

It was mentioned earlier that some people just oppose the Government. I oppose all people researching this effort. And I would take just a moment for us to look at what happened on AIDS testing of newborn babies and the very group of ethicists that our Government used to say it is fine to test a newborn baby, identify that it has HIV, and then never tell the mother or the child that it is infected. Those are the kind of ethicists that are telling us that it is OK.

Mr. Chairman, this is not OK. This is destroying and disrupting various great precious quality of life. I am opposed to it, the Government being involved in it; I am opposed to it, private sector being involved in it. We dare not tread. We have had 17 years to prove that we have no benefit.

It is extremely interesting, I agree, Mr. Chairman, but it is also extremely wrong.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to my distinguished colleague the gentlewoman from California [Ms. PELOSI].

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleague for yielding me the time and again for her leadership in bringing this amendment to the floor.

Please let us not have this body turn into the Flat Earth Society. Just when science sees a new horizon in research, a new era of discovery, this amendment wants us to stop and turn back.

Let me say that I agree with our colleagues who say that we should not be involved in the creation of embryos for research. I completely agree with my colleagues on that score. But when embryos are created for in vitro fertilization and there is an opportunity to do research on the excess created there for that purpose, to produce a child, then we must, I think, take advantage of the opportunity presented to us.

Early-stage embryos research can lead to important medical advances and prevention of loss of pregnancy, of infertility and diagnosis and treatment of genetic disease and prevention of birth defects and in treatment of childhood and other cancers as we study how cells multiply.

I urge our colleagues to support the Lowey amendment and to support the advances in science as we approach a new century.

Mr. DICKEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas has 3 minutes remaining.

Mr. DICKEY. Mr. Chairman, I think this is going to be for 30 seconds.

The names of the people who are in opposition to this amendment or the names of the organizations:

The Family Research Council, the Christian Coalition, the National Right to Life, the Eagle Forum, the American Life League, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Mrs. LOWEY's amendment, if adopted, would have taxpayers funding for legal experimentation, abortions and bizarre experiments.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from New York is recognized for 2 minutes and 55 seconds.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, many of us have lost friends and family members to breast cancer, muscular dystrophy, leukemia, and so many other diseases. We have shared their pain, we have shared their heartache.

I want to make it very clear: We are not talking about creating embryos.

Many of us have friends and families who have been through a procedure of in vitro fertilization with the hopes of having a beautiful child. We are talking about embryos, cells, four live cells no larger than a pin. These cells have been created as part of the process of couples wanting to have a child. These couples then have to make a decision as to whether they discard these embryos or whether they want to give some other family the hope of life.

That is what this is all about, allowing these embryos, these cells to be used to save another life.

I just received a call today from a family hoping that perhaps this will be the answer. I heard from my colleagues, my distinguished colleagues, that there has been no research that has been successful. I have lost many family members to breast cancer. Mr. Chairman, we have spent millions and billions on trying to solve that problem.

Do we say, well, we have not solved the problem, so we just give up?

Yes, we have made important advances, and I am hoping that perhaps there will be a great breakthrough in other illness because of this research.

When we look at the list, almost every medical association; I just received a letter today from 15 medical and educational organizations that support this amendment. I am not a physician. But when 15 medical and educational organizations support this amendment, this Congress is going to tell these physicians, the National Institutes of Health, that they cannot use this procedure to perhaps bring life to people who have no hope?

What this Lowey-Johnson amendment does is simply allow research on embryos that would otherwise be discarded or allowed to naturally deteriorate. And remember, the embryos used in this research are less than 14 days old. Embryos at this stage consist of a few cells, have not developed organs or a spinal cord. The cells are the size of a dot, as I mentioned.

President Clinton again has made it very clear that early-stage embryo research may be permitted but that the use of Federal funds to create embryos solely for research purposes would be prohibited.

We can all be assured that the research at the National Institutes of Health will be conducted with the highest level of integrity. No embryos will

be created for research purposes, and I ask my colleagues to support this amendment to support life.

Mr. DICKEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inquire as to how much time we have to close.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Arkansas has 2½ minutes remaining.

Mr. DICKEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield that time to the most distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE], the most credible voice on this subject that we have in the House of Representatives.

(Mr. HYDE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Chairman, I thank my dear friend from Arkansas, Mr. DICKEY, for those extravagant words.

The gentlewoman, my good friend from California, Ms. PELOSI, talks about the Flat Earth Society. That is interesting because the science is on our side. As I recall, there are two medical doctors, M.D.'s, on our side. I have not seen any M.D.'s or even Ph.D.'s, although there may be a hidden Ph.D. over there in English literature or something, but the science is from our side.

Now, we are not talking about creating the embryos. We understand that. It is the using of the embryos. It is treating living human entities as things. That is the big distinction. The abortion culture, the in vitro experimentation culture, the embryo research, all of these things have one thing in common, and, colleagues, strangely, and this may sound wierd, in common with Marxism, and do my colleagues know what it is? Denying intrinsic worth or value to a human being. That is the common thread between the abortion culture which denies intrinsic value to somebody, and they, because of the size, because it is tiny, it is microscopic, it is created in a petri dish, it is therefore something to be used for experimentation.

I mean I am not denying the good motives and the need to push back the borders of research, although strangely enough in 20 years very little has been accomplished in this sort of research. But the problem is our colleagues are talking about living human beings, albeit tiny and microscopic, but size surely does not make a difference, and whether my colleagues respect the dignity in the innate, inherent, intrinsic dignity or whether it is a thing to be used, that is what we are talking about, and that is the common thread through all of this.

Mr. Chairman, we assert there is value, intrinsic value, in that tiny little premicroscopic embryo that has been fertilized, and our colleagues are saying, yes, but let us use it and experiment for a greater cause.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HYDE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, I would be anxious to know if the distinguished

gentleman does support in vitro fertilization.

