow her to and he urged her to pick an independent counsel through the three-judge panel. And if she does that and we get a truly independent counsel to investigate these allegations, then he felt like there would not be a necessity for the Congress to conduct hearings.

However, as I said before, if that does not take place, I talked to Chairman CLINGER today, and I am convinced or under the impression that we will hold hearings if we do not get that independent counsel.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. If there would not be an independent counsel, in your opinion, you believe that the Committee on the Judiciary or the Government Reform and Oversight Committee would have the right to do its own investigation.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. The Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, I think, would have jurisdiction in this case. And I think we would be the committee that would hold the hearings. I would urge the chairman to do that, and I believe he will.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on this latest indictment, we have Neal Ainley that is connected to a questionable campaign loan back to the Clinton administration.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Yes. That was a \$180,000 non-secured loan, and that loan was made by this Mr. Neal Ainley. He was president of this bank in Perryville, AR, called the Perry County Bank. And this guy, I do not know, he may be the scapegoat, I do not know.

The thing that is interesting is, as I said before, the owner of the bank, not the president, but the owner of the bank became the head of the State Highway Department. And he assisted, as I understand it, the bank officials in raising the money to pay off the loan.

And all I can think of is some of the highway scandals I heard of before where highway contractors were urged to cough up money to take care of various needs of administration officials in other States. And it seems to me a \$180,000 loan that was made by a bank and then the owner of that bank becomes a State highway official, the top dog there, and then he helps repay the loan, it seems to me he had to get that

money from someplace so we ought to investigate where that money came from.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I know that you and Congressman STOCKMAN have been very much at the forefront of the public outcry about this whole Mexican bailout. I wanted to ask you a couple of questions so that we can have our colleagues understand where we are at this point.

In your opinion, is the Clinton \$20 billion loan guarantee an overreaching by the executive branch without congressional intervention whatsoever, an obligation that should have been to the American people first in forming the Congress, and that the executive branch, through the President, should not have taken action?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Yes. It is an absolute travesty, in my opinion, that the American people were not listened to and that the people's House and the Senate were not consulted about this bailout.

The fact of the matter is, and I wanted to congratulate Mr. STOCKMAN for his hard work in trying to bring this issue to the floor, I think he will prevail to get it to the floor, but the fact of the matter is, I was one of the people that worked on the initial legislation that was being drafted to try to work out the kinks to be able to help stabilize the economy in Mexico. And some of the things that we put in there in the legislation before we would guarantee the loan was that there had to be at least about 30 percent of the loan put into American banks in the form of negotiable securities so if the Government of Mexico defaulted, we could get right off the top real fast 30 percent of the loan back. And if we did that in a timely fashion, we probably would not suffer any loss and the taxpayer would suffer no loss in this country, even though we did help stabilize the economy down there.

In addition to that, we have provisions in the bill that said Mexico could no longer help the Communist Government of Cuba. Right now the Mexican Government, through direct or indirect financial assistance to Castro, are giving him \$200 million to \$400 million a year. We guaranteed these loans, and they continue to do business with Castro. We have an embargo against Castro, 90 miles from our shore, the last bastion of communism in the world. And here the Mexican Government is helping Cuba to a large degree, and we are bailing them out. And I would not be a bit surprised if some of the money that we are giving to them to bail them out is not funneling its way over to Castro to keep him afloat. So we put a provision in there that said that no money could get to Castro. We also put a provision in there that said that we had to protect our borders and Mexico had to help. They had to work with us on both sides of the 1,980-mile border between us and Mexico to keep illegal aliens from coming out. And we also

had a provision in there to send prisoners in United States jails, and we have hundreds, probably have a couple hundred thousand of them, back to Mexico for execution of sentence, because it is costing the American taxpayers \$30,000 to \$35,000 apiece to keep them incarcerated here. So we had a lot of provisions in the bill to protect the taxpayer.

Now, the President and Mr. Rubin and the Mexican officials said, we do not want any conditions on the money. Get that. They did not want any conditions on the money.

And so we said, you are not going to get the votes in the Congress to pass that, or the Senate, and the American people are not going to support a loan bailout unless there is protections on the money.

