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Congressional Reform [1]

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March 16, 1992

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Possible Republican Reforms to Congress

The focus of the post-March 20 period should be institutional reform of Congress. In the past, we have shied away from suggesting specific reforms in a quaint attempt at comity between the branches -- something more honored by Congress in the breach.

We need to offer the American people a solution to the deadlock created in Washington by the entrenched Congress and divided government -- a solution more palatable than electing a President from the same party that owns Congress today. The solution should be specific and unifying, so that the whole party can rally around and repeat the message in every Republican challenge of a Democratic incumbent. This can also be a means of answering the question in everyone's mind:

Why is it that the President has been so successful in foreign policy and so frustrated in domestic policy? It is the same man, why such a different result? Because in foreign policy he considers what is good for the nation and acts, but in domestic policy he can not act without getting permission from Congress first. Congress is able to act in the national interest only rarely because special interests are so well entrenched there. The only way to get change, therefore, is to change Congress.

Congress' failure is foremost in everyone's mind as we approach the March 20th deadline. Now is the time to set out an aggressive agenda for reforming Congress that will "click" with the common sense of the American people. The announcement could be staged as a promise from the party if it takes control of Congress this year -- and could be the basis for running a Trumanesque national campaign.

We could offer a seven-point plan for fixing Congress (incidentally, the last time we controlled the House, the Vice President was seven years old):

- o Term Limits -- This reform is the key to so many problems besetting Congress that it must be central to any reform package. The American people should not trust anyone with

power if they are not willing to relinquish it after a reasonable term of service. Term limits will assure that the people's representatives stay close to the people and will stunt the growth of a professional class of politicians (such as Bill Clinton). Service should be an avocation, not a vocation one plans for as a teenager.

- o Cut the Bloated Staff -- We could commit the party to cutting the staff on Capital Hill by 50% if Republicans become a majority. There is no justification for a staff in excess of 30,000 people.
- o Cut the Archaic Committee Structure -- We could commit the party to cutting the number of Committees and subcommittees on Capital Hill by 50% if we become a majority. Each committee and subcommittee becomes a fiefdom and the source of duplicative legislation. For instance, every committee wants to create a job training program in their domain -- the result, nearly a 100 duplicative job training programs, uncoordinated and scattered around the bureaucracy. This is the only way to slim down the duplicative program structure of the federal government.
- o No Bill Longer Than 100 Pages -- The omnibus this or that bill has been a ploy for hiding special interest pork. Congresspeople should all read the bills on which they vote -- how many actually read the 3000 page omnibus bill for this or that thrown together on the floor of the House at midnight? If something can't be said in under a 100 pages, it probably shouldn't be said.
- o Vote On All Spending Bills -- Congress should be forced to vote on all aspects of the budget, not just the fraction deemed discretionary. This is the only way to ultimately gain some control on the fastest growing portion of the budget and is the first step to an accountable Congress. (It would come as a surprise to most people that Congress votes on so little of the budget.)
- o Line Item Veto -- The party ought to commit now to granting this power to the President to assure that Congress does not overgrow its authority again.
- o Campaign Reform -- We already have a campaign reform proposal molding under the Democratic leadership on Capital Hill. Let's dust it off and promise to deliver it to the people if they elect Republican members to the House.



CONGRESSMAN NEWT GINGRICH
SIXTH DISTRICT OF GEORGIA

*Per
Richard Porter's
Request -*

GREG WRIGHT
LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

Office of the Republican Leader
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

January 30, 1992

Dear Republican Colleague:

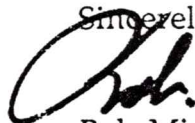
Enclosed please find a copy of The Republican Congress: A Manifesto for Change in the House of Representatives. This document is based on a special order given by the entire Republican Leadership and the ranking Members of several important committees.

The "Manifesto" is not a conclusion, but a starting point for discussion among Republicans, and for the nation at large, on how a Republican Majority will govern when given the chance. The American people must be reminded that there is an alternative to Democrat control of the House. The House does not have to be an unwieldy, inefficient, and ultimately, irresponsible institution. And it is Republicans, and only Republicans, who can make the necessary changes to reform the "People's House."

Our Democrat colleagues will protest that they can mend their ways, or that Republican talk is cheap. This arrogant reaction is typical of a bureaucracy that has wielded so much power for so long. Lord Acton's famed political dictum, that "absolute power corrupts absolutely," has held true in Eastern Europe, China, and holds true for the House of Representatives as well.

Complete reform can only be accomplished with a new Republican Majority. With this manifesto, we tell the American people how we can make those necessary changes. Please share this booklet with your constituents and with others who express an interest. The road to a Republican Majority may be long, and the going may be rough, but we can accomplish it if we work together. Let this manifesto be the beginning of that journey.

Sincerely,



Bob Michel
Republican Leader

RHM:jjpf

Enclosure

THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS:



A MANIFESTO FOR CHANGE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 30, 1992

PREFACE

The year was 1954. Ike was our President. We had a balanced budget. I was working as an administrative assistant to Congressman Harold Velde, and Republicans lost control of the House of Representatives to the Democrats.

Over the last thirty-eight years, the world has changed in many ways. Ike is no longer President, we no longer have a balanced budget, and I am no longer a Capitol Hill staffer. Over this time, we have gone through the Korean, Vietnam and Cold Wars. We have seen yuppies, hippies, and yuppies. But through all these years, one thing has not changed: The Democrat Majority in the House of Representatives.

Clearly, the time is long overdue for new leadership of the House. The public's perception of Congress remains distressingly negative. The American people want and deserve complete reform of the House of Representatives. Only a Republican Majority can carry out such reform.

These essays were originally presented in a January 30, 1992, Special Order on the Floor of the House by the Republican Leadership and Republican Members of several important committees. They explain what we intend to do and how we intend to do it when we become a Majority. They go to the heart of issues -- issues like crime, the economy, education, energy, and health care -- that Americans are truly concerned with.

I am confident that after reading this document you will agree that Republicans have the ability, the vision, and the determination to completely reform the House of Representatives. Now, all we need is the opportunity.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bob Michel". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Bob" and last name "Michel" clearly legible.

Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader

"WHAT I WOULD DO AS SPEAKER"

Honorable Robert H. Michel

Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives faces an institutional crisis.

-- An ABC NEWS/ Washington Post poll one month ago reported 35% of Americans approve of the job the Congress is doing, while an astounding 59% disapprove.

-- A Gallup poll taken late last year showed that Congress trailed every major American institution when it comes to the confidence of the American people.

The lead story in the latest issue of National Journal is "Congress in Disrepute".

Individual political leaders go up and down in the polls.

But when an institution itself receives such bad notices, something is very wrong. There is a mood of bitter despair and outraged anger on the part of Americans toward their House.

The call for term limitations is but one aspect of this new mood, and the cause of this crisis can be traced to those who control and have controlled the House for almost two generations: The Democrats.

Such a crisis cannot be met by simply reshuffling the same old Democrat Party majority.

We don't need reshuffling -- we need a new deal in the House of Representatives.

We need a new majority, a Republican majority.

That is why we have taken this Special Order. We want to tell the American people what they can expect from a Republican new deal in the House.

We will hear directly from those who will implement the reforms:

Our learned friend Gerry Solomon will instruct us on the need for Republican leadership in the Rules Committee.

Future Chairmen like Bill Gradison and Bill Archer will give us the benefit of their economic expertise.

Our Conference Chairman, Jerry Lewis and House Republican Research Committee Chairman Duncan Hunter will discuss our defense and security needs. House Republican Policy Committee Chairman Mickey Edwards will speak on institutional reform.

Bill Thomas will speak of campaign reform.

Vin Weber on welfare reform, Rod Chandler on health care, Bill McCollum about crime control, and Andy Ireland on regulation will all instruct and enlighten us.

And, of course, our eloquent Whip, Newt Gingrich, will explore the philosophical differences between the two parties and what those differences mean in practice.

But first let me put all these reforms in context.

A Republican House majority will embark on a truly conservative revolution in the House.

Our goal will be to restore institutional virtues that have been lost, preserve strengths that have survived, and protect traditional American values. As Speaker of the House, I will lead the first comprehensive reform of the House of Representatives in modern times.

So much of what we do around here is determined by how we do it. In the House, all too often process is substance.

So one of the first things I will do as Speaker is to establish a more orderly schedule for legislation. Currently we do very little in the early part of the year and then try to cram important legislation into the end of the schedule.

The result is chaos: Hurried legislation, unread legislation, and pork barrel legislation -- legislation in panic, legislation in the dark of night. It doesn't have to be like that. We can and will do better.

Next, I will guarantee that all controversial bills come to the floor with rules guaranteeing free and open debate.

In 1977, 85 percent of all rules were open rules. By 1990, that figure had fallen to 45 percent, and the trend toward even more closed rules is becoming clear. The closed rule as a means of stifling dissent is legislating by censorship. It is a disgrace. It has to go.

But there is more to the crisis of the House than the rules under which we debate.

When a party has been too long in power -- in eastern Europe, in China, or in the House of Representatives -- certain characteristics arise:

- an arrogant lack of responsiveness;
- a delusion that the entrenched party is irreplaceable and above criticism;
- and, most importantly, a compulsion to build bureaucracies.

In the 35 years I have been a Congressman, the House under the Democrats has changed from a relatively small and efficient institution into a chaotic, bureaucratic empire.

Today we have 11,000 staff members and 1,800 support staff. Since 1954, the year Republicans lost control of the House, the legislative budget has soared by over 3,000 percent, while the consumer price index has increased by only 500 percent. As a majority, Republicans would aim at cutting committee staffs in half, which would save at least \$26 million dollars a year.

There are many other structural reforms we will make. But I just wanted to give you some idea of the comprehensive nature of the undertaking.

Mr. Speaker, pundits talk about the need for big ideas in politics. Big ideas are fine.

But in the final analysis politics is like the pizza business -- if you want to succeed, you have to deliver. And the House Democrat majority can't or won't deliver.

It won't deliver free and open debate. It won't deliver efficiency in legislating. It won't deliver a lean, mean staff for the micro-chip age. It won't deliver a sense of purpose to our deliberations. It won't deliver an institution worthy of its history, its promise, and its responsibilities. House Republicans are ready to lead.

It is time for a new deal in the House, a Republican majority that can restore this great institution to its rightful place as the people's House.

"THE VISION OF A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS"

Honorable Newt Gingrich

As you well know, the majority party in Congress dictates the agenda, the schedule, and what proposals will even have the chance to be voted on. For the last thirty eight years the Democrats have been the majority party. That's longer than Castro has been in power in Cuba and more than half the time the communist were in control in the Soviet Union.

The American people want change. They demand bold leadership from Congress. But the Democrats in Congress only want to cling to the status quo, which has brought them power.

If Republicans were in control of Congress, we would schedule votes on the proposals Americans want:

- Stiffer Criminal Laws
- Tax Cuts
- Health Reform
- Choice in Education
- Welfare-to-Workfare Proposals
- Full Disclosure of Congressional Activities
- Congressional Term Limits
- Balanced Budget Amendment
- Line Item Veto
- School Prayer

All of these changes have been proposed; few of them have been brought up for votes. A "Necessary Revolution" would take place with a Republican Congress.

We believe that this revolution is vital to each American's personal prosperity. Our government, through its tax code, punishes industry, encourages debt, discourages savings, and makes jobs creation an almost unattainable goal. In contrast, imagine a tax code that rewards people for investing in, and saving for, the future. We have proposed such reforms:

- cut taxes on income earned from investments in capital assets, and make even steeper cuts for investments in small businesses;
- cut taxes on senior citizens who work;
- encourage savings through expansion of the IRA laws;
- encourage home ownership through flexible rules on IRA use and tax credits for the first-time home buyer; and
- repeal counterproductive tax laws that cost jobs, such as the excise tax on boats and aircraft.

We believe that another generation of drug addiction and violent crimes will destroy our children socially and spiritually. The personal safety of every individual must be protected and preserved. We should be committed to a policy of prisons before pork, and we should build enough prisons so that there are enough cells for every violent criminal in America. And while they are in prison, we should make all prisoners work to help pay for the cost of their incarceration. Finally, we should make sure that every illiterate prisoner emerges from jail literate so that they can become productive citizens and not repeat criminals.

We believe that education is a vital key to a successful competitive America and to sustain economic growth. There is no sector in American life in which the coming revolution is more necessary or vital. Imagine an educational system that allows parents to choose which school their children attend, and rewards flexibility, creativity and excellence. That is what we have proposed through America 2000. We must let the individuals on the local level, not the federal government, decide what is best for their children. Through more creative participation from local communities, America will once again achieve excellence in education.

We believe that personal safety and security is not just a matter of ridding the country of the criminal plague but by assuring all Americans the right to a health system that is affordable and available to everyone. Imagine a revitalized, health-oriented system that emphasizes wellness and promotes choice. The Leader's Task Force on Health has proposed giving small businesses the same treatment for its employees now given big businesses. This fairness in tax treatment coupled with insurance market reform will give millions of Americans access to health policies they now don't possess. Our legislation would establish a common sense approach to malpractice lawsuits that add enormous costs to the health care system.

We believe that the welfare state's current bureaucracy and payments create a strong bias against work, savings and family values. These are the very aspects so sorely needed by those who are currently in the welfare system. Imagine a system for the needy that promoted workfare instead of welfare. Welfare payments should lead the recipient to a job. This can be done by requiring they get a high school education if they don't have one. We should eliminate the current system's penalty against families and we should eliminate additional benefits for people who have more children while on welfare. The values of work, family and education must replace the welfare state's current bureaucratic values.

We believe that this economic and cultural revolution must extend to the government. Congress must live by the guidelines it dictates to others. We should demand a full disclosure of all Congressional affairs so that the public can see how their tax dollars are spent. Imagine a Congress that had to

live with the laws it passes for everyone else in the country. Imagine a Congress whose members better understand the problems of their constituents, and are not insulated from those problems by special perks and overuse of taxpayers' money to get reelected.

Imagine a Congress that allowed all of these things to happen, from changes in economic policies that would create jobs, to change in social policy that would put all violent criminals in prison to stay, to change in education policy that favored parents and children over unionized bureaucracies, to change in health policy to promote wellness and choice and reduce costs to families, to change in welfare policy to emphasize workfare instead of welfare, to a change in the way Congress itself operates so that all Americans can have a Congress it can be proud of.

In his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln said,

This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

The challenge to America is clear. Use ballots, not bullets, to win this necessary revolution. If Americans want change, they must get out and vote. America met challenges in the cold war and Desert Storm. We believe we can find just as much courage and commitment to meet the challenge here at home.

"DEFENSE, THE PEACE DIVIDEND & THE DEFICIT"
Honorable Jerry Lewis

Mr. Speaker, the Constitution of our country empowers the Congress to "Raise and support armies...and to provide and maintain a navy." History, and our leading role on a western culture based on individual liberty, have made these words more important than our Founding Fathers could have realized. They worried about coastal defense for 13 colonies and a defense on the western frontier. Little more than 150 years after the Revolution America's leaders had to deal with global war, atomic weapons, two fascist dictatorships in war and two communist regimes in the cold war.

Well as President Bush said last night, "We won the cold war."

Who is we? Really three groups. First the men and women of our armed forces. Second, the ingenious and dedicated defense workers who gave our troops the best tools to do the most dangerous work. And last but not least is the American taxpayer. Again as the President said, "No one ever thinks to thank the people who pay a country's bills, or an alliance's bills. But for half a century now the American people have shouldered the burden, and paid taxes that were higher than they would have been to support a defense that was bigger than it would have been if imperial communism had never existed."

These three groups, soldiers, workers and taxpayers deserve a quality build-down that honors their past and future sacrifices. A Republican Congress, influenced and led by Members and former Members such as Bob Michel, Bill Dickinson and Dick Cheney -- not to mention our most important alumnus, George Bush -- would manage that build-down in the safest and most compassionate way.

When we had the expansionist communist regime in Moscow it would show its true colors from time to time in dramatic ways. Afghanistan and KAL flight 007 were dramatic reminders that we on this side of the aisle could use to remind our Colleagues in control of the House that there was "A bear in the woods." Now the bear is dead: But was that the only threat? Can its nuclear-armed offspring really be de-clawed?

As we confront these questions let's see which party has the best track record in protecting the interests of soldiers, defense workers and taxpayers.

Most Americans are now familiar with the phrase "Peace Dividend." I want to talk about the peace dividend, as well as its lesser-known cousin, the "Experience Dividend."

The experience dividend is so vital but often neglected. Members of the Republican Bush Administration such as Dick Cheney, Secretary of State James Baker and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft bring to these challenging times a wealth of experience not matched in the other party. If we had a Republican-controlled House, the ideas and policies of these people would have to be compromised and watered-down. If the GOP was in charge we would complement and add to the experience of George Bush's team -- not carp and grandstand.

The peace dividend will take on additional meaning and significance the closer we get to Election Day. In an election year with a difficult economy there seems to be no shortage of ideas on how to spend more money -- tax cuts, national health insurance, massive new public works and jobs programs -- are but a few.

The Majority party's constant clamor for higher cuts in defense leaves many with the unfortunate belief that the Congress has already waited too long for the budget axe to fall. It also fails to carefully consider the more healthy alternative of committing defense dollars saved to deficit reduction. How many times in the 1980's have those who depend on existing domestic government programs been asked to absorb cuts because of the size of the deficit and its damaging affect on our economy. Instead of debating how to spend the peace dividend on new federal programs, an effort should be made to reach a fuller and more realistic understanding of the costs of deficit spending on our economy and on worthwhile domestic programs. In short, it's time to fill in the blanks. President Bush did that in his State of the Union address. The President outlined cuts of an additional \$50 billion over the next five years. As he said, we should cut "this deep, and no deeper."

Mr. Speaker, at this point I submit for the record two documents. The first is a Department of Defense publication explaining the fiscal year 1993 Pentagon budget. The second is a speech by Joint Chiefs Chairman, General Colin Powell. Chairman Powell's remarks explain much that the Bush Administration is already doing to protect our troops and our taxpayers. As he points out, when we finish our reductions we will be using the lowest amount of our GNP for defense since before World War I -- only 3.6%.

Therefore, as the country awaits its deserved relief from the Cold-War tax and defense burden we should bear in mind which party will better weigh certain facts:

* While there is no question that there was a defense build-up during President Reagan's first term, real defense spending has been on the decline since 1985. Real defense spending will decline 34% between 1985-1996 based on decisions that Congress and the President have already made!

* Defense cuts are people cuts. The Defense Department has already eliminated 80,000 civilian jobs. Secretary Cheney has agreed to a five year plan which will reduce the active duty force by 520,000 individuals. Additionally, the Department is in the process of closing 400 bases and facilities worldwide.

* Defense reductions are job cuts. Joining the nearly 1 million military and civilian employees of the Department in looking for new jobs will be the hundreds of thousands of private sector production employees that work in the production lines manufacturing America's defense industrial base. In California alone, at least 300,000 production workers who make everything from the B-2 to communications satellites are and will be in jeopardy. These individuals are the "Defense Industrial Base."

* There are no quick fixes by which defense cuts can be immediately available for redistribution to other Federal programs. Weapons programs and personnel training involves long-term contracts. Even closing down a production line involves termination costs.

Our challenge is not to quibble over the billions of dollars that could make up a peace dividend. Instead it is to recognize that every debate about this issue should include at least two other key phrases --- the defense industrial base and the Federal Deficit. Each has as much to do with our future economic progress and growth as the current temptation to view the peace dividend as an opportunity to increase federal spending on new programs.

The peace dividend rhetoric of most Congressional Democrats creates a bonfire mentality. The bonfire is started from materials which are no longer needed. As it grows, the enthusiasm for the flame and light grows. Too often, anything that will burn is thrown into the fire. Let's not make that mistake with short-term thinking regarding the opportunities to spend defense dollars elsewhere. Instead, let's focus on the long-term, the defense industrial base, and the federal deficit.

We in Congress are about to undertake the most important demobilization in the history of the world. That is no exaggeration. A Republican-controlled House would not use the Pentagon's budget as a cash cow to please more interest groups with new federal handouts. We would work with the experienced Bush Administration to build-down with equal measures of caution about world dangers and compassion for American defense workers.

The best retraining and worker adjustment program is a thriving economy, particularly in high-tech fields and in modern manufacturing

methods like those developed for the B-2 stealth bomber. If Republicans controlled the House, we would meet the President's March 20 deadline for passing his economic revival program. This kind of action would ease the effects of a wise build-down of our armed forces and allow us to apply savings to deficit-reduction thereby letting taxpayers keep more of their money. That would be the best way I can think of to say "Thank you America for a job well done and a struggle won."

"REFORMING THE WAY WE DO BUSINESS IN THE HOUSE"

Honorable Mickey Edwards

How would Republicans run the House of Representatives differently than Democrats?

First of all, we would greatly reduce the size of the Legislative Branch. Democrats have been running the House since Eisenhower's first presidential term, but haven't controlled the White House for the last twelve years, so they have created on the Hill a massive separate bureaucracy--a bureaucracy that must be brought under control.

Republicans would open the books for a full accounting of the money spent by Congress on Congress. Besides the cost of Congressional staff and support, people who do things like maintain the buildings and provide security, there are expenses associated with special projects, renovations for example. It is very difficult to find out how this money is spent or what happens to any money left over. Republicans would change that. We would remove the cloak of secrecy that surrounds costly Leadership perks, like the Speaker's fund.

Too often, taxpayers face the same frustrations when trying to find out how their Congressman voted on a particularly important tax or appropriations bill. Why? Because each year a small but significant number of spending bills get passed without benefit of a recorded vote. For years, Republicans have called for a change in the rules to require each member of Congress to vote on the record whenever legislation is voted on to increase taxes, spend money, or increase the public debt.

Finally, a Republican-run House of Representatives would be much more reflective of the will of the people. Most people, if asked what the House of Representatives does, would respond that we debate and vote on the great public issues of the day.

In fact, too often, Members of Congress are expressly denied the opportunity to debate or vote on the great issues of the day by Democrat committee chairmen and the Democrat-controlled Rules Committee.

First of all, Republicans want to make it easier for a majority of Members of the House to bypass a committee chairman and bring a bill directly to the House Floor. Committee chairmen have a great deal of say over which bills to hold hearings on and which to report to the Floor. But when a committee chairman is opposed to even debating a particular bill that has the support of a majority of Members of the House, the will of the House

and the voters that those Congressmen and Congresswomen represent, must take precedence and bills must be brought to the Floor.

Secondly, we want to open the debate and amendment process on the Floor. The House Rules allow anyone to bring an amendment to the Floor on a bill being debated as long as it is relevant to the subject matter of the bill. But we rarely follow those rules. Usually, the Rules Committee, under the influence of the Speaker, decides ahead of times how many, if any, amendments will be allowed, which amendments they will be, how much debate time will be allowed, and the order in which they will be voted on.

The more evenly the House is divided on a particular issue and the more politically explosive the issue is, the greater the likelihood that the deck will be stacked in favor of the position taken by the Democrat leadership. In fact, for any bill brought to the Floor for a vote in 1991, the chances were better than 3 out of 5 that the Rules Committee picked and chose which amendments it would allow to be debated and voted on, circumventing the normal procedure that allows any relevant amendment to be debated and voted on. That reflects a significant change from when I first was elected to Congress. Then the chances were less than 1 out of 5 that a Floor debate would be restricted in some way by the Rules Committee.

Republicans would allow the process to work as it was intended, giving everyone an opportunity to offer and debate amendments of importance to the voters.

Under Republican leadership, the country could expect a reduction of the legislative bureaucracy, more votes on the record, an opening of the books on internal House business, and a restoration of democracy and fairness to committee and floor proceedings.

"A WORKING COMMITTEE SYSTEM IN THE REPUBLICAN HOUSE"

Honorable Gerald B. Solomon

Mr. Speaker, Woodrow Wilson once wrote that, "Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, whilst Congress in its committee rooms is Congress at work."

The central problem of the House today is that its committee system is not working as intended. This in turn has led to a massive breakdown in the quality and accountability of our legislative process and the bills it produces.

Mr. Speaker, in a Republican Congress, one of our first priorities will be to restore a committee system that works since without it we will never be able to forge rational and effective national policies.

Why is our present committee system in such a shambles? The reasons are not all that difficult to discern. They have been amply testified to by political scientists and Members of Congress alike.

