

they want to evade observing the basic provisions of the ABM Treaty through agreeing with Russia the kind of parameters of so-called non-strategic anti-missile defense (or theater ABM) which would make this system entirely capable of setting strategic tasks too.

The idea of conducting talks on demarcating strategic and non-strategic ABM defense and agreeing on the specifications of the latter in the form of a separate accord was proposed to us by the Americans. Even the specific time schedules for conducting them were outlined. Reports have appeared to the effect that within the Pentagon's apparatus the accelerated preparation of a draft of such an agreement has begun. But the Americans themselves unexpectedly refused to continue the talks. Why?

Undoubtedly the emergence of a republican majority in the U.S. Congress plays a fairly major role here. The Congressmen have obviously decided not to be hasty as regards expanding cooperation with Russia and will try to wring new concessions from it. And in this connection, [they have decided] not to be in any hurry with getting up the ABM accord proposed by Washington shortly beforehand.

But there is also another side to this matter. The Americans' proposals on ABM defense have proved to be in direct contradiction to the limitations on strategic offensive arms envisaged by the START-II Treaty, and may hinder its ratification. And after all, it is extremely advantageous for the United States, and Washington is very interested in its implementation. That is why it should be expected that following the conclusion of the ratification process, the Americans proceed to additional steps to "push through" ideas in the sphere of anti-missile defense that will in fact lead to the collapse of the ABM Treaty.

Discussions can also be heard among independent American experts to the effect that once it has achieved significant reductions of Russian strategic offensive weapons, the Pentagon will stake its all, and, using its own homespun interpretations of the provisions of the ABM Treaty, will de facto stop taking it into account. Particularly since in the Pentagon's understanding, the ABM Treaty will not restrict the theater ABM. Admittedly, at the same time, the fact that this is a question of mobile ground-, sea-, and air-based ABM systems, which are banned by this treaty, is being deliberately kept quiet.

And I would like to stress the following here. Until the sides agree where the distinction between authorized and banned activity lies in respect of such ABM systems, there are no grounds for stating unilaterally that the creation of a particular ABM theater of military operations systems corresponds to the treaty and does not undermine it. Otherwise, the entire process of arms control might as well be scrapped.

Although the rumors about a "Russian nuclear mafia" are somewhat exaggerated, according to Mikhail Kulik, Northern Fleet military prosecutor's office investigator for special cases, cited by the paper CHAS PIK, there are criminal groupings in the Northwest region that are busy trying to get into depots containing nuclear materials.

The conference in St. Petersburg was attended by atomic energy specialists from Russia, the CIS countries, and Lithuania, senior officials from the International Atomic Energy Agency European Commission, representatives of the European Fuel Cycle Consortium, and nuclear experts. It was noted that the EU spent \$400 million in 1991-1994 on improving the system of safeguarding nuclear safety in the countries on the territory of the former USSR. This involves training specialists at Obninsk and develop-

ing a robot capable of performing radioactivity measures, which is being designed at the Radium Institute in St. Petersburg. It was stressed that the EU is interested in importing nuclear materials from Russia on the basis of proper agreements, provided that effective international nonproliferation guarantees are found.

INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ON SECURITY OF NUCLEAR MATERIAL

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] is not aware of a single case of weapons-grade nuclear materials being smuggled out of Russia. This was stated by the press secretary of the FIS director to the Ekho Moskvy radio station.

To recall, STERN magazine alleges that Viktor Sidorenko, Russian deputy defense minister for nuclear energy, was involved in the 1994 scandal when 239 grams of weapons-grade plutonium was brought to Munich.

"There may be some minor theft from Russian civilian nuclear installations, but the military nuclear network so far appears to be sealed," Tatyana Samolis said.

