

every single American, the premier program initiated in the last century by the Democratic Party which has helped to raise a generation of our seniors out of poverty and keeps the current generation out of poverty.

Most seniors in America receive upwards of around \$580 per month. For them Social Security is a lifeline. Without Social Security and Medicare, they simply could not survive.

Because the Bush administration and its allies inside this Chamber cannot afford to pay for the extravagant tax giveaways, especially to the superrich in this country like Kenneth Lay from Enron, who will get \$245 million in a rebate this year, and because our country is moving into deficit, the Republicans in this Chamber are raiding Social Security every day, the Social Security trust fund, to try to make up that shortfall.

Back in June when I started clocking the Republican raid on Social Security, at that point they had raided over \$207 billion out of the Social Security trust fund after us having taken seven votes here that said we would protect the lockbox and not permit that kind of borrowing against the Social Security and Medicare trust fund; but to date, they have now, as of this week, October 16, they have now raided \$318,369,863,013 from the Social Security trust fund. That averages out per American over \$1,100 out of their pocket. To be exact, \$1,104.36 out of the funds that are deserved by every single American who has paid into this fund.

As long as Republicans continue to raid the Social Security trust fund in violation of the promises we have made and passed here in this Congress, it is my intention to be here on this floor, clocking their raid with this debt clock. I also will be reviewing the history of those who created Social Security for our country and who historically opposed it, the Republican Party.

In fact, in 1935 in the deliberations in the Committee on Ways and Means right outside this room here, the Republican Members of the House Committee on Ways and Means voted to kill the original bill that created the Social Security program that our parents, our grandparents, and great-grandparents had benefited from since the mid-1930s.

When that bill moved to the floor, it was the Democratic Party that passed that bill, and I think it is very important that history be recorded for the present generation because if we look at what has been happening with the accumulation of additional debt in our country, and I would like to just put up

an additional chart here, as we look back during more modern times to the early chart here focuses on the Johnson administration and the Nixon and Ford administration and the Carter administration. And we begin to look at when did this Social Security trust fund really start going into the red. It was during the Reagan-Bush administration and now during the George W. Bush administration, billions and billions and billions of dollars. It was only during the administration of Bill Clinton and Al Gore that we began to move the Social Security trust fund back into surplus again.

We have over \$6 trillion of debt that we are financing in this country, much of it due to the giveaways that this administration has promoted. As an example, with the inheritance tax, Gary Winnick of Global Crossing, with assets of over three quarters of a billion dollars, will get \$366 million in a tax windfall. And where do my colleagues think that money is going to come from? It comes right out of here, the Social Security trust fund. Or Dennis Kozlowski from Tyco Corporation, the one that is in all that trouble, he is going to get \$149 million. And where do my colleagues think that money is going to come from?

This administration and House Republicans should put seniors first. They have earned it. They have earned it, and reverse this raid. We should continue to commit the savings in the Social Security trust fund as we have promised. It is important for us to tell the truth to the American people using these red numbers and this debt clock to demonstrate and remind ourselves what is really going on.

The Democratic Party historically has been the party that believed in and supported Social Security as an insurance and disability fund for every single American. It is a condition of living in this country. It is not a privilege. It is a right.

Mr. Speaker, we do not need to be borrowing from the trust fund in order to give benefits to the superrich. I hope as the elections approach, the public will remember and vote for the Democratic Party which has always supported Social Security.

STATUS REPORT ON CURRENT SPENDING LEVELS OF ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FY 2003 AND THE 5-YEAR PERIOD FY 2003 THROUGH 2007

Mr. NUSSLE. Mr. Speaker, I am transmitting a status report on the current levels of on-budget spending and revenues for fiscal year

2003 and for the five-year period of fiscal years 2003 through 2007. This report is necessary to facilitate the application of sections 302 and 311 of the Congressional Budget Act and section 301 of House Concurrent Resolution 353, which is currently in effect as a concurrent resolution on the budget in the House. This status report is current through October 11, 2002.

The term "current level" refers to the amounts of spending and revenues estimated for each fiscal year based on laws enacted or awaiting the President's signature.

The first table in the report compares the current levels of total budget authority, outlays, and revenues with the aggregate levels set forth by H. Con. Res. 353. This comparison is needed to enforce section 311(a) of the Budget Act, which creates a point of order against measures that would breach the budget resolution's aggregate levels. The table does not show budget authority and outlays for years after fiscal year 2003 because appropriations for those years have not yet been considered.