We can guarantee we are going to get at least so much of our money back and that these other provisions in there to protect our borders and to stop them from doing business with Castro and in violation of the embargo. So what happens is the President says, hey, if we cannot get Congress to do it, I will do it myself. And he used the Exchange Stabilization Fund in violation of what we believe the law is because that money is supposed to only be used to stabilize the dollar. And he is using it to stabilize the peso. So he did an end around the American taxpayer and the Congress of the United States.

Mr. STOCKMAN. I would like to understand that. He transferred from what I understand, Rubin transferred \$7 billion as opposed to the loan guarantees already \$7 billion. He originally asked for \$40 billion. It is up now to \$53 billion. And this thing keeps spiraling out of control. And today shocking news that was reported over the Mexican airwaves, I do not know if it is true or not, but the brother of the former president of Mexico participated in the assassination down there in Mexico. That is going to drive the markets down further. I think we have just been ripped off, and the American taxpayer is going to end up paying for this failure of Clinton to realize that this is a bad deal. This is a ripoff, and originally it was loan guarantees. Now it is outright payments to Mexico. This is a travesty.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I think the gentleman is absolutely right, \$7 billion has already gone down there. The peso continues to drop. And every time it drops, that means its relationship to the dollar drops, which means that they are going to have to use this money to bail themselves out. And that \$7 billion is very likely done. We might as well have burned it up in the middle of the street. It is not saving the Mexican economy. The taxpayers of this country, 80 percent of them did not want us to do it anyhow. So since the President cannot get it down through Congress, he does it by himself. This is not a dictatorship.

Mr. STOCKMAN. Not only that, the people of Mexico were opposed to it.

The people in the United States were opposed to it. This is like a shotgun wedding where both participants did not want to participate. This is just outrageous. The day they announced the agreement, the stock market and peso dropped. That shows you that both business and government oppose this deal.

It is ridiculous that we are proceeding with this and continuing after all the signs in the market.

Rubin is a smart guy. He knows what the markets say is true and the markets are speaking and they say this is a bad deal, yet Rubin is proceeding with it. The reason he is proceeding with it is because it is not his money, it is the taxpayers' money.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Yet the one thing we talked about earlier, you and I talked about at the press conference today, is questions need to be answered about why Mr. Rubin was so insistent that we use the exchange stabilization fund and that \$20 billion to send down there. A lot of people think it was because he was trying to protect his former company and his own headquarters because he advised those people to put their money down there to the tune of \$5.17 billion. And if he did it for that reason, that is certainly a violation.

Mr. STOCKMAN. He knows what is in that blind trust. He says it is a blind trust, but he just put it in that blind trust. He knows what is in there.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. The people who may be paying attention in their offices, other Congressmen, need to know what you are talking about. He said he put his money into a blind trust so he did not know what that money was being invested in. But Goldman Sachs and he are very close. He was a partner in that company, and you are absolutely right, he does know in my opinion.

Mr. STOCKMAN. He is a financial expert. He knows exactly what is in there.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I appreciate what Congressman STOCKMAN and you have brought out here. But I think the problem the American public wants to know about is not only do we have a contract, or loan guarantees without Congress' intervention, we do not have the Border Patrol with the illegal immigration you spoke of, we do not have the reduction that we want to see in the illegal drug sales, and we also do not have, I do not think, any guarantee that the collateral is sufficient.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. The collateral is not sufficient. Anybody who really knows what is going on with the oil sales in Mexico and that kind of a deal will tell you that if they were to default, and it is very likely that they will at least on a large part of this loan, or gift or whatever you want to call it, if they default, for us to take the revenues from their oil production, that State-owned oil company down there, would leave that company with

no money to operate the government. There would be absolute chaos down there, and we would probably see millions more people coming across that border because of the destabilization of the economy.

