

something, makes us feel good about ourselves, when really we have not even begun to solve the problem.

As I say, the Government bureaucracy is well-intentioned, but what Government has failed to understand is that raising more taxes to hire more bureaucrats to expand a welfare system that does not work is only going to make matters worse. We have got to try a different approach.

The fact is welfare is not the only problem that is affecting our children. We recently passed a welfare reform bill in this House that takes a new approach and maybe that will have some positive affects. We need a new approach because at the start of this decade we had the most murders, the worst schools, the most abortions, the highest infant mortality rate, the most illegitimacy, the most one-parent families, the most children in jail, and the most children on Government aid in the world.

We are first only in the numbers of lawyers and lawsuits. That is the situation that has to change. The fact is a government-based policy to help children just does not work. It tends to destroy them, as we have seen over the past 30 years. It does not keep families together. It tends to drive them apart and instead of turning our cities into shining cities on the hill, it has made them into war zones where no one dares to go out at night and sometimes they do not dare to go out in the daytime as well.

So let me describe two competing visions of how we take care of our children in this country. There is the Government-based vision that we have talked about, but there is also a family based vision where parents like me, and like all of us who have children, are empowered to make decisions, where communities can decide for themselves how to fight crime and drugs and educate their children and where local school officials are given the ability to develop a curriculum that fits the needs of their students. That is the sort of approach we need to take.

Too often politicians use children as props. We should use them instead as a reminder that we have got a responsibility to the next generation. We need to help them with compassion and nurturing, not with Government handouts.

Too often politicians simply talk the talk because that is the easy way. It is easy to sound compassionate. But we need to work to reform the system that currently has failed our children, and I think that work begins with reforming welfare.

Let me state this clearly so there is no confusion. We have spent \$5 trillion since the mid-sixties on Government run welfare programs and yet we have more poverty, more crime, more drug addiction, more broken families, and more immoral behavior today than we had at that time. The Government system is broken. It does not work. It needs to be shut down, period.

But we have some alternatives. We have some things that might actually work, and let me give a couple of examples. Why does Habitat for Humanity work? It works because it requires recipients to do their own work, to learn the lessons themselves. Why does Earning for Learning work? It works because it pays young children to read. It educates many more than the Department of Education can ever do.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, in closing, our children are the future of our country. They are something we have to take very, very seriously. It is not enough to say that we care and not do the work to fix the system so it really does take care of our children.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gallery will maintain order. Under the rules of the House, expressions of approbation or disapprobation are not in order.

EFFECT OF WELFARE SYSTEM ON OUR CHILDREN

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

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I would like to pursue the discussion that my freshman colleague from Washington [Mr. WHITE] has been talking about. His daughter Emily reminds me a lot of my daughter Emily, who is now 16 years old, and we are having driving lessons. But I want to talk about children in America as well, and I want to talk about the welfare system and what we are doing to children.

Is there anything more cruel to children than consigning them to a lifetime of poverty and dependency? Cannot we do better than the welfare system we have in place now?

Almost everyone agrees that the welfare system has failed. It needs to be replaced. That is why I am encouraged that the House and the Senate have passed welfare reform legislation in the last couple of weeks on a bipartisan basis. This legislation will soon go to the President for his signature.

The war on poverty was begun in the mid-1960's with good intentions. President Lyndon Johnson and others argued that America needed to provide a nationwide safety net to catch those who had fallen on hard time. Some have said that the safety net has become a hammock, but that is not quite fair. In some respects it is more like a gill net, trapping and inflicting damage upon generations of Americans, and one does not have to look far to see its victims.

Out inner cities have become war zones. Out-of-wedlock births have quadrupled in the last 30 years, spawning a generation of fatherless young

men and women perpetuating a cycle of illegitimacy, violence, dependency, and despair.

□ 1345

Most Americans now see that the basic flaw with our war on poverty is that it has created a culture of entitlement to benefits through a Washington-dictated, one-size-fits-all system. It set up the wrong kinds of incentives, paying people not to work and penalizing them if they do. It hurts the very people it was designed to help. We are literally killing people with kindness.

