

Further, the Project has been recognized for outstanding contributions to women and children and their education by the National Education Association; for diversity in education by the National Association For Multicultural Education; and for scholarship, service, and advocacy by the Center for Women's Policy Studies.

As I pay tribute to women's history month, I am truly grateful to all the devoted women at the National Women's History Project for their continued commitment and for making an indelible mark on our country.

PRESIDENTIAL DECISION-MAKING RELATED TO KOSOVO

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. LEACH) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, I rise to address the issue of presidential decision-making related to Kosovo.

Sometimes the challenge of leadership is to recognize that restraint at the outset is a better policy than entanglement at the end.

The Balkans are a caldron of conflict based on a history of internecine violence of which we on this side of the Atlantic have little understanding or capacity to ameliorate.

Policy in such a circumstance should be designed to avoid being caught up in destructive dissensions which are beyond our ken and beyond our control.

There may be a humanitarian case for intervening on the ground in Kosovo as part of a small NATO peace-keeping operation. But this case disintegrates if we unleash air power against one of the sides. In the wake of air strikes, we will be barred forever from a claim to the kind of neutral status required of a peacekeeping participant. More importantly, it is strategic folly to assume civil wars can be calmed by unleashing violence from 30,000 feet.

Teddy Roosevelt once admonished "to speak softly but carry a big stick." At risk to the public interest, this President has taken a different tack. He has raised the rhetoric, threatening one side that air strikes will occur if it does not capitulate, and allowed a war criminal, Slobadan Milosovic, to force his hand.

Now, in part because White House threats are either not being taken seriously or are viewed as potentially counterproductive, Milosovic has put the President in a position of advocating air strikes in order to keep his word, even though their effect may be more anarchistic than constraint.

The world will little note nor long remember what most Presidents say most of the time. But people from every corner of the earth are taking stock of what appears to be a too-ready trigger hand on cruise missiles and air power.

A question worth pondering is whether use of such power in East Africa and

Afghanistan, for instance, precipitates or diminishes efforts by destabilizing powers to build weapons of mass destruction and missile delivery systems for themselves.

Meanwhile, the case for unleashing a military strike in order to make a meaningful threat meaningful should be reconsidered.

It is time to disengage pride and review circumstance. It is time to stop being a bully in the use of the bully pulpit.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO PRIVATIZE MEDICARE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the Medicare Commission fortunately has voted down a Medicare reform proposal that would have privatized one of the best government programs in American history.

The Commission's charge was to come up with a scheme for putting Medicare on a solid financial footing and improving its value to seniors. Instead, they came up with a scheme to end Medicare as we know it. While the Commission's time may have run out, it is not, unfortunately, the end of the story. Plans are being made to introduce legislation based on the plan, they call it premium support, that the Commission just rejected.

Under this proposal, Medicare would no longer pay directly for health care services. Instead, it would provide each senior with a voucher good for part of the premium for private coverage. Medicare beneficiaries could use this voucher to buy into the fee-for-service plan sponsored by the Federal Government or to join a private plan.

To encourage consumer price sensitivity, the voucher would track to the lowest cost private plan; ostensibly, seniors would shop for the plan that best suits their needs, paying extra for higher quality care. But the proposal would abandon the principle of egalitarianism that has made Medicare one of our Nation's best government programs.

Today the Medicare program is income-blind. All seniors have access to the same level of care. The premium support proposal, however, would be structured to provide comprehensiveness, access, and quality only to those who could afford them.

The idea that vouchers would empower seniors to choose a health plan that best suits their needs is simply a myth. The reality is that seniors will be forced to accept whatever plan they can afford.

The Medicare Commission was charged with ensuring Medicare's long-term solvency. This proposal will simply not do that.

Bruce Vladeck, a former administrator of the Medicare program and a commission member, doubted the com-

mission plan would save the Federal Government even one dime. The same proposal under another name will not do it either.

The privatization of Medicare is, of course, nothing new. Medicare beneficiaries have been able to enroll in private managed care plans for some time now, and their experience does not bode well for a full-fledged privatization effort. They are already calling for higher government payments, they are dropping out of unprofitable markets, and they are cutting back on patient benefits.

Managed care plans are profit-driven, and they do not tough it out when those profits are unrealized. We learned this the hard way last year when 96 Medicare HMOs deserted more than 400,000 Medicare beneficiaries because their customers simply did not meet the HMO profit objectives.

Before Medicare was launched in 1965, more than half this Nation's seniors were uninsured. Private insurance was then the only option for senior citizens. Insurers did not want seniors to join their plans because they knew the elderly would use their coverage. The private insurance market has changed considerably since then, but it still avoids high-risk enrollees and, whenever possible, dodges the bill for high-cost medical services.

The purpose of public medical systems is to provide the best health care possible to help people, especially children and the elderly, so that they can live longer, healthier lives.

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The purpose of privatized medical systems is to maximize profit through private insurance companies, denying benefits and instituting physician and other provider incentives to withhold care.

The problem is the expectation that private insurers can serve two masters: the bottom line and the common good. There are 43 million uninsured Americans. If the private health insurance industry cannot figure out how to cover these people, most of whom are middle-income workers and children, how will they treat high-cost seniors?

If we privatize Medicare, we are telling Americans that not all senior citizens deserve the same level of care. We are betting on a private insurance system that puts its own interest ahead of health care quality and a balanced Federal budget. As the focus of Medicare reform shifts to Congress, we must question our priorities.