The simple fact is that in attempting to beef-up the House in the 1970's and put it on a more even footing with the Executive bureaucracy, we ourselves eventually became a bureaucracy.

And I use the term bureaucracy in the most pejorative sense of that term: Empire-building, over-staffing and overspecialization, overlap and duplication, lack of accountability, inertia and delay, and self-interest replacing the public interest.

In attempting to develop this body and flex our muscles, we became over-developed and muscle-bound.

We created our own congressional budget and budget process supported by new House and Senate budget committees and a Congressional Budget Office.

We strengthened the Congressional Research Service and General Accounting Office and created a new Office of Technology Assessment.

And finally, we greatly enlarged the congressional committee system. Since 1970, while the number of committees has remained relatively constant, the number of subcommittees has increased 16%, from 136 to 158, the number of committee staff has increased 186%, from 738 to 2,109; and appropriations for the House have increased 456%, from \$203 million to \$1.1 billion.

And yet, despite this large increase in subcommittees, staff, and spending on the system, House committees in the 101st Congress reported 502 fewer bills, 44% less than the 91st Congress, 20 years previous. And the House passed 162 fewer bills, or 14% less.

Of the bills passed by the House in the last Congress, 41.2% had not even been reported from a committee, as opposed to 4.8% in the 91st Congress. The difference is due mainly to the increase in the number of commemoratives -- up from 9.8% of total enactments to 36%. But even when one subtracts commemoratives, the number of substantive bills enacted into law was 209 fewer, or 33% less, than the 91st Congress.

Mr. Speaker, what is responsible for these shocking statistics? While it may be difficult to pinpoint the degree of responsibility of various factors, I think it is generally safe to conclude that the central problem has been a combination of two factors: First, the proliferation of subcommittees; and second, the authority to refer bills to more than one committee without first rationalizing committee jurisdictions.

Consider if you will the fact that we have roughly the same number of committees now as 20 years ago and exactly the same number of Members. But those same committees and Members are now considering legislation from other committees, in more subcommittees, and driven by more staff.

While the surface data may show that our committees and subcommittees are doing less work than 20 years ago, despite increases in subcommittees, staff and resources, the fact is they are probably doing more work than ever before thanks to the multiple referral of bills to two or more committees, and the increase in the number of omnibus bills.

Members are spread more thinly among their various committee and subcommittee assignments than ever before and rightfully complain that they do not have the time or energy to perform any of the responsibilities in a conscientious or deliberative fashion.

As a result, the bills produced by committees are poorer in quality than ever before -- less thought-out and less representative of the House as a whole.

The fact that two or more committees are usually involved in reporting major legislation often leads to compromises between differing versions. And those compromises may not be internally consistent from a policy standpoint. Last year's bank reform bill is a striking example of that. But that matters little since no single committee is really responsible or accountable for that final version.

In fact, our form of decentralized and fragmented subcommittee government is so hopeless that the majority leadership often relies on secret task forces and structured rules to patch together legislation out of various committees, or even in lieu of committee action. But secret task force government is hardly an acceptable alternative to subcommittee government if deliberative democracy is our ideal.

Does all this mean that representative government as envisioned by our Constitution is today an impossible dream, an outmoded form of government -- an anachronism? I refuse to accept that.

I think instead that with a few basic reforms we can restore a representative, accountable and effective committee system and thereby make this House again a living example of how a representative democracy can and should work.

As Republicans we have committed ourselves to a committee system and a House that works. To do this we need to do the following:

- First, we must realign and rationalize committee jurisdictions along more functional lines;
- Second, we must eliminate the joint referral of bills to two or more committees;
- Third, we must reduce subcommittees by limiting committees to no more than six each;
- Fourth, we must reduce Member subcommittee assignments to no more than four;
- Fifth, we must eliminate proxy voting and one-third quorums;
- Sixth, Members should be held accountable for their committee votes by publishing roll call votes in the reports on bills;
- Seventh, we must reduce committee staff by ten percent per Congress over three Congresses;
- Eighth, party ratios on committees must accurately reflect the party ratios in the House;
- Ninth, we must restore our authorization process by requiring the early reporting and enactment of authorizations prior to the consideration of appropriations -- probably through some form of biennial budget-authorization-appropriations process; and

- Tenth, committees must establish realistic oversight agendas at the beginning of each Congress and be held accountable for them through to the House Administration Committee.

Mr. Speaker, these are the ten steps a Republican House would take towards making ours a working committee system and a more workable House.

They sound easy enough, but the main hurdle continues to be those in power who are more interested in preserving the status quo for their own narrow political interests than they are in improving the institution. That is all the more reason why we need a change of parties in this House to accomplish these simple, yet essential reforms.

At this point in the Record, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the full listing and summary of House Republican committee reforms, and various supporting materials.

"REFORMING THE WELFARE STATE UNDER A REPUBLICAN
CONGRESS"

Honorable Vin Weber

Mr. Speaker, for the past two years, House Republicans in the Wednesday Group have developed a reform agenda for welfare policy. While the Democrat-led Congress continues to guard the spoils of a failed and decaying welfare system, House Republicans are promoting a new vision and a new agenda to fight chronic poverty in our country.

For too long, the federal government's poverty programs have relied almost entirely on transferring income from one group of Americans to another. The strategy was obvious: If people get money, they won't be poor.

In fact, that truism isn't always true. Income transfers have been successful in reducing poverty for some parts of society, especially the elderly and disabled. However, millions of Americans remain mired in chronic poverty, despite the billions of dollars in federal assistance they received.

Contrary to popular myth, spending on programs for the poor have increased substantially in the past decade. More importantly, economic growth has had a substantial impact on poverty in America. As 18 million new jobs were created, poverty declined and average real wages increased every year from 1983 to 1990.

Despite these impressive improvements, millions of Americans made little progress against poverty. For this group of Americans, family dissolution, low commitment to work, and low or declining wages played a significant role in their economic plight. Any authentic attempt to help them must address these problems.

Reform means spending money on welfare programs that require recipients to work and develop skills, with strong incentives to move out of dependency. It also means eliminating current incentives that allow recipients to remain forever dependent on federal programs.

We can begin by fully implementing provisions in the Family Support Act of 1988. In a sense, this bill was a typical compromise, where Democrats who sought higher benefits compromised with Republicans seeking stronger work requirements.

The law requires participation rates of 20 percent by 1995, meaning that 20 percent of the nonexempt caseload at any time must be working or involved in work training. It's a modest start, but Congress must oppose any

efforts to weaken those requirements. In the future, we must move to higher participation rates.

We also need to eliminate the disincentive for work in the current structure of programs to push those who leave welfare "off a cliff," where all benefits immediately cease and a recipient finds that work is a less lucrative alternative.

Providing continued Medicaid coverage during a transition period and developing health insurance alternatives for the working poor remove powerful incentives in the current system to remain on welfare. In addition, the expansions of the Earned Income Tax Credit since 1986 have served to subsidize the incomes of low-income workers, providing additional financial incentives for welfare mothers to take low-wage jobs.

These positive inducements for families to escape from welfare will not work in all cases. Thus, Congress should consider time-limiting coverage under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Currently, over 65 percent of the caseload on AFDC will make clear that these programs are meant to provide a safety net in a time of transition, not a permanent support for those who are unwilling to work.

The point should be clear. These immediate goals lead toward our real goal, which is to convert welfare to a temporary program, as the poor move from dependency to self-reliance.

The proposals outlined are part of a comprehensive review issued by the Wednesday Group: Moving Ahead: Initiatives for Expanding Opportunity in America. The paper lays out a vision of needed changes in our welfare policies, and it shows the kind of ideas House Republicans will promote when they control this chamber. I urge my colleagues to review it in detail.

"NATIONAL SECURITY UNDER A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS"

Honorable Duncan Hunter

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to speak today on the topic "National Security Under a Republican Congress." Among the powers granted to Congress, those given us under Article I, Section 8 -- to raise and support our Armed Forces -- have provided much debate and discussion in this body.

I believe the differences between Republicans and Democrats can best be described in two simple phrases. The first, used often by President Reagan, is "peace through strength." The second, which we will use often in the upcoming budget debates, is "defense spending is not the enemy."

Under a Republican Congress, while we would recognize the momentous changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, we would not call for massive reductions in our military capabilities as many of our Democrat colleagues suggest. Yes, the world has changed; however there are still many unanswered questions concerning the new Commonwealth of Independent States. There are still, according to some estimates, nearly 27,000 nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. Recently, there were protests in Moscow for a return to communism and the trial of President Yeltsin and Mr. Gorbachev. There is still unrest in Soviet Georgia and a settlement has yet to be reached in Yugoslavia.

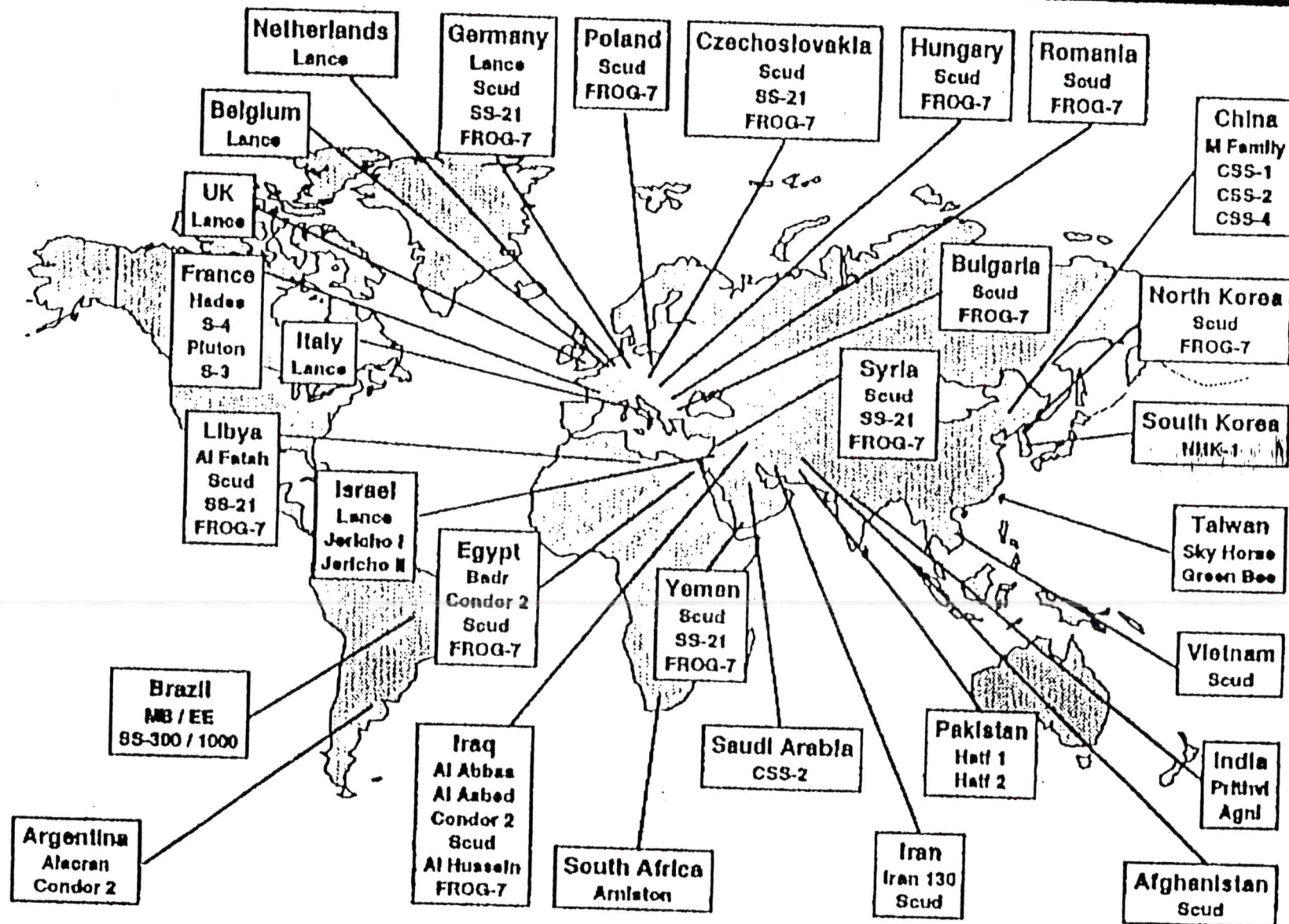
In addition, Mr. Speaker, there is the growing problem of missile proliferation among Third World countries. (see Chart A) Already, 14 Third World countries have ballistic missiles. Many believe that in the next decade this number could reach 25 or more countries possessing this technology. Most alarming, by the year 2000, six or more nations will have ballistic missiles with ranges reaching over 3,000 miles. A new twist to this problem was recently cited by Central Intelligence Director Robert Gates, when he testified before the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. Mr. Gates expressed his concern that as the situation in the former Soviet Union deteriorates, Soviet scientists may begin to emigrate to Third World countries and enable these countries to greatly improve their military capabilities. Yes, Mr. Speaker, a more peaceful world today, but what about tomorrow? A Republican Congress would look into the future and maintain peace through strength.

The Gulf War was a strong warning that our military must always be prepared to respond to a crisis anywhere in the world. Because of the sound build-up of our military during the Reagan years, we had a military that was able to move 541,000 personnel, tanks, planes, and supplies halfway around the world and sustain combat operations. Because of Reagan's belief in



CHART A

EVOLVING BALLISTIC MISSILE CAPABILITY



"peace through strength", we had a military that was well-trained and well-equipped.

The Gulf War was also a clear example of the differences between our parties. The majority of our Democratic colleagues voted not to give the President the authority to use force against Iraq and instead voted for a continuation of sanctions. Had this been the policy that prevailed, we could still have half a million of our soldiers in the sand. Today, our troops are home and Iraq is out of Kuwait. Do we really want to draw down our forces to a level that we are unable to respond to another "Persian Gulf" crisis?

Our former colleague and now Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney, has clearly sounded the warning to move slowly to maintain "peace through strength." Speaking before the Defense Orientation Conference last October, Cheney emphasized:

The good news of course is that because of the changes in the world we can safely reduce defense spending. We can safely restructure our armed forces.

The bad news is that we have never, ever before, when we've gone through one of these periods, gotten it right.

We've always blown it. Every time previously in this century when we've significantly downsized the force, when we've gone from major war time forces in World War I or World War II, we've ended up in such a hurry to demobilize that we've forgotten the fact that nearly always, sooner or later, we once again find ourselves in the position where we have to once again go to war.

Do we really want to ignore the fact that there are still many questions surrounding the dissolution of the Soviet empire? Do we really want to ignore the growing problems of missile proliferation? Do we really want to ignore the lessons of the Gulf War? A Republican Congress would heed Secretary Cheney's words to "get it right" and not slash the capability of our armed forces. A Republican Congress would say "Yes, it's a more peaceful world today, but let's maintain this peace with American strength and not return to the 'hollow forces' of the 70's."

Recently, the airwaves have been replete with calls to cut defense spending and fund the answers to all our economic problems. Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta, has already formulated a 10-year plan that would make significant reductions in our defense spending while creating new domestic programs. Senator Sasser, the Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, has a plan that would cut between \$120 billion and \$150

billion over five years. This plan pales in comparison to Senator Kennedy's proposal to cut \$210 billion over seven years.

These proposals miss the point -- "defense spending is not the enemy." We have already achieved savings from the defense budget, and if Democrats insist on taking more out of defense they will seriously threaten the quality of our Armed Forces.

The Department of Defense submitted a 6-year defense plan last January. If this plan is followed, defense spending will be 3.6 percent of GNP by the middle of the decade. (Chart B) Before the Budget Committee, Secretary Cheney stressed, "prudence requires that we as a nation not make defense reductions more rapidly or more deeply than planned through FY 1996. It will be a tremendous challenge to carry out planned reductions without undermining the future quality of our armed forces." A Republican Congress would heed this warning.

Democrats have argued that the Pentagon has failed to react to world changes; however, the Pentagon's 6-year plan is based on a reduced Soviet threat and the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. The centerpiece of this plan is called the Base Force -- the minimum force structure required to protect U.S. national interests. (Chart C) Secretary Cheney has moved the Department of Defense from the mentality of the Cold War to focusing on the new threats our nation faces. A Republican Congress would support this base force concept and not seek to undermine the quality of our forces by seeking unrealistic defense spending cuts.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, the fate of one program typifies how a Republican Congress would differ from a Democratic Congress. That program is "The Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI). In 1983 President Reagan had a vision -- to protect American citizens from the horrors of a nuclear missile attack. Each request for robust funding of research and development was met with opposition from the Democratic Congress. Each request for robust funding was significantly cut by a Democratic Congress. A Republican Congress would have fully funded this Reagan vision and today we would have SDI.

Mr. Speaker, the issue of our national defense is important to all members; however, as I've pointed out, there are clear differences between our parties. A Republican Congress would move more slowly in the face of an uncertain world situation. A Republican Congress would oppose deep cuts in defense spending. Mr. Speaker a Republican Congress would maintain the peace by ensuring a strong national defense.

CHART B

Defense Outlays as a Share of GNP

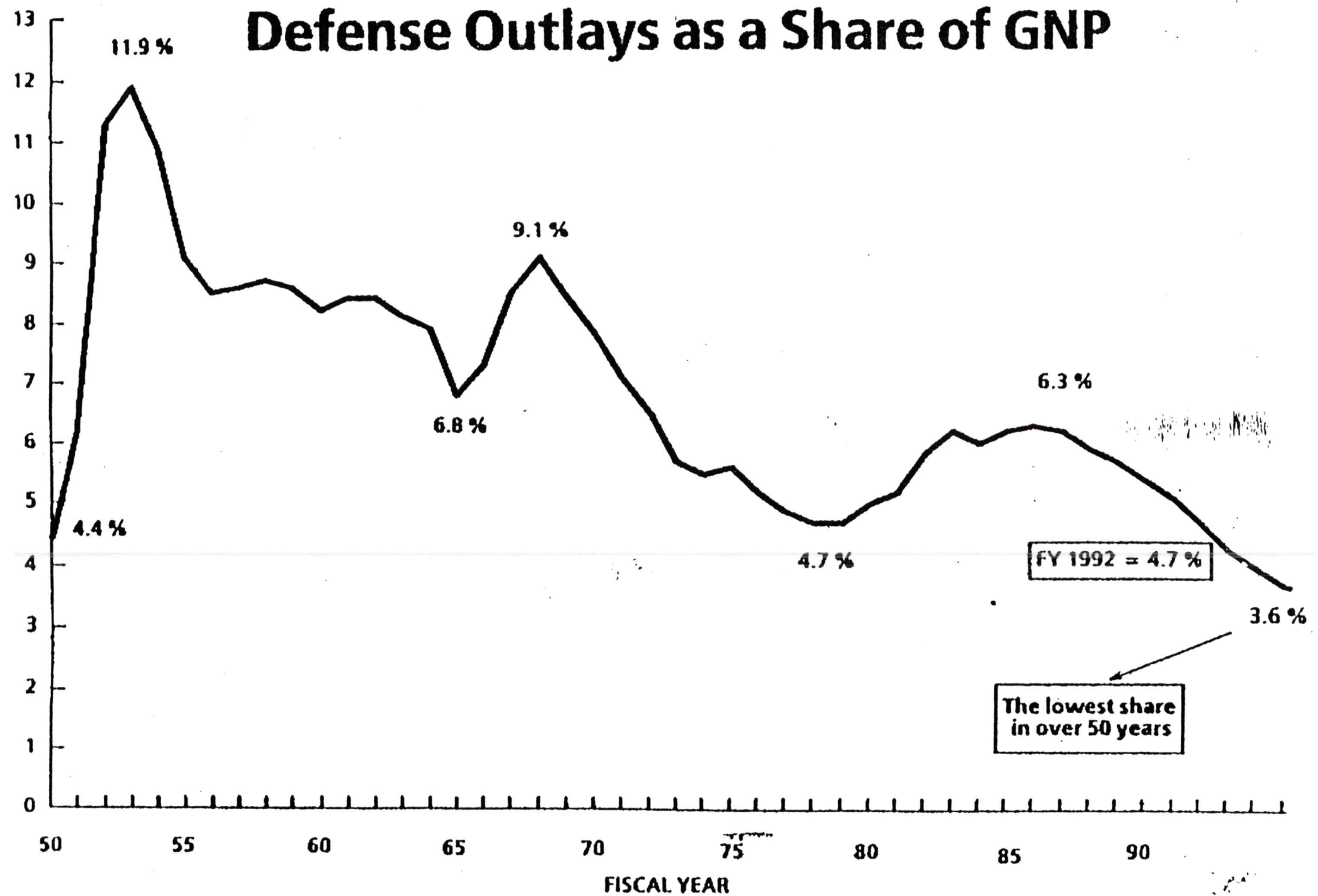


CHART C

FORCE STRUCTURE

	<u>FY 1990</u>	<u>FY 1995</u>
Army Divisions	28 (18 active)	18 (12 active)
Aircraft Carriers	13	12
Carrier Air Wings	15 (13 active)	13 (11 active)
Battle Force Ships	545	451
Tactical Fighter Wings	36 (24 active)	26 (15 active)
Strategic Bombers	268	181

"THE ECONOMY UNDER A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS"

Honorable Bill Archer

Mr. Speaker:

I commend our distinguished Minority Leader for reserving this time to outline some of the key items on the Republican policy agenda for this session of the 102nd Congress. Given the broad legislative responsibilities of the Committee on Ways and Means, many of those important social and economic issues will begin their legislative journey in our hearing room.

While it would be impossible to cover all of those issues in the time we have today, it's important that we highlight a number of items which should receive early attention as the year begins.

Economic Growth

Our highest priority should be consideration of legislation to spur job creation and long-term economic growth — issues which were not considered important enough by the majority in Congress to move legislation forward last year. Months of valuable time were wasted in posturing over the *symptoms* of our economic problems while Republican initiatives to address the *underlying causes* of those problems were carelessly cast aside.

With the President's support, the House is already in the process of considering an additional extension of unemployment benefits. That legislation should be coupled with job creation initiatives.

Unemployment insurance doesn't create jobs for the unemployed. It helps them cope with the financial concerns which result from unemployment. Economic growth does create jobs. That is why we need to move ahead with rational, responsible policies that stimulate long-term economic growth and provide good, lasting jobs in the private sector for working Americans. Americans want jobs — not just an unemployment check.

This week, the President has again put before the Congress a comprehensive, workable, economic growth agenda without increasing the deficit that drags down our economy. While it contains a number of new approaches, many of its most important provisions have been before us since his first budget submission in 1989.

Had Congress responded to the President's leadership three years ago, today's economic situation would be quite different. His proposals to stimulate economic growth through capital formation, personal savings, research and development and home ownership make tremendous sense today — just as they did when they were first proposed.

Growth Oriented Tax Policy

Tax policy has a profound and immediate impact on the economic direction of this country. Unfortunately, our current tax system frequently works to inhibit economic growth, which, in turn, retards our ability to compete in international markets. We need to reverse that.

Capital gains indexation, a significant capital gains rate differential, alternative minimum tax reform and investment incentives for businesses and individuals are important first steps. They are not the sole answer, but they will help rebuild confidence, stimulate increased economic activity now and help change American attitudes about savings and investment for the future.

Similarly, the Tax Code ought to *encourage*, not *discourage*, the development of high technology businesses in the United States and encourage education and worker training. Importantly, if we are going to use the Tax Code to provide incentives, they need to be real.

We currently have a list of a dozen or so tax provisions, that now expire annually, providing tax incentives to stimulate a variety of activities ranging from research and development and low income housing to job training and health insurance for the self-employed. Their effectiveness is limited because taxpayers do not know whether the incentives will last for more than a few months. We urge businesses to take a long-term view, but the Tax Code forces them to do just the opposite.

It is time to review each of the so-called "extenders" on its own merits, turn the most important and effective ones into real, permanent incentives and allow the rest to expire. The Committee has talked about making those tough decisions before — but has repeatedly sidestepped the issue. We need to eliminate that uncertainty this year.

Tax Simplification

Unnecessary complexity is another aspect of our current Tax Code which has taken its toll on the profitability of American businesses and the productivity of American workers.

