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Senate

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we begin this session of the Senate with affirmations of great truths:

You are the Creator, Sustainer and Redeemer of all.

You are the Sovereign of this Nation.

We are accountable to You for our leadership.

You have called us to serve You.

We are here by Your divine appointment.

The margin of human error is ever-present.

We can limit Your best for our Nation.

Without Your help we can hit wide of the mark.

With Your guidance, we cannot fail.

There are solutions to our most complex problems.

There is no limit to what You will do if we trust You.

So this is a day for hope, optimism, and courage. Set us free of any negative thinking or attitudes. If You could give birth to this Nation, bless us in adversities through the years, and give us victory in just wars, surely You are able to help us now if we will trust You. Fill this Chamber with Your presence and each Senator with Your power. In the name of our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is recognized.

ORDERS FOR TODAY

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, on behalf of the leader I ask unanimous consent

that the routine requests through the morning hour be granted and the Senate be in a period of morning business until the hour of 2 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak up to 5 minutes with the following exceptions: Senator GREGG, 10 minutes; Senator GRAMS, 10 minutes; Senator THOMAS, 30 minutes; Senator LOTT or his designee, 10 minutes; Senator DASCHLE or his designee, 60 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HUTCHISON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

SCHEDULE

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, for the information of all Members and on behalf of the leader, today, from 12 p.m. to 2 p.m., the Senate will be in a period of morning business. It is the leader's hope that the Senate will be able to consider S. 419, the Birth Defects Prevention Act. Again, this bill is noncontroversial and the Senate should be able to complete action on this important matter in no more than 30 minutes.

In addition, it is the leader's hope that we will be able to consider some of the available executive nominations on today's Executive Calendar. The leader also hopes the Senate will be allowed to consider these items as we are fast approaching the July recess.

In addition, the leader wishes to put all Senators on notice that there is much work to do between now and the start of the adjournment, and that Senators should be prepared to be present and working during the next couple of weeks. And the leader further thanks his colleagues for their attention.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to morning business.

Mr. GREGG. Unless the Democratic leader wishes to go forward, I will proceed with my morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized.

NASHUA, NH, THE BEST PLACE IN AMERICA TO LIVE

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, today the State of New Hampshire and a number of communities in the State of New Hampshire were afforded a singular and appropriate honor. The city of Nashua, my hometown, where I was born, raised, and went to school, was rated the best place in America in which to live. The city of Manchester and the city of Portsmouth were rated the sixth and fifth best places in the country in which to live. That means the State of New Hampshire, which is a small State—and to paraphrase Daniel Webster, a small State but there are those of us who love it—received the designation of having three of its major communities within the State identified as the best places to live of the top 10 in the country. In fact, only one other State, Florida, was able to put three communities in the top 10. And, of course, Florida is about 6 or 7 times the size of New Hampshire in population.

In addition, no other State was able to put two of its communities in the top five, and New Hampshire has the first community and the fifth community in Nashua and Portsmouth. Those of us who live in New Hampshire and have enjoyed the fruits of being part of that wonderful community, understand that this is not an award which is received as a result of luck, but it is an award which is received as a result of a lot of hard work and, more important, a lot of community spirit. We are a State where people still care about their neighbors. We are a State where we care about how we deal with each other. And, as a result, we have built

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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communities where crime is low, where education is extremely strong, where our health care is rated the best in the country, where our mental health care is rated the best in the country, where we are rated best in the country for caring for troubled children, and where we still maintain a State which has no sales or income tax and delivers effective and efficient and first-class community services to our citizens.

And our citizens get involved. It is a State of voluntarism, a State where people understand if they are going to make their community work well they have to take the time to be involved in the local community activities whether it is the local Babe Ruth League or baseball team, or whether it happens to be the arts community or whether it is just the process of cleaning up the main street on cleanup day.

So I rise to congratulate my fellow citizens of New Hampshire, to especially congratulate the cities of Manchester, Portsmouth, and Nashua, and with a unique emphasis on Nashua in that it was rated No. 1 and that it is my hometown, where I was born and raised and went to school, and I am very proud that they have done so well. I congratulate all of those who make New Hampshire such a fine place to live.

PAYING OUR UNITED NATIONS ARREARS

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, I wanted to talk a little bit about the agreement which we are about to reach, it appears, relative to the United Nations and how we are going to pay our arrears. I chair the Committee on Commerce, State, and Justice, which has jurisdiction over the appropriations that go to the United Nations. At the behest of the majority leader, Senator LOTT, and at the request of the Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, myself and Senator HELMS and Senator GRAMS and our staffs have been meeting assiduously with Ambassador Richardson's staff, and the staff of Secretary Albright. We have made considerable progress. In fact, we believe we have reached an agreement as to how to handle these arrearages.

The basic theme of this agreement is that we are going to ask the United Nations to be a better place. We are not going to ask them to do things which are unreasonable. We are not going to ask them to do things which are political. We are just going to ask them to do a better job of handling our money. And to assure that, we are going to set certain benchmarks.

So, we are going to commit to the United Nations; we are basically going to give them what amounts to, in my opinion, an irrevocable letter of credit that we will pay the arrearages as we see them. The number that we agreed on I believe is significant, and I believe it will be agreeable to the people at the United Nations. But, in exchange for paying those arrearages—and we are

going to do it over a period of time—we are going to ask that the United Nations run a better shop, that it be more efficient, that it use those dollars more efficiently and that it make sure that it handles those dollars the way American taxpayers expect us to handle the dollars that they pay us. Because for every dollar spent at the United Nations today, 25 cents comes from the American taxpayer.

It is very hard today to go back to the people in New Hampshire, my good people who have just been rated so highly as the great place to live by Money magazine—it is very hard to go back to them and say, "Well, we are going to give the United Nations this amount of money for our dues but we are not sure where the money is spent, how it is spent, who it is spent on, or whether, when it is spent, it goes to where they say it is going to go."

To try to correct that, we are asking that the United Nations meet certain very definable, enforceable benchmarks. The Senator from Minnesota, who I notice is on the floor, Senator GRAMS, has been a major player in defining those benchmarks, and of course the Senator from North Carolina, Senator HELMS, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has been a force of immense proportions on defining those benchmarks.

But agreement appears to have been reached, at least between ourselves and the administration. It is an agreement which is fair and which gives the United Nations the dollars which they feel they deserve. But, in exchange for those dollars, it does require that the United Nations be responsible with the management of those dollars and the management of additional dollars that we will be giving them in the foreseeable future. This agreement, I believe, will be included in the foreign relations bill, the authorization bill for foreign affairs, foreign relations, which is going to be coming through—the State Department authorization. It will be marked up later this week.

I just want to express my appreciation for all the people who worked so hard on this. We worked on it for about, I guess, now, almost 4 months. Fairly aggressive negotiations have occurred. I think it is good we have reached an agreement and it is positive for the process and it will immensely improve the operation of the United Nations, should the United Nations decide to go along with proposals that we have made. I presume they will because they are reasonable proposals.

Madam President, I yield the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, let me claim as much time as I may consume of the leader's time and ask unanimous consent I may be followed by the Senator from Minnesota, Senator WELLSTONE.

Mr. WELLSTONE. If this would help in the deliberations, we have talked to

Senator GRAMS and I plan on restricting my remarks to 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator from North Dakota seeking the time that has been designated in the agreement to the minority leader?

Mr. DORGAN. Yes, that is what I requested, Madam President.

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

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, I will not consume but a fraction of the 1 hour, and the Senator from Minnesota, Senator WELLSTONE, will consume a very short amount of time. I believe Senator GRAMS will then be recognized. We had a visit about that and I appreciate the courtesy of both of my colleagues.

A VIGIL ON THE DISASTER RELIEF BILL

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, last evening a number of us were here, a good many Senators, as a matter of fact, were here almost all night holding a vigil on the issue of the disaster relief bill that seems ensnarled in, regrettably, politics as usual. We have done the only thing we can do, and that is to apply as much consistent pressure as is possible to the Congress to say, "Do the right thing." And the right thing is to pass disaster relief for victims who have suffered natural disasters, especially the flood victims in the region of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota, and get them that aid as soon as is possible.

I am not here to point fingers or to say that there is this side or that side. For me there is only one side and that is being on the side of victims of a natural disaster. I know there are a lot of things floating around here, back and forth, with extraneous amendments and so on. I am not interested in politics. I am only interested in progress, speaking on behalf of some people who were dealt a very serious blow, one they did not deserve but one that they now have to try to recover from, and one they will recover from when we reach out our hand of help to say, "You are not alone. The rest of the country wants to offer you some help."

During this vigil we held last night—my time was from midnight to 3 in the morning—I found myself at 2 in the morning talking on a nationwide radio talk show with "The Trucking Bozo," I guess his show is called. I guess I didn't think, when I came to the Senate, that I would be, at 2 a.m., talking to the "Trucking Bozo" on a national radio program. But to the extent I had an opportunity to talk to truckers across this country who were hauling America's goods back and forth, I am glad I did. I hope they got the message as well, that most of us want what is right for this country, and what is right at this moment is for Congress to stop all the extraneous things that are going on and pass disaster relief.

In the middle of all of these discussions, however, with the "Trucking

Bozo" and a call-in radio station in New York and Denver and Boston and elsewhere across the country, we visited with many victims of the disaster. One of them last evening, among many who shed tears talking about their plight, was a man named Mark. Mark called from Grand Forks, ND. He has been out of his home now, I guess, for 5 or nearly 6 weeks. He has not seen his children, he said, for close to a month. They are with the grandparents. And his wife, he said, is in the hospital, dying of cancer, with a month or month and a half left to live.

He, at 1 in the morning, was calling me to say, "Somehow it's unfair for us to be held hostage here. For me, for my family, for our community, we desperately need to get the help that is in this bill to put our lives back together."

For this person to come, with all of the burdens in his life, to call in and urge, once again, the responsible thing be done, it really almost breaks your heart to know that all of these families, many of whom are now separated, some of whom last night said they are living in tents in their front yard because their home was destroyed and is uninhabitable, others living in camper trailers, others living in shelters, others living in neighboring towns with families split, having lived like that for weeks and now wondering, what about tomorrow? What about my home that was destroyed? What about my job, it's not there. What about my future and asking us, "Can't you please do something?"

I will not today and will not in the future say that one side is wrong and the other side is right. We are better and they are not. That is not what this is about. It is about Congress doing what it historically always has done on a disaster bill. The Congress is a unique institution. In a democracy, it is a wonderful institution, and I feel privileged every day to wake up and come and serve this country in the U.S. Senate. But we have rules, very few of which in the Senate prevent us from adding things to other bills. On almost any occasion, any day, any way, someone brings a bill to the floor of the Senate and someone adds an amendment that is totally extraneous—and they do it on all sides of the political aisle, and I understand that—but, generally speaking, on disaster bills, that has not been the case. Why? Because disaster relief bills are different. They represent an emergency response to people in need.

This got caught up in some of those issues, and I say let's decide today to stop that. Let's take all of these extraneous issues off, pass this bill, get the President to sign it and get help to the people who desperately need it. I know, because I come from North Dakota and because that was perhaps the hardest hit area—North Dakota, Minnesota, South Dakota—in these disasters, that I have a very parochial interest in this. But I am telling you, if every Member

of the Senate could visit with our constituents in our region and walk away not having a broken heart from what those people face and not have a feeling of enormous responsibility to help them in any way possible on an urgent basis, to help them right now to put their lives together, there isn't one Member of this body who can resist this.

The Senators from Minnesota, Senator GRAMS and Senator WELLSTONE, the Senators from South Dakota, Senator DASCHLE and Senator JOHNSON, and the Senators from North Dakota, Senator CONRAD and myself, all of us worked very hard to put the disaster package together. We had great cooperation from all sides of the political aisle in the Senate.

I want to close with this point. While I am enormously gratified by the cooperation we have had and feel gratified with the work we did together, when those who now talk about scaling down this bill also talk about maybe diminishing the amount of disaster aid we have already agreed to and fought so hard to get, I say to them, that is not a way to solve that problem this afternoon or tomorrow, by scaling back the disaster aid those folks are waiting for. Let's instead scale back the extraneous provisions, scale back and eliminate the unrelated amendments, get rid of them and get on with the business of this Congress to pass a disaster bill, have the President sign it and say to Mark, whose wife is in the hospital and whose children are living with grandparents, that we care about you, we want to help you and we want to help you and thousands and thousands of others like you who this morning didn't wake up in their homes because they are destroyed; we want to help you make your lives whole again.

That is part of the culture of this country. It is the best instincts of America to reach out and say, "You're not alone, the rest of the American people are with you and want to help you in this time of crisis."

Let's try to do that today. This Congress can pass this bill today, and I intend to make a unanimous-consent request again to do that, as I did yesterday and the day before. I shall not do that at this moment. If we do it today, the President could sign it tonight and the aid would begin flowing tomorrow, and we would have helped many Americans get back on their feet.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank the Chair. Madam President, I shall be brief today. Let me just build on the comments of my colleague from North Dakota.

It is my fervent hope, and it is not an exaggeration to say prayer, that when I go home this weekend, back to Minnesota, I will be able to say to people, "Congress has acted, and we have

passed a disaster relief bill that will provide you with help so that you can begin the process of rebuilding your lives." That is what people are asking for. No more than that. All of us, if we had been flooded out or if we had been faced with some kind of disaster like this, would also be hoping to get the same kind of help.

Madam President, I, too, last night had a chance to talk to people around the country on radio and television and whatnot. I think that the goal of yesterday and today, because the Senate is not going to really be back conducting business as usual until we get this disaster relief bill passed—that is our commitment, that is how we fight for people in our States—but I think really the goal is to just press and press and press and keep fighting for people, but more with the focus on what we can do as opposed to finger pointing and getting personal.

I have talked to enough Republican colleagues on the majority side who, I believe, even if we don't agree on every issue, want to come together, and I hope it will happen. I think it should happen this week.

I think that this particular form of gridlock is not working well for this Congress, and I don't think people around the country understand how it can be that on a bill which is to provide emergency assistance to people, you get all sorts of other measures dealing with how the Census Bureau does its work or dealing with debates about appropriations bills and the budget and all the rest. I think most people believe that when it comes to disaster relief, you should try and get it to people and keep off the extraneous measures that are so controversial.

There are a lot of good people here on both sides of the aisle. I was asked last night many, many times, especially from Minnesota, "Do you think there is going to be some agreement?" And I said, "I cannot believe there won't be."

I just think it is going to happen. It has to happen.

The only appeal I would make to my colleagues on the other side of the aisle is that if, in fact, we are going to be talking about scaling back the disaster relief, I worry about it because we had a very clear definition of what it would take by way of emergency assistance—and I use those words carefully—to help people get back on their own two feet. This was really a good bipartisan effort. That is what we had. I really hope that my colleagues will understand that we are speaking and we are fighting and we are using our leverage as Senators in order to get the help to people back in our States. We are going to continue to do that until we, in fact, are able to get the job done.

So my appeal to my colleagues is: Let's have an agreement; take the extraneous provisions off this bill. We can debate them separately. We can have an up-or-down vote, or if there is some alternative proposal that people have, great. Let's just try and get the

help to people, and let's not delay it any further.

I was asked by somebody back in Minnesota whether I really liked last night. I was on the first shift. I said, "Actually, not so much so. I would rather be doing it on the floor of the Senate. I would rather be in a markup in committee. But I, as a Senator, will do everything I can to fight hard for people in Minnesota."

I think from talking to colleagues in the majority party, we are going to reach agreement. I believe that, I say to my colleague from Minnesota, Senator GRAMS. There has to be an agreement. That is what we have. We have to make that happen so all of us can go back to our States and say to people, "We wish this had not been delayed and delayed and delayed, but now, finally, a good bill is passed and we are going to get the help to you." That is the goal, that should be the result, and I hope that that happens this week. That is my appeal to my colleagues.

I yield the floor.

Mr. THOMAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

DISASTER RELIEF AND PREVENTING A GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

Mr. THOMAS. Madam President, we have asked to set aside a little time this morning to talk about the issue the Senator from Minnesota talks about. Each of us wants to find a way to get help to people who need it as a result of the disaster. I think there are a number of issues involved. I believe as we move toward a solution, it is useful to talk about those things.

Certainly, there are legitimate concerns on both sides of this bill. I am satisfied that our leadership is now putting together something that will be presented, hopefully that will be acceptable.

I think it is well to recognize that we want to get this disaster aid out, but there are certain things that are very important, as in any discussion, to both sides. One of them is to get something in that avoids the human disaster that might well happen in the future if we had another shutdown of the Government. So this can be one of those things.

There also has to be an understanding, of course, on an issue of where there are different points of view that both sides have to be willing to make some accommodation. The idea that somehow you can't do anything unless the President approves is not the system we have here. We have a divided Government. We have the President with authority to do what he does and the Congress with the authority to do what they do. When they come to a conflict, there has to be some movement and not simply a pronouncement that the President doesn't like that and, therefore, it won't happen. That is not the way it works.

So, Madam President, we would like to talk a little bit about that. I am

joined by my colleagues. I yield first to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GRAMS. I thank my colleague from Wyoming.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I was very disappointed by President Clinton's veto of the emergency aid bill, which provided some \$5.5 billion in disaster relief nationwide, with a major portion of those dollars dedicated to helping to rebuild the flood-ravaged communities of my home State of Minnesota and also in the Dakotas.

Having been with the President in seeing firsthand the damage and the despair that was caused by the flooding, I cannot believe that he was willing to reject our legislation to help support the people of Minnesota and the Dakotas as they rebuild their homes, communities, and their lives in the wake of the flood.

Our legislation sent a very clear message that the people of Minnesota have not been forgotten by Congress during this critical time, but the President's veto suggests, however, that some in Washington need to have their memories refreshed.

I am particularly disturbed by the fact that the President used as his primary excuse for vetoing the emergency flood relief bill our inclusion of a measure to protect flood victims in Minnesota and Americans everywhere from a potential Government shutdown later this year.

For reasons I have repeated on this floor many times, I believe that delivering emergency aid to flood victims and keeping the Government open for business during the rebuilding process must be our twin goals at this time.

Just as the emergency flood relief serves as an assurance to Minnesotans that their urgent needs will be met, our efforts to keep the Government from shutting down will also give them a guarantee that any budget squabbles that happen to pop up here in Washington will not affect our long-term efforts to help rebuild our State. And that is an assurance we can't afford to go without.

By vetoing our flood relief bill, the President indicated that having a leg up in this year's budget debate is higher on his priority list than delivering flood assistance to those who need it. That was wrong, but, as we know, it cannot be changed. The people of Minnesota and the Dakotas already know how well Washington politicians can talk, and they don't want any more talk; they want some action.

Stopping our work in the Senate and blocking us from taking action on anything accomplishes nothing. Positive, constructive action is what the Senate should be working on to deliver. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to join me in working to ensure that flood relief gets out of Washington and that it gets into the hands of the people of Minnesota and the Dakotas as quickly as possible.