Mr. HYDE. Not really, not really. No, I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for debate on this amendment has expired.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask unanimous consent for an additional 2 minutes?

The CHAIRMAN. The request would have to be even-handed on both sides of the question.

Ms. PELOSI. It is so we could yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE].

The CHAIRMAN. The time has been established and equally divided by the full House for these amendments, and while time can be extended by unanimous consent, it has to be allocated to both sides of the argument.

All time has expired, and the Chair is prepared to put the question.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 472, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY] will be postponed.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BUNNING

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky: Page 87, after line 14, insert the following new section:

SEC. 515. (a) LIMITATION ON TRANSFERS FROM MEDICARE TRUST FUNDS.—None of the funds made available in this Act under the heading "Title II—Department of Health and Human Services—Health Care Financing Administration—Program Management" for transfer from the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund or the Federal Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund may be used for expenditures for official time for employees of the Department of Health and Human Services pursuant to section 7131 of title 5, United States Code, or for facilities or support services for labor organizations pursuant to policies, regulations, or procedures referred to in section 7135(b) of such title.

(b) LIMITATION ON TRANSFERS FROM OASDI TRUST FUNDS.—None of the funds made available in this Act under the heading "Title IV—Related Agencies—Social Security Administration—Limitation on Administrative Expenses" for transfer from the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund or the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund may be used for expenditures for official time for employees of the Social Security Administration pursuant to section 7131 of title 5, United States Code, or for facilities or support services for labor organizations pursuant to policies, regulations, or procedures referred to in section 7135(b) of such title.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING]

and a Member opposed will each control 10 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING].

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

My amendment is a very simple and straightforward amendment. It restricts the use of Social Security and Medicare trust fund money to pay for union activity at the Social Security Administration. I am offering this amendment because I chair the Social Security Subcommittee and I take my oversight duties of the Social Security Administration and the trust funds very seriously.

Social Security affects almost every man, woman and child in this country, and its integrity cannot be compromised. A year ago I requested a GAO audit of the use of trust fund moneys for union activity, and while we knew that the trust funds were helping pay for these activities, the GAO audit revealed the extent to which the costs were dramatically increasing. Currently about \$8.1 million of trust fund moneys are used to pay people who work at SSA, not serving the taxpayer and beneficiaries, but doing full-time union work.

□ 2100

That might not sound like a great deal of money to some, but taxpayer-financed spending for union activity at SSA has doubled in the last 3 years. Let me say that again. Trust fund spending on union activity at SSA has jumped from \$4 million in 1993 to \$8 million in 1995, a 100 percent increase.

In addition to this huge jump in spending, the number of SSA employees who work full time on union activities increased 83 percent in 3 short years. In 1993, 80 SSA employees worked full time on union activities. By 1995, this number had escalated to 146 SSA employees working full time on union activities.

These employee salaries, health benefits, and pensions come from money set aside for the Social Security benefits of our elderly and disabled citizens. These 146 SSA employees devote 100 percent of their time to union work. This means that Americans are paying their Social Security taxes for meetings on such issues as office furniture, office space allocation, and who gets a bonus at the end of the year. This is not how Social Security trust funds should be used. I am certain seniors and taxpayers around this country would agree.

I ask my colleagues to join me in supporting this amendment, and assuring our citizens that the Social Security trust funds are used for their intended purposes: the retirement and the well-being of our disabled and senior citizens in this country.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a Member who wishes to be recognized in opposition to the amendment?

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. HOYER AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. BUNNING OF KENTUCKY

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment offered as a substitute for the amendment.

The text of the amendment offered as a substitute for the amendment is as follows:

Amendment Offered by Mr. HOYER as a substitute for the Amendment Offered by Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky: Page 87, after line 14, insert the following new section:

SEC. 515. (a) LIMITATION ON TRANSFERS FROM MEDICARE TRUST FUNDS.—None of the funds made available in this Act under the heading "Title II—Department of Health and Human Services—Health Care Financing Administration—Program Management" for transfer from the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund or the Federal Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund may be used for expenditures for official time for employees of the Department of Health and Human Services pursuant to section 7131 of title 5, United States Code, or for facilities or support services for labor organizations pursuant to policies, regulations, or procedures referred to in section 7135(b) of such title.

(b) LIMITATION ON TRANSFERS FROM OASDI TRUST FUNDS.—None of the funds made available in this Act under the heading "Title IV—Related Agencies—Social Security Administration—Limitation on Administrative Expenses" for transfer from the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund or the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund may be used for expenditures for official time for employees of the Social Security Administration pursuant to section 7131 of title 5, United States Code, or for facilities or support services for labor organizations pursuant to policies, regulations, or procedures referred to in section 7135(b) of such title.

(c) PROTECTION OF EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATIVE.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to—

(1) deny the right of Federal employees to organize or be fully represented by their unions, or

(2) prohibit the Commissioner of Social Security or the Secretary of Health and Human Services from requesting employees of the Social Security Administration or the Department of Health and Human Services to represent other employees on task forces to improve customer service, promote health and safety of agency employees and customers, or streamline or otherwise provide for the smooth functioning of such Administration or Department.

The CHAIRMAN. The amendment offered as a substitute for the amendment is not separately debatable. The time to debate the substitute will come out of the allocation of time on either side, so the gentleman may discuss the substitute under his time in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING].

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I would ask, that means that we have 10 minutes on both the substitute and on the amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is correct. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] has 10 minutes on both the Bunning amendment and the amendment offered as a substitute, and the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING] has 10 minutes remaining on both.

Mr. HOYER. He has such time remaining as he did not consume?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the chairman for the clarification.

Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2¼ minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer this substitute. I want to say that this substitute does not derogate the comments in any way that the gentleman from Kentucky made. His point was that we ought not to be spending trust fund money on organizing activities or representational activities. In this substitute, we adopt the very same language offered by the gentleman from Kentucky in our sections A and B.

When I say "we," I offer this amendment on behalf of the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. JACOBS, ranking member of the Subcommittee on Social Security of the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentlewoman from Maryland, Mrs. MORELLA, and the gentlemen from Virginia, Mr. MORAN, and Mr. DAVIS.

In the third paragraph of our substitute, Mr. Chairman, all we do is clarify that the preclusion of expending money for representational purposes out of the trust fund does not mean that we are precluding representation. That is the key of our substitute. I would hope there would be no Member opposed, frankly, to our substitute, because the purpose of the amendment is simply to say that Social Security trust funds or Medicare trust funds will not be used.

We are adopting that premise, and we include the gentleman's language.

Under the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, Federal employees can be granted official time to perform activities that are in the joint interest of the union and the agency.

I ask my colleagues, particularly on the Republican side of the aisle, to understand what I just said. The Federal law in 1978 provides, because, I would suggest, it is consistent with the gentleman's premise under the TEAM Act passed by this House, passed by the Senate, ready to go to the President, and therefore I think our substitute does not undermine it, not only undermine it, does not touch the intention of the gentleman from Kentucky to say no trust funds, but also does not undermine the ability of employees to be represented and to negotiate with their agencies.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS].

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, most Americans are familiar with May 7, tax liberation day. We labor all the year up until May 7 to pay our income taxes. A date they may not be familiar with is July 3, government freedom day. We labor the rest of May and all of June to pay for Government regulations and interest on the national debt, so it was just July 3 that Americans began working for themselves, instead of Government.

Last night on NBC News, most Americans, I am sure, were startled to find out that those taxpayers' dollars were going to pay for people who do no Government work whatsoever; that in fact, full-time, paid for by taxpayers' dollars, they do union work and union organizing.

To add injury to insult, we found out on the program that they are paid out of trust fund moneys, not just Social Security trust fund money, but Medicare trust fund money, that same trust fund President Clinton's trustees said is now going bankrupt in the year 2000 instead of 2001. While Clinton's trustees were painting more red ink, out of that trust fund were people being paid who did no work for the taxpayers, full-time for the unions.

I would tell the gentleman that his amendment is still unacceptable because, as I read his amendment, after it says that none of the funds can be used, he says nothing in this section shall be construed to deny the right or prohibit the commissioner from carrying out those self-same activities. He believes he has found a safe harbor by saying the trust fund money perhaps will not be touched. But it is the taxpayers' money not being spent for its intended purposes that I think is the fundamental problem.

Last night, Lisa Myers held up a fax that had been sent to one of these union workers from the gentleman from Missouri, DICK GEPHARDT, and the House Democratic leadership, and said, "I thought you said politics was supposed to stay out of this. Is this right?" Ruth Pierce, the Social Security Administrator, looked Lisa Myers in the eye and said, "I will yield to Congress what is a right law and what is a wrong law, but it's the law."

I will tell the Members, it is the wrong law. This is the chance to change it. Reject the substitute, go with the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING]. No trust fund moneys, indeed no taxpayer moneys, ought to go for this kind of private sector inurement at the expense of that hard-working taxpayer who spends half the year paying for a program and for a government, and he does not even get to have any employees work for him at all.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JACOBS], ranking member of the subcommittee on Social Security.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I listened with interest to the comments of the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS]. I direct his attention to the exact language of the substitute. In my opinion, it does not say anyplace that any taxpayers' money can be used, whether it is trust fund money or whether it is general revenues, either. All it says is that the Commissioner shall not be prohibited "from requesting employees of the Social Security Administration or the Department of Health and Human Services to represent

other employees on task forces to improve customer service, promote health and safety of agency employees and customers, or streamline or otherwise provide smooth functioning of such Administration or Department."

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, if we look at No. 1, it says "deny the right of Federal employees to organize or be fully represented * * *." Can the gentleman assure me that fully represented does not mean a full-time person paid for by taxpayers?

Mr. JACOBS. I give the gentleman my solemn assurance it does not mean that.

Mr. THOMAS. But in fact, it can be interpreted that way. I know and understand and love the gentleman from Indiana, but his assurance does not guarantee that it is not taxpayers' dollars.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Chairman, I think it does if we all agree in legislative history. It does not say they can use any taxpayers' money. It simply says that the gentleman from Kentucky is not proposing that the unions be outlawed if they collect their own dues and pay for their own representation. That is the only intent of it. That is what it says.

Mr. THOMAS. If the gentleman will continue to yield, very briefly, it is not the intent of this gentleman from California to deny legitimate union activities. Our concern is, paid for by taxpayers' dollars. These phrases do not preclude it. That is the problem.

Mr. JACOBS. That is my concern, too. If we want to do a little comity here, if we want to do what all of us say we want to do, namely, prohibit the use of public funds to pay the union people to do union work, if that is our purpose, and that is my purpose, to prohibit the use of any taxpayers' money, trust fund or otherwise, to pay union representatives or union officials to do work on the taxpayers' money, then that is what the substitute intends to do, accepts that fully. It simply wants to clarify that nothing in this should be interpreted to mean that the union itself must disband and not represent the people with their own money.

Mr. THOMAS. If the gentleman will continue to yield, would the author of the substitute agree with the gentleman that no taxpayer funds are intended to be used for union activity on the job site?

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACOBS. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I would say in answer that I do not believe that any money that is inconsistent with the law will be spent. I do not know the answer that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JACOBS] gave. But he knows more about it than I do.

Mr. THOMAS. If the gentleman will yield further. The gentleman does his profession well with that response, because I do not know what that means. It means it may or may not.

