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No. 14

## House of Representatives

The House met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. STEARNS].

### DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,  
January 24, 1995.

I hereby designate the Honorable CLIFF STEARNS to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

NEWT GINGRICH,  
*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

### MORNING BUSINESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 4, 1995, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning hour debates. The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with each party limited to not to exceed 30 minutes, and each Member except the majority and minority leaders limited to not to exceed 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. VISCLOSKY] for 5 minutes.

### IN SUPPORT OF A BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. VISCLOSKY. Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that the President and the Congress will find the collective courage necessary to balance the budget without a constitutional imperative. I, therefore, rise today in support of the Stenholm-Schaefer balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution because I have run out of patience.

America has always been the land of opportunity. The assumption of a better life for each generation was one of the defining characteristics of our Na-

tion. Throughout our history, people just like my grandparents have come here to build a better life for themselves and their children. Each generation's hard work paves the way so those who follow could travel farther down the road of prosperity.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, in recent decades the economic policies of this country have caused us to lose our way. We have borrowed to achieve a false sense of prosperity today, leaving the bills for our children to pay tomorrow.

In 1992, our Government spent \$290 billion more than it had. This means that in 1992 alone, \$1,150 was borrowed from every single person in America. Over the past 20 years, the average budget deficit has grown from \$36 billion in the seventies to \$156 billion in the eighties, to the unprecedented \$248 billion hole we have dug for ourselves in the 1990's.

This hole, our debt, is a money pit where we throw taxpayers' dollars. In fact, interest payments on the national debt, which is the accumulation of our deficits, now surpass the annual deficit. During the current fiscal year, the projected deficit of \$176 billion will be significantly less than the \$213 billion we must pay in interest. In other words, we are taking in more than enough money to pay for all the programs and activities of the Federal Government. We just do not have enough money to pay off our previous bills.

Previous budget deficits soak up our private savings and eat away at our economic well-being, resulting in reduced wage rates and fewer jobs, often hitting the highly paid manufacturing sector the hardest.

Economics professor Benjamin Friedman writes:

At the deepest level, an economic policy that artificially boosts consumption at the expense of investment, dissipates assets, and runs up debt, flies in the face of essential

moral values that have always motivated each generation's sense of obligation to those that follow. We are enjoying what appears to be a higher, more stable standard of living by selling our children's economic birthright.

I am absolutely convinced that the best thing we can do for today's men and women and for their children is to begin balancing the budget now. In the past I have steadfastly opposed amending the Constitution for this purpose, because it has always been within our power to balance the budget without a constitutional mandate. However, the trend of increasing budget deficits has demonstrated three administrations' and Congress' lack of resolve to make the tough decisions required to achieve a balanced budget.

The rhetoric I hear today does nothing to convince me that we will change our buy-now-and-pay-later ways. Many talk about balancing the budget, while also calling for increased defense spending and lower taxes. These are the same misguided economic policies that tripled our national debt during the past 12 years. Republican George Bush called it voodoo economics. Sadly, a constitutional amendment may be the only way to force us to re-examine our priorities, to balance the budget, and cease mortgaging our Nation's future.

In 1798 Thomas Jefferson said that if he could add one amendment to the Constitution, it would be to prohibit the Federal Government from borrowing money.

In a 1992 congressional hearing, Lawrence Tribe said:

The Jeffersonian notion that today's populace should not be able to burden future generations with excessive debt, does seem to be the kind of fundamental value that is worthy of enshrinement in the Constitution.

Since I was elected to Congress, we have asked young men and women to give their lives to defend the ideals of our country. Compared to this, I do not

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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believe that asking the people of our Nation to receive just a little bit less of an increase in the Government payments they receive is to great a sacrifice to guarantee the future of our country. The time has come to enshrine the fundamental value of a balanced budget in the Constitution, and to distribute short-term sacrifice fairly and equitably among Americans of all ages.

We must remember, however, that voting for a balanced budget amendment is the easy part. The amendment has overwhelming public support, and simply voting yes puts each of us on the right side of public opinion without having to make the tough choices that will put the budget into balance.

It would be a cruel hoax on the American people to pass a balanced budget amendment without beginning to actually balance the budget now. If we start our work today, the impact will be less painful and our decisions less difficult than if we continue to postpone tough decisions.

#### BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentlewoman from Missouri [Ms. MCCARTHY] is recognized during morning business for 1 minute.

Ms. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday we will begin debate on a resolution to add an amendment to the Constitution to require a balanced budget.

