

working is not required to participate in this program.

Let me also say the issue of paternalism has been raised. And I would like to go back to the issue of the week, where we had three Presidents of the United States meet under Colin Powell in Philadelphia to discuss voluntarism—which was largely well received by the American public. But the criticism, to the degree it is rendered, has been is that it is not a bit paternalistic?

So what this is, is not outsiders coming in for community service, it is for insiders to serve their own community in appropriate, thoughtful ways defined at the local level, not by outsiders. That is the reverse of paternalism. It is work for benefit. There is an element of pride, of community service.

Finally, there is an issue of reform here. I know of nothing that implies more of the status quo than the current system. We are trying to get the American public to support housing for poor people. This committee has come forth with a bill at precisely the administration's request for dollars and calling for community service reform as advocated by the administration.

The minority side in this body is objecting. In my judgment, one of the great questions that we have to ask is, Who is philosophically in step? Is it the administration with the Republicans in Congress or is it the minority in this body?

I would say the American people, as I listen to my constituents, as I get phone calls from around the country, as I read my mail, is saying let us put a work requirement to the degree possible in Federal programs. That is what this is.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

This debate has been very fruitful and enlightening, but I want to go back to 1937 when Franklin Delano Roosevelt instituted the legislation that put forth public housing in America. At that time and certainly some 60 years later some Americans are in need of public housing. Some Americans find themselves in need, as they did in 1937, to have the Federal Government assist them in safe, decent housing.

As we debate H.R. 2, and we began this yesterday, I stand here supporting the Jackson amendment. I think the issue is not whether they ought to volunteer. Public housing residents volunteer all the time, as many of us do, in large proportion. Many public housing residents volunteer their time at their site to do wonderful things with their site, with the buildings, with their family. It is happening already.

The objection which the Jackson amendment supports is the mandate. We do not have to mandate poor people to volunteer; they do that. Actually, public assistance people are already required by the welfare bill just passed to volunteer 25 hours. This 8 hours will be on top of that.

What poor people want is a job. They do not want a handout, in spite of what you might think. This is an unfunded mandate. It would be a monster administratively for the public housing authorities even to administer this provision. But I think this Congress does ourselves, America, and poor people a disservice when we assume that they do not want to work, because they do; when we assume that they do not want to volunteer, because they do.

A high percentage of people in public housing are on welfare. They are required, by a law that was passed by this Congress in the 104th and signed by the President, to work, to volunteer 25-plus hours.

So the Jackson amendment should be considered. It should be passed. It should be included as it is not now in H.R. 2. One thing that this Jackson amendment does do is not mandate but continue the voluntarism that public recipients are already doing.

What H.R. 2 does not have in it is a grievance procedure, so that when these people who already have to do the 25 hours, who already now will have to do 8 additional hours, do not have an avenue to even speak to. The grievance procedure has been moved out of H.R. 2. Those people now volunteering 32 hours of their life a month will have to go straight to court or be evicted. Our homeless population will increase.

Mr. Chairman, I support the Jackson amendment.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Ms. KILPATRICK. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I thank the distinguished gentlewoman for yielding.

The distinguished chairman of the committee indicated that this was against Colin Powell's summit on voluntarism. Forced, mandated voluntarism is not what was discussed in Philadelphia this past week.

I believe in voluntarism, Democrats believe in voluntarism, and I genuinely believe that Republicans also believe in voluntarism, if that definition means emanating from self-will, from self-definition, one's own choice and consent, and not a Government mandate.

And I want to ask a question of the chairman if he would be so willing. Is the chairman willing to evict people who live in public housing for failure to volunteer 8 hours a month?

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Ms. KILPATRICK. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. LEACH. First, Mr. Chairman, let me say to the gentleman I made reference to the weekend's work on voluntarism. I did not say this was part of voluntarism. This is work for benefit.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, if I might, as lively a debate as we are having today, and I know we will go on and on, let us not forget that poor people want to work. Poor people do volunteer. Let us support the Jackson amendment.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois, I think, raises some very interesting ideas. The point being, how do we protect civil liberties once somebody accepts welfare?