A recent study by Lytton Research and Analysis estimates that private sector costs of complying with existing tax laws is equal to 65 percent of tax revenues or \$618 billion dollars in 1990. Likewise, an earlier study by Arthur D. Little estimated that federal tax compliance consumed almost five and a half billion hours in 1985. This figure is equivalent to nearly 3 million people working full time in order to comply with the Tax Code. That's crazy.

Last year, the Committee on Ways and Means made a modest start in identifying simplification proposals, but even that never made it through the legislative process. A far more comprehensive approach needs to be taken — coupled with a firm commitment to seeing legislation enacted.

Health Care

Let me next turn to the topic of health care — the issue that, after job security, is probably the greatest concern to Americans today.

Public concern over the status of health care in America is one of the most vexing issues facing the Congress. This country has available to its citizens the finest medical care in the world. Nevertheless, the cost of that care is becoming less affordable.

Republicans believe that the qualities of the current health care system should be preserved and that reform ought to be carried out within the context of our values. It is critically important to maintain our private sector approach to health care delivery and to make private health insurance coverage more affordable.

In the short term, Congress should act now both to reduce the cost of health care and to make insurance more available for Americans. In the long term, comprehensive reforms are needed to bring to a halt the current rate of health care cost growth and assure all Americans access to private health insurance coverage.

On the cost cutting side, the first agenda item is medical malpractice reform. Billions are currently spent on defensive medicine. Much of this can be saved if medical liability issues can be settled in a more efficient and reasonable manner. We cannot afford to continue a system where physicians practice in constant fear of being arbitrarily sued, and those suffering injuries from medical negligence hope to be compensated in a lottery-like tort system.

Next, tax policy toward employer provided health insurance needs to be reexamined. Incentives should be considered to promote more cost-conscious health care coverage. On the access side of the ledger, tax credits should be considered to subsidize health insurance coverage for those who are now uninsured and may lack the wherewithal to purchase insurance.

Finally, it is worth noting that two-thirds of the uninsured either work for small employers or are the dependents of those employees. Two of the best means to promote greater employer paid health care coverage are: 1) to provide a 100% health deduction for the self-employed, and 2) to reform the small group health insurance market.

As part of health insurance reform, the Congress should take action to prevent "job lock". Today, many Americans are becoming fearful to seek better employment because of the concern that they, or their dependents, may lose health insurance coverage for chronic illness or preexisting conditions, if they change employers. Reform is necessary to assure all Americans that they will not be penalized if they change jobs. These reforms do not have to wait; they can be passed this year without economic havoc. We urge this Congress, which constantly laments the state of our health care system, to enact these highly effective policies.

International Trade

Another important issue facing us as we begin 1992 is international trade — and our highest priorities in that area will be the successful completion of the two major trade initiatives launched by Presidents Reagan and Bush.

The first is the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, an undertaking unprecedented in scope that is now moving toward completion after more than four years of discussions. The second is the negotiations between the United States, Mexico and Canada to achieve a North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) designed to strengthen the competitive position of producers and workers in our hemisphere.

These agreements must be fair and effective, providing a balance of benefits and opportunities that reduce trade barriers and expand market access for U.S. producers. They also must provide protection from unfair trade practices, as well as sufficient leverage to eliminate such practices where they exist. These agreements should be finalized and implemented as expeditiously as possible because they are expected to greatly expand world trade and create thousands of new jobs for American workers.

Other trade and economic growth initiatives, such as the Enterprise for the Americas, also should be pursued vigorously not only because they expand market opportunities and create jobs but because their aim is to create practical alternatives to the production and sale of illegal drugs. Through enhanced trade benefits to the countries of Central and South America, the U.S. can provide meaningful and crucial support for the war against drug trafficking in that region.

Customs modernization legislation is another top priority for this year. Improvements in the operations and programs of the Customs Service will speed commercial processing and ensure uniformity of classification and entry procedures at all ports. These improvements will also allow Customs to more effectively enforce U.S. trade laws and provide expanded service to a diverse trading community.

Miscellaneous tariff bills have long been important to the Congress. Republican Members have introduced numerous individual bills to lower tariffs and adjust the classification of imported goods. These bills are designed to reduce the costs of components for U.S. businesses, to maximize their competitiveness and to maintain jobs in the U.S.

A final trade initiative that we feel is very important is reform of U.S. trade laws as they apply to non-market economies. The transition of economies in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union from state control to market-oriented policies has made certain aspects of our trade laws obsolete. New legislation is needed to ensure that expanding exports from these transitional economies are not dumped or subsidized to the detriment of U.S. industries, either at home or in third markets.

Welfare Reform

Perhaps the greatest social policy accomplishment of the Reagan-Bush years has been the forging of bipartisan agreement that dependency on welfare is a bad thing -- bad for taxpayers, bad for parents, and bad for children.

Republicans believe the nation has an obligation to help the unfortunate. We are deeply concerned that the design of government largesse makes it too easy to get and even easier to keep -- seductively trapping individuals in a permanent state of welfare dependency. It is our view that American taxpayers want to help victims of misfortune, but that taxpayers expect citizens who receive public benefits to get back on their feet as soon as possible.

Under the leadership of Presidents Reagan and Bush, Republicans were able to start bending the welfare system in the direction of encouraging work. To do this, we needed to make changes both in welfare policy and tax policy. These changes included removing millions of low-income working families from the federal income tax system, providing states with money to train welfare parents for employment, strengthening child support enforcement laws, and providing earnings subsidies to low-income working parents through the earned-income tax credit.

Experts estimate that around 80 percent of children on welfare have fathers who have jobs; these fathers have earnings that average about \$15,000 per year. Even so, less than 15 percent of welfare mothers receive child support payments. This is an area which needs a great deal more attention.

While some have proposed a new program of guaranteed federal child support payments, consideration of that costly approach is premature without thorough testing and experimentation.

We also want to explore the effects of providing welfare families with clear signals that the public expectation is for short stays on welfare.

As the welfare system has grown over the past half century, the message given to clients seems to be that welfare is a right. Republicans think the idea of permanent guarantees to welfare benefits is precisely the wrong message to send to young families. Moreover, we have no doubt that American taxpayers do not think they should carry a permanent obligation to give cash, food, housing, and medical care to able-bodied fellow citizens.

We should be moving toward a system designed to encourage self-sufficiency, not dependency. Unconditional benefits should be available for only a limited period of time. Under a new system of time-limited benefits, families would be required to show evidence that they are moving firmly in the direction of self support.

Properly designed programs hold great potential for helping poor and low-income families achieve economic security. Old-style welfare programs that merely give cash or in-kind benefits to people clearly have not solved the problem of poverty in America. But new-style programs that encourage or force people toward self reliance may show great promise.

The recent explosion of welfare reform proposals by more than a dozen states is an indication of interest in this approach. California, Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, and Maryland are now proposing, have recently enacted, or are now actually implementing dozens of "New Paternalism" proposals. These include:

- reducing the welfare benefit of parents who do not insure that their children attend school regularly;

- reducing the welfare benefit of parents who do not insure that their children receive regular medical checkups and immunizations;

- ending the practice of increasing the welfare grant of families that have babies while on welfare;

--reducing the welfare benefit of parents who do not show progress toward getting a job and leaving welfare;

--providing increased benefits for parents who accept full-time employment.

We applaud these state efforts. As Justice Brandeis once remarked, states are the laboratories of federalism. This has never been more true than it is today in the area of welfare reform.

We intend to do everything possible to help states gain the waivers from federal law that are often needed before these reform experiments can be conducted. In fact, as in the past, we intend to explore legislative proposals that will grant much greater flexibility to states in their use of federal welfare dollars.

Social Security

Another major item on our agenda is our long-standing commitment to liberalizing and eventually repealing the Social Security retirement earnings limitation, starting with those over age 65.

The retirement earnings limitation may have been well intentioned public policy during the depression, when the goals were to permit and encourage older workers to retire with dignity while creating jobs for younger workers. Today, given the demographics of the work place, it is disastrous public policy.

The Social Security program has achieved almost universal coverage. Over 97% of all workers participate; only a few state and federal employees are covered under other government retirement systems. So, we cannot underwrite the long term financing deficit by extending coverage as we have done historically. It is a closed system, and a shrinking one.

The ratio of taxpayers to beneficiaries has declined from 4 to 1 in 1970 to 3.4 to 1 today, and is projected to decline to 1.8 to 1 by the year 2060. Actually, the Board of Trustees also has a more pessimistic projection of a ratio of 1.3 to 1.

It is in this context that most Republican Members are persuaded that abolishing this last vestige of age discrimination in federal statute is our top priority for the Social Security program.

However, it isn't our only priority. Clearly the disability program needs to be streamlined administratively to ensure a more efficient and more uniform national program. The current claims process, especially the appeals process, simply does not serve the public well.

Further, it is time to focus on the vocational rehabilitation aspects of the program, which have never worked as Congress envisioned when it authorized the payment of VR services from the trust funds. The same demographics that favor the retention of skilled older workers in the economy favor the employment of the trained disabled worker. The Social Security program can better serve both.

Increased Oversight Responsibilities

Ways and Means is not only a legislative Committee. It also has a long history of investigative oversight activities that have developed several proposals which should be moved forward.

In 1988 we took the first step in protecting taxpayers by passing the Taxpayer Bill of Rights. While this was a good achievement, more needs to be done. The untold story from 1988 is not what we put into the Taxpayer Bill of Rights, but what we left out of it. It's time we finished the job we began in 1988.

The centerpiece of a Taxpayer Bill of Rights II will be a provision to correct the imbalance between the IRS and the taxpayer in deciding the correct tax liability a person owes. The current law stacks the deck totally in the IRS's favor. Its often said that a taxpayer is "guilty until proven innocent" in dealing with the IRS. We should not have a system which treats the average taxpayer like a criminal suspect every April 15th.

The current system is rooted in the principle that when the IRS makes an assertion against a taxpayer, it is presumed to be correct, unless the taxpayer can prove the IRS is wrong.

The IRS should have to document and substantiate the tax which it asserts against a taxpayer — and no longer be able to make an unfounded assertion against a taxpayer and then win by default when the taxpayer cannot refute it. The IRS would have to take reasonable steps to develop its case in the same way a taxpayer must develop his tax return.

The new Taxpayer Bill of Rights II would end this mismatch between the taxpayer and the IRS. Both parties would have comparable rights and responsibilities in deciding what taxes a person owes.

One of the growing concerns of the Committee is the solvency of the medicare trust fund. There are several initiatives we can enact which would preserve the assets of the medicare trust fund without increasing the burden of beneficiaries or reducing their level of service.

First, we can restrict abusive telemarketing of durable medical equipment to senior citizens by "boiler room" hucksters which costs medicare millions of wasted dollars per year.

Medicare beneficiaries would still have full access to this equipment when prescribed by their doctors. The proposal would be aimed directly at unscrupulous companies presently engaged in what amounts to looting the medicare trust fund.

We should also step up the enforcement of the law on Medicare Secondary Payor (MSP) which says that when a medicare beneficiary also has private health insurance, the private plan should pay any allowable health claims before medicare is called upon to pay. The MSP provision is not being enforced very well by medicare contractors. The result is that medicare is paying claims which by law should have been paid by the private health plan of the beneficiary.

Improved enforcement of existing law could save medicare millions of dollars without increasing the cost to beneficiaries or reducing their services.

Nothing galls the American taxpayer more than the stories of government checks going to deceased beneficiaries. Every month the federal government sends out millions of benefit checks for social security, civil service pensions, military pensions, black lung disability, veterans benefits, etc.

When a beneficiary dies, the checks should stop. The Social Security Administration's work with state departments of vital statistics has resulted in a central clearinghouse for death certificate data. Requiring all federal agencies to use the SSA data base to screen their beneficiary files for deceased persons will save millions of dollars a year without harming any beneficiary.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I would again like to thank our distinguished Minority Leader, Bob Michel, for focusing attention today on issues which we believe should be dealt with early in this Session of Congress.

I believe 1992 will go down as a important turning point for our domestic and foreign policy. I look forward to working with the Minority Leader, the Administration, and the other side of the aisle on the challenges that face us in this upcoming session.

"BRINGING THE BUDGET UNDER CONTROL"

Honorable Bill Gradison

Bringing the Federal budget under control in this decade involves two fundamental tasks: Eliminating the chronic deficits that are sapping the economy, and getting control of spending. A Republican Congress would pursue both by putting the nation's long-term economic health ahead of shorter-term political convenience. The process would not be painless, but it would be sound, realistic, and honest.

The Need for a Surplus

Consider the deficit first. Frankly, trying just to reduce the deficit, or balance the budget, is not good enough. Bringing the budget under control means running an annual on-budget surplus -- a surplus equal to at least the excess contributions to the off-budget Social Security trust fund.

Why is this necessary? Only by having an on-budget surplus will we be able to pay Social Security benefits three decades from now when the time comes to draw on the government securities in which the Trust Fund is invested. This is what the Greenspan Commission had in mind when it revamped Social Security benefits and taxes in 1983 to assure the Trust Fund's solvency when the baby boomers begin retiring. Fulfilling that goal now depends on Congress.

In addition, an on-budget surplus is a prudent long-term economic strategy. It will increase net national savings, which is needed to foster economic growth, enhanced productivity, and higher living standards.

To put it simply, long-term economic growth depends not on fiscal stimuli or quick fixes, but on Congress's ability to balance its own books and meet its future obligations.

Taxes Versus Spending Restraint

But setting a goal and achieving it are, of course, quite different matters. Turning chronic deficits into recurring surpluses will not be easy, even for a Republican Congress.

Public opinion polls offer little useful advice. They seem to say the following: First, balance the budget; second, don't raise taxes; third, don't even think about cutting any programs important to me. These are the same polls that tell us the solution to the deficit problem is cutting out government waste, fraud, and abuse. I only wish it were so easy.

Nor does the answer lie in higher taxes. Taxes have rarely been higher than they are today. Total federal revenues averaged about 18 percent of GNP in the 1960's, about 18.5 percent in the 1970's, and about 19 percent in the 1980's. For the 1990's, revenues appear to be heading toward 19.5 percent of GNP.

This point was dramatically underscored in Congressional Budget Office projections through the year 2001 that were published last October. In those projections, revenues chugged along in the range of 19.5% of GNP, while spending wound up at almost 22 percent of GNP by 2001. The spending line and the revenue line never converged, meaning that the deficit would continue unabated at about 3 percent of GNP. With GNP expected to be around \$10 trillion in the year 2001, this would translate into a deficit of about \$300 billion. More taxation is not the cure for the budget problem.

Where to Cut

But if spending is the problem, what spending needs to be controlled?

A popular suggestion is cutting foreign aid. This may be a sore political issue, but it is no answer to the deficit. This year we will spend about \$20 billion on foreign aid out of a \$1.5 trillion budget, about 1.3 percent of total federal outlays. Even completely eliminating foreign aid would scarcely dent the deficit.

Another prominent target is defense spending. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union do permit a reassessment of the priority given to defense spending, and such reviews are under way in both the Administration and the Congress. The result is that defense spending will soon fall to the lowest level in decades measured in real terms or as a percent of GNP. Indeed, in the next five years -- 1993 through 1997 -- defense outlays already are scheduled to be nearly \$150 billion lower than what they would be if adjusted only for inflation. Nevertheless, these substantial defense reductions do not translate into budget surplus. Most of the so-called "peace dividend" gets swallowed up somewhere else.

Then there is overall discretionary spending. But the truth is, this is not the budget-buster that some would make it out to be. Expressed as percentages of GNP, all discretionary spending declined from 9.6 percent in 1991 to about 6.8 percent by 2001. Appropriations are not the problem.

Deposit insurance costs are expected to turn around by about the middle of the decade. Interest payments to service the debt accumulated through decades of deficit spending is an inescapable burden which we must pay no matter what.

Examining the CBO projections suggest where the trimming must be done. It's where the true spending problem lies: Entitlements, especially those involving health care.

While most entitlements are flat or even declining slightly as a percent of GNP, Medicare and Medicaid are projected to grow from 2.9 percent of GNP in 1991 to 5.2 percent by 2001. Until the rising costs of these two programs are brought under control -- and total national health care costs as well -- it will not be possible to reduce or eliminate the budget deficit.

The Problem is The Problem

No one enjoys admitting this. It is much easier to look the other way, pretending these entitlements can continue expanding and that spending can be controlled elsewhere. This fear of short-term political pain is the enemy of the long-term good that would come from an on-budget surplus.

Many clever changes in the budget process have been suggested. Some of them are appealing, such as a biennial budget resolution that must be signed into law. Others are simplistic. Most are politically appealing. But, as was observed by a former CBO director, the problem is not the process, the problem is the problem. Therefore, a Republican Congress would not waste much energy on revamping budget procedures and processes. Instead it would tackle the tough job that has been avoided for too long: Controlling government spending, with the first priority given to getting health care costs under control.

"A HOUSE REPUBLICAN ENERGY STRATEGY"

Honorable Norman F. Lent

Mr. Speaker, it is simply unconscionable that one full year after Operation Desert Storm and almost one full year since President Bush submitted his national energy strategy, the House has yet to consider, much less pass, a comprehensive energy bill.

President Bush had the foresight in July of 1989, long before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait put energy back on the front page, to instruct his Administration to develop a new national energy strategy. I was honored to meet with the President on February 20, 1991 to discuss the release of the National Energy Strategy later that day and how to proceed with the legislative component of that strategy as soon as possible.

I am very proud of the fact that Republican members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee were the first in both parties in either House of Congress to develop an energy plan when we introduced H.R. 5735 in September of 1990. Around that same time, House Republican Leader Bob Michel named a House Republican Energy Task Force comprised of Members from across the ideological and geographic spectrums from committees with energy jurisdiction. The creation of the task force underscored the priority House Republicans place on crafting a new energy policy.

By contrast, in 1990 H.R. 5735 was referred by the Speaker to no fewer than seven committees. Last year, H.R. 1301, the President's National Energy Strategy Act, was referred to nine committees. Not a single one of those committees, chaired by the Majority Party, has yet to report such a bill, while House Republicans have made energy a priority.

On March 21, 1991, on behalf of the Leader's Task Force, I introduced H.R. 1543, the Comprehensive Energy Policy Act. The bill represents House Republican efforts to develop a comprehensive and balanced energy package in a timely fashion. This bill was co-sponsored by the entire House Republican Leadership, the ranking Republican members of key House committees with energy jurisdiction, and dozens of other Republican Members. Our bill accepted virtually all of the President's National Energy Strategy, and added over three dozen new provisions authored by Republicans.

When I announced the introduction of the bill at a hearing, I presented it to my Democrat colleagues with the challenge that we had a comprehensive energy plan and asked where their plan was to match it. We also wrote to the Speaker to set a schedule for Committee and Floor action. We are still waiting for an answer.

The lack of coordination among the House Committees with energy jurisdiction has crippled us in our efforts to enact comprehensive energy legislation. The fact of the matter is that a sound energy policy is important to the development of a growing economy. We simply cannot afford to leave our economy hostage to future political developments in overseas oil markets, yet that is precisely what will happen if Congressional inaction and indecision on energy policy continues.

The irony is that the Office of Technology Assessment informed the Congress as recently as last October that we could be dependent on imported oil for almost three-quarters of our oil demand in the next twenty years, unless corrective measures are taken. The economic and geopolitical implications of that dire forecast are profound. This demonstrates the compelling need to send a satisfactory energy package to the President before the end of the year.

While House Republicans have put such a package forward, as the Minority we do not yet control agenda. We can only hope that our efforts in working with our Majority Party colleagues will bear fruit. We are pleased that much of H.R. 1543 was incorporated in the bill approved last October by the Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power. That is the good news. Unfortunately, there is not much time left in this Congress to enact an energy bill, unless we move quickly in the full Energy and Commerce Committee and the other committees of jurisdiction.

Our goal must be comprehensive energy policy, one that emphasized both supplying and conserving energy as well as using it more efficiently. Republican or Democrat, we Americans must share a common interest in a sound energy policy.

As we saw in Operation Desert Storm, military action in part due to the strategic importance of oil is not out of the question. Armed conflict and economic shocks due to energy disruptions are preventable if the United States and other countries move forward on this issue. House Republicans have taken the lead in the energy area and stand ready, willing and able to work to bring an energy bill to the Floor at the earliest opportunity. If Republicans were in control of the Congress, a new national energy policy would already be the law of the land.

"MAKING CRIMINALS PAY FOR THEIR CRIMES"

Honorable Bill McCollum

There are four essential elements for any major reform of federal criminal laws: (1) changes in habeas corpus law to limit the virtually endless appeals of death row inmates which delay the carrying out of their sentences; (2) expansion of a so-called "good faith " exception to the exclusionary rule of evidence in cases involving search and seizure issues so that more evidence in cases is admissible and more convictions obtainable; (3) restoration of the death penalty for a number of federal crimes by revising sentencing procedures to comply with a 1973 Supreme Court ruling which declared all death penalties in the United States unconstitutional on procedural grounds; and (4) creation of a provision permitting the award of the death penalty in cases of trafficking in very large quantities of narcotics.

Republicans and President Bush have made these four reforms the centerpiece of their crime initiatives for several years, but liberal Democrats have thwarted these reform efforts every time. Most recently a stacked House/Senate conference produced a crime bill with provisions on habeas corpus and the exclusionary rule which are worse than present law. Amazingly, if these provisions became law, death row inmates could use habeas corpus proceedings to delay the carrying out of their sentences even longer than they can now. And it would be more difficult for prosecutors to get into evidence contraband seized by police with search warrants meaning that fewer criminals would be convicted and go to jail.

In habeas corpus proceedings the Democrats would give murderers twice as long to file appeals in federal district court as the proposal of President Bush. The Democrats would also allow criminals to file multiple petitions raising that had already been determined by the courts. Elimination of this repetitious and unnecessary litigation is at the heart of the Republican habeas corpus reform proposal.

In contrast, the Democrats proposal will increase delay and repetitious litigation. They overrule a recent Supreme Court decision to allow convicted murderers to get additional rounds of federal litigation based on rules that were not even in existence at the time the court originally decided the case.

This means that every inmate presently sitting on death row would be given new opportunities to file petitions, and depending on how long one could drag out each appeal, the delays could truly be endless. This is why so many prosecuting attorneys have stated that were this proposal to become law, there would never be another death penalty carried out again in the United States.

The exclusionary rule is a court-made rule of evidence to prohibit the admission into a trial of any contraband seized by police in violation of the constitutional protections against illegal searches and seizures. It was designed to discipline police and discourage unconstitutional searches. A few years ago, the Supreme Court carved a "good faith" exception in those cases where a search warrant had been issued and a police officer had a reasonably objective belief that the warrant and his search were legal. Two federal courts of appeal have adopted this same standard as an exception with respect to searches. No other courts have ruled on this matter, and if it were to be presented to them or go all the way to the Supreme Court, it is quite possible that this exception would be expanded by court ruling to all cases of search and seizure. The Republican legislative initiative simply codified this exception for all types of searches and seizures and made it uniformly applicable throughout the nation. In the Democrats' bill the exception is forbidden for cases that do not involve search warrants, and in cases where a warrant has been issued not only must a prosecutor show that the police officer had a reasonably objective belief that the search and warrant were legal, but he must also demonstrate that the magistrate issuing the warrant did so properly and in good faith. This is a new and much tougher standard that will make it more difficult to get contraband into evidence even in cases where search warrants have been issued. The net effect is more criminals will go free on technicalities.

In 1973 the United States Supreme Court ruled that all death penalties in the United States were invalid because the procedures on sentencing were unconstitutional. All the states that had death penalties on the books at that time have long ago reinstated the death penalties by putting into law the proper constitutional safeguards. Congress has never done so with regard to federal crimes and today even the assassination of the President would not get the death penalty. Republicans have long fought to correct this and on several occasions the House has overwhelmingly voted to reinstate the death penalty, but on each occasion the provision have been either stripped in conference or tied to some repugnant measure to assure ultimate defeat. This time is no exception; the Democrat conference bill contains the death penalty corrective provisions but their enactment would be effectively nullified by the changes in the habeas corpus laws that give death row inmates unparalleled opportunities to avoid ever being executed.

The same is true for the drug kingpin death penalty. Even if no specific death can be shown if someone traffics in very large quantities of narcotics a court should be allowed to award the death penalty because it is self-evident that many deaths have resulted or will result from this trafficking. This provision also came out of conference but it too would be meaningless in the face of the liberalized habeas corpus changes.

