

DeFazio	Kildee	Rahall
DeLauro	Kleczka	Rangel
Dellums	Klink	Reed
Deutsch	LaFalce	Reynolds
Dicks	Lambert-Lincoln	Richardson
Dingell	Lantos	Rivers
Dixon	Laughlin	Roemer
Doggett	Levin	Rose
Dooley	Lewis (GA)	Roybal-Allard
Doyle	Lipinski	Rush
Durbin	Lofgren	Sabo
Edwards	Lowey	Sanders
Engel	Luther	Sawyer
Eshoo	Maloney	Schroeder
Evans	Manton	Schumer
Farr	Markey	Scott
Fattah	Martinez	Serrano
Fazio	Mascara	Sisisky
Fields (LA)	Matsui	Skaggs
Filner	McCarthy	Skelton
Flake	McDermott	Slaughter
Foglietta	McHale	Spratt
Ford	McKinney	Stark
Frank (MA)	McNulty	Stenholm
Frost	Meehan	Stokes
Furse	Meeke	Studds
Gejdenson	Menendez	Stupak
Geren	Mfume	Tanner
Gibbons	Miller (CA)	Tauzin
Gonzalez	Mineta	Tejeda
Gordon	Minge	Thompson
Green	Mink	Thornton
Gutierrez	Moakley	Thurman
Hall (OH)	Mollohan	Torres
Hall (TX)	Montgomery	Torricelli
Hamilton	Moran	Towns
Harman	Murtha	Traficant
Hastings (FL)	Nadler	Tucker
Hayes	Neal	Velazquez
Hefner	Oberstar	Vento
Hilliard	Obey	Visclosky
Hinchee	Olver	Volkmer
Holden	Ortiz	Ward
Hoyer	Orton	Waters
Jackson-Lee	Owens	Watt (NC)
Jacobs	Pallone	Waxman
Jefferson	Pastor	Williams
Johnson (SD)	Payne (NJ)	Wilson
Johnson, E. B.	Payne (VA)	Wise
Johnston	Pelosi	Woolsey
Kanjorski	Peterson (FL)	Wyden
Kaptur	Peterson (MN)	Wynn
Kennedy (MA)	Pickett	Yates
Kennedy (RI)	Pomeroy	
Kennelly	Poshard	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—4

Gephardt	Parker
Gingrich	Taylor (MS)

¶1.7 The roll having been completed, the Clerk announced that the tellers had reached an agreement that the total number of votes cast were 434 of which number Mr. NEWT GINGRICH received 228; Mr. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT received 202. Mr. NEWT GINGRICH, of Georgia, having received 228 votes, being the largest number cast for any Member-elect and a majority of the whole number of votes cast, was declared by the Clerk to have been duly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives for the 104th Congress.

The Clerk announced the appointment of Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. ARMEY, Mr. DELAY, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. Fazio, Mr. COLLINS OF GEORGIA, Mr. LEWIS OF GEORGIA, Mr. BISHOP, Mr. DEAL, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. LINDER, Ms. MCKINNEY, Mr. BARR, Mr. CHAMBLISS, and Mr. NORWOOD to escort the Speaker to the Chair.

The SPEAKER was escorted to the Chair by said committee and, following an introduction by Mr. GEPHARDT, addressed the House as follows:

"Let me say first of all that I am deeply grateful to my good friend, DICK GEPHARDT. When my side maybe overreacted to your statement about ending 40 years of Democratic rule, I could

not help but look over at Bob Michel, who has often been up here and who knows that everything DICK said was true. This is difficult and painful to lose, and on my side of the aisle, we have for 20 elections been on the losing side. Yet there is something so wonderful about the process by which a free people decides things.

"In my own case, I lost two elections, and with the good help of my friend VIC FAZIO came close to losing two others. I am sorry, guys, it just did not quite work out. Yet I can tell you that every time when the polls closed and I waited for the votes to come in, I felt good, because win or lose, we have been part of this process.