"Only an expert analysis can reveal when the radioactive materials were manufactured and where they come from. These analyses have proved that there has been no smuggling of weapons-grade nuclear materials from Russian territory," she added. [passage omitted—reiteration of allegations that the Munich plutonium was of European origin]

NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS STILL NOT 'AS WE WOULD LIKE'

[Report by Yuriy Kukanov: "Rumors About a 'Russian Nuclear Mafia' Are Highly Exaggerated"]

ST. PETERSBURG.—Talk about the danger of nuclear terrorism has clearly alluded to a "Russian fingerprint" in the international smuggling of radioactive materials. Asked by your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent to comment on reports about German special services' involvement in an incident at Munich airport in which a container of plutonium 239 from Moscow was detained late August, Rolf Linkohr, president of the European Energy Foundation and member of the European Parliament, replied that he knew nothing about it. If it had occurred, he said, there would have been a government crisis in Germany.

Anyway, he said, it is immaterial where nuclear materials are being stolen—in the East or in the West. This view was supported by his foreign colleagues attending the first international meeting on cooperation between the European Union, the CIS, and the Baltic countries in the sphere of control over the use of nuclear materials, held in St. Petersburg in mid-April. The main thing, they stressed, is to combat this evil, create reliable national systems for recording nuclear materials, and strengthen the rules controlling their nonproliferation on the territory of the CIS and the Baltic countries. The EU countries were not mentioned.

We must combat it, of course. But it is not very clear how, if we do not know where the thefts are taking place. Lev Ryabev, Russian first deputy minister of atomic energy, flatly denied the story of a "Russian fingerprint" on nuclear contraband. There are rigorous standards which enable us to tell who fissile materials belong to. The data on the isotope structures and composition of the permissible impurities of the highly enriched uranium and plutonium seized in West Europe unequivocally demonstrate their non-Russian origin.

But in the Russian nuclear house, too, all is not as well as we would like. The Atomic Energy Ministry representative cited earlier had to admit that there have been 18 thefts of nuclear materials in the past 18 months.

He was referring to the "Luch" enterprise near Moscow and a Moscow scientific research institution where several hundred grams of highly enriched uranium materials were stolen. Otherwise we are dealing with natural, depleted uranium with a low, 235 isotope content, which poses no real danger. In none of these cases has stolen material crossed the state border. But it is worth pointing out that in the 50-year existence of the Soviet nuclear industry there have been no incidents of that kind.

It is difficult to block for certain all escape routes. The country's checkpoints do not appear to be equipped with the proper apparatus to enable them to detect and prevent unauthorized exports of uranium and plutonium. Storage of nuclear materials at Army depots is a worry. Three officers are currently being tried in Severomorsk, accused of stealing three fuel assemblies for submarine nuclear reactors containing 4.5 kg of uranium. This is not the first time it has happened in the Northern Fleet. But nuclear fuel for submarines is still stored at depots like potatoes: The criminals only had to contend with a standard barn-door lock.

STRATEGIC MISSILE TROOPS SAID IN FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

[From the "Vremya" newscast]
[FBIS Translated Text] Military experts have never doubted that the design of Russian missile silos would enable them to withstand any movement of the earth's crust. After all, these silos are designed to withstand a nuclear attack by a possible enemy. However, some experts point out that by the year 2003, when the period of storage of Russian missile rocket complexes which are kept in a combat-ready condition comes to an end, the facilities where they are kept in suspension will be rather dilapidated.

However, the high command of the Russian strategic missile troops, which is responsible for all land silos and mobile missiles, says there is no concern about the technical condition of the nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, it also says that insufficient funding for new developments in the nuclear sector may lead to the complete nuclear disarmament of Russia as early as 2005, when SS-33 [as heard] type missiles will have outlived their potential.

Today, the missile troops, who are constantly monitoring the nuclear safety of Russia, live in accordance with the favorite expression of their commander in chief: anyone can be on combat alert when there is money, but try to do so without it.

Although the largest units of the Russian nuclear triad, the strategic missile troops, are supposed to use only eight percent of the Russian military budget, they say that they do not see even a small part of this money.

Yuriy Kononov, commander of the largest missile division in Europe and based near Saratov, says the danger lies not in earthquakes, but in the lack of money for the smallest part of the Russian Armed Forces. The administrative infrastructure is in disarray and there is a permanent danger of electricity power cuts at command points. It seems that Russia's nuclear safety does not depend on the design of missile silos after all. [Video shows missile silos which Russian strategic missile troops have for nuclear warheads; facility in an unidentified location, servicemen and women monitoring equipment, warheads being transported; Yuriy Kononov, identified as commander of a missile division stationed near Saratov, also shown]

VOTERS BILL OF RIGHTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May

12, 1995, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOEKSTRA] for 30 minutes.