While the death penalty sentencing provisions only affect federal cases, the habeas corpus reforms and exclusionary rule changes affect all criminal cases, state and federal. Reform to allow more evidence in at trials and more convictions to result and to stop the endless appeals of death row inmates is long overdue. It is time the liberal Democrats in Congress stop playing games and pass true reform that will allow the American law enforcement community to do its job in putting away those who commit heinous crimes.

"MAKING ELECTIONS MORE COMPETITIVE: ELECTION REFORM
UNDER A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS"

Honorable Bill Thomas

Mr. Speaker, more than 200 years ago the writers of our Constitution established this House of Representatives to be "chosen...by the people of the several states." This was to be 'The People's House' where the will of the voting electorate was to be reflected in the measures passed by this body.

Representatives were to be chosen by the people in each district around the nation, not anointed by 'kingmakers' in the Capitol. Congressmen were expected to participate in competitive elections without a virtual guarantee of re-election. Thus, the House of Representatives was expected to faithfully carry out the will of the people.

How far we have come from that tradition by 1992!

The American people ask for a balanced budget and a Constitutional amendment to guarantee it, but the majority of Democrats in this House will not pass a balanced budget amendment to our Constitution.

The American people today want a halt to the ever increasing burden of taxation to fund wasteful spending programs. The Democrats in this House continually seek to evade their own budget rules to fund a growing parade of programs that benefit those who control the process.

The American people ask that we get tough on crime, but the Democrats in this House will not pass crime provisions that law enforcement officials at the local level say are vital to restoring safe streets in our communities.

The American people want Congress to break its ties to Washington special interests and come home to campaign among the voters to whom Members of Congress are supposed to be accountable. But the dominance of Washington PAC's in the fundraising process of the Democrats in this House continues.

Why doesn't Congress listen to the American people?

Recent polls show that 40% of the voters are ready to vote against ALL incumbents. Yet over 60% seem ready to vote for their OWN incumbent.

Why this disparity?

Why were over 96% of all incumbents re-elected in 1990 and over 98% re-elected in 1988?

Why were over 70% of all incumbents re-elected with more than 60% of the vote?

The answer to a significant degree is the truly embarrassing campaign finance incumbent protection system enacted by the very Congress that is supposed to be responsive to the people's will.

By no coincidence, this system works very well to do exactly what the Democrats in the House WANT it to do: Ensure the re-election of the incumbent majority of Democrats that have controlled this House since 1954.

Since November 1954, when the Democrats won a majority in the House that endures to this day, there has been a steady increase in the amount of resources available to Members to spend on their office, mail, and salaries.

The growth in those resources soared in the years following 1974, when a large class of freshman Democrats elected as a result of Watergate sought to use the perks of Congress to ensure their re-election.

To give just one example, the amount of taxpayer dollars spend on franked mail by the House of Representatives in the 1973-74 election cycle was about \$40 million. But that amount has grown to over \$130 million in the 1989-90 election cycle.

To put these numbers in perspective, the amount of direct CAMPAIGN funds spent by incumbents in 1989-1990 was \$163 million. The amount of campaign funds spent by challengers in 1989-90 was \$38 million. (See chart number 1.)

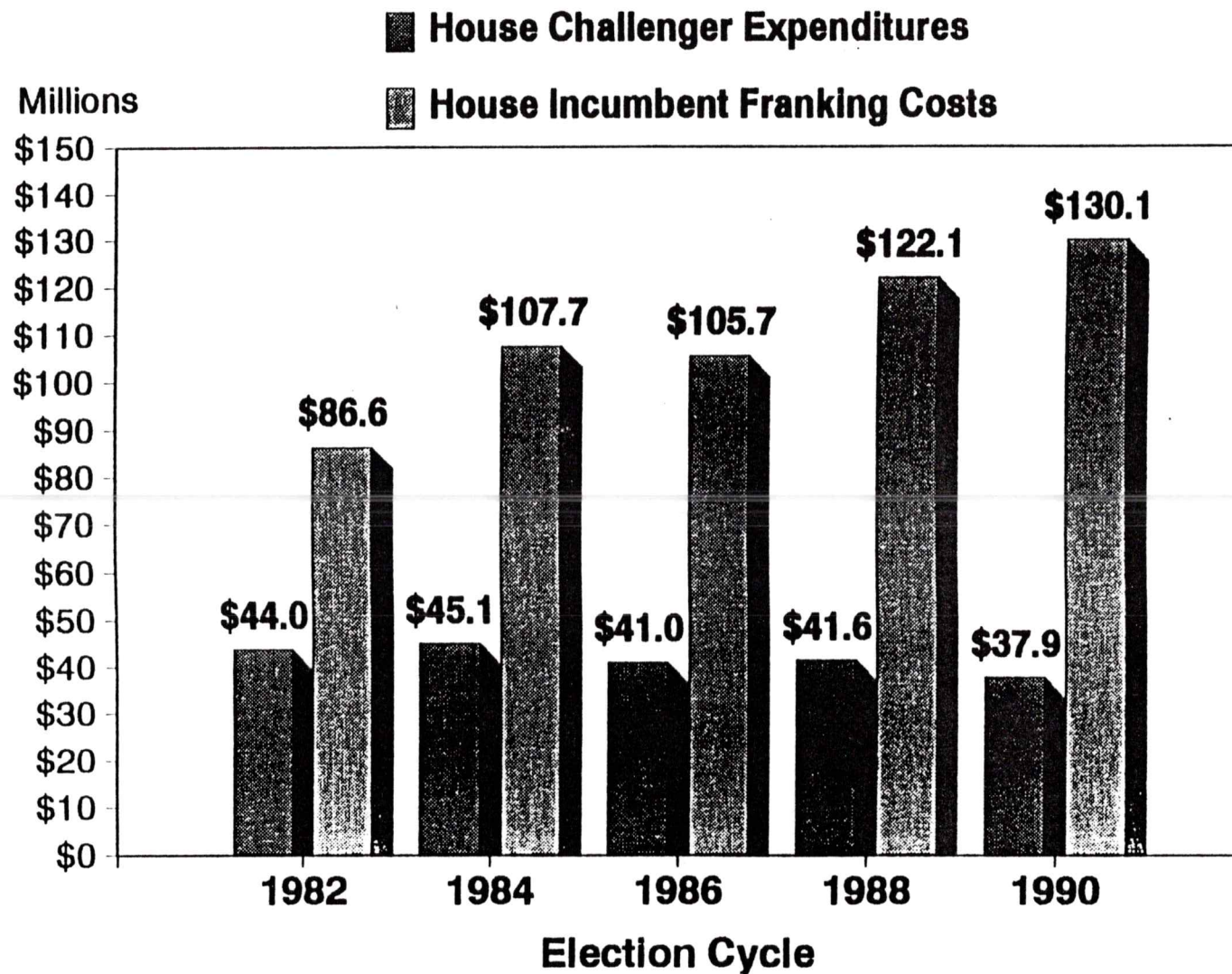
Thus the total amount of funds spent from the people's tax dollars to promote the interests of incumbents was almost 80% of the total amount of money incumbents raised from contributors and nearly 3 times the TOTAL amount spent by every challenger combined in America.

Because of Republican pressure in the past two years, a fixed limit has finally been imposed on franking expenditures by individual incumbents and the amount of taxpayer dollars used for franking by each Member of Congress has been disclosed to the public.

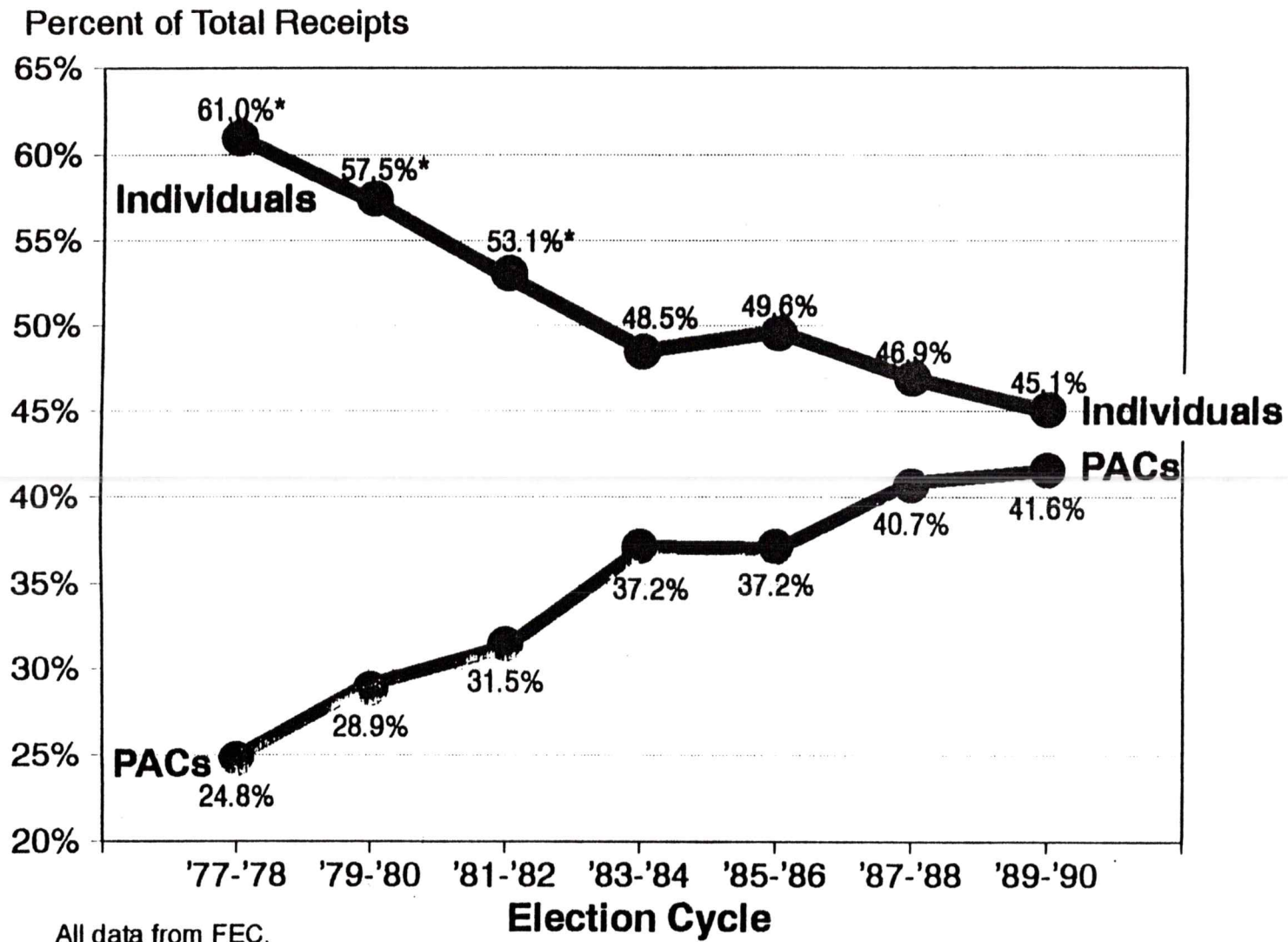
But the law continues to allow incumbents to send taxpayer financed unsolicited mail in mass quantities to people who are not even a Member's constituents, but who could be voters in the incumbent's next election. This

Incumbent Franking vs. Challengers

Expenditures, 1982 - 1990

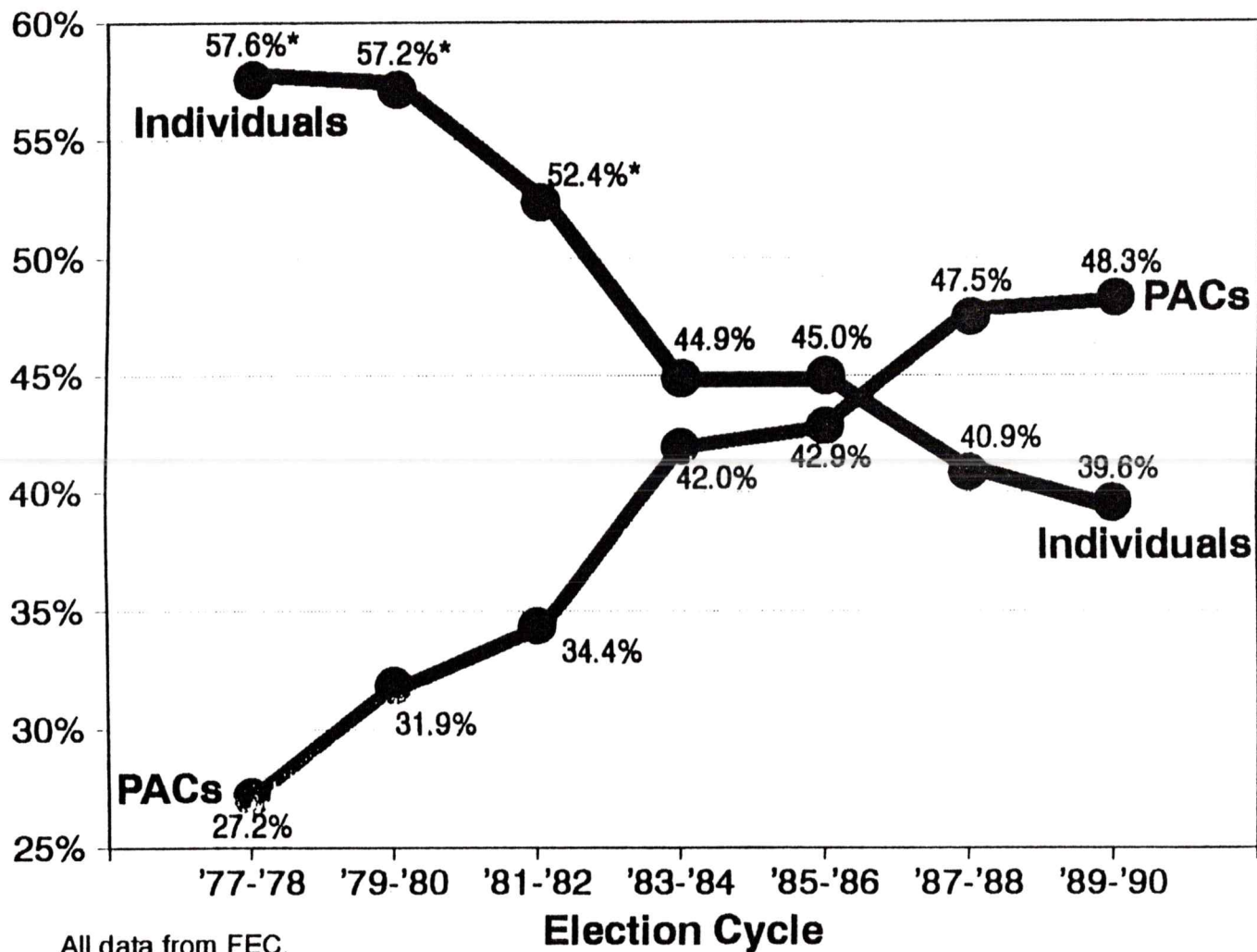


All House General Election Candidates PAC vs. Individual Contributions



House Democratic General Election Candidates PAC vs. Individual Contributions

Percent of Total Receipts



REQUIRE LOCAL FUNDING OF CAMPAIGNS

	Good Idea	Bad Idea	Don't Know
Q. Require "bulk" of campaign funds to come from district or state?	80%	15%	5%
Q. Require 75% of campaign funds to come from district of state?	76%	16%	7%

mail has nothing to do with representing the constituents who elected the Member to serve at the last election. It has everything to do with aiding the Member's reelection.

It is no wonder that challengers, with none of these taxpayer-financed advantages, cannot compete in most races.

It is no wonder that incumbent Democrats would like to limit spending by both challengers and incumbents, but insist on excluding from those limits the millions spent ONLY by incumbents on franked mail paid for by the people's taxes.

It is no wonder that Democrats, who have for so long maintained control of the House of Representatives, using the people's tax dollars to promote their re-election, are so excited about new schemes to funnel more tax dollars into subsidies for political campaigns.

And just to be sure that incumbents get the bulk of those tax dollars, they would only be available, under the Democrat's plan to candidates who agree to abide by the very limits that ignore franking and guarantee that incumbents will be able to outspend any challenger in that race.

And let's look at another example of incumbent protection, the unrestrained influence of Political Action Committees.

PAC's represent every conceivable special interest in Washington. And they contribute overwhelmingly to incumbents.

Of the \$110 million given by PAC's to candidates for the House in 1990, 80% went to incumbents. Only \$8 million or 7.7% went to challengers against incumbents. That is a more than 10:1 ratio in favor of incumbents.

And PAC influence has been growing to the point where PAC contributions to candidates may soon outstrip contributions by individuals. (See chart number 2.)

Republicans have fought to reduce the maximum limit on PAC contributions but have been blocked from doing so by the Democrats in Congress who depend on PAC contributions as a reliable source of campaign cash.

Republicans have fought to require that a majority of a candidate's funds come from people back home in a candidate's own district, not from PAC's.

The American people support this concept by an overwhelming 5-1 margin. They understand that power needs to be shifted from Washington D.C. back to local district citizens. (See chart number 4 - Greenberg-Lake Poll.)

But the Democrats in Congress have blocked this crucial reform as well.

As a result of these and other stratagems, the will of the people has been frustrated. Most House Members do not face serious competition from challenger candidates every two years. Most voters do not even know who the challenger in their Congressional district is, much less anything about what issues that challenger believes justify replacing the incumbent.

What a different political situation we would find if every Member of Congress faced a real challenge in his or her home district every two years, and had to actually campaign in the district and ask constituents for real support and assistance.

Perhaps then the term 'Servants of the People' would have some real meaning when applied to Members of Congress.

Perhaps then, Members of Congress would listen when the American people demanded an end to wasteful government spending, a balanced budget, and a genuinely tough anti-crime program.

House Republicans are determined to transform the "Permanent Congress" into the "People's House" our forefathers intended.

If Republicans were a majority in Congress, here's how we would make it happen:

We would re-empower local volunteers and contributors and reduce the influence of Washington D.C. special interest, PAC, union, and lobbyist donors. Simply requiring that a majority of campaign funds come from people back home would go far toward achieving this goal.

We would end the use of taxpayer-funded incumbent perks such as out-of-district franking which serves no other purpose than to help re-elect incumbents.

We would re-invigorate and strengthen political parties. It is parties that are inclined to assist competitive challenger candidates, not just safe incumbents.

We would ensure full disclosure of aspects of the election financing process that remain hidden from the American public under today's Democrat-enacted election laws.

We would work to encourage more competitive Congressional districts, where the choices that voters make on election day can actually change the outcome of a race.

And we would oppose taxpayer subsidies to campaigns.

Those are our general goals.

Now here are 10 specific areas where a Republican Congress would work for reform to achieve those goals:

1. RESTORE LOCAL CONTROL OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Republicans would require that a majority of a candidate's campaign funds be raised from people in the candidate's district. More than any other reform this simple change in our election law would force incumbents to campaign at home, restore the importance of small donations and volunteers to the election process, and put challengers with a strong community base of support on a more equal footing with an incumbent's built-in base of support in Washington.

Under today's campaign laws the vast majority of funds are raised from PAC's and big donors who do not reside in the district of the candidate to whom they are contributing.

But when the amount a candidate can raise in Washington is limited by the amount that a candidate can raise from his own constituents, the vital importance of every \$5, \$10 and \$25 contribution from the voters at home will be clear to all.

When incumbents must raise funds in their districts, they will spend more time in their districts.

The challenger who has carefully built a large district following of volunteers and many small contributors can no longer be defeated by a deluge of PAC and special interest money from Washington.

2. ELIMINATE ABUSE OF THE FRANK BY INCUMBENTS

Republicans would prohibit unsolicited taxpayer funded mail to anyone but constituents. We would impose tough limits on the total amount

of franking funds expended and crack down on large amounts of unsolicited mail sent out within 60 days of an election.

Current law allows incumbents to use tax dollars to mail in mass quantities to people those incumbents do not represent. In a year like 1992 when many incumbents are competing in newly drawn districts, there is a strong tendency to use taxpayer resources to send material to potential voters in these new areas who are not yet constituents.

The use of taxpayer resources to communicate with potential voters who are not constituents should NOT be allowed by law.

3. REDUCE THE INFLUENCE OF SPECIAL INTEREST PACS

A Republican Congress would cut PAC contributions by 80%, from \$5,000 to \$1,000 per election. A Republican Congress would ban transfers among PAC's that allow PAC's to hide the true source of their funds. A Republican Congress would ban "bundling" by PAC's so that limits on PAC contributions would not be circumvented.

PAC's can be an important part of our political system. They serve as a vehicle for united citizen action on issues that are important to a particular group. But they should not dominate the political process for the benefit of incumbents. By reducing the size of individual PAC contributions, a Republican Congress would reduce the danger that one or even a small group of such PAC's would exercise undue influence in the political process.

The role of the PAC should be to get people involved in the process of campaigns, not to insulate people from that process. When PAC's educate and involve people at the local level, urging them to get directly involved with the candidate of their choice, PAC's can perform a valuable service in the election process without playing the dominant role they so often play under the system perpetuated by the Democrats in Congress.

4. REINVIGORATE POLITICAL PARTIES

A Republican Congress would strengthen political parties by increasing the amount they may contribute to candidates. This would allow parties to at least match in-kind contributions they make to challengers the amount incumbents can spend on election year franking and the amount that incumbents carry over from money raised in previous elections.

Strong political parties are crucial to a competitive political process. Political parties exist to build and maintain a partisan majority. They can only do this by defeating candidates of the opposing party. The minority party, whichever one it happens to be at the time, can ONLY build a majority

by replacing incumbents. Both political parties aggressively seek out opportunities to defeat vulnerable incumbents.

Political parties build governing coalitions that are broader than any single special interest group. Loyalty to a philosophy of government, whether Democrat or Republican, serves the nation far better than loyalty to a special interest.

Parties are the most important way in which average citizens can shape the process, not only of electing, but of selecting the candidates. Influence in political parties can be built without the large-scale financial resources that are regularly poured into media and computer-mail driven campaigns.

Restoring the ability of parties, especially at the local level, to make major contributions to candidates strengthens the incentive for citizens to get involved and make a difference.

5. ELIMINATE LOOPHOLES IN PRESIDENTIAL FINANCING RULES

A Republican Congress would eliminate the loopholes which allow corporations and unions, for whom contributions to Federal campaigns are illegal, to assist those campaigns through special political party "Soft Money" accounts.

All funds that influence federal elections should be raised under the normal limits applicable to federal candidates. Under our proposal, strong political parties would learn to rely on contributions from individuals in small amounts, thus making them more effective as the vehicles for citizen participation that our nation needs.

6. PREVENT INCUMBENTS FROM FINANCING EACH OTHER'S CAMPAIGNS

A Republican Congress would ban all contributions by Members of Congress, including so-called "Leadership PACs" to other candidates. People, not fellow incumbents, should be the ones who contribute to elect representatives in Congress.

7. REQUIRE MEMBER CONSENT FOR UNION POLITICAL SPENDING

A Republican Congress would require unions to get a Member's permission to spend his or her dues on political campaigns. Let's restore the role of individual choice in this part of the campaign finance system.

8. REVEAL HIDDEN CAMPAIGN RELATED SPENDING

A Republican Congress would require full disclosure of all union, corporate, and nonprofit "soft money" expenditures on voter education, registration and turnout programs. Voters cannot make intelligent choices in competitive elections if they do not know the source of financial support for candidates and causes.

9. PROMOTE COMPETITION BY LIMITING REDISTRICTING GERRYMANDERS

A Republican Congress would enact Federal standards to guide redistricting so that local communities are not carved into fragments merely to provide a political advantage to one party or another. The result will be more competitive districts.

10. STOP TAXPAYER FINANCING FOR CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS

A Republican Congress would ensure that Congress does not appropriate tax dollars to subsidize political campaigns. Incumbents Democrats want to find a way to vote themselves a permanent campaign subsidy from the U.S. Treasury. They won't succeed in a Republican Congress.

The bottom line is that these Republican proposals will make Congress accountable to the American people. A Republican Congress will not become another "permanent Congress", re-electing incumbents who ignore the will of the people. A Republican Congress will enact campaign reform that gives the American people a real chance to choose a new Congress if our performance does not match our promise.