"In a little while, I am going to ask the dean of the House, JOHN DINGELL, to swear me in, to insist on the bipartisan nature of the way in which we together work in this House. JOHN's father was one of the great stalwarts of the New Deal, a man who, as an FDR Democrat, created modern America. I think that JOHN and his father represent a tradition that we all have to recognize and respect, and recognize that the America we are now going to try to lead grew from that tradition and is part of that great heritage.

"I also want to take just a moment to thank Speaker Foley, who was extraordinarily generous, both in his public utterances and in everything that he and Mrs. Foley did to help Marianne and me, and to help our staff make the transition. I think that he worked very hard to reestablish the dignity of the House. We can all be proud of the reputation that he takes and of the spirit with which he led the speakership. Our best wishes go to Speaker and Mrs. Foley.

"I also want to thank the various house officers, who have been just extraordinary. I want to say for the public record that faced with a result none of them wanted, in a situation I suspect none of them expected, that within 48 hours every officer of this House reacted as a patriot, worked overtime, bent over backwards, and in every way helped us. I am very grateful, and this House I think owes a debt of gratitude to every officer that the Democrats elected 2 years ago.

"This is an historic moment. I was asked over and over, how did it feel, and the only word that comes close to adequate is overwhelming. I feel overwhelmed in every way, overwhelmed by all the Georgians who came up, overwhelmed by my extended family that is here, overwhelmed by the historic moment. I walked out and stood on the balcony just outside of the Speaker's office, looking down the Mall this morning, very early. I was just overwhelmed by the view, with two men I will introduce and know very, very well. Just the sense of being part of America, being part of this great tradition, is truly overwhelming.

"I have two gavels. Actually, DICK happened to use one. Maybe this was appropriate. This was a Georgia gavel I just got this morning, done by Dorsey

Newman of Tallapoosa. He decided that the gavels he saw on TV weren't big enough or strong enough, so he cut down a walnut tree in his backyard, make a gavel, put a commemorative item on it, and sent it up here.

"So this is a genuine Georgia gavel, and I am the first Georgia Speaker in over 100 years. The last one, by the way, had a weird accent, too. Speaker Crisp was born in Britain. His parents were actors and they came to the United States—a good word, by the way, for the value we get from immigration.

"Second, this is the gavel that Speaker Martin used. I am not sure what it says about the inflation of Government, to put them side by side, but this was the gavel used by the last Republican Speaker.

"I want to comment for a minute on two men who served as my leaders, from whom I learned so much and who are here today. When I arrived as a freshman, the Republican Party, deeply dispirited by Watergate and by the loss of the Presidency, banded together and worked with a leader who helped pave the way for our great party victory of 1980, a man who just did a marvelous job. I cannot speak too highly of what I learned about integrity and leadership and courage from serving with him in my freshman term. He is here with us again today. I hope all of you will recognize Congressman John Rhodes of Arizona.

"I want to say also that at our request, the second person was not sure he should be here at all, then he thought he was going to hide in the back of the room. I insisted that he come on down front, someone whom I regard as a mentor. I think virtually every Democrat in the House would say he is a man who genuinely cares about, loves the House, and represents the best spirit of the House. He is a man who I studied under and, on whom I hope as Speaker I can always rely for advice. I hope frankly I can emulate his commitment to this institution and his willingness to try to reach beyond his personal interest and partisanship. I hope all of you will join me in thanking for his years of service, Congressman Bob Michel of Illinois.

"I am very fortunate today. My mom and my dad are here, they are right up there in the gallery. Bob and Kit Gingrich. I am so delighted that they were both able to be here. Sometimes when you get to my age, you cannot have everyone near you that you would like to have. I cannot say how much I learned from my Dad and his years of serving in the U.S. Army and how much I learned from my Mother, who is clearly my most enthusiastic cheerleader.

"My daughters are here up in the gallery, too. They are Kathy Lovewith and her husband Paul, and Jackie and her husband Mark Zyler. Of course, the person who clearly is my closest friend and my best adviser and whom if I listened to about 20 percent more, I would get in less trouble, my wife Marianne, is in the gallery as well.

