

have heard many of these myself as I have sat on the task force, on the committee, and we have held hearings, we have had a number of instances where this has proven not to be the case.

It is one thing to talk about it in theory. It is another to be the private property owner and to have the big hand of Government holding a gun pointed at your head. That is what we heard time and time again from these private property owners who all of a sudden are forced with mandates from the EPA or the Corps of Engineers, or any other number of State and Federal agencies. It is just nearly overwhelming.

Let me just express strong support for the efforts of the chairman of the committee, and indicate to the American people that there is a real need to make sure that we are reasonable and responsible in dealing with our species, but there is also an obligation to protect our private property rights, and there is an obligation to make sure we have a balanced, reasonable, and effective approach on this.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from California [Mr. RADANOVICH].

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. I wanted to add my comments into the RECORD regarding this legislation. I think anybody here on this floor is in favor of protecting endangered species, is in favor of protecting the environment, is in favor of good stewardship. The question remains, though, is it a responsibility of the private property owners, is it a responsibility of local government, is it a responsibility of State government, or is it a responsibility of the Federal Government, and where do those responsibilities lie?

I think the folly of the endangered species over the last year has demonstrated that the heavy hand of Federal Government in care of the environment can produce some pretty crazy results. For instance, there was the arresting of a farmer in California for disking up five kangaroo rats and being sent to trial in Federal court. My hope is that in the adoption of the Pombo-Young bill, that that responsibility begins to be returned away from Federal bureaucrats and back down to the State, local, and private property owner level, because that is where good stewardship begins in this country.

Mr. POMBO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. POMBO. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman happens to come from a part of the country that has probably been impacted as greatly as any other region of the country in the central valley in California, with the multitude of species that are directly in the area that have been listed, as well as the aquatic species that survive within the natural river system in California, which has

impacted the delivery of irrigation water to a number of the gentleman's constituents.

Is it his opinion that if we went to an incentive-based system that operated where the individuals were rewarded for their stewardship or rewarded for being good stewards of the lands and, quite frankly, had more of an impact on what recovery plans were adopted, what they look like, what best worked, would that work better for your constituency?

Mr. RADANOVICH. Yes, it would. I have a number of cases where people have gone the extra mile to provide habitat on their farms, to provide for the environment, things that they would like to see on there, and then being further penalized because of the fact that they have done that. Current law penalizes any initiative like that that is out there and currently exists.

This country will not survive unless stewardship is brought down to the local level and people are given incentives to take care of their private property and the environment, because that is really a natural thing for people to want to do. I think that natural tendency ought to be encouraged through legislation.

Mr. POMBO. If the gentleman will continue to yield, being a farmer himself, could the gentleman describe the fear that his constituents feel when they may or may not have an endangered species on their property?

Mr. RADANOVICH. I can tell you from personal experience where there were times when we would allow onto our property certain environmental groups to catalog certain species of flowers and different things. There is no way in God's green Earth we would be allowing that right now, simply because what it does is it leads to stealing of your private property rights. So under current law, there is a disincentive. The gentleman earlier mentioned the term "shoot, shovel, and shut up." That is very, very clear in response to current legislation.

□ 1600

REPUBLICAN ENVIRONMENTAL SWAT TEAMS OUT IN FULL FORCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] is recognized for 15 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, the Republican environmental SWAT teams are out in full force today.

Speaker GINGRICH is advising his colleagues to do photo-ops at local zoos to counter the image that the Republicans are extremists on the environment.

And over the past few weeks, a number of our Republican colleagues have come to this floor to defend their record on the environment.

Every time I hear one of them, I'm reminded of the story about that man

who was arrested for eating a California condor.

He was dragged into court and the judge said, "before I lock you up, what do you have to say for yourself?"

The man said, "Judge, you don't understand. I was out hiking when I got caught in a terrible avalanche. I was trapped for days without food or water. When I was near death, a bird flew over my head, so I shot it down. I didn't know it was a California condor. But judge, if it wasn't for that bird, I would have starved to death."

The judge was so moved that he decided to let the man go free.

As he was walking out of the court, the man was stopped by reporters and they said, "Before you leave, we have to know one thing. What did the bird taste like?"

The man said, "Oh * * * it's kind of a cross between a bald eagle and a spotted owl."

It seems to me that the Republicans have the same problem on the environment. They don't have any credibility.