Immediately after the veto was announced, I wrote letters to Senate Majority Leader TRENT LOTT and also Minority Leader TOM DASCHLE. In that letter, I proposed a compromise I believe will help speed up the enactment of the disaster relief legislation, while at the same time allowing Congress a separate vote, without any unnecessary delays, on the Government Shutdown Prevention Act. In my letters to Senators LOTT and DASCHLE, I proposed that they consider removing the Government shutdown provision from the emergency aid legislation with a specific time agreement for debating and voting on the two issues in separate pieces of legislation.

That would allow the Senate to debate and pass both the emergency flood relief bill and the Government Shutdown Prevention Act on their individual merits, away from the political haggling that has delayed action on these important bills.

I was encouraged yesterday to learn of the support for my proposal by Vice President AL GORE and Senate Minority Leader DASCHLE. Their announcement of support clearly shows that there is room for negotiations to reconcile our differences and to deliver the flood assistance to Minnesota and the Dakotas.

I have also been in negotiations with the majority leader, who expressed his intention to consider a number of different alternatives, including mine, on how best to move ahead and deliver flood relief.

I am going to continue to work closely with both Senators LOTT and DASCHLE, as well as my other colleagues in the Senate, to expedite this process. From the events of the last 2 days, I am optimistic that the two sides are closer to a reasonable settlement than anyone in the media may be suggesting.

Now we must take action to bridge the gap and ensure the delivery of emergency disaster relief and the continued protection of the American people from a Government shutdown.

At the very least, my proposal has opened the negotiation process to move ahead on these important issues post-veto. Again, while I am disappointed that the President chose to veto emergency flood relief, I hope that he will not shut the present window of opportunity to try to work together to find some common ground.

Certainly, my constituents in Minnesota, who have already suffered so much at the hands of the flood, cannot afford inaction.

As flood victims in Minnesota begin rebuilding their homes, their neighborhoods, their businesses, and their lives in the wake of the flood, they need our assurance that the Federal Government will deliver the aid that it promised.

Flood victims also need to know that the Government will be there throughout the year to meet their urgent needs as their rebuilding progresses.

Our efforts to keep the Government open for business will also help give Minnesotans a guarantee that budget squabbles in Washington will not affect the long-term efforts to rebuild our communities.

Now, I know we may have reached a budget agreement in overall numbers and terms, but a lot of the debate will continue. And there is still the possibility of an agreement not being reached on every part of that budget this fall which could lead to a possible Government shutdown. It has happened before; it could happen again.

In light of that, we want to provide assurances to these victims of the flood this spring in Minnesota and the Dakotas that they would not come up short this fall, they would not face a stop in the work that they are trying to do in rebuilding their lives.

Under my compromise proposal, checks would continue to go out and contracts would be honored this year—in spite of what happens in Washington. And that is an assurance we cannot afford to go without.

In announcing the President's veto, the White House spokesman said that "Americans in need should not have to endure further delay." I could not agree more with that statement.

The people of Minnesota and the Dakotas cannot afford for Washington's budget politics to stand in the way of the rebuilding that has already begun. Now that we have a starting point, let us move ahead and pass the emergency disaster relief we promised. And let us do it as quickly as we can.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks time?

Mr. CONRAD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, first of all, I feel I need to respond to the statement about the President's action. The President did not include unrelated items in a disaster bill. It is not his fault that we are in this circumstance. It is the fault of those who decided to put unrelated items into a disaster relief bill.

THE DELAY IN DISASTER ASSISTANCE

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I represent the State of North Dakota. And our State has been absolutely devastated. We have people, thousands of people, who are still sleeping on cots 54 days after the disaster occurred. Fifty-four days after the dikes broke, we still have thousands of people on cots, people living in cars, people whose homes and businesses have been devastated. And they cannot understand why Congress fails to act.

Mr. President, last night we had a linkup via computer with people who are the leaders of the Grand Forks community—the mayors of Grand Forks and East Grand Forks, the lead-

ers of the business community, the head of the chamber of commerce, leaders of other parts of the Grand Forks community, people from the medical school. And their message was clear and unencumbered. They have asked Congress to send a clean disaster relief bill to the President without unrelated measures, and to do it now. That is their request.

The message was powerful and compelling. People who have had everything lost, people who evacuated their homes at 1 o'clock in the morning and who have not returned since, a city of 50,000, 95 percent of whom were evacuated, with 80 percent of the homes in that community devastated. That is the reality that we are living with.

Mr. President, this chart says it, and says it clearly: Disaster Victims Held Hostage, Day 20. This is just since this Congress took the Memorial Day break without acting. Twenty days of inaction after a bill to provide disaster relief was completely agreed to.

The disaster provisions were agreed to by Democrats, by Republicans, and by the President. It is these unrelated measures that were stuck into this disaster relief bill that have hung things up. The people that I represent say, "Take them out. Quit playing politics with the lives of people. Quit holding hostage thousands of people to a political agenda. Get the disaster relief where it's needed, and get it there now."

Mr. President, this is a sign that a resident of Grand Forks put out on their lawn after Congress decided to take a break without passing disaster relief. It says, "Hey, Congress! Spend your break here!" And here is some of the refuse from the disaster in their front yard. You can see the garbage bags piled up as people try to rebuild their lives.

I have a series of photos here that try to bring this back to what this is really about. It is not about how we take the census in the year 2000. It is not about some budget dispute. This is about people who have been devastated and need help.

This is a picture from Grand Forks. This is the downtown area that not only had a 500-year flood, but had a fire that devastated three entire city blocks. Here is some of the refuse that remains from that disaster.

Go to another picture that shows what is happening in terms of Grand Forks, ND. Here is a downtown area, one of the buildings that burned up in the fire, all the rubble that is there. It is staggering. You go through the city of Grand Forks, it looks like a giant junkyard.

Here is what you see as you go up and down every street in residential Grand Forks—every street, because 80 percent of the homes were damaged in this town. This is what you see on every boulevard. All of the contents of these homes, the washers, the dryers, the carpeting, the furniture is not in the home, it is out here on the street be-

cause it has all been destroyed. And these people are asking for one thing, a chance to get their lives back in order.

They have had the worst winter in our history followed by the most powerful winter storm in 50 years that destroyed the electrical grid that served 80,000 people. They were without power for nearly 10 days, in the midst of 40-degree below weather, and then they get hit by the 500-year flood, and then by the worst fire in our State's history. Now they are hit by a disaster of a Congress that fails to act.

Never before in the face of a disaster have we diddled for as long as we have diddled on this disaster. People are asking for help. And this is the condition of their lives.

This is a picture of the business district. It is not just the homes, but it is the businesses that have been destroyed.

I ask my colleagues, if you were in this circumstance wouldn't you expect this body to act, wouldn't you expect a response, wouldn't you expect some help?

This is another picture of what people are going through each and every day now in Grand Forks and East Grand Forks—piles of garbage. This water is not just rainwater, this is water that is putrid. You fly over it, and it stinks because it is filled with every imaginable awful thing. And every home and every business is just destroyed. All of the things that are in there have to go.

This is again a picture of what is outside one of the commercial buildings, and a tremendous amount of destruction. We are going to take years to rebuild. We do not have much time.

We have a short construction season in our part of the country. By October 15 outdoor work will have to be completed. So we do not have time for political games to be played here in Washington.

Let me again repeat the message from the people that I represent. "Please, Congress, pass a disaster relief bill without these unrelated measures so the aid can start to flow."

Some have said, "Well, nothing is being held up. There's money in the pipeline." Last night we heard from the people of Grand Forks. And what they said was very clear. There is not money in the pipeline. There is concrete in the pipeline, because the money is not getting through. There is no money for the buyouts and relocation of the homes and businesses that have been destroyed. There is no money in that pipeline. There is no money in the pipeline to help the ranchers who have lost hundreds of thousands of head of livestock. There is no money in that pipeline. There is no money in the pipeline for the school districts that have taken the kids from the disaster areas. There is no money in that pipeline.

The Governor of South Dakota, Republican by the way, said: On a disaster bill you ought to deal with disasters. He said: For those who say nothing is getting hung up, that's just wrong. And not just he said it, a Republican Congressman from Minnesota, JIM RAMSTAD, said: Those who say there's money in the pipeline are being disingenuous at best. There is no money for housing. There is no money for buyouts and relocations of the homes and businesses that have been destroyed. There is no money for sewage systems. There is no money for roads. There is no money for a whole series of things that desperately need resources.

This is the Republican Governor of South Dakota. He said, "If you've got a disaster bill, you ought to deal with a disaster." He was complaining about the congressional leaders here for sticking controversial measures in a disaster relief bill. And he has it exactly right. For those who say nothing is being hung up, " * * * Janklow said the delay in the legislation is blocking reconstruction of sewage facilities, highways and a State-owned rail line in South Dakota."

Mr. President, this is how the flood victims feel.

This is from the largest newspaper in our State. The headline is very clear: "You are playing with our lives." Let me just read what this disaster victim said:

Ranee Steffan has strong words for members of Congress who think flood victims can wait while bickering continues in Washington . . .

"You are playing with our lives" . . . [she was speaking] from the sweltering travel trailer she and her family now call home. "This isn't some game. . . . [She said] You should come here and walk in my shoes for a day."

Homeless for a month, out of work and bounced from one temporary shelter to another, the wife and mother of two is fed up with lawmakers who she believes think[s] Grand Forks residents are "getting along just fine."

They are not getting along just fine. We had one of our colleagues say, "Well, we can send you a bunch of trailers."

People in North Dakota do not see trailers as a long-term answer to their housing needs. Frankly, trailers in a North Dakota winter are not a very acceptable form of housing. We need to rebuild housing, housing that can withstand a North Dakota winter. We do not need a bunch of trailers sent to our part of the country. That is not the answer to what we face.

We have heard a lot of talk about what is happening and what is not happening, what people out there are asking for, what they are not asking for. How about hearing from the people out there. How about listening to them.

This is the mayor of Grand Forks in a letter to Senators LOTT and DASCHLE, this courageous mayor who has become, I think, an inspiration to the country because, in the face of adver-

sity, she has provided extraordinary leadership. Let me just make clear she is not a partisan. To my knowledge she is not a member of either political party. I have no idea what her political identification is. She has always said she is an independent, that her husband is a Republican. That is as much as anybody knows about her legal affiliation.

Here is what she says:

I urge you to strip all of the controversial amendments from the disaster aid bill and send the humanitarian emergency provisions of the bill to the President for his signature.

That is what she says. She continues:

We are grateful for the emergency aid provisions included in this bill. These provisions, especially funds for the Community Development Block Grant program, will be essential for Grand Forks to be able to recover and rebuild. North Dakota's short construction season dictates that we must take action quickly to rebuild and relocate homes away from the floodplain.

But the political fight over provisions unrelated to disaster relief have stalled this bill and delayed the recovery process for Grand Forks and other cities in the Red River Valley. This disaster aid is needed now. We are simply unable to make decisions about how and if we will be able to rebuild our city without knowing the extent of Federal resources available. We need funds now for housing, for buy-outs and relocation and homes of businesses, for roads and bridges, for school districts and many more urgent needs. With each passing day thousands of residents of Grand Forks and other communities are unable to get on with their lives and are forced to live in shelters, in government-issued trailers, or with relatives.

Again, thank you for the emergency provisions included in the disaster aid bill. I urge you to strip the controversial, non-disaster related measures from the disaster bill and send the humanitarian emergency provisions to the President for his signature.

This was the elected leader of the city of Grand Forks.

Last night, we heard that identical message from the head of the chamber of commerce, from other leaders of the business community, from people from all walks of life, a member of the police department, a member of the city works department, all of them talking to people across the country via satellite as they told their story, what has happened in their community, and what they are asking for now.

It has been 83 days since the President asked for disaster legislation. It has been 53 days since the dikes broke. It has now been 20 days—20 days—since Congress agreed to a disaster package but left town without enacting it before the Memorial Day recess.

Let me just read part of a letter from one of my constituents: "The people here have no homes, no jobs, and no other homes to go to. They have no toys, no bikes, no clothes, or anything else for their children, and you go home for a break. What are you thinking of?"

That is a sample of the literally hundreds of letters that we have gotten from the disaster area.

This is a letter from another constituent:

Perhaps you should visit here and see and feel the pain and devastation. Spend 3 days here, and you will soon understand why people are depressed and the anxiety level is extreme. We are stressed out.

Also, I am sure that if this disaster had hit your district, you would want to pass the legislation with a sense of urgency. That's all we expect.

What this means to me and my family: Relief from the flood of the century. It brought flood waters into our community, our house and six rental properties I own and manage. Indeed, the amount of damage I have sustained is mind boggling. I'm on the brink.

We urge you to pass the disaster relief bill today. Please don't delay another day. We can't wait.

I have hundreds, if not thousands, of letters like this from people out there who are asking their Government to respond. These people are proud people. They are independent people. They are hard-working people. But they have been hit with a series of disasters unprecedented in our State's history.

The worst winter ever, followed by the most powerful winter storm in 50 years, followed by a 500-year flood, followed by a fire in the midst of flood that destroyed much of the town of Grand Forks, a city of 50,000 people that had 95 percent of that town evacuated. That has never happened in America's history, a town of that size completely evacuated. The town right across the river, East Grand Forks, in Minnesota, a city of 9,000, was entirely evacuated. We are not going to be able to rebuild much of these towns. Many of these homes are just absolutely destroyed. Those homes need to be torn down. They represent a health hazard. The businesses, too, need to be torn down. We need to move back from the river to a more defensible location, but that cannot happen until and unless this Congress acts.

I just conclude by saying when the shoe is on the other foot—and I have been in the Senate 10 years—we were ready to help. We never delayed anybody's disaster bill ever. I never even thought of adding controversial provisions to a disaster bill that someone else needed. I just ask our colleagues to give us the same chance and extend the same respect to our constituents. They desperately need help and they need it now.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

EXCESS SPENDING IN DISASTER RELIEF

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I claim the time we had to talk about how to get this job done. We have talked for some time about the need. Now the question is, how do we now find a vehicle to get that done? That is what we ought to be spending our time talking about.

Let me yield to my friend, the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. ALLARD. I thank the Senator from Wyoming for yielding.

In my view, we have had a longstanding problem in the Congress with emergency appropriations, supplemental appropriations, or so-called disaster bills. The problem has been—and truly there has been a disaster such as in North Dakota and Minnesota with the Red River flooding, and that is legitimate. But then built on top of that is a lot of spending that has nothing to do with the emergency nature of this piece of legislation.

I went on ahead and supported this supplemental appropriations bill even though I had some concerns about the amount of spending that was in the bill. In my view, the truly emergency provisions that are in there run in the dollar range from \$2.5 to \$4 billion. The bill is an \$8.6 billion bill.

The only thing that made me go ahead and support this particular piece of legislation is a provision in there that said that we would not shut down the Federal Government. I felt it was an appropriate bill. I did not particularly like all the spending that was in there, but I wanted to get something moving ahead so that we could take care of the needs of the people in North Dakota and Minnesota.

Mr. President, I am disappointed that the President chose to put politics ahead of people. I kept this need to take care of those people in mind, even though I was not entirely happy with the bill. I am disappointed he took such a narrow view. By vetoing the 1997 supplemental appropriations and rescissions bill, he has actually delayed its progress after the Congress has moved ahead. This bill would have provided funding for future disaster relief needs and ensured that we would not face a disaster of another Government shutdown.

Now, the majority was accused by the minority of being "hard headed and cold hearted" for not submitting the bill to the President sooner. I cannot imagine how outraged they must be now that the President has vetoed the bill. I hope that those who promised to tie up the Senate until this bill is passed are now willing to fight just as hard to override this veto, thereby providing funding for disaster relief and ensuring that there will not be another Government shutdown.

Let's be clear, this bill is not about holding up money for the flood victims, as some have suggested. Flood victims are currently receiving disaster relief from FEMA, the Federal Emergency Management Agency. To date, FEMA has already allocated over \$150 million to victims of the flood. Almost \$40 million in housing assistance checks have been issued to more than 21,000 flood victims. In addition, the Small Business Administration has approved more than \$75 million in disaster loans.

In short, the flood victims are being cared for. This bill replenishes funds for FEMA and ensures stability for future disaster funding.

Just as importantly, this bill is about preventing another disaster, the manmade disaster of a Government shutdown. This seems to be nothing more than a political move by the President designed to ensure that he can shut down the Government again, just as he did before when we were trying to balance the budget.

This is the same strategy we have seen from the President before. He impedes, stalls, and ultimately vetoes any compromise we reach, playing political games with public safety, and the productivity of our Federal employees. He then tries to get political mileage out of it by blaming the majority in Congress. When an agreement is finally reached, I have no doubt he will take credit for that, too.

I find it ironic that the President said during his State of the Union Address that the Federal Government should never be shut down again.

Why, then, does he now veto a bill that does exactly that: Ensure that the Government won't be shut down again? The continuing resolution portion of this bill has ensured that Congress and the President will be allowed to continue budget negotiations in good faith without harming the taxpayers or Federal employees and their families.

The President needs to put partisan politics aside and focus on what is good for our country.

I yield the floor and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREGG). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, might I ask, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

MFN STATUS FOR CHINA

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, over the Memorial Day recess, I made a week-long trip to East Asia. This included stops in Seoul, South Korea; Pyongyang, North Korea; Beijing, China; Hong Kong, as well as Misawa Air Force Base in Japan. I spent most of my time on the three issues of most immediate concern to us in northeast Asia this year. First, food and security problems on the Korean Peninsula; second, the negotiations over China's entry into the World Trade Organization; and third, Hong Kong's transition to Chinese sovereignty, now less than 3 weeks away.

I also discussed longer term issues, including environmental protection, human rights, and United States-China security relations. These are complex subjects, with great implications for our national interest in all sorts of areas. With respect to the three im-

mediate issues, I think our basic strategies are well conceived, and we have good people in the military and the Foreign Service working on them. I am in the process of drafting a trip report that will address them in much more detail.

But we in Congress must first take up a different issue; that is, whether to support the President's decision to renew China's MFN status. So I will return to the floor in coming days to discuss the basic security, trade, environmental, and humanitarian issues we face in China and in East Asia generally. But today I will concentrate on MFN status—why it is legally right; why it is morally right, and why, given our compelling interest in issues like security in Korea, more fair and reciprocal trade with China, and a smooth transition for Hong Kong, it is right for our national interest.

LEGALLY RIGHT

First, renewal of MFN status is right under our law. The Jackson-Vanik law, which has governed renewal of MFN status for nonmarket economies since 1974, is the main law in place. It conditions MFN on two things: the existence of a bilateral commercial agreement, and freedom of emigration. Under the law, the President's choice is clear. We have a bilateral trade agreement signed with China in 1980, and China allows free emigration. Therefore, as a legal matter, the President was right to renew MFN and we should back him up.

MORALLY RIGHT

Second, renewing MFN status is morally right. At times, people in Washington are tempted to see a vote to revoke MFN as something which might promote human rights in China. This is a fine sentiment. People who advocate revoking MFN status to promote human rights are very well intentioned. But the effects of revoking MFN would be the opposite of what they intend.

To revoke MFN status, very simply, is to raise tariffs from Uruguay round to Smoot-Hawley levels. To take one example, that means raising tariffs on toys and stuffed animals from zero to 70 percent overnight, again, automatically, from zero to 70 percent tariff overnight. That hits one of China's major exports to the United States, at about 6 billion dollars' worth last year. And who makes them? On the whole, it's young Chinese working people trying to improve their lives.