□ 1400

This is not unique to just public housing, because in many ways this happens in our public schools. Public schools, we go there, but we still want to protect our civil liberties and we cannot overly dictate, and yet we have rules and regulations. Although I think these points are very important that the gentleman brings up, I am inclined not to support his amendment, but I think they are worth talking about.

First, I think the point about the other recipients of the welfare in the housing program is very important. Last week there was a rumor going around that I might introduce legislation that would repeal all of HUD, which would be a proper, good economic position and a proper constitutional position. I had a lot of phone calls. But none came from the poor people. They all came from the wealthy people, those who were receiving \$850 rents for \$400 houses, those who get to build the buildings, those who are the contractors and those who do the financing. They are very interested in this program.

I think the gentleman has a very good point. If we are going to punish people receiving welfare or have requirements, put the requirements on the others as well. I think this is very legitimate. But I think the idea of civil liberties, the whole notion here, the definition, has been distorted, because the one thing I think so many people forget, we should have concern about the civil liberties of those in a housing development.

For one, I have seen great danger about the abuse of the fourth amendment when it comes to the tenement houses, where they can go in without the proper issuing of a search warrant. I think that is very, very bad and seems like maybe that would put me over the line and say we should not permit this. Just because they belong, or they are living in Government housing, that should not allow us to say they have sacrificed their protections.

So I think this is important. But there are some civil liberties also of others that we have not discussed at all, because we are talking about the protection of the civil liberties of those who are receiving a house. What about the person who is paying for the house? It is assumed by so many that the wealthy are paying for these houses, but under our very regressive tax system, if we look at the amount of money the poor people pay through FICA, they are the ones who are paying. The wealthy do not pay the taxes.

So the poor individual, the low, middle income, the individual who is capable of still taking care of himself, is

hurt the most by what we do here in the Congress. Whether it is public housing or the deficit or our monetary system, these are the individuals who are hurt and are pushed aside. But they are losing their homes because we are pretending to do good to others and provide houses for them. So we should be concerned about their civil liberties as well, but it seems like we forget that.

But this whole notion about work condition, how many people can stay in a room, the search and seizures, I think these are very, very important and should not be ignored. But again we should not ignore the civil liberties of those who had to work and pay for these houses because quite frankly I think we should ask the question.

It is assumed by so many that we have a constitutional, natural right to a house. That is not in the Constitution. We have a right to our liberty, we have a right to our life, we have a right to pursue our happiness, and we ought to have the right to keep what we own. So think of the civil liberties of those who suffer when you take.

I agree that we should think of the benefits accrued to the welfare recipients and what kind of conditions we have, but I think we should think about the benefits accrued to the businessman who really is benefiting from these programs as well.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PAUL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. I thank the gentleman for yielding. I appreciate the spirit of his critique. I would like to make the argument, however, that my amendment specifically addresses condition of occupancy. Are we prepared to put people who live in public housing, to evict them for failure to volunteer 8 hours a month? I would appreciate the gentleman's answer to that.

Mr. PAUL. Yes; and I have great sympathy for the gentleman. It is just I believe that some conditions do exist in everything we do in Government. You do not go into a public school without conditions. You cannot come in there and be disruptive, or you get thrown out. So if there are conditions, you come in, and the contract is the person who accepts the housing comes in, voluntarily accepting Government housing under the conditions that they will do A, B, and C.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PAUL. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I just wonder, given the formulation that the gentleman has made about the responsibilities of individuals and of Government, is it his contention, and would he support an amendment that would suggest that anybody, for instance, that gets benefit from the Eximbank or FmHA, that those individuals have a responsibility

as a term and condition of those loans and of those programs to volunteer as well, or is it just the members of public housing?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PAUL] has expired.

