

get to the heart of the task of the Committee on the Judiciary. Constitutional provisions related to impeachment arise from English practice, wherein impeachment was employed to remove an official who had abused his office but was under the protection of the crown.

To answer that question, I looked to the intent of the framers of the Constitution. They envisioned a government where the only type of person who could achieve the office of the President would, by definition, be a virtuous person. Should a lack of virtue result, the impeachment process was designed to remedy resulting serious offenses against the public trust and our system of government.

In fact, James Madison said that the aim of the Constitution was to "prevent the degeneracy of our leaders. The method of this prevention is the impeachment process."

Our Founding Fathers adopted this view of impeachment from English law. In English law, the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" was used since the 14th century to address political crimes. This is over 600 years of history. Thus, the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" actually had nothing to do with criminal law. In the Federalist Papers, Hamilton described impeachment crimes as "those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men, or, in other words, from the abuse or violation of some public trust."

The report of the Committee on the Judiciary in the Nixon impeachment proceedings in 1974 rejected criminality as a necessary element of impeachment. Thus, impeachment is not a criminal proceeding. It charges only "political" crimes and imposes purely political punishments. Thus, one not need commit a crime to have committed an impeachable offense.

In defending the President, some say that the "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors" language in Article II, Section 4 of the Constitution has a very narrow and precise meaning. And Democrats warn us that the framers of the Constitution would be appalled today if Americans deviated from the meaning they had in mind and impeached a President over something as minor, in their opinion, as sex and lies.

The reality is that the definition of "high crimes and misdemeanors" is a term which is open to significant interpretation in light of 600 years of history. So, eventually, the American people had the responsibility to ask themselves whether they are witnessing behavior unbecoming an American President and whether the law and simple decency have rightful places in the conduct of our leaders and public officials.

We work very hard to teach our children the difference between right and wrong. We must, therefore, insist on the same from our leaders. In this case, if impeachable offenses were commit-

ted, the President must be held accountable.

Furthermore, Congress has a constitutional duty to the public to investigate and remedy breaches of the public trust. Mr. Speaker, holding the President accountable would ensure that future holders of the office would also be held accountable. To neglect to do so would debase our Constitution.

In America, no one is above the law. As former Representative Peter Rodino, a Democrat from New Jersey, a House Judiciary Committee chairman during the Watergate hearings, said, "We cannot turn away, out of partisanship or convenience, from problems that are now our responsibility to consider."

Has the President demeaned the Office of the presidency? That is the question. If so, then we must consider impeachment. Let the courts decide after the impeachment process what punishment should apply thereafter.

SEEKING A NEW STRATEGY IN AMERICA'S WAR ON POVERTY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SCARBOROUGH) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, in listening to those who have discussed the matters before Congress regarding the President, I agree these are very pressing constitutional issues before us. Regrettably, the Presidential crisis has magnified the extremes in our political culture.

I have received troubling phone calls from both sides of the political spectrum. Those supporting the President suggest that Congress drop this matter immediately. And on the other side, detractors of the President demand that we force him immediately from office without receiving due process.

Like so many others across America, I believe there is a more reasonable approach that emphasizes the importance of following the Constitution. We must do our job, and at the end of the process, we must prove two things:

First, for the sake of all Americans, we must show that no man is above the law. Secondly, we must show for the sake of the President and the public servants that work in Washington, D.C., no public servant will be held "below the law." We must not hold the President or any official to a legally higher standard than any of us would face. Those are our challenges.

I wanted to come to this chamber today, though, to speak briefly about another Democrat, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL) who today is holding meetings and going throughout the city of Washington, D.C., to address a crisis that is still press 35 years after the advent of the great society. That crisis is poverty, and that crisis of poverty still exists in Washington, D.C., and still exists across this country.

Sadly, it still is shocking to some people that poverty still exists. Reports suggests that poverty is eradicated, that it has been miraculously wiped away from the face of American civilization. Regrettably, this is not true.

Two forms of poverty still exist today. One is the poverty that we are familiar with, the poverty that we have grown up hearing about, about children living in squalor, experiencing hunger. But a second poverty exists that is a far more dangerous poverty. That is the poverty of indifference.

The situation in Washington, D.C., remains dire. The first time I came to this city I was shocked to see people living in the shadow of the United States Capitol living in poverty, crime-riddled neighborhoods. We were warned not to stray too far from the Capitol or the Mall after dusk. How did we get to such a place in the United States of America, within the shadow of our Nation's Capitol? Such a situation is not acceptable.

Washington has repeated its mistakes over the past 35 years by refusing to dare to make a difference. If inner cities faced a social ill, Washington tried to micromanage each such problem by creating huge, hulking bureaucracies. By taking money from Americans from Maine over to Hawaii, and by bringing that money to Washington, D.C., Congress has long suggested that it knows better than communities how to end the scourge of poverty. The war on poverty has almost exclusively been waged from inside the walls of federal bureaucracies.

Sadly, the centralized, bureaucratic approach has not worked for the past 40 years. It will not work for the next 40 years. Therefore, we have no other choice but to dare to create a new approach for the war on poverty.