What would happen if we revoke MFN status? The result should be obvious. Millions of innocent Chinese workers in toy factories and in other walks of life would lose their jobs. The Chinese Government would certainly be hurt, but it would still be there the next day. But the lives of these workers would be ruined. So, far from improving human rights, revoking China's MFN status would cause immense human suffering in China.

Of course, that would discredit our human rights efforts with the Chinese

public. No rational person can expect anyone in China to thank us for harming their economy and inflicting misery on them, their families, or their fellow citizens.

By contrast, if human rights is our motivation, MFN is an irreplaceable part of an effective policy. As the Democracy Wall activist Wang Xizhe—until recently, a political prisoner—says:

The goal of exerting effective, long-term influence over China can only be achieved by maintaining the broadest possible contacts with China, on the foundation of MFN, thus causing China to enter further into the global family and to accept globally practiced standards of behavior.

A long-term policy may emotionally be hard to accept. There are real human rights problems in China: About 3,000 political prisoners remain in jail, strict limits on freedom of assembly exist, very severe policies in Tibet. We would like to solve them all in a day, but the fact is, that won't happen. Only by staying the course, staying involved through trade and human exchange, as well as diplomacy, can we hope to make a difference.

RIGHT FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Finally, we are Americans first, and we are responsible to the American public on our policy decisions. And renewing MFN status is right for our own national interest.

Security issues are an example. I can say from firsthand experience that we have a very complex, very dangerous situation at hand in the Korean Peninsula.

North Korea is a politically isolated government, with very severe food and economic problems, and a large and well-armed military machine. We have a commitment to joint defense of South Korea, we Americans and the South Koreans, and we have 37,000 men and women permanently on the line just a few miles south of the DMZ. We owe it to them to pursue a very serious, responsible policy that can keep the peace and ensure a swift victory if, God forbid, there is any conflict. And Chinese cooperation is absolutely essential to that. Deliberately antagonizing the Chinese Government and armed forces by revoking MFN will not help at all.

We are also responsible to our own people to make trade with China more fair, more reciprocal, and more beneficial to our country. We have an opportunity to do that this year by bringing China into the World Trade Organization on a commercially acceptable basis. Cutting off MFN status would put us on the opposite track: it would balance trade at close to zero, cutting off jobs and prosperity here as well as in China.

As we look into the next century, we must work to slow global warming, ocean pollution, and the loss of biodiversity. To take just one statistic, in the next 20 years, world greenhouse emissions will grow from 6 to 9 trillion tons a year. Fully 1 trillion of the addi-

tional 3 trillion tons will come from China. That is, one-third of all greenhouse gas emissions in the next 20 years, if nothing is done, will come from China.

We have a chance now to moderate that trend. And a political crisis caused by revoking MFN would make that mutually beneficial effort very difficult.

VIEWES OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES

Our own common sense should tell us that China is a key player on all these issues. Wantonly picking a fight with the world's largest country by revoking MFN status, when only 6 countries in the world lack MFN status and 151 countries actually get tariff rates better than MFN, would be foolish.

And our allies tell us the same thing. During my trip last month, I met top national security officials in the South Korean Government. I spoke with senior officers of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces. And I met with Chinese dissidents and democratic political leaders in Hong Kong.

These are our friends, our strategic allies, people we work with every day, people who wish us well. Not a single one of them supported revoking MFN status. To the contrary, they all felt that a good relationship between the United States and China is crucial.

The right course to take, therefore, is very clear. From Korea to human rights to global warming to Hong Kong and Taiwan and trade, we have very serious issues to discuss with the Chinese. And the annual MFN debate is an artificial, unnecessary crisis that makes results on all of them more difficult.

So we should not debate this question into the misty and indefinite future. Instead, we should back up the President this year, renew China's MFN status, and when China faces up to its WTO responsibilities, then make MFN permanent.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an acknowledgement on the East Asia trip be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR MAX BAUCUS—ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ON EAST ASIA TRIP

Mr. President, we in Congress oversee the work of government. It's our responsibility to eliminate waste. Fix what's broken. Find what's wrong. That's an essential part of the job. But every once in a while, we ought to stop and remind ourselves what's right. And today I'd like to take a few minutes to do that.

I recently returned from a week-long trip to South Korea, North Korea, Beijing and Hong Kong, with a brief stop at Misawa Air Force Base in Japan as well, on official business for the Finance Committee.

In the future I will make a more formal report to the Committee on these visits. But setting the policy issues aside for a moment, this trip reminded me once again that both here in Washington and overseas we have talented, patriotic people who are doing their very best for our country. And today, I would like to take some time to thank for helping to make my trip a success.

In Washington:

Chairman William Roth, and Jane Butterfield of the Finance Committee staff;

Lt. Col. John Wohlman, who served as my military escort officer in Seoul, Pyongyang and Beijing;

Assistant Secretary of Defense Dr. Franklin Kramer and Rear Admiral William Wright, who gave me a very enlightening brief on Korean security issues and our military dialogue with the Chinese armed services, and Col. Martin Wisda of the POW/MIA office;

Charles Kartmann, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Howard Lange, State Department China Desk Director and John Long of the State Department's East Asia Bureau;

Peter Scher of the U.S. Trade Representative on the state of our agricultural trade talks with China; and

Teri Patin and the staff of the State Department Office of Congressional Travel.

In Seoul:

With the U.S. Embassy:

Charge d'Affaires Richard Christiansen, an extremely capable and knowledgeable public servant who is one of our country's real experts on Korea; and

Larry Robinson, Political Officer and my Control Officer. Larry worked hard on very short notice to arrange my schedule, and gave me some very good advice about China as well; and

David Schoonover, Agricultural Minister-Counselor.

With US Forces—Korea:

Gen. John H. Tilleli, Commander of US Forces—Korea;

Gen. George W. Norwood and the other USFK officers, who helped brief me on the security issues we face in Korea; and

The Korean-American Cowboy Association for inviting me to the Memorial Day Rodeo to meet and talk with some of our enlisted men and women.

At Misawa Air Force Base in Japan:

Gen. Bruce Wright, USAF; and

Col. Mark Rogers, USAF.

In Beijing:

Ambassador Jim Sasser and the other participants in the Country Team Briefing;

Kelley Snyder, Second Secretary, Economic Section. Ms. Snyder was principally responsible for arranging meetings with Chinese political leaders, and officials from the National Environmental Protection Agency, the Agriculture Ministry, the People's Liberation Army, the Trade Ministry, the Foreign Ministry and the Hong Kong and Macao Office of the State Council.

Bill Brant, Agricultural Minister, who handled the Embassy's participation in the Mansfield Pacific Center Conference on Food Security and Agricultural Trade, and helped make it a resounding success;

Jim Brown, the Embassy Interpreter.

In Hong Kong:

Consul General Richard Boucher;

Scot Marciel, Economic Officer and my control officer. Scot helped me arrange meetings and gain an understanding of the spectrum of Hong Kong opinion on the transition;

Dr. Douglas Spelman, Chief of the Economic and Political Section;

Robert Tynes of the Consular Section and his staff, who handle a tremendously busy and important office very efficiently; and

Victor Chan of General Services.

Our country has a lot at stake in all these places. We face some difficult issues, and in the case of Korea some very dangerous ones. But I must say that we have some very good people on the job. I could not have had better advice on setting an itinerary, more efficient logistical help in scheduling it, and more informed briefings than I received from them.

They have my gratitude, and America is lucky to have them.

Mr. BAUCUS. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DASCHLE. 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 ALL-NIGHT DISASTER VIGIL

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I want to take a couple of minutes of the time allotted to thank so many of our colleagues from both sides of the Congress for their participation in our all-night vigil last night.

We began at 6 o'clock yesterday evening and worked through until 9 o'clock this morning, nonstop. We had about 25 Senators who participated, Senators from all over the country, and some Senators from States that were not affected by the disaster, not included in the supplemental legislation. We had Members of the House of Representatives who participated and came all the way over to express their concern and to participate. I am told we had close to 50 Members of Congress who participated throughout the night. Many of them stayed up all night. I myself had the opportunity to get a couple hours of sleep.

Especially, I want to thank all of the leadership committee staff for the tremendous job that they did, the DTCC staff, the DPC staff, certainly the steering coordination people, and my staff in the leadership office. They deserve our commendation and a heartfelt thanks for all of the work they did in bringing this about. We had the opportunity, as some of my colleagues have already noted, to talk to people around the country and express to them our sincere hope that they know how hard it is sometimes to get this legislation back on track, but also recognize how desirous we are of making that happen soon.

I have had the opportunity to talk to Senator LOTT this morning. I am hopeful that as a result of our conversation and the conversations that I know he is having with other Members, especially on the House side, that we might actually find some way to reach an agreement sometime before the end of the day. I think that is possible. I think there still has to be a lot of good discussion and good-faith effort to try to find a compromise procedurally. But I certainly am hopeful that can be done today.

Last night we talked to people who simply said that they cannot wait any longer, and there are those who said that the problem they are concerned about now is the very short timeframe that we have within which to do any

real construction work in the Dakotas and Minnesota. We have no more than 120 to 125 days. In some cases it is less than 100 days depending on the kind of construction project they are considering. So the bottom line is that if you do not get started soon, you miss an entire construction period in the northern part of our country.

That is why it is imperative that these people know exactly how much money they can expect so they can budget for purposes of letting contracts and making plans on infrastructure. There are going to be projects that are going to require more than 1 year. The mayor of Watertown said she felt that it is going to take 2 to 3 years to deal with all the infrastructure problems that are out there.

So there is no doubt that we are not going to be able to deal with all of the problems we have right now. But we are going to be able to prioritize as soon as we know what the budget is. We are going to be able to let contracts. We are going to be able to address these needs one by one and make some effort at trying to resolve the most difficult priorities first—the most contentious and problematic issues that many of these people have to deal with.

So, Mr. President, I think it is so critical that we get on with this legislation, that we pass it, and that we take out the extraneous legislation.

I indicated that we would be more than happy—and I will repeat it again this morning—to work with leadership on both sides of the Congress and with our Republican colleagues in particular to design a way in which to have a time certain to consider these provisions with even an amount of time to be debated. We could even perhaps consider limitations on amendments—I am not suggesting that today—but perhaps even an amendment limitation in an effort to expedite consideration of these extraneous matters. The two most contentious, of course, are the census and the continuing resolution. They are the ones that we would want to find a way in which there could be a separate debate, a date, and a time certain for consideration and ultimately a vote. Let's do that. We can do it simultaneously with the passage of the disaster bill. But that would allow us the opportunity to move forward even this afternoon.

So I am hopeful that we can accomplish that. I am hopeful that perhaps now in the last 24 or 48 hours there can be a growing appreciation of the need to do something like that. I remain ready to sit down and discuss the matter with anybody who has another idea. Until that time, I think it is important that we begin working on this effort.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, how much time remains on the amount of time allocated to the leader?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ten minutes twenty seconds.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me follow on his remarks just for a few minutes and read a couple of letters from some folks because, after all, this is not some theory or some debate about policy. It is a discussion about how this issue impacts the lives of citizens. I thought it would be useful to read a couple of the letters that we have received.

This is a letter from a fellow in Grand Forks, ND, who writes, "The people here have no homes, no jobs, no other homes to go to. They have no toys, no bikes, no clothes, nor anything else, for that matter, for their children."

And he says, "You go home and take a break for Memorial Day recess," addressing that to the Congress. He said, "I am very angry at the way people are playing with the disaster relief bill and the lives of the people who need help now. They have no right to delay this bill or add to this bill. They want to add things, add more money. We will not have enough money even with this bill to repair our lives."

This is a letter from someone named Tim, who is a disaster victim. "I am a victim of the flood of 1997, as well as my family and friends and businesses who are victims of the flood. As you know, we have suffered a great deal, and as long as you continue to stall on the legislation for disaster relief our pain and suffering is prolonged. Perhaps you should visit here and see and feel the pain and devastation. Spend 3 days here and you will soon understand why people are depressed and why the anxiety level is extreme." He said, "We strive to help each other out in this country in times of need. Americans like to spread the burden of disaster among everyone. That is what it means and that is why it makes us a great country, and we need your help now. On behalf of my family, my wife, our two daughters, we need your support."

Rodney and Judy wrote this letter to the Congress and to the President. "We were evacuated from our homes on the 19th of April 1997. It sat under water for a period of 10 to 12 days with 56 inches of sewer and flood water on the main floor of our home. Currently the house is sitting empty because we are waiting on a bill to be passed by Congress providing flood relief. I am a staff sergeant in the Air Force. My wife and my child also happen to be from Grand Forks, North Dakota. We are proud of our community, and we hate to see it wasted as it is. Right now, even through all of the mess, I have my bags packed and am ready to go at a moment's notice to fight and possibly die for our country. That is our calling in the Air Force. But what Congress is doing to us really hurts. I still make a house payment for a home that sits empty." He said, "The home is getting worse day after day. I can't do anything but wait. Do you think this is fair? How did you enjoy your vacation

over the Memorial Day weekend? I spent mine fixing up, repairing, and helping my neighbors so that their homes can be lived in once again. I think you should come out here and spend a few days in the stink and the mud and the junk on the curbs and the streets. All we want is answers. Why is this taking so long? Stop playing games with the disaster bill and get it passed. We are tired of waiting for an issue that should have been taken care of long ago."

I mentioned earlier today of a call last evening when I was part of the vigil last night from midnight until 3 in the morning, a call from a man named Mark from Grand Forks, ND, whose wife is dying, whose home was flooded, whose family was separated, and who now, like thousands of others in Grand Forks, ND, waits for an answer. Mark is dealing with his wife's illness, with a family that is separated, with a natural disaster, and now he needs to deal with answers to the questions he has. "What about my future? What is going to happen to my community? How can I put my family and my life back together again?" And the answers are in this piece of legislation.

We still have people here who, as of last night, are making the case that this doesn't matter. "Nothing is being held up. It doesn't matter." FEMA, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, they say, has money in the pipeline. "Money is flowing. What are people complaining about?"

Anyone who asks that question has a responsibility to go to Grand Forks, ND, and peek through the tent flap of a tent on the front of a yard of a home that is destroyed where the family is now living, or knock on the door of a camper trailer that is parked in the yard of a home that is destroyed where a family is now living, or go to a shelter where a family now still lives, and ask them, "What is the hurry? Why are you so anxious?" Anyone who believes that there is money in the pipeline to do that needs to go talk to those folks, has a responsibility to go to talk to those folks, and then come back and stand on the floor of the Senate or the House and say, "There is no emergency here." And, if they do that, then they will not be telling the truth because they will have known better. They will have known differently.

This is urgent. The thousands of people this morning who woke up not in their own bed, not in their own homes, know it is urgent. They woke up somewhere else—another town, another home, living with a relative, in a shelter, in a motel, in a camper trailer, and, yes, a tent. They know it is urgent. Yet, day after day we continue to hear people in and around this Capitol justifying the stalling on the disaster bill by saying, "Well, it is not urgent. There is nothing in this bill that will provide urgently needed relief. This is for long-term relief." It is fundamentally false; wrong.

Will Rogers said—I quoted him the other day—about someone, "You know,

it is not what he knows that bothers me so much. It is what he says he knows for sure that just ain't so." We have people who apparently say they know for sure this aid isn't urgent, and they ought to know it ain't so. If they do not know that, they have a responsibility to become informed.

As long as I serve in this Congress I will never attach a controversial unrelated amendment to a disaster bill because it is unfair to do it. I will not do that. And I hope others will not do it in the future either.

In fact, I think we ought to change the rules of the Senate, and I will intend to propose such a change. I expect it will be hard to get adopted. But I think we ought to change the rules of the Senate and say that on bills that are disaster bills, or emergency bills, you ought not be able to offer extraneous or unrelated or nongermane amendments. Will that be hard to get passed in this body? Of course, it will. But shouldn't there be some category of legislation that is an emergency that represents a response to a disaster that at least ought to be held aside and say, "All right, this is different. This is urgent, and you don't add extraneous controversial amendments to this?"

I think we ought to have a rule change to require that with respect to those select categories of legislation that represent urgent disaster or urgent emergency disaster relief.

I hope maybe today, after now nearly 3 additional weeks of delay, that we might be able to provide an answer to the victims of these disasters and that the answer would be that the generous amount of relief that has been worked on by both sides but now which has been locked up by the maneuvering of some, that generous amount of relief will now be made available to people to help them put their lives back together. If it is done now, if it is done in the next couple of hours, it can be signed into law this evening and the disaster aid will be available immediately.

If it is not done today, will it be done tomorrow? If not tomorrow, will it be next week, or next month? How long do disaster victims have to wait? How long do they have to wait and how many letters do we have to read? How many phone calls do we have to recount about people's lives which are being interrupted, families split, homes destroyed and lives in chaos because Congress has not done its job?

Let's hope this is resolved today.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. AL-LARD). Without objection, it is so ordered.

VOLUNTARY ENVIRONMENTAL SELF-AUDIT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, yesterday Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON, my colleague and friend, introduced S. 866, legislation that provides a necessary Federal standard regarding voluntary environmental self-auditing for states. There are nearly two dozen States which are experimenting with laws to encourage self-audits. These laws are aimed at increasing environmental protection and directing scarce enforcement resources toward the real bad actors. We need Federal legislation to make these state laws work, and Senator HUTCHISON has a balanced, fair approach.

I want to take this opportunity today to share with my colleagues how this legislative proposal will strengthen America's environmental policies. I will join Senator HUTCHISON as an active cosponsor to S. 866.

First, I would like to explain what voluntary environmental self-auditing is all about.

In the past 10 years, the number of environmental statutes and regulations that impose compliance obligations, and the corresponding civil and criminal penalties and sanctions for violations, have dramatically increased. In response to these developments, more and more companies are using environmental self-audit programs as a tool to ensure compliance.

Generally, an environmental audit is a means of reviewing a business in order to get a snapshot of its overall compliance with environmental laws and to troubleshoot for potential future problems. EPA defines an audit as "a systematic, documented, periodic and objective review by regulated entities of facility operations and practices related to meeting environmental requirements." Audits can include inspections of equipment to insure that permit requirements are being met; review of future and present risks of regulated and unregulated materials used at the facility; and surveys of the day-to-day operation of environmental management structure and resources. Some companies have compliance management systems that include day-to-day, even shift-to-shift, voluntary activities to assure compliance.

No State or Federal law requires companies to undertake comprehensive environmental self-auditing. This is just a good business practice initiated by companies that are taking extra steps to be in full compliance with environmental law.

There are no guidelines or standard practices—audits vary considerably because they must accommodate the individual needs of companies or specific facilities to be most effective. They are typically much more extensive than an inspection by a State or Federal regulator because they are done more often and because companies simply know much more about their operations and permit obligations than regulators do. A company conducting its own audit

can identify and correct a much wider range of potential environmental violations.

Mr. President, doesn't this sound like a great idea?

Unfortunately, many companies do not perform voluntary self-audits because the information contained in the audit documents can be obtained by Government regulators, prosecutors, citizens' groups, or private citizens and used to sue the company. Companies completing environmental audits develop documentation of their instances of noncompliance or areas of potential concern. These documents, if made public, are a roadmap for third parties or governments to sue even if the problem has already been corrected and no environmental harm has occurred.

