

tenor and content of the selected portions of the conversations that were disclosed. In addition, it has been reported that Chairman BURTON and his staff not only withheld information, but they also made mistakes, serious mistakes, in transcription.

At a minimum, these disclosures violated the spirit and, I believe, the letter of the law of the Privacy Act and the privilege any person enjoys when he or she speaks with a spouse or an attorney. The Department of Justice forwarded this information to this Congress with the understanding that any disclosure would be handled with discretion.

I wish I could say that happened here. There has been no shortage of critical commentary about the scope, the timing, and the techniques Mr. Starr has used. By the same token, we in the House of Representatives must carefully consider our responsibilities while we await any report Mr. Starr may be preparing and guard against mimicking his excessive practices.

Clearly, we must guard against bias or inappropriate procedures, including premature and indiscreet disclosures of sensitive information. To do less is to lack the discipline and the judgment necessary to meet this important responsibility.

According to public accounts, the Speaker may well ask the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) to participate and consider the product of Mr. Starr's \$40 million so-called "independent investigation." The recent actions of the gentleman from Indiana do not bode well for how he might handle secret grand jury information.

Obviously, we already have a barometer of how this senior Republican Member of the House will approach his responsibilities. I cite this as further evidence of the plea I have issued more than once that the Committee on the Judiciary and not Chairman BURTON or any special committee is the only appropriate forum to consider any report if one is ever to be submitted by Mr. Starr. Any effort to assign this task to a special committee should be seen for what it is, an ill-disguised, politically motivated effort to get the President and to protect the majority in the House of Representatives.

As chairman of the former Government Operations Committee, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) is in the singular position of representing and embodying the integrity of his committee's review, as well as the integrity of the process by which it does its work. And while I am confident that he would disagree, I am sure that many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle have been troubled by disclosures of information which we know to be selective, incomplete and wrong.

We can only hope that any product that might be issued by his committee is not similarly flawed.

SOCIAL SECURITY: WHERE IS IT GOING, WHAT SHALL WE DO?

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

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I would like to do a bipartisan presentation, I think; and that is about Social Security, where are we going, what shall we do.

I suspect a lot of people are going to be tired of hearing about Social Security. But I think it is so important that every American, either retired or somebody that is going to be retired some day, look at the problem of Social Security, what is happening, and at this summer and fall election, talk to their candidates that are running for Congress about what they are doing for preserving Social Security.

I have this chart here that represents the bleak future of Social Security. As my colleagues see, on the top left of this chart that goes from up until about 2013 is the new projection of where there is going to be more tax revenue coming in from the working taxpayers of this country than is needed to pay benefits.

Now, what happens in Social Security since we started in 1935? The existing workers pay in their taxes and immediately it goes out to pay benefits for existing retirees. This chart shows that we are going to have more tax revenue coming in than is required to pay out benefits for the next 12 to 14 years. Dorcas Hardy, by the way, thinks we are going to actually run out of money as early as 2005 or 2006.

Now, in terms of what the excess money is, and that money is approximately \$70 billion this year, \$80 billion this year, \$100 billion the year after next, is being borrowed from Social Security to balance the budget.

Now, when the trustees came out with their report last week, they said, well, really Social Security is not going to go broke until the year 2032. But what does that mean? If there is less money coming in as early as 2005, maybe 2014, maybe 2013, maybe earlier, how is government going to come up with the funds that are necessary to fill our obligation to meet Social Security benefits?

Now, looking at this chart, if we are looking at the year 2018, in terms of today's dollars, there is going to be \$100 billion that the general fund is going to have to come up with to pay the existing benefits, to pay back what it is has been borrowing from the Social Security Trust Fund.

In terms of the 2018 dollars, it is going to be approximately \$600 billion, \$600 billion that is either going to have to be borrowed, have other expenditures of the Federal Government reduced to come up with that money, or increase taxes.

