

We did nothing about it, to head it off. We did nothing to take the division of the Kurds seriously between the PUK and the KDP, and I believe that was the beginning of the problems that we are now experiencing in that area.

Today the Iraqi Republican Guards, many of them dressed in Kurdish garb, are in Kuysangaq, they are in Sulaimaniya, they are going door-to-door looting Kurdish homes, and innocent people are being killed and dying and we are doing nothing about it.

On the northern border, the Turkish border, Turkey has taken advantage of the situation to declare a 3- to 6-mile wide zone, not in Turkey but in Iraq, that they are presently clearing, with 35,000 Turkish troops and armored personnel carriers in that region, moving out people who are living in villages, killing those that resist and creating a no-man's-land along their border.

Mr. Speaker, this situation is a grave and serious one for which the United States has great responsibility, and it is not enough just to send cruise missiles to the southern part of Iraq and say that we are stopping aggression. The aggression is continuing to this moment. It is continuing almost on all sides. And the people that are caught in the middle are innocent people who have been taken advantage of for centuries by the places where they are found within societies where in each case they are in the minority and are being severely oppressed. It is time that the President of the United States and that this country stand up for the rights of these people who need our help as perhaps never before.

ETHICS COMMITTEE REPORT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. COOLEY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. VOLKMER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. VOLKMER. Mr. Speaker, these words were spoken by a Member of this House several years ago: The 435 Members of the House should look at all the facts, should have available to them all the reports and all the background documents, and the American people should have the same.

Who was the Member of this body who spoke those remarks back in March of 1989? None other than the Speaker, the present Speaker of the House, NEWT GINGRICH. What was he talking about at that time? Well, our illustrious, imperial Speaker was talking about a report that had been filed by the special counsel, Richard Phalen, in the investigation by the Ethics Committee of the charges that GINGRICH had brought against then Speaker Jim Wright.

Let us bring it down to today. Where are we today? Well, we have a special counsel for the Ethics Committee. The special counsel has been looking into the question of whether or not the non-profit foundations, 2 of which are in Georgia, were improperly using their

funds for political purposes or purposes other than not-for-profit purposes. Who was the person in charge of these foundation funds? None other than our Speaker.

Well, the report has been filed, was filed almost a month ago with the Ethics Committee. But it has disappeared. You do not hear anything about it. I say to my Speaker today, I will repeat the same words that he spoke back in March of 1989. I will repeat it again: The 435 Members of the House should look at all the facts, should have available to them all the reports.

Where is the report, Mr. Speaker? Why can other Members of this House not see the report that has been filed by special counsel?

We are no different than you were in 1989. We are entitled to that report. Yet he and his cohorts keep it submerged. Why? Well, I would guess that maybe why is that it is not such a favorable report to the Speaker. Because if it was favorable, guess what, folks? We would have seen it. The whole public, everybody would have seen it by now, media, everybody, big press conference, but we are not seeing that. So my guess is that it is maybe not real bad but it is bad enough that they want to submerge it.

They want to get out of here by the 27th of September. We are not going to be very many days before that happens. And then it all disappears. Nobody will see hide nor hair of that report probably until after the election, if you see it then.

Folks, I believe, as the Speaker said back in March of 1989, that every Member of this body is entitled, and all the taxpayers—by the way, the taxpayers paid for this, one-half million bucks, that is special counsel has done in investigating this by the Ethics Committee, authorized by the Ethics Committee, one-half million dollars of taxpayer money. Now you cannot even find out what was in the report.

I say it is time that this House insisted on seeing a copy of the report. The media should have a copy of it. Anybody in the general public should have a copy of it. Why not? Why not? Because it is come election time and I do not think the Speaker wants anybody to know what was in that report because of the impact it would have on the election process.

Well, if there is something wrong in that report and if something was done by the Speaker or the foundations which he controlled, his people controlled, was done wrong, it should all come out. The Speaker should be not above the general public. I nor anybody else in this House should put ourselves above the law, but that is what I read into this.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VOLKMER. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, is the gentleman saying the gentleman has been unable to get this report? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. VOLKMER. I have not asked for it but I know that it has not been made public. I am now publicly asking for a copy of the report. Yes, I have asked for it.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. You are now asking for that report.

Mr. VOLKMER. I am demanding it. I think I will demand it not just for myself but for all 435 Members of this House.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I thank the gentleman.

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

[Mr. RIGGS 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 New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

SPECIAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

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

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, I came to the floor and I was going to talk about Shannon Lucid. I want to tell you, I really admire this woman astronaut. We put her up in space and we seem to forget to bring her back. This poor soul has been trapped up in space for a very long time. Now it appears that the hurricane is delaying picking her up again.

I think that she has probably got the best sense of humor in the world. She said it is like being trapped in a very, very small camper with all your children on rainy days and you can never get out. So I hope we bring her back very soon, and when we bring her back we give her some kind of an award for incredible patience. She is showing us what revolutionary patience can really be all about.

I must say, I want to switch and talk about what the gentleman from Missouri was talking about, because I thought he brought up some very interesting points. The reason that this body would spend that kind of money for a special counsel is because of the trusteeship that we all hold. We are all here because taxpayers have sent us here and we are supposed to follow the law. This is a government of laws and not of men. That is what makes it so unique.

In other countries, if you are an elected official, very often you are considered above the law. But not here. So when the Ethics Committee looked at some of these charges, they thought they were serious enough to hire a special counsel.

What I heard the gentleman from Missouri saying is that now his report has been filed. It is over 100 pages. No one has seen it. We have not heard anything about it. I did read in the paper this morning a very troubling article that maybe the committee will not deal with this until after the election.

