

present time from which they are going to sacrifice least \$2,000.

Why are we doing that? Is it to balance the budget? No, not even the first step on that. Not a single economist of some 20 or so, mostly chosen by the Republican majority for their willingness to say what the majority wanted them to say, not a single one of those economists supported the tax cut as a way to get about balancing the budget.

Is it to reduce the deficit? Well, here is a chart that shows indeed what the deficit is and what it has been over a period of time. And you can see this massive deficit that was built up during the Reagan years and the Bush years, year after year, after many years of nearly balanced budgets and then slowly rising, but this huge deficit in the Reagan and the Bush years, year after year after year.

But, no, it is not going to reduce the deficit. Because after the amendment that we adopted today which allows the savings to come from the welfare bill, the welfare reform bill, those savings are not to be used for reducing the deficit. They are, in fact, to be used to give a massive tax cut to the richest among us.

Fifty billion dollars of moneys from families, from the 5 million families with under \$15,000 a year is going to be transferred. Fifty billion dollars is going to be transferred to the 2 million families who have now presently over \$200,000 per year. Each one of those families is going to see almost \$5,000 per year for the next 5 years on average of tax reductions.

Now, where is the sacrifice here for those 2 million families who presently make over \$200,000 per year under the present tax laws? Where is the sacrifice there? I know, if you hadn't already guessed, there is not a single family of a Congressman or Congresswoman who is going to be sacrificing a penny in that process.

And what are we as Americans going to be gaining from this? Are we going to get growth in the economy by putting people to work or a lower unemployment rate?

Well, every time the economy looks as if it is going to take off and grow a bit or the unemployment rate goes below 6 percent, the Federal Reserve Chairman, Alan Greenspan, raises the interest rate to cut the growth rate and to put people out of work.

Where is the sacrifice for all of those 2 million families that are going to be given \$50 billion in tax cuts that is going to be taken from the 5 million families and their 9½ million children, families that have less than \$15,000 a year of income?

Well, there is a sacrifice here ultimately, even if it is a little hard to see. And it may take a few years to see it, and it comes in crime particularly.

Because we are going to see in a few years down the road thousands more people in prisons, prisons that cost \$60,000 a cell to build and \$20,000 to maintain a prisoner in one of those cells. We are going to see more drive-

by shootings and more thefts and robberies and house breaks and drug abuse and sales of drugs. And it will only take a few more years. That is a few years down the road.

In all of my years in the legislature of my State, and there were quite a number of those, and my few years, 4 years now, in the Congress, that is the most vicious and the most far-reaching attack on children that I have ever seen, and I have seen more than a few of those in my years in government.

Because whenever you need to cut revenues, whenever you need to cut expenditures, children are targeted. They can't fight back. They can't vote.

But some of us are going to fight back for them.

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

[Mr. WISE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mrs. SCHROEDER addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I visited or 2 days ago I visited in Sheffield Lake in Lorain County in my district the Tennyson Elementary School to see the School Lunch Program up close and to talk to students and teachers and parents and administrators and cafeteria people.

I was taken around by a couple of third graders, Will Emery and Zach Russell, and met with lots of students, Jennifer Ward and her two sisters, who had some things to tell us, with Mrs. Armstead, the principal, and with several other people that all agreed on one thing. People, whether it is from a PTA or from school administrators or teachers or parents, the one thing they agree on about the School Lunch Program is that if it ain't broke don't fix it.

And perhaps I shouldn't use grammar like that talking about a grade school, but when you think about all the talk, that the Republicans say it is block grants and the Democrats say that these are very real cuts as they are about nutrition programs for children and about school lunches, the fact is, as my friend from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON] said a few minutes ago this has been a program in existence for 49 years.

It works. There is simply no reason to fix something that is not broken. It

is a government program that works. It is for the future of our children.

Why mess with it? Why make these radical, divisive kinds of changes that Republicans are suggesting about school lunch? It simply doesn't make sense.

