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Mr. President, in this Senator's view, it just makes good medical sense that a pregnant woman be referred from a title X setting to a specialist in the field of abortion, the same way that a woman who is pregnant should receive complete and comprehensive pregnancy options counseling from obstetrical care providers outside of a title X facility.

I deeply respect the good intentions of my friends and colleagues, Senator Cochran and Senator Chafee, in this debate. But I believe that they are being misguided to support the amendment offered by Senator Coats. Unfortunately, not all families succeed at that task, and we must show special concern to the young women who come from such troubled families.

That is why I support laws such as the one we have in Pennsylvania, which is to prevent parental involvement in all cases, but give young women from families that are abusive, neglectful—worse, somewhere else to turn for help. And that is why I voted this evening to oppose the amendment offered by my colleague from Indiana, Senator Coats. However much I agree with the aims of Senator Coats' amendment, I could not support a proposal that has neither an exclusion nor a means of judicial bypass.

The Mitchell amendment does not suffer from this flaw. Carefully crafted so as not to interfere with existing State laws on parental consent and notification, the Mitchell amendment strongly encourages family involvement in abortion decisions. It does this by providing adequate judicial bypass. The Mitchell amendment, moreover, does not unduly burden the right to choose. That is where we are and where we remain.

Mr. Kennedy. That is the state of the question. We are, Mr. President, as I understand, that the Senator from the New England States is not prepared to offer those amendments this evening.

So, as far as this Senator is concerned, as much as we would like to continue the dialogue and discussion with my friend, colleague from Utah, I think we will permit the Senate to do business in a way that is not acceptable with the Senator from Utah.

Mr. Hatch. That is acceptable, Mr. President.

Mr. Kennedy. Mr. President, it is my understanding that we will have no further action on this legislation this evening and we will await the leadership call to continue, hopefully, a very early conclusion of the legislation.

I thank my colleagues from Utah and all Members for their cooperation and attention to the matters debated today.

Mr. Hatch. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues and support the absence of unanimous consent on the quorum call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE NATIONAL MOTOR VOTER BILL

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the majority leader, after consultation with the Republican leader, may move to the consideration of Calendar No. 89, S. 250, the national motor voter bill at any time, notwithstanding provisions of rule XXII.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. Gorton. Object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar 89, S. 250, and I now send a cloture petition to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the cloture motion.

The Assistant Legislative Clerk reads as follows:

Mr. Thomas.

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to proceed to the consideration of S. 250, a bill to establish national voter registration procedures for Federal elections, and for other purposes.


Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I now withdraw the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to proceed is withdrawn.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for morning business with Senators permitted to open the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DR. CAROL JANNONE

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I am proud to stand here to day in support of a constituent who personifies the
July 16, 1991

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S 10129

complete information and referrals on their reproductive options. They so-called gag rules bar health care workers from providing women with information on all their medical options. Women also lose access to health care workers’ ability to provide medical information. It also discriminates against those women whose only access to health care is through publicly funded clinics.

Women who access to private doctors receive information about all their reproductive options, but under the gag rule poor women can learn only about those the government deems legal. In the Rush versus Sullivan states, ‘Nor is the doctor-patient relationship established by the title X program sufficiently all-encompassing so as to justify an expectation on the part of the patient to comprehensive medical advice.’ In fact, comprehensive medical advice is exactly what a woman expects when she enters a title X funded clinic. For a woman with no health insurance and no private doctor, a visit to the clinic is her only source of care she receives. The fact that the woman is coming to a publicly funded clinic does not mean that she should receive limited advice.

Furthermore, the gag rule raises serious questions about whether the government can use its financial control over much of the medical care system to place restrictions on how doctors and health care professionals practice medicine. It is a form of political censorship of medical advice.

Enactment of S. 323 will ensure that all women have access to information about all their options, including prenatal care and delivery, infant care, treatment for sexually transmitted diseases and voluntary termination. Enactment of S. 323 will not mean that any woman will be coerced to choose a particular option, just that she will have the information available to her.

I look forward to working with my colleagues for the passage of S. 323 as quickly as possible.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I am proud to be a co-sponsor of S. 323 to take sure that clinics at federally funded family planning clinics are fully informed of all their legal and medical options.

Title X of the Public Health Service Act offers family planning services to 10 million women, averting thousands of unintended pregnancies. Clients at title X clinics receive the same information that is available to women who see doctors in private practice. I see the gag rule as yet another attempt to make it almost impossible for a poor woman to get a legal abortion.

