

military criminals, documents which show who committed the murders of 3,000 people, documents which show who armed the groups that drove our forces away from the pier in Haiti when we first went to Haiti peacefully. All those documents show who the perpetrators are, who financed the coup.

Yet our army, which seized those documents, is refusing to share them with the Haitian Government. It is a kind of racism. I know of no other situation where a country has gone in to liberate and help another country, seized documents which would lead to the prosecution of those people who are guilty of committing serious crimes in the country, and claimed those documents as their own. The Haitian people are suspicious. Jean-Bertrand Aristide is suspicious. The cousin of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who is a member of parliament, was recently assassinated in broad daylight.

When you add up these kinds of situations, our Government refusing to share documents which would prosecute the wrongdoers, and then a resurgence of violence so strong and so bold as to shoot down the cousin of the President, who is a member of parliament, then you can see what great suspicion sets in, where the Haitian Government under Aristide is wondering what is happening now.

The CIA in the past has not seemed to be operating hand in hand with the White House. The White House and the people there would say one thing, and the CIA would do another. The organization called FRAP, which created so much havoc in Haiti just before the return of Aristide, it was financed by the CIA it turned out.

These kind of contradictions and strange happenings lead to a bewildering array of activities that raise suspicion and eliminate what trust did exist. We can return that trust by providing judges, jails, and electricity, and giving back to the Haitian Government any documents which rightfully belong to that government.

□ 1430

INTRODUCTION OF THE WASHINGTON, DC, FISCAL PROTECTION ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GANSKE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, this is day 17 of the countdown to December 15. I am here every morning to try to see to it that if you shut down Federal agencies on that date, you do not shut down an entire city, the District of Columbia.

This, of course, was one of the all-time unintended consequences of the last shutdown. If we shut Federal agencies, the District of Columbia automatically shuts down. Mr. Speaker, these are apples and oranges. The Dis-

trict is a living, breathing city that delivers vital frontline services. A Federal agency is a creature of the Federal Government that delivers services that local communities find important but not vital to their day-to-day survival. Please, let us delink these two entities.

I have yesterday introduced an independent CR for the District of Columbia, so that if on December 15 another shutdown should occur, the District would be free from it. I have spoken to the Speaker, who appeared to be sympathetic to my concerns; the chair of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. TOM DAVIS, has cosponsored this special CR for the District of Columbia.

The shutdown of the District of Columbia was particularly galling and unnecessary, because 85 percent of the money in our appropriation was raised in the District of Columbia from District taxpayers. It should not be up here in the first place. But if it happens to be up here and caught in a shutdown, the very least that the Congress can do, in all decency, is to say, "Here, District of Columbia, you are entitled to spend your own money to keep your own city open." That is all I am asking. As to the Federal payment, some of it would remain, of course, locked up here, and yet we need that cash very much. Bear in mind that the Federal payment is a PILOT, a payment in lieu of taxes, thank you, no gift from the Federal Government, but a payment owed us. Nevertheless, that would be treated in the normal way.

Remember the city which I represent. It is second per capita in taxes paid to the Federal Government, yet it is the only jurisdiction that flies the American flag that does not have full home rule and full self-government.

All of you, make up and read the morning papers. You know about the condition of the District of Columbia. You know it now has a control board just to borrow, and that it is virtually insolvent. Surely the Congress does not mean to do more damage to the capital city of the United States. What is that damage? Imagine, the District of Columbia of course, has to pay employees even though they do not work, because they are forced onto administrative leave. There is that lost productivity, some of it completely irrecoverable.

These 3- or 4-week CR's do not allow a complicated city to operate, because a city cannot overobligate. If you are obligating on a basis of one-fourteenth, because you have a 14-day CR, and yet you have unfunded mandates like Medicaid or AFDC, you are put in an untenable position. And of course, if the District were overobligated, as we have seen, the Congress would be the very first to object and to criticize.

The District of Columbia has taken its hits and it knows it deserves its licks for what it has not done to keep its city in good shape. The very least the Congress, which has been profuse in its criticism, should do is to make sure it does no further harm to the District.

