

with a program that does not go bankrupt because we did not have the political courage to debate it as mature adults.

I again want to thank the gentleman from California [Mr. KIM] and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. WELDON].

#### AMERICA IS NOT A SPECTATOR DEMOCRACY

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to begin where the last speaker left off.

I think that it is important to note that America is not a spectator democracy. Americans should participate. Americans should be engaged in the process of deciding our own faith.

We have a Constitution which allows us to do that. We are not helpless victims. We should not sit by. We should participate. We need more demonstrations. We need more writing of letters to Congressmen. We need more petitions. We need more marches. Whatever is possible to participate in, we should do that. Action is needed now.

I think it is important also to note that the first participation of Americans should be in terms of the dialog. Let us engage in the dialog. Let us listen to what we hear. Let us analyze it. One of the great things about seniors, and I like to be around seniors because senior citizens have lived for some time and experienced a great deal. I am not too far away from that myself now. When I was very young, I always liked to be around senior citizens. They know so much more than the rest of us. They are always so much more interesting to talk to and listen to.

You cannot put much over on senior citizens. I do not think the salesmen we have heard this morning will be able to put much over on senior citizens. I do not think the sales package of the Republican majority will put that much over on senior citizens. Senior citizens will listen and ask themselves the question, how is it that the Republican majority in their plan makes such a great deal about eliminating fraud, when at the same time, they have recently made a deal with the doctors and the medical establishment, the perpetrators of the fraud, to endorse their plan? Why are the doctors so happy? What is contained in the deal that was made between the AMA and the medical establishment and the Republican majority which makes them so happy?

Surely they are not agreeing to a program which is going to make them more accountable. Who is responsible for the excessive costs? The medical establishment. Who is responsible for the fraud and the waste? The medical establishment.

How can you say that to a senior citizen who has seen a number of things

happen in their lives? They have seen the hustlers and seen the swindlers come and go. No senior citizen would go out to buy a used car without thoroughly checking it out and having somebody with them who knows a lot about cars. No senior citizen would buy a new car without checking it out. There are a number of things you do, because you are old enough to know better.

So check out the proposition that fraud and waste will be eliminated in the Republican majority plan, and the Republican majority made a deal with the doctors. How can those two things be the same? The doctors, the medical establishment, are the people responsible for the fraud and the waste, certainly the fraud.

Last year when the Clinton administration's plan was on the table, I proposed a number of times that we have a one-tenth of 1 percent set aside of all the money appropriated to establish consumer advisory committees, patient advisory committees. The people who are in the plan should at least have one-tenth of 1 percent of the total amount of money so they can maintain an organized advisory committee made up of the people receiving the service.

Nobody would support that plan. Nobody would support that plan. If you do not have that kind of organized plan built in to defend yourself against fraud, I do not suggest to any senior citizen, and I do not think any senior citizen would be foolish enough to turn their doctor in.

I heard the proposition that you get a reward, you get a bonus for turning your doctor in for fraud. If you turn your doctor in, be sure you get another doctor. I think I can tell senior citizens, if you turn your doctor in, do not go back to him. If you turn two or three doctors in in the same city, they are going to blacklist you. I do not advise you to follow that route, period. And I do not think most seniors would be dumb enough to get involved in a situation where the people responsible for their lives, they are reporting fraud on.

That is not enough. If you want to deal with fraud in health care, you need a better apparatus to do it. Do not tell senior citizens to buy that.

Do not make comparisons with the Clinton plan. Let us engage. Let us remember, what did the Clinton plan try to do last year? What was the administration's primary aim? The primary aim was to get universal health care coverage, not just to deal with Medicare. Medicare, Medicaid, it was understood that the programs had to be refined, that there was some waste, that it is possible to make it more efficient and more effective. And in order to get the money needed to extend the coverage and to have more people covered, we would do that.

The noble purpose of the Clinton administration plan is not one of the purposes and goals of this Republican health care plan. They are dumping the

coverage. Less people will be covered because they are saying that Medicaid should no longer be an entitlement. They did not talk about that. There is a health care plan which includes more than Medicare; it includes Medicaid also.

Medicaid will no longer be an entitlement. You will not be able to get Medicaid, which means seniors are in great jeopardy. Those who spend all their resources as a result of a very serious long-term illness will not be able to fall back on Medicaid and go into a nursing home and deal with a long-term convalescence because it will not be there without the Medicaid entitlement.

They are going to take away the responsibility of the Federal Government to provide for the poorest people, the health care. That is a great step backward from the Clinton plan that was on the table last year. It was called too complicated, too complex. It was more complicated because of the fact it tried to do more. It tried to address the problem of our civilization that we must be ashamed of.

American civilization is the only industrialized nation in the world which does not have universal health care coverage. By universal, I mean it is moving toward the coverage as many people as possible. Some have 96 percent. Canada may have 98 percent. But the idea of universal coverage is there in most of the industrialized nations of the world. Only South Africa is an industrialized nation that has no universal health care coverage.

So we are trying to move in that direction. This plan abandons it completely. In the Republican health care plan, there is no attempt to move toward universal coverage. In fact, there is a headlong gallop backward toward less coverage by denying the Medicaid entitlement. So we are in serious trouble.

I also hope that everybody who heard the previous discussion will use their faculties and engage and go back and look at a little recent history and know that the biggest felony in America was already committed. In the future you might say to saddle our children, our grandchildren, with bills that are difficult to pay in the future. You may call that a felony, but I think that is quite farfetched. That is going way out.