My State has strict antiabortion laws, which require parental and/or special consent. A new informed consent law was introduced in 1989, which mandates a 24-hour delay while the woman receives certain information. This is especially onerous in a State which does not have a single doctor-performing abortions and just one clinic where a woman can receive a legal abortion on certain days of the week.

Women travel to that clinic in Fargo from across the State, as well as from from Minneosta, Saskatchewan, and Man- toba. Jane Bovard of the Women’s Health Organization faces regular picketers and other harassment from fringe groups, but she continues to offer this service. If family planning counselors and other health professionals in the area could not tell a pregnant client about her clinic, even upon request, or that unintended pregnancies could take matters into their own hands, with tragic results.

Our Government should not block a poor woman from consulting with her doctor and making her own decision about legal abortion or a title X pregnancy. I will vote against all amendments to weaken this legislation.

Mr. LEVIN, Mr. President, I rise today in support of S. 323, a bill to ensure that physicians at title X funded family planning clinics inform women of all their legal medical options.

Enacted in 1970, title X of the Public Health Service Act provides funds for comprehensive preventive services, including gynecological examinations, breast and cervical cancer screening, pregnancy prevention, abortion and contraception advice, and infertility programs. Many of these sites also provide prenatal care and maternity services. For many women, these services are their only form of health care.

Title X clinics have been shown to have proven remarkably successful. These facilities provide health and family planning services to more than 4.1 million women each year, nearly 1 million of whom live in poverty. Studies show that millions of unintended pregnancies have been averted because of these programs, almost one-half of which were likely to have resulted in abortions. By providing confidential and safe contraception services, title X clinics have been effective in reducing the number of unplanned pregnancies.

In 1988, however, the quality and effectiveness of these programs were threatened when the Department of Health and Human Services, under the Reagan administration, implemented regulations which prohibit title X clinics from providing clients with any information about pregnancy termination. Title 10 Programs have been subject to using Federal funds to perform abortions. The 1988 regulations, however, went one step further and prohibited clinics from providing any information about pregnancy termination, even if the woman requested it.

These restrictive regulations took effect in March 1988 and were immediately subject to law suit and public debate. On May 23, 1991, in the decision of Rust versus Sullivan, the Supreme Court upheld the HHS regulations by a 5-to-4 decision.

Recent polls show that a majority of the American people strongly disagree with the HHS regulations and with the Supreme Court’s decision, and believe that the 1988 gag rule forces censorship on the Nation’s health care system. These polls further indicate wide support for legislation which would codify previous guidelines governing title X and provide that title X recipients be allowed to receive complete counseling concerning all legal, medical options.

It is imperative that the title 10 Pregnancy Counseling Act be enacted for several reasons. Most importantly, the 1988 gag rule denies women seeking title X services complete information in order to make responsible, intentional decisions about their pregnancies. Before the gag rule, title X clinics were able to offer complete, contraceptive counseling which included all possible legal options available to pregnant women. In order to make an informed choice, women have a right to know the options, not just those that the President deems acceptable.

The 1988 regulations severely impede the relationship between patients and their physicians. The Government does not have the right to stand in the middle of this relationship or dictate the nature of this exchange. Violations of the doctor-patient relationship threaten the quality of health care available to all people.

Health care and the first amendment both run the risk of being put on the critical list.

For these reasons and many others, I offer my support to S. 323.

AMENDMENT NO. 785

Mr. DURENBERGER. Mr. President, I rise today to briefly explain my reasons for voting against the Cochran substitute amendment to the Chafee substitute to S. 323, the Pregnancy Counseling Act.

Earlier in this debate, I offered an amendment that would have removed pregnancy counseling from the setting of a federally subsidized title X family planning clinic. My amendment would have ensured that pregnant women referred to a prenatal care setting where they could learn all of their medical options concerning pregnancy.

The Cochran amendment, and the Chafee amendment underlying it, would continue the practice of counseling pregnant women in the setting of a title X family planning clinic. That is simply outside the intended scope of title X, which is to provide preconception counseling services.

Once a woman is pregnant, she requires specialized services that are not within the purview of the title X Program.
very best of America. She is Dr. Carol Iannone, the President's nominee for service on the National Council on the Humanities. She is from a working-class Italian family and raised in the Italian section of East Harlem, and the first in her family to receive a college education.

