

Souder	Thornton	Weldon (FL)
Spence	Thurman	Weldon (PA)
Spratt	Tiahrt	Weller
Stearns	Torres	White
Stenholm	Towns	Whitfield
Stokes	Trafigant	Wicker
Stump	Upton	Williams
Stupak	Vento	Wise
Talent	Visclosky	Wolf
Tanner	Vucanovich	Woolsey
Tate	Walker	Wynn
Taylor (NC)	Walsh	Young (AK)
Tejeda	Wamp	Young (FL)
Thomas	Ward	Zeliff
Thompson	Watt (NC)	Zimmer
Thornberry	Watts (OK)	

## NAYS—74

Abercrombie	Gephardt	Pombo
Andrews	Gibbons	Pomeroy
Barrett (WI)	Green (TX)	Roberts
Becerra	Hancock	Rohrabacher
Beilenson	Hoke	Roybal-Allard
Berman	Jacobs	Royce
Blute	Johnson (SD)	Rush
Chabot	Johnston	Sanders
Chenoweth	Klecza	Scarborough
Clay	LoBiondo	Schroeder
Collins (IL)	Lofgren	Sensenbrenner
Conyers	Markey	Serrano
Cooley	Martini	Stark
Coyne	McDermott	Stockman
Crapo	Meehan	Studds
DeFazio	Menendez	Tauzin
Dellums	Miller (CA)	Taylor (MS)
Doggett	Minge	Torkildsen
Engel	Mink	Torricelli
Eshoo	Moran	Velazquez
Fattah	Neumann	Volkmer
Foglietta	Owens	Waters
Ford	Payne (NJ)	Waxman
Frank (MA)	Peterson (MN)	Yates
Franks (NJ)	Petri	

## NOT VOTING—9

Calvert	Hayes	McDade
Frelinghuysen	Horn	Roukema
Gillmor	Lincoln	Wilson

□ 1901

Messrs. COOLEY of Oregon, MINGE, and FATTAH changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. BONILLA changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 234, I was unavoidably detained on official business and unable to vote for the agricultural appropriations bill. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye."

## REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3610, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, FISCAL YEAR 1997

Mr. SOLOMON, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 104-619) on the resolution (H. Res. 453) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3610) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1997, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

## AUTHORIZING RUNNING OF 1996 SUMMER OLYMPIC TORCH RELAY THROUGH CAPITOL GROUNDS

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 172) authorizing the 1996 Summer Olympic Torch Relay to be run through the Capitol Grounds, and for other purposes, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Senate amendment:

Page 2, line 8, strike out all after "Grounds" down to and including "over-night," in line 9.

The SPEAKER (Mr. DREIER). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I do so for the purpose of asking the gentleman for an explanation of the proceeding.

I yield to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GILCHREST].

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Speaker, we would like to expedite this bill. There is only a minor change between what we did in the House and what they did in the Senate. The torch is going to move on. It will not spend the night here so the Senate bill did not reflect the House bill in that way. So we would like to expedite the process and agree with the Senate version of the bill.

Mr. OBERSTAR. Mr. Speaker, I have no objection to the changes in the legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 211 on H.R. 3540, the foreign operations appropriations bill, I was absent due to the death of my father.

Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 212 on H.R. 3540, the foreign operations appropriations bill, I was absent, due to the death of my father. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 214 on H.R. 3540, the foreign operations appropriations bill, due to the death of my father, I was absent. If I had been present, I would have voted "yes."

Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 216 on H.R. 3540, the foreign operations appropriations bill, due to the death of my father, I was absent. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes".

Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 217 on H.R. 3540, the foreign operations appropriations bill, I was absent due to the death of my father. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes".

Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 218 on H.R. 3540, the foreign operations appropriations bill, I was absent due to the death of my father. Had I been present, I would have voted "no".

Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 219 on H.R. 3562, I was absent due to the death of my father. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes".

## CONFERENCE REPORT ON HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 178, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET, FISCAL YEAR 1997

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 450 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 450

*Resolved*, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider the conference report to accompany the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 178) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 1997 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002. All points of order against the conference report and against its consideration are waived. The conference report shall be considered as read. The conference report shall be debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). The gentleman from California [Mr. DREIER] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, for purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to my very good friend, the gentleman from South Boston, MA [Mr. MOAKLEY], pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. All time yielded is for the purposes of debate only.

(Mr. DREIER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, this rule provides for consideration of the conference report on House Concurrent Resolution 178, the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1997, which sets out a fiscally sound and responsible path to a balanced budget in 6 years. The rule waives all points of order against the conference report and its consideration. The rule provides that the conference report will be considered as read and provides 1 hour of general debate divided equally between the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most important things we can do for future generations of Americans is balance the Federal budget. Big government liberals controlled Congress for decades

leaving two legacies that plague America's children. One is a welfare state that impoverishes millions, trapping them in lives of despair, dependent on ineffective bureaucratic institutions. The second is a \$5 trillion Federal debt that drags down our private sector economy and forces scarce resources—scarce Federal resources—to be used to pay interest on debt rather than to solve problems.

Last year, Congress passed the first balanced budget in a generation. It was designed to address these critical problems. That balanced budget let the President meet his two major campaign promises from 1992, providing a middle class tax cut and ending welfare as we know it.