PRESSLER AMENDMENT

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I would like, Mr. Speaker, to shift gears and talk about another matter, different from the school lunch issue that people have been debating tonight.

In 10 days, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, is coming to Washington to meet with the President.

Business Week magazine reports that one of Bhutto's key goals in courting President Clinton is to ease enforcement of the Pressler amendment. The Pressler amendment, Mr. Speaker, prevents Pakistan from obtaining 60 F-16 fighter jets.

The Pressler amendment made good sense when it was enacted, and it makes better sense today because of the political and social upheaval that is wracking Pakistani society and threatening the stability of the Bhutto government.

Pakistan is in a chaotic state. Just in recent weeks, we have witnessed:

The murder earlier this month of two American diplomats in Karachi;

A show trial in which two Christians, one of them a 14-year-old boy, were sentenced to death for blasphemy against Islam and narrowly escaped Pakistan with their lives; and

A stunning piece of journalism by the New York Times Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, John Burns.

Mr. Speaker, I will include in the RECORD the article from the New York Times by Mr. Burns.

At considerable risk to himself, John Burns has traced a good deal of the world's terrorist activity to the University of Dawat and Jihad in Peshawar, Pakistan. Roughly translated, it is the University of the Community of the Holy War. It is simply a school for terrorism.

According to Mr. Burns, "Just about everyone has a hidden Kalashnikov assault rifle."

The university is a haven for Muslims militants from throughout Asia and the Arab world. The University of Dawat and Jihad is under investigation as a possible training ground for terrorists who have struck in the Philippines, Central Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and now investigators believe the World Trade Center bombing in New York 2 years ago.

Burns says that the area in and around Peshawar represents, "One of the most active training grounds and sanctuaries for a new breed of international terrorists."

According to high-ranking U.S. diplomats, students are taught that the Islamic renaissance has to be born out of blood and by only striking at the West will Islam ever be able to dictate events in the world and events have

been dictated up to now by the West. Burns says intelligence reports in recent years have suggested that militants trained here have taken part in almost every conflict where Muslims have been involved. For instance, the Philippines, where there was an attempt on Pope John Paul II's life; the Middle East; of course, Bosnia; Tajikistan; and certainly in Kashmir, where the Kashmiri Pandits have been the target of ethnic cleansing carried out as part of a campaign of terrorism.

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Pakistan supporters cite the threat posed by Islamic terrorists as a reason not to pressure from us the Bhutto government. But then they turn around and say that Pakistan is a stable government and that the extremists represent only a tiny fraction, a tiny minority of the population.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that supporters of Pakistan can have it both ways. We should insist that Prime Minister Bhutto stand up to Islamic extremists and repeal the blasphemy laws that are the method of choice for abusing the human rights of Christians and abusing the human rights of other Pakistani minorities.

We should insist that Pakistan bust up the terrorist network operating on Pakistani soil, a network that is spreading violence and frustrating political solutions throughout South Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and even here in the United States.

We should insist that Pakistan crack down on extremists. And, Mr. Speaker, in closing, until Pakistan demonstrates that it is ready to participate in the world community as a responsible player, any consideration of waiving the Pressler amendment must simply be out of the question.

The article referred to follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 20, 1995]

A NETWORK OF ISLAMIC TERRORISM TRACED TO
A PAKISTANI UNIVERSITY
(By John F. Burns)

PESHAWAR, PAKISTAN, March 19.—Glimpsed from a taxi, there is nothing obviously sinister about the University of Dawat and Jihad. Like much of the sprawling Afghan refugee camp that surrounds it, the campus crouches unobtrusively behind high walls of sun-baked clay. Beyond a guardhouse, clusters of young men in Afghan tribal garb move about languidly.

The scene could be anywhere in this tense and often lawless region along the frontier with Afghanistan. There is no police presence for miles around, and no sign of any other Government authority. In the bazaars that line the road running past the university, the name of which translates roughly as "University of the Community of the Holy War," just about everybody has a hidden Kalashnikov assault rifle, and a sharp eye for anything deemed intrusive, especially Westerners.