We have had the worse felony in the history of America take place right before our eyes. It is called the savings and loan swindle. Some of the gentlemen who are talking, certainly the one in the well, knows the history of the savings and loan debacle very well. Never before in the history of civilization has there been a swindle of the magnitude of the S&L swindle, where the taxpayers in America were made to pick up a bill of \$250 billion, by the most conservative estimates. It is conservative, and it is not settled yet, because it is still going on. It might be \$300 to \$400 billion that the taxpayers

have to put out to clean up the savings and loan swindle. Never before in the history of civilization have so many stolen so much from so many and gotten away with it with so few prison terms, never before.

So the savings and loan association swindle is the biggest swindle in the history of mankind. Newspapers like the Washington Post and some others never seem to quite get the time or the space to deal with the magnitude of that swindle.

The party that now proposes to cut Medicare by \$270 billion over a 7-year period has not dealt with the fact that we still have a \$250 to \$300 billion bill that we maybe ought to try to collect. The taxpayers of America maybe ought to say to the savings and loan associations that do exist now, to the accountants that were part of the conspiracy, to the lawyers for the banks that were part of the conspiracy, that they all pay a surcharge until that \$250 to \$300 billion is paid back.

The great swindle has taken place already. The greatest felony in the history of civilization, has taken place right before our very eyes, and very little is being done about it.

Finally, I want to address myself to the fact that everybody who hears should engage and listen and question and ask the question, is the Medicare system about to go bankrupt? You have heard them quote the trustees, and they have given you the names of the trustees, Shalala, people within the Clinton administration. Why do you not go and ask Donna Shalala, Mr. Rubin, why do you not go and ask them, is the system in danger of bankruptcy within 7 years?

Since they are being quoted, listen to their answer. They said so already. You have a problem of about \$90 billion, \$89 to \$90 billion over the 7-year period.

It was assumed that, if you make the system more efficient, if you weed out the waste and the fraud, you could achieve the savings of that \$90 billion over a 7-year period without draconian cuts in the benefits, without tremendous increases in the premiums.

So listen to their dialogue and take it a little further. Go ask the trustees. Go ask them, do you have to make this \$270 billion cut? And also the \$270 billion, how does it relate to the tax cut that the Republicans are proposing, which is \$240 billion?

Let us listen. Americans, we are not spectators, we do not have to be witnesses. We can do things. We need action. That is what I want to talk about today. We need people to understand that, if you sit still and watch this as a spectator, the President as a Democrat against the Republican controlled Congress, and we wait for the great train wreck situation to evolve to its climax, you will be derelict in your duty as Americans.

You owe it to all of us, we elected officials have to do our job and we have not done it well and should find new ways to do it better. Even Democrats

in the majority are going to have to find a way to deal with the fact that a Republican controlled Committee on Ways and Means will be on the floor with a bill which will have a closed rule. As Members of Congress, we have to vote it up or down, but we cannot have an opportunity to let our constituents know where we stand and offer some alternatives and go on record for the alternatives. That will not be the case. We have to find a way to deal with that, but that is another discussion for another time.

We need action now. Every American should ask themselves the question, what am I closest to, what can I do? My vote is not enough. I have an opportunity to vote every 2 years for Congress. I have an opportunity to vote every 4 years for the President. That is not enough. I also have in the Constitution the first amendment, a number of other things standing behind me which allow me to do things beyond my vote. Action is needed.

On the issue like education right now, let me make an appeal that you get involved in the fact that the education budget was cut by \$4 billion, the Federal aid to education. You say that is a tiny amount. The Federal Government only puts in about 7 percent of the total amount for education anyhow. So why are you worried about that? Well, the cuts in the Federal dollars are followed by cuts in many States where the States are cutting the money available for education and the localities are cutting money. So we have an education crisis in most of the country. Certainly in the big cities we have a serious crisis.

I am calling for some action now. I think that we should call upon all of the children in the schools, we should call upon all the parents. And beyond the parents and the children, we should call upon the church leaders, the business people. Everybody should let it be known that we think education is very important.

The polls consistently show that education ranks in the top five concerns of Americans over and over again. No matter how other things fluctuate, crime may go to the top sometimes, health care may go to the top, education always comes out of the top five.

There is a basic understanding, the folk wisdom of Americans is that education does come first. It is like the early slaves coming out of slavery. They wanted first of all to learn to read. Education had the primary value for the early free families. Education in the black community has always been a highly charged value. Confusion about how to get that education and obstacles being placed in the way of preventing the obtainment of the education has been a problem. But the value is there. It is certainly a value in the African-American community. It is an American value.

Action is needed now, because the signal has been sent from Washington.

The Republic controlled Congress has cut education by \$4 billion. Head Start has been cut. The one program that sends the greatest amount of money out to elementary and secondary schools, the aid to the disadvantaged, called the title I program, the title I program has been cut by \$1.1 billion. The summer youth employment program has been cut out completely, zero. We have an emergency. We ought to do something.

So we are asking that everybody—this is an appeal that I made to the National Commission for African-American Education. It is an appeal I made to an assemblage of the Congressional Black Caucus education brain trust. It was adopted and made a resolution that November 15, which is right in the middle of open school week, open school week is a national phenomena all across the country. So on Wednesday, November 15, we are asking that everybody who cares about education will do something.

Do not be a spectator. Bear witness. Go out to your local school. Everybody has a school near them. It is the nature of education in America that there is some school near everybody. Go to the nearest school and do something to let it be known that all citizens care about education.