I have a D.C. Fiscal Protection Act, in addition to the CR for December 15, that would mean that whenever we get to the end of a fiscal year, the District could spend its own money until an appropriation cleared the Congress. Our appropriation is stuck up here on provisions added undemocratically by Members unaccountable to the voters of the District of Columbia. We may not be able to get it out for weeks and weeks.

Do not hold the District hostage. I represent a lot of innocent bystanders. Whatever you think of the Mayor or the city council or the delegate, remember these high taxpaying citizens who deserve a whole lot better. The last time the District got lost in the shuffle, even though the District was right here "in your face." This time, you will not be able to miss us, because I will be here every day on the countdown until December 15.

HONESTY IN DISCUSSING A BALANCED BUDGET

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. TAYLOR] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, a few minutes ago, the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE] extended me the courtesy of giving me one of his minutes. I would like to return that courtesy.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUND AND BALANCING THE BUDGET

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Mississippi for yielding to me.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. TAYLOR] raised the issue of whether there is, in fact, a Balanced Budget Act before us. I had spoken about the fact that, and I say "the fact" that the budget proposed by the majority, by the Republican majority, by Speaker GINGRICH, is going to take \$636 billion from the Social Security trust fund in order to so-call balance the budget. I want to quote at this point, so it is not just coming from me, but from Senator HOLLINGS in the other body:

You will expend another \$636 billion of the Social Security trust fund. We said we were raising the Social Security taxes to make certain there was trust in the trust fund through the year 2050.

That is why the FICA taxes, your Social Security tax, was raised previously, to make sure the trust fund was solvent. Now we are taking it.

Again, quoting Senator HOLLINGS:

When you put together the borrowing from the trust funds that must be replenished, you get the real deficit, the gross Federal deficit, and the gross interest costs.

Finally, again from Senator HOLLINGS:

Wait a minute. When you take the revenues in, the outlays out, and you look at

that figure, that is too high for me to run on in the next election, so we will take an amount of money out of the right pocket, put it into the left pocket, we will take \$636 billion from Social Security in this budget that we have under consideration, and put it in the general fund to make it appear we are balancing the budget. You will have to pay back Social Security with interest and at the end of the 7-year budget period, you will owe. At the end of the 7-year period, we will all have to pay back supposedly over \$1 trillion into the Social Security trust fund, and no one has any idea, not any Senator or House Member, who is going to introduce the increase in taxes to refund the Social Security trust fund.

Mr. Speaker, I wish the Speaker would come here and answer that question.

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, it came as quite a surprise to me yesterday in researching the Republican budget plan that was much touted on the floor of this House as being the balanced budget plan of 1995, said repeatedly, that the annual operating deficit for this Nation will actually increase by \$33 billion in fiscal year 1996 over this year. I think people need to know that. The budget deficit will increase from \$263 billion on an annual operating basis to \$296 billion on an annual operating basis.

Part of this, Mr. Speaker, will come from the trust funds that the gentleman from Hawaii [Mr. ABERCROMBIE] just mentioned: The \$118 billion that people paid into things like the Social Security trust fund will be used to disguise the true nature of this debt.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH] is for a balanced budget. I am for a balanced budget. Let us be honest with the American people. Let us not tell them we can spend more in spending, we can receive less in taxes, that we are already \$5 trillion in debt, paying \$1 million in interest payments every 2 minutes, 2 minutes, and somehow all of this is magically going to work without pain.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH] is my friend, but let us be honest with this. Let us be honest with the American people. This morning you told me you were willing to borrow \$75 billion so you could give people a minuscule tax break. They have to pay that back. That is not a gift. That is just loan sharking. You are taking money from them, you are giving them a little bit back, and they are going to have to pay back a whole heck of a lot more of the time they pay the interest. Let us be honest with the American people.

The second thing I want to mention, Mr. Speaker, is I have had a number of calls from home. I want to assure the people of south Mississippi that I was one of the first members of this body to be against putting American troops on the ground when President Bush asked me to do it, and I will remain opposed to that when President Clinton asks me to do it.