The second table compares the current levels of budget authority and outlays for discretionary action by each authorizing committee with the "section 302(a)" allocations made under H. Con. Res. 353 for fiscal year 2003 and fiscal years 2003 through 2007. "Discretionary action" refers to legislation enacted after the adoption of the budget resolution. A separate allocation for the Medicare program, as established under section 231(d) of the budget resolution, is shown for fiscal year 2003 and fiscal years 2003 through 2012. This comparison is needed to enforce section 302(f) of the Budget Act, which creates a point of order against measures that would breach the section 302(a) discretionary action allocation of new budget authority for the committee that reported the measure. It is also needed to implement section 311(b), which exempts committees that comply with their allocations from the point of order under section 311(a).

The third table compares the current levels of discretionary appropriations for fiscal year 2003 with the "section 302(b)" suballocations of discretionary budget authority and outlays among Appropriations subcommittees. The comparison is also needed to enforce section 302(f) of the Budget Act because the point of order under that section equally applies to measures that would breach the applicable section 302(b) suballocation.

The fourth table gives the current level for 2004 of accounts identified for advance appropriations under section 301 H. Con. Res. 353 printed in the Congressional Record on May 22, 2002. This list is needed to enforce section 301 of the budget resolution, which creates a point of order against appropriation bills that contain advance appropriations that are (i) not identified in the statement of managers or (ii) would cause the aggregate amount of such appropriations to exceed the level specified in the resolution.

STATUS OF THE FISCAL YEAR 2003 CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET ADOPTED IN H. CON. RES. 353 REFLECTING ACTION COMPLETED AS OF OCTOBER 11, 2002

[On-budget amounts, in millions of dollars]

	Fiscal year 2003	Fiscal years 2003–2007
Appropriate Level:		
Budget Authority	1,784,073	n.a.
Outlays	1,765,225	n.a.
Revenues	1,531,893	8,671,656
Current Level:		
Budget Authority	1,747,793	n.a.

STATUS OF THE FISCAL YEAR 2003 CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET ADOPTED IN H. CON. RES. 353 REFLECTING ACTION COMPLETED AS OF OCTOBER 11, 2002—Continued

(On-budget amounts, in millions of dollars)

	Fiscal year 2003	Fiscal years 2003–2007
Outlays	1,741,988	n.a.
Revenues	1,535,614	8,695,877
Current Level over (+)/under (–) Appropriate Level:		
Budget Authority	– 36,280	n.a.
Outlays	– 23,237	n.a.
Revenues	3,721	24,221

n.a.= Not applicable because annual appropriations Acts for fiscal years 2004 through 2007 will not be considered until future sessions of Congress.

Budget authority

Enactment of measures providing new budget authority for FY 2003 in excess of \$36,280,000,000 (if not already included in the current level estimate) would cause FY 2003 budget authority to exceed the appropriate level set by H. Con. Res. 353.

Outlays

Enactment of measures providing new outlays for FY 2003 in excess of \$23,237,000,000 (if

not already included in the current level estimate) would cause FY 2003 outlays to exceed the appropriate level set by H. Con. Res. 353.

Revenues

Enactment of measures providing new revenue reduction for FY 2003 in excess of \$3,721,000,000 (if not already included in the current level estimate) would cause revenues

to fall below the appropriate level set by H. Con. Res. 353.

Enactment of measures providing new revenue reduction for the period FY 2003 through 2007 in excess of \$24,221,000,000 (if not already included in the current level estimate) would cause revenues to fall below the appropriate level set by H. Con. Res. 353.

DIRECT SPENDING LEGISLATION—COMPARISON OF CURRENT LEVEL WITH AUTHORIZING COMMITTEE 302(a) ALLOCATIONS FOR DISCRETIONARY ACTION REFLECTING ACTION COMPLETED AS OF OCTOBER 11, 2002

(Fiscal years, in millions of dollars)