In the leaflet we have put out calling for overwhelming support for education on November 15, the national education funding support day, we have stated that you can participate in the following activities: Show up at your nearest school. Just show up and let your presence be a testimony of your support. This is the first and most important step.

During the morning gathering at the school, spend 1, 2, 3 hours at the school. Do some upbeat things. Take some upbeat and positive action to demonstrate your love for children. Bring some pencils and papers and crayons if you are in a poor neighborhood to hand out to the children. Or bring chalk and erasers and supplies for the teachers inside the classrooms. If you are in New York City, they need chalk, pencils, erasers. We have a crisis in supplies in the great city of New York where we spend \$8 billion on education. There is a crisis in terms of supplies and chalk.

There is a crisis also in terms of they do not have places to seat children. At the beginning of the school year in New York, there were 8,000 high school pupils who did not have a place to sit. They have not fully solved that problem.

So show up and do something useful. If the area around the school needs the rubbish and dirt removed, then bring some plastic bags and shovels and clean it up. Do something useful to help the program inside the school. Talk to the school administration, the principals. If it is not disruptive, ask what you can do to help inside the school.

At the same time as you pass out information about PTA meetings, school board meetings, legislative budget hearings, citizen rallies, you should sign up volunteers to help with school trips. Distribute a list of names and addresses and phone numbers of all elected officials, especially those elected officials who are directly responsible for education. You should engage all participants who come by to register new voters and to make sure they are registered themselves. If you are in an area like the area I live in, where there are 150,000 people who are not citizens, you should certainly encourage immigrants to seek citizenship. These are legal immigrants. They can seek citizenship. Show them ways to do that. Certainly the parents of children in the schools who are immigrants, you should encourage them to seek citizenship.

There are a number of ways on November 15, Wednesday, everybody can take action. You do not have to be a spectator. You can take action for education. You can deal with the fact that the President is going to be in negotiations with the Republican controlled Congress on the appropriations bill for education. There are a lot of items in there.

We want him not to lose his focus, to understand that the American people care about education. Education is one of the top priorities. It is not enough just to believe that; you have to manifest it and let it be known. We have to engage in what is called a manifestation to your empowerment, a manifestation of your concerns. You are not only concerned but you want to let it be known, you are a voter, you are out there, and you want to do something about the problem of funding for education.

I have just used education as an example. But there are many other ways in which we need to show that we are involved in this process. You have to believe that this is a turning point in the history of America. It is a turning point. You have to believe Speaker GINGRICH when he says we are going to remake America; take him seriously. Whatever you may think of the Speaker, he is competent, he is a great organizer. He is probably the greatest politician that has come along in the last 20 years. When he says he is going to do something, take him seriously.

The Speaker says we are going to remake America. He has a lot of bright people with him who believe that they can do that and are trying to do that.

I think they are very bright, but they have no compassion. I have called them high-technology barbarians because of the lack of compassion. I will repeat it again. They are the smartest people you can engage anywhere, but they have no compassion; and therefore I think they deserve the label of high-tech.

Barbarians. But they have to be taken seriously.

The Speaker has said we are engaged in war without blood. Politics is war

without blood. Politics is war without blood. If you are engaged in war without blood, then do not sit there and assume that you are on the sidelines, that civilians are not going to be involved. There are no civilians in the political war. Everybody is in danger. Everybody must understand that you must engage in the war. He has said it. This is war. Therefore, you must make plans to participate in the war.

The allied forces must plan a defense against those who have mounted the attack. The Speaker has made it clear, he is going to remake America. We are mounting the attack. They hit the Nation on November 9, 1994, with a blitzkrieg. That blitzkrieg was very successful. They have taken control. They will march on. Allied forces must be united. Allied forces must understand they are in a war, and you must plan for the defense. Do not sit there and think that you are a civilian and you are going to escape. None of us are going to escape. We are all part of this war.

They are going to remake America, and I do not think we need to remake America. I have said that over and over again. America needs to be improved. There are all kinds of ways in which we should strive to improve America. We do not need to remake it. We need a steady process of escalating improvement, but they are going to remake it. And they are not going to remake it in the interests of the majority. America is going to be remade, and they have made that clear in all of their actions since January 1995. Since January 1995 of this year, it has been quite clear that, no matter what the Contract With America says, the overwhelming aim of the Contract With America is to make America a place where the elite can survive conveniently without any problem in terms of taking care of the majority. A small elite minority will be survivors, and they will enjoy the fruits and benefits of a great American economy, and the rest of the people will be thrown overboard. That is clearly how America will be remade if we sit by and let it happen.

We should not be spectators. There is a train wreck in process already. People have said, well, the great train wreck metaphor did not quite materialize on October 1. We passed a continuing resolution which will take us until the middle of November. The drama of a train wreck has been avoided.

Well, the train wreck process has started. It is pretty clear that the Republican majority is not going to yield. They are moving headlong forward with Medicare, the rape of Medicare, as one of the things they are proposing to do, into the entitlement for Medicaid. All kinds of things are happening which make the train wreck inevitable.

But recently it was announced that the Speaker and the majority in the House are contemplating sabotaging the train process, put a brick on the track and run away, not to engage. The

train wreck metaphor always assumed you would have a situation where the President would veto the bills, the Republican majority in both Houses cannot override the veto, and therefore there would be negotiations at the White House. That happened once with George Bush. The negotiations at the White House would be between a Democratic President and a Republican controlled Congress.