"I have a very large extended family between Marianne and me. They are virtually all in town, and we have done our part for the Washington tourist season. But I could not help, when I first came on the floor earlier, I saw a number of the young people who are here. I met a number of the children who are on the floor and the young adults, who are close to 12 years of age. I could not help but think that sitting in the back rail near the center of the House is one of my nephews, Kevin McPherson, who is 5. My nieces Susan Brown, who is 6, and Emily Brown, who is 8, and Laura McPherson, who is 9, are all back there, too. That is probably more than I was allowed to bring on, but they are my nieces and my nephews. I have two other nephews a little older who are sitting in the gallery.

"I could not help but think as a way I wanted to start the Speakership and to talk to every Member, that in a sense these young people around us are what this institution is really all about. Much more than the negative advertising and the interest groups and all the different things that make politics all too often cynical, nasty, and sometimes frankly just plan miserable, what makes politics worthwhile is the choice, as DICK GEPHARDT said, between what we see so tragically on the evening news and the way we try to work very hard to make this system of free, representative self-government work. The ultimate reason for doing that is these children, the country they will inherit, and the world they will live in.

"We are starting the 104th Congress. I do not know if you have every thought about this, but for 208 years, we bring together the most diverse country in the history of the world. We send all sorts of people here. Each of us could find at least one Member we thought was weird. I will tell you, if you went around the room the person chosen to be weird would be different for virtually every one of us. Because we do allow and insist upon the right of a free people to send an extraordinary diversity of people here.

"Brian Lamb of C-SPAN read to me Friday a phrase from de Tocqueville that was so central to the House. I have been reading Remini's biography of Henry Clay and Clay, as the first strong Speaker, always preferred the House. He preferred the House to the Senate although he served in both. He said the House is more vital, more active, more dynamic, and more common.

"This is what de Tocqueville wrote: 'Often there is not a distinguished man in the whole number. Its members are almost all obscure individuals whose names bring no associations to mind. They are mostly village lawyers, men in trade, or even persons belonging to the lower classes of society.'

"If we include women, I do not know that we would change much. But the word 'vulgar' in de Tocqueville's time had a very particular meaning. It is a

meaning the world would do well to study in this room. You see, de Tocqueville was an aristocrat. He lived in a world of kings and princes. The folks who come here do so by the one single act that their citizens freely chose them. I do not care what your ethnic background is, or your ideology. I do not care if you are younger or older. I do not care if you are born in America or if you are a naturalized citizen. Everyone of the 435 people have equal standing because their citizens freely sent them. Their voice should be heard and they should have a right to participate. It is the most marvelous act of a complex giant country trying to argue and talk. And, as DICK GEPHARDT said, to have a great debate, to reach great decisions, not through a civil war, not by bombing one of our regional capitals, not by killing a half million people, and not by having snipers. Let me say unequivocally, I condemn all acts of violence against the law by all people for all reasons. This is a society of law and a society of civil behavior.

"Here we are as commoners together, to some extent Democrats and Republicans, to some extent liberals and conservatives, but Americans all. STEVE GUNDERSON today gave me a copy of the "Portable Abraham Lincoln." He suggested there is much for me to learn about our party, but I would also say that it does not hurt to have a copy of the portable F.D.R.

"This is a great country of great people. If there is any one factor or acts of my life that strikes me as I stand up here as the first Republican in 40 years to do so. When I first became whip in 1989, Russia was beginning to change, the Soviet Union as it was then. Into my whip's office one day came eight Russians and a Lithuanian, members of the Communist Party, newspaper editors. They asked me, 'What does a whip do?'

"They said, 'In Russia we have never had a free parliament since 1917 and that was only for a few months, so what do you do?'