So that money that is being guaranteed from those oil sales to repay this loan in the event of a default, I do not think is going to be there. So the American taxpayer really in my opinion has no collateral whatsoever for this \$53 billion or \$54 billion loan bailout.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. As a result of your work on the committee, there is going to be, with the help of Congressman KING, an information request of the White House with regard to 80 or 90 pieces of information on what documentation they have to use the stabilization fund, what legal authority they are operating under, and when we get that information, what do you think we should be doing next?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I think that information is essential, but in addition to that, we need to get Mr. STOCKMAN's bill to the floor which would stop this loan program completely. Because we represent the American people. And we cannot take care of a lot of the problems we have in this country. Right now, we are cutting spending dramatically. Six subcommittees of appropriations I understand last week cut \$17 billion out of programs here in the United States. That is \$17 billion. And while we are cutting U.S. programs, as we should, to get this Government under control and to reduce the size of Government, we are spending up to \$53 billion bailing out Mexico with no collateral. It makes absolutely no sense. None whatsoever.

Mr. STOCKMAN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I would like to point out, too, that there is some critical factor here. The first request, a lot of people do not know this. There had already been \$17 billion put into the Mexican economy, they came back and asked for \$40 billion, now it is up to \$53 billion.

My question is, at what point do we say, \$100 billion, \$200 billion, at what point do we say we are throwing good money after bad?

This is a clear indication to me that the economy down there is unraveling. It is kind of like Visine, you stick it in your eye, it gets the red out but it comes back with a vengeance.

We are just postponing in my belief the inevitable, which is that the company and the bonds, the tsebonos, are going to default and I think we need to take that bitter pill now instead of having the American taxpayer take the bitter pill. I think it is outrageous.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I agree with my colleague entirely, and I cannot believe if there is a default on the loan that our Government and the people we represent are going to stand still for pouring good money after bad.

Mr. STOCKMAN. It is over \$100 million per district. I tell you, \$100 million, I could run a darn good campaign on that, too.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I hope everyone got that; \$100 million for every congressional district in the country is going down there.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. If the gentleman will yield, I would ask you or Congressman STOCKMAN, what would be the effect of your legislation with regard to this loan guarantee by the President which has been done?

Mr. STOCKMAN. What it would do is stop any loan guarantee, anything at all in the form of any kind of payments to the country of Mexico. This is not a racist thing. It has nothing to do with that. It is a financial deal. And the finances of it is that it is wrong for America.

In fact, I will tell you, it is on both sides of the aisle that oppose this, and I bet you if we put the bill to the floor, it would pass with flying colors with very little opposition.

This is a bill that just says, enough is enough. We gave them already billions and billions of dollars. We had the Brady bill, we had many other bills of rescue packages since 1982. In fact, seven packages, all have been rescuing Mexico, and each time we come back to the well.

We need to say to a country which has socialized industry, a lot of people do not know that. They have a nationalized oil industry, they have a nationalized, they are just unnationalizing their telephone company.

By the way, Rubin was the negotiator to unnationalize that. That is incredible. We are going through these series of processes and we are not looking at what the country is doing.

Let's face it. Just today we found out that the brother is connected to the murder. This country is not the same country as the United States. We are dealing with a totally different Third-World country. We are not even bailing out Orange County. Yet we are bailing out Mexico. I just find it appalling. But the bill would stop it all.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Your bill would stop it immediately.

Mr. STOCKMAN. Immediately. The only way that he could get around it is if Clinton vetoed it.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. The interesting thing about Mr. Rubin is that one of the clients that he represented was the Mexican Government itself. I mean, that was one of his clients when he was with Goldman Sachs.

Mr. STOCKMAN. I think he is still representing them.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Right. And here he was representing the Mexican Government with his company Goldman Sachs and now as Treasury Secretary, he is putting all this money down there, taxpayers' money. There is a conflict, there is no question.

Mr. STOCKMAN. He came before our committee, and I asked him, I said,

"Who is the No. 1 adviser to the President on this issue?"

He said, "I am."

I said, "Did you receive any calls from outside interests?"

At first he said no. He said, "Yes, I think I did."

I think we need to know who that was and what they discussed.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. He did not testify the outside person?

Mr. STOCKMAN. No, he did not.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Were any of them the people that paid him \$26 million in salary last year?

Mr. STOCKMAN. That is all you need is one phone call from them.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Anything else from my colleague?

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Yes, I would ask the Congressman, at this point where can the public help you and help us move forward in this debate?