What the Speaker has recently indicated is that in his war without blood, guerrilla tactics are going to be introduced. They are going to put a brick on the track and run away. Congress is going to pass the bills, send them to the White House, and adjourn.

I can think of nothing more irresponsible than that. But that is the kind of guerrilla action we have to look forward to.

Why not? Because in the process of avoiding the dramatic train wreck, what has happened already? What happened with the continuing resolution? The continuing resolution that has been passed already reduces spending and moves toward the level of spending that the Republican-controlled Congress wants. Already we have downloaded, we are spending less, moving in that area. Why do they not try to negotiate another continuing resolution and also further download the situation and decrease the budgets of all the programs?

That is what you call slow poisoning, a slow poisoning through the continuing resolution. Instead of attacking the victim with a knife and slashing him to death, you poison them quietly. The continuing resolution can poison all the programs that the Republicans do not want. The pain will be less visible. Most of this pain will not be felt until next October 17 anyhow. Some of it will be introduced, however, right away, through this poisoning process, the greatest most dramatic things in Medicare and Medicaid, the big programs.

What we do now will take effect in the next fiscal year. So you have to keep in mind that the process is important right now because of the pain it is going to produce later on.

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Some of the pain will not come until after the November 1996 elections. That is not by accident. Certain cuts are programmed and scheduled so that the impact will be felt after the November 1996 election. Keep your eyes on the process now. Do not be a spectator now. Get up and act now. Write your letters now. March and demonstrate now. The train wreck calendar is in process. It is no less a problem than it was 2 months ago.

Taxes, revenue, money, budgets, appropriations, that is the heart of the process of what is going on here. We do a lot of important things in the U.S. Congress. We should not minimize any of the things we do. What the Congress of the United States does affects the

life, health, and welfare of people all over the world. It should not be minimized ever. But of all the things we do, at the heart of it are the processes which relate to taxes, revenue, money, budgets, and appropriations. That is at the heart of the process.

My colleagues may wonder why I always come back to this discussion of the tax burden and the way the tax burden has been shifted over the last 50 years. I do not have my chart here today, but I had one last time which showed in graphic terms one of the great problems with America, one of the reasons why people who want to remake America are telling us that the good things will go bankrupt, they want to reduce school lunches because they are too costly, they want to reduce Medicare drastically, Medicaid, they want to end the eligibility. They have already ended the eligibility for Aid to Families With Dependent Children. Everything is going to go bankrupt, they say, because we have a deficit and it is possibly going to get greater and there are no more sources of revenue, no sources of taxes.

They have labeled certain people as big spenders. As I said last Tuesday, one of the right wing groups has labeled me as one of the five biggest spenders in the Congress. I proudly accept that honor of being labeled a big spender by their standards, although their standards are quite flawed.

I am the sponsor of a \$60 billion bill. They have gone around and checked to see what the dollar figure is on the bills that Members have proposed. I am the sponsor of a bill which proposes to spend \$60 billion for job training, for jobs for the stimulation of the economy, and \$60 billion may sound like a lot of money.

How dare anybody propose over a 5-year period to spend, over a period of time to spend \$60 billion a year to revitalize the economy. That is a stimulus to deal with what I consider to be a transition periods that we are now in. We are in a transition period where the new technology is throwing people out of work, downsizing and streamlining and pushing people out of jobs and we need a stimulus.

We may think \$60 billion is a great amount. The little nation of Japan, with 75 slightly more than 75 million people, has a package now going forward that is \$90 billion a year. A stimulus package that is \$90 billion. So a \$60 billion proposal, I do not have the power to get it passed, but if we want to judge me on what I see as a vision, the vision of America I have, what I see as the remedies, then I accept that judgment.

On the other hand, the flaw in this rating of big spenders does not take into consideration what a Member is against, the spending they are against. As I said before, Rush Limbaugh, who chose to highlight this on this show, needs some people who know how to subtract. Take all the programs and all the times I have spoken on this floor

and all the amendments I have introduced to subtract from the Federal budget. Programs that I am against mount up into the billions of dollars.

The F-22 that will be manufactured in NEWT GINGRICH'S district of Georgia. Will cost us \$12 billion over the next 7 years. I am for taking that one out. The B-2 bomber, over the life of its history, will cost us \$33 billion. I am for taking the B-2 out. The *Seawolf* submarine, more aircraft carriers, star wars, the CIA.

I had a very specific amendment on the budget to reduce the CIA budget by 10 percent a year over a 5-year period. If we assume the New York Times figure of \$28 billion for the CIA and the intelligence operation is correct, then, over a 5-year period that \$2.8 billion would amount to quite a bit of money that we could use to replace the \$4 billion they took out of education, the \$7 billion they are taking out of low-income housing. We could do things with that \$2.8 billion per year over a 5-year period or, let us extend it to a 7-year period.

The CIA has proven over and over again that not only is it of dubious worth, but it is also dangerous. The CIA recently revealed that they had a petty cash fund of \$1.5 billion that nobody knew about in high places. The Director of the CIA did not know about the \$1.5 billion. The President did not know about it. Nobody knew about it in high places. How much more do they have? How is the CIA able to have a \$1.5 billion slush fund? That is what they admit to. I am sure it is higher. A \$1.5 billion slush fund and nobody knew about it.

I think one of our famous predecessors said when we have a million here and a million there, we get into the billions and it all starts adding up. A billion is a lot of money, ladies and gentlemen; \$1.1 billion is the amount of the cut on the title I program. If they would just please give us, CIA, your petty cash fund, your unauthorized petty cash fund, give us your unauthorized petty cash fund to make up the \$1.1 billion, we will let them keep the rest.

