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House of Representatives

The House met at 12:30 p.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mrs. MORELLA].

MORNING BUSINESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of May 12, 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 leader limited to not to exceed 5 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MCCOLLUM] for 5 minutes.

MEANINGLESS PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE TO SHOT DOWN AMERICAN PLANES

Mr. MCCOLLUM. Madam Speaker, today I rise in memory of the four American civilians murdered by Fidel Castro over the weekend, and to condemn the foreign policies of an administration that has placed U.S. national interests in jeopardy around the globe. I remember a day when killing American citizens had consequences. The murder of an American serviceman by Manuel Noriega's regime pulled the trigger on Operation Just Cause, which ousted him from power. The death of an off-duty soldier from a terrorist's bomb in West Germany in 1986 prompted President Reagan to attack Libya and effectively remove Mu'ammar Qadhafi as a threat to U.S. interests. Once, violent attacks deserved and provoked strong responses from the United States.

But things are different now. Misguided foreign policy decisions by President Bill Clinton over the past 3 years have jeopardized America's

image as a nation that protects its own. When 18 of America's best soldiers were killed in Somalia after they had been denied the hardware to protect themselves, President Clinton cut and ran. Now, four more Americans have been killed on the President's watch, and his response? Little more than the withdrawal of a few poorly chosen carrots he dangled endlessly and uselessly in front of Fidel Castro 6 months ago. And that is not all of it. When I look at all of the other foreign policy areas the President has been involved with in the past 3 years, I see problems. In Haiti, we sent our soldiers in there for a purpose that clearly was one that was very difficult to accomplish, if it could even be accomplished in the end. Yes, there is a democratically elected government there now, but in a few days we are going to remove those troops. My experience as chairman of the Subcommittee on Crime and talking to the FBI about their experience there for 7 months last year when they tried to help solve some political murders was that human rights violations are still rampant, and when they got to the highest level of the Haitian Government to interview the witnesses, they were not allowed to, and had to pull our FBI out and they still go unsolved. The problems in Haiti have not gone away.

And yet we look next door in Cuba and we see we have not done anything really about the Castro regime that has been in power for over 35 years where it really could make a difference. Looking around the world, we look at China today. China is on the verge of being able in the next few years to produce an atomic bomb and a delivery system capable of delivering that bomb to the West Coast of the United States. We look at Russia. In Russia today we have a situation where it is very unstable. This summer, we do not know what is going to happen to the Yeltsin regime, yet we do know

that we have not one single nuclear missile that has been dismantled yet in Russia or in the former Soviet Union. Who knows what their capabilities are and who is going to be controlling the button on nuclear weapons in the future there. And the spread of these nuclear weapons by China and North Korea to Iran, Pakistan, and elsewhere make it highly probable in the next few years we are going to see, if not a delivery of one of those weapons to the United States, certainly the delivery of one of those weapons to a nation or to an interest area of great importance to the United States, and President Clinton does not have an answer to that. He refuses to support a ballistic missile defense system that is workable. He should have supported one a long time ago. It is a very serious consequence when we see all of these developments occurring and no plans to provide the Nation the kind of defense it needs.

Then we look at Bosnia. I think that is the worst situation of all, not just because we have sent troops into Bosnia, where we have no real probability of ultimate success. When they are removed a year or so from now, the chances of civil war resuming are great. But we are doing the stupidest thing. We are in the process now of training, equipping the forces of the government of Izetbegovic, the Moslem leader of Bosnia. And who does he happen to have as his best friend? Why, my goodness, it is Rafsanjani and the crew in Iran. The Iranians are clearly the ones who want to produce the most terror in the world today. They are determined to spread their radical form of Moslem concern, not the traditional form but the radical form, all over southern Europe, over northern Africa, over the Middle East, the Near East, and anywhere else they can lay their imprint where there is a Moslem country.

Izetbegovic is a close ally of Iran; he has been ever since the days of the

□ 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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Ayatolla Khomeini. We are now in the process of training, equipping his forces, so when we pull out of there in a few months they are going to be the strongest military presence in the former State of Yugoslavia.

I think that is absolutely senseless. It is stupid. It is bad foreign policy, and this President has led us into that path. And then when we have four American civilians shot down in Cuba, as we did over the weekend, our response is simply the tepid business that we have seen the President announce in the last 24 hours. He has not yet taken a single step that would show the kind of deterrent message that we need to have if we are going to protect our interest abroad. What message does this pattern of behavior send to other nations considering a confrontation with the United States? When strained credibility finally collapses, deterrents for the protection of our interest has not a prayer. Right now China calculates military action against Taiwan. Rafsanjani and Iran are considering terrorist attacks, and look what we have got with Fidel Castro. I submit we have a failed foreign policy, and this weekend the President's response to it is an example of why that foreign policy has failed.