Finally, it is worth noting that the balanced budget saved Medicare from the bankruptcy that the Medicare trustees now foresee as being just 5 years away, just 5 years away.

Mr. Speaker, the President lobbied to kill the balanced budget amendment to the Constitution over in the Senate. President Clinton vetoed the balanced budget that was passed last year by this Congress. He vetoed the middle class tax cut. He vetoed the welfare reform plan twice. He vetoed legislation to protect Medicare. In the words of our dear friends at the Washington Post, he encouraged Medagogues to "scare America's senior citizens for political gain."

Now, Mr. Speaker, some might say it is unfair to claim that this veto pattern reflects the President's views on these issues. He claims to support a balanced budget. At least two of the eight Clinton budgets released at assorted times over the last year and a half were balanced, at least in a technical sense.

The President claims to support tax cuts and has announced a dozen or so ideas for tax cuts over the past 2 years, even some of them in the past 2 weeks, as we have all seen. Of course, the only tax bill that the President has actually implemented and signed is the largest tax increase in American history.

He says he wants to reform the welfare system. The President spoke at length recently in support of the Wisconsin welfare reform plan. Regrettably, the administration has failed to approve the implementation of even that same Wisconsin reform plan.

Mr. Speaker, if nothing else, this budget process is showing the American people who is serious about the issues of balanced budgets, tax cuts, and welfare reform. While the President down there at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue talks, the Congress delivers serious, thoughtful, responsible proposals.

This budget conference report sets out a 6-year budget plan that results in a balanced budget by the year 2002. It accomplishes this in a responsible manner that results in lower deficits each year than those proposed by the President.

The President's version of a balanced budget is just the opposite. It is a

budget fiction that proposes to dramatically increase spending for 5 years and then slash spending in the last year to balance the budget.

That proposal is a joke that mocks the efforts of those who are serious about addressing our chronic budget deficits to save the future of our children.

Recent testimony before the House and Senate Appropriations Committees on discretionary spending illustrates the budget games being played by the Clinton administration. In short, the administration budget proposes to increase spending for 1 year in areas such as veterans and space programs, putting off all the cuts to the following years. The administration's own representatives claim that these budget numbers are not serious, that the President only cares about the first year's spending proposal and that cuts in the coming years will be abandoned each year as the time comes. In this way, the budget is scored as reaching balance in 6 years, but the administration's own officials say it will never come to pass.

Clearly, the balanced budget proposal offered in the conference report on House Concurrent Resolution 178 is the only serious balanced budget offered to the American people. Of course, the American people deserve more from the Federal Government than a balanced budget. We must address the fact that American families now pay a higher percentage of their income in taxes, 34.2 percent, than at any time in American history. This balanced budget cuts the tax burden on American families by \$122.4 billion.

This budget also solves the problem of the impending bankruptcy of Medicare which, as I said, the administration has indicated is just 5 years away. It does this by updating a Federal health care program largely unchanged since its creation over three decades ago. By bringing Medicare into the 21st century, America's seniors will be offered increased choices and the potential to add new areas of coverage.

□ 1915

Medicare spending grows by 6.2 percent per year, increasing spending per beneficiary from \$5,200 in 1996 to \$7,000 in 2002. By addressing this problem in a serious manner, rather than following the Washington status quo band-aid method, Medicare will be healthy for at least 10 years.

Mr. Speaker, it is a cliché to say Talk is cheap. The President has proven time and again that talking about balancing the budget, cutting taxes and reforming welfare is easy to do. However, he has also proven that getting the job done is very hard. He has had both Democrat and Republican Congresses to work with, and he has failed miserably with both. There is no other option.

On the other hand, the failure to match talk of balanced budgets with action is very expensive; it is very dif-

ficult. We are passing a massive debt burden on to the children of this country, and we are not preparing them to pay the bill. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this rule and to support the conference report so that we can move forward and proceed with the concrete actions needed to match words with deeds.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD the following:

[The Budget Conference Report for Fiscal Year 1997, June 12, 1996]

MAKING LIFE BETTER FOR ALL AMERICANS

(Prepared by the House Budget Committee, John R. Kasich, Chairman)

BALANCES THE BUDGET BY 2002

Reverses the trend of heaping debt on our children and grandchildren.

Will save the average family \$2,200 on the cost of a student loan, \$900 on an auto loan, and \$37,000 on the mortgage of a small home.

PROVIDES MUCH-NEEDED TAX RELIEF

Provides desperately needed tax relief for middle-income, working families with children, who are paying more in Federal, State, and local taxes than they spend on food, clothing, and shelter combined.

Puts an extra \$1,000 in the hands of a family of four.

Helps improve the standard of living and savings rate for American families, who for years have seen their real incomes decline.

MAINTAINS A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

Stabilizes national security while reversing the administration's damaging defense cuts.

Makes funds available for a cost-effective and reliable missile defense to protect the American people.

Provides funding for a 3-percent military pay raise, increased construction of family housing and child development centers for dependent children of the military, and full funding of readiness objectives.

EXPANDS VETERANS' BENEFITS

Provides \$10.6 billion more than the President over 6 years to provide veterans' medical care, to conduct prosthetic research, to run the National Cemetery system.