Our campaigns will strengthen challengers and make all incumbents accountable. Requiring that a majority of all candidates' funds come from the people of the district they represent ensures that all Congressmen will stay close to the needs and interests of their constituents back home, not to the special interests in Washington.

Ending the abuse of the frank will go far towards halting the tendency of incumbents to use their power over government resources to compete unfairly with challengers.

Reducing the influence of PAC's by cutting the contribution limit will strengthen the role of grassroots individuals who are more likely to support challengers.

Strengthening parties will provide a powerful avenue for concerned citizens to get involved and change both the outcome of elections and the composition of Congress.

Banning corporate, union, and large donor soft money in federal elections promotes control of parties and of the process from the bottom up, rather than from the incumbent-protecting special interests down.

When incumbents cannot give to each other, each must stand on his or her own feet with the voters.

When unions must go to their members before spending dues money on politics, there will be fewer cozy deals between incumbents and union officials that ignore the interests of members.

When the sources of campaign related money are revealed, it will be harder for incumbents to secretly use their influence to conduct voter registration drives, and to raise funds for other activities that affect the outcome of elections.

Fairer redistricting means that Members of both parties will have to work harder to stay in office. And a ban on taxpayer financing will ensure that incumbents never get their hands on the U.S. Treasury to re-elect themselves at taxpayer expense.

A Republican Congress comes with a guarantee: We will make elections for Congress competitive.

A Republican Congress will restore real meaning to those words in the Constitution: "Chosen... by the people."

Now isn't it time to go out and elected a Republican Congress?

"EASING THE BURDEN: SMALL BUSINESS AND A REPUBLICAN
CONGRESS"

Honorable Andy Ireland

"If America will save small business, small business will save America."

This would be the rallying cry of a Republican-controlled Congress.

Republicans know that small businesses are our best hope for the future. They employ almost 60 percent of the private work force. They contribute 44 percent of all sales in the United States, and they are responsible for 38 percent of our nation's gross national product.

During 1990, small businesses created more than 550,000 jobs for our nation's unemployed, while large corporations lost nearly 400,000 jobs. Small businesses are expected to account for nearly 75 percent of the 43 million new jobs created in the United States over the next 25 years.

A Republican-controlled Congress would acknowledge the vital role of smaller firms in our economic recovery and long-term well-being. A standard measure of legislation under Republican leadership would be how any proposal affected a small business's ability to grow and create jobs. No longer would we ignore the cumulative effect of the laws and regulations we pile on to small businesses each year.

A Republican Congress would not forget that a decent, full-time job is the best employee benefit we can offer American workers. If Republicans controlled the Congress, the floor of the House would not be dominated by proposals to mandate business leave policies, by schemes to raise business payroll taxes, or by panaceas to solve our nation's health-care crisis by simply mandating that businesses provide health insurance for their employees.

Republican leaders wouldn't force through a luxury tax that is costing hard-working men and women their jobs under the false premise that it would bring in money by "soaking the rich." In fact, a Republican-controlled Congress would move quickly to repeal that ill-conceived tax on American jobs.

And a Republican Congress would not let a "technical error" in drafting the small-business exemption to the minimum wage law remain on the books for more than a year without making any attempt to fix it. Restoring that small-business exemption would be a high priority if Republicans controlled the legislative agenda for the House.

In other words, a Republican-controlled Congress would not expect small businesses to solve every problem we face in this country. We would not expect them to shoulder the cost of compliance for every program that the government can no longer afford to fund on its own.

Just as important, a Republican Congress wouldn't have to fight for the chance to consider pro-growth proposals that WOULD work--if we would only let them. Instead of seeing what we could do TO small business, we would focus on what we could do FOR small business.

Providing all Americans with the opportunity to prosper based on their hard work and innovative ideas is the best social program of all.

Small Business Tax Extenders

For starters, a Republican-controlled Congress would make permanent five important tax provision due to expire on June 30, 1992: 1) the "Section 127" exclusion that allows employers tax-free education assistance to their employees; 2) the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit for employers and economically disadvantaged or disabled workers; 3) the Research and Development Tax Credit; 4) the tax-exempt status of Small Issue Bonds; and 5) the 25 percent deduction available to self-employed individuals for their health insurance costs.

1) Extending the Employer-Provided Education Tax Benefits.

Known as the "section 127" exclusion, this benefit allows employees to exclude from income up to \$5,250 per year in education assistance provided by employers. The exclusion applies to graduate and undergraduate work, and can also be used by graduate students engaged in teaching or research for a university (teaching assistants).

The exclusion is a valuable benefit to small business employees and allows small business owners to attract potential workers away from bigger companies. The exclusion also give entrepreneurs a tool to encourage workers to seek additional education and training.

2) Extending the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit.

A tax is available to employers of individuals from one or more of nine targeted groups. The nine groups consist of individuals who are recipients of payments under a means-tested transfer program, economically disadvantaged, or disabled.

The credit generally is equal to 40 percent of the first \$6,000 of qualified first-year wages. A credit equal to 85 percent of up to \$3,000 of wages paid to any disadvantaged summer youth employee is allowed.

3) R & D Tax Credit

Under the Tax Reform Act of 1986, businesses can claim a 20 percent tax credit for research expenditures paid or incurred in carrying on an existing trade or business. The act targets the credit to research undertaken for the purpose of discovering information that is technological in nature and, when applied, is intended to help develop a new or improved component for sale or for use in the business.

4) Tax-Exempt Small Issue Bonds.

Known as small-issue industrial development bonds prior to TRA '86, small issue bonds continue to be tax exempt when the proceeds are used for the acquisition, construction, or improvement of land or depreciable property. (Such bonds could be issued by a state to help a small business finance the construction, say, of a manufacturing facility or the improvement of machinery in an existing business.)

A single issue cannot exceed \$1 million, and if a single business benefits from aggregate issues of over \$40 million, the interest on the bonds becomes taxable to the holders. Further, small-issue bonds, being private activity bonds, count towards a state's tax-exempt bond volume limitation -- the greater of 1) \$50 per resident; or 2) \$150 million per year.

5) Health Insurance Deduction for the Self-Employed

Self-employed business owners can deduct only 25 percent of the cost of their health insurance, while their corporate counterparts can deduct 100 percent of the cost of their group insurance plans. Self-employed entrepreneurs ought to be able to retain at least their 25 percent deduction for another year. In fact, this deduction should be increased to 100 percent. If sole-proprietors and partners were allowed a 100-percent deduction for health-care costs, more than 3 million uninsured Americans could obtain health insurance.

Health Care and Small Business

Republicans know that mandating that business provide coverage to their employees or pay a tax is not the answer to our nation's health-care crisis; this "pay or play" approach saddles those small business that are least able to afford it with the biggest share of the economic burden of providing for those who lack health insurance.

Republicans also understand that so-called National Health Care system, in which a government bureaucracy replaces the competition and efficiency of the private-insurance market, is no answer either. We don't need any system in which Congress, in effect, becomes the Board of Directors for the nation's only insurance company. We do need a system based on a refereed free market -- a system in which private-sector competition is tempered by ground rules set by the government in order to assure that the competition is fair and access is universal.

A Republican-controlled Congress would move through the House a comprehensive solution to our nation's health-care crisis. Our solution would be national in scope, but we would not rely on the government to set prices or directly provide services. Instead, we would return control of the health-care system to individual consumers by giving each and every American responsibility for -- and control of -- his or her own health care coverage.

We would provide refundable tax credit to working families for health-insurance costs. We would subsidize insurance premiums for the poor. We would put tax incentives that have long gone to business directly into the hands of the consumer who benefits from the service. We would guarantee access to, and renewability of, a basic health insurance plan. And we would make it the responsibility of every American to carry at least this basic insurance coverage.

Individual choice, control and responsibility -- combined with liability reforms, cost containment, community involvement and guaranteed basic coverage at an affordable price -- add up to a comprehensive reform program that will work for the American people.

Small-Business Growth

A Republican-controlled Congress would take steps to spur investment and job creation by restoring an investment tax credit and by lowering the tax rate on capital gains income.

Simplifying Payroll Tax Deposit Rules

And Republican House leaders would move quickly to simplify payroll tax-deposit rules that are so difficult for smaller firms to comply with. An addition of one employee to a payroll can change compliance rules dramatically. And a miscalculation of a few cents can result in penalties of thousands of dollars. Many small businesses report that they pay more in fines than they do in actual withholding!

A Republican-controlled Congress would amend tax laws to assure that well-meaning, law-abiding small business owners aren't needlessly tied up in the red tape of payroll deposit compliance.

Self-Employment as an Option for the Unemployed

If Republicans were in charge of the Congress, we would work to break down the barriers to self-employment for those who must rely on public assistance for survival. We would do this in part by providing direct loans in very small dollar amounts (micro-enterprise loans) to individuals through non-profit intermediaries that would provide outreach, identify would-be entrepreneurs and provide intensive marketing, management and technical training.

To make this program work, we would amend the law in order to make it easier for states to change their welfare rules so that welfare recipients could participate in the micro-enterprise loan program without losing their benefits. Currently, welfare rules discourage recipients from saving even small amount of money or acquiring assets toward starting up a small business.

We would also amend the Community Development Block Grant, Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA) and consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act to include micro-enterprise lending as an eligible activity. JTPA performance standards would be amended to allow not only for training and placement of participants in jobs with other firms, but also for training to allow qualified participants to start their own businesses.

Regulatory Relief

A Republican Congress would allow courts to review federal department and agency actions that do not comply with the Regulatory Flexibility Act. This would put some enforcement teeth into the Reg Flex law requiring that departments and agencies consider the impact of any proposed or existing rule on small businesses.

We would also prohibit the Internal Revenue Service from retroactively applying regulations unless otherwise directed by Congress. This would provide one clear set of rules for all businesses and agencies to follow.

Uniform Product Liability Law

A Republican Congress would put product-liability reform high on its agenda. We would quickly move comprehensive legislation to establish a uniform, fault-based standard of liability. Reform would control the cost of

litigation and restore predictability to risk estimates and cost assessments made by insurance companies. Moreover, reform would return fairness to the legal system by ensuring that business owners would be liable only for the results of their own conduct.

Paperwork Reduction Act Reauthorization

Another priority item for a Republican-controlled Congress would be reauthorizing the Paperwork Reduction Act. This act, which requires federal departments and agencies to clear all paperwork through the Office of Management and Budget, is extremely important to small business.

Encouraging Research and Development

Republicans would move quickly to increase the percentage of federal research dollars that go to smaller firms by putting the Small Business Innovation and Research Act on the fast track. This Act requires that a percentage of all federal research dollars goes to smaller firms. Small businesses are highly innovative. In 1988, 55 percent of all innovations in this country were developed by smaller firms. It only makes sense to assure that these businesses get their fair share of federal dollars to provide the innovations that will keep us in the forefront of technology advances.

Continued Small-Business Access to SBA Loans

Republicans know how important the Small Business Administration's lending programs are in helping to provide access to credit for small businesses who are ready to grow create good, permanent jobs for our nation's unemployed.

A Republican-controlled Congress would make sure that SBA has sufficient lending authority to assure that qualified small businesses are not forced to scale back--or even close their doors--for lack of available credit in the coming months.

Conclusion

These ideas aren't pie-in-the-sky. They are all existing legislative proposals--many of which will never see the light of day as long as liberal Democrats control what is and isn't debated on the House and Senate Floors.

The record is clear: Our nation's small businesses have the ability and the desire to pull us out of recession. We could achieve far more in terms of social policy through incentives set in the context of a vibrant, healthy economy than we can by clinging to business mandates, higher taxes, and more legislative obstacles to business growth. As Members of Congress, it is

our responsibility to assure that public policy is designed to work with the men and women who own and operate our nation's 20 million small businesses and their employees.

House Republicans are ready to do more than just talk about how important small businesses are to the country. We are ready to join forces with our Republican President in order to enact policies that will work for small business--and that will put Americans to work. We invite our Democratic colleagues to join us.

"EDUCATION AND THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS"
Honorable Bill Goodling

Let me start by telling you about one Congressman's favorite teacher.

She was my elementary school teacher. Her name was Miss Yost, and she is certainly one of the most remarkable individuals I have ever known.

Miss Yost taught in a very different environment from teachers today. She had sole responsibility for 32 children, grades 1 through 4 in a two-room school house. On her own, she found a way to simultaneously provide a good educational foundation for all of us. She kept us in line, kept the building clean and furnace stoked. She was the disciplinarian, the nurse and the babysitter.

Miss Yost has had my admiration throughout my life, first as a student, and then an educator and now as a Member of Congress serving on the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Miss Yost and many teachers like her did it all. They provided a quality education with far fewer resources than today's classroom. It's not that there are none with the talent and commitment Miss Yost had. Rather, new and difficult obstacles have been placed between today's teachers and successful teaching.

Government regulations have eliminated the flexibility Miss Yost used to provide a wide range of services to her students. The total support of parents and the community no longer exists. The respect students had for teachers is a thing of the past.

We no longer put our teachers on a pedestal; nor do we attract the best and the brightest to the teaching profession.

Of course, I am not advocating a retreat to the past--although we could learn some lessons from the teacher in the two-room schoolhouse. Nor am I placing the responsibility for our failing education system on teachers--the problem is hardly that simple.

Rather, I would say the difficulties experienced by today's teachers are indicative of the problems with education in general.

It is no secret our schools are traveling in troubled waters. We've heard about high dropout rates, workers unable to perform basic tasks, and poor test scores compared with students of other nations. On a personal

level, many of us have at least a general sense that our children simply aren't getting the quality of education they need to succeed in life.

Concern about education quality and equal education opportunity is nothing new. Significant efforts have been made in recent decades. At the federal level, we've seen a certain amount of success come from programs directed at those with the greatest needs--programs such as Head Start, Chapter 1, the Education of the Handicapped Act, and Pell Grants.

Yet, it is clear that not only have many of the problems confronting education not been solved, they have also grown more numerous and complex. The educator's job has become more difficult as students increasingly struggle with hardships stemming from the breakdown of the family unit, the erosion of traditional values and the perils of drugs, alcohol and sexual activity. At the same time, the workplace has become more sophisticated, increasing the demand on our schools to produce better-educated students.

This leaves us with a daunting task. Our education system is failing and something needs to be done to fix it. We can't bring the needed reform by working at the margins. What is needed is nothing less than the transformation of our education system.

Let me take moment to describe what I see as the key to education progress--a commitment to excellence. To succeed, we must seek to excel. This is a message that must reach all levels. Students, teachers, parents, communities and government must demand excellence. We must demand it of ourselves and of our schools. Nothing short of the best will do.

A commitment to excellence on all levels is necessary because education is a partnership. Progress cannot come solely through government programs--although they should play an important role. We must inspire our students to demand the best of themselves, and we, in turn, must demand the best of our schools.

Parents carry a significant burden in this equation. Parents cannot rely on schools to raise their children. The value of parents who read with their children, help with homework, instill respect for teachers, foster self-confidence and responsibility, and demonstrate the benefits of a good education cannot be underestimated.

Let's make this our credo as we work to improve the nation's schools: Demand excellence.

What other basic elements are required to transform our education system? We need a national consensus and the momentum it can bring. We need resources. And, we need a specific course of action.

To a large extent, I believe, we have that consensus: In education, business as usual won't do.

Never before has public awareness of education, its problems and opportunities been higher. Momentum is growing and reform movements are underway nationwide. The education goals established by the President and the Governors are evidence of the fact that the concern and commitment are nationwide, and the capacity to develop common solutions exists.

In terms of resources, we have what we need; we're simply not using it properly. The money, personnel, services, equipment and expertise are available, but often they are not used effectively.

In part, this occurs because the federal government has erected funding barriers and limitations that make it inherently impossible for the programs to work together. This must not be allowed to continue.

Which leads us to the search for a course of action.

We all know that despite the good faith efforts of the past 10 years to improve our schools, we have failed. There is a basic reason for this failure. Our efforts have failed because they have been piecemeal. They have not been coordinated, nor have they sought to change the system within which schools and teachers operate.

America 2000, President Bush's education reform package, contains much of the meat needed to achieve our national education goals. Yet, it too is lacking the systematic, comprehensive approach needed for real success.

I recently joined with my colleagues, Reps. Ford and Kildee, to introduce legislation that provides the needed structure. Our bill is called the Comprehensive Neighborhood Schools Revitalization Act," and I believe it is the first education legislation with real potential for change I've seen since coming to Congress.

The system would be set up in the following manner: Each state would establish a panel of educators, government officials, parents, students and business leaders to develop a plan to maximize achievement for all children. Within this framework, local panels and school districts would develop their own reform efforts.

This is where we put the meat on the bones. The federal legislation would provide funding for a variety of educational initiatives at the state and local levels. Many of these come straight out of America 2000. Allowable activities would include reward activities such as merit schools, optional school choice programs, parental involvement activities, motivational activities, planning to upgrade school technology, and professional development.

This framework enables state and local governments and school districts to tailor their programs to their needs, while at the same time ensuring these efforts are coordinated. It gives the grass roots more control and helps to ensure resources are used effectively.

With this legislation, the federal government can help ensure every state, every locality and every school district buckles down to the hard work of reforming our schools to meet the education goals. The entire nation will be moving in the same direction, although individual paths may be chosen.

First, we must develop more of a Team Approach to Education.

I spoke earlier of the need for all members of the education partnership to be involved in education. We must incorporate this approach as a policy change.

Too often, the only community involvement asked is fiscal support. They have much more to contribute, however.

Members of the community and parents should be involved in the establishment of program goals, expected student performance outcomes, and measures of success. They need to feel they are an integral part of their school's operation--that they have the opportunity to make a real contribution and to help determine the direction of the education program.

Any Federal legislation should provide for meaningful roles for communities, parents and private sector involvement. And I don't just mean establishing advisory committees.

Parents should be asked about their expectations for their children. Retired citizens should be utilized as resources in the schools. Businesses should help develop the vocational and academic programs that can supply their future workforce needs. School personnel should have an opportunity to work in the private sector and gain "real life" experiences to enhance their understanding and application of the subject matter they teach. Private sector individuals should participate as mentors, teach courses or guest lecture in areas of expertise. This is only a short list of the possibilities.

Similarly, more attention should be paid to the role of the parents in some students' education problems. An intergenerational approach to solving these problems should be attempted where appropriate.

For example, during my years as an educator, I often found that if a child could not read, the parents were poor readers as well. If the child had language difficulties, the home may have been bilingual. If the child did not appreciate the value of education, the parent likely was failed by the system.

To ignore the problems of the parents diminishes the long-term effects of any program. In my schools, I found some success in combating illiteracy by bringing the parents into the process. When I entered Congress, and I worked to encourage the use of similar programs nationwide, and was successful in creating the Even Start intergenerational literacy program.

In the Even Start program, parents learn to read as well as become teachers and caretakers of their children. The growth of and demand for the program has exceeded any expectations when it was first enacted.

The second policy change would be to Encourage Comprehensive Approaches and Lift Barriers to Coordination.

The federal government is notorious for targeting funds too narrowly to be as effective as they could be.

For example, schools may receive small amounts of drug prevention money from 3 or 4 different programs, but be unable to aggregate them to fund the services of a single counselor.

In other cases, a child may be disadvantaged because of a variety of factors, but federal laws prohibit pooling funds targeted to address these problems, and schools are therefore unlikely to create a comprehensive intervention program.

Not only should barriers to coordination be removed, comprehensive approaches should be encouraged wherever possible. The current system is wasteful and duplicative and does not serve our disadvantaged students well.

Third, Education Programs Should be Performance-Oriented.

Our greatest concern is that students learn to read, write, compute, speak effectively, and so forth. Yet, the focus of our laws seems to be on how the programs are administered and run.

Instead, attention should be shifted to student performance and program improvement. We should not worry whether 15 minutes of Teacher X's time was spent on Program Y or Program Z, or student A or student B. Congress and the federal government must get out of the business of micromanaging education. Program operators must be relieved of their paperwork burdens so they can spend their time as educators, not bureaucrats.

Likewise, we cannot assume that completion of a given number of courses or hours in class will prepare the student for advancement to the next level or the labor market. Real learning must take place before the student can advance. In addition, the school must ensure it has provided the relevant education.

These same high standards and opportunities must apply to all students, not just the college-bound as is so often the case. Success can also come in the form of placement in a job, into further training or the military. We are the only industrialized nation without a school-to-work transition program. A program of this sort could help millions of students as well as increasing U.S. economic competitiveness.

Finally, A More Reliable Data and Information Base Must Be Developed, With a Sufficient Means of Dissemination.

If we can accomplish each of the above policy changes, we must have a way of measuring, understanding and learning from our progress, and sharing that information with educators nationwide.

Currently, available data are not necessarily consistent, the measures used are different and the outcomes are not necessarily related to the context in which they will be used.

Furthermore, there is not a single clearinghouse for information. The education system can benefit from exemplary programs that have been used in youth employment. The contextual learning measures, and competency-based programs developed by the military cannot be tapped.

We are reinventing the wheel too many times to allow us to be creative, innovative or productive.

Although I have mentioned only four policy changes, it is clear that if implemented, they would mean a broad-ranging restructuring of the education system as we know it today.

Changing the current system is going to require a certain level of bravery on the part of Members of Congress. We will have to face vested interests and advocacies for individual programs who may have to be dissatisfied in the short term for the sake of long-term progress.

To shy away from these challenges would be an unforgivable mistake. There is too much at stake: The future of our children, our society and our economy all rest on our ability to work together and make the change.

In closing, I would like to take you back to the classroom.

As a former educator--and former student--I believe one of the most important lessons learned in school is appreciation for the unique qualities that make our nation great.

One of those qualities is our "can-do" attitude. When Americans put their minds to it and work together, they can tackle any problem, achieve any goal.

Any schoolchild can tell about some of this nation's special accomplishments. We created the world's first democracy; we built an economy and standard of living that are unsurpassed; we revolutionized agriculture and put a man on the moon.

After having successfully met a military challenge in the Middle East, America is facing a potentially greater danger right here at home. Our economy has weakened, the standard of living for many Americans has not grown in years, and we are losing ground to our trade competitors.

To turn this around it will take this "can do" attitude and action in several areas, but none more important than education. If we don't educate and train a greater percentage of our people to a level of excellence, then I believe we will lose our position of leadership in the world. The stakes are that high. So, let's get going.

"HEALTH CARE UNDER A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS"

Honorable Rod Chandler

Mr. Speaker, we have a health care crisis in the country -- a health care crisis that requires dramatic reform.

The nation's health care crisis is painfully reflected in a set of shocking statistics that we are all too familiar with: 34 million Americans have no health insurance and skyrocketing costs which now exceed 12 percent of this country's Gross National Product (GNP).

We're concerned about those statistics, but more importantly, we're concerned about the health and welfare of our fellow Americans.

In our rush to fundamentally change our health care system, House Republicans are convinced that whatever proposals are adopted, they must make our current system better.

Dismantling that system is not the answer.

For instance, having the federal government operate the nation's health care system would not only create a huge, and ultimately inadequate, bureaucracy, it ignores the fact that our current system of employer-provided health insurance has been very effective.

Proponents of such a plan dismiss the fact that most Americans who have health insurance, obtain it through their employers. I submit that instead of tossing aside a system with proven success, Congress should be taking steps to expand that system to those working Americans who are currently unable to gain access to it.

Mr. Speaker, a Republican Congress would allow those important steps to be taken. In doing so, we would dramatically reform our current health care system to improve and build upon it.

We will expand on those things we do well and correct those problems we all know exist within that system.

With a Republican majority in Congress, Americans would be free to choose the doctors, hospital and type of care that is best for them and their families. The federal government should not be making those decisions for American families.

Government-run national health systems restrict our range of choices by limited the options and alternatives available. In contrast, our proposal

would guarantee choice by increasing the availability of health insurance for those who presently do not have access to such insurance.

Mr. Speaker, a Republican Congress would also preserve the high quality of health care Americans have come to expect from our current system. Under that system, Americans are secure in the knowledge that the best possible care is available in the event of serious illness for them or their families.

Unfortunately, this security will be lost if advocates of a single-payer health system have their way. In fact, countries with government-operated health insurance systems fall far short of our level of health care quality, because their systems do not encourage technological advancement, just as government-run economies fail to generate economic progress.