I know what the deal is. I heard the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence say now that we know about that money, we have taken it back. How is it the Office of Management and Budget did not know about it?

Office of Management and Budget specializes in cutting small programs. They cut out like library programs that acquire foreign language books in universities; they cut out little programs that train teachers; they are specialists in going through and cutting out little programs. To be small is to be dangerous in the Office of Management and Budget. How, Office of Management and Budget, did you ever let the CIA acquire a \$1.1 billion slush fund?

So the message is, if we look at the record of MAJOR OWENS in terms of spending, and we subtract all the

things I have said we should stop spending for, including the farm cash subsidies that flow to places like Kansas to farmers who are making \$400,000 and \$500,000 a year, let us stop giving money to farmers that make more than \$100,000 a year. That is a good cut-off point. They will not give me that kind of cutoff for the welfare recipients in New York, but for the welfare farmers we propose let them keep getting cash subsidies if they make \$100,000 or less.

No, no, we put that on the floor and it was voted down. Where was the Rush Limbaugh statisticians to figure that one out when that amendment, cosponsored by myself, was voted down? We could save a lot of money if the farm subsidy program were just limited to people making \$100,000 or less. But this Congress would not tolerate that. It only got 47 the last time we put that on, 47 votes out of 435.

Americans had better engage in a dialog. There is a lot of waste in government, and the places where they will not touch it are the places we should all be looking.

Take a look at a recent report that was put out by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities said congressional Republicans, I am quoting from the National Journal's Congress Daily, October 11, 1995, "if the Rush Limbaugh researchers want to track this," October 11, 1995, the National Journal's Congress Daily.

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities said, "Congressional Republicans in their budget cutting fervor are giving corporate subsidies a free ride."

The study was based on the Congressional Budget Office report defining which Government programs or tax breaks constitute business subsidies and focus on tax appropriations and reconciliation proposals passed so far in the House.

It found that for every dollar that this majority, Republican majority House, has reduced corporate subsidies provided by Government program, for every dollar they have reduced the House has increased corporate tax subsidiaries some other way by nearly the same amount, \$1. So addition and subtraction. Do not let the Republicans play games with us. They have reduced some of the corporate tax subsidies, but for every one that they have reduced in dollar value, they have given the same amount in some other way.

Therefore, a statement accompanying the study contended, "Congress is achieving an overall reduction of only \$6 billion, or less than 1 percent, in the \$724 billion in corporate subsidies the Federal Government is slated to provide over the next 7 years."

Let me read that again and put that down in this dialog that we have to participate in. Remember this figure that this Republican majority that is so intent on cutting Medicare by \$270 billion, this Republican majority is

only willing to cut the corporate welfare by \$6 billion, which is less than 1 percent if we look at the total amount of \$724 billion that the Government is slated to provide to corporations over the next 7 years.

Herein is the problem. Not only must we cut defense programs, not only must we cut wasteful farm subsidies, weapon systems, and a CIA that is spending our money in a very excessive way; we must cut the subsidies that we are providing for corporations.

"This lack of progress," I am reading again from the report:

This lack of progress in reducing the overall level of corporate subsidies stands in sharp contrast to the deep cuts that Congress is making elsewhere in the budget. If overall corporate subsidies were to be cut to the same degree that the Congressional budget resolution targets programs other than defense and Social Security, they would be reducing \$122 billion over the next seven years out of the corporate subsidy budget.

Let me repeat the figures. These are figures we should put in our private database and remember as we go through the dialog about where America is going and what money and funding will be available for programs that are worthwhile for all the people. Understand that the corporations are refusing, the Congress is refusing to reduce the subsidy for corporations, which now would be \$724 billion over a 7-year period. They are refusing to reduce that in the same manner that they are reducing other nondefense programs. If they did that, we could save \$122 billion over the next 7 years.

Remember, as we listen to this dialog of the swindlers who want to take \$270 billion from Medicare and they want to end the entitlement for Medicaid totally, the heart of this whole process is remaking America, is the question of who will get the money.

Will the American majority, those in need, or the educational establishment in order to guarantee we have productive taxpayers in the future, will the places that will do the most for America be the recipients of the funds or will they give it to the Americans having the most, corporations making profits at a great booming rate? They are the ones who should be paying more; they are only paying 11 percent of the total tax burden, while families and individuals are paying 44 percent of the tax burden. Here is the time to correct it.

If the Republican majority were sincere, if the salesmen who tried to sell us the \$270 billion cut in Medicare as an effort to save Medicare, if they were to get to work on cutting the corporate subsidies, we would be able to lower the deficit at the same time, not make draconian cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, and education, and still go forward with a fair tax system. Raise the tax burden, eliminate the subsidies, have the corporations carry more of the burden. That is the answer.

Now, what will happen? They are going to make these draconian cuts and try to sell them to us by coming

with a set of diversions. How will the Republicans try to get away with all this? How will they face senior citizens next fall at election time? How will they face the parents of children who have been deprived of lunches? How will they face the people who are sons or daughters of immigrants or people who are the fathers and mothers of immigrants, or people who are certainly immigrants themselves who have become American citizens? How will they get away with all this? The great massacre will be covered by diversions.

They will have arguments on gun control to divert the attention of people who care about guns away from the fact that they are being robbed of an opportunity to get an education or to have a job retraining program when they are laid off. Large numbers of people in the working class care a lot about guns. I am sorry they do. The great majority of American people, 80 percent, want some form of gun control, and they can certainly care about guns and agree to the sensibility of gun control, but, no, they will divert us. They will be talking about guns and the needs to save America by having more freedom to use guns and less gun control.