Improves other services for veterans: raising disabled veterans' auto allowance; improving compensation for surviving spouses; extending back benefit payment limits; providing scholarships for college seniors; converting certain education benefits to the GI Bill; making permanent the Alternative Teacher Certification Program; and funding the Pro Bono Program; at the Court of Veterans Appeals.

PRESERVES AND IMPROVES MEDICARE

Ensures that hospital care will be available to seniors and disabled beneficiaries by saving the Medicare Hospital Insurance Trust Fund from imminent bankruptcy, extending its life for 10 years.

Increases Medicare spending per beneficiary from an \$5,200 in 1996 to \$7,000 in 2002, without raising deductibles or copayments.

Keeps the Medicare Part B premium at the current 25 percent of program costs.

Expands the health care options Medicare beneficiaries can choose from: remaining in traditional Medicare or choosing HMOs, point of service plans, provider service organization, medical savings accounts, and fee-for-service plans.

Opens the potential for new benefits, such as preventive services, prescriptions or eyeglasses.

IMPROVES EDUCATION

Protects loans for college, allowing growth in total volume from \$26 billion this year to \$37 billion in 2002.

Saves taxpayers money by capping the government-run direct lending program and achieving modest savings from lenders in the guaranteed lending program—but no student will be denied access to a loan because of this.

Protects education for disadvantaged students (Title I), Special Education, Head Start, Pell Grants, and Impact Aid.

Delivers more job training with fewer dollars by consolidating 70 separate programs.

#### ENHANCES LAW ENFORCEMENT

Increases the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund in 1997 by almost \$600 million compared with this year.

Fully funds the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, giving the Federal Government significant new resources to fight domestic and international terrorism.

Protects the Nation's borders by supporting the Immigration in the National Interest Act.

#### PROTECTING OUR PARKS AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Provides additional funds each year to improve the National Parks.

Recommends safe drinking water and strong clean water programs.

Calls for Superfund reforms and provides funding to facilitate hazardous waste cleanup.

#### REFORMS WELFARE AND MEDICAID

Encourages States to move families off of welfare and into the workforce.

Provides \$4.5 billion more than current law to assist persons on welfare in obtaining child care so they can enter the workforce.

Allows States to consolidate 12 separate child protection programs to better address the problem of child abuse and neglect.

Improves the collection of delinquent child support by establishing uniform State tracking procedures to find and crack down on deadbeat non-custodial parents.

Improves the system for establishing paternity in cases of out-of-wedlock birth to increase the likelihood that fathers of illegitimate children will contribute to their children's well-being.

Allows States to offer health insurance to millions uninsured people.

Eliminates Federal micromanagement of Medicaid.

Allows States greater flexibility to tailor health programs to their needs while protecting vulnerable populations.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague and my dear friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. DREIER], for yielding me the customary half hour.

Mr. Speaker, I am very sorry to see that, for the second year in a row, the Republicans in this Congress are proposing Medicare cuts to pay for tax breaks for the very rich.

Although these cuts are much better disguised this year than they were last year, they nevertheless are still there.

And, make no mistake about it: this \$168 billion Medicare cut is to pay for at least \$122 billion in tax breaks for the very rich, just like last year, and that is too bad, Mr. Speaker. It is too bad that, after this country responded to last year's bad ideas with a resounding "No," my Republican colleagues are still determined to cut billions from Medicare to help pay for billions

in tax breaks for the richest Americans.

Mr. Speaker, this was a terrible idea last year, and it is an even worse idea this year.

This Republican budget plan will cut Medicare by \$1,100 per senior by the year 2002, all to pay for those same tax breaks for that same very rich group. Seniors will get fewer services for their money; doctors will be allowed to overcharge; low-income children could be denied health care; and many hospitals could close.

Mr. Speaker, I, and the rest of the country, want to ask my Republican colleagues to stop this horrible budget. It will have very bad consequences for the most needy Americans, especially children and senior citizens, and no tax cut for the rich, Mr. Speaker, is worth that price.

I would also like to ask my Republican colleagues to please talk to Speaker GINGRICH and ask him not to rob Medicare for seniors and pass out tax breaks again to that very elite group, the very richest Americans, particularly when working Americans earning less than \$28,000 are going to see their taxes rise under this bill.

For all their talk of reversing the deficit, Mr. Speaker, my Republican colleagues have come up with a budget that will actually raise the deficit—now listen very closely—the budget that we have before us now will actually raise the deficit \$40 billion over the next 2 years. This budget will reverse the remarkable progress that President Clinton has made in lowering the deficit from \$290 billion to \$130 billion.

Mr. Speaker, it is irresponsible, it is shortsighted.

And that is not all this bill does, Mr. Speaker. The Republican budget will limit student loans. Now please listen to this figure: forcing 700,000 students out of the student loan program this year alone. It will freeze Superfund cleanups, leaving dangerous toxic waste in our land and our water. And I am disappointed to see that my Republican colleagues are including that same poison pill of Medicare cuts they did in last year's budget. They are going down the exact same road that they did last year, a road that ended up in unprecedented Government shutdowns and unprecedented wastes of taxpayer money. In fact, my Republican colleagues have even added a section to the budget just in case they cannot get their work done. They would actually add \$1.3 billion to the deficit in this budget to govern themselves in case they decide to shut down the Government again.

So make no mistake about it, Mr. Speaker. Any Member who votes for this conference report is voting to increase the deficit by \$40 billion over the next 2 years.

