

others about an article or a column that was written in the July 9 issue of Newsweek Magazine by a woman named Joan Jacobsen.

She told that she was an antiwar protestor in the late 1960s and early 1970s and had many very bitter arguments with her father who was a brigadier general in the Army. Then she wrote a few days ago about her father's passing. She said this: "Two days after my father died, as the visiting hours at the funeral home ended and we were putting on our coats, there was one last visitor. He was a stooped, solitary man who walked slowly to the open coffin and gazed down at my father, lying in his military dress uniform. Suddenly, the visitor stood up straight, and still looking at his Army comrade, gave the brisk salute of the spirited young GI that he must have been 55 years ago. Then he slowly lowered his arm and became an old man once more, turning and shuffling out the door. His gallant gesture has come to symbolize a profound shift in my feelings toward the United States military."

Ms. Jacobsen continued: "The following day at the funeral service, the soldiers draped the American flag over the coffin and accompanied it from the church to the cemetery. As we gathered at my father's grave site under a light December rain, four members of the honor guard stood at attention. One soldier raised his rifle and fired three shots while the bugler played Taps. The flag was removed from the coffin and slowly and meticulously folded into a triangular shape. After one soldier inserted the empty casings into the flag's angled pocket, the rest of the guard lined up in formation behind the highest-ranking officer, who approached my teenage son. The officer, holding the folded flag on his outstretched palms and looking straight at my boy, said, 'Please accept this flag on behalf of a grateful Nation.'

"And so it was, at the end, the United States Army that provided my family and me with a noble conclusion to my father's life. I began to realize that the military traditions I had once considered unquestionably rigid endure because they serve a purpose. Every morning, as long as he was able," and I want everyone to hear this, especially, "Every morning, as long as he was able, my father raised the American flag on the pole outside his house, observed a moment of silence, then stood at attention and saluted. I had always thought this exercise sweetly eccentric," Ms. Jacobsen said, "but also meaningless. Now, I envy the ritual."

Mr. Speaker, I think in at least a small way, this lady has explained what this flag means to so many people in this country, and that this flag is a whole lot more than just a simple piece of cloth.

In the great song of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," Mr. Speaker, it says, "In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea, with a

glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me. As he died to make men holy, let us live to make men free."

That is what so much of what we do today is all about. The battle or the struggle for freedom is ongoing. It is never ending. There are always tyrants and dictators from abroad who would take our freedom away if they had the slightest chance to do so, and there are always liberal elitists and bureaucrats from within who want to live our lives for us and spend our money for us and take away our freedom, slowly but surely.

I think of this in relation to a hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks this morning. We talked about the Antiquities Act. Mr. Speaker, one can never satisfy government's appetite for money or land. We talked in the hearing this morning about how 70 million acres have been locked up, almost all of it just in the last few years, and that 70 million acres does not even count what we have in the national parks, in the national forests and all of that.

Mr. Speaker, if we do not wake up and realize that we are slowly, very slowly doing away with private property in this country, we are about to lose a very important element of our freedom and our prosperity, and we are about to lose the freedom that this man fought for and supported all of those years and why so many people have given their lives for this country and in defense of that flag. I am very pleased that this Miss Jacobsen realized that and wrote such a moving column in Newsweek. I just wanted to call that to the attention of my colleagues tonight.

SAY NO TO H.R. 7, PRESIDENT'S FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE

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

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow this House will vote on H.R. 7, the President's faith-based initiative.

The question before the House is not whether faith is a powerful force; it is. The question is not whether faith-based groups do good works; they do. The question is not even whether government can assist faith-based groups in their social work. The government does and has so for years.

Rather, the vote on this bill boils down to two fundamental questions. First, do we want American citizens' tax dollars directly funding churches and houses of worship, as this bill does; and, second, is it right to discriminate in job hiring when using Federal dollars.

I would suggest the answer to both of those questions is no, emphatically so.

The question of using tax dollars to fund churches is not a new one. It was debated at length by our Founding Fathers over two centuries ago. They not only said no to that idea; they felt so

strongly about it that they embedded the principle of church-State separation into the first 16 words of the Bill of Rights by keeping government funding and regulations out of our churches for over 200 years.