They will be talking about the Voting Rights Act being a threat to Americans, that if we draw districts in a certain way, that is un-American. Odd shaped districts have been drawn since the history of the country by both parties, and America has never suffered.

They will be after the immigrants, yelling and screaming about the immigrants are causing the downfall of America. Well, immigrants have traditionally been a vital part of the American scene, and America is doing very well compared to most of the other industrial nations of the world.

They will talk about affirmative action, affirmative action and a color-blind society. Again, I have talked about that in the past. Affirmative action is necessary, to correct past wrongs. We had 232 years of slavery, the greatest crime in the history of humanity, 232 years of slavery in America, 100 years of brutal oppression following that 232 years of slavery. We cannot expect the African-American population as a group to make up for all that lost time.

There was a recent book on wealth, black and white in America, and one of the important conclusions of that book was that in terms of wealth versus wages African-Americans are coming closer and closer. Certainly middle class African-Americans who have an education are closer and closer to the wages of middle class whites, not the same but getting closer all the time. The gap has been closed over the past 10 years. Great advances have been made in terms of wages.

But when we look at wealth, and wealth means more than wages, it means ownership of assets, when we have a home, we have a car, we have stocks and bonds, when we look at

wealth, the gap is wider than ever before between middle class African-Americans and middle class whites. Why? The biggest factor in wealth is inheritance. What is passed down from one generation to another is the biggest factor. The biggest factor of home ownership in America is the fact that the mothers and fathers are able to give a young couple the downpayment on a house. And the biggest body of wealth held by average Americans is in their homes.

So it is just common sense. If we had 232 years where your slave ancestors were passing nothing down, there was nothing they could pass down because they had nothing for 232 years, they are behind, and then 100 years of oppression after that where they had very little to pass down. Then they are not ever going to catch up, and nobody says they must catch up.

But understand, the great disparity that has been inflicted on African-Americans is because of slavery, because of slavery, the greatest crime in the history of humanity, the obliteration I call it. The obliteration. It was an attempt to obliterate the humanity, the soul, of a set of people so that those people would be a more efficient beast of burden. They would be more efficient in industry, mostly the agricultural industry, but efficient machines, efficient beasts of burden. It was an attempt to obliterate them and take away their humanity. Do not let them have families, do not treat them like human beings. Sell them as if they were commodities.

That great crime of slavery cannot be just ignored. It is a vital 232 years of American history, 232 years. I have talked about slavery before and people have gotten upset. I have talked about the great Atlantic crossing, the number of people lost, and the figures I used aroused Rush Limbaugh researchers, and I conceded the point that I had made a mistake, quoted in the New York Times, which itself was quoting a sort of folk history that is prevalent in the black history about the numbers. It is like Paul Bunyan exaggerating the numbers.

The fact is that millions were lost crossing the Atlantic in the slave trade. Millions were lost crossing the Atlantic, and millions were lost in the brutality of the slave industry in America.

If we want to quibble like some of the Nazis still want to quibble about the holocaust, it was not 6 million, they want to talk about 5½ million, or 4 million. If we want to quibble, go ahead, but I say to those who are interested in the conversation and the dialog, just mourn for the first million. Mourn for the first million. Everybody will concede there were at least a million lost crossing the Atlantic. Everybody will concede there were at least a million lost through the brutality of the slave trade in America.

In North America, the slave trade was kind compared to the slave trade

in the Caribbean Islands and the slaves trade in Brazil and South America. The practice in Brazil and South America was to work the slaves until they worked them to death. They did not have breeding farms. They did not attempt to keep the slaves alive and get offspring from them like they did with their livestock. They just worked them to death and brought in more, so the numbers will never be known.

So anybody who thinks they can count the numbers of slaves that came into the New World by looking at British ships and British accounts and assuming this whole thing was organized and regulated is not naive; they are dishonest. We cannot regulate savings and loans and banks in America to keep them from swindling taxpayers. How do we think in those days there was any kind of real regulation of a slave trade that was pumping money into the coffers of some of the most respected people in the European nations?

So let us not quibble about the numbers, Rush Limbaugh and your researchers. Let us not quibble about the numbers. If we care about the subject, than just mourn for the first million. Mourn for the first million slaves who were treated like animals and died like animals. Mourn for all of those who were thrown into the breeding pens and forced to breed like animals. Mourn for all of those who died horrible deaths as a result of being under masters that wanted to work them to death. They wanted as much as they could get out of them until they dropped dead. So there is plenty to mourn for.

Do not make a joke out of slavery. When we make a joke out of slavery, we are endangering ourselves. I think of your posterity, your children and your grandchildren, may not appreciate it. Do not make a joke of the greatest crime ever in the history of humanity, the attempt to obliterate the souls of millions of human beings.

We are not spectators, as I said before. We do not have to stand by and watch this diversion. This diversion is going to take place. Gun control, affirmative action, voting rights, immigrants, that diversion is going to take place. We know it will take place, so let us prepare ourselves. Let us get our allied forces together.

The constitution provides us with the weapon. We can demonstrate, we can petition, we can march. Do not sit and mourn about somebody else's march. Let us make our own march. The caring majority ought to be marching, the caring majority should get ready at every level. What I call manifestations of empowerment should be taking place at every level all across America.