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I would say to my colleague and all of the Members here, if their constituents were interested, I would urge them to contact their Congressman, their Senator, and the White House and say, we want an up-or-down vote in the U.S. House of Representatives just like the votes are taken on any appropriation bill, any spending bill. There needs to be an up-or-down vote on whether or not our Congressmen and our Senators want to send this amount of money to Mexico as a bailout. And if the American people scream loudly enough, then I think there is a real possibility that Mr. STOCKMAN's bill will not only come to the floor but it will pass the House and pass the Senate and we will stop this nonsense very quickly.

There is a question about what is going to happen if we cut off these funds. There could very well be some upheaval down there. But I believe that upheaval is likely to take place, anyhow, and what we are doing is throwing good money after bad and the American taxpayer is going to lose this money and they are still going to have these problems.

If they are going to have those problems, anyhow, we might as well let them happen and deal with them as they happen and save the taxpayer this money.

Mr. STOCKMAN. I would like to point out that \$53 billion would buy an incredible fence.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I am not sure that we want to build a fence between us and Mexico. But you are absolutely right.

Mr. STOCKMAN. Who is going to get us out when we collapse? We are arguing on the floor every day over a billion dollars. Yet we are doing \$53 billion. We are arguing over \$100 million. We are talking about, we are being accused of cutting school lunches. Yet we turn around and give \$53 billion. I think the upheaval will happen here if we collapse and we cannot handle ourselves.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I think the American people, it is hard for them to comprehend 53,000 million. It is not 53 million, it is 53,000 million dollars total that you are talking about. And the American people, I think many people cannot comprehend that amount of money. But when you think about the national debt being what it is and the deficit being what it is and what we are going to face in the next few years if we do not get control of spending and here we are taking all this money that could be used to reduce the deficit or be used for projects here in the United States like in Orange County where they have got a terrible problem, or maybe in your district, yours or mine, and we are sending it down there, the American people I think would be very, very upset.

The problem is, they need to know about it and they really have not I think heard enough about this issue.

Mr. STOCKMAN. I am offering to pay my staff now in pesos. I think it is a fair deal.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Very good.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I think the fact is that your dialog tonight with our colleagues here on the House floor and hopefully Members of the public who may be listening along here in the gallery will find that in fact this dialog is important, because here we have an opportunity to look at America's needs first. And while we are looking to trim our government here in the Contract With America, let's look to see what America's needs are first and when we get involved with any other country, and we can do that, let's do it in a way that Congress has the involvement, that Congress is going to be obligated and we have the opportunity to make the conditions that are important to protect our American citizens.

It did not take place in this instance because the White House, I believe, had an overreaching.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. They usurped the authority of the spending house of the Congress, the U.S. House of Representatives.

We spend about \$13 or \$14 billion a year all over the world in foreign aid, \$13 or \$14 billion, maybe \$15 billion total in foreign aid and our constituents holler to high heaven when we have town meetings about the foreign aid. They say, "Why are you sending that money overseas when we have these problems here at home?"

And that is \$14 billion. Here in one country we are talking about as much as \$53 billion or almost four times, about four times what we are spending in all the foreign aid all around the world. So this is really a debacle. And the President has taken this upon himself without any act of the Congress.

One of the things that is interesting about President Clinton is that he decided to go into Haiti when he knew the Congress would not support that. If you have been to Haiti, you know it is a real mess and we are going to spend

a billion and a half dollars at least down there.

In the Mexican bailout, he took that action unilaterally. There have been other cases where the Congress was not consulted where we should have been. It just seems to me that a message needs to be sent down to the White House very clearly that this is a republic, not a dictatorship, and the President should not be doing these things unilaterally and we need to express that very clearly.

That is why it is extremely important tomorrow when we have our Republican conference that we get all of our colleagues there to try to make sure that we are allowed to bring a bill to the floor so we can have an up-or-down vote on this issue.

Mr. STOCKMAN. It is H.R. 480, by the way.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. H.R. 480. You have me on as a cosponsor, I hope?

Mr. STOCKMAN. Yes, sir, right there at the top.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Very good.

Mr. STOCKMAN. I just want to thank the gentleman for bringing this to light and your efforts and your guidance. As a freshman we oftentimes do not know what to do here. We are real frustrated.