"I tried to explain, as DAVE BONIOR or TOM DELAY might now. It is a little strange if you are from a dictatorship to explain you are called the whip but you do not really have a whip, you are elected by the people you are supposed to pressure—other members. If you pressure them too much they will not reelect you. On the other hand if you do not pressure them enough they will not reelect you. Democracy is hard. It is frustrating.

"So our group came into the Chamber. The Lithuanian was a man in his late sixties, and I allowed him to come up here and sit and be Speaker, something many of us have done with constituents. Remember, this is the very beginning of perestroika and glasnost. When he came out of the chair, he was physically trembling. He was almost in tears. He said, 'Ever since World War II, I have remembered what the Americans did and I have never believed the propaganda. But I have to tell you, I

did not think in my life that I would be able to sit at the center of freedom.'

"It was one of the most overwhelming, compelling moments of my life. It struck me that something I could not help but think of when we were here with President Mandela. I went over and saw RON DELLUMS and thought of the great work RON had done to extend freedom across the planet. You get that sense of emotion when you see something so totally different than you had expected. Here was a man who reminded me first of all that while presidents are important, they are in effect an elected kingship, that this and the other body across the way are where freedom has to be fought out. That is the tradition I hope that we will take with us as we go to work.

"Today we had a bipartisan prayer service. FRANK WOLF made some very important points. He said, 'We have to recognize that many of our most painful problems as a country are moral problems, problems of dealing with ourselves and with life.'

"He said character is the key to leadership and we have to deal with that. He preached a little bit. I do not think he thought he was preaching, but he was. It was about a spirit of reconciliation. He talked about caring about our spouses and our children and our families. If we are not prepared to model our own family life beyond just having them here for 1 day, if we are not prepared to care about our children and we are not prepared to care about our families, then by what arrogance do we think we will transcend our behavior to care about others? That is why with Congressman GEPHARDT's help we have established a bipartisan task force on the family. We have established the principle that we are going to set schedules we stick to so families can count on time to be together, built around school schedules so that families can get to know each other, and not just by seeing us on C-SPAN.

"I will also say that means one of the strongest recommendations of the bipartisan committee, is that we have 17 minutes to vote. This is the bipartisan committee's recommendations, not just mine. They pointed out that if we take the time we spent in the last Congress where we waited for one more Member, and one more, and one more, that we literally can shorten the business and get people home if we will be strict and firm. At one point this year we had a 45-minute vote. I hope all of my colleagues are paying attention because we are in fact going to work very hard to have 17 minute votes and it is over. So, leave on the first bell, not the second bell. OK? This may seem particularly inappropriate to say on the first day because this will be the busiest day on opening day in congressional history.

"I want to read just a part of the Contract With America. I don't mean this as a partisan act, but rather to remind all of us what we are about to go through and why. Those of us who

ended up in the majority stood on these steps and signed a contract, and here is part of what it says:

On the first day of the 104th Congress the new Republican majority will immediately pass the following reforms aimed at restoring the faith and trust of the American people in their government: First, require all laws that apply to the rest of the country also to apply equally to the Congress. Second, select a major, independent auditing firm to conduct a comprehensive audit of the Congress for waste, fraud or abuse. Third, cut the number of House committees and cut committee staffs by a third. Fourth, limit the terms of all committee chairs. Fifth, ban the casting of proxy votes in committees. Sixth, require committee meetings to be open to the public. Seventh, require a three-fifths majority vote to pass a tax increase. Eighth, guarantee an honest accounting of our federal budget by implementing zero baseline budgeting.

"Now, I told DICK GEPHARDT last night that if I had to do it over again we would have pledged within 3 days that we will do these things, but that is not what we said. So we have ourselves in a little bit of a box here.

"Then we go a step further. I carry the T.V. Guide version of the contract with me at all times.