What is a manifestation of empowerment? It is an action like the one I just proposed for Wednesday, November 15. Come out, wherever you are, and go to a public school. Let it be known we care about education. That is a manifestation of empowerment.

In every way the health care problem is not just a national problem. They are threatening to sell the hospitals in New York City. Some of the best hospitals in the world that have great reputations, that have served people for several generations are now to be sold and made into private hospitals. So we are saying in New York come out on a given Sunday, let us have hospital appreciation Sunday. Let all the churches bring their congregations from church to the hospitals and let us surround them and let it be known that people care about their hospitals, people care about health care in various ways in cities, in towns. Get people to moving and do things. We cannot wait until November 1996 and think we can deal with the problem then. Get people moving now.

Mr. Speaker, this is nothing new. I have an action paper, which I call "The Third Force." It is a draft paper, and I may change the name and call it "The Caring Majority Agenda," but I put it out in June and I have circulated it to colleagues of mine in the Congress and in the Congressional Black Caucus, and to members of the Progressive Caucus. I have circulated it to labor leaders and other elected firms and I have said we have to get moving. We cannot wait until November 1996, let us move now. I will quote from my action paper.

Republican arrogance and impatience have clearly framed the parameters of the battleground. The issues and causes around which we must mobilize are clearer now than ever before. The questions are: Is the United States of America a nation of the rich and powerful only? Shall the great majority of the population remain immobile while it is reduced to a status of urban servants or suburban peasants? Shall the resources of the richest Nation that has ever existed in the history of the world be used primarily to benefit an oppressive elite minority? Or shall public policies be shaped to share our real wealth and spread the benefits of our collective labor, our hard won peace, and the exploding advances of our technologies? Shall we share it for everybody?

The oppressive elite majority presently in charge of the Congress has thrown down the gauntlet. An assumption has been made that the majority vote in the Congress and the financial contributors to these Members of Congress are the only ones who have the real power to decide the basic questions facing our Nation.

A mistaken assumption has been made that until 1996, only the votes on the floor of Congress shall decide the fate of America as it moves towards the year 2000. It is a sacred duty of the caring majority to demonstrate that Americans do not have to sit idly by as spectators while their elected officials wreck their democracy. The ballot box on election day is a primary instrument, however, it is not the only means toward the end of freedom and justice for all.

The people have a right to intervene. To save our Nation we must interpose our creative political energies and our individual bodies to halt the onslaught by a merciless set of hightech barbarians who have misinterpreted their election by an oppressive elite minority as a mandate to tyrannize the caring majority.

The caring majority must rise to defend itself. To lead the crusade to save America, we need a caring majority agenda. From coast

to coast, in every one of the 435 Congressional districts, we need citizen activists to insist that they are ready to fight intensely to save their Nation from catastrophe. This caring majority force needs ordinary people willing to participate in a national master plan for justice. We need legions recruited from among those who suffer as a result of the current oppression, which is imposed by the oppressive elite minority, and we need legions from among those who are not suffering but who understand the inevitable destructive path of the present blitzkrieg to remake the American government in the wrong direction.

The primary weapons to be employed for all strategies and tactics of the caring majority should be nonviolent weapons. A lapse into violence against the entrenched establishment automatically guarantees defeat. Nonviolent direct action employed in conjunction with clear sets of demands shall be the operating rule of the caring majority. Massive nonviolent direct actions and coordinated simultaneous other actions are what are necessary to carry the caring majority forward.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am just reading portions of an action paper that I put out in June. I am still waiting for comments from key people. I also have a timetable here. I have an agenda, a partial agenda, that was proposed to the Congressional Black Caucus. About 3 weeks ago, I said the Congressional Black Caucus should endorse groups that support its agenda. The Congressional Black Caucus should put out an agenda and have groups march to support that agenda, and that agenda should be the caring majority agenda, an agenda for everybody to strongly urge all concerned groups to lobby, demonstrate, petition, write letters, and march in these critical days ahead when the President will be negotiating with the Republican-controlled Congress to save the Nation from devastating budget cuts.

First on the agenda is to fight aggressive racist attacks in all forms. Fight the attacks on affirmative action. Fight the attacks on school desegregation, on set-asides, and the Voting Rights Act. Fight government and unofficial acts which encourage sexism, antisemitism, homophobia, immigrant persecution or denial of basic rights to any groups.

No. 1 on the agenda must be a fight against any racism, any divisiveness. We need to build allies. We need to come all together and understand that America should be America for everybody and we cannot have separations in the process of the fighting. Otherwise, we play into the hands of those who are in the elite minority profiting from those divisions.

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Fight for education as a national opportunity. Fight for education as a national priority. The opportunity for an education must remain a national priority. Fight to stop all cuts in Medicaid as well as Medicare. This Nation still needs a national health insurance program with universal coverage. Fight to stop those cuts. Fight to stop

the taking away of the Medicaid entitlement. Fight to end the monstrous cuts in the HUD programs for low income housing. Fight to support the retention of adequate wages and pensions for the military, Federal workers and other public service workers.

Fight to increase the minimum wage. The Republican majority said they will not entertain any dialog on increasing the minimum wage. One hundred American economists have said we need an increase in the minimum wage. The only way you can have workers keep pace with what has happened is to increase the minimum wage. All we are proposing in the Gephardt bill, which I am a cosponsor of, is a measly 45-cent increase in two steps, a 90-cent increase in the minimum wage.

The Republican majority says they will not entertain any discussions of any increase in the minimum wage.