Mr. JACOBS. Nothing shall deny the right of Federal employees to organize or be fully represented by their unions, I repeat. That is all. That is all it deals with here. It does not say they can get a nickel from the taxpayers to do that. That is not the intent of it.

But on these task force things like the Japanese method, which Mr. Demming gave to our people and our people turned down and he went over and gave to them, where the workers come in and say they could probably save a little money if you tilt those Venetian blinds and not blind the people all afternoon, that kind of thing, that is the whole purpose of this. We accept the proposal of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING].

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER].

(Mr. PORTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the budget amendment and in opposition to the substitute.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. SAM JOHNSON, a member of the subcommittee.

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I am glad the gentleman approves of the budget amendment, because that is what is good. When the GAO discovered this breach of faith, I was outraged. It was my understanding all trust fund monies were dedicated for seniors and future recipients who worked their entire lives paying for the system.

It was President Clinton who, as a payoff to the unions for political support, made union employees equal partners with association managers, and stated that Social Security Administration managers could not correct or question the actions of union employees.

What is worse is that while unions take money from the trust fund, they also continue to collect \$4.3 million for themselves in union dues, and we have no idea where that money is spent. One more time. The unions collect millions in dues, and still continue to take money away from the trust fund to do work that has nothing to do with providing benefits to our seniors.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. NEAL].

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, this amendment offered by Chairman BUNNING is nothing more than a classic example of traditional Republican union bashing, and a backdoor assault on President Clinton's executive order to improve labor/management relations through the use of Partnerships.

Every Member of this Congress is concerned about preserving and strengthening the Social Security Trust Fund. We all want to ensure that monies in the Trust Fund are being used to provide benefits and services to seniors in the most efficient and cost effective means possible.

And efficiency and cost effectiveness is exactly what the "union activities" at Social Security are set out to achieve.

Efficiency at the Social Security Administration goes to the heart of the way in which individual cases are handled. As the Social Security Administration is being downsized, and as systems are being redesigned, the input of the Social Security employees—the caseworkers—is, and should be, an invaluable contribution to management decision making.

Management alone can not be expected to know everything about how work is done, or how it can best be done. Consultations with Social Security workers are key to creating the best systems possible. And these consultations are what we are talking about today when we discuss union activities.

The union activities at the Social Security Administration are far less mysterious than the Republicans want to make them appear. In fact, union activities at Social Security are very similar to those at many private companies, including General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler—companies where it is common practice for workers to be paid for official union time.

As a former mayor, I've been involved in many negotiations with unions over the years. I've learned that unions are rarely 100 percent accurate in their positions, and management alone seldom has all of the right answers.

The best solutions to common workplace problems are those that are crafted with input from both labor and management.

Union activities at Social Security, which make up—mind you—only three one-hundredths of 1 percent of the total administrative costs for the Social Security Administration, are geared at improving the way in which benefits are delivered to senior citizens and the disabled.

In full compliance with the law, union activities at Social Security are paid for by a combination of funds derived both by general revenue funds and the trust funds.

Mr. Chairman, in a time when we are all trying to make government smaller and more efficient—less bureaucratic and more like the private sector—it seems to me that we should encourage government agencies to use the same innovative management techniques and partnerships that have been embraced by successful companies like Saturn, Corning Glass, and Harley Davidson. It seems as if everyone except the Republicans in this House knows that old fashioned top-down management is a thing of the past.

We owe America's senior citizens the most efficient Social Security Administration possible. This amendment is nothing more than a politically motivated attempt to scare America's senior citizens, and I urge my colleagues to oppose it.

□ 2115

In full compliance with the law, union activities at Social Security are paid for by a combination of funds derived both by general revenue and trust funds, and we are correcting that in our substitute.

I have been involved in union negotiations time and again, and unions are never 100 percent correct. And, something else, management is never 100 percent correct.

Social Security is in the midst of downsizing. Their systems are being redesigned. There is anxiety in the workplace. That is not unlike what is happening across the rest of America tonight.

The result of a healthy workplace where people have high morale is consultation. What we have here is a frontal assault on union activities, which we attempt to address in a reasonable substitute.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LAUGHLIN].

(Mr. LAUGHLIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LAUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to the gentleman from Massachusetts, my good friend and classmate, he misses the point. This is not about union activity. This is about Social Security trust fund money paid by hardworking men and women who have paid tax money on their hardworking wages into the trust fund for their senior years.

As a member of the subcommittee, I sat through all the hearings, and not one time did I hear justification for using Social Security trust fund money for any of the activities that are being addressed here.

I sent out a letter last week informing my constituents that trust fund money was being used for union activity. In 3 days, I have gotten over 400 responses and not one response said, GREGG. I want you to keep allowing the money to be used for union activity.

Every contact was angry. They said, "I'm appalled, I'm shocked that the money I paid into the trust fund is not going for my retirement or for disability. I'm appalled that it is going to union activity."

Mr. Chairman, I urge support of the chairman's amendment.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland is recognized for 2¼ minutes.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, my good friend the gentleman from Texas has just spoken very actively, strongly. Our substitute does exactly what he

wants done. It precludes, as does the gentleman's amendment from Kentucky, the expenditure of any funds from either the Social Security trust fund or the Medicare fund. What it does not do is say Employees, tough luck, get out of town. We're not going to let you organize, we're not going to let you follow the Federal law, which precludes, by the way, any official time being used to conduct internal union matters, organizing workers, soliciting members for conducting union elections or for any partisan political activities. That is precluded by Federal law right now.

What is not precluded is activity that is funded in the private sector, as the gentleman from Massachusetts indicated, but allows employees to represent their fellow employees and to work with management on official time to make their jobs better, more efficient and more productive.