But nothing in this atmosphere of suspicion and imminent violence compares with the university, which for years has had a reputation as a haven for Muslim militants from Arab and Asian countries. Now, top Pakistani police officials say, it is under investigation as a possible training ground for

terrorists who have struck in the Philippines, Central Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and even, investigators now believe, in the 1993 explosion of a 500-pound bomb in the basement of the World Trade Center in New York that killed six people and wounded more than 1,000.

This weekend, American investigators were working behind the scenes here with Pakistan's intelligence services, scouring for links to the bombing as well as the recent attack on Americans by gunmen who leapt from a taxi 12 days ago in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, shooting to death two Americans who were driving to work at the United States Consulate.

Officials interviewed here said today that the questioning of six suspects captured a week ago has led to further arrests. A top police official said details of the newest arrests would not be made known for "a couple of days."

"But," he said, "these are not innocent citizens, I can tell you."

So feared has the university become that even men reared in the harsh gun culture of the Afghan frontier wilt at the sight of its gates.

"Don't go in there, sir, it is too dangerous. They can kill you," said Syed Gul, the taxi driver, watching anxiously in his rearview mirror for any sign that a black pickup truck idling at the campus gates might decide to give chase. Mr. Gul, one of 1.5 million Afghan refugees living around Peshawar, then sped away from the campus at Babbi, 20 miles east of Peshawar.

With its obsessive secrecy and hostility to outsiders, Al Dawat, as it is known, remains little but a name to most people in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province. But what has not been so much of a secret is that Peshawar, and the wild valleys and passes of the tribal areas along the Afghan border, have emerged as one of the most active training grounds, and sanctuaries, for a new breed of international terrorists fighting a jihad—a holy war—against Governments and other targets they regard as enemies of Islam.

Until the 1990's, Peshawar received scant notice among known terrorist training centers like Beirut, Teheran or Tripoli in the search for groups who hijack aircraft, assassinate public figures, and plant bombs.

But the two terrorist attacks involving American targets, have swung the spotlight on this ancient city at the eastern end of the Khyber Pass, where violence and intrigue are as much a part of the city's legacy as the towering battlements of its 19th-century fort.

Investigators, including a 50-member team from the F.B.I., are working in the knowledge that almost all the groups that have punctuated life in Karachi with drive-by shootings and mosque bombings have ties to Peshawar, either to the Arab-led terrorist underground or to gangs of gun-runners and heroin-traffickers who are based in the frontier province's tribal districts, historically ungovernable areas along the border with Afghanistan.

In the World Trade Center bombing, the clues being followed by the investigators are clearer. Beginning last weekend, Pakistani police working with officials of the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. began a round of arrests in Peshawar that have flowed from the discovery that Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, a prime suspect in the New York attack, used Peshawar as a base for several years. He was seized in a joint American-Pakistan's capital, on Feb. 7, and immediately deported to face trial in New York.

RAID IN ISLAMABAD SHAKES MILITANTS

The arrest of Mr. Yousef in Islamabad set off a chain of events that has rocked the Peshawar underground and resulting this weekend in the issuing of a police alert for two men identified as Abdul Karim and Abdul Munim, who the officials said are Mr. Yousef's brothers.

The six men seized a week ago are being held at a jail at Adiala, outside Islamabad, on suspicion of involvement in the World Trade Center bombing and a botched attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II during his visit in January in Manila, the capital of the Philippines. They included three Arabs, an Iranian, a naturalized Pakistani born in Syria and a native-born Pakistani.

Nervousness among American officials over the possibility of revenge killings led the top diplomat at the United States Consulate in Peshawar, Richard H. Smyth, to announce on Friday that the American Club in the city, long a favorite gathering place for diplomats, relief workers and others, would be closed temporarily, as would the American school. Similar steps were taken in Karachi.

The risks for Americans seem unlikely to diminish, at least in the short run, especially if Pakistan follows through on another move that top officials here hinted at today—closing Al-Dawat University.