But Dr. Iannone did not stop there. She* has received two advanced degrees in order to dedicate her life to the humanities. Over nearly the last 20 years, she has devoted herself to teaching students about the expanded possibilities of human life. She has made teaching accessible to the general public through her clear and thoughtful assessment of contemporary culture in public journals.

In that context, I must express my surprise to hear concern that Dr. Iannone is not qualified and that she could not be approved for service on the Council. This is a woman with the teaching experience, a lengthy list of articles published in well-known journals, no mention of honors in teaching, and widespread endorsements from the most prominent intellectuals today.

Let the record be clear. There can be no question about Dr. Iannone's qualifications. She is superbly qualified to provide advice on the various academic fields that are concerned with the humanities today. She has been willing to state publicly that she is not a scholar, though she is no more than a scholar, and that her primary role is to be a political agenda that ignores quality and merit.

I rue the day when we make it impossible for persons in the academy, in newspapers, or even before the Senate to express what they believe. I agree. You and I may not always agree with what Dr. Iannone says. But that is what is at issue here today.

What is at issue is the very freedom to speak out and to engage in that which is the intellectual discourse that has made our universities and our country the envy of the world. I urge my colleagues on the Labor and Human Resources Committee to reject for a full vote. I urge an outstanding citizen, and to give Dr. Iannone their support.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that several newspaper editorials concerning Carol Iannone be printed in their entirety at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the materials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**From the Rochester (NY) Daily Record, June 10, 1991**

**ATTACKS ON MS. IANNONE BADLY NEED AIRING**

**By Ray Herman**

Although the issue isn't likely to fill the pages of the New York Times, Dr. Carol Iannone is significant all the same. It badly needs the dissection of sunshine and exposure. For some of those who are into serious modern literature, you know that Iannone, a literature professor at New York University's Gallatin Division, has produced an often-criticized version of novelization of the last decade.

But even if you can't pick Iannone out of a police lineup, it doesn't matter. The point is that she is a true scholar with a degree who teaches at a major American university.

Under ordinary circumstances, Iannone's nomination to the National Council on the Humanities would be a little noticed, pro forma exercise. However, the nomination to the council, which advises the National Endowment for the Humanities, has triggered a full-blown purr that is reminiscent of the successful mugging of conservative intellectuals by the New Republic a few years back to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

The attacks on Iannone have the same odor. Her nomination may suffer the death of 1,000 cuts.

But what, pray tell, are Iannone's sins and transgressions? Why are elitists posing as joint on this one? Why are all the accusations, objections and concern being directed to the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee which must examine her nomination? Is it an ideological lynching mob forming?

Well, for one thing, Iannone has had the impudence to serve as an active member of the Knicks cheerleading organization which repeatedly has pointed to the rise of intellectual intolerance by liberals, which is now sweeping American campuses.

According to liberal "Politically Correct" dogmas, students, faculty and administrators must project the "right" views of race and other categories. Even white males must be projected as the history's primary force of oppression.

The chief victim of the "Politically Correct" and "Quota" movement is Dr. Carol Iannone. She has challenged the notion of "subjective definition" by her "quota" notion, in recent "Commentary," magazine piece that has been a great victory to the political correctness movement. Iannone's definition is "distinction," both in general, and especially for her job to which she has been nominated.

The bottom-line point here is that none of the senators need share Carol Iannone's sometimes provocative views. (Much of her work, it should be noted, is more of a minority standpoint.) They need only endorse her to hold there in the face of the "insidious" campaign, informed by smears and innuendo, that's been waged against her.

For the Rochester (NY) Daily Record, June 10, 1991
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

July 16, 1991

S-10132

CAROL IANNONE — Professors as Women

Carol Iannone, former professor and acting dean at New York University, Gallatin Division, during the 1980s, emerged as one of the nation's more prolific and penetrating literary critics.

She has also played a leadership role in the National Association of Scholars, an organization which was one of the first to support the establishment of such bodies of critical scholarship in literary terms.

One target of Iannone's criticism has been feminist scholarship—a field to which she contributed in her book on women in literature. But she has also created a stir by criticizing "Litur- gure by Quota"—as she described it in a recent essay published in Commentary magazine.

There Iannone argued against what she terms a growing tendency to award literary honors to women for "merit"—noting that the five finalists for this year's National Book Award happened to make up a perfect "Rainbow." She also said that some women's work is "meritless" and that some men's work is "meritorious." Iannone also recalled that Toni Morrison won a Pulitzer Prize after a group of black writers took the unprecedented step of demanding that she be the only black writer to receive an award. "The Color Purple" seemed less a recognition of literary achievement than some official act of political correctness.