The fiscal mismanagement that has existed at the Federal level has compelled this body to seek a constitutional remedy to our exploding debt problem. Over the years, attempts at statutory discipline have failed miserably. The succession of such failed statutory remedies—from Gramm-Rudman-Hollings in 1987 to the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990—litters the legislative landscape and affirms the need for a balanced budget amendment. It appears obvious that we need the discipline of a constitutional amendment to control Federal spending.

However, notwithstanding the need for the procedural discipline that a constitutional amendment will bring, we are fooling ourselves if we think the votes we will cast this week for the balanced budget amendment are the difficult votes. No, the truly tough votes will occur this spring and summer and in subsequent springs and summers when we turn to the budget and appropriations process. At that time we will see whether we are serious about cutting the deficit and whether we will make the sacrifices necessary to end the days of deficit spending.

During the course of last year's campaign I pledged support for the balanced budget amendment; I am committed to keep that promise. However, of equal importance will be my commitment to find ways to cut government spending without transferring that burden to the States or the elderly. Reducing government spending should be the goal of every

Member in this body, but that goal has to be reached without shifting the costs to other levels of government or those least able to pay.

#### THE 84TH CONGRESS, AN AUSPICIOUS MARKER FOR A PROUD DEMOCRATIC LEGACY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FATTAH] is recognized during morning business for 4 minutes.

Mr. FATTAH. Mr. speaker, I am interested to hear that, from the point of view of some, the past 40 years of Democratic leadership in the Congress has been disastrous. The Democrats have squandered public resources, destroyed national institutions, and in general presided over the complete destruction of that ideal called the American Way of Life.

As I look back on those 40 years, a very different picture unfolds for me as the legacy of the Democratic Party. And since nothing is so liberating or enlightening as a simple statement of the truth, it would be useful for this body in general, and for my Democratic colleagues in particular, to review the historical reality, and from time to time, to remind ourselves what it has meant, and what it still means today, to be the Party of the people.

Let us start with 1955, Mr. Speaker—exactly 40 years ago. That was the 84th Congress, and even then Democrats were pursuing peace among nations, while building the physical, economic, and social infrastructure which this great nation requires to support the lives of its people.

Most significant among all the actions taken during the 84th Congress was the increase in the minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1 per hour. It is important to mark that point in history—that in the very beginning of this much maligned 40 year period, the Democratically-controlled Congress took action to improve the lot of the broadest possible base of our society. This was not an action which benefited only a few of the wealthiest individuals—like a capital gains tax. This was an action which benefited the entire Nation, because it lifted the boats stuck at the bottom and set a new and higher minimum standard of living for all Americans. Far from destroying the American way of life, Mr. Speaker, Democrats have defined the American way of life and brought it within reach of us all.

To normalize relationships with potential international partners, working with the President, the 84th Congress ratified the Southeast Atlantic Treaty Organization, established peace with Austria, and liberated Germany from Allied occupation.

To secure the nation, they established the national reserves.

In order to stimulate economic development, they built four major dams which provided electricity to the upper Colorado River region.

In order to stimulate economic development, they built four major dams which provided provided electricity to the upper Colorado River region.

To stabilize the agriculture industry, they established the soil bank program which insulated farmers from fluctuations in farm prices.

To connect this vast Nation from sea to shining sea, the Democratic 84th Congress initiated a 41,000-mile interstate superhighway program, and established the user-fee-financed highway trust fund to help pay for it.

To protect the quality of our environment for future generations, they passed and funded the Water Pollution Control Act of 1956.

A simple assertion of the truth, Mr. Speaker. I cannot imagine a more auspicious marker for our proud Democratic legacy than that provided by the 84th Congress. A self-governing people cooperatively managing their society, meeting their immediate needs, and providing for their future through the processes of government.

From this podium during the coming year, I will demonstrate by such simple statements of the unvarnished truth, that the American way is the way of the Democratic Party. Democrats have served this Nation well. We must claim and proclaim and embrace it as our mission to carry this great, but not yet perfect Nation forward as one Nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

#### TWO PROVISIONS WHICH BELONG IN BUDGET LEGISLATION, NOT IN A BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HOKE] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOKE. Mr. Speaker, I want to speak this morning about the balanced budget amendment that we are going to begin consideration of either later today or tomorrow.

This body is going to consider a bill which has two very, very important features in it. The one is a three-fifths majority to raise the debt ceiling of the Federal Government, and the other is a three-fifths majority to increase taxes, both of which are needed and are absolutely good policy and should be enacted.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, there are other issues and there are other sections of the amendment that we are going to consider that really do not belong in a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. The ones I am thinking of specifically have to do with, first of all, a requirement that the President of the United States submit to the Congress a budget that purports to be in balance, or that the Congress of the United States should adopt a budget that purports to be in balance.