In addition, the sense of security that Americans enjoy regarding their health care should not be limited merely to its quality.

We should be secure in the knowledge that we can change jobs without the fear of losing our health insurance.

And we should be secure in the knowledge that we will not lose our health insurance or incur sharp increases in its cost because of serious illness.

For older Americans, we want them to be secure in the knowledge that they will have adequate care should they become incapacitated. A Republican Congress would enact reforms that ensure this sense of security for all Americans.

Mr. Speaker, there is a strong consensus among all of our colleagues that health care should be available to all Americans, regardless of economic circumstances; and, that the step necessary to ensure that access should be taken now.

Unfortunately, proposals for a government-run health care system or one that would impose costly employer mandates would take years to fully implement and, even then, would fall far short of their stated goals.

A Republican Congress, however, would be prepared to enact meaningful reforms that could be implemented immediately.

This is particularly true for reforms that would assist uninsured workers who are employed by small businesses.

Specifically, we would propose reforms that would make it easier for small employers to purchase group health coverage for their employees.

We would also propose expanding community health centers and rural health care facilities to provide care in those instances where it is otherwise unavailable. In every instance, Republicans are prepared to address our health care problems now, not years from now.

The issues of health care cost and affordability seem lost or, at least, confused among proponents of a government-run health care system.

Proposals for nationalized health care and other centrally-run systems would control costs through price controls on providers.

Price controls, however, are seldom effective, and more often than not have the negative result of limiting the availability of services and products and reducing incentives for innovation.

In Canada, for instance, not only do citizens lack the level of advanced technology that Americans have, but Canadians often come to my state of Washington for care that is unavailable under the price-controlled Canadian system.

If Canadians are coming to our country for health care, I wonder where we Americans will go?

A Republican Congress would control costs through reforms that emphasize increased competition and the elimination of artificial cost stimulants in the marketplace.

These reforms include the elimination of state laws that restrict competitive development of health care plans and mandate certain types of coverage that add to the cost of health insurance plans.

Republicans would also reform medical malpractice laws which serve to increase provider costs and encourage excessive testing and other forms of defensive medicine. Such reforms would lower malpractice rates -- a cost that is passed on to patients by doctors -- by limiting the amount of fees that lawyers can earn in malpractice cases.

Finally, Republicans would help control excessive administrative costs by cutting down on the amount of red tape and paperwork that clutter our current health care system.

Through the use of uniform claim forms and electronic billing systems, our proposals will streamline the huge increases in health care bureaucracy.

Ironically, proponents of a national, government-run system would create yet another bureaucracy that can only add to already overwhelming administrative costs.

Mr. Speaker, there is no question that our health care system is in need of dramatic reform. Some argue that we must wait for consensus on this issue.

But that kind of time is a luxury that we can't afford. We need to fundamentally change our health care system and we need to do it now.

As we move toward those reforms, let's not forget, however, that we provide a higher quality of health care than virtually any other system in world; and, we do it for the vast majority of our citizens.

The task before us is to make the best even better, and to make sure that all of our citizens have equal access.

APPENDIX

1. David Broder, "Republicans Could Govern." The Washington Post, October 27, 1991.
2. Richard Cohen, "Congress in Distress." National Journal, January 18, 1992.
3. Robert Michel, Dick Armey, and William F. Goodling, "House Repairs: What We'll Do When We Reach Majority." Policy Review, January 1992.
4. Summary of House Committee Reforms Proposed by the House Republican Conference.
5. Summary of Comparative Data on the House of Representatives.
6. Major Republican Crime Bill Proposals.
7. Remarks by General Colin Powell, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff.
8. Department of Defense News Release, "DOD To Slow Pace of Modernization, Cut Strategic Nuclear Arsenal While Maintaining Essential Forces." January 29, 1991.

David S. Broder

Republicans Could Govern

Unless you are of a certain age and were really tuned into politics in the early '50s, the possibility of a Republican Congress is as unfamiliar to you as a balanced budget. The last time there really was a Republican Congress was back in 1953-54. Democrats yielded the Senate majority to the GOP briefly between 1981 and 1987, but they have held control of the House of Representatives ever since 1955.

Anyone under 50 can be forgiven for thinking that the only thing Republicans can do in the legislative branch is oppose Democratic initiatives, support presidential vetoes and defend administration officials and appointees before congressional committees. That's all they've ever seen.

The Republicans are type-cast as naysayers, obstructionists and lackeys of the White House. No wonder, then, that the voters' reflex is to keep electing Democrats to the House and Senate.

For a few hours the other morning, however, it was possible to glimpse what life might be like in a Republican Congress. It was nothing like the stereotype.

Over in a Senate committee room, the Republican Conference Task Force on Economic Growth and Job Creation was holding a mock hearing on tax proposals to stimulate the lethargic economy and ward off an early return to recession.

In a small office in the Capitol, the House Wednesday Group, an informal caucus of issue-oriented Republicans, was holding a press briefing on a report embodying two years of their work on new approaches to cracking the problem of persistent poverty.

My purpose is not to ballyhoo their specific proposals, although many of them make sense. Any open-minded person who was in either of those rooms would come away knowing that he had been listening to intelligent, serious people actively engaged in figuring out answers to major problems—not throwing sand in the gears of government.

The two Republican congressmen who presented the anti-poverty initiative were Reps. Vin Weber of Minnesota and Bill Gradison of Ohio. Their colleagues and congressional reporters know them to be among the brightest and most hard-working members of the House. But after 26 years of combined service, they are virtually unknown to the country, because neither has ever chaired a committee hearing, managed a major piece of legislation on the House floor or directed an investigation. Those are the perks of the majority party, and for 37 years, the voters have denied those opportunities and responsibilities to the Republicans.

The key figures in the Senate mock-hearing were somewhat more familiar: Sens. Phil Gramm of Texas and Bob Kasten of Wisconsin, both key players in the Reaganomics revolution of the early '80s; House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia, a star of C-SPAN; and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp, their ally inside the Bush administration.

Yet for these folks, too, there is immense frustration in the fact that when domestic policy is set, the action flows between the White House and the congressional Democrats. Congressional Republicans and their ideas are often left on the sideline.

Divided government has many costs, ranging from the protracted impasse of last year's budget summit to the ugly spectacle of the recent Clarence Thomas hearings. But the largest cost is that the country never gets to have more than a fraction of the intellectual and political resources of either political party applied to the problems of the nation.

An important objective of both the Wednesday Group and the Senate GOP Task Force was to persuade the Bush White House to take a look at new approaches to the stubborn problems of poverty and the sluggish economy. Were President Bush dealing with a Republican Congress, he would have no choice but to consider such views—and every incentive to weigh seriously what congressional Republicans were suggesting.

For these would be the people who would finally shape whatever legislation was passed. And as his ticket-mates in the next election, they would share a common interest in seeing that the nation's problems were solved.

None of that is true when Republicans are in the minority and Democrats control Congress. The president need not heed advice from congressional Republicans, because they cannot pass any bills. The Democrats can pass bills, but they have no motivation to help make the president a success.

So the system ends up frustrating everyone in it—and serving the country badly. That's why the most critical question for 1992 is not whether the Democrats regain the White House or the Republicans win Congress. The critical objective is to see one party or the other do both—and give this country a government again, not just another set of warring politicians.

Democrats could provide that government if they produce a credible replacement for Bush from their field of presidential candidates. But what I saw on Capitol Hill suggests that Republicans are ready to govern—if given the chance.

Congress in Distress

Public cynicism about Congress is running high, and so is the frustration of Members caught up in legislative gridlock. With elections approaching, Capitol Hill seeks ways to clean up its act.

BY RICHARD E. COHEN

When Congress adjourned on Thanksgiving eve, the workplace environment of the Capitol had deteriorated to a poisonous level. The legislative process had given way to posturing, suspicion and deadlock. If Members were becoming unhappy and frustrated with their inability to produce, the public, in turn, was becoming contemptuous of them.

Now, as lawmakers are returning to face grave problems—demands to deal with economic dislocation and social inequities, the consequences of staggering federal budget deficits, a world in profound change—they are mindful of the need somehow to regain the esteem of their constituents. But they must also brace for the heavy partisan warfare of a presidential campaign year laced with an unusually high number of competitive Senate and House elections.

Has Congress ever before seen so much handwringing over internal problems or so many whiffs of scandal? Probably yes. But, in their worst nightmares, few Members could have dreamed that public cynicism about Congress would become as intense as it did in 1991.

For much of the year, they seemed overtaken by front-burner events—from the Persian Gulf war to the lingering recession—over which they had no influence. Disagreements over issues such as taxes, crime, health care and banking regulation also seemingly left Congress spinning in circles with nothing to show for its efforts.

Late in the year, the Senate appeared foolish, if not downright prurient, in the glare of a televised confirmation hearing of a Supreme Court nominee turned into an X-rated national morality play.

At roughly the same time, the House was embarrassed by reports that scores of its Members had bounced personal checks at their private bank, which they promptly voted to close, and a Senate ethics panel balkingly completed its denunciations of the so-called Keating five, a quintet of Senators who'd had dealings with a principal in the savings and loan scandal.

Not surprisingly, already-low public opinion ratings for Congress as an institution and for individual Members from both parties threatened to drop off the charts. In many states across the country, term limitation campaigns caught fire.

Lawmakers may be able to stanch the hemorrhaging sufficiently this year to at least appear to address the nation's business. And most Members who seek reelection will probably succeed. Whatever the short-term recovery, however, Congress's distress seems unlikely to be relieved any time soon. Indeed, pressure inside the House and Senate may be building toward a rare period of fundamental changes, driven by generational shifts and by discontent with the status quo rather than reversals in party control.

WHAT AILS CONGRESS

Experienced lawmakers and students of the institution offer various theories on what ails Congress. Here are some of the most popular and deep-seated notions expressed on and off Capitol Hill—views that are largely independent of party or ideology.

Legislating ain't beanbag: Even under the best of circumstances, the task of building a consensus acceptable to a diverse and factional nation is always difficult. As national and worldwide conflicts become more complex and interrelated, finding solutions will always be challenging, even for the most capable lawmakers. The volatile political environment adds complications.

Divided government: Blaming Congress for lack of direction, some argue, is unfair because the authors of the Constitution never intended that legislators lead the nation. That burden lies with the President. But both branches face hindrances in crafting and implementing rules of the game when Congress and the White House are controlled by different parties. It's even more difficult now, after a decade of such division.

Administrative nightmares: With overlapping committee jurisdictions, arcane parliamentary rules, erratic scheduling

and fragmented power centers, it is surprising that lawmakers ever get anything done. If only Congress were better managed and met its deadlines, it would appear more credible.

Money is evil: Until Congress overhauls its incumbency-benefiting campaign finance system, its Members will be beholden to the political action committees that heavily finance their reelections. Pending such reform, lawmakers will hesitate to take legislative actions that threaten moneyed special interests.

The Beltway syndrome: Perquisite-laden Members have become a privileged class out of touch with mainstream America but virtually impervious to electoral challenge. Meanwhile, their penchant for governmental micro-management is imposing ever-growing burdens on the public and the economy. To some advocates of this view, term limits are the best—and perhaps, only—antidote.

'Twas ever thus: Although many insiders criticize the news media for the tone of their current coverage, they note that Congress—long before the latest rash of scandals—has been a popular whipping boy for the press. "There is no distinctly native American criminal class except Congress," Mark Twain wrote in 1894. A corollary to this thesis is that the public, though it hates Congress, loves its own Member of Congress.

Some of these views appear to diverge sharply, as does the rhetoric of those who espouse them. If Members spend so much time representing narrow, local interests rather than giving political leadership to the nation, for example, how can they have become captives of the Capital culture? The difficulties Congress faces, in short, do not stem from a single factor and are not likely to be fixed with an instant solution.

"Things are much more complicated in the society, not just in Congress," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., recently told a breakfast group of reporters. "We are in a more participatory society. . . . The acceptance of hierarchy and authority is much less clear."

But the criticisms of Congress have some common threads. For one thing, the expanding complexity of the full-time legislator's job leads to closer connections with interest-group lobbyists, and thus encourages symbiotic relationships. Add fund-raising relationships to the mix, and many of the scandals that have triggered public disrespect for Congress seem all but inevitable.

Although many of these problems are long-standing, the combination may have attained critical mass during the past two years in a nation confronted with economic stagnation and a shrinking standard of living. When times are good, as

during much of the past decade, people pay less attention to Washington and its shortcomings. But in times of misery, they seek a target.

"With limits on upward mobility as a society, there is a feeling that government is not doing anything about it," said Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies at Brookings Institution. "Congress has been a particular source of criticism for several reasons. . . . All of these have eroded the legitimacy of the institution, especially within the political class."

deur of a President, whose microphone is louder." And Bush lately has taken up the chant, amid signals that he and his reelection campaign team will cast Congress as the cause of his shortcomings.

Even though they have solidified in recent years their majority in both the House and Senate, many congressional Democrats have grown more dispirited. After the 1988 presidential election, which many at one time had fully expected their party to win, they at least thought that they would be able to do business with long-time Washington insider Bush



"Things are much more complicated in the society, not just in Congress. We are in a more participatory society. . . . The acceptance of hierarchy and authority is much less clear."

— House Speaker Thomas S. Foley

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

When it comes to defending itself from attacks, Congress finds itself at a disadvantage. Saddled with built-in partisan divisions and what Foley termed "the anonymity of the faceless institution," it's difficult to mount a focused congressional response. The Congress-bashing propensities of a pair of Presidents—Ronald Reagan and George Bush—have exacerbated the problem.

"President Reagan used the bully pulpit to slam another institution," said Rep. Andrew Jacobs Jr., D-Ind. "A Speaker's press conference doesn't have the gran-

more readily than they had during eight years of Reagan, the self-styled outsider.

Instead, action to deal with the pervasive budget deficit was deferred until the contentious negotiations of 1990. Congress spent much of 1989 consumed by the jarring—and not exactly reassuring to the public—spectacles of the unprecedented resignations under fire of House Speaker Jim Wright, D-Texas, and Majority Whip Tony Coelho, D-Calif.

It may be academic whether the scent of scandal would have been less damaging if there had been serious legislative achievements on Capitol Hill and a more traditional focus on presidential leader-

THE HOUSE'S FAST TRACK IS MUCH TOO SLOW . . .

Well over a year ago, Rep. Dennis E. Eckart, D-Ohio, realized it was time to leave the House. When Speaker Thomas S. Foley asked him to orient freshmen Members to the sprawling, complex institution, he recently recalled, "I discovered . . . that I was telling them to do things that I had made up my mind that I probably was not willing to do anymore."

Like going back every weekend to his suburban Cleveland district to be with constituents; getting a jump on issues by coming in for Monday hearings at the Energy and Commerce Committee when few other panel members are back in town yet, and staying late. Or taking on what Eckart calls the "trashy issues that nobody else wants to work on" in order to win compliments from a subcommittee chairman.

Eckart, ambitious and earnest to a fault, not to mention clean-cut, friendly and articulate, mastered the reelection arts during four years as a state legislator and six congressional terms.

At 41, however, he found himself years away from holding real power in the House. He was frustrated and burned out, not willing to take on still more work—such as party fund-raising chores—to quicken his advance into a leadership position. "How many years

can you do 90 days on an airplane?" he asked.

With his 16 years in state and national politics coming to a close at the end of this year, Eckart, a lawyer, is now mulling a second career. He said he hasn't decided what it will be or whether he'll leave Washington.

One thing is clear: Eckart's early exit is an ominous message for the House, and for politics generally. For Eckart and his ilk represent the future of the House: Young, hardworking stalwarts, enthusiastic about politics and, more important, keen in the art of legislating.

Eckart, for example, a lieutenant of Energy and Commerce chairman John D. Dingell, D-Mich., was one of a dozen legislators who worked overtime in the back rooms for months to craft a Clean Air Act that was acceptable to several warring factions. The act was finally signed into law in 1990. If such legislative brokering is becoming a lost art, Eckart's departure hastens the trend.

There is a bigger *if*: If the House worked better, then the long hours, the weekends of campaigning and fund raising, the years of waiting to move up the seniority ladder might be worth it. But for now, for Eckart, it isn't. And his impatience with congressional ineffectuality is mirrored by growing public animosity toward the institution.

"There's a veritable feeding frenzy out there, and the Congress is the first entrée on the menu."

Maybe it's because the 1980s were an exhausting time in Congress. Since his arrival in January 1981, Eckart said, the House has been "a veritable frustration roller coaster. It's been the hottest ride in the park."

That year, Democratic solidarity was broken when President Reagan successfully rounded up enough conservative Democratic votes in the House to pass his landmark package of spending and tax reductions.

Then, "social security and Claude Pepper saved us," Eckart said, recalling the 1982 elections, when the Democrats, led by Speaker Thomas P.

O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, exploited fears that Republicans would cut social security benefits and picked up 26 seats, solidifying their House majority for the remainder of the decade.

But the '80s hardly calmed down: There were more budget battles, bitter fights over U.S. policy in Central America, the Iran-contra affair and the scandal that toppled Speaker Jim Wright of Texas. Only with the 1989 ascension of Washington's Foley—in Eckart's view a wise leader who "banked the fires of frustration that Jim Wright fostered"—did the House settle down a bit.

So why is Eckart leaving?

Lots of reasons. But at the heart of it, perhaps, is the sense of stalemate that pervades Washington in the 1990s. With neither the money nor seemingly the energy for bold initiatives, life in the House has become less than compelling.

"All of us, Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, come to government with an agenda. Now, things seem to be beyond our control. . . . You can't advance new programs, new ideas, within the budget constraints that we have. And when you go home to talk about national health insurance, the first question is 'Did you bounce any checks?' [Eckart says he did not.] It is frustrating. It's easy to see why Members can say this just ain't much fun any more."

Eckart has always had an ability to step back and analyze the institution even while he's been in it, and he is no less introspective on the way out the door. Within the over-all malaise, he identifies several interlocking problems.

The Democrats, including Foley, don't have their act together, he charges. They have been too timid to test President Bush. "We only politically prosper when we engage the President, put messages on his desk, let him veto them; maybe we can override, maybe we can't. The only way you can force agreement is to let him take the heat and smell the smoke of political gunfire."

Of Foley, he said: "I think Members would just like to see him occasionally pick a partisan fight to help protect us. That's the frustration."

Like many others, Eckart also believes the House moved too far toward decentralization of authority in the 1970s, with the result that legislative paralysis can be cured only by another wave of reform.

"We have balkanized the power of the Congress into dozens of competing fief-



Rep. Dennis E. Eckart, D-Ohio

Richard A. Bloom

... FOR OHIO'S DENNIS ECKART

doms, and thus make it more difficult, absent an ironfisted ruling Speaker, like Jim Wright, to define a congressional agenda. We need to do what [former Rules Committee chairman] Dick Bolling suggested [in 1974], and that is go back and redo our entire committee organization structure to eliminate time-consuming, overlapping jurisdictions.

That might make it easier to pass needed legislation. "We need to show the American people that we are capable of addressing problems," Eckart said. "When we do not have a real agenda, they will focus on what appears to be an agenda—check cashing at the House bank."

But can Members really tackle tough issues? Eckart concedes that pressure from interest groups and constituents makes it harder for legislators to craft solutions that might not completely please anyone but that might address the problem.

"It's what I refer to as the politics of absolutism," he said. "Either you are absolutely with [a particular interest group] or you are absolutely wrong. That has grown since I came here. To step outside the protective cocoon of being the Chamber of Commerce's congressman, or . . . the environmentalist's congressman, you risk drawing withering fire from both sides. The price for sticking your neck out around this place has gotten higher and higher."

Members, meanwhile, hear more and more from their districts. "This place responds to constituents perhaps too well," Eckart said. "We respond to the floods of phone calls and to the mass mailings. If people really knew how intimidated we are. . . ."

Eckart also concedes that the related ills of modern politics—excessive campaign spending, the power of incumbency, "safe seats" created by state legislatures—have eroded voter trust.

"People are frustrated that the process of politics excludes them, that their modest contributions of time and a lawn sign or \$5 at a local fund-raiser are so overwhelmed by the PAC [political action committee] contribution and the TV commercial and the consultant's sage wisdom that they just don't think elections are fair anymore."

The public's solution? Term limits, which Eckart decries because he says it would deprive voters of their democratic right to elect whomever they choose.

Eckart's decision to pack it in offers another piece of evidence that the House is out of whack; it suggests that more than a few Members are dissatisfied with their life, just as voters are with their performance.

He has chosen to leave now, while he's young enough to launch a second career. "There's no reasonable opportunity for me to be committee chairman," he said, "without . . . making a commitment of dozens more years here."

Eckart movingly described the costs of his congressional career on his personal life and the time spent away from his family home in a Virginia suburb of Washington. There is a hint of bitterness, and though he insists it is only one element in his decision, it may be the most compelling one.

Eckart is plainly wistful, for example, about time lost with his son. "Eddie's 12, and I've been home for four 'trick or treats.' Every other October, where am I? I'm in Ohio. 'Hey, I'm doing a great job. Send me back.'"

"In the off-years [when] you have to pass these [appropriation] bills, you get home at 8 or 9 o'clock and you help him wash off his makeup. You look at the pictures of what he was for Halloween."

Eckart admits that it was his decision to put so much into the job and that he might have "defined better the parameters of what I was willing to sacrifice personally for this. But you're young and ambitious, and [reporters are] writing stories about how you are on your way up and you want to fulfill those prophecies."

He's found, however, that it's not so easy to shift career gears. Last August, after deciding not to seek reelection, Eckart treated himself to a rare luxury: a real vacation during part of the August recess. But he couldn't relax.

"It was abysmal for me the first few days. I'd never done it. I was missing a county fair that I had always gone to. And, sure enough, when I came back [to the district] in the last half of August, people kept saying, 'Gosh, we didn't see you at the fair.'"

Though a few minutes earlier, Eckart had gushed about serving his constituents, there was a caustic note in his voice as he described the powerful, intimate pull voters have on their Representatives.

Politics has its price, and even a nice guy like Dennis Eckart has had to pay.

—Christopher Madison

ship. But one event after another has sullied public perceptions of Congress during the past three years.

In the Keating five influence-peddling case, the merits of the charges of unethical conduct and their ultimate resolution tended to be obscured by the spectacle of the Senate system being placed on trial. Add to that two brouhahas over congressional pay raises since 1989, and there is no shortage of live ammunition for critics who portray Congress as the gang that can't shoot straight.

On a tawdry level, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.—the Member of Congress with the most public private life—figured prominently in the Palm Beach (Fla.) incident that led to rape charges being filed against his nephew, William Kennedy Smith. After a trial that turned into a press circus, a jury found Smith not guilty. Donald E. (Buz) Lukens, an obscure House Republican from Ohio, saw his tenure cut short in 1990 after he was convicted of having sex with a teenage girl.

Congressional sex scandals are by no means a new phenomenon, but these incidents—along with other alleged abuses ranging from reports of publicly financed vacation junkets to easily ridiculed pork barrel proposals such as federal money for a Lawrence Welk museum—besmudged an institutional image that was already tarnished. Worse yet, they added to the perception that the privileges of office make lawmakers oblivious to conventional norms and to public sensibilities.

In contrast with often-arcaic legislative disputes, in which public desire to sort out issues and track developments is often limited, personal peccadilloes arouse wide attention. "There's a veritable feeding frenzy out there," Rep. Dennis E. Eckart, D-Ohio, said, "and the Congress is the first entrée on the menu." (For a report on why Eckart is retiring, see box, pp. 120-21. And for a report on why Rep. Peter J. Visclosky, D-Ind., is not, see box, p. 123.)

Nor has the public found a whole lot to cheer about when it has turned its attention to Congress's legislative labors. "What I find over and over again in meeting with constituents is that people think that what we do doesn't affect their daily lives," Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, told reporters. "If the agenda of the American Congress were truly the agenda of the American family, . . . our standing [would] go up."

Perhaps the most tangible public policy debacle of recent years has been the collapse of the newly deregulated savings and loan industry, which will cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars. Although federal laws enacted during the

past decade do not bear full responsibility, they are an easy target."

"None of the chairmen of the Senate or House Banking Committees dealt with the S&L problem [as it began to unfold]," said David Cohen, a veteran liberal lobbyist and co-director of the Washington-based Advocacy Institute. "Congress chooses not to take action when there are no clear-cut remedies."