I know I was talking with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and we were pleased that you helped on the leadership on this and really told us which way to go. A lot of times, you are new here, you do not know it. You have really taken this thing forward. I just want to thank you publicly for your leadership and for your guidance on this. I really appreciate it.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I appreciate that very much. But if it was not for you introducing the bill and working so hard getting all those cosigners on that letter, we would not be at this point right now. But the battle is not

over. We need to fight very hard in the next few days to bring a bill to the floor so we can have an up-or-down vote. If we do that, get it to the floor, it will pass and it will pass, as you said, handily.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. I also wanted to join the gentleman from Texas in acknowledging our appreciation for your leadership in this. We look forward to working with you in committee for a positive result for the people.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Thank you very much.

As we conclude, Mr. Speaker, this special order, let me just say there are a lot of issues we have raised tonight. I hope my colleagues will pay attention to all of those as well as anybody else that might be paying attention.

There are so many things that have been going wrong with this administration that need to be corrected. We as a Congress need to exert our oversight rights to make sure that the American people are well-represented.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following for the RECORD:

Re Request for a Independent Counsel to Investigate the Financial Holdings and Activities of Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown.

Hon. JANET RENO,
Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice,
Washington, DC.

DEAR ATTORNEY GENERAL RENO: For over a year, I, as then-Ranking Member of the Government Operations Committee and now as Chairman of the Government Reform and Oversight Committee, have been conducting an investigation into the financial holdings and activities of Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown, pursuant to my authority under Rules X and XI of the House of Representatives. And, for over a year, in response to direct questions posed to the Secretary, I have received inaccurate, incomplete, and misleading responses, or no response at all.

This investigation has developed specific allegations which the Committee believes are sufficient to warrant the appointment of an Independent Counsel. As you have previously determined that Secretary Brown is a "covered individual" under the Independent Counsel Act, 28 U.S.C. §591 et. seq., the Committee requests that you add the allegations set forth in the attached appendix to those matters already under review as part of your preliminary investigation.

The allegations are divided into five categories: (I) Submission of Incomplete, Inaccurate and Misleading Financial Disclosure Statements; (II) Supplementation of Salary; (III) Potential Conflicts of Interest (IV) Misinformation to Congress, and; (V) Refusing to Respond to Congress. Under each category are specific allegations followed by a factual basis for each assertion and the relevant statutory and regulatory citations. In some instances, the factual basis for an allegation is reiterated under more than one category because the facts support multiple allegations.

As requested in Deputy Assistant Attorney General John Keeney's letter of February 23, 1995 to me, I will provide to your office copies of the documents obtained to date in the investigation of Secretary Brown. These documents serve as the underlying support for the allegations set forth in the attached appendix. I expect to complete that process not later than March 10, 1995.

Some of the information obtained during our investigation was provided by confidential sources. These documents will be identified for your information. Because I pledged anonymity in consideration of this material, I am not prepared to reveal the identity of the sources at this time.

Please understand that the Committee will continue its investigation. As new information is developed, and adequately substantiated, we will provide it to you. Although I do not presently plan to hold hearings on this matter, I reserve the right to schedule hearings as circumstances warrant.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions. I appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM F. CLINGER, Jr.,
Chairman.

Enclosure.

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules Committee—of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Meetings scheduled for Thursday, March 2, 1995, may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

MEETINGS SCHEDULED

MARCH 3

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations

VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the National Credit Union Administration, the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Resolution Trust Corporation-Inspector General.

SD-138

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for foreign assistance programs, focusing on security cooperation in Europe.

SD-192

Judiciary

To hold hearings to examine proposals to reform Federal habeas corpus regulations, focusing on the elimination of prisoners' abuse of the judicial process.

SD-226

MARCH 6

10:00 a.m.

Joint Library

Organizational meeting to consider pending committee business.

SR-301

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

SD-192

Energy and Natural Resources

To hold hearings on S. 333, to direct the Secretary of Energy to institute certain procedures in the performance of risk assessments in connection with environmental restoration activities.

SD-366

Joint Printing

Organizational meeting to consider pending committee business.