The concern that has been raised, that is, of spending money out of the trust fund, is agreed to on this side by our substitute. What is not agreed to is the obvious underlying intent, and that is to undermine the workers' ability to have effective representation, period.

For that reason, I would ask Members on both sides of the aisle, particularly those who voted for the TEAM Act on the theory that management could include employees for the purpose of sitting down, discussing and negotiating working conditions and objectives and ways and means. That was the issue in the TEAM Act.

If you believed that, if it was not just a subterfuge to undermine the ability of workers to organize, then you ought to support this substitute, and I urge all the Members of the House to do so.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. COLLINS].

(Mr. COLLINS of Georgia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. Chairman, American workers are mandated to pay into the Social Security trust fund throughout their working lives. They do so with the understanding the Federal Government will responsibly manage those assets on providing Social Security benefits to retired and disabled Americans.

Mr. Chairman, under the new authority given to government unions by the current administration, the Social Security Administration spent 12.6 million taxpayer-dollars on union-related activities in 1995.

That's right Mr. Chairman, the Clinton administration spent \$12.6 million, on expenses that had absolutely nothing to do with ensuring our Nation's retirees and disabled receive the benefits they have earned.

In addition, \$12.6 million in 1995 represents a 100 percent increase over the \$6 million the Social Security Administration spent on union activities in 1993.

Recently, the Commissioner of the Social Security Administration testified about the in-

creases in trust fund assets that are spent on union activities.

Commissioner Chater could not provide the members of the subcommittee with any specifics about how the \$12.6 million spent on union activities improved the processing or administration of Social Security benefit claims. Most alarmingly, she was unable to provide the committee with any detailed assurances that union-related expenditures will not continue to double in the next 2 years.

This amendment will bring a halt to the wasteful expenditure of Social Security funds and ensure that we are managing these vital assets responsibly.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS].

(Mr. RIGGS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to the Hoyer substitute and in strong support of the Bunning limitation amendment to prohibit the Social Security Administration from using payroll taxes to pay the salaries of full-time union representatives.

Mr. Chairman, I seek this time to bring to the attention of the chairman I perceive to be a very serious problem in the Social Security Administration. Reading the Washington Post the other day I happened across an article by James Glassman.

I was shocked and dismayed to discover that the Social Security Administration, responding to a 1993 Presidential Executive Order, which has increased the number of union representatives that work in Social Security offices around the country to 146. That is an increase of 66 employees. Calculate the 66 full time salaries, benefits and pensions, and you have a total extra cost of \$12.6 million that American taxpayers are going to have to shoulder.

This blatant waste of Social Security Funds in inexcusable, given that the Social Security Trust Fund is approaching insolvency. It flies in the face of all of our efforts to downsize and reinvent government. Within the Social Security Administration, for example we have been successful eliminating direct cash benefits for drug addicts and alcoholics.

There is simply no excuse to significantly increase administrative costs in this manner. In fact, I question the motives of an Executive Order directing the additional employment of union representatives. It has always been my understanding that it is the responsibility of the unions themselves to ensure fair representation in the workplace. It is not the responsibility of the federal government. In fact, given the recent actions on the part of the unions, this smacks of campaign politics.

We as Appropriators and Members of Congress have a obligation to spend taxpayer dollars wisely and responsibly. I am very concerned that this action by the Social Security Administration is not altogether altruistic and completely contrary to our efforts to make our federal government less wasteful and more responsive to average Americans.

Mr. Chairman, I include for the RECORD the news item, I mentioned.

[From the Washington Post, June 25, 1996]

WHAT CAN GOVERNMENT DO?

(By James K. Glassman)

In a modern republic such as ours, politics frequently produces good policy—that is, it's a system that finds out people's desires and acts on them. But politics rarely produces good government—that is, it's a system that puts policies into place in a messy, inefficient, often counterproductive way.

"Look," says Peter Drucker, the great management guru, in a recent interview with the editor of Inc. magazine, "no government in any major developed country really works anymore. The United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Japan—none has a government the citizens respect or trust."

The big problem, Drucker says, is that "no one, as far as I can see, is yet asking the right question: What can government do?" Not what should it do, but what can it do.

I've always been a "should" kind of guy—questioning whether government has the right to involve itself in the arts, agriculture, railroading, etc. But Drucker's "can" perspective is a brilliant way to look at the problem.

Consider Social Security. Yes, government should help poor people retire with dignity. But can it run an efficient retirement system for the entire nation? It's doubtful, given political pressures—for example, the need to please labor unions, which spend millions to help elect Democrats.

Here's a typical horror story: Using the payroll taxes of Americans, the Social Security Administration is paying the salaries of 146 full-time union representatives who work in Social Security offices around the country. The average annual salary of these taxpayer-paid union officials is \$41,970. Ninety-four of them make at least \$40,000, and one makes \$81,000.

The General Accounting Office reported on this union activity recently, at the request of Rep. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.), a Ways and Means subcommittee chairman. Jane Ross of GAO said her office "found that over 1,800 designated union representatives in SSA are authorized to spend time on union activities." Total time: more than 400,000 hours. Total costs to the taxpayers: \$12.6 million.

What makes this episode so outrageous is that it's perfectly legal. After an executive order by President Clinton in 1993, full-time union reps at SSA jumped from 80 to 146, according to GAO. Total costs to the taxpayer doubled. Meanwhile, the Social Security trust fund is approaching insolvency.

The truth is that effectively running a retirement scheme for a nation of 260 million may not be something that a government is able to do.

By contrast, the private sector has learned, through trial and error and the pressures of the marketplace, to handle complex financial transactions—and give good service. For example, Fidelity Investments, with 20,000 employees, handles 20 million mutual-fund customers—marketing, buying and selling stocks, sending out regular statements. Fidelity's managers don't stand for election, so they don't have to pander to labor, or any other interest group, for votes. They're free, subject to market forces, to run their business.