The answer is clear: Medicare is a national priority and must be kept the excellent public program that it has been for 3 decades. Thirty-six million Americans depend on Medicare every day, and it has helped our Nation lead the world in life expectancy for people 80 years and older.

The Medicare Commission wisely disbanded without delivering a final product. It is time now that we go back to the drawing board and construct a plan

that builds on Medicare's strengths and ensures its solvency for decades ahead.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. WATKINS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. WATKINS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. KELLY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. KELLY addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD. addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURU) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. DELAURU addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. NAPOLITANO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mrs. NAPOLITANO addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

2000 CENSUS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues only have to look at the history of the issue of the census to understand what is going on in the House this Congress. Tomorrow, we will begin the debate on the supplemental appropriations bill for the Wye River Peace Accord and the victims of Hurricane Mitch.

Just 2 years ago, we were debating another supplemental appropriations bill. Then it was for flood victims in the Midwest. The waters in North Dakota had not yet receded when the Republican majority added language to ban the use of modern scientific methods to the flood relief bill. They thought the President would not dare veto flood relief over the census, particularly when so many people were suffering. They were wrong.

The President vetoed the bill, stating very strongly that Congress had no

business tying flood relief to anti-modern scientific counts in the census. The President received editorial support clear across this Nation, and the Republican majority backed down.

Then, in September of 1997, the majority put language in the Commerce, Justice, State appropriations bill to ban the use of modern scientific methods. When the President threatened to veto that, the majority knew they did not dare shut down the government over the census, so they came to the bargaining table with 17 pages of language designed to tie the Census Bureau up in knots.

The majority insisted on language that required two sets of numbers for the 2000 census. Now they say that two sets of numbers is irresponsible. They set up a monitoring board with a \$4 million budget and complained when the President insisted that the board be balanced with an equal number of presidential appointments and congressional appointments.

The majority tried again in 1998 to kill the use of modern scientific methods and failed. Then they turned to the courts. In January they lost that battle, too. The Supreme Court ruled that the Census Bureau could not use modern scientific methods for apportionment, but they are required to use it for everything else, if feasible. Of course, what the majority really cared about was keeping the Census Bureau from producing census counts that were corrected for those missed and counted twice.

Now they are desperate again. They claim that apportioning the 435 seats among the States is the same thing as drawing Congressional District boundaries, even though apportionment is done by the Congress and drawing district lines is done by the State legislatures. In fact, the last time the Republicans controlled Congress during the census was 1920, and they so disliked the results of that census that they refused to reapportion the House for the entire decade.

The fight today is about whether or not the professionals at the Census Bureau will be allowed to conduct the census as they see fit. The majority has introduced seven bills that look harmless on the surface but most of them are designed to make it more difficult for the professionals to do an accurate count.

Several of the bills are so invasive that the Census Bureau director said that the effect, and I am quoting Dr. Prewitt now, the Director of the Census Bureau, he claimed it would be "just short of disastrous." He said, "It would put the entire census at risk."

Several are so bad that the Secretary of Commerce said that he would recommend a presidential veto. None of their proposals would make the census any more accurate. And I will insert at this point in the RECORD the letter from Secretary of Commerce Daley to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON), the chairman of the Committee on Government Reform.

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, DC, March 16, 1999.
Hon. DAN BURTON,
*Chairman, Committee on Government Reform,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN BURTON: Tomorrow, the Government Reform Committee is scheduled to mark up seven bills related to the conduct of the Decennial Census in 2000. While I know we share a common goal of ensuring that Census 2000 is the most accurate and cost-effective Decennial possible, the Department of Commerce must strongly oppose legislation that would mandate a post census local review, require the printing of short census forms in 34 languages, and mandate a second mailing of census forms.

According to the Director of the Census Bureau, Kenneth Prewitt, and the professionals at the Census Bureau, these three bills would reduce the accuracy and seriously disrupt the schedule of Census 2000. Based on the attached detailed analysis of the legislation provided by Dr. Prewitt, if this legislation were presented to the President, I would recommend that he veto it.

The Census Bureau is already working on many of the issues that these and the other four bills address. For example, the Census Bureau is not designed to manage a grant program, but it is working to increase partnerships with local governments and tribal and non-profit organizations to increase participation in Census 2000. In addition, we expect to seek additional funding for a variety of other activities. And we would appreciate assistance in making it possible for more individuals to take temporary census jobs without losing their government benefits.

Thank you for this opportunity to present our views on the legislation under consideration by your Committee. I look forward to continuing to work with you and other members of Congress to ensure that Census 2000 is the most accurate census possible.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM M. DALEY.

Mr. Speaker, the 1990 census was the first census to be less accurate than the one before it. There were 8.4 million people missed and 4.4 million people were counted twice. The 1990 census missed 1 in 10 African American males, 1 in 20 Latinos, 1 in 8 American Indians on reservations, and 1 in 16 rural non-Hispanic whites. The sole focus of the majority's agenda is to make sure that these people are left out of the next census as well.

When the Constitution was written, there was a shameful compromise to the count. African Americans were counted as three-fifths of a person. We must not allow the 2000 census to count African American males as nine-tenths of a person.

There is one clear and simple issue here. Will the next census count everyone or will it repeat the mistakes of 1990, leaving millions of people unrepresented and unfairly left out?

The census is tied to not only accurate data but our funding formulas are tied to it. The census plan that the Census Bureau has put forward, using modern scientific counts, is supported by the entire scientific community.

These are the people that support statistical methods in the Census 2000: The National Academy of Sciences; the American Statistical Association; the Council of Professional Associates on Federal Statistics. Dr. Barbara