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So I do not know what they are going to do with it, put it on ice, shred it, hope the hurricane hits it and blows it away. I mean what is the point? Why can Members not see what this report is? Why cannot taxpayers, why cannot the public or why does not the committee deal with it? And I think that is what he was trying to ask.

I know I was very surprised because I cannot figure out what is going on here. I thought we were going to have votes today until 7 or 8 o'clock. All gone. There are supposed to be votes tomorrow; tomorrow is gone. Monday is gone. Tuesday is gone. I do not know if we are ever going to vote again.

Now, hey. I am packing and getting ready to go. These are gifts to me. That is terrific. But what are we doing and what are we ducking and what are we running from and how come they keep saying we are going to have votes, and then they change it, and then we find out there is all this unfinished business that no one else can see, even though we all got to help pay for it, and that is the very serious business about does this body have the gravitas to deal with our own and to deal with reports that this body paid for to be done? I think that the average American will be very upset if we say:

"Oh, no, we are not going to deal with that until after the election."

Why would we not deal with that until after the election? I cannot understand why we would even consider not dealing with that until after the election. This is very important. When you are on a 2-year term you should really finish the business of that term in that 2 years, because people are going to get to decide whether or not they want to renew our contract come November 5 for people who are running again.

So if it is true that the committee is really thinking about not doing anything about this until after the election, I think this body should all be aware of that, and we ought to put people on record as to whether or not they agree with that decision because I do not think the American people would agree with that decision, and I think it is a real violation of our trusteeship.

I have always said government is not a fungus, it can thrive in sunshine, and I think they expect us all to be able to explain ourselves. If people do not want to disclose, they do not have to run for office. But we do expect people who run for office to play by these rules and put them out there.

So I thought the gentleman from Missouri had some very serious questions, and while I had a very funny 5

minutes done about sending Shannon into space and I hope we come get her, she has been up there before Easter, I am now beginning to think maybe the next thing is we are going to send this report into space, or it may as well be in space because we do not seem to be able to get ahold of it and see what is happening, and we do not seem to have any business to do, so there is no reason to come here.

So as I leave this body, I hope every Member thinks about that and says the public will be very angry if we do not finish this serious ethnics charge that has come in front of the Speaker.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. COOLEY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

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

WHEN WILL WE STOP THE IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY?

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

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, we adjourned regular legislative business, or ended regular legislative business, so early that it is in the middle of the day. It is only 10 minutes to 1 out in California and still the morning in Hawaii, so I am going to take advantage of this opportunity and try to keep my good friend from Texas, Mr. GONZALEZ, interested by covering three different topics. The first thing I would like to cover is Iraq.

I want to associate myself with the remarks of Mr. PORTER of Illinois. There is great suffering going on in northern Iraq. I thought that the Kurdish people would maybe reach a period of tranquility here. They are one of these sad ethnic groups that spread over three, actually four, nations, with the geographic lines changing over the past several centuries multiple times. The only Nation that I can think of that has been cut up into four different nations like this is the once great nation of Armenia, now down to less than a fourth of its original size; the first nation as a nation to embrace Christianity in the 300's, the fourth century, and now we learn about these Kurdish people dividing among themselves, starting to kill one another. We had an opportunity here diplomatically to move in after Operation Provide Comfort was sent to that area of northern Iraq by President George Bush. Secretary of State Jim Baker visited. I recall telling President Bush when he called me for the only hospital visit I remember having in my life, and I was in the hospital for 3 or 4 days for some surgery, and President Bush called me

on my birthday, April 3, 1991, and he said:

"Bob, we need you, get out of there."

And I said, "Can we talk business?"

And he said, "What?" He said, "In the hospital you want to talk business?"

I said, "Mr. President, draw a line in the hills. The way you drew a line in the sand, draw a line in the mountains."

And he said, "Bob, there are forces in Washington that would like to see Iraq spin into at least three different nations."

And I said, "Well, if you'll look at the television, which I have been looking at a lot in the last 2 days, you will see that they are beating your brains out. Kurdish women are coming into our camps along the Turkish-Iraqi northern border with children on their shoulders that have already frozen to death."

Fortunately with each day it was getting a fourth of a degree warmer, and he said, "Well, we're looking at it."

The media then began to just savagely attack President Bush. This is within days of the 4-day land war in Iraq ending on the 27th of December. Here it was less than 5 weeks later and they are beating his brains out. Within a few days he did draw that line in the hills of northern Iraq and organized Operation Provide Comfort.

Well it is hard to believe that 6 years ago this coming March, 5½ years ago now, and the Kurds are still suffering. Iraqi troops in the north, as Mr. PORTER said, are beating in doors, shooting people. They opened up with savage artillery fire a few days ago into Irbil, the so-called capital of the Kurdish people in the northern area.

Why Mr. Clinton neglected this area of the world for almost his entire first term is beyond me. We do have strategic interests in the area because a dictator like Saddam Hussein can just destroy oil prices around the world. He was driving faster than anybody believed toward nuclear, biological and chemical warfare capability. It remains a fact that we were never able to discover a single Iraqi scud missile.

This last week I have been in Great Britain visiting some of the best intelligence sites outside of the United States proper in the world. There is a new news center at the RAF base at Moesworth, which was our second GLCM base in Great Britain. Fortunately with the dissolution of the evil empire out of the Kremlin, we were able to shut down those GLCM bases in Sicily and the two in Great Britain and stop the one in Germany before it had even gone operational, and we had all of these new facilities built for the GLCM, the GLCM missiles in Great Britain, and we put in there something that is called the JAC, the Joint Analysis Center. I went in there last Thursday, watched in the clearest way possible, beyond anything I have ever seen of intelligence capability so far,