We happen to think that Iannone's judgment on these matters is pretty sound. Literacy is a form of cultural capital which all these qualities are associated with are by all means relevant to the matter at hand.

Iannone has been nominated for a seat on the National Council of Humanities—a board that will decide how to award the Humanities on grant-making. "[A]n undernormal" circumstances the appointment of a woman with a doctorate who teaches at a major university and has produced an extensive and respected body of literary criticism would be virtually pro forma.

But Iannone, has published articles which some of the reformers at liberal academies have found politically useful to support Iannone's efforts to undermine her appointment.

The highly politicized Modern Language Association has raised questions about Iannone's qualifications, and People for the American Way—a liberal group whose interest in the field of literary criticism has not previously been evident—has asked the Senate to "carefully review" the nomination.

It's clear enough what is going on here. Various liberal groups are trying to chill discussion about a number of issues in the country by imposing a standard of "political correctness." If, like Iannone, you ridicule feminist scholarship or think that Morrison isn't all that she's cracked up to be, they'll punish you. If, like Iannone, you want to make sure you can sit in a government board, or institute that you are—without the permission of those who are—then you have to toe the line. Even if the PC crowd doesn't win all its battles it is managing to disseminate an element of doubt and fear in the minds of scholars, which of which idea might be taken up by the presses, twisted around, and used as a weapon.

We have no doubt that Carol Iannone has the qualifications to serve on the National Council of the Humanities. But we fear for the intellectual life of this country if the Senate's critics are seeking to promote by denying her this seat success.

From the Washington Post, May 20, 1991

DISPUTE IN THE HUMANITIES

Carol Iannone is a faculty member at New York University who has made a reputation as a literary critic. She also has more than a few complaints about scholarly norms and practices.

She says that some of her colleagues are "marked" for life by the " quota" system, which is designed to ensure that women are represented among the faculty.

Iannone is also critical of the way the system is being used to promote certain types of work over others. She argues that the quota system is "arbitrary" and that it has led to "academic apartheid." She favors a more merit-based system of promotion and tenure.

The Senate is being asked to decide something more than her qualifications, and it should decline.

From the Washington Post, July 8, 1991

HIERONYMUS HUNT: THE CHARACTER ASSASSINATION OF CAROL IANNONE

(By Nat Hänto)

Having learned a lot about political correctness, I have a particular interest in the Senate's decision on Carol Iannone, who has been nominated for a six-year term on the national advisory council for the Humanities.

Among those opposed to her are such gatekeepers of the new literary orthodoxy. One of the journals that has been supportive of the Modern Language Association and the National Council of Learned Societies.

As it wasn't enough, Garry Wills, in his syndicated column, said he will send a letter of protest against the nomination. He cited the same article.

Conarro has yet to make clear what he will do. But Iannone's nomination is a "bigot," he said, in a letter to the editor. The Senate has already agreed on the basis of a single article by her. Also, Joel Conarro, president of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, says in the Philadelphia Inquirer that she "should be described as a racist."

Conarro later told The Washington Post that he had actually said "She has put herself in a position of being called a racist." The first quote was a little less slippery.

Noted by the opposition is that Carol Iannone's academic qualifications are much too slight for so august a council. It is as if her three college degrees—including a PhD—are to be considered "Oxford degrees" at New York in Stony Brook. She had come to her from some mall order outfit.

Not mentioned by the opposition is that at the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Founda-
William Raspberry has made the point that when the word “racism” is used loosely and irresponsibly, it diminishes its moral force. Joel Conarroe and Garry Wills, in their letter attacking Iannone as a “racist,” have indeed helped strip the word of its value.

In the context of the current political climate, a good many feminists agree with her that when feminist scholarship is manipulated for political ends, the scholarship becomes corrupted. The letter Iannone’s attack on Toni Morrison’s work, which is hotly debated and has been passed by the Coordination Committee of Women in the Historical Profession and the Committee of Women’s Studies at Columbia University, did not help the cause.

“We believe as feminist scholars we have a responsibility to use our scholarship to support the interests of women struggling to improve their lives,” the letter said.

I don’t wonder, the politically correct mandarins in the academy are working so hard to discredit this woman who does not belong to any of the usual forms of independent minds.