(On request of Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts, and by unanimous consent, Mr. PAUL was allowed to proceed for 30 additional seconds.)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I think that would be a very good suggestion. Seeing that I think the Export-Import Bank is welfare for the very wealthy businessman, I think the conditions would be very good.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. I would like to perhaps work with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PAUL] on these kinds of issues.

Mr. PAUL. I will think about that and think about the ramifications, but I certainly will consider it.

Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Do not back off now.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Let me begin with that point and assure the gentleman from Texas and others that when the Export-Import Bank reauthorization comes up, and I am for the Export-Import Bank, I think it performs an important function, but I think we will offer an amendment to require some community service.

Colin Powell has been invoked. One of the things that my friend the chairman is very good at is the principle of selective invocation. The President alternatively is someone to be scorned and someone whose word is not to be questioned when there is an unpopular issue he wants to hide behind.

Colin Powell specifically criticized the corporate sector. My colleagues may have read he asked to be invited to speak to the boards of directors, where the corporate executives have said voluntary work and contributions are not in the shareholders' interest.

We will offer an amendment, I guarantee to the gentleman, applying this principle, if it is to be mandatory, to the Export-Import Bank. We will not evict them from their homes, their homes are generally too large to find them, the people who live in them, but we will make it a condition.

We should also do it with Farmers Home. We have in this committee jurisdiction over the Farmers Home Program, a very justified and sometimes very comfortable level of subsidy. The gentleman says, no, how can you say we are doing this because of some animus against poor people? How can that be? I should have said, no, it is about urban poor people. When has anyone ever suggested doing this for the Farmers Home Program? A direct benefit. We are not talking now about a tax subsidy, we are not talking about a tax thing.

This committee has jurisdiction over a lot of benefits. One group, the poorest

among us, are being singled out. I would also say, people have said, well, they should have jobs. Frankly, one thing that is going to happen, more people in public housing will be unemployed if the Federal Reserve has its way. I wish the chairman would join us in having a hearing on the Federal Reserve System.

The gentleman who just spoke talked about the monetary system. The Federal Reserve Open Market Committee just decided that we have about 450,000 too many jobs in America. It is very clear if you look at them that they thought when unemployment went from 5.5 down to 5.2 that that had exceeded what they thought was the level of jobs and they are moving to increase it.

By the way, when you talk about the very wealthy, they are solicitous there. Mr. Meyer in his speech said that the Fed had to act to "validate the bond market." God forbid there should be low self-esteem on Wall Street. We will step in there. But the cost of validating the bond market is about .3 percent, we can estimate, of unemployment, another 436,000 people thrown out of work, more than that.

I would say to the chairman, let us have a hearing. Many of us, every single Democrat, the Independent member of the Committee on Banking and Financial Services have asked for a hearing. The chairman is refusing to allow us to have a hearing until after two more meetings of the Open Market Committee. These are tied in, these are relevant, I would say to the Parliamentarian anticipatorily, because the more we let the Federal Reserve, without debate, increase unemployment in America, the greater we will exacerbate these conditions.

The fact is that there is one other great example of selective principle on the Republican side here. This is not a mandate, but it is mandatory imposition on every public housing authority in America. Public housing authorities may say, well, you know in our case it would not make sense. The general principle of requiring people to work may be a good one, but in this particular circumstance given the nature of our buildings, given the neighborhood we are in, given the population we have, it would not make sense. What is the Republican answer to a housing authority that says in our special local conditions that would not make sense. The answer is: The Federal Government knows best, shut up and do it.

This is an example of as binding a centrally imposed detailed requirement as you will see. Maybe in my housing authority it should be 6 hours. Maybe it should be 12. No, 8 hours. We are going to tell every housing authority everywhere in the country exactly what they have to do. When it comes in fact to roughing up the poor a little bit, and the gentleman from Iowa is correct, he says he feels in tune philosophically with the American people. Unfortunately I think that is correct. I