Now I want to repeat that so nobody has any false ideas. Any Member who votes for this conference report is voting to increase the deficit by \$40 billion over the next 2 years.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this budget. We should protect our Medicare. We should protect our student loans. We should not raid them for tax cuts for the rich.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Let me just say it is very interesting that the term "rich" has been used, and I understand that momentarily we will be getting a report on the number of times it was used, but I would like to say that in looking at this budget proposal there is nothing in here for a tax cut for the rich. We have the family tax credit, per child tax credit, \$500 in here, and I do not know that that is a great big windfall for the rich. It is for the working American out there.

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

Mr. DREIER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I just want to read from the record before the Committee on Rules. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. SOLOMON] says:

Any other questions of the witness?

Mr. Linder (questioning): "Will capital gains cuts come in next?"

Mr. Kasich: "It will be in the loophole-closing section."

So do not say there is no tax break for the very rich in here.

Mr. DREIER. So it is completely paid for.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from Glens Falls, NY [Mr. SOLOMON], chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Claremont, CA, and the vice chairman of our Committee on Rules, for his excellent opening statement, and I guess I should not be taken aback by the speech I have just heard by my good friend, the ranking democrat from Boston, MA [Mr. MOAKLEY], but, yes, he mentioned that we are helping the very rich, he says that six times, and he says we are cutting Medicare six times.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues, isn't that funny?, because the liberal New York Times says that is not so. The liberal Washington Post says that is not so. The liberal Los Angeles Times says that is not so. And editorials all across this country say that is not so and it is not.

Now I also want my colleagues to keep track of those that are going to get up and speak tonight on that side of the aisle accusing us Republicans of raising a deficit, because my good friend, Mr. MOAKLEY, appears on the list of the biggest spenders in the Congress, according to the National Taxpayers Union, and so will just about every other speaker that rises against our budget today. Keep that in mind, my colleagues.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me begin by first commending the Committee on

the Budget and particularly its chairman, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH], for making the very tough choices necessary to balance this budget. While this conference report does allow the deficit to go up from \$145 billion this year to \$153 billion next year, it does get us to a balanced budget by strictly adhering to the balanced budget glidepath that we adopted last year, and that is why I am such a strong supporter of this budget here today. This predicted increase follows the extraordinary work at cutting spending done by the Committee on Appropriations last year, over \$30 billion, the largest single-year reduction in spending since World War II. Cutting that spending early on in this glidepath actually reduced the deficit for last year more than was originally predicted.

Nevertheless, I believe any increase this year can be further reduced by cutting more spending during the appropriation process. That is what we did last year after we adopted the budget, by passing our entitlement reforms and by producing a stronger economy as a result of our continued dedication to a balanced budget. The result of that dedication, Mr. Speaker, has already brought about a deficit that is the lowest percentage of the GDP since 1974. That is decades ago.

I would also note that the Committee on the Budget of the 104th Congress, under the leadership of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH], has produced only budget resolutions with a glidepath to a balanced budget demonstrating their deep-rooted dedication to getting our fiscal house in order, and that is what this debate is all about today.

As we all know, this has not always been the case around here. In the past there have been efforts to reach a balanced budget by setting statutory deficit reduction levels, like the Gramm-Rudman statute in 1985, but the Democrat-controlled Congress proved unable to maintain the path to a balanced budget, and the quest for that goal was abandoned after just 2 years. This conference report before us today continues to press toward our balanced budget mark for the second consecutive year, and we will keep doing it for 5 more years in a row.

In March, the Congressional Budget Office projected that absent any substantive spending reform, the Federal budget will carry a deficit of \$209 billion in the year 2002. However, under the budget blueprint before us today right here on this floor, in the year 2002 we will see the death of the deficit. In fact, this budget provides a \$5 billion surplus in that year, and, as my colleagues know, I just can hardly wait for that to happen.

This budget also contrasts sharply with the Clinton administration's budget, which is being sold as leading to a balanced budget on this floor tonight. As we all know, the President's budget, when added up by the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office, still falls short of that balanced budget. In fact, it leaves the budget \$81 billion in deficit 7 years down the road.

So what did we gain after all this over 7 years? Nothing. A balanced budget is achieved only after adding in the President's contingency proposals, which call for \$67 billion in unspecified spending cuts, and, my colleagues, that is a copout because, if we do not specify, we know we are never going to get them down the road. It also provides for a sunset of his tax proposal so that he raises taxes once again in the years 2001 and 2002, well after he leaves office. His budget is going to raise out taxes even after he is gone.

We are not going to let that happen, my colleagues. In stark contrast, this budget resolution is backed up by a series of assumptions showing with great specificity how it is possible to implement these numbers in the resolution.

For example, and my colleagues all ought to listen to this back in their offices or wherever they are tonight, this budget resolution calls for tax relief of \$122.4 billion centered around, and not for the very rich now, not that term my good friend Mr. MOAKLEY likes to use, but it is centered around a permanent \$500 per child tax credit for middle-class American families. Is that for the very rich? It sure is not in my district. It has teeth by calling for comprehensive, yet responsible reform of the Nation's failed welfare system, and we are going to get that, my colleagues. We are going to drive that through this year, slowing the growth of the Federal welfare spending by \$53 billion.

I mean that is what we have been attempting to do here for the last 2 years. Tonight we are going to get it done.