On an issue in which Congress *did* display leadership, adverse public reaction has left a sobering effect. When lawmakers in 1988 passed a measure expanding

their ethical conduct and their legislative efforts, many Members have criticized the national press for fanning the fires of public cynicism. Some have simply taken the time-honored tack of blaming the messenger for adverse news. Others have complained that some news organizations have abandoned objectivity in their coverage of Congress's problems. Foley, for example, was uncharacteristically harsh when he told reporters that the controversy over abuses of the House bank yielded "the worst, most inaccurate and tendentious reporting in my memory."



Richard A. Blumenthal

"A system originally designed to help Congress to do the public's business has turned into a machine so complex and bewildering that the public doesn't understand it."

—President Bush

insurance coverage for catastrophic illnesses, few expected that support would fizzle when some senior citizens' advocates led a successful drive to repeal that law a year later.

"Given that this was seen as a rational first step" toward further health reforms, a House Democratic leadership aide said, "you can't overestimate the continuing impact from the repeal of the catastrophic insurance law." Members have reacted with obvious caution as they have prepared alternatives in the recent revival of the national health care debate.

In trying to cope with attacks on both

Major changes in the news business in recent years have resulted in a decline in detailed day-to-day legislative coverage by many national outlets—including television and general-circulation magazines. To some extent, the slack has been taken up by the growth of specialized new services in both print and broadcast journalism. Among the consequences have been intensified coverage of both the local aspects of congressional news and the more eye-catching national stories in forums such as television talk shows.

"The problem is not with the coverage of events but how it is used to make the

institution more vulnerable to game-players," said Rep. David R. Obey, D-Wis., a leading student of Congress who has led reform efforts for two decades. "One result is to make Members more careful than they should be."

Vin Weber of Minnesota, secretary of the House Republican Conference, added that press coverage of ethical failings has gone too far. "Society gets along partly because you shield part of peoples' lives," he said. "We have gone way beyond what's useful, for example, in reporting on congressional perks."

Weber added that he had unsuccessfully urged Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia, a close ally, to back away from his aggressive use of the press to spread charges that eventually toppled Wright.

Recent public opinion polls help to explain why lawmakers are worried about their collective image. A national survey by the Times Mirror Center for The People & the Press, released last month, showed that 84 per cent agreed that "elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly," an 11-point increase since 1987.

LEGISLATIVE OPERATIONS

It's not just the public that's troubled by how Washington conducts business. As more and more Members conclude that Congress does not function properly, they find it increasingly difficult to diagnose the problems and agree upon possible remedies.

While voicing little overt support for radical change in congressional operations, some veteran lawmakers have recently joined in the tough criticism. "Many Members believe that the institution does not work very well," Rep. Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., said. He listed, among other problems, overlapping committee jurisdictions, lack of adequate information for Members, misallocation of staff and poor public understanding of what Congress does.

Rep. Willis D. Gradison Jr., R-Ohio, who has joined Hamilton in filing a resolution to create a joint committee to study congressional organization, said that he wants Congress to be able to "take a longer view of things" on such policy issues as education, economic productivity and personal savings rates. "These issues don't fit into our committee jurisdictions and the two-year cycle," he explained.

But other Members of both parties do not agree that the internal study and possible changes Hamilton and Gradison have suggested would have much impact. They contend that Congress's limitations are more fundamental.

"The President acts as head of state

and makes Congress the prime minister," Obey said. "Congress has the responsibility for day-to-day governing. But the public doesn't know that the President [because of his veto power] can govern with the support of one-third" of the Members of either the House or Senate. In the Senate, where Democrats hold 57 seats, it requires 60 votes to move virtually any controversial measure, thanks to increased use of the filibuster tactics.

On any major issue, Obey said, it is unrealistic to expect major change without a strong Bush initiative. "Congress

and policy maneuvering still had to work its course, the corner had been turned on each.

"Congress is truly a deliberative world," said Rep. Philip R. Sharp, D-Ind., in reviewing the handling of the clean air bill. "It is not the natural instinct of people to take on tasks that are not necessary. . . . Bush helped to force the agenda when he made his proposal."

But even when a President leads, divided government doesn't work to everyone's satisfaction. Citing the many explicit requirements in the clean air bill as an

said. "Most people come here highly motivated to do good. But divided government forces lowest-common-denominator solutions and drains the energy out of people. You are forced into a defensive mechanism to avoid making things worse."

In the opinion of Mickey Edwards of Oklahoma, chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, the tendency to settle for suboptimal solutions is accentuated as "Democrats become more convinced that they will never capture the presidency and Republicans fear that they will not win control of Congress."

The 1990 budget and clean air bills demonstrated an increasing reliance on ad hoc legislative deal making. Both measures were handled mostly outside the textbook process of committee hearings and formal drafting sessions. The final versions of the two bills were written in back rooms without exposure to the sunshine of public scrutiny and then passed with relatively little floor debate. For the most part, key Members working on each bill produced a bipartisan deal in the political center, angering some advocates on the political left and right.

The procedural improvising required to enact the two bills is seen by some as an indictment of the existing legislative process. Nine Democrats on the House Energy and Commerce Committee formed their own informal group to study clean air issues for several months and offer their own recommendations. "I see what we have done as the committee structure of the future," Rep. Jim Cooper, D-Tenn., said. "The learning curve for Members needs to be private. . . . You need a sustained focus that you can't get in the formal hearings."

In the Senate, the clean air bill was approved only following an extraordinary monthlong negotiation spearheaded by Mitchell in his private office. The budget agreement was similarly hammered out during months of private talks in settings that included Andrews Air Force Base, Md., and the White House. A striking aspect in each case was the direct involvement of Bush Administration officials in the talks that led up to the preparation of the legislative package.

From the perspective of some Democrats, the budget summit was designed to give cover for Bush's decision to abandon his "no-new-taxes" campaign pledge. "The [Democratic] committee chairmen were there to allow George Bush to change his mind and cover his butt because he had lied to people," Obey said.

Republicans, noting that Democrats had failed to complete a budget on their own terms, contend that Democratic leaders have increased the politicization of Congress. "Virtually every issue that



Richard A. Bloom

"The American public is angry about their government and angry about their Congress. . . . People believe that government is simply not dealing with their basic problems."

—Rep. David R. Obey, D-Wis.

can help to shape the presidential campaign debate," on health care for example, he said. But, his party's inability to win the White House, he added, "has doomed [congressional Democrats] to 10 years of failure."

Probably Congress's two most significant domestic achievements during the past three years followed directly from Bush initiatives—the budget deal and the Clean Air Act, both enacted in 1990. In each case, Congress—in the absence of presidential leadership—had made little progress over the previous decade. Once Bush signed up, though much political

example, David M. Mason, director of the Congress Assessment Project at the conservative Heritage Foundation, complained that "in the past 20 years, Congress has stopped legislating and started managing." He added, "We believe that Congress should set broad policy and let the President administer the details."

Weber expressed a view held by many Members from both parties when he said that divided party control is the underlying problem standing in the way of smoother congressional decision making. "It's hard to solve the bigger frustrations until we end divided government," he

we try to deal with amounts to pure finger pointing by both parties," Edwards said. "It seems that we never transcend politics to deal with real issues."

Another growing concern for Congress is the continuing tension between party leaders and committee chairmen in setting and carrying out their party's agenda. The abrupt switch in House Speakers, from the combative Wright to the more-accommodating Foley, who is more at ease with the workings of divided government, has pointed up Members' ambivalence about whether they want strong centralized leadership.

But the independence of committee chairmen is also subject to second-guessing. The House Democratic Caucus stripped two committee chairmen of their positions at the start of the current Congress. And several influential Democrats, led by Rep. Dave McCurdy, D-Okla., have filed a bill setting an eight-year limit for chairmen and giving the Speaker a stronger hand in their selection. (See *NJ*, 12/7/91, p. 2979.)

"The utility of McCurdy's proposal is that it sends signals to committee chairmen that they are forewarned about their status," an influential Democrat said. "In the future, there will be fewer one-man bands" as chairmen.

NONELECTIONS

As the perception—by both Members and observers of Congress—of legislative paralysis has spread, so too has the sense—on the part of both camps—that congressional elections are increasingly becoming meaningless.

Although the 15 House incumbents—9 Republicans, 6 Democrats—defeated in November 1990 exceeded the total who lost in the two previous general elections, the reelection rate still was 96 per cent. Only one Senator lost his reelection bid in 1990. Those success rates were striking, given that opinion polls at the same time revealed strong public unhappiness over Washington's budget shenanigans.

Perhaps a more relevant statistic was the 3.9-percentage-point drop in the average vote for incumbents, to 64.5 per cent, the lowest level since 1974, according to Gary C. Jacobson, a political scientist at the University of California (San Diego). "Luckily for incumbents of both parties, the action on deficit reduction came so late that voters had only limited vehicles (acceptable replacements) for venting their displeasure, and few Members lost their seats," Jacobson wrote. "Incumbents may not be so lucky in 1992."

It remains to be seen how many serious challenges to incumbents there will be this year, with redistricting and the presidential campaign. But some experts are

worried about the continuing trend toward noncompetitive contests. Most incumbents in 1990 ~~seed~~ ^{faced} challengers who did not spend enough money to establish their own credibility. In 78 House and 4 Senate elections, there was no major-party opponent at all.

"In the legislatures of the land, especially in the U.S. House of Representatives, incumbency reigns supreme," Elaine Ciulla Kamarck of the Progressive Policy Institute wrote in a paper prepared for a recent conference at DePauw University's center for contemporary media.

"Divided government forces lowest-common-denominator solutions and drains [Congress]."

—Rep. Vin Weber, R-Minn.

"If the electoral system cannot respond to discontent, and if it is failing to provide alternatives, then something is, indeed, wrong with American democracy."

The participants at the conference—which was entitled "Why Are Elections Over Before the Polls Open?"—approved a set of "solutions" to encourage competitive campaigns. Among them were well-worn proposals such as free TV time for all candidates, increased candidate accountability for their campaign advertisements and tax credits for small campaign contributions. They also endorsed more-innovative measures, including four-year terms for House Members and a ballot enabling voters to reject all candidates by marking "Favor a new election."

House and Senate Democrats, meanwhile, have passed separate measures imposing spending limits and providing public subsidies for candidates. Even if they resolve their differences this year in a conference committee, Bush has said that he would veto such a measure, thus continuing the long-running efforts to reform campaign finance rules.

REFORM OUTLOOK

Some congressional problems can be self-correcting. If, for example, the voters oust a few well-heeled incumbents in spite of their financial advantage, or if an

improved economy shifts public attention to other arenas, some of the current discontent with Congress may subside.

But two movements—one internal, the other external—suggest that congressional shortcomings have become conspicuous enough to require attempts at corrective action no matter what happens. Sen. David L. Boren, D-Okla.—joined by Sen. Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., and Reps. Hamilton and Gradison—filed a resolution last July calling for the creation of a joint House-Senate committee on the organization of Congress. At the time, Boren said that he hoped the panel would begin its study in the fall and submit its proposals by the end of 1992.

But the proposal has progressed no further than a relatively friendly hearing before the Senate Rules and Administration Committee in November. Its proponents have encountered objections from Foley, who has expressed concern that past reform efforts have been divisive and have immobilized the House; he also objects to addressing the separate problems of the House and Senate in a single study. Acknowledging internal resistance, supporters pushed back their timetable by at least one year.

In meetings during the recent congressional recess, Hamilton and Gradison received more-positive signals from leaders of both parties. Foley reportedly gave his OK to a House Rules Committee hearing on the study proposal, which has gained some political muscle because of its 136 co-sponsors, including 80 Democrats. In the past, he has favored incremental reforms prepared by the Democratic Caucus with little in the way of public involvement.

Mann, meanwhile, hopes to proceed this year with fellow congressional scholar Norman J. Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) with a comprehensive study, which would be sponsored jointly by Brookings and AEI. "We hope to commission some research and essays and hold conferences and roundtable discussions," Mann said, and submit an independent report to the congressional joint committee, once it is established.

The growing support for the studies, in part, is a defensive response to the attacks on Congress. It also provides an alternative to more-radical proposals, such as term limits for lawmakers.

Whether this approach will satisfy the political pressures generated by congressional critics and the public will depend partly on how well Congress manages to clean up its act—both legislatively and ethically—this year. November's election returns may send a signal as to how well it is doing. ■

HOUSE REPAIRS

What We'll Do When We Reach Majority

ROBERT H. MICHEL, DICK ARMEY, AND WILLIAM F. GOODLING

Would it make much difference if the House of Representatives were controlled by the Republican Party instead of the Democrats who have run it since January 1955? *Policy Review* asked Robert H. Michel, Republican minority leader, what he would do differently if he were Speaker of the House. We similarly asked ranking Republican members of more than a dozen committees and subcommittees what they would do differently if they became chairman of their committee or subcommittee. Lawrence Coughlin, ranking Republican on the transportation appropriations subcommittee, said he was happy with the way the Democrats ran his subcommittee and would do nothing to change it. Most other Republicans we invited declined to respond. We print responses from Minority Leader Michel, Dick Armey, ranking Republican on the Joint Economic Committee, and William F. Goodling, ranking Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee.

ROBERT H. MICHEL

...As Speaker Robert H. Michel received the gavel symbolizing his new office he told his colleagues, "from now on we will do unto ourselves what we have heretofore done unto others." Michel referred to the fact that the House is not subject to a wide-ranging number of laws, from the Social Security Act of 1935 to the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988, including the Freedom of Information Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. "The House will under my speakership be obliged to abide by all the laws, rules, and regulations that we impose upon the American people legislatively," Michel said.

—Front page, Washington Post, January 3, 1993

A fantasy? Perhaps, but I believe the public's disgust with the way Congress operates makes it possible for the first time in many years for a Republican majority to be formed in the House of Representatives. Overgrown staffs and underhanded procedures, irresponsible budgets and irrational schedules, the arrogance of unlimited power and the power of unchecked privileges—

these are the legacy of Democratic control of the House of Representatives for 55 of the past 59 years.

House Republicans claim no monopoly on legislative or ethical virtue, but we alone can provide the will and the vision to rid the House of decades of institutional decay and decline, and create a new Hill order. The Democrats have had their chance, and have failed.

A Republican majority would embark on a truly conservative revolution in the House, for our goal would be to *restore* the institutional virtues that have been lost, *preserve* the strengths that have survived, and direct the energies of the House to enhance and protect traditional American values.

As Speaker of the House, I would in the first 100 days lay out a program for broad, comprehensive reform of the House's procedures and practices, and guarantee prompt and expeditious consideration of all the great issues of the day. A Republican-controlled House would work *with* a Republican president, not thwart his efforts, as the Democratic majority has done on every major issue from the war in the Gulf to a highway bill.

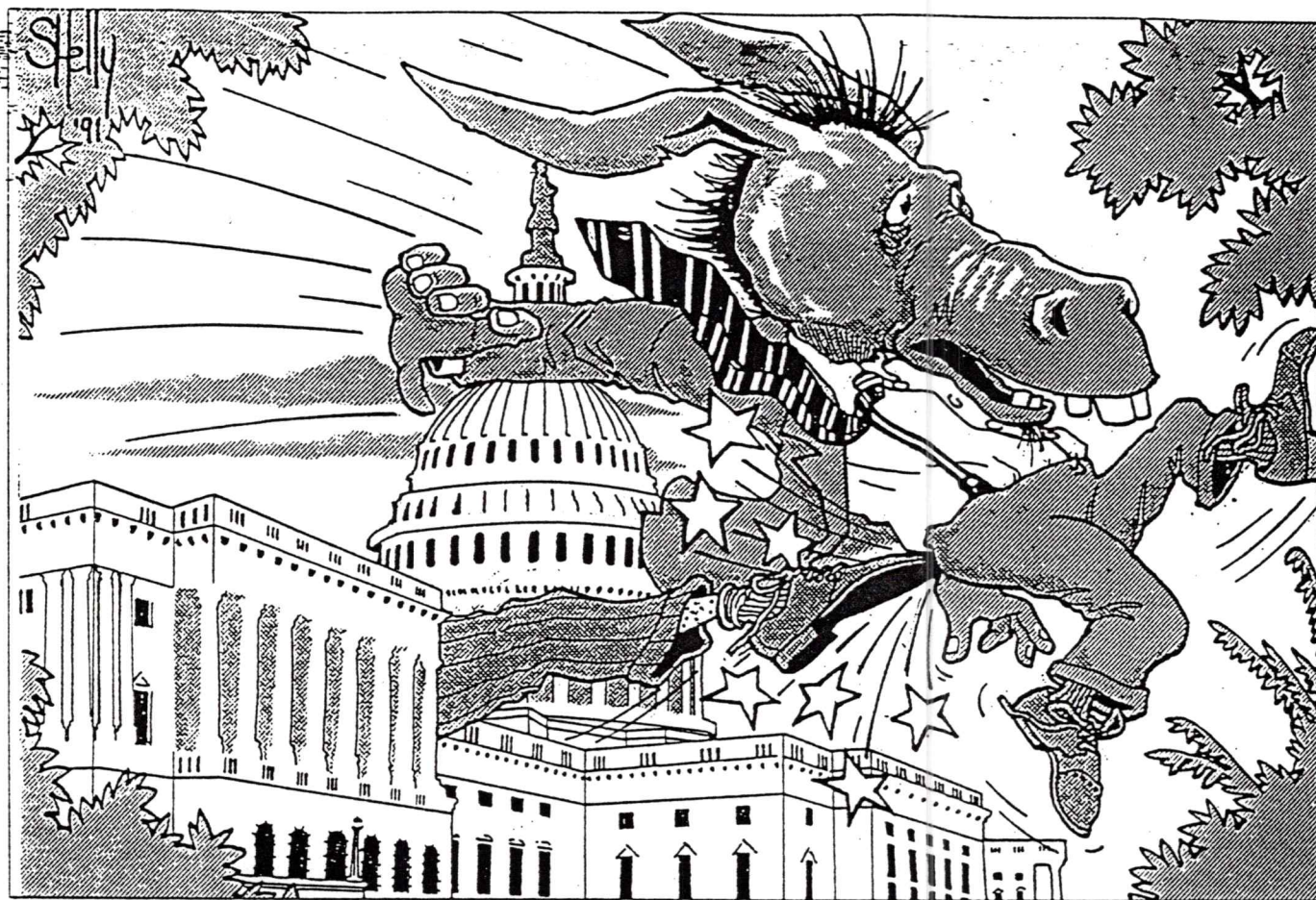
But exciting as such a program might seem, it would be impossible to pass unless Republicans first take control of the legislative machinery of the House.

While the often volatile nature of the legislative process does not always lend itself to the managerial disciplines of business, there is absolutely no excuse for the House to be the kind of bureaucratic monstrosity it has become.

In the 35 years I have been a congressman—all as a member of the minority—the House has changed from a relatively small and efficient institution into a chaotic, bureaucratic empire of 11,000 staff members, and 1,800 support staff, including shademakers, venetian blind technicians, and upholsterers, not to mention 27 committees and 136 subcommittees.

The congressional staff—House and Senate—is nine times larger than the second-largest legislative staff in the world, that of the Canadian parliament. In 1960, three years after I became a member, the legislative budget was \$131 million. In 1990, it was \$2.24 billion—an increase of 1,610 percent.

As a majority, Republicans would cut committee staffs



Drawing by Shelly Fischman for Policy Review

in half, which would save at least \$26 million. We would get rid of most of the select committees and drastically reduce the number of subcommittees.

In order to make the House more responsive I would insure that all controversial bills come to the floor with rules guaranteeing free and open debate. One of the worst outrages of Democratic Party domination has been its insistence upon closed or semi-closed rules, effectively disenfranchising millions of Americans, who lose the chance to have their representatives offer amendments. When I first came to the House, civil rights bills were debated for days, not hours. In 1977, 85 percent of all rules were open rules. By 1990, that figure had fallen to 45 percent. The phrase "free and open debate" becomes meaningless when the chance for such debate is effectively eliminated by closed rules.

I would also establish a more orderly schedule for the consideration of legislation. The current process of doing very little in the early part of the year and then cramming important legislation into the very end of the schedule is not conducive to thoughtful legislating.

If all of these reforms strike some as being "merely" structural or procedural changes, I can only say that in the House, structure determines process, form dictates substance, and procedure shapes outcomes.

The cancer eating at the House is the inability or unwillingness on the part of the Democrats to undertake a comprehensive House reform, from the rules that govern the House to the rules that govern our elections.

The reforms that the House needs are varied, and I

have touched on just a few of them. As Speaker of the House I would have the scope—and the majority—to undertake the first comprehensive reform of Congress in modern times. I look forward to it.

ROBERT H. MICHEL, of Illinois, is minority leader of the U.S. House of Representatives.

DICK ARMEY

As a professional economist, I'd relish the challenge of chairing Congress's Joint Economic Committee, and would assume the position acutely aware of the need to reform this committee. In light of the recent election returns from New Jersey, where the Democratic majority in both state house and senate were shown the door by tax-weary voters, there's some hope that in the next Congress this question may become more than simply rhetorical. In the meantime, I'll look at it from the perspective of "king for a day," and here's how I'd work from morning 'til night.

9 A.M.—Breakfast with the 44-member staff to tell a dozen of them they'll need to find gainful employment elsewhere. Like most congressional committees, the JEC is overstaffed. I'd reduce the staff size and use the budget savings to purchase better computer hardware and software to enable the professional economists to conduct sound analysis.

Once the committee was properly staffed and

equipped, I would work to make it the source of some of the most respected economic analysis in Washington, rather than a forum for the politics of the majority party. The staff would have to understand that this is not the Joint Political Committee, but the Joint Economic Committee, and they should go about their jobs accordingly.

Pro-Growth Proposals

10:30—Meet with the other majority members of the committee to outline the issues we can most directly affect. The JEC does not write legislation, authorize or appropriate spending, and has no oversight authority. It is the closest thing to a "think tank" inside Congress, and its members are freed from the nuts-and-bolts detail work that consumes so much time and energy on other committees. It should deal in the realm of ideas, and its unique mandate should be exploited to explore economic notions.

With a Republican majority, the JEC could lead the way in pursuing desperately needed regulatory and economic reforms. Pro-growth tax proposals such as an indexed and progressively preferential capital gains rate, privatization, regulatory reform, freer labor laws, a free market in agriculture and communications, reform of entitlement spending, and freer world trade are all issues that could be explored if control of Congress were wrested from the Democrats and the special-interest groups to which they are beholden.

Nascent economic ideas like gold-backed bonds or the negative income tax could be examined just out of curiosity. In the first 10 months of 1991, the committee Democrats held 48 hearings, well over one per week. Just about all of them merely rehashed tired rhetoric from other standing committees.

The impact that historically high taxation as a percentage of the gross national product has on our economy, stifling regulations in the communications industry, and antiquated labor laws that serve more to enhance the well-being of lawyers than workers would all make for interesting hearings. While hearings like this would be less frequent, the committee's economists would produce more studies, reports, and economic analyses.

Noon—Lunch with the Ranking Democrat (that has a nice ring to it) to discuss minority rights on the JEC, agreeing on the ways in which we'll disagree. Free and open debate is good for the process, and the minority members would be provided two weeks' notice for hearings and allowed one witness for every two the majority party provides.

Any study or report issued in the name of the Joint Economic Committee would include views from the Democrats in the minority. (Today, Republicans have to resort to separate minority reports.) The best thing Republicans can do is put our economic policies and ideas right next to those of the Democrats and let the public decide which are better.

Disavowing Flawed Studies

2 P.M.—Press conference to set the record straight on past issuances from the JEC that turned out to be inaccurate, starting by disavowing a series of JEC studies and

press releases issued by then-chairman David Obey in 1985 and 1986.

These studies purported to show the loss of millions of manufacturing jobs, the creation of mostly low-paying jobs in the '80s, and a big boost in wealth for those in the top income bracket. Unfortunately, these studies were riddled with factual inaccuracies, and were misleading to boot. The infamous wealth study, for example, contained a \$2-trillion error, the largest in congressional history, and the JEC is still reeling from this blow to its credibility.