It's no accident, either, that costs of government-run health care systems—Medicare and Medicaid—are rising so fast. The federal government—under political pressure from doctors, hospitals, seniors, governors and insurers—simply can't cut expenses and deliver good service the way that companies subject mainly to the pressures of the marketplace can. (For an even more horrifying example, look at the Veterans' Administration, with

its own 58-health-care institutions, providing jobs for constituents of nearly every member of Congress.)

The point is that politics can, with validity, produce a national health policy. But it should not be the force that shapes the management of that policy.

One solution to the problems of both Social Security and public health care is to get the government out of management entirely. Let it issue vouchers with which Americans themselves can purchase retirement plans or medical services from private firms. There should be oversight, but not a 65,000-employee bureaucracy.

On management issues, the Clinton administration gets credit for interest, but not for action. The president brags about eliminating government jobs. Yes, but of the 192,000 cut, 145,000 were in the Defense Department—a "peace dividend" brought about by the end of the Cold War. We can't really cut government jobs unless we cut government functions.

Drucker says that the United States doesn't have a government that "citizens respect or trust." But as we've seen over the past year, citizens not only distrust government, they distrust politicians who say they will dismantle it. That's the paradox for Republicans.

But what citizens do know is that government today is out of control. So here's my suggestion to Bob Dole (or Bill Clinton): Announce right now that, if elected, you will freeze government in place. No more new programs, no additional spending on current programs, no increases in tax revenues.

A hard freeze of this sort would leave the deficit at about \$140 billion, a safe number. Then, over the next four to eight years, we can debate what government should—and, more important, can—do.

For doubters, Dole can issue an "Outrage of the Week" report on excesses like the 146 union officials at Social Security or the \$5 billion in fraud, which, according to a new study by Citizens Against Government Waste, afflicts the Food Stamp program.

But we can't bring government back under control with a single contract or a single election. As Drucker says, "Government, rather than business . . . is going to be the most important area of entrepreneurship and innovation for the next 20 to 25 years." So let's freeze now, and get those entrepreneurs to work on solutions.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. CHRISTENSEN].

(Mr. CHRISTENSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CHRISTENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Bunning amendment and ask Members to reject the Hoyer amendment.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. COBURN].

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the people in my district who work for the Social Security Administration who brought this to light, some very brave people who bucked the system, who bucked the union to say that seniors' money, Social Security trust fund money, should not pay for union representation on the job.

The fact is, union Members pay \$4.3 million a year. Let us let the union use that to pay for people to represent them in the workplace. It is about bal-

ancing the budget, it is about being good stewards with our seniors' money.

It is about doing the right thing. Please support the amendment. Please do not support the substitute.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for 1¼ minutes.

Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, first of all, let me assure my good friend from Massachusetts and my good friend from Maryland that I was a union negotiator for 12 years, so I know something about unions. But they were in the private sector, and they were not supported with Social Security and Medicare trust fund money.

We know what our amendment does. We know that it requires the Social Security Administration to use Medicare and trust fund money only for the purpose for which it was collected from hard-working, tax-paying Americans. They pay FICA tax to the Treasury so it can be used for retirement and disability payments under Social Security.

About the Hoyer amendment, we are not sure. But I will tell the gentleman from Maryland, if he would like to sponsor appropriation bill to use taxpayer funding from general revenues for union activities at the Social Security Administration, an any other agency of the Federal Government, because I believe employees are entitled to be represented, I suggest that he do that as part of the appropriations process.

I urge support of the Bunning amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING].

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 472, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER] as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING] will be postponed.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ISTOOK

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment No. 1 offered by Mr. ISTOOK: At the end of the bill, insert after the last section (preceding the short title) the following new section:

SEC. . None of the funds appropriated in this Act may be made available to any entity under title X of the Public Health Service Act, when it is made known to the Fed-

eral official having authority to obligate or expend such funds that—

(1) any portion of such funds is knowingly being used by such entity to provide services after March 31, 1997, to a minor, other than a minor who—

(A) is emancipated under applicable State law;

(B) has the written consent of a custodial parent or legal guardian to receive such services; or

(C) has an order of a court of competent jurisdiction to receive such services, based on—

(i) the court's assumption of custody over the minor; or

(ii) actions of a custodial parent or legal guardian that present a continuing threat to the health and safety of the minor and precludes the obtaining of consent under subparagraph (B); and

(2) The State in which such services are provided has not, after the date of the enactment of this section, enacted a statute that excludes the minor seeking a title X service from the parental consent requirements as to that particular service.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ISTOOK] and a Member opposed will each control 15 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ISTOOK].

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3½ minutes.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment concerns how we are spending \$200 million a year of our Federal tax money, one-third of which goes to provide contraceptives, condoms, birth control pills, and related services to teenagers, to minors, with neither the knowledge nor the consent of their parents.

As a parent of 5 children, 3 of them teenage girls, Mr. Chairman, and public school students, I am well aware of the different times that parental consent is necessary for so many things. For example, this is a form from the Fairfax County, VA, public schools.

To go on a field trip, they have to have written consent from their parents. To get authorization for medication, even aspirin, to be administered to a minor in public school, in most cases you have to have a signed permission slip from the parent or the guardian. This is from the school that my children attend, again echoing that to have medication, even something as simple as aspirin given to a student, you cannot do it without the consent of their parents.