Remember, we have an incredibly complex compliance system. Last year a survey conducted by Arthur Anderson and the National Law Journal found that nearly 70 percent of 200 corporate attorneys interviewed said that they did not believe total compliance with the law was achievable. This is due to the complexity of the law, the varying interpretations of the regulators and the ever-present role of human error and the cost.

Because of this complexity, it is possible and logical that companies which take on the task of self-evaluation will find violations—and that is what we want them to do. Find problems and fix them without waiting a year for a Government inspection.

Companies are already vulnerable to extensive liability under environmental laws. Under the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, for example, the maximum civil penalty that may be assessed is now \$25,000 per day per violation. EPA's fiscal year 1994 enforcement and compliance assurance accomplishments report shows that 166 civil judicial penalties were brought in 1994 totaling \$65.6 million. On average, that is about \$400,000 a case. There were 1,433 administrative penalty orders for the same year totaling \$48 million.

Mr. President, that's a lot of money. A pretty powerful disincentive to self-auditing.

Yet, nearly two dozen states have recognized this disincentive to self-auditing and have enacted laws to fix the problem. These states and their citizens want more companies to conduct self-audits. Mississippi is one of the States that has acted on this issue.

These State laws typically do three things: First, provide qualified evidentiary protection for internal company audit documents; second, grant penalty immunity to companies that conduct audits and voluntarily disclose all violations they discover in their audit; and third, require prompt clean-up of the violation.

In other words, the States are saying that responsible, self-auditing companies that find and report problems to State authorities are rewarded. The companies do not have to pay a fine and are protected from any court action on an internal company audit.

Mr. President, this is a fair deal. We get more environmental protection—which should be the goal of environmental laws—not just freedom from sanctions and penalties. Senator HUTCHISON's legislation brings better environmental compliance with a voluntary flexible component.

Mr. President, this is basic common sense—companies have an incentive to find and fix their problems right away. What could be better for the environment?

State officials also benefit because they can establish cooperative relationships with companies instead of the current adversarial enforcement system. Taxpayers get a better return from their tax dollars because enforcement resources can be redirected toward the bad guys who are not following the law. And, most importantly, we all benefit from greater compliance with our environmental laws.

Some will say that these State laws are about secrecy and letting polluters off the hook. Opponents say that these laws make it more difficult to prosecute and that they will interfere with enforcement actions or compromise the public's right to know.

Mr. President, this is just not true. These laws protect only the voluntary self-audit document. They do not protect any information required by law to be collected, developed, maintained, reported or otherwise made available to a Government agency. The opponents are saying that protection of the audit document will allow bad actors to hide violations and endanger human health. Of course, that is not true. Any action that causes an imminent threat is not protected and must be immediately reported to authorities. Companies gain nothing from these laws if they are using an audit for a fraudulent purpose, or if they find a violation and don't fix it. If they're cheating, they're out.

These laws present a new way of doing business. No safeguards are removed. The State legislature is just as eager as the Federal Government to protect its citizens. Senator HUTCHISON's legislation has the same safeguards.

Twenty-one States think this is a better way to get things done. Twenty-five other State legislatures are considering this voluntary self-audit legislation. Let me give you those numbers again: 21 states have enacted a voluntary audit law and 25 are considering one.

Mr. President, that is a grand total of 46 States. I'd say this is a definite trend. The Federal Government ought to open its eyes and join the parade.

We need to enact similar legislation on the Federal level to complement and assist those States with a full and effective implementation of this concept. That is what this bill is all about. No rollback of standards. No removal of any environmental law. Yes, a different approach, but one already tested in States where 95 million Americans

are currently living. It is time for EPA to see the wisdom of 95 million Americans.

Why not let the States continue to show us innovative ways to achieve environmental progress? I frequently ask that question. The answer is EPA wants to retain the right to enforce the law after it delegates program authority to a State. This means that without a Federal law granting a qualified exception for voluntary self-audits, the EPA can take separate enforcement actions—or overfile—regardless of any State action.

The sad consequence is that a company that wishes to take advantage of a State audit law is not protected from Federal enforcement actions—even though the Federal inspectors didn't find the problem and the company has fixed it.

Why would a company voluntarily disclose violations to a State when the Federal Government can come after them for the same thing?

EPA has been very clear about its intent to scrutinize companies in States that have enacted laws and that are currently addressing audit bills in their legislatures. EPA has set up a task force to monitor the approval of State delegated programs under the Clean Air Act for States with voluntary environmental audit statutes. The agency has indicated that approval of certain State programs may be delayed or denied because of their State audit privilege statutes. EPA has used this threat to withhold Federal program delegation in order to influence pending State legislation. Does this sound like an agency whose charter is to clean up the environment or does this sound like a bureaucracy that focuses on punishment first? Is this a constructive environmental approach?

Why—in the face of such Federal challenges—did the 21 States enact legislation? Because 95 million citizens want a cleaner environment. The States know it is the right thing to do. Americans want an approach that cleans the environment first. That is also why 25 other States want to consider alternatives. These States have shown great environmental courage.

I firmly believe that States can design and implement effective and successful environmental laws. In fact, States have proven that the Federal Government does not always know best and does not always get the job done.

I hope that EPA does not continue to minimize the independent sovereign rights of States to adopt and enforce environmental laws that protect the environment and add to our quality of life. Perhaps EPA needs to get a copy of the Constitution.

Full use of these State laws will never happen as long as EPA continues an adversarial approach. And Americans miss an opportunity to achieve creative and cost-effective solutions to environmental problems.

Even the Clinton administration has recognized the value of promoting environmental self-auditing when it issued a policy statement in December of 1995. It was a good first step forward, but in 2 years, we've seen only intimidation.

Basically, the administration policy says that if companies come forward and voluntarily disclose violations, then EPA will not prosecute them as aggressively as they could otherwise. Not a real bonus. No evidentiary protection, no protection against citizen suits, and it is only a policy, not a rule, so it does not have the force of law nor does it have any impact on what the Justice Department or the FBI can do. And this policy can and will vary from State to State and company to company.

It is now time for legislation. Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON has accepted the challenge and introduced a sound bill yesterday. This bill fully recognizes the sovereignty of the State. Mr. President, Senator HUTCHISON's bill, S. 866, will encourage environmental self-auditing by setting up incentives at the Federal level for those States with the provision. Nothing more.

Americans get better environmental compliance. I urge my colleagues to give serious consideration to the proposal being advanced by Senator HUTCHISON.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, June 10, 1997, the Federal debt stood at \$5,351,973,547,710.08. (Five trillion, three hundred fifty-one billion, nine hundred seventy-three million, five hundred forty-seven thousand, seven hundred ten dollars and eight cents.)

One year ago, June 10, 1992, the Federal debt stood at \$5,134,653,000,000. (Five trillion, one hundred thirty-four billion, six hundred fifty-three million.)

Five years ago, June 10, 1992, the Federal debt stood at \$3,939,456,000,000. (Three trillion, nine hundred thirty-nine billion, four hundred fifty-six million.)

Ten years ago, June 10, 1987, the Federal debt stood at \$2,294,202,000,000. (Two trillion, two hundred ninety-four billion, two hundred two million.)

Fifteen years ago, June 10, 1972, the Federal debt stood at \$1,073,704,000,000 (One trillion, seventy-three billion, seven hundred four million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,278,269,547,710.08 (Four trillion, two hundred seventy-eight billion, two hundred sixty-nine million, five hundred forty-seven thousand, seven hundred ten dollars and eight cents) during the past 15 years.

COMMEMORATING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REUNIFICATION OF JERUSALEM

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem and to congratulate the people of Israel on their commitment to freedom.

Jerusalem, Mr. President, is a city unique in all the world. We know much of its 3,000 year history. We know that Jerusalem has been a great city for many people; we know that it remains a holy city for people throughout the world; we know that it is an inseparable part of the Jewish state, a fundamental part of Jewish identity; and we know that it is the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

It was on the hill which we call the Temple Mount that overlooked the Jerusalem of Abraham, where God called upon Abraham to bring his son to be sacrificed; it was here that God made His covenant with man. Jerusalem holds the remains of the first and second temples including the Western Wall of the temple's courtyard, Judaism's holiest site. It is to Jerusalem that Jews everywhere in the world turn in prayer and, no matter where they live, they conclude their celebrations with the refrain "next year in Jerusalem."

Mr. President, I would like to read from perhaps the most moving description of this great city delivered by one of Israel's greatest leaders and statesmen. In 1995, the late Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin delivered the following remarks here in the U.S. Capitol:

Jerusalem is the heart of the Jewish people and a deep source of our pride. On this festive occasion, thousands of miles from home, here and now, we once again are raising Jerusalem above our highest joy, just like our fathers and our fathers' fathers did.

Jerusalem has a thousand faces—and each one of us has his own Jerusalem.

My Jerusalem is Dr. Moshe Wallach of Germany, the doctor of the sick of Israel and Jerusalem, who built Sha'arei Zedek hospital and had his home in its courtyard so as to be close to his patients day and night. I was born in his hospital . . .

My Jerusalem is the focus of the Jewish people's yearnings, the city of its visions, the cradle of its prayers. It is the dream of the return to Zion. It is the name millions murmur, even on their death bed. It is the place where eyes are raised and prayers are uttered.

My Jerusalem is the jerrycan of water measured out to the besieged in 1948, the faces of its anxious citizens quietly waiting in line for bread, the sky whose blackness was torn by flares.

My Jerusalem is Bab el-Wad—the road to the city—which cries out, "Remember our names forever." It is the ashen faces of dead comrades from the War of Independence, and the searing cold of the rusting armored cars among the pines on the side of the road.

My Jerusalem is the great mountain, the military cemetery on Mount Herzl, the city of silence whose earth holds the treasured thousands of those who went to bitter battle—and did not return.

My Jerusalem is the tears of the paratroopers at the Western Wall in 1967 and the flag which once more waved above the remnant of the Temple.

My Jerusalem is the changing colors of its walls, the smells of its markets and the faces of the members of every community and every faith, where all have freedom of thought and freedom of worship in the city where holiness envelops every stone, every word, every glance.

And my Jerusalem is the City of Peace, which will bear great tidings to all faiths, to all nations, "For the Torah shall come forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem . . . Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces."

We differ in our opinions, left and right. We disagree on the means and the objective. In Israel, we all agree on one issue: the wholeness of Jerusalem, the continuation of its existence as capital of the State of Israel. There are no two Jerusalems. There is only one Jerusalem. For us, Jerusalem is not subject to compromise, and there is no peace without Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, which was destroyed eight times, where for years we had no access to the remnants of our Temple, was ours, is ours, and will be ours—forever.

"Here tears do not weaken eyes," wrote the Jerusalem poet Yehuda Amichai. "They only polish and shine the hardness of faces like stone." Jerusalem is that stone.

Mr. President, Jerusalem is more than the heart of the Jewish people. It is sacred throughout the world. Jesus was crucified inside today's city, and Mohammed was said to have ascended into Heaven from the Temple Mount. Mr. President, Jerusalem indeed is a great city; it is a city of the world, a city revered by the world, and a city for the world. Its freedom is invaluable.

Unfortunately, from 1948 to 1967, beginning with the war waged against the new State of Israel and ending with Israel's victory in the Six-Day War, Jerusalem was a divided city. During this time, Israelis of all faiths and Jews from around the world were prohibited from entering the eastern part of the city and from praying at the holy sites there. Jerusalem had lost its freedom, and the world had lost its Jerusalem.

This week, Mr. President, marks the anniversary of the liberation of the holy city and its return to freedom. That is why we are congratulating the people of Jerusalem.

Today, Jerusalem is a city of growth, prosperity, and freedom. Upon their victory in 1967, those denied the city for so long did not deny it to the defeated. To this day, perhaps the most holy site for all three major religions of the city remains housed in a Moslem mosque, the Dome of the Rock. But it is a place which can be visited by anyone who desires.

So, beyond honoring the freedom of this great city, I want to congratulate the people of Jerusalem and of Israel for their commitment to religious freedom and the principle that religious faiths should not pay the price of political disputes. The Jews of Israel know very well the importance of religious freedom, and the pain of its denial.

Today, as we remember Jerusalem's proud and turbulent past, and honor its

freedom-loving residents, we must appreciate the continuing threat to the city's future.

Thirty years ago today, Mr. President, Israel was at war, fighting for the freedom and indivisibility of Jerusalem. I submit that today, Israel remains at war. We must remember, as the peace which seeks to end this war ebbs and flows, that many people in and around Israel are trying to accomplish through other means what they failed to do in 1967—push Israel into the Mediterranean Sea. In this environment, we must not assume all parties are equally right and equally wrong. The middle of a dispute is usually not halfway in between the belligerents. Treating bombs in cafes and on buses as morally equivalent to bulldozers on deserted hilltops jeopardizes peace.

The Senate, on May 20, passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, marking the anniversary of Jerusalem's reunification and congratulating the people of Israel. The measure had 88 initial co-sponsors and passed unanimously. This clear message cannot be misunderstood. There is only one Jerusalem and it is the undivided capital of Israel. As the peace process continues there should be no doubt about where the U.S. Senate stands. The Senate strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they have been by Israel during the past 30 years and calls upon the President and Secretary of State to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, today the Senate joins the people of Israel as they celebrate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem. The Six-Day War began after Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, spurred on by the Soviet Union, conspired with Syria, Jordan, and Iraq to have the people of Israel "thrown into the sea." Nasser persuaded U.N. Secretary General U Thant to withdraw peacekeeping forces from the Gaza strip which for 10 years had acted as a buffer between Israel and Egypt. The Egyptians began amassing troops in the Sinai. Israel, surrounded by 250,000 Arab troops preparing for war, launched a devastating pre-emptive strike on June 5.

The war was a significant event in Israeli history and resulted in the reunification of Jerusalem, which before the war had been divided with all access to the Old City and its holy sites denied to Jews.

I have been involved with this particular issue in some measure since my tenure as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations in 1975. By the early 1970's, a Soviet-led coalition wielded enormous power in the U.N. General Assembly and used it in an assault against the democracies of the world. In that regard, I cite an editorial in the *New Republic* which has said of the United Nations in that

time that "During the Cold War, the United Nations became a chamber of hypocrisy and proxy aggression."

Those who had failed to destroy Israel on the field of battle joined those who wished to discredit all Western democratic governments in an unprecedented, sustained attack on the very right of a U.N. member state to exist within the family of nations.

The efforts in the 1970's to delegitimize Israel came in many forms. None more insidious than the twin campaigns to declare Zionism to be a form of racism and to deny Israel's ties to Jerusalem. Those who ranted against the "racist Tel Aviv regime" were spewing two ugly lies. Both had at their heart a denial of Israel's right to exist.

The first lie, the infamous Resolution 3379, was finally repealed on December 16, 1991, after the cold war had ended and as the Soviet Union was dissolving. The second we are still dealing with today.

That Jerusalem is, and should remain Israel's undivided capital would seem an unremarkable statement, but for the insidious campaign—began in the 1970's—to delegitimize Israel by denying her ties to Jerusalem. For far too long the United States acquiesced in this shameful lie by refusing to locate our embassy in Israel's capital city. As long as Israel's most important friend in the world refused to acknowledge that Israel's capital city is its own, we lent credibility and dangerous strength to the lie that Israel is somehow a misbegotten, illegitimate or transient state.

This suggestion is all the more untenable when you consider that no other people on this planet have been identified as closely with any city as the people of Israel are with Jerusalem—a city which recently celebrated the 3000th anniversary of King David declaring it his capital. No Jewish religious ceremony is complete without mention of the Holy City. And twice a year, at the conclusion of the Passover Seder and the Day of Atonement services, all assembled repeat one of mankind's shortest and oldest prayers, "Next Year in Jerusalem."

Throughout the centuries Jews kept this pledge, often sacrificing their very lives to travel to, and live in, their holiest city. It should be noted that the first authoritative Turkish census of 1844 reported that Jews were by far the largest ethnic group in Jerusalem—long before there was a West Jerusalem, or even any settlements outside the ancient walled city.

When the modern State of Israel declared independence on May 14, 1948, Jerusalem was the only logical choice for the new nation's capital, even if it was only a portion of Jerusalem—the Jordanian Arab Legion having occupied the eastern half of the city and expelled the Jewish population of the Old City. Jerusalem was sundered by barbed-wire and cinderblock and Israelis of all faiths and Jews of all citizen-

ship were barred from even visiting the section under Jordanian occupation.

The world was silent while the historic Jewish Quarter of the city was sacked and razed to the ground, synagogues and schools were destroyed, and 3,000 years of history were denied. This bizarre anomaly only ended on June 5, 1967, when Israel faced renewed aggression from Egypt and Syria, both then close friends of, and dependents of the Soviet Union. As hostilities commenced, Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol sent a message to King Hussein of Jordan promising that, if Jordan refrained from entering the war, Israel would not take action against it. Jordan, however, attacked Israel that same day. Within the week, Israeli forces had captured all of Jerusalem, as well as other territories west of the Jordan River. The City of David was once again united, and has remained so since 1967. Under Israeli rule Jerusalem has flourished as it did not under Jordanian occupation, and the religious shrines of all faiths have been meticulously protected.

Having made the odious link between Zionism and racism, the Soviet inspired coalition now set its sights on the heart of Israel: Jerusalem. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which convened in New Delhi, India, March 7 through 11, 1983, devoted several lengthy passages of its Final Declaration to excoriating Israel and its ally, the United States. Special attention was devoted to the question of Jerusalem's status. And not just East Jerusalem as had become the practice of such fora.

I happened to be in New Delhi in the days before the summit began and was shown a draft of the Final Declaration. The draft passage of Israel read: "Jerusalem is part of the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from it and restore it to Arab sovereignty."

While surely this can be read as a provocative statement that all of Jerusalem is occupied Palestinian territory, when pressed on the point, my Indian hosts assured me that by Jerusalem they really only meant east Jerusalem, which is to say the Old City, or perhaps the Arab section. Hence, the significance of the revised final text of the declaration of some 101 nations.

This is what the nonaligned declared in that session in 1983:

West Jerusalem is part of the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from it and restore it to Arab sovereignty. West Jerusalem!

The 101 nations of the Non-Aligned Movement declared that the Israeli Parliament and government buildings, Yad Vashem, the Holocaust memorial, the King David Hotel, the whole of the new city, did not belong to Israel. The State of Israel is not a nation. It has no capital, or so said the nonaligned.

What was the response from Washington to such polemics? Not a word.

In effect, our silence could have been interpreted as implying that we had no quarrel with those who state that Israel has no capital. And thus, that Israel is less than a sovereign nation.

It was at this point that I brought the issue to the Senate floor. On October 31, 1983, I introduced S. 2031 which required the relocation of our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Official documents published by the United States Government at the time, such as the State Department's "Key Officers of Foreign Service Posts: Guide for Business Representatives," listed Jerusalem separate from Israel. The guide listed countries alphabetically, under each of which in subscript was enumerated the various diplomatic posts the United States Government maintained in that country.

There was Ireland, with the one post in Dublin; then came Israel, with one diplomatic office listed, its address in Tel Aviv; then curiously several pages later, after Japan, there was listed a Consulate General in a country called Jerusalem. Then came Jordan and Kenya.