On one hand they come to this floor to talk about the environment. But on the other hand, they're working in the back room with the polluters lobby to destroy 25 years worth of progress on the environment.

Don't just take my word for it, Mr. Speaker. Listen to what others have said.

The Sierra Club says that the GOP agenda "breaks faith with the American public."

The Natural Resources Defense Fund calls the first session of the Republican Congress "the year of living dangerously."

The nonpartisan National Journal says that a conservative Republican tide is threatening to wash away 25 years of progress on the environment.

And just today, the lead editorial in the Washington Post reads, and I quote, "Republican leaders began to complain last fall that their party has been misunderstood on the environment. They said they intended to moderate their position. But the persistence" of the legislative riders that they are continuing to push even this week "suggests that there's been no moderation."

In other words, they're just as extreme as they were a year ago.

And most telling of all in a recent poll: 55 percent of Republicans say they don't trust their own party on the environment.

Mr. Speaker, all over America today, people are wondering: how did this happen?

How did things go so wrong so fast?

For 25 years, Democrats and Republicans have worked together to protect the environment.

And we are rightfully proud of all that we've been able to accomplish.

Working together, we've made tremendous progress. Today, 60 percent of our lakes and rivers are clean. Major rivers no longer catch on fire. Millions of Americans are breathing cleaner air.

Hundreds of toxic dump sites have been cleaned up. And tens of millions of Americans all over this country are reusing and recycling.

Together, we've banned DDT. We've protected millions of children from lead poisoning. We cut toxic emissions from factories in half. And in the process of keeping our environment clean, we've helped create millions of jobs.

This is a proud record of progress shared by both parties. But at the same time, we all know: the job is not done.

Despite all the progress we've made, 40 percent of our lakes and rivers are too polluted for swimming or fishing. One in three Americans still live in an area where the air is unhealthy. Ten million children under the age of 12 live within 4 miles of a toxic waste dump.

And as recently as 3 years ago, 104 people in Milwaukee died and 40,000 got sick when a toxin called cryptosporidium got released in their drinking water.

We've got a lot of work left to do. Yet, at the very moment when we need national leadership most the Republicans have mounted the most aggressive anti-environmental campaign in our history and are busy right now taking the environmental cop off the beat.

To understand how it happened, Mr. Speaker, you don't have to do an extensive search.

All you have to do is understand the environmental journey of one man.

One man who went from the hilltop of environmental protection to the sludgepit of environmental waste.

One man who went from having a 66-percent League of Conservation Voters approval rating all the way down to zero today.

And Mr. Speaker that one man is NEWT GINGRICH himself.

Long before House Republicans ever signed the Contract With America, NEWT GINGRICH signed a different contract, a contract with every polluter and anti-environment special interest in the land.

To understand his journey is to understand the extremism of House of Republicans.

You know, there are a lot of people who like to joke that Speaker GINGRICH is the kind of man who would jump up on a tree stump to give a speech on conservation.

But it wasn't always that way, Mr. Speaker.

In the early 1970's, before he was ever elected to Congress, NEWT GINGRICH actually taught a course on the environment.

In 1982, he earned a League of Conservation Voters approval rating of 66 percent.

In 1987-88, his approval stood at 50 percent.

That's not a stellar rating, but it's not bad.

But in 1989, something happened, Mr. Speaker. Something began to change.

People concerned about the environment began to notice that NEWT GING-

RICH would no longer return their phone calls. He no longer spoke out on environmental issues.

And his voting record began to change.

In the 101st Congress, he sided with the oil industry and voted against States' rights to set their own oil spill laws. In 1989, he sided with the timber industry and voted to allow unchecked logging in the Tongass National Forest in Alaska.

In the 102d Congress, he sided with the mining and grazing industry and voted to sacrifice nearly two-thirds of the California Desert to industry. In 1991, he sided with the chemical industry and voted against communities' right to know when toxic waste was being dumped in their neighborhoods.

During this time, his voting record did more somersaults than Mary Lou Retton.

He flip-flopped on a bill to allow oil drilling in the Arctic Refuge. In the past, he sided with environmental protection. But now, he sides with the oil industry.

He's flip-flopped again and again on a bill that would protect endangered species. In the past, he sided with animals and voted yes. Today, he sides with industry.