□ 1930

Also with Medicaid for the poor, spending is growing at the unsustainable rate of 9 percent a year. This budget slows that growth of Medicaid spending by \$72 billion over the next 7 years by allowing it to go from \$96 billion in 1996 to \$140 billion in 2002.

Mr. Speaker, this budget also ensures the provisions of quality medical care for senior citizens of this country by, listen to this now, because this is what the New York Times, the Washington Post, and all the editorials across the country say; not cutting Medicare, but by increasing Medicare spending per beneficiary from \$5,200 in 1996 to over \$7,000 in the year 2002. It preserves Medicare from its pending bankruptcy. That is what the media out there and what the American people are asking us to do, to preserve Medicare. This budget does it.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, this budget reflects Congress' emphasis on national priorities such as strengthening our national defense, enhancing veterans' benefits and medical care, boosting law enforcement and crime prevention, improving the quality of education, and preserving student loans, preserving it so we do not fund it by deficit spending, protecting the environment and the Nation's parks, advancing basic research to create new knowledge, and transitioning agri-

culture to a market-oriented system, something that has been long overdue; and we do it in this budget.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I just feel compelled to answer the question, why are Republicans seeking to balance the budget and provide tax relief for middle-class Americans; why, why, why, are we doing this? Contrary to the claims of the Democrats, it is not because we oppose popular Government programs, not because we seek to pay off influential political friends, or not because we lack any compassion or care for those less fortunate. In fact, it is precisely because we are compassionate and because we favor increased economic opportunity and mobility for all Americans that we are doing this.

We firmly believe slowing the growth of spending, lowering taxes, increasing family responsibility and transferring portions of Government from Washington to the State capitals and local governments will create a better society for all. That is what we believe in.

To further demonstrate how the Republican vision provides this positive change, just consider some of the benefits of balancing the budget, as determined by not us, not the Republicans, but by the Federal Reserve and the Congressional Budget Office and the Joint Economic Committee. Listen to what they say. The Republican balanced budget, and the American people ought to listen to this, because sometimes we wonder what will a balanced budget do for the average American family, first of all, it lowers long-term interest rates by at least 2 percent on mortgages, auto loans, school loans, and credit cards. Think about that, Mr. and Mrs. America. It allows the private sector to create 4.25 million new jobs over 10 years. That is really what we ought to be about here in this Congress is helping the private sector create new jobs.

It increases per capita income by 16.1 percent. What American family cannot use that? It adds \$235 billion more revenue to the Federal Government and \$232 billion more revenue to State and local governments, both without raising taxes. That is the way Government ought to function, not raising taxes.

It adds an additional \$32.1 billion in real disposable income to put in the pockets of the American people. It adds an additional \$66.2 billion in consumer spending. That creates jobs by creating this spending. It adds an additional \$88.2 billion in capital investment, so badly needed, especially by small business, which creates 75 percent of all the new jobs in America every year. It provides the average family with \$2,300 economic bonus. It raises real incomes of American families by 10 percent due to permanent balanced budgets. It frees up crowded-out capital for private investment and job creation. It strengthens the American dollar. It accelerates long-term economic growth.

This is not me saying this, this is the Federal Reserve and the Congressional Budget Office saying this. It lowers inflation and unemployment. That is what we are all about. It increases productivity and exports of American goods. It strengthens financial markets, both stocks and bonds. It frees up our annual \$200 billion in interest payments for other priority items in the budget, for those people that truly need help, because we are reducing that annual deficit dollar that we have to pay every year.

It expands the Federal tax base, thereby increasing Government revenues. It prevents future tax increases to finance a growing Government, because we are shrinking that Government and returning it back to the States. It strengthens U.S. credibility in international markets. It ensures the long-term ability of governments to be compassionate. It turns America around and stops our fiscal decline.

Mr. Speaker, let me just conclude by saying this budget restores the moral responsibility on fiscal issues. It saves our children and grandchildren from bankruptcy, and it strengthens the American family by preserving their future. Mr. Speaker, these benefits are not economic statistics or intellectual theories, they are basic kitchen table benefits for every American family in this country.

I commend my Republican colleagues for their resilience and dedication to their core principles, and the chairman, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH], for his leadership, and for putting wheels onto the efforts to fulfill this vision that I have just outlined for America.

Mr. Speaker, every Member of this Congress ought to come over here and vote for this rule and vote for this bill. It is the right thing to do for our children and grandchildren. Please come over here and support it.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY], the ranking member of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I simply want to note that one of the previous speakers mentioned the House passage of the Wisconsin welfare reform proposal last week. As Members know, what happened last week is the House passed the waiver request sent in by the State of Wisconsin, eliminating the 30-day public comment period.

The Milwaukee Journal carried a story yesterday that hidden in those waiver requests were provisions that allowed employers to scale back employment for regular workers, to cut their hours, to cut their benefits, to interfere with their scheduled promotions in order to hire welfare recipients. The main Wisconsin bureaucrat who was supposed to be in charge of administering the program said in the Milwaukee Journal, "Gee, we had no idea why that provision is there." The main legislative sponsor in the proposal in the State assembly was quoted

as saying that he did not know that that was in the waiver request until he read it for the first time over the weekend.