Mr. HOEKSTRA. Mr. Speaker, tonight I come to reflect on the first months of this what in many ways may be an historic Congress. We have done what many people have said we could not do. Early in this year we met our commitments by passing many of the elements, but completing the Contract With America. We met our commitment of considering and voting on all of this legislation within 100 days. We actually did it within 93 days.

After we completed the Contract With America, we completed another historic activity which many people in America said we could not do, and that is we passed a House budget resolution which puts us on a 7-year glide path to a balanced budget. We then went on and did an additional thing that people said will never happen. We worked through our differences with the Senate and we passed a conference budget resolution that both the House and the Senate passed which again put us on a glide path, a 7-year glide path, to a balanced budget.

We are now completing this week or have already completed something else that people said we probably would not get done. We have passed 10 appropriations bills through the House of Representatives, 10 appropriations bills that match or are under the spending caps that were contained in our budget resolution. As we finish this week, we will probably complete two additional bills, so by the time we go on our recess, we will have completed 12 out of the 13 appropriations bills within the budget guidelines and the budget caps that were outlined in the conference budget resolution.

The interesting thing with this, as we have gone through this process, today in the Washington Times this report comes out. Three of four Americans distrust Government, the most in polling history. According to this, this came out of a joint survey by Democrat and Republican pollsters.

This I think reflects an unfinished agenda that I hope that this Congress will take up during the fall and the winter of 1995 and the winter of 1996. We have a responsibility to make this Government, to make this House, to make this town, more responsive to the American people, to bring back the interconnectiveness between the wishes, the desires of what the American people want and what we do here in Washington.

One of the primary reasons for this significant distrust of the American people is that so often what people and politicians say in their campaign ring hollow once they come to Washington.

Last week I introduced a series of bills that I call my Voters Bill of Rights, a series of legislative initiatives that will, I think, lay the framework, create the foundation, for I think renewing American citizenship. I have written some thoughts about why

I think this is needed, why I think it is important, and why I think that these initiatives will help deal with this problem of 75 percent of the American people not trusting what we do here in Washington.

The reason is that Washington has to start recognizing that the world is changing. There are forces at work in our society, in technology, in education, in business, and in health. They are moving us into an area of public policy which the current centralized bureaucracy, this current centralized Government in Washington, is incapable of addressing effectively.

The challenges we face in the coming years, whether it is Social Security, Medicare, taxation, health care, the Federal debt, if they are left unresolved, will undermine the legitimacy of our constitutional government. Our outdated systems in Washington I think need to be completely rethought. I believe that the Voters Bill of Rights will do that.

It is interesting to note that today more Americans between the ages of 18 and 40 believe in UFO's than believe in Social Security, or that Social Security will be there for them when they retire. They believe that we are wasting their money, and they feel helpless to act.

This national survey again said reasons that people listed for distrusting government include 93 percent believe that Washington is wasting their money. They feel helpless to act. Poor voter participation rates in recent elections reveal a deep lack of connectiveness between the American people and those who govern them. Elections have become more a battle of sound bites than a substantive debate about the issues facing our country.

Again, the survey indicates that 88 percent of the American people believe that politicians will say whatever it will take to get them elected, and do whatever they want once they are elected. We have to change that relationship and that process. Because when it comes right down to it, the bond between our citizens and their Government in Washington has been damaged because elected officials are unresponsive to critical issues. Issues and parties have less effect on voters' decisions. Personalities, money and narrow interests have far too great an impact. Through deliberate tactics and fudged by special interests, politicians personalize their appeal to voters. What they do is they avoid controversial or decisive issues. While this may win elections—I do not think it may win elections, I think it does win elections—the result is that politicians elected on such personality-centered campaigns believe the way to govern is to avoid responding to these issue agendas, but merely presenting a pleasing personality and satisfying the parochial needs of individuals and narrow interests is the best way to govern.