"We then say that within the first 100 days of the 104th Congress we shall bring to the House floor the following bills, each to be given full and open debate, each to be given a full and clear vote, and each to be immediately available for inspection. We made it available that day. We listed 10 items. A balanced budget amendment and line-item veto, a bill to stop violent criminals, emphasizing among other things an effective and enforceable death penalty. Third was welfare reform. Fourth, legislation protecting our kids. Fifth was to provide tax cuts for families. Sixth was a bill to strengthen our national defense. Seventh was a bill to raise the senior citizens' earning limit. Eighth was legislation rolling back Government regulations. Ninth was a commonsense legal reform bill, and tenth was congressional term limits legislation.

"Our commitment on our side, and this is an absolute obligation, is first of all to work today until we are done. I know that is going to inconvenience people who have families and supporters. But we were hired to do a job, and we have to start today to prove we will do it. Second, I would say to our friends in the Democratic Party that we are going to work with you, and we are really laying out a schedule working with the minority leader to make sure that we can set dates certain to go home. That does mean that if 2 or 3 weeks out we are running short we will, frankly, have longer sessions on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. We will try to work this out on a bipartisan basis to, in a workmanlike way, get it done. It is going to mean the busiest early months since 1933.

"Beyond the Contract I think there are two giant challenges. I know I am a partisan figure. But I really hope today that I can speak for a minute to my friends in the Democratic Party as

well as my own colleagues, and speak to the country about these two challenges so that I hope we can have a real dialogue. One challenge is to achieve a balanced budget by 2002. I think both Democratic and Republican Governors will say we can do that but it is hard. I do not think we can do it in a year or two. I do not think we ought to lie to the American people. This is a huge, complicated job.

"The second challenge is to find a way to truly replace the current welfare state with an opportunity society.

"Let me talk very briefly about both challenges. First, on the balanced budget I think we can get it done. I think the baby boomers are now old enough that we can have an honest dialogue about priorities, about resources, about what works, and what does not work. Let me say I have already told Vice President GORE that we are going to invite him to address a Republican conference. We would have invited him in December but he had to go to Moscow, I believe there are grounds for us to talk together and to work together, to have hearings together, and to have task forces together. If we set priorities, if we apply the principles of Edwards Deming and of Peter Drucker we can build on the Vice President's reinventing government effort and we can focus on transforming, not just cutting. The choice becomes not just do you want more or do you want less, but are there ways to do it better? Can we learn from the private sector, can we learn from Ford, IBM, from Microsoft, from what General Motors has had to go through? I think on a bipartisan basis we owe it to our children and grandchildren to get this Government in order and to be able to actually pay our way. I think 2002 is a reasonable timeframe. I would hope that together we could open a dialogue with the American people.

"I have said that I think Social Security ought to be off limits, at least for the first 4 to 6 years of the process, because I think it will just destroy us if we try to bring it into the game. But let me say about everything else, whether it is Medicare, or it is agricultural subsidies, or it is defense or anything that I think the greatest Democratic President of the 20th century, and in my judgment the greatest President of the 20th century, said it right. On March 4, 1933, he stood in braces as a man who had polio at a time when nobody who had that kind of disability could be anything in public life. He was President of the United States, and he stood in front of this Capitol on a rainy March day and he said, 'We have nothing to fear but fear itself.' I want every one of us to reach out in that spirit and pledge to live up to that spirit, and I think frankly on a bipartisan basis. I would say to Members of the Black and Hispanic Caucuses that I would hope we could arrange by late spring to genuinely share districts. You could have a Republican who frankly may not know a thing about your district agree to come for a long weekend with

you, and you will agree to go for a long weekend with them. We begin a dialogue and an openness that is totally different than people are used to seeing in politics in America. I believe if we do that we can then create a dialogue that can lead to a balanced budget.

"But I think we have a greater challenge. I do want to pick up directly on what DICK GEPHARDT said, because he said it right. No Republican here should kid themselves about it. The greatest leaders in fighting for an integrated America in the 20th century were in the Democratic Party. The fact is, it was the liberal wing of the Democratic Party that ended segregation. The fact is that it was Franklin Delano Roosevelt who gave hope to a Nation that was in distress and could have slid into dictatorship. Every Republican has much to learn from studying what the Democrats did right.