That was how the "Key Officers of Foreign Service Posts" was organized until the end of 1994, when Secretary Christopher published the document with Jerusalem listed under the Israel heading. This is a welcome change. That simple refusal by the United States Government to associate our consulate in Jerusalem with the State of Israel carried much greater weight with the Non-Aligned countries than we realized.

They would not have acted as they had done in 1983 if they did not think at some measure we were not in disagreement. Our documents have so implied.

While my legislation did not pass in 1983, the drive to clarify the status of Jerusalem began to gain momentum in the Senate in 1990 when I submitted Senate Concurrent Resolution 106, which states simply: "Jerusalem is and should remain the capital of the State of Israel." A simple declarative sentence which gained 85 cosponsors and was adopted unanimously by the Senate and by an overwhelming majority in the House.

On November 8, 1995, the Dole-Moy-nihan Jerusalem Embassy Act became the law of the United States. The law states, as a matter of United States Government policy, that Jerusalem should be recognized as the capital of the State of Israel, and should remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they are today.

In the winter of 1981, I wrote an article in Commentary entitled "Joining The Jackals" in response to the Carter administration's disastrous support for a resolution challenging Israel's rights in Jerusalem. Sixteen years later, we find that the jackals are in retreat. Israelis and Palestinians are negotiating the details of their future. And the United States can make a simple but

important contribution to this process by unequivocally recognizing Israel's chosen capital.

The Senate has affirmed this simple proposition by unanimously adopting Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, on May 20, 1997, which commemorates the reunification of Jerusalem and states that:

[The Senate] strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they have been by Israel during the past 30 years;

[and]
Calls upon the President and Secretary of State to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain an undivided capital of the state of Israel.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for their strong support of this measure, and again wish to congratulate our friends in Israel on this important occasion.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, today I join my colleagues in congratulating the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of their capital.

Christianity, Islam, and Judaism hold Jerusalem sacred, and the many holy sites of all faiths make a city a world spiritual and religious center. With the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967, Israel ensured the freedom of worship for all faiths and access to holy places of all religions with the enactment of the Protection of Holy Places Law, 1967.

Today, Jerusalem is a mosaic of many cultures, religions, and nationalities, of peoples and neighborhoods, of old and new. It is a union of contrasts with a unique character. Last year Israel celebrated the Trimmilennium of Jerusalem, the City of David. And for the past 3,000 years there has been a continuous Jewish presence in the city. In fact, ever since King David made Jerusalem the capital of his kingdom, Jerusalem has become a center of Jewish existence.

No other nation has ever made Jerusalem its capital in such an absolute and binding fashion. The Temple was built in Jerusalem, and to it the religious made their pilgrimages. Chapters of the Bible were written within its walls, and there the prophets preached their prophesies. The city's ancient stones, imbued with millennia of history, and its numerous historical, sites, shrines, and places of worship attest to its meeting for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Sanctified by religion and tradition, by history and theology, by holy places and houses of worship, Jerusalem is a city revered by Jews, Christians, and Muslims. It reflects the fervor and piety of the three major monotheistic faiths, each of which is bound to Jerusalem by veneration and love.

The Jewish bond to Jerusalem was never broken. For three millennia, Jerusalem has been the center of the Jewish faith, retaining its symbolic value throughout the generations. The

many Jews who had been exiled after the Roman conquest and scattered throughout the world never forgot Jerusalem. Year after year they repeated "Next year in Jerusalem." Jerusalem became the symbol of the desire of Jews everywhere to return to their homeland. It was invoked by the prophets, enshrined in daily prayer, and sung by Hebrew poets in far-flung lands.

As a Christian, Jerusalem is a holy city for me. Jerusalem is the place where Jesus lived, preached, died, and was resurrected. I went to Jerusalem in 1994 and visited various holy sites including the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Via Dolorosa. For me there is something very special about this ancient city and I am glad I was able to visit these sites unencumbered, as are all persons.

For Islam, the prophet Mohammed was miraculously transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, and it was from there that he made his ascent to heaven. The Dome of the Rock built in the seventh century, is built over the site of Mohammed's ascent.

Every year Jerusalem plays host to hundreds of thousands of Christian pilgrims who come to walk in the footsteps of Jesus and pray at the shrines and churches throughout the city. Thousands of worshippers pray at the Mosques on the Temple Mount, with their numbers swelling into the hundreds of thousands during Moslem holy month of Ramadan.

Jerusalem is a special city for me, my fellow Christians, Moslems, and Jews. For the United States, Jerusalem is the recognized undivided capital of Israel, and the United States embassy will be established in the city by 1999.

Mr. President, again, I want to congratulate the citizens of Jerusalem and Israel on this special occasion. As I wish them all my best for the next 3,000 years, I am reminded of Psalms 122:2-3.

Our feet stood within thy gate,
O Jerusalem,
Jerusalem built up,
a city knit together.

Congratulations, Jerusalem.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I am proud to rise as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 and commend the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is and always will be the capital of Israel. For thousands of years the Jewish people prayed, "next year in Jerusalem." This prayer helped to sustain Jews even through the darkest days of the diaspora.

After Israeli independence, Jews were forced out of Jerusalem—where they had lived for three millennia. The holy sites of Jerusalem were closed to Christians and Jews. The Jewish quarter of the old city was destroyed. But since Jerusalem was unified in 1967, it has been open to all religions for the first time in its history.

I have visited Israel with Jews who were there for the first time. When we

visited the Western Wall, I saw what it meant for them to touch the stones that their ancestors could only dream of. I saw that Jerusalem is not just a city or a capital. It is the religious and historic homeland of the Jewish people.

Jerusalem is the capitol of Israel—though the world ignores this fact. Why is Israel the only nation that is not allowed to chose its own capital?

There is much talk about building in Jerusalem. Well, there is a building project that I particularly look forward to. America will build its Embassy in Jerusalem by 1999. We should have moved our Embassy long ago.

Mr. President, This year, as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the unification of Jerusalem, let us mark this great event by reaffirming that Jerusalem is and always will be the capital of the State of Israel.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, this past Saturday, June 7, marked the 30th anniversary of the reunification of the city of Jerusalem. Prior to 1967, Jerusalem was a city divided, its center scarred by concrete and barbed wire, with many of its residents displaced. Israel's recovery of Jerusalem during the Six-Day War ended that ugly partition and restored the ability of visitors and residents of all religions to worship freely and visit important holy sites in Jerusalem.

For my part, I am convinced that Jerusalem should remain the unified capital of the State of Israel. I have consistently supported measures before the Congress expressing opposition to the division of the holy city.

The Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act, passed in 1995, definitively expressed Congress' heartfelt belief that Jerusalem should not only remain the capital of the State of Israel, but that the United States should recognize it as such.

Jerusalem occupies a central place in the Christian, Islamic, and Jewish faiths and I believe it is crucial to each of these great traditions that Jerusalem remain undivided and its holy sites open.

I urge that the President and the State Department declare their support for a free, united Jerusalem, and to avoid interfering in negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians on the status of the holy city.

Mr. President, in these last 30 years, the holy city of Jerusalem has flourished, not just for Israel, but for all people. Nobody can claim complete ownership of one of the spiritual centers of the world. But we can all congratulate the State of Israel on its excellent stewardship.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to add my voice to those celebrating the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem. The Senate has before it a resolution commemorating this occasion. Its passage will be an appropriate and fitting testimony to the courage of those who reunited and reopened the city, and to the wisdom of those who have maintained it that way for the last three decades.

Jerusalem is a city of faith. It is the spiritual home of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and it is the sacred symbol and temporal meeting place of their shared legacy and common humanity. Undivided access to its holy sites is a promise made in the tumult of war and kept in the name of peace. Those who made it and those who keep it are rightly remembered by us today.

Jerusalem also is a national city. It is the undivided capital of Israel—the political and cultural center of one of America's staunchest, most important allies. The continued unity of Jerusalem under Israel's flag is not an issue for debate. It is our best assurance that America's most cherished values, including the rule of law and basic human freedoms, will be preserved and protected in a region critical to our own national interest.

Thirty years ago, the people of Israel reunified Jerusalem. But for more than 3,000 years, Jerusalem has endured as the city on the hill. Geography and politics alone do not being to explain its significance. It is a place where God touches us and unifies our histories; it is where the privilege and responsibility of Abraham's heritage becomes our own. Peace with justice in Jerusalem is a measure of our integrity as people of faith; and the best hope for peace with justice in Jerusalem is continued undivided sovereignty.

I urge my colleagues to pass this resolution congratulating the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of that city's reunification.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is and shall remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel. The facts are simple: Jerusalem belongs to Israel for the simple reason that for three millennia, it has been the spiritual, historical, cultural, and moral capital of the Jewish people. In recognition of this fact, the relocation of our Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem should take place as called for in the Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act of 1995.

Thirty years after reuniting the city after preempting another attack by her surrounding Arab neighbors, Israel has sought to make the city open to people of all faiths and to make the holy sites available to all who come. The fact remains, that Jerusalem has never been the capital of any nation but that of the Jews. That is the way it should remain.

Mr. President, Jerusalem has been central in the thoughts and minds of the Jewish people for 3,000 years. As the holy city, Jerusalem is the spiritual and religious center of Judaism and is an indivisible part of the State of Israel.

While I understand that the present Middle East peace negotiations are both complicated and delicate, I do not want anyone to fall under the impres-

sion that Jerusalem will belong to anyone other than Israel. If the future of Jerusalem remains unclear in the minds of the Palestinians then they will increase their demands and this will further complicate the already tense negotiations.

Let the message be clear: A united Jerusalem is off limits to negotiation.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 of which I am a proud cosponsor. This resolution congratulates the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of that historic city. This resolution also expresses our strong belief that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected as they have been by Israel during the past 30 years. Furthermore it calls upon the President and the Secretary of State to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of the State of Israel.

There has been a continuous Jewish presence in Jerusalem for three millennia and a Jewish majority in the city for the past 150 years. Jerusalem has been, throughout these years, the holiest of cities and the focal point of Jewish devotion. Jerusalem remains a unique and critically important city to the Jewish people. Jerusalem is also the only city in the world which serves as the capital of the same country, inhabited by the same people, speaking the same language, and worshipping the same God as was the case 3,000 years ago.

During the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the Jewish people were driven out of the Old City of Jerusalem and denied access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan. For 19 years Israelis of all faiths and Jews from all around the world were prevented from visiting their holiest sites by the barbed wire which divided Jerusalem. Today we commemorate 30 years of unrestricted access to these holy sites. Since the Israeli Government reunified Jerusalem under its control, the rights of all religious and ethnic groups have been restored and vigilantly protected.

The protection of the rights of every ethnic and religious group is critical to the maintenance of peace in such a diverse and religiously significant region. We are here today to commend the Israeli people and their government for restoring full access for all people to their holy sites. Today we again lend our support to continued Israeli control of a unified Jerusalem.

Support for a strong, independent, and undivided Israel is the keystone of our policy in the Middle East. Israel is not only the sole democracy in the region, but also a country with which we share cultural and historical ties. Our continued support of Israel, and of Jerusalem as its undivided capital, is especially important in this crucial point in the peace process.

We are here today in continuation of our previous policy initiatives regarding Israel and its control of Jerusalem. In 1990, the Congress adopted concurrent resolutions declaring that the Congress "strongly believes that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic religious group are protected." In 1992, the Congress adopted resolutions to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem, additionally reaffirming congressional sentiment that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city.

Congress' most forceful and symbolically consequential actions in recognition of the importance of a unified Jerusalem have been part of its systematic rebuke of its previous policy of maintaining the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv. For some time the United States has conducted its official meetings and other business in the city of Jerusalem in de facto recognition of its status as the capital of Israel. The Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 stated as a matter of policy that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel. Funds for the building of the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem were recently appropriated in the fiscal year 1998 appropriations bill, H.R. 1486.

As a Member of this Senate and a long-time supporter of Israel, I am proud to stand with many of my distinguished colleagues as a cosponsor of this important resolution.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I rise in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

It is an honor to be a cosponsor of this resolution, as it was to be a cosponsor of the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Act. The 1995 act declared that the holy city should remain "undivided" and be "recognized as the capital of the State of Israel."

Mr. President, for 3,000 years there has been a continuous Jewish presence in the city of Jerusalem. No other city on Earth is the capital of the same country, inhabited by the same people, speaking the same language and worshipping the same God, for a span of three centuries as has been the case with Jerusalem.

In 1948, the Arab legion conquered East Jerusalem, including the Old City, as part of the general Arab military offensive to prevent Israel from coming into being. Israel retained control over West Jerusalem. It is important to note, Mr. President, that when East Jerusalem was under Arab or Muslim rule, it never served as a capital city for the rulers. Between 1948 and 1967, when East Jerusalem was under Jordanian control, Jordan's capital remained in Amman. I would also note that during this time, the holy city was closed to other religions. Jews were prevented from visiting their holy places, all the synagogues in the Old City were razed and Jewish burial places were desecrated.

In 1967, as Egypt and Syria moved again toward war against Israel, the Israeli Government urged King Hussein of Jordan to sit out the fighting and promised that the territories he controlled would be left alone if he did so. The King failed to heed the warning. He attacked Israel, and in the ensuing fighting lost East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

When the holy city was reunified after the war, Israel, under Labor Party leadership at the time, declared that Jerusalem will remain undivided forever as Israel's capital and that all people will have free access to their holy places. All people of all faiths are welcome to worship in the holy city. Former Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said it this way: "Jerusalem is closed politically and open religiously. This means that it will remain unified, and only as Israel's capital, not two capitals. It will remain under Israeli sovereignty."

I agree with Shimon Peres. Jerusalem is, and should remain, a united city—the capital of Israel. I urge the immediate adoption of this resolution. As the 1995 act did before, Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 will send a principled and constructive signal to all the parties in the Arab-Israeli negotiations that the United States recognizes Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in observing the 30th anniversary of the reunification of the city of Jerusalem. Although the modern State of Israel was founded almost 50 years ago, in 1948, the city of Jerusalem was at that time still divided between Israel and Jordan, and its holy sites were not open to all religious groups. After Jerusalem became one again in 1967, these important historical and religious sites were opened to Christians, Jews, Muslims, and all others who wished to worship or simply spend some time in the Old City or at the Western Wall.

I have long supported an undivided Jerusalem in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group will be protected and respected. Jerusalem is not only the capital of Israel, but also the home of more than 40 Christian denominations and the home of the Moslem religion. It is imperative that we work to preserve this city's unity and prevent any actions that would threaten this status. At the same time, we must ensure that our efforts to maintain unity in the holy city do not divide those working toward a lasting peace in the Middle East. Jerusalem is holy to many people in many different ways, and its future has understandably been a sensitive issue in the ongoing peace process. Unfortunately, some have used the issue of a unified Jerusalem to divide those who share in the city's heritage. Our support today for unity in Jerusalem does not in any way detract from our support for peace in the Middle East. The peace process, with our unqualified support, must move forward.

In closing, Mr. President, I simply wish to restate my support for a unified Jerusalem that is open to all those who wish to visit its historical and spiritual sites. It is fitting that the Senate takes a moment to reflect upon the importance of Jerusalem as a symbol to people of diverse faiths and as a unified city open to all. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition today to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem during the Six-Day War. I congratulate the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on this important anniversary day.

On June 5, 1967, the Israelis responded to threats from their Arab neighbors and 6 days later the war ended with a reunified Jerusalem that once again gave Jews access to the old city and its holy sites. Some called this unexpected price of war a miracle; it is indeed an issue of great importance for the Jewish people.

Jerusalem holds a special place in Jewish history. Since King David, Jerusalem has been at the center of Jewish traditions and the very core of Jewish faith. The very city itself, not just the sites of religious significance, is considered hallowed by those of the Jewish faith. This issue has personal significance to me as well, as members of my own family live and worship in Jerusalem.

Jews have long been the majority of residents of Jerusalem. However, Jerusalem is not only important for the Jewish faith, but for Islam and Christianity as well. I am a cosponsor of the sense-of-the-Congress resolution that recognizes the significance of a unified Jerusalem to the people of Israel and reiterates the Senate's position that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected.

This resolution also calls on the President to publicly affirm as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem must remain the undivided capital of Israel. Since coming to the Senate, I have supported initiatives that recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. I also supported the Jerusalem Embassy Relocation Implementation Act of 1995, legislation that will move the United States Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. I will continue to work to ensure that never again will access to the old city and its holy sites be denied to Jews or to persons of any faith.

Mr. President, I join my colleagues on this momentous day in celebrating the triumph of Israel in the Six-Day War and the reunification of Jerusalem.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to the nation of Israel and its courageous people on the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

Today, this remarkable city, with its proud history in both the ancient and the modern worlds, stands as a center

of diverse religious and cultural interests. Three of the world's great religions—Christianity, Islam, and Judaism—consider Jerusalem to be a holy city, and all three have holy sites in the city.

In 1967, following 20 years of division, Israel reunited Jerusalem during the course of its heroic victory in the Six-Day War. As the capital of Israel, Jerusalem today is a haven for persons of all ethnic and religious groups. As we join in commending Israel on this important anniversary, we also reaffirm our commitment to an undivided Jerusalem.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, 30 years ago a singular, unexpected and startling event reshaped the world. I am referring to the conclusion of the Six-Day War of 1967, when the young Jewish state was faced with the amassed forces of the Arab world, bent on its destruction, but prevailed against all odds and concluded the short but bloody war with the victorious forces of Israel reclaiming and reuniting the holy city of Jerusalem.

It was the first time since the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. that the city was entirely in Jewish hands. One of the accounts of the first paratroopers and soldiers to reach the wall spoke of Gen. Shlomo Goren, then the chief rabbi of the Israeli Army, who raced to join the first to reach the wall. Last week's Jerusalem Post recounted that he was armed only with a Bible and a shofar, and that as they ran through the narrow streets of Old Jerusalem

Goren did not stop blowing the shofar and reciting prayers. His enthusiasm infected the soldiers, and from every direction came cries of "Amen!" The paratroopers burst out in song.

The Jewish author Abraham Joshua Heschel wrote movingly of this pivotal event:

In its solitude the Wall was forced into the role of an unreachable tombstone for the nameless dead. Suddenly the Wall, tired of tears and lamentations, became homesick for song. "O Come, let us sing to the Lord, let us chant in joy to the rock of our salvation!" (Psalm 95:1) It will be called the Rejoicing Wall.

It was the first time since the partition of Jerusalem that Jews could pray at the Western Wall. In fact, after the Israeli paratroopers and soldiers liberated the city, many flocked to the wall even before the mines left by the Jordanians had been removed. A few days later, the headline of the Jerusalem Post read: "200,000 at Western Wall in first pilgrimage since Dispersion".

Heschel wrote:

July, 1967 * * * I have discovered a new land. Israel is not the same as before. There is great astonishment in the souls. It is as if the prophets had risen from their graves. Their words ring in a new way. Jerusalem is everywhere, she hovers over the whole country. There is a new radiance, a new awe.