I think we should be very concerned about this direction and about this cri-

sis of confidence. If unchecked, declining confidence will destroy the credibility of our national institutions so much that governing sensibly will become nearly impossible. I think some people would say that we have already reached that point.

The most important question for those concerned with these problems is how to restore confidence in our republican form of government. That is republican with a small r.

Policy making at the national level is really a two-step process. First we develop an issue agenda, and then these issues which make it on the agenda are debated and they are hopefully settled. Elections should allow voters to set the agenda as candidates courting their votes debate the relative importance of the issues and their positions on them. In casting their vote for a particular candidate, voters choose both what issues they want debated and whom they most trust to resolve them.

That is how it should work. But I do not think elections work that way anymore. Individual Members of Congress have devoted their staff and financial resources to doing individualistic favors and avoiding positions on broader national issues. The personalization of campaigning means that the agenda settling functions of elections has been short-circuited, left almost exclusively in the domain of Washington centered interests, rather than the broad national interests.

What I am saying here is that what we should have is we should have the national electorate setting the issue agenda for Washington, but because elections have become centered on personalities, these personalities get elected to Washington and they then set the agenda here.

I think a major corrective step would be to restore the connection between national elections and national issues. Unfortunately, one cannot rely only on individual candidates to do so, since the current campaign strategies are so effective. That is focusing on personalities rather than issues.

So we have to do some other approaches. I think allowing the voters to use the Voters Bill of Rights to help set national priorities would be an effective way to restore that connection. The ideas contained in the Voters Bill of Rights would reconnect issues to Congressional elections without violating the basic form of the Constitution or the founders' views of the proper role of Government.

The Constitution is a mix of elements forming our representative democracy, a form of government in which people freely choose their decision makers, but do not make the decisions themselves. We are and should remain a republic. We do not want to go to a pure democracy.

The founders rightly feared the momentary passions of even the limited property owning male and fairly well-educated electorate of their time. For them democracy meant rule by the

demos, or mob. They evolved a situation to be avoided for its tendency to trample minority rights. Madison believed a republican form of government would refine and enlarge the public views, by passing them through the medium of a chosen body of citizens whose wisdom may best discern the true interests of their country, whose patriotism and love of justice will be least likely to sacrifice it to temporary and partial considerations.

In large measure the main constitutional elements of separation of government, separation of powers, federalism and bicameralism, are all designed to allow time for the passions of the masses to cool, hopefully turning dangerous impulses into more reasoned effective change. Madison is usually considered one of the more levelheaded founders of this country. His critic of the direct democracy is sound and broadly admired. His optimism, however, about—and when is the last time we heard people described Congress this way—full of wisdom, patriotism and love of justice, love of justice of elected representatives, seems, in light of current events, naive and anachronistic.

The brace against the mob rule written by the founders in the Constitution should not be lightly dismissed. There are, on the other hand, constitutional elements to promote the Democratic impulse. These include wide suffrage, short election terms for the House of Representatives, and the required origin of all money bills in the House.

Constitutional amendments have been added, they include the expansion of the right to vote and to make the Senate directly elected. Remember, the Senate used to be appointed. Guaranteed participation rights to excluded groups preserved and promoted individual freedoms. Extra constitutional development, such as the rise of mass political parties and the expansion of offices filled by elections, have further enhanced the voice of all the people. Sadly, these changes to broaden participation have not improve our Government or are not effective in dealing with some of the problems that we face today.

□ 2045

The changes clearly have made elected officials more responsive to the immediate opinion of individual voters, yet major issues remain unresolved. Individual citizens have more opportunities to participate in political debate but see little substance in what is being debated. Institutional developments and campaign change made Members of Congress almost invulnerable to mass public judgment, while at the same time empowered them to manipulate the opinions of isolated constituencies and individuals.

Representatives cultivated individuals through case work, narrow constituencies by targeted mail and political action committees resolutions. The power to appease constituents on an al-

most individual basis has empowered Representatives to ignore larger issues and placed the blame for inaction on the institution. Thus today we have a far more responsive government than ever, but its officials are far better able to evade responsibility for inaction and gridlock. We have not been dealing with the tough issues. This Congress has seen its vote on term limits, has seen its vote on a balanced budget amendment and a line-item veto.