H-164, Capitol

MARCH 7

9:00 a.m.

Finance

To hold hearings on the FCC tax certificate program.

SD-215

9:30 a.m.

Armed Services

To resume hearings on proposed legislation authorizing funds for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Defense and the future years defense program.

SR-222

Budget

To hold hearings to examine various privatization initiatives.

SD-608

Energy and Natural Resources

Parks, Historic Preservation and Recreation Subcommittee

To hold joint hearings with the House Committee on Resources' Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Lands to review the health of the National Park System.

SD-366

Environment and Public Works

Drinking Water, Fisheries, and Wildlife Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 191, to revise the Endangered Species Act of 1973 to ensure that constitutionally protected private property rights are not infringed until adequate protection is afforded by reauthorization of the Act, and to protect against economic losses from critical habitat designation, and other proposed legislation to institute a moratorium on certain activities under authority of the Endangered Species Act.

SD-406

Veterans' Affairs

To hold joint hearings with the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs to review the legislative recommendations of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

345 Cannon Building

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Commerce.

S-146, Capitol

Governmental Affairs

Business meeting, to mark up S. 219, to ensure economy and efficiency of Federal Government operations by establishing a moratorium on regulatory rulemaking actions.

SD-342

Judiciary

To hold hearings to examine the jury process, focusing on the search for truth in trials.

SD-226

Indian Affairs

To hold oversight hearings to review Federal programs which address the challenges facing Indian youth.

SR-485

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Labor.

SD-192

MARCH 8

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations

Interior Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the United States Geological Survey, Department of the Interior.

SD-116

Energy and Natural Resources

To hold oversight hearings on domestic petroleum production and international supply.

SD-366

Governmental Affairs

To resume hearings on proposed legislation to reform the Federal regulatory process, to make government more efficient and effective.

SD-342

Small Business

To hold hearings on the proposed "Regulatory Flexibility Amendments Act."

SR-428A

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for rural economic and community development services of the Department of Agriculture.

SD-138

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

To resume oversight hearings on the condition of credit unions.

SD-538

1:30 p.m.

Foreign Relations

East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee

To hold hearings to examine intellectual property rights with regard to the People's Republic of China.

SD-419

2:00 p.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Forests and Public Land Management Subcommittee

To hold oversight hearings on Forest Service appeals.

SD-366

Select on Intelligence

To hold closed hearings on intelligence matters.

SH-219

2:30 p.m.

Indian Affairs

To hold oversight hearings to examine the structure and funding of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

SR-485

MARCH 9

9:30 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve United States agricultural programs, focusing on cost issues of certain farm programs.

SR-332

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider the nomination of Wilma A. Lewis, of the District of Columbia, to be Inspector General, Department of the Interior; to be followed by a closed briefing on international aspects of petroleum supply.