Almost no one disagrees that we need fundamental change in our welfare policy. The administration boasts that it has approved a record number of waivers of Federal regulations to allow States to experiment with welfare reform. But that just shows how excessively bureaucratic and tangled the current system is.

For example, the President went out to Wisconsin and he praised the Wisconsin Works welfare reform plan, but the United States Department of Health and Human Services has not yet approved the waivers that would let the plan go forward.

Any reform plan must emphasize work and personal responsibility. The House-passed welfare reform plan will greatly increase States' abilities to design their own solutions aimed at moving people from dependency to work. It combines four Federal poverty programs, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the WIC nutrition program and child care, into block grants that give States flexibility to use scarce resources more efficiently. The House bill limits able-bodied adults to 2 years of assistance without work. With a lifetime maximum of 5 years of benefits, States could still grant hardship exceptions to 20 percent of their case load.

It requires people that bring immigrants into our country to live up to their sponsorship support commitments instead of passing them off to the taxpayers. And speaking of living up to their responsibilities, it also creates a nationwide tracking system for enforcing child support payments from deadbeat dads. It only makes common sense to require people to develop habits for working to support themselves. Work is more than the way you earn a living. It helps to define your very life. The great majority of Americans do it every day.

This is common sense. It is a consensus about both the need and the direction we should take in terms of welfare reform and has moved us to a truly historic opportunity to replace the faulty foundation of the welfare state.

The Senate bill, which passed on a bipartisan basis of 74 to 24, had almost all of the Republicans supporting it and over half of the Democrats. The House and Senate are resolving differences between the two bills, and we are hopeful that we can have a bill on the President's desk for his signature

early in August. The President promised to end welfare as we know it but has vetoed two previous welfare reform bills.

We have accommodated his objections by separating Medicaid reform from the welfare reform. Now it is time to seize the opportunity to replace the welfare system with work, to replace dependency with responsibility. We are not simply trying to save money here, we are trying to save people, especially kids, from a lifetime of poverty.

Carpe diem, Mr. President. Seize the day.

BOOKS ON BILL CLINTON

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

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, good afternoon. This is not my bag to go to the airport. This is a show and tell special order.

It is 10 minutes to 1 in Chicago. It is 10 minutes to noon in Denver. It is only 10 minutes to 11 in Orange County, in Los Angeles and Seattle. Still the shank of the morning in Hawaii. And in Guam it is tomorrow. I have people that write to me from Guam where America's day begins. I just spoke to a whole bunch of students outside. They said: Why does the news media still persist in saying that those of us on both sides of the aisle who do special orders, 5 minutes or 1 hour or 1 minute, why do they persist in saying that we are speaking to an empty Chamber? I see 10 people, I see 10, 20, 30, 40 in the gallery. A few more over here. I see some more staffers and chief staffers back there. There are 1,300,000 people watching.

Is that not right, Mr. GUTKNECHT, who is going to be elected by a landslide in his great district. And may I do radio spots for you, as many as you want. May you put them all on Rush Limbaugh's show. A million people are listening to me right now.

Let me get serious. This case is what I am taking on the road as head of a Bob Dole peace task force. I am not going to read the titles until I get them in chronological order here. This is turning into a cottage industry of books on Bill Clinton.

And respecting rule XVIII of the House, which I intend to change after the election, if we are in the majority, and I will explain rule XVIII. It keeps us from going for one another's throats around here. It implores us to say, will the distinguished and honorable and wonderful Member yield. And if you just cannot get that out of your throat, you at least have to say, will the Member from Massachusetts yield. That is as mean as we can get.

We get our words taken down if it gets too rough and if we start to talk about something they are doing in the Chamber that likes to call itself the

upper Chamber, which I sometimes love to call the House of Lords, but it certainly is coequal with us. Superior in foreign affairs and ratifying treaties, but we are superior, and it was by design, on issues like money, taxation, raising taxes. And all spending bills originate in the House.

So that rule XVIII is to protect the camaraderie, what we call comity. I do not use that word very much because, no matter how hard you hit the T, it sounds like you are saying comedy to the average American. But comity means goodwill and camaraderie and it keeps us sane with one another in the two Chambers when we have to come together in conference, which we will be doing for the next 2 or 3 months on the major 13 major appropriations bills.