The voters bill of rights, however, I think fundamentally empowers citizens to have a more direct impact on this town.

Now, let us talk a little bit about what we have as part of this voters bill of rights. What are we proposing in a series of legislative initiatives that will deal with this problem of 75 percent of the American people still being cynical about Washington? I think what we need to do is open up the process, invite them in, invite the grassroots population in, not to make decisions but to help set the agenda for what we work on here in Washington.

The voters bill of rights is our first step and perhaps the only step that realistically has a chance of passing in this Congress. I will have to be honest with the speaker. Most of these ideas are not very widely accepted in Washington, not very widely accepted in this House.

We have not been here long. But as I go through the list of ideas, I think you will be able to understand why these ideas resonate at the grassroots level and want to be buried and hidden once we get here in Washington.

The first one, I think, is a fairly harmless suggestion, an experiment that I think we could pass in this Congress and actually have in place in 1996, November of 1996. It is called the national advisory referendum. It is H.R. 2115 and H.R. 2116.

What is a national advisory referendum? Many of our States have binding referenda, but this is an advisory referendum. It allows for a national vote during the November 1996 general elections on issues such as term limits, tax reform and tax limitation.

Specifically, what this means is that if this legislation passed next summer, early next fall, we would have a debate on these three national issues. On election day in November of 1996, citizens would go in, they would go into their place, their voting booth, vote for President. They would vote for perhaps a Senator. They would vote for their Congress person.

Then they would see this funny little box in the corner, advice to Congress or to Washington, three questions. The three questions should be or will be: Should Congress approve a constitutional amendment to limit the terms of Representatives and Senators? Yes and no.

Remember, this would have been, these questions would be well defined before, so voters would recognize what the questions were. I bet they would

want to know where the people they were voting for stood on these issues. Should Congress approve a constitutional amendment to limit the terms of Representatives and Senators? Second question, remember these are advisory: Should Congress approve a law to replace the current income tax system with a flat tax? Yes or no.

The third question: Should Congress approve a constitutional amendment to require a popular vote by the American people for any future income tax increases?

Three simple questions, helping to frame the debate for the next Congress, term limits, tax reform and a reform or vote empowerment on tax increases.

These are nonbinding issues. So the process then becomes one of debate these issues, advise Congress, the next election, probably elect people that are consistent with your views on these issues. We would come back in the 105th Congress, and we would have feedback from the American people on these three issues so that we could seriously debate, discuss and hopefully deal with these three issues early in the next session of Congress.

So the agenda that we would be working on here in Washington would be consistent with the agenda and the direction that the American people had set, but the direction we would be going in or the final details of how these would be worked out would be left up to this House, to our companion House and to the President.

The second piece of legislation that we have introduced would be very fitting as a follow through on this. It is House Joint Resolution 105. Here is where we move from the doable to the desirable, but unlikely in this Congress. It is called recall. What this does, it allows voters to circulate petitions calling for the recall of Senators and/or Representatives.

If a sufficient number of petitions are selected and certified, a recall election shall be held. If a majority choose to recall the elected official, a new election is called to fill the vacancy. Would that not be a wonderful process, if we could get both of these done, where you would have a debate, an advisory referendum, Congress would act, and then perhaps some constituents along the process might feel the need for a recall.

One of the things that we have heard so much about in the last few months is people that said we are in favor of term limits. We are in favor of a balanced budget. We are in favor of a balanced budget amendment. That is what they campaigned on. That is what they promised their voters. They came here, they had the opportunity to vote. And what did they do? They did what 88 percent of the American people believed that politicians do. They did and they said what will get them elected, and then they will do whatever they do or whatever they want once they are elected.

So the two elements that we discussed so far in this voters bill of

rights, empowering the American citizenship, or national advisory referendum, connected with that is the opportunity for recall.

The third item that we have as part of this process goes to election day.

How many times have not people gone into the voting booth and said, I am really not pleased with any of the choices here, but the only choice that I have is to either vote for the people on this list or not vote in that category at all. Well, we are proposing that they have another choice.