Today, Wisconsin announced that it was a big mistake and that they were going to have to change their waiver request. What this means is that the proposal which the House voted to bless just a week ago tells workers that we do not like the fact that welfare workers are going to be unnecessarily gobbling their tax dollars, but instead we are going to allow them to unnecessarily gobble their jobs. I do not think those workers are going to be very pleased about that.

I think what happened last week, in fact, showed the wisdom of those in the House who supported the substitute that we proposed, which asked to maintain the regular waiver process, and which allowed the public to continue to be able to comment for 30 days so just that kind of problem could be avoided.

Mr. Speaker, I would point out it was not any Wisconsin politician who discovered the problem, it was a member of the general public, a member of the press. So much for rubberstamping what we get sent by legislators these days.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE].

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose the rule. Once again, the Republican leadership is determined to make unnecessary cuts in the Medicare Program in the name of tax breaks for the wealthy. Incredibly, this Republican budget actually increases the deficit while making major changes in the Medicare and Medicaid Programs that will ultimately destroy their effectiveness. If there is any doubt about that, I would mention that one of my colleagues from the other side, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. NEUMANN], actually passed out a Dear Colleague yesterday where he asked the Members, his colleagues, not to vote for the budget resolution, the conference report, because it increases the deficit from \$145 billion in fiscal 1996 to \$153 billion in fiscal 1997.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot support a budget that cuts Medicare and blatantly raises the deficit after so much progress has been made. We have been through 4 years now where the deficit has steadily been going down. Yet, at the same time now, our Republican colleagues are saying to us that is OK, we are going to raise it again for another year or possibly beyond, but at the same time we are going to make these drastic cuts in Medicare and Medicaid that primarily pay for tax breaks for the wealthy.

Mr. Speaker, let there be no doubt about it, these cuts go into a slush fund that will be used for tax breaks for the wealthy.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WISE].

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this budget proposal. First

of all, I am not voting for a budget proposal that actually raises the deficit in the first 2 years, meaning that we are going to have to borrow more and put it on the national debt in order to pay for it over time.

Second, I am not voting for a proposal that cuts Medicare and Medicaid far more than is necessary, presumably to pay for tax cuts, and some of those tax cuts, if not many, are going to end up in the pockets of the wealthiest. In West Virginia we did an analysis. Three hundred twenty-five thousand senior citizens could see their Medicare premiums or other costs, out of pocket, increased somewhere between \$800 and \$1,000 by the year 2002. Three hundred sixty thousand West Virginians are on Medicaid, of which one-quarter of our children depend upon Medicaid, yet this program is being cut far more than is necessary, probably in order to pay for tax cuts for the wealthiest. The Tri-County Health Clinic in Rock Cave, WV, I think said it well, its administrator, when he said, "This means a reduction in uncompensated care, a reduction in services and increased charges, a reduction in the community services." This is not a good budget.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE].

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, this is a sad time to come to the floor of the House, primarily because I would like to say that we have done better than we did last year. Maybe we will entertain the opportunity for not closing the Government down, but it is like a second place finish; better than a third place finish, but not good enough.

This bill increases the deficit, this budget. It likewise says to seniors, the heck with you on being able to stay with your physician. The heck with you in terms of the Medicare costs that are increasing, for we are not going to provide you with the resources for good health care.

As millions of Americans are trying to educate their children, we begin to cut Medicaid so those families who need nursing home care for their parents have no help. Likewise, we say to throngs of children and pregnant women that "Your health care is not at the cornerstone of our concerns."

Then what the Republicans do is something quite interesting. It is called magic. They have a big pool of money that is unnamed, called tax breaks for the rich, the crown jewel of the contract, hidden and unseen. That is what the budget resolution is all about. I would ask my colleagues to vote it down.

Mr. Speaker, the conference report that we have before us is a lot like a second place finish in a race—it's better than third place finish of the House-passed bill, but its not good

enough. There is indeed more money in this conference report than the bill passed out of this body, but there are budget reductions and policy changes which I not only find objectionable but horrible. Seemingly in almost all areas, but especially the entitlement programs, this budget resolution directs policy changes which I can only believe will cause much greater harm to those it is supposed to help.

While Medicare is no longer slashed by \$270 billion as it was last year, the CBO has projected that under the current Republican plan, not enough money is spent to maintain the current level of benefits. As common sense will tell any of us, that means this Nation's seniors will be shortchanged, and less care given. And while part B premiums will stay at 25 percent, this legislation will allow providers to engage in balance billing—the charging of seniors above what Medicare will pay.

Under these Medicaid provisions, the Federal Government will abdicate its responsibility, and millions of low-income children, pregnant women, disabled people and senior citizens will be denied access to the basic health care which we all take for granted. States will be allowed to reduce their maintenance of effort requirements and define who they consider to be “disabled.”

May I remind my colleagues, that it is Medicaid which helps millions of American families pay for the nursing home care that their parents need. Without that help from this Government, those families will be saddled with these additional costs, just as they are trying to cope with the price of college education for their children, increased uncertainty about their jobs and ever increasing burdens that American families will face at the turn of the century.

#### VETERANS

And Mr. Speaker, may I say woe to our distinguished and honorable veterans, for this conference report provides small increases to several veterans' programs, including the Montgomery GI bill education benefits, the alternative teacher certification program, the pro bono legal program at the Court of Veterans Appeals, surviving spouse compensation, and the auto allowance for severely disabled veterans. But overall, it reduces veterans' programs by \$5.3 billion over the next 6 years.