"Insanity" is defined as doing the same thing over and over again and expecting a different result. That is what we have been doing in Washington, D.C. We continue to take money from across America, funnel it to bureaucracies, allow bureaucracies to singularly wage the war on poverty, and ignore the failings we have fostered.

Drive through the South Bronx and decide for yourself whether we are better off today than we were 40 years ago. Drive through South Central Los Angeles or Gary, Indiana, and ask that same question. Or drive 5 minutes from the Nation's Capitol and go through Anacostia, and then decide whether Anacostia is better off today than when we started our bureaucratic war on poverty 35 years ago. I would suggest to my colleagues things are not better today.

Bobby Kennedy once said, "This is the violence of institutions: indifference and inaction and slow decay. This is the violence that afflicts the poor, that poisons relations between men because their skins have different colors. This is the slow destruction of a child by hunger, and schools without books

and homes without heat in the winter." And yet, 30 years after Senator Kennedy's death the poverty of indifference still afflicts our institutions.

Last week a small, incremental approach was suggested in a tax bill that passed our House of Representatives. It was a tax incentive-based approach that provided tax incentives for twenty defined renewal communities. While the family development accounts, the commercial revitalization credit and the work opportunity tax credits suggest a hopeful beginning, these tax incentives by themselves are far too incremental to make a difference.

Still, it is a beginning. Congress must be willing to begin the unbridling of the free enterprise system in our center cities, and provide businesses incentives to beat back the effects of poverty.

Waging and winning such a war is good for all Americans, save drug dealers and demagogues. It is good for our soul and good for our economy. Imagine moving through the next century with our center cities emerging as economic engines instead of economic drains. It is a possibility we must consider. Repeating the mistakes of the past 35 years is not an option.

We must seek a new strategy in our war against poverty.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12 of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until 12 noon.

Accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 12 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess until 12 noon.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU) at 12 noon.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Reverend James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The scriptures exhort us to begin each day with joyful singing and with gladness of heart. The scriptures further proclaim that we should enter God's gates with thanksgiving and his courts with praise. Yet, we know, O loving and gracious God, that for some people there is no singing a new song, nor is there thanksgiving or gladness. Remind each of us, O God, what we can do to alleviate the hurt of others or cause their pain to diminish. May the hungry find food, the lonely know friendship, and those who experience the ravages of war find peace and rest. And may Your blessing, O God, that surrounds us and gives us hope be with us and all Your people now and evermore. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the

last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1 of rule 1, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TRAFICANT) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. TRAFICANT led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 4057. An act to amend title 49, United States Code, to reauthorize programs of the Federal Aviation Administration, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 4057) "An Act to amend title 49, United States Code, to reauthorize programs of the Federal Aviation Administration, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. GORTON, Mr. HOLLINGS, and Mr. FORD, to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2511. An act to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to pay employees of the Food Safety and Inspection Service working in establishments subject to the Federal Meat Inspection Act and the Poultry Products Inspection Act for overtime and holiday work performed by the employees.

A TAX CUT, SOCIAL SECURITY COMPROMISE

(Mr. GUTKNECHT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, I was forced to choose between keeping my promise to provide additional tax relief to working families and my pledge that every penny of Social Security taxes should go only to Social Security.

The Democrats' demagoguery rings hollow. For 40 years they raided the trust fund. All of this year's \$80 billion surplus will go towards debt, not new programs. But there was a grain of truth to the arguments that they raised. Ending the marriage penalty and making Social Security solvent are not mutually exclusive. A compromise can be reached so that tax cuts

can be phased in after our obligations to Social Security have been met. This could begin as early as next March.

When Americans allowed Washington to take money from their paychecks to fund Social Security, they never told Washington to keep the change.

PAYING TRIBUTE TO FORGOTTEN BASEBALL HEROES

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, congratulations to "Big Mac McGwire" and "Slamming Sammy Sosa." Their achievements and their character are in fact role models for all of America's youth.

Today I rise, however, to pay tribute to 2 sort of forgotten past baseball heroes. Josh Gibson of the old Negro leagues hit 85 home runs in the early 1930s. Thank God it was recognized and he was placed into the Hall of Fame. The other forgotten man is the kid from Fargo. He stood right next to Babe Ruth for 37 years. Two-time MVP, home run king, and a good person, Roger Maris.

I say to my colleagues, it is time for baseball to do the right thing like they did with Josh Gibson; it is time to put the kid from Fargo, Roger Maris, in the Hall of Fame. Sammy and Big Mac showed just what a tremendous achievement Roger Maris and Josh Gibson had, in fact, achieved.

CHINA'S FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

(Mr. PITTS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to speak on behalf of the imprisoned religious believers in China.

Chinese officials imprisoned Pastor Xu Yongze for setting up a house church and for working with overseas organizations. Reports suggest that since his arrest on March 16, 1997, authorities have beaten and tortured Pastor Xu and prevented his family from seeing him.

Further, the government rearrested 65-year-old Bishop Su Zhimin for sending a letter to Chinese authorities protesting religious freedom violations. Bishop Su spent 20 years in prison for the crime of respecting the authority of the Vatican and refusing to join China's State-sponsored church, the Catholic Patriotic Association.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the Chinese government to release Pastor Xu and Bishop Su, and begin to protect the Chinese people's fundamental right to religious liberty.