The choice that they have would be the candidates who have gone through the normal process to get their names on the ballot, then a little box that is on their automatically. Again, not an idea that is well liked here in Washington, it is called none of the above. A little box there, you can vote for Mr. X, Mrs. Y, Ms. So-and-so, or none of the above.

What happens if you go through this process and at the end of the election day the votes are tabulated and counted and none of the above wins? It is a clear signal that the people have been dissatisfied with the choices that they were given by the major parties or independent people who worked to get on the ballot. And it says, none of these people meet our criteria, so we voted for none of the above. We would like a new election. None of the people that ran in this initial election are eligible for the second election.

So none of the above, the third element in our voters bill of rights.

The last two pieces of legislation that we have introduced, again, significantly empower voters to help set the agenda here in Washington. Actually allowing for voters to add in binding referenda so that they can actually help us and pass legislation through the referenda process, and the last piece of legislation is a national citizens initiative amendment process to actually enable, there are two ways to start a constitutional amendment now, through action in the Congress, action by the States, the third way we are saying now is to actually enable the voters to start the amendment process to the Constitution, not the complete process, but a third way of beginning the amendment process.

Just think if we had had that process in place today, I have a high degree of certainty that we would have passed term limits. We would have passed the balanced budget. We would have passed a line-item veto. Those things would have been part of our Constitution. They would have stopped a Congress that many people think has acted irresponsibly over the last number of years by spending more than what it takes in. The American people knew that, but Congress, as many believe, was unwilling to act.

What this whole voters bill of rights does is it makes the American people fuller and more complete partners with us in governing this country. It does not move us to a democracy. It just

makes us, in an information age, it makes them more complete partners with us in the process so that we will not be reading anymore headlines like this that say, "75 percent cynicism rate suggests a third party."

The answer is not a third party. The third party will suffer from many of the same problems that the current process has. We need to change the process to enable people to more completely feel engaged in the process of running this country. The current model says Washington knows best, that knowledge flows from Washington to the people.

This new model says, not says, actually demonstrates that the people know best and that the people should be allowed to speak in a more direct fashion to help set the agenda in Washington. They do not make the final decisions. That is the job of this House, of this Congress, working together with the President, to make the final decisions on how we implement what we do, how we will do it. But it is a way to more fully engage the American people. The voters bill of rights proposals will help citizens set the agenda in Washington without changing the essential nature of the way decisions are made.

The advisory referenda proposals are a modest means to induce congressional action. It is a half step, but I think it is the only step that this Congress is willing to take. If such a process bears fruit, the constitutional amendments I have proposed might prove unnecessary, but I think the experiment is worth going through. More likely, however, the more forceful mechanism, the joint resolution proposals, that is, the advisory referenda, none of the above, recall, are necessary to redirect Congress' attention back to the interests of the people. These items are outlined to give people an ability to enact laws through an initiative process, without disrupting the structure of our representative form of government.

The petition requirements, the supermajority, limitations built in this ensure that the genuine and unique characteristics of our form of government do not change. This is a way to create partnership, not to change the core values of how we run this government.

The voters bill of rights preserves many of the advantages of our current system, preserving our representative form of government, protecting minorities, preventing hasty decisions, fostering compromise and conciliation.

New benefits they bring include the potential to stimulate the dangerously flagging public participation in civic affairs. Why do not people come to elections? They feel disconnected. They do not believe what politicians say. And they do not trust us when we get here. This process, where they are more actively engaged, this will hopefully get them to come back out and participate in our electoral process.

Elections would once again be about both issues and candidates, not just candidates, about both issues and candidates. That is what we need to do. Voters would go to the polls confident that they are sending a signal to Congress on which issues they want addressed. Candidates would be more likely to take positions on ballot issues. I do not think they would be more likely to. I think voters would require them to take positions. And they would be less able to go into office based merely on name recognition and slick campaign styles or slogans.

The underlying contemporary malaise, alienation, and cynicism toward politics is all too apparent today. Unchanneled into productive expressions of citizens control, it is likely to erupt in ways far more dangerous to our constitutional principles and longstanding political traditions such as political parties.