House Committee	2003		2003–2007 total		2003–2012 total	
	BA	Outlays	BA	Outlays	BA	Outlays
Agriculture:						
Allocation	7,825	7,271	37,017	43,479	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level ¹	8,532	8,406	49,206	47,592	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	707	1,135	12,189	13,113	n.a.	n.a.
Armed Services:						
Allocation	516	516	5,804	5,804	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	– 516	– 516	– 5,804	– 5,804	n.a.	n.a.
Education and the Workforce:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Energy and Commerce:						
Allocation	95	59	2,709	2,649	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	776	776	– 795	– 795	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	681	717	– 3,504	– 3,444	n.a.	n.a.
Financial Services:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	40	36	404	395	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	40	36	404	395	n.a.	n.a.
Government Reform:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
House Administration:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
International Relations:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	13	365	75	327	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	13	265	75	327	n.a.	n.a.
Judiciary:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	7	7	11	11	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	7	7	11	11	n.a.	n.a.
Resources:						
Allocation	0	0	700	700	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	– 700	– 700	n.a.	n.a.
Science:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Small Business:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Transportation and Infrastructure:						
Allocation	0	0	17,476	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	– 17,476	0	n.a.	n.a.
Veterans' Affairs:						
Allocation	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	0	0	0	0	n.a.	n.a.
Ways and Means:						
Allocation	2,203	174	7,855	5,861	n.a.	n.a.
Current Level	534	406	3,184	3,039	n.a.	n.a.
Difference	– 1,669	232	– 4,671	– 2,822	n.a.	n.a.
Medicare:						
Allocation	4,650	4,575	n.a.	n.a.	347,270	347,270
Current Level	0	0	n.a.	n.a.	0	0
Difference	– 4,650	– 4,575	n.a.	n.a.	– 347,270	– 347,270

¹ HR 2646, the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002, was enacted May 13, 2002, prior to the adoption of the FY2003 House Budget Resolution on May 22, 2002.

DISCRETIONARY APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 2003—COMPARISON OF CURRENT LEVEL WITH APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE 302(b) SUBALLOCATIONS

[In millions of dollars]

Appropriations Subcommittee	Revised 302(b) suballocations as of October 10, 2002 (H. Rpt. 107-738)		Current level reflecting action completed as of October 11, 2002		Current level minus suballocations	
	BA	OT	BA	OT	BA	OT
Agriculture, Rural Development	17,601	17,688	17,068	17,316	-533	-372
Commerce, Justice, State	41,119	42,975	43,298	42,310	2,179	-665
National Defense	354,830	345,411	341,184	339,634	-13,646	-5,777
District of Columbia	517	583	407	463	-110	-120
Energy & Water Development	26,027	25,642	25,344	25,176	-683	-466
Foreign Operations	16,550	16,571	16,607	16,535	57	-36
Interior	19,730	19,333	19,200	18,491	-530	-842
Labor, HHS & Education	129,902	125,497	127,088	123,103	-2,814	-2,394
Legislative Branch	3,413	3,470	3,262	3,247	-151	-223
Military Construction	10,500	10,120	10,499	10,071	-1	-49
Transportation ¹	19,413	62,368	20,428	62,293	1,015	-75
Treasury-Postal Service	18,501	17,953	17,955	17,601	-546	-352
VA-HUD-Independent Agencies	90,993	97,580	85,885	93,905	-5,108	-3,675
Unassigned	0	0	0	-277	0	-277
GRAND TOTAL	749,096	785,191	728,225	769,918	-20,871	-15,273

¹ Does not include mass transit BA.

Statement of FY2004 Advance Appropriations Under Section 301 of H. Con. Res. 353 Reflecting Action Completed as of October 11, 2002

(In millions of dollars)

Budget Authority
Appropriate Level 23,178

Current Level:

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Subcommittee:
Employment and Training Administration 0
Education for the Disadvantaged 0
School Improvement 0
Children and Family Services (head start) 0
Special Education 0
Vocational and Adult Education 0
Transportation Subcommittee:
Transportation (highways; transit; Farley Building) 0
Treasury, General Government Subcommittee:
Payment to Postal Service
Veterans, Housing and Urban Development Subcommittee:

Budget Authority
Section 8 Renewals 0
Total 0

Current Level over (+)/ under (-)
Appropriate Level -23,178

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
Washington, DC, October 16, 2002.

Hon. JIM NUSSLE,
Chairman, Committee on the Budget, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The attached report shows the effects of Congressional action on the fiscal year 2003 budget and is current through October 11, 2002. This report is submitted under section 308(b) and in aid of section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended.

The estimates of budget authority, outlays, and revenues are consistent with the technical and economic assumptions of H. Con. Res. 353, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2003. The budget resolution figures incorporate revisions submitted by the Committee on the Budget to the House to reflect funding for emergency

requirements. These revisions are required by section 314 of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended.