Let me say a word about tax increases that have been used to solve the Social Security dilemmas in the past. Listen to this one: Since 1971, So-

cial Security taxes have been increased 36 times in the rate or the base. More often than once a year we have increased the taxes on American workers in order to solve the shortage problems. Whenever there is less money coming in in Social Security taxes than is required for benefit payments, we have increased taxes.

Over the years, since 1935 when we started the program, any time there are more revenues, what the tendency has been for politicians is to increase benefits. And of course, the largest change to the Social Security program was an amendment to the Social Security Act in 1965 that started our Medicare program, another serious problem that we need to face up to.

But, look, my message today is, let us not put off our efforts to work towards a solution. I have got a couple of bills introduced, in fact, the only bill that has been introduced in the House that has actually been scored by the Social Security Administration to keep Social Security solvent for the next 100 years.

I have got another bill that says, look, if there are any surpluses, let us start using those surpluses coming into the Federal Government. And "surpluses" is defined, if my colleagues will excuse the technical expression, under a unified budget. That means where we are including everything we borrow from Social Security, we consider revenue; and therefore, that is the way we have come up with a definition that there is going to be a surplus this year.

But let us start getting that surplus out of town, using it to set up private retirement investment accounts for everybody that is paying a FICA tax so that they can decide what they want, how they want to invest their money, within limitations. It is going to be required, it can only be used for their retirement. But let us not pretend that the problem is not serious. Let us get at it. Let us take Social Security seriously, and let us look at the solutions; and hopefully, next year we will come up with a legislative solution that will be passed into law.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR TERRY SANFORD

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

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, recently, on Earth Day, Senator Terry Sanford of North Carolina was buried in Durham, North Carolina; and I deeply regretted that I could not be there.

In many ways, Senator Sanford was responsible for that because of opportunities that he had given me as a young person. I was able to be in my district where the President and the Vice President of the United States were visiting and participating in Earth Day ceremonies.

It was because of Senator Sanford, "Mr. Sanford" as we knew him when

we were students at Duke, that I and many like me have had our chances to get ahead in life and to try and participate fully in the political life of this country.

I first came to know Terry Sanford, then a recent governor of North Carolina, in 1970, when he became president of Duke University. And, Mr. Speaker, my colleagues know what the climate was like then on most college campuses. It was a time of emotional turmoil and consternation, great riffs over Vietnam and civil rights; and certainly Duke had seen its share of them. Initially, many of us who were students said, how could someone who has been in political life come to be president of this academic institution?

□ 1900

Mr. Sanford soon showed us wrong and showed us the kind of person he was. We learned how he was able to bring together many disparate elements and get everyone sitting down. I guess there are several incidents that describe how Terry Sanford worked and lived. The one that came most to my mind was one day he had only been in office at Duke for a few months, word came that the gathering of some of our more radical students had gathered out on the campus drive and were getting set to march on the administration building. They had actually blockaded the circle by which all traffic could get into the university. Rather than having them march down, Terry Sanford, new President at Duke, new kid on the block, he marched out to the traffic circle. There he confronted, and I still remember one bearded student looking at him and saying, "Do you know what we're going to do?" President Sanford said, "What is it you propose?" He said, "Well, we're going to march right down and take over Allen Building, the administration building." He stepped back, he looked at them, gave that wry chuckle of his and said, "Well, good luck. I've been trying to take it over for months." Safe to say, that demonstration broke up right there. Indeed President Sanford, then in his true style, invited everyone to come to Allen Building and to meet with him and, of course, as he often did, held regular meetings and hours with students.

Another time in a campaign that I worked in that he was involved in, some of us were being critical of another staff member, a young person, just like us. I still remember him looking at us and saying, "Nobody is ever going to be able to say that I didn't give somebody a chance." That was what his life was all about. It was giving young people, all people, but particularly young people chances.

He gave voice to a number of us who were still students in 1972 when we were looking for a presidential race and a candidate that espoused what we believed in. He took on that dark horse presidential race. It was not an easy one for him. Obviously he did not get the nomination. But on the way to

fighting for that nomination, he gave hundreds of us a chance to participate and to become stakeholders in this democratic process. I just wonder how many students he turned from being simply angry and frustrated, turned to being full participants in people making an investment in our system today.