Mr. Speaker, America has become the envy of the world when it comes to religious freedom, tolerance, and vitality. I challenge the proponents of this bill to show me tomorrow one nation in the world, one nation where government funding of churches has resulted in more religious liberty or tolerance or vitality than right here in the United States. All of human history proves that government involvement in religion harms religion, not helps it.

□ 2200

Our Founding Fathers understood that fact, and today's world proves that fact. Just look around. In China, citizens are in prison for their religious beliefs. In the Middle East, religious differences have perpetrated conflict and death. In Afghanistan, religious minorities are being branded with Nazi-like tactics. In Europe, government-funding of churches has led to low church attendance.

As a person of faith, I thank God that our Founding Fathers understood that religious liberty is best preserved by keeping government funding and regulations out of our churches.

To my conservative colleagues, and to those across this country, I would suggest that they should be the first to fear the government regulation of religion that would inevitably result from billions of taxpayer dollars going directly to our churches and houses of worship.

Surely it was one significant reason why over 1,000 religious leaders, from Baptists to Jews to Methodists, have signed petitions opposing H.R. 7. These people of faith understand that direct Federal funding of our churches would not only be unconstitutional, it would result in government regulation, audits, and yes, even prosecutions against our churches and religious leaders.

Mr. Speaker, I have great personal respect for President Bush, but on the question of Federal funding using tax dollars to fund our churches, I must stand with Madison, Jefferson, and the Bill of Rights. The principle of church-State separation has protected Americans' religious freedom magnificently for over 200 years. We tamper with that sacred principle at our own peril.

Mr. Speaker, now let me address a second question I raised regarding this legislation: Is it right to discriminate in job hiring when using Federal tax dollars for those jobs? I believe the vast majority of Americans would say no.

Under H.R. 7, citizens could be denied or fired from federally-funded jobs because of no other reason than their personal religious faith. I would suggest that having the government subsidize religious job discrimination would be a huge step backwards in our march for civil rights.

No American citizen, not one, should have to pass anyone else's religious test in order to qualify for a federally-funded tax-supported job.

Under H.R. 7, a church associated with Bob Jones University could put out a sign "Paid for by taxpayers. No Catholics need apply here for a federally-funded job." That is wrong.

Under H.R. 7, federally-funded jobs could be denied to otherwise qualified workers simply because of their personal faith being different from that of their employers. That is wrong.

Under H.R. 7, churches that believe women should not work which use Federal dollars could put out a sign saying, "No women need apply here for a federally-funded job." That is wrong.

Mr. Speaker, we all understand why churches, synagogues, and mosques could hire people for their own religious faith with their own private dollars. But it is altogether different, altogether different as night to day to allow tax dollars to be used to subsidize job discrimination for secular jobs.

There is also something ironic about a bill that is supposedly designed to stop religious discrimination but actually ends up not only allowing but subsidizing religious discrimination.

Mr. Speaker, this is also a bill built on a false foundation, the premise that not sending tax dollars to our churches and houses of worship is somehow discrimination against religion.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In the Bill of Rights, our Founding Fathers wisely built this sacred wall of separation to protect religion from government and politicians. This bill would obliterate that wall and ultimately put at risk our religious liberty, the crown jewel of America's experiment in democracy.

To Members who genuinely want to help religious charities do good work, I would say that present law already allows Federal funding of faith-based groups if they agree not to proselytize with those Federal dollars or to discriminate with Federal funds. This bill is thus a solution in search of a problem.

Should we have Federal funding of our churches? The answer is no. Should

we discriminate in job hiring based on religion when using Federal dollars? The answer is no.

And if Members' answers to these two questions is no as well, they should vote no on H.R. 7. Protecting our churches from government regulation and our citizens from religious discrimination are fundamental principles. They deserve our support today, tomorrow, and every day.

By voting no on H.R. 7, we in this House can defend the principles embedded in the Bill of Rights that have protected our religious freedom so magnificently well for over two centuries.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE
COST ESTIMATE FOR H.R. 2356,
THE BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 2001

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

Mr. NEY. Mr. Speaker, House Rule XIII 3(c)(2) requires that a cost estimate prepared by the Congressional Budget Office be filed with a committee report. When the committee report for H.R. 2356 was filed, this cost estimate was not yet available.