"It has to go," one official said, noting that the questioning of Mr. Yousef, and of others seized since, have confirmed that his links in Peshawar were mainly to an Afghan group headed by Abdul Rab Rasool Sayyaf, the university's founder. Mr. Sayyaf, a militant Muslim with strong anti-American leanings, established the school and recruited its staff and students in the mid-1980's.

In many ways, Al-Dawat serves as a symbol for the events that turned Peshawar into a terrorist haven. The a law-abiding reputation, going back to the days when Britain, as the colonial power in what was then India, fought fierce battles against the Pathans who dominate both sides of the border with Afghanistan, and eventually allowed them a broad degree of autonomy. In the idiom of 19th-century Britain, "the frontier" became synonymous with fierce warriors, banditry, and a culture of guns and revenge.

A FLOOD OF ARMS AFTER SOVIET SWEEP

But the uneasy balance with the border tribes that was achieved by Britain, and later Pakistan, tipped after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. The huge amounts of weapons and money that the United States, Saudi Arabia and other nations poured into supporting Afghan groups established in Peshawar unleashed new levels of lawlessness on the frontier.

This anything-goes atmosphere encouraged large numbers of foreigners—mainly Arabs but also Asians, Europeans and some Americans—to volunteer to fight with the Afghan guerrilla groups. According to a high-ranking Pakistani military officer, 25,000 of these volunteers were trained with assistance from Pakistan's military intelligence agency, Inter-Services Intelligence, during the 1980's.

Some died in Afghanistan, and some went home after Soviet troops withdrew in 1989, but others remained in and around Peshawar or across the border in Afghanistan, "looking for other wars to fight," as the Pakistan's Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, put it in Karachi last week.

According to Western diplomats familiar with the investigations, current American estimates of the number of Arabs, Asians and others currently active in terrorist groups with bases here run to about 1,000. Of

these, some are believed to have taken sanctuary inside Afghanistan, with Afghan armed groups that have Muslim fundamentalist leanings, including Mr. Sayyaf's. Police officials in Peshawar said this appeared to have been the pattern with Mr. Yousef.

"He'd stay here for a few days, then disappear into Afghanistan for months, then come back," the official said.

Others are said to have taken refuge in what are known here as the "inaccessible" areas of the frontier, meaning regions where no Pakistani laws apply. But a large number, according to diplomats and police officials, still live in and around Peshawar, using as cover some of the 18 Arab educational and relief organizations that registered with the Pakistani authorities during the Afghan war, among them the Al Dawat University. "Some of these organizations actually do what they are supposed to be doing," one diplomat said, scanning a list of the groups. "But others are just fronts for terrorism."

Another high-ranking diplomat said that Pakistani officials had been aware for years that at Al Dawat and other training centers, youths were being taught that Muslims had a duty to join in an international brotherhood that could avenge the humiliations Muslims are said to have suffered at the hands of the west.

"They are taught that the Islamic renaissance has to be born out of blood, and that only by striking at the West will Islam ever be able to dictate events in the world, as events have been dictated up to now by the West," the diplomat said.

A FLOW OF GUERRILLAS TO OTHER CONFLICTS

According to the diplomats, intelligence reports in recent years have suggested that militants trained here have taken part in almost every conflict where Muslims have been involved. The diplomats said Muslims trained here have fought in places including Mindanao, the largest of the Philippine islands, where Mr. Yousef is said to have had links with a Muslim insurgency; the Indian-held portion of the state of Kashmir, where 500,000 Indian troops and police officers are tied down by a Muslim revolt; the former Soviet Republic of Tajikistan; Bosnia; and several countries in North Africa that face Muslim rebellions, including Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria.

Like previous Pakistani Governments, Ms. Bhutto's has responded to Western pressures cautiously, fearing a backlash from powerful Muslim groups within Pakistan.

But many senior Pakistani officials resent Western pressures, saying that the terrorist groups that became established here got their start under politics that the United States and other Western countries eagerly supported, so long as the target was the Soviet Union.