So we need to fight to increase the minimum wage. We need to fight to guarantee the right to organize unions in the worker replacement provisions. To end striker replacement, we have to first support President Clinton's Executive order. We need to fight to maintain health and safety conditions in the workplace. There has been a fight on the Occupational Safety and Health Administration [OSHA]. We need to fight that.

We need to fight for cuts in the defense budget, those cuts that will downsize the budget and generate the money to fund the programs needed. We need to fight for an increase in foreign aid to Africa, Caribbean, Haiti. Haiti was one of our proudest moments in our foreign policy. The anniversary of the liberation of Haiti will take place shortly. We should take note of the fact it was a shining hour, a great moment, for American foreign policy.

We need to fight for an increase in the funds for youth crime prevention program. The majority has eliminated this program. We need to fight for an increase in those programs and a decrease in the prison funds to build prisons.

We need to fight and unite with the caring majority for the retention of Social Security as it is now. They are chipping away at Social Security. Do not believe what you hear. Stop moving the age requirement back. Stop tampering with the COLA's. This is an agenda for the caring majority. You need to move on an agenda that is focused.

I have a timetable. You need to have actions in your localities, in your States. You need to do things. Americans are not spectators. We are not put in that spectator role. Actions at the local level, make allies, all races, all sexes, all religions. And finally we need an action in Washington.

The whole culmination of this activity should take place in Washington. Washington is the place, Washington is the key. What happens here sends out signals. It determines the way things are going to go in the States and in the

cities. Washington does not provide all the money for our cities and local government, but they set the tone. So, therefore, at some time on this agenda, the climax has to be the caring majority with its agenda has to come to Washington in millions. The caring majority has to come.

I propose next spring, the anniversary of Tiananmen Square in China, why don't we come together and work toward it between now and next June? Tiananmen Square in China took place in the first week of June. Tiananmen Square I offer because it is so important to note the fact that a totalitarian government of China could not resist, could not stop the flow of information out from Tiananmen Square to the rest of the world. When you get that many people together with determination, they built statutes of liberty, the media was there. The media tends to try to ignore the caring majority agenda. You cannot get the same exposure for the caring majority agenda that you get for the Republican health care plan.

So a Tiananmen Square type operation, have a million people come together on the mall. You have an agenda. There is no question why you are there. Come together to confront the Congress, confront the White House. What we need most of all is direction for our Government. Let us plan to do it. You are not spectators in America. You have the right to get up and move. Let us use our right and let us make certain that the remaking of America does not take place while we are sitting on the sidelines. Troops, get ready. The march you make will be to save your own soul and your own nation.

#### THE TRUTH ON MEDICARE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HOKE] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. HOKE. Mr. Speaker, we have an off day today, and I thought that I would take advantage of the opportunity to both respond to some of the charges made with respect to Medicare and then probably, more importantly, talk about exactly what it is that we are going to me marking up next week with respect to a really very, very needed reform of the Medicare program in America.

I wanted to talk particularly to the senior citizens today, Mr. Speaker, because I know that there is a great deal of anxiety and concern and some confusion as well. My gosh, if I were watching this debate on a day-to-day basis at home and trying to ferret out the truth from the confusion, I think it would be a tremendous challenge.

So what I would like to do is, first of all, think about the one charge that has been raised on a daily basis with respect to Medicare by the minority

party, and then go into the actual details of what we are going to do.

What we have heard here on the floor on a regular basis is that Medicare is going to be slashed by \$270 billion over the next 7 years in order to pay for tax cuts for the rich. I would like to take that apart on a piece-by-piece basis and show that it is completely untrue. I would like to do it from the back end, because I think that the tax cuts for the rich is probably the kind of class warfare that turns one off, but has a kind of a hook. It is sort of like pornography. You know, people are offended by it, and they recognize that they are hearing something that is wrong and that there is something fundamentally wrong about it; but, at the same time, there is something attractive about it, because it seems as though there is a hook there.

Well, the hook of class warfare is it is an ugly hook, and it is a hook that basically says we should not aspire. It assumes that people do not want to aspire to the American dream and they do not want to aspire to be able to actually improve their position materially for themselves and for their families.

The fact is that with respect to the tax cut, it has absolutely nothing to do, nothing whatsoever, to do with Medicare. It has nothing to do with anything other than a tax cut. And the Medicare trust fund, which is the part A trust fund, is not affected by whether we raise taxes or whether we lower taxes.

The Medicare trust fund is actually funded by the 1.45 percent payroll tax that comes from people who have earned income, workers, employees, and employers. Anybody that has earned income gets taxed at 1.45 percent, the worker, the employee, plus another 1.45 percent on the employer. And there is no limit on what that amount of money can be. There used to be a cap. You know, the first \$60,000 or so of income is subject to the Social Security tax, and that that is what funds Social Security. But there is a ceiling on that, and the ceiling is the first \$60,000. There is no ceiling on the amount of money that is taxed for Medicare at this 1.45 percent amount.

All of that money goes into part A of the Medicare trust fund and it is part A of the Medicare trust fund, it is that HI, health insurance trust fund, that is going bankrupt.

I have some charts here. The reason we know it is going bankrupt is that the trustees of the trust fund are required by law to make a report to the President on an annual basis, to talk about and describe the actual status of the fund, of the trust fund themselves.

By the way, this is not a partisan group or political group. If it is political, it is partisan in terms of being members of the party of the President, whoever the President happens to be. In this case three of the members, three of the trustees are Robert Reich, the Secretary of Labor, Donna Shalala,