#### WELFARE

The most harmful provision of this bill is its welfare provision. This package will effectively eliminate the Federal guarantee of assistance for poor children in this country for the first time in 60 years.

The Republican budget folds 20 separate child protection programs into two block grants at a time when GAO and others report that current resources are failing to keep pace with the needs of a national child protection system in crisis. Under this plan, funds could be inadequate to respond to rapidly increasing reports of abuse and neglect, and insufficient to protect abused children and find them safe, loving and permanent homes. The plan potentially guts accountability for State child protection systems, over 20 of which are operating under court mandates for failing to provide adequate service to abused and neglected children.

Once again, the Republican majority has produced a budget that fails to provide adequate resources for work programs and child care which are critical to effectuate a transition from welfare to work. The Republican plan significantly increases the need for child care

while reducing the resources for child care services as well as the funds available to States to improve the quality of care.

Mandatory welfare-to-work programs can get people off welfare and into jobs, but only if the program is well designed and is given the resources to be successful. The GOP plan is punitive and wrong-headed. It will not put people to work, it will put them on the street. Any restructuring of the welfare system must move people away from dependency and toward self-sufficiency. Facilitating the transition off welfare requires job training, guaranteed child care and health insurance at an affordable price.

Even though this resolution presents us with a balanced budget, it is the wrong balance of needs and responsibilities. I urge rejection of this Republican vision of America and ask my colleagues to reconsider our priorities and our future.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. WYNN].

(Mr. WYNN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, we have just heard described a pie-in-the-sky budget that can do just about everything but leap tall buildings. The fact remains, Mr. Speaker, that the budget they are presenting increases the deficit. The people who claim to be deficit hawks, the people who claim to want to reduce the deficit and balance the budget, are in fact presenting us with a budget today which will increase the deficit by \$40 billion in the course of the next 2 years. What they have done is front-loaded this budget with tax breaks for the wealthy. Those front-loaded tax breaks will kick in, and that will cause us to increase the deficit, also causing us to make deep cuts in Medicare.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, this budget contains cuts in Medicare far deeper than the President's budget and far deeper than the coalition budget, which 40 newspapers said is the only true budget. With these deep cuts in Medicare, seniors will experience a loss of choice of their doctors. Seniors will experience higher out-of-pocket costs. Seniors will experience a reduction in the quality of their medical care. They will also lose the benefits of Medicaid and the protection for nursing home care.

Mr. Speaker, this is a bad budget, a pie-in-the-sky budget that increases the deficit.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON].

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this rule and in opposition to this budget.

Mr. Speaker, this budget, though the numbers may be a little better, actually the results are the same. It is more of the same all over again. In spite of the Republicans saying that they got it, that Medicare was a concern and they are trying to save it, I will have Members know that if the

Medicare cuts persist, rural hospitals where I am from will more than likely go out of business, because over half of their revenues now are dependent on Medicare; so indeed, pushing this budget will see the demise of rural hospitals, where health care is already in a deficit.

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In addition, Medicare is bad but Medicaid is even worse because we depend more on Medicaid for care for women and children. Three out of every five children in rural areas depend on Medicaid.

Moving toward this budget means that you deny poor children and mothers an opportunity to have health care. This is the wrong budget. In moves in the wrong direction. I urge defeat of the rule and also defeat of the budget.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KLINK].

Mr. KLINK. I thank the gentleman from yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I am a little confused. I was listening to my colleagues on the other side talking about this budget and what it is going to do. We have just gone through 4 consecutive years of lowering the deficit. This began in 1993 with a very tough vote for some of us on this side of the aisle. Not one Republican voted for that budget back in 1993. In fact they stood up one after the other preaching doom and gloom, that the country was going to fall apart.

This is the first time since FDR and Harry Truman that we have had 4 straight years of deficit reduction. It was started by President Clinton. In fact, the budget today would be balanced if we were not paying the interest on the debt of 12 years of Reagan and Bush running up the debt, quadrupling the deficit in this country. If it were not for the interest on the Reagan and Bush debt, the budget indeed would be balanced.

Here come the Republicans. Not one vote did they give us in 1993, but they are telling us, “If you allow us to increase the deficit next year, we'll balance the budget 6 years from now. If you allow us to increase the deficit the following year, we'll balance the budget.”

Mr. Speaker, I call this the wimpy budget: You will gladly pay us in 2002 if we give you a vote today.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, would the Chair inform my dear friend, Mr. DREIER, and myself how much time we have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. EWING). The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MOAKLEY] has 17 minutes, and the gentleman from California [Mr. DREIER] has 9 minutes.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. WARD].

Mr. WARD. I thank my friend from Massachusetts for the time to speak on this rule and to speak on the budget.

Mr. Speaker, after the Clinton administration has worked so hard to reduce the deficit by over 50 percent, this



budget actually raises the deficit a billion dollars. Instead of being fiscally responsible and reducing the deficit, the Republicans are cramming tax breaks into the first 3 years of their 6-year budget. The deep changes in the projected growth of Medicare will turn the balance against our seniors. Life will be different for our seniors when they must pay doctors and hospitals up to 40 percent of the cost of their medical procedure and when rural hospitals have to close because they rely on Federal funds.