"But I would say to my friends in the Democratic Party that there is much to what Ronald Reagan was trying to get done. There is much to what is being done today by Republicans like Bill Weld, and John Engler, and Tommy Thompson, and George Allen, and Christy Whitman, and Pete Wilson. There is much we can share with each other.

"We must replace the welfare state with an opportunity society. The balanced budget is the right thing to do. But it does not in my mind have the moral urgency of coming to grips with what is happening to the poorest Americans.

"I commend to all Marvin Olasky's 'The Tragedy of American Compassion.' Olasky goes back for 300 years and looked at what has worked in America, how we have helped people rise beyond poverty, and how we have reached out to save people. He may not have the answers, but he has the right sense of where we have to go as Americans.

"I do not believe that there is a single American who can see a news report of a 4-year-old thrown off of a public housing project in Chicago by other children and killed and not feel that a part of your heart went, too. I think of my nephew in the back, Kevin, and how all of us feel about our children. How can any American read about an 11-year-old buried with his Teddy bear because he killed a 14-year-old, and then another 14-year-old killed him, and not have some sense of 'My God, where has this country gone?' How can we not decide that this is a moral crisis equal to segregation, equal to slavery? How can we not insist that every day we take steps to do something?

"I have seldom been more shaken than I was after the election when I had breakfast with two members of the Black Caucus. One of them said to me, 'Can you imagine what it is like to visit a first-grade class and realize that every fourth or fifth young boy in that class may be dead or in jail within 15 years? And they are your constituents and you are helpless to change it?' For some reason, I do not know why,

maybe because I visit a lot of schools, that got through. I mean, that personalized it. That made it real, not just statistics, but real people.

"Then I tried to explain part of my thoughts by talking about the need for alternatives to the bureaucracy, and we got into what I think frankly has been a pretty distorted and cheap debate over orphanages.

"Let me say, first of all, my father, who is here today, was a foster child. He was adopted as a teenager. I am adopted. We have relatives who were adopted. We are not talking out of some vague impersonal Dickens 'Bleak House' middle-class intellectual model. We have lived the alternatives.

"I believe when we are told that children are so lost in the city bureaucracies that there are children who end up in dumpsters, when we are told that there are children doomed to go to schools where 70 or 80 percent of them will not graduate, when we are told of public housing projects that are so dangerous that if any private sector ran them they would be put in jail, and the only solution we are given is, "Well, we will study it, we will get around to it," my only point is that this is unacceptable. We can find ways immediately to do things better, to reach out, break through the bureaucracy and give every young American child a better chance.

"Let me suggest to you Morris Schectman's new book. I do not agree with all of it, but it is fascinating. It is entitled 'Working Without a Net.' It is an effort to argue that in the 21st century we have to create our own safety nets. He draws a distinction between caring and caretaking. It is worth every American reading.

"He said caretaking is when you bother me a little bit, and I do enough, I feel better because I think I took care of you. That is not any good to you at all. You may be in fact an alcoholic and I just gave you the money to buy the bottle that kills you, but I feel better and go home. He said caring is actually stopping and dealing with the human being, trying to understand enough about them to genuinely make sure you improve their life, even if you have to start with a conversation like, 'If you will quit drinking, I will help you get a job.' This is a lot harder conversation than, 'I feel better. I gave him a buck or 5 bucks.'

"I want to commend every Member on both sides to look carefully. I say to those Republicans who believe in total privatization, you cannot believe in the Good Samaritan and explain that as long as business is making money we can walk by a fellow American who is hurt and not do something. I would say to my friends on the left who believe there has never been a government program that was not worth keeping, you cannot look at some of the results we now have and not want to reach out to the humans and forget the bureaucracies.

"If we could build that attitude on both sides of this aisle, we would be an

amazingly different place, and the country would begin to be a different place.