And through it all, the man whose League of Conservation Voters approval rating stood at 50 percent in 1988 began to take a nosedive.

In 1989, it went down to 10 percent.

In 1990, it stood at 13 percent.

In 1991, it dove to 8 percent.

In 1992, it dropped to 6 percent.

In 1993, he felt guilty, so it went back up to 30 percent.

In 1994—zero percent.

In 1995—zero.

In 1996—zero.

The man who once taught a course on the environment was teaching us all how to sell out on the environment.

How did this happen, Mr. Speaker? What happened in 1989 to change things?

Well, its a simple answer. In 1989, NEWT GINGRICH was elected to his party's leadership. He was elected Whip of the Republican Party.

From the day he was elected whip, Mr. GINGRICH's campaign coffers began to bulge with contributions from the biggest polluters and special interests in America.

I would submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that this is the same exact pattern we see repeating itself in the Republican Party today.

From the minute the Republicans took over last year, a small army of very powerful industry lobbyists descended on Capitol Hill as if they owned the place.

As NEWT GINGRICH's own newspaper, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution wrote last May, these people have been, and I quote, "flooding the campaign coffers of friendly congressmen with hundreds of thousands of dollars in contributions."

Together with their friends in the Republican leadership the polluters

lobby has mounted an all out assault on our environmental laws and public health protections.

In one documented case, an industry lobbyist actually sat at the dais during a committee hearing and helped rewrite the environmental laws of this Nation.

The polluters lobby is getting special favors, and the American people are paying the price.

Just listen to the parade of horrors that Speaker GINGRICH and his special interest friends are trying to pass today.

Just listen to what the Republican environmental agenda does in 1 year's time:

It cuts the Environmental Protection Agency by 21 percent.

It cuts pollution enforcement 25 percent.

It denies local communities \$712 million in funding to protect drinking water, which is 29 percent below the President's request.

It cuts the land and water conservation fund 25 percent.

It even tried to kill the bipartisan Great Lakes initiative.

Because of all these budget games, 40 percent of all EPA health and safety inspections so far this year have been halted or canceled.

And that's not all.

Their budget cuts Superfund cleanup by 25 percent, which has forced the EPA to halt cleanup at 68 Superfund sites so far this year, including 4 in Michigan.

It rolls back local communities right-to-know about toxic waste.

It cuts Superfund research by 75 percent.

It cuts the Endangered Species Act 38 percent below the President's request.

It bars the listing of any new species as endangered.

It allows oil drilling in the Arctic Refuge.

It delays new meat inspection standards.

It weakens enforcement of the wetlands provisions of the Clean Water Act.

It accelerates—by 40 percent—logging of America's old-growth rain forest.

It eliminates funding for the National Park Service at Mojave Desert.

It terminates the Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project.

It delays approving pesticides with lower health risks to farmers.

It even delays new standards for toxic industrial air pollutants.

Under the present system, polluters pay. Under the Republican system, taxpayers would be required to pay the polluters to stop polluting.

No wonder Speaker GINGRICH is advising his colleagues to be seen at zoos. If they have their way zoos are the only place we'll be able to see animals.

And just as important as what they're trying to do is how they're trying to do it.

They knew the American people would never put up with the outright

repeal of these bills so they're trying to sneak through the back door.

They knew they couldn't pass a bill to allow oil drilling in the Alaskan wilderness. So they snuck a provision into the reconciliation bill that allows drilling in Alaska.

They knew they couldn't just repeal the Clean Water Act. So they've attached legislative riders to gut environmental laws in 17 different ways.

They knew they couldn't pass a budget that cuts environmental protection. So every week, we get another stop-and-go budget that quietly keeps the EPA from doing its job.

I think the Republican Whip, TOM DELAY, said it best. He stood on this floor in defiance just a few months ago, and he said: "We are going to fund only those programs we want to fund. We're in charge. We don't have to negotiate with the Senate. We don't have to negotiate with the Democrats."

And apparently, they don't care much what the American people think either.

Thankfully, the American people are seeing right through the Republican agenda.

And thankfully, the veto pen of the President is more powerful than the axe of the GINGRICH Republicans.

Time and time again, the President has stood tall against the extreme cuts and we will continue to fight them every step of the way. Because we are a better nation than this and we are a better people than this.

We have come too far as a nation and we have sacrificed too much to turn the clock back now.