S-407, Capitol

10:00 a.m. Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the National Transportation Safety Board. SD-192	partment of Energy Office of Energy Research. SD-192	10:00 a.m. Appropriations Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Natural Resources Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture. SD-138
Judiciary To hold hearings on S. 227, to provide an exclusive right to perform sound recordings publicly by means of digital transmissions. SD-226	MARCH 15 9:30 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Smithsonian Institution. SD-116	MARCH 23 10:00 a.m. Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Federal Railroad Administration, Department of Transportation, and the National Passenger Railroad Corporation (Amtrak). SD-192
2:00 p.m. Appropriations Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Health and Human Services. SD-138	Energy and Natural Resources Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business. SD-366	2:00 p.m. Appropriations Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the United States Customs Service, Department of the Treasury. SD-192
Appropriations Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the United States Secret Service, Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, and the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, Department of the Treasury. SD-192	Appropriations Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Justice. Room to be announced	3:00 p.m. Appropriations Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the National Institutes of Health, Department of Health and Human Services. SD-138
2:30 p.m. Commerce, Science, and Transportation Aviation Subcommittee To hold hearings to examine activities of the Denver International Airport. SR-253	2:00 p.m. Appropriations Energy and Water Development Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Bonneville Power Administration. SD-192	MARCH 24 9:30 a.m. Appropriations VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. SD-138
MARCH 10 9:30 a.m. Appropriations VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the National Science Foundation, and the Office of Science and Technology Policy. SD-138	MARCH 16 9:30 a.m. Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry To resume hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve United States agricultural programs, focusing on taxpayers' stake in Federal farm policy. SR-332	MARCH 27 2:00 p.m. Appropriations Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Executive Office of the President, and the General Services Administration. SD-138
Joint Economic To hold hearings to examine the employment-unemployment situation for February. SD-562	10:00 a.m. Appropriations Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Drug Enforcement Agency, both of the Department of Justice. S-146, Capitol	MARCH 28 9:30 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior. SD-116
MARCH 13 9:30 a.m. Finance To hold hearings on the consumer price index. SD-215	Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation. SD-192	MARCH 29 10:00 a.m. Appropriations Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Food Safety and Inspection Service, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Agricultural Marketing Service, and the Grain Inspection, Packers and Stockyards Administration, all of the Department of Agriculture. SD-138
MARCH 14 9:00 a.m. Judiciary To hold hearings to examine proposals to reduce illegal immigration and to control financial costs to taxpayers. SD-226	2:00 p.m. Appropriations Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Education. SD-192	
9:30 a.m. Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry To resume hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve United States agricultural programs, focusing on wetlands and farm policy. SR-332	MARCH 22 9:30 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior. SD-192	
Appropriations Defense Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Defense. SD-138		
Appropriations Energy and Water Development Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the De-		

Appropriations Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Judiciary, Administrative Office of the Courts, and the Judicial Conference. S-146, Capitol	tional Aeronautics and Space Administration. SD-192	eral Transit Administration, Department of Transportation. SD-192
MARCH 30	10:00 a.m. Appropriations Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Agricultural Research Service, Cooperative State Research, Education, and Extension Service, Economic Research Service, and the National Agricultural Statistics Service, all of the Department of Agriculture. SD-138	MAY 2 9:30 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture. SD-138
9:30 a.m. Veterans' Affairs To hold joint hearings with the House Committee on Veterans Affairs to review the legislative recommendations of AMVETS, American Ex-Prisoners of War, Vietnam Veterans of America, Blinded Veterans Association, and the Military Order of the Purple Heart. 345 Cannon Building	Appropriations Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Bureau of Prisons, both of the Department of Justice. S-146, Capitol	MAY 3 9:30 a.m. Appropriations VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Environmental Protection Agency, the Council on Environmental Quality, and the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry. SD-192
10:00 a.m. Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Transportation. SD-192	APRIL 6 9:30 a.m. Appropriations VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Federal Emergency Management Agency. SD-138	10:00 a.m. Appropriations Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Agriculture. SD-138
MARCH 31 9:30 a.m. Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry To resume hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve United States agricultural programs, focusing on agricultural credit. SR-332	2:00 p.m. Appropriations Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of the Treasury and the Office of Management and Budget. SD-116	MAY 4 10:00 a.m. Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the United States Coast Guard, Department of Transportation. SD-192
Appropriations VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Court of Veteran's Appeals, and Veterans Affairs Service Organizations. SD-138	APRIL 26 9:30 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for energy conservation. SD-116	MAY 5 9:30 a.m. Appropriations VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for Environmental Protection Agency science programs. SD-138
APRIL 3 2:00 p.m. Appropriations Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, and the Office of Personnel Management. SD-138	10:00 a.m. Appropriations Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Food and Consumer Service, Department of Agriculture. SD-138	MAY 11 10:00 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior. SD-116
APRIL 4 9:30 a.m. Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry To resume hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve United States agricultural programs, focusing on market effects of Federal farm policy. SR-332	Appropriations Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Legal Services Corporation. S-146, Capitol	1:00 p.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Indian Health Service, Department of Health and Human Services. SD-116
Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. SD-138	11:00 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for fossil energy, clean coal technology, Strategic Petroleum Reserve, and the Naval Petroleum Reserve. SD-116	MAY 17 9:30 a.m. Appropriations Interior Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Department of the Interior. SD-192
APRIL 5 9:30 a.m. Appropriations VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Na-	APRIL 27 10:00 a.m. Appropriations Transportation Subcommittee To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1996 for the Fed-	