Since my last letter dated September 9, 2002, the Congress has cleared and the President has signed the following acts that changed budget authority, outlays, or revenues for 2003: the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, 2003 (Public Law 107-228), an act for the relief of Barbara Makuch (Private Law 107-3), an act for the relief of Eugene Makuch (Private Law 107-4), an act making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2003 (Public Law 107-229), and an act making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 2003 (Public Law 107-240). In addition, the Congress has cleared for the President's signature the 21st Century Department of Justice Authorization Act (H.R. 2215) and the Military Construction Appropriations Act, 2003 (H.R. 5011). The effects of these new laws are identified in the enclosed table.

Sincerely,

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

Attachment.

FISCAL YEAR 2003 HOUSE CURRENT LEVEL REPORT AS OF OCTOBER 11, 2002

[In millions of dollars]

	Budget authority	Outlays	Revenues
Enacted in previous sessions:			
Revenues	0	0	1,536,324
Permanents and other spending legislation	1,086,964	1,035,176	0
Appropriation legislation	0	313,591	0
Offsetting receipts	-346,866	-346,866	0
Total, previously enacted	740,098	1,001,901	1,536,324
Enacted this session:			
Job Creation and worker Assistance Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-147)	3,524	3,587	0
Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-171)	8,532	8,406	0
Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-188)	1	1	0
Auction Reform Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-195)	775	775	0
Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-204)	40	36	43
2002 Supplemental Appropriations Act for Further Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Acts on the United States (P.L. 107-206)	0	8,342	-60
Trade Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-210)	388	312	-669
Foreign Relations Authorization Act, 2003 (P.L. 107-228)	13	265	1
An act making continuing appropriations, 2003 (P.L. 107-229)	146	94	0
An act for the relief of Barbara Makuch (Pvt. L. 107-3)	1	1	0
An act for the relief of Barbara Makuch (Pvt. L. 107-4)	1	1	0
Total, enacted this session	13,421	21,820	-685
Cleared, pending signature:			
21st Century Department of Justice Authorization Act (H.R. 2215)	-1,105	-255	0
Military Construction Appropriations Act, 2003 (H.R. 5011)	10,499	2,722	0
Total, cleared, pending signature	9,394	2,467	0
Continuing Resolution:			
An act making further continuing appropriations, 2003 (P.L. 107-240)	697,495	428,832	-25
Entitlements and Mandatories:			
Budget resolution baseline estimates of appropriated entitlements and other mandatory programs not yet enacted	288,733	286,968	0
Total Current Level ^{1, 2, 3}	1,747,793	1,741,988	1,535,614
Total Budget Resolution	1,784,073	1,765,225	1,531,893
Current Level Over Budget Resolution	0	0	3,721
Current Level Under Budget Resolution	-36,280	-23,237	0
Memorandum:			
Revenues, 2003-2007:			
House Current Level	0	0	8,695,877
House Budget Resolution	0	0	8,671,656

	Budget au- thority	Outlays	Revenues
Current Level Over Budget Resolution	0	0	24,221

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

Notes: P.L. = Public Law.

¹ Section 314 of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended, requires that the House Budget Committee revise the budget resolution to reflect funding provided in bills reported by the House for emergency requirements. To date, the Budget Committee has increased the outlay allocation in the budget resolution by \$8,793 million for this purpose. Of this amount, \$400 million is not included in the current level because the funding has not yet been enacted.

² For purposes of enforcing section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act in the House, the budget resolution does not include budget authority or outlays for Social Security administrative expenses. As a result, current level excludes these items.

³ For comparability purposes, current level budget authority excludes \$1,348 million for mass transit that is included in the continuing resolution total. The budget authority for mass transit, which is exempt from the allocations made for the discretionary categories pursuant to sections 302(a)(1) and 302(b)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act is not included in H. Con. Res. 353. Total budget authority including mass transit is \$1,749,141 million.

TRIBUTE TO CHINATOWN COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO

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

Mr. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 6, I participated in a ribbon-cutting ceremony for the Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Museum in what in Chicago is fondly called Chinatown. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen is known to many as the Father of the Chinese Revolution and the Father of the Republic of China because it was he who masterminded the plan to restore China to the common people which led to what is called the Republic of China today.