THE FARM BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHAYS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. VOLKMER] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. VOLKMER. Mr. Speaker, I did not come here to talk about this. I listened to the gentleman from Florida, and we have a couple more from Florida maybe going to speak on the same issue, and I hear the criticism of the President on the Cuban situation, yet I do not hear them say one thing of what they would do different than what the President has done, not one. The gentleman from Florida did not mention one thing. I am just waiting to hear what the rest of them have to say. I wonder how many of them want to send troops into Cuba. Should they, should they not? They are from Florida, let them say.

What I really came here to talk about is the autocratic running of this House of Representatives. This is not a democracy in this House any longer. When I say "democracy," I mean a small "D." At times back in my 20 years or 19 years before this, we had farm bills come to this House and every one of them, in 1977, 1981, 1985, in 1990, every one of them had an open rule. All amendments that were germane and had been printed in the RECORD before we took up the bill were eligible to be debated and voted upon. Now, what is the Committee on Rules of this autocratic leadership under his excellency, the Speaker GINGRICH, going to do this afternoon with the rule on this year's farm bill? Should be

1995; it is 1996. They are already late. They are going to restrict the amendments.

There have been 74 amendments noticed to the Committee on Rules. I dare say not more than five or six or seven of those will be made in order by this Committee on Rules. What happened to the openness? What happened to Representatives, like myself and others, who have been elected from rural areas, having a right to get on this floor of this House and offer germane amendments to a farm bill that is going to affect our farmers for the next 7 years? What happened to it? Well, all is gone down the drain under this new leadership. They are told, they are telling us, you take what we are going to offer you or leave it; that is all there is to it.

I, as a representative of my people, do not have a voice any longer in this House when we deliberate legislation that affects them. I think that is terrible. I think the American public should wake up to what is going on in this hallowed Hall of democracy, the one that stands firm above all others in this world for democracy. You do not have democracy in this House. It is gone.

We have an autocratic society led by Speaker GINGRICH. He only believes that he knows the answers and his people know the answers. The rest of us, we are just pawns. I do not know why many of his people even got elected to come here because they just follow his line right down the row, right down the rule. When he tells them to vote that way, that is what they do. They cannot think for themselves, they cannot do for themselves. Well, I, for one, believe that my people sent me here to represent them and to espouse ideas on this floor of the House when legislation comes about that affects them.

I do not believe that I should be gagged by the Speaker of the House, which is going to happen this year on this year's farm bill. And what is really amazing about this whole thing is they are going to tell you, the American public, and the rest of this House that we have to hurry up and get this bill done. Well, folks, we have not been here all month. We have not been here all month. We could have done a farm bill last week. We could have spent a whole week on it, let every Member who has amendments the opportunity to offer it, to debate it and have a vote on it.

Oh, no, we cannot do that. We have to go about campaigning. We have to go about trips to Europe. We have to go about trips to far off lands. We have to do all those things. We cannot work on a farm bill. Well, the real reason is that they do not want some Members to be able to offer their amendments. That is the real reason. They do not want us to be able to offer amendments on the floor. They say their answer to the farm problems, agriculture throughout this Nation, is embodied in their bill. None of the rest of us should

have a right to have any say-so in how that legislation affects our farmers.

Now, if that is not an autocratic society, I would like to know what is. Well, maybe it is more like a dictatorship. Maybe that would be more appropriate than an autocratic society, under a dictatorship where Members do not have an opportunity to express their opinion.

DEADLY MISADVENTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHAYS). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, Fidel Castro has done it again. He's caused tragedy and pain and suffering in pursuit of brutal repression. Castro's actions this weekend coupled with Clinton administration foreign policy ineptness present the world with another misadventure in the Caribbean, resulting in the apparent death of four innocent human beings and the human rights violations and arrest of dozens of others. Why? Because Fidel Castro is a brutal tyrant and because the Clinton administration has spent its efforts in Cuba on developing ways to appease Fidel Castro and to ease restrictions on the flow of money and people into the country he holds captive. All the while, the President's foreign policy "B" team has studiously ignored Fidel Castro's track record as a liar and a bullying tyrant and an egregious violator of human rights of people he is supposed to serve, not torment.

Those who closely follow Cuba and have unbiased knowledge of Cuban affairs were deeply saddened, but I guess not really surprised, to hear about the tragic murder of Brothers to the Rescue this past weekend. Murder is something Castro does. It is a tool of this dictator's trade. My thoughts went back to the *13th of March* tugboat and a long series of similar incidents where innocents were deliberately killed. Added to this is that fact that even as Fidel's jets were scrambling, the crack-down on Cuban dissidents and prodemocracy groups on the ground in Cuba was being stepped up. I hope that this weekend's events will be the wake-up call the Clinton White House has clearly needed on this issue. The announcement that the White House will support legislation to strengthen the embargo is good news, as long as it follows through on that pledge. Rather than cozying up to this long-time self-avowed enemy of the United States, the administration should step up the pressure on his regime. After all, only last year the Clinton White House leveled a devastating and effective blockade embargo against the poorest people in our hemisphere—against the friendly neighboring country of Haiti. After that, I would think stepping up the embargo on Castro's Cuba would be easily justified. Part of doing that will mean