□ 2100

We need to address these issues. We can no longer sit on the sidelines with 75 percent of the American people cynical about what we do here in Washington. This Congress boldly acted when we said, we are listening to the American people, we know and we hear that you want us to deal with the deficit. We are doing that, and I congratulate this Congress on doing it. But now we have to deal with this cynicism and this contempt that people hold for this Congress.

Mr. Speaker, a Voter's Bill of Rights provides a framework to begin that discussion. It provides a framework, and actually it provides, I think, some legislative initiatives that we can pass and we can begin on the road to this citizen involvement.

A further benefit of the Voters' Bill of Rights is to provide national leadership for the legislature. Such leadership has been far too absent from the congressional power structure. A national initiative, either of the advisory referendum type, or the more powerful legislative proposal, would provide a national publicly-developed agenda of issues of which Congress would be forced to grapple with in its next session of Congress. Congress would be transformed from an assemblage of parochial agents to a body forcing the debate and defending the public good. What a wonderful change that would be.

Other attempts at more lightened debate like more Oxford-style debate are puny and hollow. They do not require resolution of any issues. They may make the House more entertaining, more fun to watch. We are not in the entertainment business, we are into education and resolving public policy date. Forced debate on say term limits would guarantee an open an educational debate on an issue otherwise inadequately considered.

The Voters' Bill of Rights provides us, I think, with the framework, with the foundation, to build on what I

think is a record of success of this Congress. We have dealt with the budget, we have dealt with the contract, we have dealt with appropriations bills. Now is the time that we start doing the people's agenda, engaging in a full partnership with them, providing them with a light at the end of the tunnel that says, Washington is open. We want you to provide us with more direct feedback, more direct contact, and as a result of that new cooperation, that new dialogue, we are going to be a more responsive and a more effective body, so that you, once again, can be proud of the process here in Washington, and I think the result will be, you will also be prouder of the product that we produce here in Washington.

Mr. Speaker, the Voters' Bill of Rights is a step forward, a step to frame the debate and the discussion on how we can empower the American people, and how we can renew American citizenship.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2127, DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION ACT, 1996

Mr. MCINNIS, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104-224), on the resolution (H. Res. 208) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2127) making appropriations for the Departments of Health and Human Services, an Education, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

WHITEWATER INVESTIGATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BURTON] for 30 minutes.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk today about the conviction of Webster Hubbell, the indictment of Governor Jim Guy Tucker (both close friends of President Clinton) and the two Arkansas judges overseeing these cases.

The judge in Webster Hubbell's case stepped aside because of his close ties to all of Arkansas' top Democrat politicians. The judge in Governor Tucker's case has made no move to recuse himself, even though many observers believe he has even more conflicts of interest.

Mr. Speaker, about a month ago former Associate Attorney General Webster Hubbell was sentenced to 21 months in prison. On December 6, 1994, Mr. Hubbell pled guilty to one count of mail fraud and one count of tax evasion to the independent counsel investigating Whitewater, Kenneth Starr. Last week, Mr. Hubbell, who a little more

than a year ago was the Nation's third highest ranking law officer, testified before the Senate about the death of Vincent Foster and the obstructions of the investigation at the White House.

I'd like to talk for a moment about Webster Hubbell. He is often characterized in the media as the President's frequent golfing partner. But he is much more than that.

Mr. Hubbell was a partner along with Hillary Clinton, William Kennedy III, and the late Vincent Foster at Little Rock's powerful Rose Law Firm. In fact, Mr. Hubbell served as the firm's managing partner. He also served as mayor of Little Rock, and was appointed by then-Governor Bill Clinton as interim Chief Justice of the Arkansas State Supreme Court.

He came to Washington with the Clintons after the 1992 election and, in the opinion of many Washington insiders, ran the Justice Department until Janet Reno was confirmed by the Senate. Mr. Hubbell resigned as Associate Attorney General in March 1994 after his former partners at the Rose Law Firm began to investigate him for overbilling some of his clients, including the federal government for work done in a case against the auditors of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. Now, like many of the President's friends from Arkansas, Mr. Hubbell has left the government in disgrace and legal trouble.