For 25 years, Democrats and Republicans worked together to protect the environment.

We have done so because we've always realized that despite our difference in the end we all drink the same water, we all breathe the same air, and we all depend on the same environment for our survival.

We can never forget. We don't just inherit this land from our parents. We borrow it from our children.

Speaker GINGRICH may have made a deal with polluters. But we were elected to what's right for the American people.

And if this Congress isn't going to work to protect the environment for our families and our children, if they aren't going to work to keep our water clean and our air safe, then come November the American people will elect a Congress that will.

□ 1615

THE URGENT NEED TO IMPROVE OUR EDUCATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] is recognized for 45 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield first to the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON].

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for allowing me to share some of his special order time.

Mr. Speaker, today is the last day of the National Education Summit that is being held in New York.

Governors and business leaders from across the Nation recognize the urgent need to deal with America's education dilemma.

Most Americans, too, recognize the need to improve our education system so that every child can have a chance to learn, develop, and to realize his or her full potential, and in doing so, to be able to make a contribution to society. Yet, many Americans understand, regrettably, that there are too many of our Nation's students who are not being prepared for success later in life, but are doomed to failure.

They are in overcrowded classrooms, schools with poor curriculums, limited equipment, and low educational standards. Their teachers are underpaid and overworked. Too many of our students will drop out before completing high school if they are not challenged.

Mr. Speaker, we are at an important crossroads in education. All levels of government, and the private sector, should be working together and investing more resources in education, not less resources.

Again, most Americans are committed to investing more to improve our education system. Most Americans want to support our children and to ensure our Nation's future. And, if we understand the economics of education, we would know that quality education is a good investment.

Too many of my Republican colleagues want to invest less in education—25 percent less in some cases. Others question whether the Federal Government should even have a role in education.

But, the question should be which programs justify higher investment because they provide a sound economic payout? Which programs have worked and have proved their effectiveness? And, how can we insure quality performance and accountability?

The Federal Government supports educational programs and opportunities that the States and local communities are unable to provide. Let me briefly mention three examples of such programs.

The first is Head Start, Healthy Start, and other preschool programs—they have also proven their worth. These programs enable all children to be ready to learn when they enter school.

These programs have been studied, researched, and assessed to determine their value, and the results prove that if they are of high quality, they dramatically increase the educational performance of participants throughout their lives.

Investing in these programs gives back great payoffs for our society.

Title I compensatory education funds is another proven program. Last year,

the First Congressional District of North Carolina received \$46,267,400 in title I funds. These funds provided support to 30 school districts.

These funds provide for valuable teaching personnel and technology to disadvantaged school districts throughout the Nation.

This program addresses critical needs, identified by local school systems and has an outstanding record of performance where the right staff ratio and application of resources have been made.

The third example, Summer Youth Projects also have proven their value in addressing the need to give young people training and work experience during the summer.

These projects oftentimes provide the first real work experience, a disciplined environment, and the programs teach responsibility for the tasks assigned and how to work cooperatively with others.

Summer Youth Projects are effective in engaging young people in a constructive environment which contributes to their behavior and skill development.

Moreover, these projects are insurance against violence and disruption in our neighborhoods when young people are unsupervised and idle.

The three programs I have cited—the Pre-School Programs, Head Start, and Healthy Start; the Title I Program; and Summer Youth Employment—are all good educational programs that are provided by the Federal Government and deserve continued and increased investment.

These educational programs are a great payoff for our society. The programs can, certainly, be improved, can be made more effective. We should always seek to improve and to require full accountability for all resources. But, we should amend or reform our investment in the programs—not cripple or end them.

Mr. Speaker, We are at a crossroads. We must make required reforms, improvement, and sufficient investment to provide a quality education system where every child—every child has a chance to learn, develop, and contribute.

HEALTH CARE REFORM LEGISLATION

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I am here today, because I wanted to discuss the health care reform legislation that we expect to come to the House floor tomorrow. I was at the Committee on Rules earlier today, and at some point today this afternoon or this evening I would expect that they would report out a rule on the health care reform. My concern is that the bill that will come to the floor tomorrow, rather than being the very simple legislation that was called for and endorsed by President Clinton during his State of the Union Address, instead it would be a much more controversial bill loaded up with many provisions that cannot be agreed upon on a bipartisan basis in this House and in the Senate and that