But, Mr. Chairman, under Federal law, it is something different. Under Federal law, Mr. Chairman, and this is from the Federal regulations, if they want to obtain services under the so-called title X, Family Planning Services, then if they want to, and they do, all the information is kept confidential only to that minor child. Their child is sexually active, may have a sexually transmitted disease, is at risk of pregnancy and all the complications that come from it with a child involved in that activity, and 1.3 million of them a year in this country are receiving federally funded assistance in bypassing their parents, isolating them from the

love, the counsel, the nurture, and the moral guidance of their parents under Federal law.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that is wrong. I submit that this country in caring about its children says we want them to have the guidance of their parents, and yet this is another part of the Federal law that specifies that regardless of their family income, this is supposed to be a low-income family program, if they want this confidentiality, then you disregard what mom and dad and anyone else in the household is making and so this child, by themselves, qualifies for this Federal program.

One-third of its services, one-third of the \$200 million a year, is going to minors with neither the knowledge nor the consent of the parents.

Mr. Chairman, since this program has been underway, since 1970 when it began, we were told this is going to reduce teenage pregnancy, this is going to reduce out-of-wedlock births with teenagers, and they still try to manufacture some statistics trying to claim it. But, Mr. Chairman, their projections do not hold up.

There is only one set of statistics that is really kept on this. It is kept through the Centers for Disease Control, the U.S. Health and Human Services Department, and is shown on this graph from it, since this program went into effect. The number of out-of-wedlock births with teenage mothers in the United States has doubled, the rate of teenage out-of-wedlock births has doubled because the Federal Government is inviting them to go around the moral guidance of their parents on these most intimate and personal issues.

This amendment simply states we are not going to do it. We are going to require parental consent if this is to go on. Normally it is a matter of the States to decide. Fine. If the States decide otherwise, they can do it in their State, but they would have the say-so. I ask Members' support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY] claim the time in opposition to the amendment?

Mr. OBEY. Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY] is recognized for 15 minutes.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. OBEY AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ISTOOK

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment as a substitute for the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. OBEY as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. ISTOOK: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted, insert the following:

SEC. . . None of the funds appropriated in this Act may be made available to any entity under title X of the Public Health Service Act unless it is made known to the Federal official having authority to obligate or ex-

pend such funds that the applicant for the award certifies to the Secretary that it encourages family participation in the decision of the minor to seek family planning services."

□ 2130

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that 8 minutes of my 15 minutes be given to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GREENWOOD].

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GREENWOOD] will control 8 minutes, and the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY] will control 7 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY].

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment is very simple. The Istook amendment would prohibit title X services to minors unless they have written parental consent or a court order acting as parental consent. The Obey-Greenwood-Lowey substitute would prohibit funds unless the entity encourages consultation with family members.

Mr. Chairman, I want to be very clear. I do not believe teenagers should engage in sex until they are married. That may make me old-fashioned but that is what I happen to believe. But I also recognize the world in which we all live. The United States has the highest rate of teen pregnancy of any industrialized country in the world.

This committee had an opportunity to fund the President's teen pregnancy prevention plan in this bill. It chose not to do so. Now, unless we are careful, we will make what services there are remaining to prevent teenage pregnancies even more difficult to obtain. When minors delay diagnosis and treatment, especially in cases of sexually transmitted diseases or HIV, their health, their future fertility and life can be put at risk. Kids ought to be encouraged to talk with their parents, but we also ought to be careful that, in the process of trying to encourage that, we do not increase health risk to the general public and that we do not in the process invite more abortions that are performed because of careless pregnancies.

That is what this amendment tries to do. It tries to establish a careful bipartisan balance between two justifiably strong moral concerns in this society.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 seconds.

Mr. Chairman, I would simply note that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY] only echoes existing law. It is already in section 1001 of the Public Health Service Act that there is supposed to be this very encouragement for family

participation, which is totally undercut by the existing Federal law saying it is not required.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. JOHNSON].

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the substitute amendment. This amendment, title X, already requires that providers encourage family participation in reproductive health decisions, and this amendment strengthens that mandate.

I agree that parental involvement should be encouraged, encouraged, not mandated. In fact, in order to encourage teens to seek necessary reproductive health services, virtually every State in the country has enacted legislation to permit minors to receive care for sexually transmitted diseases without parental consent. Many States have already put statutes on their books that allow minors to obtain birth control information governed carefully by State law. We should not override those statutes. States are closer to this problem than we are. Teenagers denied contraceptive services do indulge less responsibly.

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Chairman I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN].

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Chairman, I only asked for 1 minute because I am pleased there are so many Members on our side that want to speak out on this.

I would like to begin the way the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ISTOOK] did, talking proudly about his daughters. As a father and a grandfather of eight young ladies, I take this parental rights thing very seriously. But here is what we are neglecting on those who oppose the Istook amendment. With parents' rights, as with most rights, there are also responsibilities, and young people will sometimes follow peer pressure and the lines of least resistance.

What they are doing by going against the Istook amendment is taking away parental responsibilities, the responsibility of playing a role in the counseling and guidance of young people. We are talking about one-third of the people that have access to title X funds. That is about 1,300,000 teenagers that are covered here

States can opt out and keep in mind that the Istook amendment is reinforcing standing Federal Law. Parents' rights and parents' responsibilities, it is a winner with Americans across this country. Do not take away those responsibilities.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER].

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, last year an attempt was made to zero out the title X family planning program. That attempt failed here on the floor of the House. This year the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ISTOOK] is offering

an amendment to limit access to these important services. This is not an issue of abortion. Let me emphasize that once again. And we are talking here about services for poor, young women. We are talking about a successful program that prevents 500,000 abortions from occurring in our country every year.

A study published by the Journal of Pediatrics found that 85 percent of teens would not seek care for sexually transmitted infections if parental consent or notice were required. I have a letter from the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Academy of Family Physicians, and the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists opposing parental consent. They confirm that mandating parental consent will prevent teens from seeking contraceptive services, placing them at increased risk for sexually transmitted diseases and unintended pregnancies. It is a very, very poorly advised amendment.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF FAMILY PHYSICIANS; AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS; AMERICAN COLLEGE OF OBSTETRICIANS AND GYNECOLOGISTS,

JUNE 11, 1996.

