

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

the Members will rise, the Chair will now administer the oath of office."

The Members-elect, Delegates-elect and Resident Commissioner, then rose in their places and took the oath of office prescribed by law.

¶1.10 SELECTION OF MAJORITY AND MINORITY LEADERS

Mr. BOEHNER notified the House of the selection of the Republican Conference of Mr. ARMEY as majority leader.

Mr. FAZIO notified the House of the selection by the Democratic Caucus of Mr. GEPHARDT as minority leader.

¶1.11 SELECTION OF MAJORITY AND MINORITY WHIPS

Mr. BOEHNER notified the House of the selection of Mr. DELAY as majority whip.

Mr. FAZIO notified the House of the selection of Mr. BONIOR as minority whip.

¶1.12 ORGANIZATIONAL RESOLUTION—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Mr. BOEHNER submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 1):

Resolved, That Robin H. Carle, of the Commonwealth of Virginia, be, and she is hereby, chosen Clerk of the House of Representatives;

That Wilson S. Livingood, of the Commonwealth of Virginia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives;

That Scott M. Faulkner, of the State of West Virginia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Chief Administrative Officer of the House of Representatives; and

That Reverend James David Ford, of the Commonwealth of Virginia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

When said resolution was considered.

Mr. FAZIO demanded that the resolution be divided for a separate vote on the nominee for Chaplain of the House. The resolution was divided.

The Reverend James David Ford of the Commonwealth of Virginia was elected Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

Mr. FAZIO then submitted the following substitute for the remainder of the resolution:

That Thomas O'Donnell, of the State of Maryland, be, and he is hereby, chosen Clerk of the House of Representatives;

That George Kundanis, of the District of Columbia, be, and he is hereby, chosen Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives; and

That Marti Thomas, of the District of Columbia, be, and she is hereby, chosen Chief Administrative Officer of the House of Representatives.

The substitute was not agreed to.

The question being put, *viva voce*,

Will the House agree to the remainder of said resolution?

The SPEAKER announced that the yeas had it.

So the remainder of said resolution was agreed to.

Whereupon, Robin H. Carle of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Clerk; Wilson S. Livingood of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Sergeant at Arms; Scott

M. Faulkner of the State of West Virginia, Chief Administrative Officer; and the Reverend James David Ford of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Chaplain; presented themselves at the bar of the House and took the oath of office prescribed by law.

¶1.13 NOTIFICATION OF THE SENATE OF ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE

Mr. ARMEY submitted the following privileged resolution, which was considered and agreed to (H. Res. 2):

Resolved, That the Senate be informed that a quorum of the House of Representatives has assembled; that NEWT GINGRICH, a Representative from the State of Georgia, has been elected Speaker; and Robin H. Carle, a citizen of the Commonwealth of Virginia, has been elected Clerk of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Fourth Congress.

¶1.14 COMMITTEE TO NOTIFY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE CONGRESS

Mr. ARMEY submitted the following privileged resolution, which was considered and agreed to (H. Res. 3):

Resolved, That a committee of two Members be appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives to join with a committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House has assembled and Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make.

The SPEAKER, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, announced the appointment of Messrs. ARMEY and GEPHARDT as members of the committee on the part of the House to join a like committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House has been assembled and that the Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make.

¶1.15 NOTIFICATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF ELECTION OF CERTAIN OFFICERS

Mr. ARMEY submitted the following resolution, which was considered and agreed to (H. Res. 4):

Resolved, That the Clerk be instructed to inform the President of the United States that the House of Representatives has elected NEWT GINGRICH, a Representative from the State of Georgia, Speaker; and Robin H. Carle, a citizen of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Clerk of the House of Representatives of the One Hundred Fourth Congress.

¶1.16 PROVIDING FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF H. RES. 6

Mr. SOLOMON, by direction of the House Republican Conference, called up the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 5):

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the resolution (H. Res. 6) adopting the Rules of the House of Representatives for the One Hundred Fourth Congress. The resolution shall be considered as read. The resolution shall be debatable initially for 30 minutes to be equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the resolution to final adoption without intervening

motion or demand for division of the question except as specified in sections 2 and 3 of this resolution.

SEC. 2. The question of adopting the resolution shall be divided among nine parts, to wit: each of the eight sections of title I; and title II. Each portion of the divided question shall be debatable separately for 20 minutes, to be equally divided and controlled by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees, and shall be disposed of in the order stated.

SEC. 3. Pending the question of adopting the ninth portion of the divided question, it shall be in order to move that the House commit the resolution to a select committee, with or without instructions. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the motion to commit to final adoption without intervening motion.

When said resolution was considered.

After debate,

Mr. DREIER moved the previous question on the resolution to its adoption or rejection.

The question being put, *viva voce*,

Will the House now order the previous question?

The SPEAKER announced that the yeas had it.

Mr. BONIOR demanded that the vote be taken by the yeas and nays, which demand was supported by one-fifth of the Members present, so the yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device.

It was decided in the affirmative { Yeas 232
Nays 199

¶1.17 [Roll No. 3] YEAS—232

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| Allard | Cremeans | Hastings (WA) |
| Archer | Cubin | Hayworth |
| Army | Cunningham | Hefley |
| Bachus | Davis | Heineman |
| Baker (CA) | Deal | Herger |
| Baker (LA) | DeLay | Hilleary |
| Ballenger | Diaz-Balart | Hobson |
| Barr | Dickey | Hoekstra |
| Barrett (NE) | Doolittle | Hoke |
| Bartlett | Dornan | Horn |
| Barton | Dreier | Hostettler |
| Bass | Duncan | Houghton |
| Bateman | Dunn | Hunter |
| Bereuter | Ehlers | Hutchinson |
| Bilbray | Ehrlich | Hyde |
| Bilirakis | Emerson | Inglis |
| Bliley | English | Istook |
| Blute | Ensign | Johnson (CT) |
| Boehlert | Everett | Johnson, Sam |
| Boehner | Ewing | Jones |
| Bonilla | Fawell | Kasich |
| Bono | Fields (TX) | Kelly |
| Brewster | Flanagan | Kim |
| Brownback | Foley | King |
| Bryant (TN) | Forbes | Kingston |
| Bunn | Fowler | Klug |
| Bunning | Fox | Knollenberg |
| Burr | Franks (CT) | Kolbe |
| Burton | Franks (NJ) | LaHood |
| Buyer | Frelinghuysen | Largent |
| Callahan | Frisa | Latham |
| Calvert | Funderburk | LaTourette |
| Camp | Gallegly | Lazio |
| Canady | Ganske | Leach |
| Castle | Gekas | Lewis (CA) |
| Chabot | Gilchrest | Lewis (KY) |
| Chambliss | Gillmor | Lightfoot |
| Chenoweth | Gilman | Linder |
| Christensen | Goodlatte | Livingston |
| Chrysler | Goodling | LoBiondo |
| Clinger | Goss | Longley |
| Coble | Graham | Lucas |
| Coburn | Greenwood | Manzullo |
| Collins (GA) | Gunderson | Martini |
| Combest | Gutknecht | McCollum |
| Cooley | Hall (TX) | McCrary |
| Cox | Hancock | McDade |
| Crane | Hansen | McHugh |
| Crapo | Hastert | McInnis |