Indeed, you can look at any role of government officials or business officials or people taking an active role in their community and you can find Terry Sanford's handiwork and signature in all of them. He ran for the Senate from North Carolina and he was elected for a term and he represented North Carolina well. This was as someone who at a time when most of us might think of retirement, Terry Sanford was always serving. He fascinated me because no matter what increase in years he might have, he could always communicate directly with young people, in terms that young people related to. You trusted him, he brought you in, he made you part of what you wanted to do. There are thousands of places and thousands of people across this world tonight who are doing something that probably they would not have done had it not been for Terry Sanford. I think that is the highest tribute that can be paid to Mr. Sanford. People, a lot of us, have opportunities today that we never would have had had he not given us a voice and a vehicle by which to express them. And so that is the job that all of us need to dedicate ourselves in his memory.

I would say to Mr. Sanford, you left our Nation much better, you enriched countless lives. Many generations are going to have enhanced opportunities because of you. Thank you, Mr. Sanford.

REFORMING THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

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

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise to address the House tonight on important legislation. The American taxpayers are expecting that we will work together in a bipartisan fashion to change the IRS and to scrap the code. The fact is that if you have seen the Senate Finance Committee hearings both recently and in the past, in the fall of 1997, we learned firsthand how the IRS agents, many of them presently employed by the agency, testified under anonymity with cloaks over their head, with scrambled speech, in order to reveal for the first time just how widespread the culture of fear is at an agency which has been out of control for some time, has caused havoc to the American citizens. We know that most employees, the great majority, are doing their job, but the fact is that at the IRS, we have set into circumstances the kind of problems that need to be cured.

Right now we heard about from IRS agents that there are quotas for prosecutions, for audits, for investigations, that in fact there has been a situation where the agency has called for each field office to have a certain number of audits and investigations, much like you would have for a sales organization. That is not how you can run an IRS.

The fact is this agency needs to turn to a taxpayer-oriented, taxpayer-friendly agency, one that is going to be there to help the American public. And so I have introduced, Mr. Speaker, the Taxpayer Bill of Rights III to answer those complaints that were raised at the Senate Finance Committee hearings. My bill will do the following. It will change the burden of proof. Instead of the taxpayer being presumed guilty and the IRS commissioner being presumed to be correct, the taxpayer will be presumed to be innocent and the burden of proof will be on the commissioner to prove otherwise. Under my bill, there will be no more fishing expeditions. There will be expanded probable cause for any investigations by the IRS. And there will be no more quotas. It is no more appropriate for us to have quotas on tickets for law enforcement agencies any more than it is appropriate to have quotas for IRS investigations and audits.

Under my Taxpayer Bill of Rights, the most important feature would be to make sure that the IRS, when they have overreaching and they go beyond the law, that they are responsible for their own business, individual and legal losses that they cause corporations and they cause individuals or any other entities that file taxes with the IRS.

The Taxpayer Bill of Rights would also call for whistle blower protection. If you report wrongdoing at the agency, then you cannot be audited for coming forward to tell the truth.

Finally, if you want to settle a claim that you have with the IRS, then the IRS must appoint a mediator for the purpose of settling that claim. We have in the United States, Mr. Speaker, over 100,000 IRS employees but only 43 taxpayer advocates, less than one per State. We need to change the balance so that we put the "Service" back in the Internal Revenue Service. We can make these changes if we work with the new commissioner, who has expressed an interest in reforming the agency.

We look forward to working with IRS employees to make this a reality and working also with the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. LARGENT) and the gentleman from New York (Mr. PAXON) to make sure we scrap the code and replace it with one that is flatter and fairer to the American people.

I thank the Speaker for this time to address these important issues of scrapping the code and reforming the IRS. I look forward to working with my colleagues in a bipartisan fashion to pass these items.