Mr. President, the conclusion of this war had profound geopolitical consequences—for the Mideast, and for the world, as the superpowers responded to the consequences of the defeat of the Arab armies. The Soviets increased their support to the Arab regimes in-

cluding the virulently anti-Israel governments of Saddam Hussein and Hafez Assad who came to power over the next couple of years. The United States, quick to recognize Israel's declaration of independence almost 20 years before, stood by our Democratic friend, as we would during the Yom Kippur War 6 years later, and as we have ever since.

But there was consequences even more profound than the geopolitics. The city of David was in Jewish hands. Whereas the Jewish graves and synagogues had been desecrated since the partitioning in 1948, Israel opened the city to the faithful of the three monotheistic religions. The Muslim leaders retained control of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Christians have joined Jews since then in pilgrimages to holy Jerusalem. Jerusalem today is a city for all faithful.

It is also, as so befits the sadness of this bloody 20th century, the center of unresolved political disputes.

Mr. President, if you look back at the history of the 1967 war, you see that among the Israeli leadership, the possibility of exchanging land for a permanent peace was being considered within days after the Six-Day war. This was a radical notion in that part of the world—and the years it took before the Sinai was returned was a necessary period when facing hostile regimes on every border of a narrow state. But Israel has always demonstrated its willfulness—in fact, its insistence—on cohabiting in the region, and cooperating to do so—as long as its sovereignty and right to exist are recognized. These notions were at the heart of an unformulated peace process then as they are in a more formal peace process now.

It is up to the democratically elected government of Israel to determine the direction and content of that process today, as it is up to Israel's Arab neighbors to accept the reality of the Jewish state.

But one issue has been left more muddled than it should be: the status of Jerusalem. This issue has been debated on this floor for over a decade. I believe that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and I have joined many colleagues in expressing that it should be the policy of the United States to recognize Jerusalem as the undivided capital of Israel, and to cease the artificial posturing that has kept our Embassy in Tel Aviv. This is what we declared when we passed the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995, and what we reiterated in our recent resolution, Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, congratulating the residents of Jerusalem on the 30th anniversary of reunification. With these acts, Congress recognized a geopolitical reality. There are times when doing so can enhance the management of peace, by declaring, once and for all, what are the feasible parameters of a negotiated peace. These acts of Congress were such times. If the peace process continues, it will progress more certainly on solid ground. I continue to

encourage the administration to join us in correcting a diplomatic anomaly that we have visited on our closest ally in the Middle East for too long.

Mr. President, I offer my deepest congratulations to the residents of Jerusalem, to the citizens of Israel, and to all who appreciate the peace and openness that has reigned over that city since it was reunited 30 years ago.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I rise today to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem and support the resolution offered by my distinguished colleagues from New York and Florida in marking this auspicious occasion. Psalm 122 admonishes us to "pray for the peace of Jerusalem." This biblical verse is as apt now, on the 30th anniversary of the Holy City's reunification, as it was 3,000 years ago.

Jerusalem knew little peace in the 19 years before 1967. The end of Israel's War of Independence left an obscene no-man's land of barbed wire, tank traps, sniper posts, and minefields. Israel's former adversary left almost no vestige of Jewish history in the historic old city untouched, including the destruction of 58 synagogues; Jewish gravestones from the Mount of Olives were used to build roads and latrines for occupying troops.

Mr. President, Israel's foes had as much regard for the rights of religious pilgrims as they did for religious sites: Jews could not visit the Western Wall, and Israeli Muslims were denied access to the Dome of the Rock and the Al Aqsa Mosque. During the occupation, the Christian population of Jerusalem declined from 25,000 to 10,000.

On the morning of June 7, 1967, our entire world changed. Israeli commandos stormed through St. Stephen's Gate on the northeast side of the old city walls and took control over the old city and its centerpiece, the Temple Mount. They discovered that occupying troops had used the Temple Mount area, including the Dome of the Rock and the Al Aqsa mosque, as a huge ammunition dump. Mr. President, what might have happened if the ammunition would have exploded, destroying the Temple Mount and perhaps the nearby Church of the Holy Sepulcher? How great would our spiritual loss have been?

For the first time since the Romans leveled the city in AD 70, Jews controlled the Western Wall—the surviving remnant of Herod's Temple.

Mr. President, shortly after the end of the Six Day War, Israel did something astonishing for a victorious power. Israeli officials assured Arab leaders that the Muslims would keep control of the Islamic holy places on the Temple Mount. That inspired decision began Jerusalem on the road to reunification and began to heal the wounds of centuries.

Mr. President, I traveled to Israel with my father when I was 21 and saw

a city transformed from that which had seen pain and anguish for thousands of years. Where barbed wire and armed soldiers had once stood was a magnificent area of trees and grass that now surrounds the renovated walls of the old city. I saw a rebuilt Jewish Quarter in the old city. But Mr. President, most importantly, I saw for myself that free and open access to their holy places for people of all faiths was not merely the goal in Jerusalem, it was the rule.

The city's parks were revitalized. Schools and museums and hospitals sprang up. Music and poetry once again rose into Israel's evening sky. The people came together as artists, architects, lawyers, and theologians in an effort that resulted in a city that no longer just survived but lived and breathed. The Talmud proclaims that "of the 10 measures of beauty that came down to the world, Jerusalem took nine." Mr. President, for the first time since those prophetic words were first formed, those "measures of beauty" saw the light of day.

Mr. President, the question that those brave, industrious people tried to answer is one that we still ask today: How can Jerusalem, which means "city of peace," an ancient symbol of humanity's aspirations for redemption, become a living city that does not betray the promise of its name? An answer tragically eludes us, still today, 30 years after Jerusalem's reunification.

The United States Congress has a long-standing commitment to a united Jerusalem governed by Israel. Seven years ago, Congress declared that Jerusalem "must remain an undivided city" and the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 unequivocally stated that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel as a matter of U.S. policy. The resolution introduced by my friends Senator MOYNIHAN and Senator MACK clearly expresses our conviction that it should be so.

Mr. President, it is said that "one prayer in Jerusalem is worth 40,000 elsewhere." This resolution offers the voice of Congress to those voices coming from all over our Nation and the world praying for peace and prosperity for this most special city of all cities on this truly important day.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

AUTHORITY FOR RECORD TO
REMAIN OPEN UNTIL 5 P.M.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Record remain open until 5 p.m. today for Members to submit statements or for the introduction of legislation.

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

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST—
S. 419

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the hour of 2

p.m., the Labor Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. 419, a bill to prevent birth defects by developing and implementing new prevention and surveillance strategies and the Senate now proceed to its immediate consideration under the following limitation: one substitute amendment be in order to be offered by Senator BOND; that no other amendments be in order to the bill; and that there be 30 minutes equally divided for debate, with Senator BOND in control of 15 minutes and the ranking member in control of 15 minutes. Further, following the disposition of the amendment and the expiration or yielding back of time, the bill be read a third time and the Senate proceed to vote on passage of the bill, as amended, with no intervening action or debate.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, the majority leader propounded a similar unanimous-consent request yesterday. As he recalls, I noted that we have not seen the amendment proposed by Senator BOND, nor has this legislation had the opportunity to be the subject of hearings or markup in the committee. Most importantly, however, since we still have not been able to resolve the matter pertaining to disaster relief, I am compelled to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard by the Chair. The majority leader is recognized.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUESTS—
SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS
BILL AND AUTHORITY
FOR COMMITTEE TO MEET

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the hour of 2:05 p.m., the Senate begin 3 hours 55 minutes for debate only, to be divided equally between the two leaders or their designees, for discussions with respect to the supplemental appropriations bill, and that there be no motions in order during the approximately 4 hours of debate, other than a motion to adjourn by the majority leader or his designee.

I further ask unanimous consent that it not be in order for the Chair to entertain any unanimous-consent requests with respect to consideration of any supplemental appropriations bill during the 4-hour period described above.

And, finally, I ask unanimous consent that the Armed Services Committee be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate today, Wednesday, June 11.

In support of that unanimous-consent request, before the Chair puts the request, I would just like to observe that I know there are Senators who would like to be heard on this issue, on the supplemental appropriations bill, about what is in it, the importance of it, how it can be resolved, comments on language that is included, a whole variety of statements that I am sure Senators would like to make to show their

interest in and their suggestions as to how we deal with the supplemental appropriations bill. So I think to have 4 hours of debate makes good sense for the Senate to be able to hear what Senators have to say.

I also indicate to our colleagues that there are a lot of discussions underway, a lot of meetings underway. Today, we have been in direct contact with the White House on how some of these issues can be resolved. I have had conversations with Senator DASCHLE. We are communicating with the House leadership to see exactly how they plan to proceed and when that would be. I understand perhaps there is a meeting right now at the White House on some of the provisions of this issue. So I think and I hope that we are making some progress and that we can find some way to bring this issue to fruition in the next few hours. Hopefully, we can have some action on it before we go out this week.

But I think while we are doing that, we should be doing the business of the Senate, having hearings or markups in committees, particularly the Armed Services Committee, which is working on the defense authorization bill which we hope to have up next week in the Senate, and also so that we can continue our efforts to come to an agreement on how we deal with the supplemental appropriations, the Government shutdown provision language, the census language, to try to see how we can work out an agreement and what that language might be. It is very important we have an opportunity to do that this very afternoon. That is why I make the request. I urge it be considered and that it not be objected to.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. I concur with the distinguished majority leader about the efforts now underway and his hope and expectation that at some point these efforts could lead to further success in resolving the impasse that we have faced now for some time. I appreciate his leadership and his personal involvement in making that effort.

I also have to note that there are many on our side of the aisle who have indicated strong objections to committees meeting during such time, so as not to lose the focus that we currently have. There are those who are involved in these efforts who need to be at these committee markups who would otherwise be occupied if they are prevented from participating in the discussions involving the disaster assistance legislation.

I would amend the unanimous-consent request propounded by the majority leader simply to suggest and propose a unanimous-consent agreement that would allow debate on the floor on

the supplemental, with debate equally divided with no further consent requests, presuming Senator DORGAN, of course, has had his opportunity to make a request, but that there be no committee meetings.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, was there an objection to my request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair heard objection early on.

Mr. LOTT. And you added a request of your own. Let me make sure I understand what it is. First, you are objecting to committee meetings, but you are asking consent that we take up what?

Mr. DASCHLE. That we have, as you suggested, debate on the Senate floor on the supplemental divided evenly for the next 4 hours, as the majority leader suggested.

Mr. LOTT. What supplemental is that?

Mr. DASCHLE. It would be the subject of the debate as you have proposed, as the majority leader has proposed. You had asked unanimous consent that there be debate only equally divided between the two leaders for discussions with respect to the supplemental appropriations bill. I am not suggesting we change that. I am simply saying let's keep our focus on that, and I would not object to a request that involved a discussion as the majority leader has proposed.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I believe I would object to that, but I have a counterproposal maybe we could consider. I do want to note also that the Finance Committee has requested consent to meet this afternoon, also to begin the process of markup on the reconciliation bill, which is required under the budget agreement. I believe it is going to be pretty bipartisan in its makeup, in terms of the spending provisions or the restraint on spending, whichever the case may be. And in order to have this legislation completed in the Finance Committee by, I believe it is the 18th of this month, we need to have them meeting.

But I ask unanimous consent, sort of in the vein of what Senator DASCHLE was talking about, that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 18, H.R. 581; and further, no amendments be in order, with the exception of one substitute amendment to be offered by the majority leader or his designee; that there be 1 hour total for debate on the bill and the amendment, to be equally divided in the usual form; and finally, that following the expiration or yielding back of time and the disposition of the substitute amendment, the bill be read a third time and the Senate proceed immediately to vote on passage of the bill, as amended, if amended, with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair heard objection to the unanimous-consent request by the minority leader. We now have before us a unani-

mous-consent request by the majority leader. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Reserving the right to object, I ask the majority leader if he could share a copy of the substitute amendment referred to in the unanimous-consent request.

Mr. LOTT. I don't have one now, but I believe that during this time, while we are debating the issue, we could develop one and, as a matter of fact, I believe there is a meeting at the White House right now that would be the subject of this substitute and one we could agree on.

Or I could do it this way. What I suggested yesterday, and where I think we actually should go, is a bill that provides the actual emergency disaster funds and the funds for DOD, but not the language and not the supplemental, just what has been referred to as a narrow disaster and emergency funding bill only, and the amount I am thinking about would be in the range of \$3.9 billion. That way, we would get this issue resolved quickly while we continue to work on such things as the census language, where we hope and think maybe we can come to some agreement. We get this thing done; we get it done now.

The House traditionally, as you very well know, is very sensitive about us acting before they do, but we could go ahead and have debate on this and take some action and hold it at the desk. I think this is one way to deal with this emergency. How would the Senator react to that?

Mr. DASCHLE. As I reiterated, again, this morning to the distinguished majority leader, I am more than happy to look at the language that he suggests. I think there may be a way to accommodate just the emergency and all related legislative proposals in the supplemental dedicated to dealing with the disasters throughout the country, emergency or whatever related matters those may be.

Obviously, we would have to see the language before we agreed to any kind of procedural commitment that would allow consideration of this yet unseen proposal.

So we would not be in a position right now, as the majority leader certainly understands, to agree to a unanimous-consent proposal until we have had the opportunity to see the language. But I think the majority leader is on the right track. And if that will break the impasse, I am willing to look at it.

Mr. LOTT. I appreciate the Democratic leader's comments on that. I hope that if we cannot find some other way to resolve the disagreements between now and 2 o'clock tomorrow, that he and I will consult maybe about the idea of doing just this tomorrow. And I do not want in any way to dampen the efforts that are underway to come to a broader total agreement. But in order to get this emergency addressed this week—hopefully within the next 24 hours—I think this is the way that we want to consider doing it.

I hope you will think about that between now and tomorrow and let us look at that as a possibility of what we might do at 2 o'clock tomorrow if something else has not already been worked out.

I again thank the Senator for his comments.

Mr. President, in view of the objection and the interests that we have, the committees meetings, the Finance Committee, the Armed Services Committee, the urgency of the work they are doing, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

RECESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now stand in recess until the hour of 6 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LOTT. Before the Chair puts the question, I say to the Democratic leader, I made the request that we recess until the hour of 6 p.m. He is putting the question. I wanted to make sure you heard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. No objection.

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

Thereupon, at 2:19 p.m., the Senate recessed until 6 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. MCCAIN).

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in the executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:01 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 848. An act to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act applicable to the construction of the AuSable Hydroelectric Project in New York, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1184. An act to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act for the construction of the Bear Creek Hydroelectric Project in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1217. An act to extend the deadline the Federal Power Act for the construction of a hydroelectric project located in the State of Washington, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House agrees to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 60. Concurrent resolution relating to the 30th anniversary of the reunification of the city of Jerusalem.

MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and second times by unanimous consent and referred as indicated:

H.R. 848. An act to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act applicable to the construction of the AuSable Hydroelectric Project in New York, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 1184. An act to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act for the construction of the Bear Creek Hydroelectric Project in the State of Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

H.R. 1217. An act to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act for the construction of a hydroelectric project located in the State of Washington, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following measure was placed on the calendar:

H. Con. Res. 60. Concurrent resolution relating to the 30th anniversary of the reunification of the city of Jerusalem.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-2106. A communication from the Chief of the Regulations Unit of the Internal Revenue Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a Treasury Notice 97-25, received on June 9, 1997; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-2107. A communication from the Acting General Counsel, Department of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule amending the State Energy Program (RIN 1904-AA81), received on June 4, 1997; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-2108. A communication from the Secretary of Veterans' Affairs, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation entitled "Veterans' Housing Loan Improvements Act of 1997"; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

EC-2109. A communication from the Acting Associate Deputy Administrator for Government Contracting and Minority Enterprise Development, U.S. Small Business Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Minority Small Business and Capital Ownership Development"; to the Committee on Small Business.

EC-2110. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation concerning the production of 141 F-2 Combined Interrogator/Transponder (CIT) IFF Systems; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2111. A communication from the Assistant Legal Adviser for Treaty Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, two reports concerning agreements between the U.S. and Tanzania for Global Learning and Observation to Benefit the Environment; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2112. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation concerning the Integrated Full Face Helmet in Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2113. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a certification license concerning the export of defense articles or defense services, received on May 29, 1997; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2114. A communication from the Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legislative Affairs, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report concerning The Foreign Agents Registration Act; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2115. A communication from the Assistant General Counsel, U.S. Information Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of a rule concerning the Immigration and Nationality Act on the behalf of aliens as amended, received on May 22, 1997; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2116. A communication from the Administrator, Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report concerning European and Australian offset crash tests; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EC-2117. A communication from the Director of the Policy Management Staff, Office of Policy Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of a rule concerning Polydextrose, received on June 10, 1997; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-2118. A communication from the Director of the Policy Management Staff, Office of Policy Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of a rule concerning Menhaden Oil, received on June 10, 1997; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-2119. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on a rule concerning protecting animals in the U.S. from diseases, received on June 5, 1997; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-2120. A communication from Assistant General Counsel for Regulations, Department of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, a notice concerning final funding priorities administered by (OSERS); to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-2121. A communication from the Inspector General of the Department of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, the audit report required under the Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act for fiscal year 1995; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2122. A communication from the Acting Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to Endangered Status (RIN 1018-AC19) received on June 10, 1997; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2123. A communication from the Acting Deputy Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to endangered status (RIN 1018-AD52) received on June 10, 1997; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2124. A communication from the General Counsel of the Department of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to truck size and weight (RIN 2125-AE04) received on June 5, 1996; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2125. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, seven rules including a rule relative to Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans (FRL-5836-8, 5836-2, 5836-6, 5834-4, 5832-2, 5835-8) received on June 5, 1997; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2126. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, three rules including a rule relative to Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans (FRL-5839-7, 5839-6, 5840-8) received on June 9, 1997; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2127. A communication from the Acting Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to endangered status (RIN1018-AC52) received on June 10, 1997; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2128. A communication from the Administrator of the Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to melons, received on June 6, 1997; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-2129. A communication from the Congressional Review Coordinator of Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Marketing and Regulatory Programs, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to viruses, serums, toxins and analogous products, received on June 9, 1997; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-2130. A communication from the Congressional Review Coordinator of Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Marketing and Regulatory Programs, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule relative to approved treatments, received on June 5, 1997; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-2131. A communication from the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation for calendar year 1996; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2132. A communication from the Chairperson of the Appraisal Subcommittee of the Federal Financial Institutions Examination Council, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report for calendar year 1996; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2133. A communication from the Attorney-Advisor of the Federal Housing Finance Board, transmitting, a notice relative to the rule entitled "Community Support Requirements"; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2134. A communication from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on retail fees and services of depository institutions; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2135. A communication from the Attorney-Advisor of the Federal Housing Finance Board, transmitting, a notice relative to the rule entitled "Technical Amendment to Definition of Deposits in Banks or Trust Companies"; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2136. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Environmental Management, Department of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on the reduction of environmental hazards and contamination resulting from defense waste for fiscal year 1996; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2137. A communication from the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Environmental Security), transmitting, pursuant to law, the fiscal year 1996 Defense Environmental Quality Program report; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2138. A communication from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, notices relative to retirements; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2139. A communication from the Director of the Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization, (Acquisition and Technology) Under Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on small disadvantage business, historically Black colleges and universities, and minority institutions; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2140. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Installations and Environment), transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a study relative to outsourcing; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2141. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Federal Government Energy Management and Conservation Programs, Fiscal Year 1995"; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-131. A resolution adopted by the Roane County (Tennessee) Commission relative to the National Spallation Neutron Source; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

POM-132. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Texas; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 109

Whereas, To ensure the prudent use of tax dollars designated for disaster assistance, the federal Flood Disaster Protection Act of 1973 mandates the purchase of flood insurance as a condition of receipt of federal or federally related financial assistance for the acquisition or construction of buildings in Special Flood Hazard Areas (SFHAs); and

Whereas, The Act prohibits federal agencies such as the Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans Administration, the Small Business Administration, and any federally regulated lending institution from making or guaranteeing a loan for a building in an SFHA unless flood insurance has been purchased; additionally, it is standard practice for most mortgage companies to require flood insurance on property in designated flood zones as a condition of a loan; and

Whereas, The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the entity responsible for designating and mapping flood risk zones, uses several criteria to establish floodplain classifications, including a community's his-

torical flood and hydrology data, flood control measures, existing and planned development, and topography; and

Whereas, For many communities in Texas, the flood insurance requirement is determined using maps that may have been drawn as far back as the 1970s or early 1980s; these dated flood maps do not accurately reflect changes in population, development, or flood control or storm sewer improvements that a community may have implemented to reduce the risk of flooding; and

Whereas, A glaring example of this problem is the City of Laredo, where residents and business owners are required to purchase flood insurance based on FEMA-designated flood zone maps drawn in 1982; and

Whereas, During the past decade, the City of Laredo has constructed numerous concrete channels to divert flood waters and has made storm sewer improvements to help reduce the risk of flood; these projects have been carried out to accommodate the rapid population growth in the city, which has tripled in size over the last 15 years; and

Whereas, The result of federally mandated flood insurance requirements based on outdated maps has created a windfall for insurance companies, which are collecting millions of dollars in flood insurance from people who no longer live in flood zones: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 75th Legislature of the State of Texas hereby urge the Congress of the United States to request that the Federal Emergency Management Agency update community flood maps every 10 years; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Texas secretary of state forward official copies of this resolution to the president of the United States, to the speaker of the house of representatives and president of the senate of the United States Congress, and to all members of the Texas delegation to the congress with the request that it be officially entered in the Congressional Record as a memorial to the Congress of the United States of America.