Hon. JOHN EDWARD PORTER,
*Chairman, House Appropriations Subcommittee,
Labor, Health and Human Services, House
of Representatives, Rayburn House Office
Building, Washington, DC.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN PORTER: As national organizations representing over 170,000 physicians dedicated to improving the health care of adolescents, we write to urge you to oppose any amendment offered to the FY97 Labor, Health and Human Services and Education Appropriations Act that would require parental notification or parental consent for services received by adolescents in clinics funded by Title X, the national family planning program. As physicians who care for adolescents, we always encourage family involvement in their health care. Our organizations have adopted principles stating that health professionals have an ethical obligation to provide the best possible care and counseling to respond to the needs of their adolescent patients. This obligation includes every reasonable effort to encourage the adolescent to involve parents, whose support can increase the potential for dealing with the adolescent's problem on a continual basis.

Most teens seeking services at Title X clinics are already sexually active. Mandating parental consent may prevent these teens from seeking contraceptive services, placing them at an increased risk for sexually transmitted diseases and unintended pregnancies. Studies indicate that one of the major causes of delay by adolescents in seeking contraception is fear of parental discovery. Parental consent or notification provisions would be counterproductive to the ongoing efforts of physicians and the Congress to prevent such cases among the nation's young people.

Under our federal system, the states determine whether or not parental consent is needed for the treatment of minors. While states require consent before a minor receives medical treatment, 23 states have recognized the special issues surrounding family planning services and have instituted exceptions explicitly allowing young women to obtain contraceptive services without parental consent. Congress should not override these states' authority in this area by adopting an

amendment to require parental notification or consent in order for family planning clinics to receive Title X funding.

While we applaud the efforts of the Committee to ensure that parents are involved in minor's health care decisions, we believe that such involvement is best achieved by the efforts of physicians and their patients in a manner which respects the adolescent's right to confidential health care. Forced parental involvement, in our view, will have a negative impact on the physician-patient relationship, as well as have the unintended consequence of deterring adolescents from seeking important health care services. Accordingly, we urge you to oppose any amendments mandating parental notification or consent for Title X services in the FY97 Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations Act.

Sincerely,

KENNETH L. EVANS, MD,
*Chairman, Board of
Directors, American
Academy of Family
Physicians.*

MAURICE E. KEENAN, MD,
*President, American
Academy of Pediatrics.*

RALPH W. HALE, MD,
*Executive Director,
American College of
Obstetricians and
Gynecologists.*

Mr. ISTOOK. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. SMITH].

Mrs. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Istook amendment. As a grandmother of six young children, it amazes me that, while parents are called to give permission for everything, they could have their children go to school and come back with an intrauterine device implanted that could cause sterilization, infection and even in some cases loss of life.

The parent has been told when the child goes into emergency. The basic question is whether or not parents should be informed about very basic and fundamental questions concerning their son or daughter's well-being. In an age when kids are bombarded with sex and stimuli from the media and in the world that we would remove the parents from the equation until the issue is a crisis is not acceptable. We need parents to be parents, not government to be parents and until there is a crisis.

I think my colleagues need to start thinking about the statistics that we have faced. When we that were pro-abortion and pro-contraceptive started in the early 1970's with the title X's to decrease parental involvement and increase government involvement by giving kids help outside of the family, we started a trend that now has doubled out-of-wedlock births. It has not been successful. We know when you remove parents, it does not work. So what do we risk on allowing the States to put parents back into the equation? That is what we are asking here today, States rights. Put the parents back into the equation with the guidance of the States.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to one of the coauthors of the

amendment, the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY].

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Istook amendment that will require consent for minors receiving title X services and in strong support to the Obey-Greenwood-Lowe amendment to the amendment.

Let us make it very clear, when a teenager comes to a family planning clinic, the family planning clinic is not making them sexually active. I am the mother of three beautiful grown children, and I want to make it very, very clear that the medical and public health community overwhelmingly supports confidentiality for adolescents seeking family planning services

Let us debunk the myth, these kids are not coming to that clinic and suddenly becoming sexually active. In fact, what we are trying to do is provide these services for these youngsters who come to the clinic so that they can avoid spreading sexually transmitted diseases. I think it is important to note that the bill as it is now encourages family participation. That is exactly what we want to do, encourage family participation, not mandate it.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Istook amendment that will require parental consent for minors receiving title X services. In addition, I am proud to join Mr. OBEY and Mr. GREENWOOD as a sponsor of the amendment to the amendment. The Istook amendment will just lead to an increase in teen pregnancies and abortion, and in teens with STD's and HIV.

Last year, as you all remember, opponents of family planning attempted to eliminate the title X family planning program. Their efforts, thankfully, were rejected by this House and by the American public. However, they clearly did not learn anything from their defeat. This amendment is just one of several assaults against the title X program this year. Two earlier attempts to limit the program were defeated in committee 2 weeks ago.

Why would anyone try to limit a program that successfully prevents teen pregnancies and abortions? They do it because the Christian Coalition tells them to. A recent Christian Coalition legislative alert called this amendment one of "the first steps to end the infamous Title X program!"

The Istook amendment will place the health of young American women at great risk. Approximately 1 million teens currently receive some medical services from title X clinics. This requirement will create a real barrier to these services for hundreds of thousands of teens.

Studies show that many teens—especially those who are abused or who fear an extreme reaction from their parents—will stop seeking medical services for STD's if forced to get their parent's consent. In addition, most teens will continue to have sex but just forgo contraceptives rather than seek parental consent. I do not believe that any of us think that those are acceptable results.

The title X statute already requires providers to encourage family participation in reproductive health services. The Obey amendment reflects the spirit of the current statute. In fact, the majority of young people already involve a