I urge a "no" vote on this rule and a "no" vote on this budget.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I feel compelled to yield myself 10 seconds to respond to the statements of my dear friend from Kentucky and before that to the statements of my friend from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Speaker, the fact of the matter is that our colleagues on the other side of the aisle voted for budgets which increase, at an even higher level than this one, the deficits over the next 2 years. They are higher each of the next 2 years. We cannot forget that.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER].

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, actually the fact of the matter is a lot of us on this side of the aisle, and none of us on that side of the aisle, voted to cut the deficit in half in the first year of the Clinton administration by putting a gas tax on.

One of the reasons we got into all this trouble is somebody decided then they would lift it. Everybody wants to lift taxes and not cut programs. But the bottom line here for, I think, Americans is to hear this body talking about how we have to have a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, we have to do all of that, but we cannot balance the budget here.

Here we are considering a deficit that is going to be higher than the one we have this year. How can we have a higher one next year than the one we have this year and then stand there and say it passes the straight-faced test, to stand around and look at people and say, "We're really for balancing the budget." This does not work.

The real issue is not whether you are for amendment, it is whether you can get the deficit under control. I urge a "no" on this rule.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. GENE GREEN.

(Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise and thank my colleague from Massachusetts for yielding me the 1 minute, and oppose the resolution, for many reasons, including the unnecessary deep cuts in the Medicare needs totaling \$168 billion.

I also oppose the resolution because it increases the budget deficit by en-

acting fiscally irresponsible tax cuts costing \$176 billion. After 3 years of progress on deficit reduction in which the President kept his promise in cutting the deficit in half, the Republicans now want to reverse the trend and add \$23 billion to the deficit next year.

Three years ago Republican after Republican came to this well to talk about the sky would fall if we passed the President's economic plan in 1993. Since then the deficit has been cut in half and millions of jobs created. Instead of continuing the work that was started in 1993, the Republicans want to give tax cuts and raise the deficit.

Mr. Speaker, I think the Republicans should listen to the majority leader now in the Senate, TRENT LOTT, who said that one solution to the budget problem is to reduce the tax cut. I would hope that we would remember that the budget is so important. We need to make sure we prioritize.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The membership should avoid references to Senators.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. VOLKMER].

(Mr. VOLKMER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VOLKMER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to echo the words of those that we have heard from this side. I, too, rise in opposition to this budget which unnecessarily makes deep cuts in Medicare, in agricultural programs—we just went through that bill—and others.

I say unnecessarily because it is not necessary to make these cuts in order to balance the budget by 2002. We have proven that through the coalition budget. You do not have to have the big tax cuts. All you have to do is forget the big tax cuts and then you do not have to make those cuts. But on the other hand, I see where Speaker GINGRICH and the Republican radical right, they not only want to make cuts in Medicare and agriculture and other things, but they also still insist on giving the big tax cut to the wealthy.

I rise strongly in opposition to the budget.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to my friend, the gentleman from Sanibel, FL [Mr. GOSS], chairman of the Subcommittee on Legislative and Budget Process.

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. I thank my distinguished colleague from greater metropolitan San Dimas, Claremont County, CA, for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I guess after listening to the commentary and the steady string and the balance of time, I am beginning to understand those polls that are coming out in the newspapers these days that show Americans trust Repub-

licans a lot more to handle the budget and economic matters than they do others. I am not sure what the Boston Globe is showing but then again, they do not always get the word up there as I understand there is a lot of snow.

I think it is important to say, yes, we could have done a lot more, and we will. Yes, we could have gone a lot further in this budget resolution. But I am extremely proud of this budget resolution because it goes a very, very long way toward the goals that we have said we espouse. It shows that we will stick to our convictions and that we will stay on a glide path towards balancing the budget by 2002, even in the face of election-year politicking which is creeping into this conversation, and despite the very manifest intransigence from the White House and, some might say, from the President's party in the people's House.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. KASICH] and the members of this committee have demonstrated unending persistence, in my view, in presenting this budget. His hard work ensures that this Congress will keep faith with the American people, continuing on course for a balanced budget, something we started last year under the Contract With America and are moving forward in an orderly way.

Of course, we still hope the President will join us in this effort—it is not too late—taking the concrete action necessary to match his words of resolve that we hear so often and we fail to see the actions, as my good friend from California has pointed out.

Although President Clinton vetoed major components of our budget last year, we did make significant progress toward our goal of balance by our sheer staying power on this, enough so that this year we can still fulfill our promise that by 2002 we will no longer be adding annual deficits to the huge national debt we have and leave to our children and grandchildren and great grandchildren and their children.

This budget assumes the termination or privatization of 130 low-priority or unnecessary Federal programs, while outlining responsible reforms to preserve and strengthen Medicare. And, yes, I care about that because I am going to need it. I am getting close. And, yes, the people I represent are very interested in Medicare in my part of the world.

This is a crucial component needed to save that program from certain fiscal disaster, which is what will befall it if we stick with the status quo. In addition, this budget provides for revamping Medicaid and welfare to give greater flexibility and control to the States, shrinking the size and scope of the Federal bureaucracy so that people closer to home can implement programs to meet their unique needs. And this budget paves the way for tax relief for American families so that Americans can keep more of what they earn, a good idea.

Mr. Speaker, the rule providing for consideration of this budget is the