□ 2045

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was born on November 12, 1866, in Hsiangshan County near the city of Canton in southern China where he had local schooling in traditional Chinese texts until he was 13 years old, when he then went to join his brother in Hawaii. In Hawaii, he studied at the missionary school and graduated from Oahu College. He then returned to China and began his medical studies at the College of Medicine for Chinese in Hong Kong and received his medical degree in 1892.

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen practiced medicine briefly in Hong Kong in 1893, after which he became strongly involved in the political scene of China. It was in the midst of the war between the Boxer Rebellion and Europeans that Dr. Sun Yat-Sen started plans for his own revolution. In 1894, when he went to Beijing and discovered that the government had done little for the good of the people, he returned to Hawaii where he organized the Review China Society for his revolutionary purpose. A branch was established in Hong Kong as an agricultural study society; when plans were made to seize control of the government.

Unfortunately, the plans failed, which led to Dr. Sun's flight to Japan and later to London in 1896, where he was arrested and imprisoned for 12 days by the Chinese and later released. Dr. Sun did not let this stop him. He used his educational knowledge by spending time at the British Museum Library where he invented the "Three People's Principles," his most important work, which later became the fundamental basis for the government in China.

He also advocated a "five power constitution," which included the examination of unsorial branches in addi-

tion to the executive, legislative and judicial branches for purposes of control. When he returned to Japan from Europe in 1905, he formed another revolutionary society called the Tong Meng Hui, the "Chinese Revolutionary League," which consisted of his former revolutionaries in Japan and young Chinese intellectuals studying in China at that time.

Dr. Sun's league's uprising of rebels and encouraging of people to speak out in Hunan Province led to political unrest in the Ching Dynasty under the control of the Emperor Pu Yi. Also, in the fall of 1911, his Tong Meng Hui League was involved in the important uprising in the Wuchang, where rebels seized control of the government, which led to that day being called the "Double Ten Day," and led to the name change of China to the Republic of China.

In January of 1912, Dr. Sun returned to China where he was elected provisional President of the New Republic. It was during his reign that he transformed his revolutionary organization into a political party called the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang. In early 1913, his party won more seats than any rivals since China's first-ever national elections. Later that year he was forced into exile and married his second wife Soong Ching-Ling in 1914 in Japan.

Nevertheless, Dr. Sun never gave up hope for China because he assembled a government made up of his old party when he settled in Canton. He later allied with the Communist International of Moscow due to the need for military supplies and advisers to strengthen his political organization, so that he would be able to break the hold of individual military leaders in south China and create a new unified government with forces in north China.

It was on his way to meet with the northern militarists that he fell ill and died in Beijing in March of 1925 due to an inoperable liver cancer. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's corpse became a complex political symbol, with his body being preserved and kept at a temple on the outskirts of Beijing, where people from all walks of life, including generals and political figures, came to pay homage to him.

His Kuomintang Party, after their victory about 20 years later, honored him by building a gigantic mausoleum near the capital of Nanjing, where they buried him, which made his burial an event of political enshrinement.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the community of Chinese-Americans in Chicago for establishing the Sun Yat-Sen Museum at 2245 South Wentworth Avenue.

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

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

UPDATE ON EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN CUBA; AND HALTING OF NORTH- ERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2001, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I only plan to take about 10 minutes of the hour this evening, and I rise to discuss matters in two foreign countries. The matters are unrelated but are of a great deal of concern to me. First, I would like to turn to Cuba and then, later, to Northern Ireland.

Mr. Speaker, I wanted to draw attention once again to the continued denial of peaceable efforts to bring Democratic reforms on the Island of Cuba. Early this year, over 11,000 citizens of Cuba took a courageous stand and petitioned the Cuban National Assembly to hold a nationwide referendum vote on guarantees of human rights and civil liberties. Named for the 19th century priest and Cuban independence hero, Padre Felix Varela, the Varela Project was the first ever peaceful challenge to Castro's four-decade-long control of the island.

During his visit to the island, former President and now Nobel Peace prize winner Jimmy Carter spoke about the Project on Cuban television. Because Varela received no attention from the Castro government press, this marked the first time many on the island heard of the Project.

Shortly after Carter's speech, Castro organized mass island-wide demonstrations as a sign of "so-called" support for the Cuban socialist system of government. Castro then started his own "petition," forcing almost all of Cuba's voting population to sign in support of an amendment to the Cuban constitution mandating the current government structure as "untouchable."