On another occasion, JEC Democrats leaked confidential, but erroneous, data on manufacturing jobs to the *Washington Post*. Only when confronted at a hearing did the chairman admit that the report was leaked, and furthermore that it was riddled with inaccuracies. Regrettably, the transcript of the public hearing, with its embarrassing revelations, has never been published. As chairman, I would not allow such public information to be suppressed.

Dynamic Analysis

3:30—Call Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer (R-TX) to discuss the need for dynamic economic analysis of tax proposals. As the primary sponsor of a capital-gains rate reduction, Bill knows that tax initiatives that lead to job creation are a net revenue gainer for the federal treasury.

The current revenue-estimating process relies on "static" models, which view the economy as a finite pie to be cut and distributed. Proponents of static revenue estimates fail to realize that taxes affect the size of the pie, that tax incentives such as a preferential capital-gains rate make the pie grow, and \$160 billion in new taxes like those contained in the last budget deal make the pie shrink.

By ignoring such real economic effects, government budget forecasters consistently overestimate the revenue gain from a tax increase while discounting the economic growth generated by a tax cut. Since government spending is based not on actual receipts but on projected revenue, the Congressional Budget Office must constantly adjust its deficit projections upward, with the latest such "technical reestimate" lowering revenue projections (and thus raising deficit projections) by \$77 billion over the next six years. Of course, there really is no "technical reestimate" of revenues, as this figure is simply the residual after known deficit factors are accounted for.

Forcing a redefinition of the way the government goes about projecting the effects of taxation would help the JEC reclaim its once prominent position as a focus of economic initiative on Capitol Hill.

6:30—Meet with the chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers to discuss the direction of the economy. Because the JEC was established in 1946 as the legislative equivalent of the president's CEA, a little dialogue between us would be healthy.

Under the current division of government, contact between the administration and the committee's majority is limited to testimony on the Hill, on which occasions the Democrats flog administration officials before the cameras of C-SPAN. If Republicans controlled

Congress and the White House, the interaction could be much more productive.

Together, the JEC and the CEA could press for better data from agencies such as the Congressional Budget Office, the Joint Committee on Taxation, and the Departments of Commerce and Labor. For Congress and the administration to make sound economic decisions requires a good database. Unfortunately, much of our database is antiquated because it was designed to measure the economy of America's past, not its present and future economy.

DICK ARMEY, of Texas, is the ranking Republican on the Joint Economic Committee.

WILLIAM F. GOODLING

A former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Joe Cannon, once said, "The pendulum will swing back." I look forward to the day it does. There are many things I would do differently were I chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee.

To begin with, the committee would be run with less staff—perhaps a third less—and at lower cost. We have learned to effectively make do with less as the minority in Congress since Eisenhower's presidency and I would apply those same principles of efficiency to Republicans in a majority.

While it would be tempting to adopt the same rules of convenience presently used by the majority, government must represent all Americans. I have often seen instances when we in the minority have strengthened laws that have been reported by this committee. I would enhance, rather than limit, the ability of the minority to play that role.

Similarly, a more rational approach to the legislative process needs to be adopted. For example, committee members should be given five days to review any legislation in advance of a vote. They should also be required to cast their vote in person, or not at all. Both of these requirements would add to the quality of committee deliberations.

Are Our Labor Laws Working?

Moving to the labor field, many individuals come to Congress thinking the best way to make a name for themselves is to introduce and quickly pass controversial legislation. Unfortunately, this attitude prevents a thorough exploration of whether a problem is serious enough to demand a federal solution, or whether the legislation even properly addresses the perceived problem. While this criticism can be accurately directed at Congress as a whole, it is most obviously applicable in the labor field, where partisan emotions and slogans often take the place of rational debate.

One of my first initiatives as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee would, therefore, be to expand the oversight responsibilities of the committee to

explore—through hearings—the question of how well the laws we pass are working. Do they accomplish what they were intended to accomplish? What problems have been created, perhaps foreseeable at the time of passage, that need to be addressed? Similarly, I would encourage more deliberative hearings in evaluating the merits of legislation before passing laws in the first place.

I would also encourage cooperation among government, labor, and business wherever possible in labor legislation. This approach has worked well in programs such as the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), and could do much to ensure the optimal efficiency and effectiveness of our labor laws and policies.

I would also work to cover Congress under all labor laws; the institution may learn a few things if it is forced to comply with the laws we impose on the rest of society.

These may seem mundane, obvious concepts; unfortunately, they are rarely followed on Capitol Hill. Indeed, the hearings that do occur are usually orchestrated toward some pre-ordained result—such as placing the administration in the worst possible light—rather than a balanced, objective analysis of what is going on in the real world.

Bipartisan Education Policy

In contrast to federal labor policy, Republicans and Democrats have tended to work in a bipartisan fashion on education policy. As a result, I have been generally pleased with the education laws enacted during my tenure on the committee.

Even so, looking to the future, if I were setting the committee's education agenda, I would begin to move in a new direction. President Bush and Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander have both been preaching the need to take a hard look at our nation's schools and to make fundamental changes in the way they operate. The president and secretary are building upon a grass-roots movement that is pressing our schools to deliver better education to all students.

The implications of this movement for the committee and Congress are profound. We need to move beyond, but not abandon, programs that serve targeted populations and define a federal role geared toward improving all schools for all students.

A top priority would be to develop national education goals and standards without losing the strength of local control and diversity. I would also try to use the limited federal dollars that go into education to leverage change at the state and local level. Finally, I would make a major effort to amend current laws so education and other human development programs could be coordinated more easily at the local level. This could be accomplished by allowing state and local programs more flexibility in running programs so long as the goals of the programs continue to be met.

WILLIAM F. GOODLING, of Pennsylvania's 19th district, is ranking minority member on the House Committee on Education and Labor.

SUMMARY OF HOUSE COMMITTEE REFORMS
PROPOSED BY THE HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

- (1) **Committee Jurisdiction Realignment** -- The Rules Committee would be directed to study and report to the House within one year its recommendations for realigning committee jurisdictions along more rational and functional lines to eliminate duplication, overlap and inefficiencies in the present system.
- (2) **Oversight Reform** -- Committees would be required to formally adopt and submit to the House Administration Committee by March 1st of the first session their oversight plans for that Congress. It would not be in order to consider the funding resolution for any committee which does not submit its oversight plans as required. The House Administration Committee, after consultation with the majority and minority leaders, would report the plans to the House by March 15th together with its recommendations, and those of the joint leadership group to assure coordination between committees. The Speaker would be authorized to appoint ad hoc oversight committees for specific tasks from the membership of committees with shared jurisdiction. Committee would be required to include an oversight section in their final activity report at the end of a Congress.
- (3) **Elimination of Joint Bill Referral** -- The joint referral of bills to two or more committees would be abolished, while split and sequential referrals would be retained, subject to time limits and designation by the Speaker of a committee of principal jurisdiction.
- (4) **Early Committee Organization** -- Committees must be elected within seven legislative days of the convening of a new Congress and must hold their organizational meeting not later than three legislative days after their election.
- (5) **Party Ratios** -- The party ratios on committees would be required to reflect that of the full House (except for the Standards Committee which is bipartisan). The requirement would extend to select and conference committees as well.
- (6) **Subcommittee Limits** -- No committee (except Appropriations) could have more than six subcommittees, and no Member could have more than four subcommittee assignments.
- (7) **Proxy Voting Ban** -- All proxy voting on committees would be prohibited.
- (8) **Open Committee Meetings** -- Committee meetings, which can now be closed for any reason, could only be closed for national security, personal privacy, or personnel reasons.

Summary/2

- (9) **Majority Quorums** -- A majority of the membership of a committee would be required for the transaction of any business.
- (10) **Report Accountability** -- Committee reports on bills would be required to include the names of those members voting for and against reporting a bill or, in the case of a non-record vote, the names of those members actually present when the bill is ordered reported.
- (11) **Committee Documents** -- Any committee prints or documents to be made available to the public which have not been approved by the committee must contain a disclaimer to that effect on their cover, may not contain the names of committee members other than the chairman authorizing the printing, and may not be made public until at least three days after they have been circulated to committee members.
- (12) **Foreign Travel Reports** -- All Members and staff taking part in foreign travel at House expense would be required to disclose their official itinerary (including meetings, interviews, functions, inspections) by country and date, in addition to currently required expense disclosure, and such reports would be available for public inspection in the offices of each committee not later than 60-days after the completion of travel.
- (13) **Committee Staffing** -- Committee funding resolutions could not be considered until the House has first adopted a resolution from the House Administration Committee setting an overall limit on committee staffing for the session. The minority would not be entitled to up to one-third of the investigative staff funds on request. The overall committee staff limit for the 102nd Congress could not be more than 90% of the total at the end of the 101st Congress.
- (14) **Intelligence Committee Oath** -- Members and staff of the Select Committee on Intelligence would be required to take an oath that they will not directly or indirectly disclose to any unauthorized person any classified information received in the course of their duties except by the approval of the committee or of the House.

(Note: For the full text of these amendments to House Rules, see the Congressional Record of January 3, 1991, pp. H 9-13,)

SUMMARY OF COMPARATIVE DATA ON THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- (1) **Time in Session** -- The House in the 101st Congress was in session 281 days, 61 days less than the 91st Congress and 25 days less than the 96th. At the same time, the 101st Congress averaged six hours a day, compared with 4.6 hours a day for the 91st Congress, and 5.8 hours a day for the 96th (Table 1.).
- (2) **Legislative Output** -- The House in the 101st Congress reported 635 public measures -- 502 (44%) less than the 91st Congress and 243 measures (28%) less than the 96th. It passed 968 measures, 162 (14%) fewer than the 96th and 39 bills (4%) more than the 96th (Table 1.).

Whereas the 101st Congress did not act on 66 reported measures (10% of the total), 61 reported measures (5%) were not acted on by the 91st Congress, and 131 (15%) were not acted on by the 96th Congress.

- (3) **Commemorative v. Substantive Enactments** -- The 101st Congress enacted 232 commemoratives or 36% of all public laws -- 164 more commemoratives than enacted by the 91st Congress and 136 more than the 96th. That left 418 substantive enactments in the 101st Congress -- 209 substantive laws (33%) less than the 91st Congress and 99 (19%) less than the 96th Congress (Table 1.).
- (4) **Committees, Subcommittees, Staff and Costs** -- The number of standing committee has remained relatively constant over the last 20-years -- 21 in the 91st, and 22 in the 96th and 101st Congress -- the number of subcommittees has risen from 136 to 158 over those two decades -- a 40% increase. The number of committee staff over that period has risen 186%, from 738 to 2,109. And the costs of operating the House has risen 457% in 20-years, from \$203 million to \$1.13 billion (Table 1.).
- (5) **Proxy Voting** -- Of the 22 standing and 5 select committees in the House in the 101st Congress, 22 permitted proxy voting and only 5 prohibited it (Table 2.).
- (6) **One-Third Quorums** -- Of the House standing and select committees in the 101st Congress, 18 had rules permitting one-third of the membership to transact all business except reporting a measure, while only 9 required a majority (Table 2.).
- (7) **Member & Staff Party Ratios on Committees** -- Whereas Democrats comprised 60% of the House membership in the 101st Congress, they held an average of 61% of the committee and select committee seats (*excluding the Standards Committee which is 50-50). And majority staff averaged 76% of all staff on the standing and select committees. Finally, the average committee ratio of staff to Members was 1.9 to 1, with one committee weighing in with a staff to Member ratio of #.6 to 1 (Budget), one at 3.4 to 1 (Post Office, and two at 3.3 to 1 (Appropriations and Energy and Commerce (Table 3.).

Table 1.

**COMPARATIVE LEGISLATIVE DATA FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
(91ST, 96TH, & 101ST CONGRESSES)**

<u>Item</u>	<u>91st Congress (1969-70)</u>	<u>96th Congress (1979-80)</u>	<u>101st Congress (1989-90)</u>
Days in session ¹	350	326	281
Hours in session ¹	1,613	1,876	1,688
Average hours per day	4.6	5.8	6.0
Total public measures reported ¹	1,137	878	635
Public measures reported but not acted upon ¹	61	131	66
Total public measures passed ¹	1,130	929	968
Unreported measures passed as % of total	4.8%	19.6%	41.2%
Total public laws enacted ¹	695	613	650
Average pages per statute ²	4.2	8.1	N/A
Commemoratives enacted ³	68	96	232
Commemoratives as % of total enactments	9.8%	15.7%	36%
Substantive laws (total minus commemoratives) ³	627	517	418
Rollcall votes ⁴	443	672	878
Average votes per measure passed ⁵	3.8	2.2	1.6
<i>Congressional Record</i> pages of House proceedings	25,855	25,079	23,160
Average <i>Record</i> pages per measure passed ⁵	15	17	17
House Standing Committees	21	22	22
Select Committees ⁶	2	5	5
Subcommittees ⁷	136	158	158
House Committee Staff ⁸	738	2,017	2,109
House Appropriations ⁹ (in millions)	203.1	645.9	1,129

TABLE 1.

ENDNOTES

1. Data taken from "Resume of Congressional Activity," Daily Digest, *Congressional Record*, & *House Calendars*, 91st, 96th, and 101st Congresses. "Public measures" are bills and joint resolutions of a public nature, and do not include private bills, nor do they include simple or concurrent resolutions.
2. Source: "Indicators of House of Representatives Workload & Activity," CRS Report for Congress by Roger H. Davidson and Carol Hardy, June 8, 1987 (Rept. 87-492 S).
3. Commemoratives are isolated here as a subcategory of public laws, to be distinguished from more substantive enactments. The term "commemoratives" includes proclamations, commemorations, memorials, naming, coins and medals, and recognitions. Source: "Commemorative Legislation," by Stephen W. Stathis & Barbara L. Schwemle, Congressional Research Service, March 30, 1990 (Rept. No. 90-183 GOV).
4. "Rollcall Votes" include yea and nay votes and recorded votes, but not recorded quorum calls. Prior to 1971, recorded votes were not permitted on amendments in the Committee of the Whole. Sources: Daily Digest, "Resume of Congressional Activity," final *Congressional Record* for 91st, 96th, and 101st Congresses.
5. "Measures passed" here includes not only bills and joint resolutions, but simple and concurrent resolutions as well.
6. Select committees include an ad hoc legislative committee in the 96th Congress.
7. Subcommittees include the subcommittees, panels and task forces of standing and select committees. Sources: Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984-85, by Ornstein, by Mann, Malbin, Schick and Bibby, (AEI), 1984); Congressional Staff Directory, 1990, Ann Brownson, editor (Staff Directories, Ltd.:1990).
8. Figures for staff include statutory and investigative staff of all House standing and select committees plus HIS staff. Sources: Vital Statistics on Congress, 1984-85, *op. cit.*; Congressional Staff Directory, 1970, 1980, 1990; House Administration Committee minority staff for 101st Congress; Report of the Clerk of the House, April-June, 1990 (House Doc. 101-230).
9. Figures represent the budget authority appropriated for the House in the Legislative Branch Appropriations bills for the 91st (FY 1969-70), 96th (FY 1979-80), and 101st (FY 1989-90) Congresses. Sources: "U.S. House of Representatives and Senate: Budget Authority FY 1962-FY 1988," by Paul Dwyer, Congressional Research Service (Rept. No. 88-260 GOV); Budget of the U.S., Fiscal 1991; and Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1991, House Report 101-648.

TABLE 2.

HOUSE COMMITTEE SURVEY - 101ST CONGRESS

<u>Committee</u>	<u>Proxy Voting¹</u>	<u>½ Quorums²</u>	<u># of Sub- Committees⁴</u>	<u># Staff 1990⁵</u>	<u>Investigative Staff Budget 1990⁶</u>
Agriculture	Yes	Yes ³	8	68	\$ 2,016,015
Appropriations	No	No	13	190	N/A ⁷
Armed Services	Yes	Yes	12	68	2,070,657
Banking	Yes	Yes	8	105	4,045,000
Budget	Yes	No	6	112	N/A ⁷
District of Columbia	Yes	Yes	3	40	324,512
Education & Labor	Yes	Yes	8	120	3,686,681
Energy & Commerce	Yes	Yes	6	141	5,491,231
Foreign Affairs	Yes	Yes	8	100	3,369,145
Government Operations	Yes	Yes	7	86	3,062,942
House Administration HIS	Yes	Yes	7	65 231	1,505,000
Interior	Yes	Yes	6	64	1,873,875
Judiciary	Yes	Yes	7	79	2,189,205
Merchant Marine	Yes	Yes	6	78	2,211,483
Post Office	Yes	Yes	7	78	1,737,075
Public Works	Yes	Yes	6	81	2,630,875
Rules	No	No	2	40	672,413
Science & Technology	Yes	Yes	7	77	2,637,645
Small Business	Yes	Yes	6	51	1,066,395
Standards Official Conduct	No	No	0	8	500,000
Veterans Affairs	No	No	5	38	719,458
Ways & Means	Yes	No	6	82	4,098,565
<u>Select Committees</u>					
Aging	Yes	Yes	6	35	1,481,499
Children, Youth, Families	Yes	No	0	17	734,479
Hunger	Yes	No	2	14	628,505
Intelligence	No	No	3	25	305,000
Narcotics	Yes	Yes	0	16	700,770
<u>TOTALS</u>	Yes - 22 No - 5	Yes - 18 No - 9	158	2,109	\$56,787,425

TABLE 2.

ENDNOTES

1. House Rule XI, clause 2(f) permits proxy voting in committee if authorized by written rule adopted by the committee. Source for survey on proxies: "Rules Adopted by the Committees of the House of Representatives, 101st Congress," Rules Committee Print.
2. House Rule XI, clause 2(h) permits committees other than Appropriations, Budget, and Ways and Means, to set the quorum for doing business other than reporting measures, issuing subpoenas, and closing meetings and hearings, at not less than one-third of the membership. Source: same as #1.
3. The Agriculture Committee permits a chairman to set a one-third quorum rule if notice is given in advance of a meeting.
4. This figure includes long-term task forces and panels (more than 6 months). Sources: House Phone Directory (Spring, 1988); Congressional Staff Directory.
5. This figure includes statutory and investigative staff. Sources: House Administration Committee; House Phone Directory (Summer, 1990); Clerk's Report, (April-June, 1990); and Congressional Staff Directory.
6. This figure consists only of the money authorized through committee investigative expense resolutions and does not include funding for the 30 staffers (18 professional and 12 clerical staff) each committee is authorized by House rule and statute, and which are funded through the appropriations process. Source: Report on Committee Expense Resolution, 1990, H.Res. 346 (H.Rpt. 101-419), Committee on House Administration, March 9, 1988.
7. The Committees on Appropriations and Budget receive no investigative staff funds and instead are funded entirely through the appropriations process under an open-ended statutory authorization.

TABLE 3.

MEMBER & STAFF RATIOS ON HOUSE COMMITTEES - 101ST CONGRESS

<u>Committee</u>	<u>Total Members</u>	<u>Party Ratio Dem / Rep # / %</u>	<u>Total Staff</u>	<u>Staff Ratio Dem / Rep # / %</u>	<u>Staff: Member Ratio</u>
Agriculture	45	27/18 60/40	68	47/21 69/31	1.5:1
Appropriations	57	35/22 61/39	190	145/45 76/24	3.3:1
Armed Services	53	32/21 60/40	68	N/A	1.3:1
Banking	50	30/20 60/40	105	84/21 80/20	2.1:1
Budget	35	21/14 60/40	112	87/25 78/22	3.2:1
District of Columbia	11	7/4 64/36	40	30/10 75/25	3.6:1
Education & Labor	34	21/13 62/38	120	92/28 77/23	3.5:1
Energy & Commerce	43	26/17 60/40	141	119/22 84/16	3.3:1
Foreign Affairs	44	26/18 59/41	100	76/24 76/24	2.3:1
Government Operations	39	24/15 62/38	86	71/15 83/17	2.2:1
House Administration	21	13/8 62/38	65	55/10 85/15	3.1:1
Interior	37	23/14 62/38	64	46/18 72/28	1.7:1
Judiciary	35	21/14 60/40	79	65/14 82/18	2.3:1
Merchant Marine	45	27/18 60/40	78	57/21 73/27	1.7:1
Post Office	23	14/9 61/39	78	58/20 74/26	3.4:1
Public Works	50	30/20 60/40	81	53/28 65/35	1.6:1
Rules	13	9/4 69/31	40	28/12 70/30	3.1:1
Science & Technology	49	30/19 61/39	77	59/18 77/23	1.6:1
Small Business	44	27/17 61/39	51	38/17 75/25	1.2:1
Standards Official Conduct	12	6/6 50/50	8	6/2 75/25	0.6:1
Veterans Affairs	34	21/13 62/38	38	26/12 68/32	1.1:1
Ways & Means	36	23/13 64/36	82	61/21 74/26	2.3:1
<u>Select Committees</u>					
Aging	64	38/26 59/41	35	24/11 69/31	0.5:1
Children, Youth, Families	30	18/12 60/40	17	12/5 71/29	0.5:1
Hunger	29	18/11 62/38	14	9/5 64/36	0.5:1
Intelligence	19	12/7 63/37	25	20/5 80/20	1.3:1
Narcotics	29	17/12 59/41	16	11/5 69/31	0.6:1

Sources: Committee on House Administration; House of Representatives Telephone Directory; Congressional Staff Directory.

Note: At the outset of the 101st Congress, there were 259 Democrats and 176 Republicans, giving the majority a 60% to 40% share of House seats

Major Crime Bill Proposals

Death Penalty

-- Workable federal death penalty for murders implicating federal interests or responsibilities, including substantially all drug-related murders.

-- Workable federal death penalty for certain non-homicidal offenses: "drug kingpin," treason, espionage.

Habeas Corpus

-- General reforms for both capital and non-capital cases: Rule of deference to reasonable state court adjudications of petitioner's claims, arrived at through constitutionally adequate procedures (deference to "full and fair" state court adjudications). Time limit for federal habeas filing by state prisoners. Time limit for filing of § 2255 motions by federal prisoners.

-- Additional safeguards against delay and abuse ("Powell Committee" procedures) in capital cases for states extending right to appointed counsel to collateral proceedings: Time limits for concluding adjudication of capital habeas petitions. Prohibition of second and successive petitions except where new claim is raised that casts doubt on factual guilt and cause is shown for failure to raise the claim earlier.

-- Equalization of capital habeas funding. Requires provision of funds to state attorneys general or prosecutors for habeas corpus litigation in capital cases in amount equal to federal funding provided to capital defense resource centers.

Exclusionary Rule

-- General objective reasonableness ("good faith") exception to exclusionary rule, for both warrant and non-warrant cases.

-- Prohibition of creation of caselaw exclusionary rules by courts based on (non-constitutional) violations of statutes, rules of procedures, or administrative rules or regulations.

[The President's violent crime bill also included elimination of the exclusionary rule for firearms seizures in the presence of alternative safeguards, but this was D.O.A. in Congress.]

Firearms

-- Mandatory ten year term for use of semiautomatic firearm in federal crime of violence or drug trafficking crime.

-- Extend armed career criminal concept by providing mandatory five year and ten year terms for firearms possession by person with one or two prior convictions for violent felonies or serious drug offenses.

-- Overriding state negation of convictions for armed career criminal purposes where conviction offense was violent felony involving threatened or actual use of firearm or serious drug offense.

-- Broadening definition of serious drug offense for armed career criminal purposes to include state offense where conduct would have carried maximum term of ten years or more if federally prosecuted.

-- New offenses of stealing firearms or trafficking in stolen firearms (nearly unlimited federal jurisdiction over such crimes).

-- Increased penalties for false statements in firearms purchases.

*-- Increasing aggregation period for reporting multiple handgun sales to same purchaser from 5 days to 30, and reporting of such sales to local police as well as ATF.

*-- General ban on clips and magazines that enable firearm to fire more than 15 rounds without reloading.

-- National waiting period for handgun purchases. (Acceptable to us if packaged with other strong law enforcement measures.)

Juveniles and Gangs

*-- Broadened retention and availability of records of federally prosecuted juvenile offenders. (We have a complementary rules change which will enable the FBI to receive juvenile records from the states for inclusion in the national criminal records system; it is pending final clearance for promulgation at OMB).

*-- Broadened federal jurisdiction and adult prosecution for juvenile offenders. (Only weak and fragmentary version of this in Senate bill.)

*-- Serious drug offenses by juveniles as armed career criminal predicates. (Included only in Senate bill in very weak form.)