The most surprising member of the opposition was the writer’s organization, PEN, which helps politically incorrect writers in trouble all over the world. Now PEN, among those hunting down Iannone because of her disrespect for orthodoxy, is a regular contributor to the Nation or The Village Voice, with a couple of degrees from an obscure and scarcely notable school, so her recent criticism of the real Iannone is sent down because of her views, of this Senate action will have told our Congressmen to close their eyes to these matters, and to censor themselves henceforth if they aspire to official recognition.

I hope the senators in charge of Iannone’s fate will also read some of her essays before becoming mechanical parts of this pose.


RALLY ROUND THE IANNONE

The battle over the effort to block the appointment of conservative scholar and traditionalist Carol Iannone to the National Council on the Humanities grows uglier and more predictable. Her main antagonist is the Senate’s Committee on Labor and Human Resources, which is hearing the nomination. Carol Iannone’s writings criticize the current emphasis in literary analysis on race, gender, and in particular “feminist” ideas. She is a member of the MLA and its various humanities activities. Iannone has written about the status of women, and she has been critical of the work produced by the academy.

The Senate’s committee has received letters from many of the senators, expressing concern over Iannone’s nominations. Senator Edward Kennedy, who chairs the committee, has demanded answers to questions about Iannone’s qualifications. Iannone’s nomination has been a target of attacks from those who believe in a more inclusive and diverse approach to the humanities.

—from The Wall Street Journal, June 14, 1991

PUBLISH AND PERISH

We note the latest turn in the ideological and partisan struggle over the Carol Iannone nomination to the Humanities Endowment. Iannone’s views, which are shared by a number of scholars, are often labeled as “conservative.”

—from The Washington Post, July 18, 1991

BRIDGING ACADemics AND AMERICAN CULTURE

(Edited by Lynne Cheney)

As Richard Cohen points out, Iannone’s appointment is an attack on the very foundation of the Humanities. His nomination to the National Council of the Humanities has called forth an astonishing amount of ink and vituperation. The charge that Iannone is a “racist” is baseless.

—from The Washington Post, July 18, 1991

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Free speech is a cause that is uniting people from across the political spectrum, and almost daily there is a news headline about the battle for “free expression.”
announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 157. An act to name the Post Office building located at 200 3rd Street, S.W., in Taylorsville, North Carolina, as the "Clifford G. Watts Post Office Building".

H.R. 158. An act to designate the building in Vacherie, Louisiana, which houses the primary operations of the United States Postal Service as the "Zora Leah S. Thomas Post Office Building".

H.R. 1218. An act to modify the boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Park and for other purposes.

H.R. 1234. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 153 East 110th Street, New York, New York, as the "Oscar Garcia Rivera Post Office Building".

H.R. 2347. An act to redesignate the Midland General Mall Facility in Midland, Texas, as the "Carl O. Hyde General Mall Facility", and for other purposes.

The following bills were read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred to the Committee on Governmental Affairs:

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The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. JOHNSTON, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, on a report favorable to the bill to authorize extension of time limitations in certain FERC-issued licensing proceedings, entitled "The PRESIDENT'S OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will return to legislative session.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. McCathy, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. FORD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session to consider:

The Senate Journal of July 16, 1991, No. 97, Nancy Patricia Dorn, to be Assistant Secretary of the Army.

Further, ask unanimous consent that the nomination be confirmed, that the Senate continue in the same session of the Senate and that the Senate return to legislative session.

NO OBJECTION. With-out objection, it is so ordered.

The nomination is confirmed as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Nancy Patricia Dorn, of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDENT OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will return to legislative session.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. McCathy, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the President and Vice-President of the Senate, before the Senate met, submitted sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

The nominations received today are as follows:

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 2:35 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives Hal Rogers, Mr. Hayes, one of the reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

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At 2:35 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives Hal Rogers, Mr. Hayes, one of the reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 157. An act to name the Post Office building located at 200 3rd Street, S.W., in Taylorsville, North Carolina, as the "Clifford G. Watts Post Office Building".

H.R. 158. An act to designate the building in Vacherie, Louisiana, which houses the primary operations of the United States Postal Service as the "Zora Leah S. Thomas Post Office Building".

H.R. 1218. An act to modify the boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Park and for other purposes.

H.R. 1234. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 153 East 110th Street, New York, New York, as the "Oscar Garcia Rivera Post Office Building".

H.R. 2347. An act to redesignate the Midland General Mall Facility in Midland, Texas, as the "Carl O. Hyde General Mall Facility", and for other purposes.