POM-133. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

SENATE RESOLUTION 3

Whereas the State of Oregon owns the water resources within the state's rivers, streams and lakes; and

Whereas the State of Oregon has authorized and allowed for the acquisition of the right to the use of water for beneficial purposes and any person may perfect such water right as a vested property right under Oregon law; and

Whereas chapter 228, Oregon Laws 1905, specifically authorized appropriation of water for use in projects authorized under the Federal Reclamation Act of 1902; and

Whereas chapter 5, Oregon Laws 1905, specifically authorized the use of the bed of the Upper Klamath Lake for the storage of water for reclamation and irrigation use and for no other purpose; and

Whereas the Klamath Project was authorized and constructed pursuant to the laws of the states of Oregon and California and the United States; and

Whereas pioneers, settlers, homesteaders and veterans of two world wars, by their industry and commitment, have made the farmland in the Klamath Project enormously productive and a valued part of the economy and culture of the states of Oregon and California; and

Whereas water has been appropriated to beneficial use within the Klamath Project in Oregon and California for irrigation of approximately 230,000 acres; and

Whereas irrigators within the Klamath Project have acquired rights to the use of waters of the Klamath River for irrigation, and these rights are recognized and confirmed in the Klamath River Basin Compact, ratified by the states of Oregon and California and consented to by Act of Congress in 1957; and

Whereas the State of Oregon has the legal authority to quantify and regulate rights to the use of water in Oregon; and

Whereas the State of Oregon has undertaken to adjudicate certain rights to the use of the Klamath River and its tributaries; and

Whereas the United States Court of Appeals has confirmed, over the objection of the United States Department of the Interior, that the State of Oregon has the right and responsibility to determine and administer the rights of claimants to the use of the Klamath River and its tributaries; and

Whereas the United States Department of the Interior has directed and proposes to direct the operation of Klamath Project facilities to allocate water to purposes other than irrigation, including instream purposes and instream uses in California; and

Whereas the Department of the Interior has used and proposes to use the bed of Upper Klamath Lake for the storage of water for purposes other than irrigation, in contravention of the limited authority granted by the State of Oregon; and

Whereas the Department of the Interior purports to have the authority to administratively determine and allocate the water of Oregon and to allocate water away from authorized Klamath Project irrigation uses; and

Whereas the position of the State of Oregon is that the Department of the Interior lacks authority to allocate water or reallocate Klamath Project water supplies and the administration of water must proceed in a manner consistent with Oregon's system for the administration of water rights; and

Whereas the Department of the Interior has failed and refused to address legitimate, fair and fundamental questions concerning its authority and actions; and

Whereas the Department of the Interior has failed and refused to protect the rights of the water users in the Klamath Project vis a vis the thousands of junior users in the Klamath watershed, and has instead proposed only to reallocate water used in the Klamath Project to other users and uses; and

Whereas the actions of the Department of the Interior have resulted in division, distrust and anger; and

Whereas it is desirable and in the interests of the State of Oregon that the rights and interests of the Klamath Project irrigators and Oregon's system for the allocation and administration of water rights be respected; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Senate of the State of Oregon:

(1) The President and the Congress of the United States are respectfully urged to:

(a) Act to ensure the protection and respect for the State of Oregon's authority to allocate water and to determine and administer rights to the use of water; and

(b) Ensure that the United States Department of the Interior and other federal agencies do not operate or direct the operation of Klamath Project facilities except in accordance with the State of Oregon's system for the determination and administration of water rights and to ensure, at a minimum, that the priority of rights in the Klamath Project to the use of Klamath River water is enforced and protected.

(2) A copy of this resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the United States Department of the Interior, the President of the Senate

and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

POM-134. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Texas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 94

Whereas, The American people have been threatened by terrorists' actions against citizens, government, and private property, with many of these terrorist activities being carried out with explosive materials; and

Whereas, In passing the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (Pub. L. No. 104-132), the United States Congress closed several loopholes in the effective administration of justice against terrorist activities; in particular, mandating that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF) conduct a study on the feasibility of tagging, or rendering inert, several products related to the production of explosive materials; and

Whereas, The same act of congress also required the use of detection agents in plastic explosives, increased penalties for conspiracies involving the use of explosives, and provided assistance to law enforcement personnel to combat the threat of terrorism both domestically and abroad; and

Whereas, The Legislature of the State of Texas is aware of the research and implementation efforts of other countries that may provide useful information to protect lives and property through the careful and successful use of taggants; and

Whereas, The BATF is being assisted in its effort to study the technical options and feasibility by the National Research Council (NRC), and to provide this assistance, the NRC has established a "Committee on Marking, Rendering Inert, and Licensing of Explosive Materials"; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 75th Legislature of the State of Texas hereby commend the United States Congress for recognizing the threat to public health and security from the misuse of explosives; and, be it further

Resolved, That the legislature pledge its full support to the efforts now underway by the BATF and the NRC to study the economic, practical, and technical feasibility of tagging, or otherwise rendering inert, explosive materials; and, be it further

Resolved, That the legislature strongly support the active participation of stakeholder interests, including representatives of affected manufacturers and law enforcement personnel, in the conduct of the BATF and NRC studies; and, be it further

Resolved, That the legislature urge the participants of the NRC study to carefully consider the experiences of other countries and how those experiences may relate to the NRC study; and, be it further

Resolved, That the legislature look forward to the results of the BATF and NRC studies, both the interim report, which is due April 1997, and the final report, which is due February 1998, to advise the State of Texas in establishing reasonable and effective controls on explosive materials and thereby contribute to the enhanced protection of all Texans; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Texas secretary of state forward official copies of this resolution to the president of the United States, to the speaker of the house of representatives and the president of the senate of the United States Congress, and to all the members of the Texas delegation to the congress with the request that this resolution be officially entered in the Congressional Record as a memorial to the Congress of the United States of America.

POM-135. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Texas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 32

Whereas, The south bank of the Red River constitutes the boundary between the states of Texas and Oklahoma; and

Whereas, The exact determination of where the south bank of the Red River is located is extremely difficult to ascertain and subject to widely divergent opinion; and

Whereas, The south bank of the Red River is not a permanent location, but is constantly changing; and

Whereas, The federal government claims ownership of the south half of the Red River within a 116-mile stretch between the 98th Meridian and the mouth of the North Fork of the Red River; and

Whereas, The Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache tribes claim entitlement to 62½ percent of the revenues derived from oil and gas production from these lands; and

Whereas, The changing location of the south bank and the difficulty in determining its location at any given time have created problems in the enforcement of laws, collection of taxes, economic development, and the establishment of property ownership; and

Whereas, It is to the mutual advantage of the states of Texas and Oklahoma to agree on and establish a practicable boundary between both states; and

Whereas, By House Concurrent Resolution 128, Acts of the 74th Legislature, the Texas Red River Boundary Commission was created; and

Whereas, The term of the commission expires on June 30, 1998; and

Whereas, The states of Texas and Oklahoma are working together to adopt a boundary compact to present to their respective legislatures; and

Whereas, If the Texas Red River Boundary Commission is unable to reach a boundary agreement with the Oklahoma Red River Boundary Commission on or before June 30, 1998, the work of the commission will be lost; and

Whereas, It is to the benefit of the citizens of Texas to extend the term of the Texas commission and enable it to continue its work toward a joint boundary resolution; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the 75th Legislature of the State of Texas, That the term of the Red River Boundary Commission is hereby extended to June 30, 2000; commission members, not to exceed 17 in number, shall be appointed by the governor; the commissioners shall be representative of private property owners, local government elected officials, mineral interests, and the general public; such members shall serve without compensation, except for reasonable travel reimbursement; staffing for this commission shall be provided by the General Land Office, the Office of the Attorney General, and the Texas Natural Resource Conservation Commission; and, be it further

Resolved, That the chairman shall be appointed by the governor; and, be it further

Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the commission to confer and act in conjunction with the representatives appointed on behalf of the State of Oklahoma for the following purposes:

(1) to initially make a joint investigation at the joint expense of the two states as to the appropriate method of establishing a practicable location of the common boundary between the two states with respect to the Red River;

(2) to investigate, negotiate, and report as to the necessity and advisability of a compact between the two states defining and locating a practicable, identifiable state line;

(3) to hold such hearings and conferences in either of the two states as may be required and to take such action, either sepa-

ately or in cooperation with the State of Oklahoma or the United States, or both, as may be necessary or convenient to accomplish the purposes of this resolution; and

(4) to report to the governor and the Legislature of the State of Texas annually no later than January 15 of each year its findings and recommendations concerning joint action by the State of Texas and the State of Oklahoma; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Red River Boundary Commission shall terminate on June 30, 2000; and, be it further

Resolved, That the legislature hereby respectfully request the president and the Congress of the United States to meet and confer with the commission and the representatives of the State of Oklahoma and to assist in carrying out the purposes of this resolution; and, be it further

Resolved, That the governor of the State of Texas be and is hereby empowered and requested to forward a copy of this resolution to the governor of the State of Oklahoma and to request that the governor or legislature of that state appoint representatives of the State of Oklahoma to confer and act in conjunction with the commission for the purposes above specified, with the understanding that each state pay all expenses of its representatives; and, be it further

Resolved, That the Texas secretary of state forward official copies of this resolution to the president of the United States, the speaker of the house of representatives and president of the senate of the United States Congress and to all members of the Texas delegation to the congress with the request that it be officially entered in the Congressional Record as a memorial to the Congress of the United States of America.

POM-136. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Michigan; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 61

Whereas, In the years since science discovered the harmful effects of chlorofluorocarbons on the earth's protective ozone layer, the United States and other industrial nations have implemented numerous changes to reduce the release of certain chemicals into the air. An international agreement, the Montreal Protocol, has put in place requirements that will have far-reaching health benefits. Alternate processes and materials are now used instead of CFCs routinely by all Americans; and

Whereas, In addition to the industrial and refrigeration uses of CFCs, the chemicals are invaluable to millions of people for their medical applications. An exception to the ban on CFCs was made for their essential uses in pharmaceuticals. For the 30 million Americans with various respiratory conditions, including asthma and cystic fibrosis, CFCs are essential to metered dose inhalers (MDI), a vital component of treatment. In recognition of the life-saving work that MDIs have made possible over the past forty years, provisions have been made through the Montreal Protocol and the FDA to phase in restrictions for CFCs in MDIs; and

Whereas, The current plan is for all CFCs to be prohibited from MDIs one year after a single non-CFC MDI is available. This proposal, if put in place without amendment, holds many perils for sufferers of asthma, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, and cystic fibrosis; and

Whereas, As alternatives to CFCs in MDIs are developed, it is necessary to acknowledge that the success of inhalers in delivering medications is enhanced by the fact that there are several options available to patients. Some types of inhalers and products

work better with some patients than others with the identical disease. There needs to be an adequate number of alternatives for treatment for patients, instead of ending the search for new products after only one is identified; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate. That we memorialize the Congress of the United States and the Food and Drug Administration to phase out the use of chlorofluorocarbons from medical inhalers in a schedule of at least three years to permit the development of as many treatment alternatives as possible; and be it further

Resolved. That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the members of the Michigan congressional delegation, and the Food and Drug Administration

POM-137. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Alaska; to the Committee on Appropriations.

LEGISLATIVE RESOLVE NO. 8

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas the United States and Canada entered into an agreement to reconstruct and pave the Alaska Highway from the Alaska-Canada border to Haines Junction, Yukon Territory, Canada, and the Haines Cutoff Highway from Haines Junction, Yukon Territory, Canada, to the Alaska-Canada border near Haines, Alaska, known as the Shakwak project, as authorized in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973; and

Whereas the Congress authorized \$59,000,000 in 1973 for the project and has appropriated \$47,000,000 to the Federal Highway Administration for actual construction by Canada; and

Whereas the Congress further authorized \$20,000,000 a year for fiscal years 1993-1996 under the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991, which has been fully appropriated; and

Whereas, in the last 16 years, the state has provided \$37,000,000 of state federal-aid highway apportionments to assist in meeting the obligations of the agreement; and

Whereas the estimated amount necessary to complete the entire project was in the order of \$260,000,000 in United States dollars; be it

Resolved. That the Alaska State Legislature respectfully requests the United States government and the Canadian government to honor their agreement and provide the additional funds necessary through direct federal appropriations, independent of the federal funds apportioned to Alaska by the Federal Highway Administration, to complete the remaining portions of the Shakwak project; and be it

Further resolved. That the United States Congress is respectfully requested to immediately appropriate an additional \$94,000,000 to allow work on additional project segments to proceed to a bituminous surface treatment standard.

POM-138. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Alaska; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

LEGISLATIVE RESOLVE NO. 10

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas Alaska had, by regulation, imposed a primary manufacturing requirement applicable to timber harvested from state-owned land that is destined for export from the state; and

Whereas that regulation was permissive, allowing the director of the division of land to require that primary manufacture of for-

est products be accomplished within the state; and

Whereas, considering the Commerce Clause of the United States Constitution, in *Southern Central Timber Development, Inc. v. Wunnicke*, 467 U.S. 82, 81 L.Ed.2d 71, 104 S.Ct. 2237 (1984), the United States Supreme Court determined that the state's regulation could not be given effect; while the court found evidence of a clearly defined federal policy imposing primary manufacture requirements as to timber taken from federal land in Alaska, it determined that the existing Congressional sanction reached only to activities on federal land and concluded that the state's assertion of Congressional authorization by silence to allow a state to regulate similar activities on nonfederal land could not be inferred; and

Whereas since the *Wunnicke* decision, the Congress has, in the *Forest Resources Conservation and Shortage Relief Act of 1990*, extended an existing ban on unprocessed log exports from federal land in the 11 contiguous Western states to cover timber harvested from nonfederal sources in those states; the extension of the ban on unprocessed log exports in those states collectively does not affect Alaska; and

Whereas the principal purposes, stated or assumed, in the 1990 Congressional Act for extending the ban on unprocessed log exports in the contiguous Western states—the efficient use and effective conservation of forests and forest resources, the avoidance of a shortfall in unprocessed timber in the marketplace, and concern for development of a rational log export policy as a national matter—are equally valid with respect to the significant timber resources held by this state, its political subdivisions, and its public university; and

Whereas the state cannot act to regulate, restrict, or prohibit the export of unprocessed logs harvested from land of the state, its political subdivisions, and the University of Alaska without a legislative expression demonstrating Congressional intent that is unmistakably clear;

Be it resolved. That the Legislature of the State of Alaska urges the United States Congress to give an affirmative expression of approval to a policy authorizing the state to regulate, restrict, or prohibit the export of unprocessed logs harvested from its land and from the land of its political subdivisions and the University of Alaska.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. MURKOWSKI, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 417. A bill to extend energy conservation programs under the Energy Policy and Conservation Act through September 30, 2002 (Rept. No. 105-25).

By Mr. MURKOWSKI, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, without amendment:

H.R. 649. A bill to amend sections of the Department of Energy Organization Act that are obsolete or inconsistent with other statutes and to repeal a related section of the Federal Energy Administration Act of 1974 (Rept. No. 105-26).

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. JEFFORDS, from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

Jose-Marie Griffiths, of Tennessee, to be a Member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 2001.

Kathryn O'Leary Higgins, of South Dakota, to be Deputy Secretary of Labor.

Yerker Andersson, of Maryland, to be a Member of the National Council on Disability for a term expiring September 17, 1999 (Reappointment).

(The above nominations were reported with the recommendation that they be confirmed, subject to the nominees' commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. TORRICELLI:

S. 875. A bill to promote online commerce and communications, to protect consumers and service providers from the misuse of computer facilities by others sending bulk unsolicited electronic mail over such facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. GREGG (for himself, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, and Mr. JOHNSON):

S. 876. A bill to establish a nonpartisan commission on Federal election campaign practices and provide that the recommendations of the commission be given expedited consideration by Congress; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. MCCAIN (by request):

S. 877. A bill to disestablish the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Corps of Commissioned Officers; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 878. A bill to redesignate the Federal building located at 717 Madison Place, Northwest, in the District of Columbia, as the "Howard T. Markey National Courts Building"; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. FEINGOLD:

S. 879. A bill to provide for home and community-based services for individuals with disabilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. GORTON:

S. 880. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel DUSKEN IV; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. WYDEN (for himself and Mr. SMITH of Oregon):

S. 881. A bill to provide for a land exchange involving the Warner Canyon Ski Area and other land in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mrs. BOXER:

S. 882. A bill to improve academic and social outcomes for students by providing productive activities during after school hours; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

By Mr. GREGG (for himself, Mr. ROTH, Mr. FAIRCLOTH, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. SANTORUM, and Ms. COLLINS):

S. 883. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to encourage savings and investment through individual retirement accounts, to provide pension security, portability, and simplification, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. CLELAND:

S. 884. A bill to amend the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 to add Elbert County and Hart County, Georgia, to the Appalachian region; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. D'AMATO (for himself, Mr. KERRY, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. BRYAN, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mrs. MURRAY, and Mr. CHAFEE):

S. 885. A bill to amend the Electronic Fund Transfer Act to limit fees charged by financial institutions for the use of automatic teller machines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. MCCONNELL (for himself and Mr. LIEBERMAN):

S. 886. A bill to reform the health care liability system and improve health care quality through the establishment of quality assurance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

By Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN (for herself and Mr. DEWINE):

S. 887. A bill to establish in the National Service the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. TORRICELLI:

S. 875. A bill to promote online commerce and communications, to protect consumers and service providers from the misuse of computer facilities by others sending bulk unsolicited electronic mail over such facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

THE ELECTRONIC MAILBOX PROTECTION ACT OF 1997

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce the Electronic Mailbox Protection Act of 1997, in the hopes of addressing an increasingly serious threat to online commerce and personal privacy rights—the distribution of unsolicited, bulk e-mail by unidentifiable senders.