"Don't forget, the whole world opened its arms to these people," one senior official said. "They were welcomed here as fighters for a noble cause, with no questions asked. They came in here by the dozens, and nobody thought to ask them: when the Afghan Jihad is over, are you going to get involved in terrorism in Pakistan? Are you going to bomb the World Trade Center?"

"The Afghan War was a holy war for everybody, including the Americans, and nobody bothered to think beyond it," the official said.

MORE ON WELFARE REFORM AND BLOCK GRANTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from

California [Ms. PELOSI] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to call to the attention of our colleagues H.R. 4. My colleagues who are viewing this from home, our friends who are viewing this from home should read this and weep. This is the Republican welfare proposal. It rewards the rich, cheats children and is weak on work.

But one particular aspect of this proposal is the federal children's nutrition program which I wish to address this evening.

My colleague earlier this evening referenced the fact that the child nutrition programs came into being following World War II, when the military told us that our recruits were malnourished and this took its toll on their physical and mental well-being. Since that time, feeding the hungry has not been a debatable issue in our country. Indeed, President Richard Nixon said, a child ill-fed is dulled in curiosity, lower in stamina and distracted from learning.

This has been our national policy until now. The proposal that the Republicans have placed on the table will take food off the table for America's poor children. And this is why.

You have heard much discussion here this evening about whether the Republican proposal is a cut or is not a cut in what they call the school lunch program. But what we are addressing in this bill is the full federal children's nutrition program. So if we are only talking about school lunch, then you are talking about a situation where the Republicans are saying, we are not cutting school lunch. But what they are cutting are the after-school and summer programs. They are giving the same amount of money and they say with an increase except they are cutting out one very important facet of the children's nutrition program.

In addition to that, they are making this a block grant and not an entitlement. Under the law now, there is a formula for needs-based, a formula that is needs-based for children who are poor. And now the Republican proposal will eliminate that entitlement and call it a block grant instead, which means a definite amount of money will be sent to the states. Why does that create a problem?

For the following reasons: First, in that block grant, there is a reduction of the money for the full children's nutrition program, including school lunch, school-based lunch program, and assistance for after-school and summer programs. These programs are very important to day care, children in day care who have to stay after school because their parents work. And work is the goal that we have for the welfare program. So that undermines that goal there.

Second, in this block grant, it removes eligibility, so you do not have to be poor to be a beneficiary of the Republican proposal, which means that

poor children will get less nutrition because more children can avail themselves of the program. This is supposed to be needs-based.

In addition to that, on the block grant program, it only says that a governor must spend 80 percent of the money that the Federal Government sends to the state. The governor only has to spend 80 percent of the money on the children's nutrition programs.

So already we have had a reduction of 20 percent because that is all the requirement is.

This is why people are concerned about what they hear coming out of Washington, DC. People are not fools. People who have received this benefit because it is necessary for children's nutrition know when they are getting cut. And then to hear semantics used about, well, when I said school lunch program, I did not mean after school or I did not mean summer school. Well, we are talking about the children's nutrition program. Let us refer to it there, and that is being cut. And eligibility is being removed and the requirement to spend all the money is being removed.

This is not even a fight between domestic spending versus defense spending, as is classic in this body, because this came from the military, recognizing the deficiencies and the malnutrition that they saw in our troops coming out of World War II. So this is about the strength of our country.

I did not even really get started. What I want to just say is that what the Republicans are doing is a real cut in the children's nutrition program. The welfare proposal they are proposing should not even contain a nutrition cut. Nutrition has never been part of the welfare program. It rewards the rich because that is what this cut is about, giving a tax break to the wealthiest Americans. It cheats children, and it is weak on work.

I urge my colleagues to oppose the legislation.

REPUBLICAN SHELL GAME

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

(Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to address the House tonight. I want to compliment our speaker on his ability tonight, but also when I heard last week that you were fortunate to have Dave Berry sit in your office just briefly as your press secretary, you are a very brave man, Mr. Speaker.

Let me talk about the welfare bill that we are considering because that has been the topic this evening. The Republican shell game continues with the lives of the children hanging in the