Attached for inclusion in the RECORD is the completed cost estimate.

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
Washington, DC, July 11, 2001.

Hon. ROBERT W. NEY,
Chairman, Committee on House Administration,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Congressional Budget Office has prepared the enclosed cost estimate for H.R. 2356, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2001.

If you wish further details on this estimate, we will be pleased to provide them. The CBO staff contacts are Mark Grabowicz (for federal costs) and Paige Piper/Bach (for the private-sector impact).

Sincerely,
BARRY B. ANDERSON,
(For Dan L. Crippen, Director).

Enclosure.
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE COST ESTIMATE
H.R. 2356—Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2001

Summary: H.R. 2356 would make numerous amendments to the Federal Election Cam-

paign Act of 1971. In particular, the bill would:

Raise the amounts that individuals can contribute to federal campaign each year;

Prohibit national committees of political parties from soliciting, receiving, directing, transferring, or spending so-called "soft money";

Require numerous additional filings and disclosures by political committees with the Federal Election Commission (FEC) for certain expenditures;

Strengthen the prohibition on foreign contributions to federal campaigns, and increase fines for violations of election laws.

Direct the General Accounting Office (GAO) to conduct a study of recently publicly financed campaigns in Arizona and Maine; and

Restrict the advertising rates charged by television broadcasters to candidates for public office.

CBO estimates that implementing H.R. 2356 would cost about \$5 million in fiscal year 2002 and about \$3 million a year thereafter, subject to appropriation of the necessary funds. Those amounts include administrative and compliance costs for the FEC, as well as costs for GAO to prepare the required report.

Enacting the bill also could increase collections of fines, but CBO estimates that any increase would not be significant. Because the bill would affect direct spending and receipts, pay-as-you-go procedures would apply.

H.R. 2356 contains no intergovernmental mandates as defined in the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act (UMRA) and would not affect the budgets of state, local, or tribal governments.

H.R. 2356 would impose several private-sector mandates as defined in UMRA. CBO estimates that the direct costs to the private sector of complying with those mandates would exceed the annual statutory threshold in UMRA (\$113 million in 2001, adjusted annually for inflation) primarily as a result of new mandates on national political party committees and television, cable, and satellite broadcasters. Moreover, CBO estimates that they net direct costs to the private sector could exceed \$300 million in a Presidential election year.

Estimated cost to the Federal Government: The estimated budgetary impact of H.R. 2356 is shown in the following table. The costs of this legislation fall within budget function 800 (general government).

	By fiscal year, in millions of dollars—					
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
SPENDING SUBJECT TO APPROPRIATION						
Spending for FEC under current law:						
Estimated authorization level ¹	40	42	43	45	47	48
Estimated outlays	41	42	43	45	47	48
Proposed changes:						
Estimated authorization level	0	5	3	3	3	3
Estimated outlays	0	5	3	3	3	3
Spending under H.R. 2356:						
Estimated authorization level	40	47	46	48	50	51
Estimated outlays	41	47	46	48	50	51

¹ The 2001 level is the amount appropriated for that year. The estimated authorization levels for 2002 through 2006 reflect CBO baseline estimates, assuming adjustments for anticipated inflation.

Basis of Estimate: Based on information from the FEC, CBO estimates that the agency would spend about \$2 million in fiscal year 2002 to reconfigure its information systems to handle the increased workload from accepting and processing more reports, to write new regulations implementing the bill's provisions, and to print and mail infor-

mation to candidates and election committees about the new requirements.

In addition, the FEC would need to ensure compliance with the bill's provisions and investigate possible violations. CBO estimates that conducting those compliance activities would cost \$2 million to \$3 million a year, mainly for additional enforcement and litigation staff.

CBO estimates it would cost GAO less than \$500,000 in fiscal year 2002 to complete the report required by the bill.

Enacting H.R. 2356 could increase collections of fines for violations of campaign finance law. CBO estimates that any additional collections would not be significant. Civil fines are classified as governmental receipts (revenues). Criminal fines are recorded