On June 23, 1995, Mr. Hubbell asked the judge presiding over his case for leniency, stating that he had made proper restitution to his former firm. Under the sentencing guidelines, Mr. Hubbell was required to serve a mandatory minimum sentence unless the independent counsel asked the presiding judge for leniency. Mr. Starr replied to Mr. Hubbell's request by stating that he had no intention to ask for leniency.

The fact that Mr. Starr had no intention of asking for the court to be lenient with Mr. Hubbell leads us to believe that Hubbell did little to help Starr's investigation.

After he left the Justice Department, Hubbell landed a new job at G. William Miller and Co., the law firm of Michael Cardozo. Cardozo is the former Clinton Justice Department official who handles the Clintons' legal defense fund. He became notable in the summer of 1993 because he spent the entire week-end with Vincent Foster three days before Foster's death. Webster Hubbell and Michael Cardozo spent the week-end at the Eastern Shore secluded with Mr. Foster and his wife. Both have claimed that Foster did not seem unusually depressed, even though investigators have cited Foster's depression as the reason for his suicide 3 days later.

And somehow, Mr. Hubbell's wife was offered a job at the Interior Department after Mr. Hubbell entered his plea. We know that Mrs. Hubbell's hiring was orchestrated by talks between the White House and the Interior Department. Since Mr. Hubbell and his

wife were both being employed by their friends, many people wonder whether he cooperated with the Starr probe as much as he might have.

The judge originally assigned to preside over the Hubbell case was one William Wilson in Little Rock. However, as is so often the case among the political and social elite of Arkansas, Judge Wilson had close associations with Bill and Hillary Clinton, and before becoming a judge was very active in the Arkansas Democrat party. Judge Wilson realized the possible conflict of interest, and 2 days after Mr. Hubbell's guilty plea he recused himself from the case. In doing so, Judge Wilson stated, "Not only must you do justice, you must have an appearance of doing justice." I take that quote from an editorial in the June 21, 1995 edition of the Wall Street Journal and ask that this editorial be entered into the RECORD.

WHO IS HENRY WOODS?

Last year, the President was reminiscing with Connie Bruck of The New Yorker about his 1990 gubernatorial race. At one point, he said, he was undecided about running and an influential Arkansan came up with a substitute: Hillary Clinton. The powerful member of the Arkansas political family "desperately wanted her to run for governor," the President told Ms. Bruck, "and it got out and around the state."

That gentleman was Judge Henry Woods of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas. "Henry," a friend of the judge told Ms. Bruck, "just hangs the moon on Hillary." Judge Woods has contributed 15 years of distinguished service to the judiciary, particularly in the long-running Little Rock school desegregation cases. At a critical point in 1987, Judge Woods named Mrs. Clinton counsel to a citizens' committee working for racial balance in the schools. "I called on Hillary a lot," he told Ms. Bruck. "She was not just functioning as advisor to the committee."

Judge Woods will soon be back in the news, starting with tomorrow's arraignment of Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker and two associates. They're charged with defrauding the government in a scheme linked to David Hale's Capital Management Services. While the arraignment will take place before other magistrates in Little Rock, the trial is scheduled to unfold in the courtroom of Mrs. Clinton's biggest fan.

Gov. Tucker has angrily declared his innocence and says he may challenge Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's jurisdiction. "None of the allegations," Gov. Tucker said, "involve President Clinton, Mrs. Clinton or any other person in the executive branch that the regular U.S. Attorneys would have had a conflict in prosecuting." As we have noted in regard to the Clintons, this is correct in a narrow sense; but it is also true that the indictments and guilty pleas so far obtained by Mr. Starr paint a disturbing picture of the political and business landscape from which the President and First Lady emerged.

Understandably, for example, Gov. Tucker would have preferred that "the regular U.S. Attorney" handle his case. That would be Paula Casey, the long-time friend of Bill who first received criminal referrals from the Resolution Trust Corp. allegedly naming the Clintons and Mr. Tucker. After making some crucial decisions, Ms. Casey belatedly recused herself from the Madison Guaranty case, in November 1993, in the midst of a six-week period which saw Treasury contacts