I traveled to that part of the world a few weeks ago, traveled up to the bor-

der posts in Macedonia, had the privilege with having lunch with some fellow Mississippians, a young man from Tupelo in particular, and from four-star officers to sergeant majors. Every one of them privately told me we should not get involved there. That is not our fight.

These people have been fighting each other for 700 years. The only peace they have known recently was the 45 or so years when Tito was in charge there, using the iron fist of communism, and he got the Bosnians to quit killing Muslims and the Muslims to quit killing Serbs and the Croatians to quit killing the others. As soon as the iron fist of communism was gone, they went back to killing each other.

Mr. Speaker, I want to close by saying that they told me that the smart weapons that worked so well in Desert Storm will not work in the cold, wet fog of Bosnia. We are going to send those kids on the ground, a bunch of them are going to die, and nothing good will come of it.

COMMON SENSE AND THE BUDGET

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. GRAHAM] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, I think a good way to start is to echo what the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. TAYLOR] just said. I agree with his analysis of Bosnia, and I hope that we can bring some common sense to bear on that issue.

Let us talk about the budget and see if we can get some common sense and a level of agreement on what we are trying to do up here in Congress. A lot of people have said they want to balance the budget. I hope they are sincere. My gut instinct is that some mean it and some do not. The best way to judge whether a person means what they say is to look at what they do.

When I was a prosecutor in the Air Force and a defense attorney, I had this as my guide. I never quite believed everything my client told me as a defense attorney, and when the accused said he did not do it, I did not stop the investigation there. I looked behind what people say, and you judge their actions by their deeds.

So when somebody comes up here and tells you they want to balance the budget, the first question you need to ask them is are they willing to spend within the revenues generated, because if you want to spend more than you take in, you are not going to balance the budget. Does anybody have any idea how much the Federal Government has grown since 1969? I do not have that answer right now, but I have been told it has been several hundred percent. I am trying to find out how much the Federal Government has grown since we last balanced our Federal budget. I think the number is going to be shocking.

We have some folks visiting here today, and those that are listening at

home, what is your estimate that the Federal Government spends per person to run the Federal Government, on Federal Government programs? How much do you think we spend per person to operate the Federal government? Let me tell you what it was for the last 7 years. Over a 7-year period, we spent \$145,962 on a family of four. We spent \$9.5 trillion over the last 7 years to run the Federal Government.

We have come up with a new budget that balances, that has been certified to balance. Guess how much we spend as Republicans, the mean old Republicans who want to devastate everything? Guess how much money we have spent? Twelve trillion dollars. Where does that \$12 trillion come from? It comes from you, the taxpayer; it comes from you, the senior citizen. It is hard to make the money, it is far too easy to spend the money up here, but over the next 7 years we are going to take \$12 trillion of your money and run this Federal Government.

I ask one simple thing of my colleagues: Let that be enough. Twelve trillion dollars is enough to spend in Washington, DC. We can argue about how to spend it, we can rearrange the \$12 trillion pie, we can move money around, but for the sake of future generations, for the sake of fiscal sanity, please do not spend more than \$12 trillion of hard-earned taxpayer money.

Do you know what that equates to, for a family of four over a 7-year period? It is \$184,373 that will be spent by your Federal Government on a family of four. It is hard to make that much money and it is far too easy to spend it. If you do not like the tax cuts, fine. If you think we have spent too much money on defense, fine. If you think we have not spent enough money on Medicare, fine. Just agree with me and every other American who knows the facts. Rearrange the \$12 trillion pie, and do not go into our pockets any deeper. We do not have much of a picket left as it is. This is not a shoestring budget. Twelve trillion dollars is unimaginable. They tell me that if you spend \$1 million a day from the time of Christ to the present, you would not have spent \$1 trillion.

Mr. Speaker, I ask the people who are listening here, Members of Congress, to agree on one simple fact: That we can run an efficient nation on \$12 trillion, we can satisfy legitimate needs on \$12 trillion, and that any politician who wants to spend more than \$12 trillion has a problem. They do not need to be up here.

THE IMPACT OF THE CUTS IN EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. GENE GREEN, is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my colleague, the gentleman from South