"We have to create a partnership. We have to reach out to the American people. We are going to do a lot of important things. Thanks to the House Information System and Congressman VERN EHLERS, as of today we are going to be on line for the whole country, every amendment, every conference report. We are working with C-SPAN and others, and Congressman GEPHARDT has agreed to help on a bipartisan basis to make the building more open to television, more accessible to the American people. We have talk radio hosts here today for the first time. I hope to have a bipartisan effort to make the place accessible for all talk radio hosts of all backgrounds, no matter their ideology. The House Historian's office is going to be more aggressively run on a bipartisan basis to reach out to Close Up, and to other groups to teach what the legislative struggle is about. I think over time we can and will this Spring rethink campaign reform and lobbying reform and review all ethics, including the gift rule.

"But that isn't enough. Our challenge shouldn't be just to balance the budget or to pass the Contract. Our challenge should not be anything that is just legislative. We are supposed to, each one of us, be leaders. I think our challenge has to be to set as our goal, and maybe we are not going to get there in 2 years. This ought to be the goal that we go home and we tell people we believe in: that there will be a Monday morning when for the entire weekend not a single child was killed anywhere in America; that there will be a Monday morning when every child in the country went to a school that they and their parents thought prepared them as citizens and prepared them to compete in the world market; that there will be a Monday morning where it was easy to find a job or create a job, and your own Government did not punish you if you tried.

"We should not be happy just with the language of politicians and the language of legislation. We should insist that our success for America is felt in the neighborhoods, in the communities, is felt by real people living real lives who can say, 'Yes, we are safer, we are healthier, we are better educated, America succeeds.'

"This morning's closing hymn at the prayer service was the Battle Hymn of the Republic. It is hard to be in this building, look down past Grant to the Lincoln Memorial and not realize how painful and how difficult that battle hymn is. The key phrase is, 'As he died to make men holy, let us live to make men free.'

"It is not just political freedom, although I agree with everything Congressman GEPHARDT said earlier. If you cannot afford to leave the public housing project, you are not free. If you do not know how to find a job and do not know how to create a job, you are not free. If you cannot find a place that

will educate you, you are not free. If you are afraid to walk to the store because you could get killed, you are not free.

"So as all of us over the coming months sing that song, 'As he died to make men holy, let us live to make men free,' I want us to dedicate ourselves to reach out in a genuinely non-partisan way to be honest with each other. I promise each of you that without regard to party my door is going to be open. I will listen to each of you. I will try to work with each of you. I will put in long hours, and I will guarantee that I will listen to you first. I will let you get it all out before I give you my version, because you have been patient with me today, and you have given me a chance to set the stage.

"But I want to close by reminding all of us of how much bigger this is than us. Because beyond talking with the American people, beyond working together, I think we can only be successful if we start with our limits. I was very struck this morning with something Bill EMERSON used, a very famous quote of Benjamin Franklin, at the point where the Constitutional Convention was deadlocked. People were tired, and there was a real possibility that the Convention was going to break up. Franklin, who was quite old and had been relatively quiet for the entire Convention, suddenly stood up and was angry, and he said :

I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men, and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without His aid?

"At that point the Constitutional Convention stopped. They took a day off for fasting and prayer.

"Then, having stopped and come together, they went back, and they solved the great question of large and small States. They wrote the Constitution, and the United States was created. All I can do is pledge to you that, if each of us will reach out prayerfully and try to genuinely understand each other, if we will recognize that in this building we symbolize America, and that we have an obligation to talk with each other, then I think a year from now we can look on the 104th Congress as a truly amazing institution without regard to party, without regard to ideology. We can say, 'Here, America comes to work, and here we are preparing for those children a better future.'

"Thank you. Good luck and God bless you."

¶1.8 OATH OF OFFICE—SPEAKER

At the request of the Speaker the oath of office was then administered to him by Mr. DINGELL, dean of the House.

¶1.9 OATH OF OFFICE—MEMBERS-ELECT, DELEGATES-ELECT, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

The SPEAKER said: "According to precedent, the Chair will swear in all Members of the House at this time. If