We are way ahead of the Senate, as usual, because the money bills start here. But we cranked into this protective rule XVIII the Vice President, AL GORE, and whoever is sitting in the White House. I watched my friend of fifty-eight, combat Navy hero, and a grandfather of 14 children and a wonderful, trustworthy friend, George Bush. I watched that President of the United States, as he was sitting President, trashed in the well regularly from the Democratic lectern.

I watched Ronald Reagan hit sometimes over the edge with words taken down and withdrawn. But we have a tripartite system of Government here, checks and balances. As I said on this floor a few days ago, I can just tear into any one of the Supreme Court Justice. I can shred Hazel O'Leary's terrible stewardship and horrible squandering of taxpayers' dollars renting a Madonna luxury jet that Madonna had used to party around the world to take hundreds of staffers around the world in expensive hotel suites and all running up credit cards.

I can do anything I want to show that I do not think she or Bruce Babbitt or anybody should have a Cabinet seat. I thought Janet Reno, and this would have definitely happened in Great Britain, I thought Janet Reno, a very nice lady, should have resigned after 20 children and several pregnant mothers were suffocated to death. Hopefully they were not burned to death. But as far as I know, they were all suffocated to death, little faces could not have a gas mask, in the Waco government tragedy.

I would never, ever have had them come out of my mouth, and I resented it, to call any good law enforcement person who is poorly led any kind of a thug, let alone use military terms that would harken up the image of the Gestapo, but that was a disaster and heads rolled. People were fired, then rehired. A lot of agents quit in disgust. A lot of those guys tried to join the FBI first, and the FBI did not do much better at Ruby Ridge. Besides, the DEA mess, my favorite agency of all law enforcement agencies, firearms, Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, ATF.

DEA, fantastic since its inception, which was since I have been a Congressman. The ATF, a lot of those people wanted to join the FBI first. So when the FBI came in, I had ATF agents call me on the quiet and they said, we thought the FBI was going to come in and rescue us, and they made it even worse. By that time we did not want a fire in the compound or to press religious zealots to the breaking point where a few men destroy their women and children on their ego.

She should have resigned over that. I still believe that. I still believe her presence cripples the agencies under her, including the FBI. I think what is so tragic here is that she was not in command of the agency at that time. We all know that she had to answer, even though she did not know it, to Webster Hubbell. He, the man who is? Jail now, No. 2 at Justice. He created a title for himself. That is in some of these books I am about to show you.

Pressing rule XVIII to the outer limits.

I will try to put these in order. And the newest one, Unlimited Access, by an FBI agent, has a bibliography in the back with books I never even heard of. I hope I did not forget some. My wife is reading Blood Sport, by James T. Stewart.

So, let us see, what is the first book I read on Bill Clinton? On the Make. That title alone might push rule XVIII. Before the Parliamentarian thinks about it, it means seducing the voters with a smooth line. All politicians like to think about that. It is by a lady journalist without peer in the great State of Arkansas. A great State, 23 Medal of Honor winners. I campaigned in seven towns last year for one of our great Congressmen down there, one of our two, soon to be three, Republicans. And this book, On the Make, by Meredith Oakley, the Rise of Bill Clinton, is the subtitle, takes you back to one of the only two Federal races Mr. Clinton has been in, and he lost it.

He tried to take on a combat veteran who flew the gooney bird over the hump in the China-Burma-India theater, a great Congressman. I served with him over a decade, J. P. Hammerschmidt, in 1974. He did not wipe out that World War II great veteran. But it put him on the map. And 2 years later in 1976—I cannot go to surgery; pardon me, I had my beeper on—2 years later, he was the Attorney General at 30 years of age. And 2 years after that, he was the Governor of the great State of Arkansas, at 32 years of age. And 2 years after that, he was defeated Governor at 34 years of age.

Then the other books pick up the story. But this takes him from his first race and before his involvement in the McGovern campaign with Betsy Wright, chief cook and bottle washer and suppressor of scandals and hirer of Jack Palladino, who had thousands of dollars of campaign money, intimidated and shut up people on the campaign trail to grease the path for Clinton to the White House.