It is an unfortunate side effect of the burgeoning and exciting world of online communication and commerce that more and more individuals are finding their electronic mailboxes filled to the cyber-brim with unsolicited messages. And many Internet service providers are facing slowdowns or even breakdowns of their systems due to uncontrollable and unaccountable senders of unidentifiable and unsolicited bulk e-mail.

Mr. President, some have suggested that we simply ban all unsolicited e-mail. But some people do want to receive these unsolicited messages, especially when they are tailored to their personal interests. And legitimate businesses and organizations are increasingly using unsolicited e-mail to recruit new customers, new members, or even financial assistance.

However, many people do not wish to receive unsolicited e-mail at all. And many new businesses are less than fully legitimate—all too frequently, unsolicited e-mail arrives with no return address, and no means of opting-out of future mailings. In fact, it is precisely because many bulk e-mailers know that their activities are going to meet massive opposition that they disguise their identities or alter their return addresses.

Newly developed software and increasingly brazen cyber-promoters have only exacerbated the problem. In some cases, these messages have slowed down or even crippled Internet service through local or national Internet service providers.

Many of these new cyber-promoters collect millions of addresses from service providers without consent, mail to those who have already expressed a desire to be kept off bulk e-mail lists, or purposefully disguise their identity or return address. They refuse to yield to public pressure, private suit or any other citizen action, and the more destructive of their tactics must be addressed before the situation overwhelms the Internet and paralyzes legitimate online commerce—something must be done.

As a result, I have been working for some time now with privacy groups, marketers, online service providers, and others to develop strong but reasonable legislation to put a stop to the most destructive e-mail practices, while protecting the first amendment rights of all who wish to send legitimate e-mail of any kind.

Mr. President, I have long been concerned about excessive—indeed any—Government regulation of the Internet. Many of the best qualities of American life are represented and enhanced by the Internet—the world's most democratic medium—and I do not wish to stifle speech or inhibit the freedom of commerce or expression. However, the problem of unaccountable junk e-mailers will not go away, and if we do not address this problem with legislation we risk the destruction of all legitimate expression and commerce on the information superhighway.

After a long back and forth process with a wide variety of interests, I believe we are all finally in agreement that the bill I introduce today represents the strongest and most balanced approach to this growing problem. Specifically, my bill includes the following key provisions.

First, and most simply, my bill will prohibit anyone from sending e-mail to a person who has asked not to receive such mail—either prior to receiving the first message or in response to an unsolicited message that made its way into the recipients mailbox. Mr. President, this provision requires no more than common courtesy and proper business sense. But unfortunately, this provision is sorely needed by the thousands—even millions—of recipients of repetitive and unsolicited e-mail.

And the bill also contains a pro-active provision which effectively defines prior notice as including either direct notice or notice through a standard method adopted by an Internet standard setting body, like the Internet Engineering Task Force. In other words, we allow the IETF or another community-recognized organization to discuss, develop, and adopt a method of preemptively informing all senders that certain recipients do not want to receive any unsolicited electronic mail. This could take the form of an opt-out system, an opt-in system, or even some sort of address labeling standard—whatever the Internet community chooses to adopt. But once the standard is in place, my bill will require that senders comply with that standard. We have given the Internet community the tools to enforce their own pro-active steps, and I believe this achieves a proper balance between Government action and self-regulation. As much as is possible, Congress should avoid dictating the details of Internet architecture.

Second, my bill will prohibit sending unsolicited e-mail from an unregistered, illegitimate, or fictitious Internet domain for the purpose of preventing an easy reply. Such tactics have become increasingly common in recent months, because the less responsible marketers know—they just know—that many of the recipients of their unsolicited junk will be unhappy and wish to respond. Rather than act responsibly and respond to complaints as they come in, these fly-by-night marketers prefer to make it impossible to respond. We have all heard from constituents who are simply fed up with these practices, and this bill will empower our constituents to do something about it.

Third, my bill will prohibit the use of procedures designed to defeat or circumvent mail filtering tools. Consumers and service providers are getting better at using mail filters to block out unwanted mail. But these filtering programs, still in relative infancy, are no match for cyber-promoters with sophisticated techniques and all the time in the world to work on skirting the filters and making it into your mailbox.

Next, my bill will prohibit anyone from using a computer program to harvest, or gather, a large number of e-mail addresses for the purpose of sending unsolicited e-mail to those addresses or selling the list to other senders of unsolicited e-mail—if such activity would be against the policy of the computer service from which the addresses are collected. In other words, if America Online or AT&T or Panix or Erols have policies against using a computer to harvest addresses of their subscribers, cyber-promoters would have to comply.

My bill also puts a stop to so-called hit and run spamming, which occurs when someone gets access to a temporary e-mail account, sends out thousands of unsolicited messages, and then

abandons the account and leaves the service provider to clean up the mess. Under my bill, registering an Internet domain or e-mail account for the purpose of sending unsolicited e-mail and avoiding replies would be prohibited.

Finally, Mr. President, my bill directs the FTC to pay close attention over the next 18 months to the affects that this bill has on the junk e-mail problem. At the end of that time, the FTC will submit a report to Congress detailing its findings, and we can determine whether or not new action is necessary.

And what will happen to those who break the rules we intend to set down in law? Well, there are two possibilities. First, there is a \$5,000 civil penalty for each violation, to be imposed by the U.S. Government.

But more importantly, this bill empowers the individual recipient or service provider suffering the effects of a violation of this bill to sue for damages. These damages range from \$500 for simple violations all the way up to \$5,000 for particularly egregious or willful abuses. And if we think about the possibilities for class action suits, we can quickly see the deterrent effect of these provisions.

Mr. President, this bill will not prevent all unsolicited e-mail. Legitimate marketers, nonprofit organizations and others will still be able to send unsolicited e-mail, even in bulk. However, this legislation will make the senders of the e-mail accountable to the service providers and to the e-mail recipients. No longer will brazen promoters be able to disguise their identity and hide behind technology—from now on, they will be accountable for what they send and punished if their tactics are of the kind that merit such action.

Put simply, Mr. President, my bill will empower consumers and Internet service providers alike to block, filter, reply to, or prevent unwanted and unsolicited electronic mail.

We all recognize that we should not lightly enter into Internet regulation. But some practices are simply too destructive to ignore, and certain types of unsolicited e-mail must be stopped.

I hope you will join me in working to pass this fair but strong bill to protect individual privacy, preserve freedom of expression, and allow legitimate commerce on the Internet to flourish. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the legislation be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 875

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Electronic Mailbox Protection Act of 1997".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The Internet has increasingly become a critical mode of global communication and

now presents unprecedented opportunities for the development and growth of global commerce and an integrated worldwide economy.

(2) In order for global commerce on the Internet to reach its full potential, individuals and entities using the Internet and other online services should be prevented from engaging in activities that prevent other users and Internet service providers from having a reasonably predictable, efficient, and economical online experience.

(3) Unsolicited electronic mail can be an important mechanism through which commercial vendors, nonprofit organizations, and other providers of services recruit members, advertise, and attract customers in the online environment.

(4) The receipt of unsolicited electronic mail may result in undue monetary costs to recipients who cannot refuse to accept such mail and who incur costs for the storage of such mail, or for the time spent accessing, reviewing, and discarding such mail, or for both.

(5) Unsolicited electronic mail sent in bulk may impose significant monetary costs on the Internet service providers, businesses, and educational and non-profit institutions that carry and receive such mail, as there is a finite volume of mail that such providers, businesses, and institutions can handle at any one point in time. The sending of such mail is increasingly and negatively affecting the quality of service provided to customers of Internet service providers.

(6) While many senders of bulk unsolicited electronic mail provide simple and reliable ways for recipients to reject (or "opt-out" of) receipt of unsolicited electronic mail from such senders in the future, other senders provide no such "opt-out" mechanism, or refuse to honor the requests of recipients not to receive electronic mail from such senders in the future, or both.

(7) An increasing number of senders of bulk unsolicited electronic mail purposefully disguise the source of such mail so as to prevent recipients from responding to such mail quickly and easily.

(8) Many senders of unsolicited electronic mail collect (or "harvest") electronic mail addresses of potential recipients without the knowledge of their intended recipients and in violation of the rules or terms of service of the fora from which such addresses are collected.

(9) Because recipients of unsolicited electronic mail are unable to avoid the receipt of such mail through reasonable means, such mail may threaten the privacy of recipients. This privacy threat is enhanced for recipients whose electronic mail software or server alerts them to new mail as it arrives, as unsolicited electronic mail thereby disrupts the normal operation of the recipient's computer.

(10) In legislating against certain abuses on the Internet, Congress and the States should be very careful to avoid infringing in any way upon constitutionally protected rights, including the rights of assembly, free speech, and privacy.

(11) In order to realize the full potential for online electronic commerce, senders of bulk unsolicited electronic mail should be required to abide by the requests of electronic mail recipients, Internet service providers, businesses, and educational and non-profit institutions to cease sending such mail to such recipients, providers, businesses, and educational and non-profit institutions.

SEC. 3. PROHIBITION ON CERTAIN ACTIVITIES THAT MISAPPROPRIATE THE RESOURCES OF ONLINE SERVICE PROVIDERS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Whoever, in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce—

(1) initiates the transmission of an unsolicited electronic mail message from an unregistered or fictitious Internet domain, or an unregistered or fictitious electronic mail address, for the purpose of—

(A) preventing replies to such message through use of a standard reply mechanism in the recipient's electronic mail system; or

(B) preventing receipt of standard notices of non-delivery;

(2) uses a computer program or other technical mechanism or procedure to disguise the source of unsolicited electronic mail messages for the purpose of preventing recipients, or recipient interactive computer services, from implementing a mail filtering tool to block the messages from reaching the intended recipients;

(3) initiates the transmission of an unsolicited electronic mail message and fails to comply with the request of the recipient of the message, made to the sender or the listserver as appropriate, to cease sending electronic messages to the recipient in the future;

(4) distributes a collection or list of electronic mail addresses, having been given prior notice that one or more of the recipients identified by such addresses does not wish to receive unsolicited electronic mail and knowing that the recipient of such addresses intends to use such addresses for the purpose of sending unsolicited electronic mail;

(5) initiates the transmission of an unsolicited electronic mail message to a recipient despite having been given prior notice (either directly or through a standard method developed, adopted, or modified by an Internet standard setting organization (such as the Internet Engineering Task Force or the World Wide Web Consortium) to better facilitate pre-emptive consumer control over bulk unsolicited electronic mail) that the recipient does not wish to receive such messages;

(6) registers, creates, or causes to be created an Internet domain or applies for, registers, or otherwise obtains the use of an Internet electronic mail account for the sole or primary purpose of initiating the transmission of an unsolicited electronic mail message in contravention of paragraph (1) or (2);

(7) directs an unsolicited electronic mail message through the server of an interactive computer service to one or more subscribers of the interactive computer service, knowing that such action is in contravention of the rules of the interactive computer service with respect to bulk unsolicited electronic mail messages;

(8) knowing that such action is in contravention of the rules of the interactive computer service concerned, accesses the server of the interactive computer service and uses a computer program to collect electronic mail addresses of subscribers of the interactive computer service for the purpose of sending such subscribers unsolicited electronic mail or distributing such addresses knowing that the recipient of such addresses intends to use such addresses for the purpose of sending unsolicited electronic mail; or

(9) initiates the transmission of bulk unsolicited electronic mail messages and divides the mailing of such messages into smaller mailings for the purpose of circumventing another provision of this Act, shall be subject to a civil penalty of not more than \$5,000 per individual violation.

(b) ENFORCEMENT.—The Federal Trade Commission shall have the authority to commence civil actions under subsection (a).

SEC. 4. RECOVERY OF CIVIL DAMAGES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Any person whose interactive computer service or electronic mailbox is intentionally misused or infiltrated,

or whose requests for cessation of electronic mail messages have been ignored, in violation of section 3 may in a civil action recover from the person or entity which engaged in that violation such relief as may be appropriate.

(b) RELIEF.—In an action under this section, appropriate relief includes—

(1) such preliminary and other equitable or declaratory relief as may be appropriate;

(2) actual monetary loss from a violation, statutory damages of not more than \$500 for each violation, and, if the court finds that the defendant's actions were particularly egregious, willful, or knowing violations of section 3, the court may, in its discretion, increase the amount of an award to an amount equal to not more than 10 times the amount available hereunder; and

(3) a reasonable attorney's fee and other litigation costs reasonably incurred.

SEC. 5. STATE LAW.

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prevent any State from enforcing any State law that is consistent with this Act. No cause of action may be brought and no liability may be imposed under any State or local law that is inconsistent with this Act.

SEC. 6. FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION STUDY INTO EFFECTS OF UNSOLICITED ELECTRONIC MAIL.

Not later than 18 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Federal Trade Commission shall submit to Congress a report detailing the effectiveness of, enforcement of, and the need, if any, for Congress to modify the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) BULK UNSOLICITED ELECTRONIC MAIL MESSAGE.—The term "bulk unsolicited electronic mail message" means any substantially identical unsolicited electronic mail message with 25 or more intended recipients.

(2) ELECTRONIC MAIL ADDRESS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term "electronic mail address" means a destination (commonly expressed as a string of characters) to which electronic mail can be sent or delivered.

(B) INCLUSION.—In the case of the Internet, the term "electronic mail address" may include an electronic mail address consisting of a user name or mailbox (commonly referred to as the "local part") and a reference to an Internet domain (commonly referred to as the "domain part").

(3) INITIATES THE TRANSMISSION.—The term "initiates the transmission", in the case of an electronic mail message, refers to the action of the original sender of the message and not to any intervening computer service that may handle or retransmit the message, unless the intervening computer service retransmits the message with an intent to engage in activities prohibited by this Act.

(4) INTERACTIVE COMPUTER SERVICE.—The term "interactive computer service" has the meaning given that term in section 230(e)(2) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 230(e)(2)).

(5) INTERNET.—The term "Internet" has the meaning given that term in section 230(e)(1) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 230(e)(1)).

(6) INTERNET DOMAIN.—The term "Internet domain" refers to a specific computer system (commonly referred to as a "host") or collection of computer systems attached to or able to be referenced from the Internet which are assigned a specific reference point on the Internet (commonly referred to as the "Internet domain name") and registered with an organization recognized by the computer industry as a registrant of Internet domains.

(7) LISTSERVER.—The term "listserver" refers to a computer program that provides

electronic mailing list management functions, including functions that allow individuals to subscribe and unsubscribe to and from electronic mailing lists.

(8) MAIL FILTERING TOOL.—The term "mail filtering tool" means any computer program, procedure, or mechanism used by an individual recipient or interactive computer service to block, return, reroute, or otherwise screen or sort incoming electronic mail messages.

(9) SERVER.—The term "server" refers to any computer that provides support or services of any kind, including electronic mailboxes, to other computers (commonly referred to as "clients").

(10) UNSOLICITED ELECTRONIC MAIL MESSAGE.—The term "unsolicited electronic mail message" means any electronic mail other than electronic mail sent by persons to others with whom they have a prior relationship, including a prior business relationship, or mail sent by a source to recipients where such recipients, or someone authorized by them, have at any time affirmatively requested to receive communications from that source.

SEC. 8. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This provisions of this Act shall take effect 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

By Mr. GREGG (for himself, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, and Mr. JOHNSON):

S. 876. A bill to establish a non-partisan commission on Federal election campaign practices and provide that the recommendations of the commission be given expedited consideration by Congress; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

THE CLAREMONT COMMISSION ACT

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I rise today to announce the introduction of the Claremont Commission Act, which I am introducing, along with Senators BOB SMITH, TORRICELLI, and JOHNSON.

We chose this day because it is the anniversary of the historic event that prompted the introduction of this legislation. Two years ago on this very day, a concerned citizen from Newport, NH, Mr. Frank McConnell, stood up at a town meeting in Claremont, NH, and asked an insightful and thought-provoking question of Speaker GINGRICH and President Clinton: What are they going to do about reforming our campaign financing system? The two leaders, who were attending the meeting, promised to create a bipartisan commission to study campaign finance reform and then shook hands on the agreement. That handshake was a famous and short-lived moment of solidarity and bipartisanship. At this time, sadly, no such commission has been created.

The bill that I introduce today is a renewed effort to keep the promise made on that famous day 2 years ago. The Claremont Commission Act was introduced in a bipartisan manner to create an objective commission to look at the issues surrounding the reform of our Nation's campaign finance system. This legislation directs the commission to take important goals into consideration when making recommendations to the Congress with regard to reform legislation. These goals include: limit-

ing the influence of money in Federal elections; increasing voter participation, creating a more equitable electoral system for both challengers and incumbents; and removing the negative aspects of financing of Federal elections. I believe that these are important goals to consider when Congress moves to make actual changes to our campaign financing laws.

The Claremont Commission Act specifically asks the commission to consider and respond to more than 14 questions regarding the most important issues surrounding the campaign finance reform debate. I am especially pleased that the issues of soft money contributions, independent expenditures, and the role of unions will be addressed. In particular, the role of unions and their use of mandatory union dues to make donations to political campaigns is of concern to me. The commission will address the serious issues surrounding how unions finance their political activities, as well as the considerable influence that these organizations wield over the outcome of elections. I am pleased that the creation of this commission can begin to address concerns, as well as other Members of Congress' questions regarding soft money contributions and independent expenditures.

The political infighting that has occurred over the years regarding the financing of our Federal elections will not cease unless a middle ground can be established. I believe that the Claremont Commission Act, by establishing a mechanism for a dispassionate analysis by a group of experts, can provide that middle ground. Hopefully, this bill will allow us to address the concerns of all Americans who have a growing sense of cynicism over our ability to resolve important campaign financing problems.

In closing, I urge my colleagues to take a serious look at this legislation and consider the merits of commissioning a bipartisan recommendation regarding campaign finance reform.

By Mr. MCCAIN (by request):

S. 877. A bill to disestablish the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Corps of Commissioned Officers; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION CORPS LEGISLATION

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, on behalf of the administration, today I am introducing legislation to disestablish the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Corps. This legislation is long overdue on the part of the administration, and I am pleased to be able to initiate a possible resolution on this issue.

In 1807, an organization known as the Coast Survey was established; this organization would later become NOAA. The Survey was responsible for charting the U.S. coastline, and its civilian employees were often augmented with military personnel. This interaction

between the Survey and the military continued, and, during World Wars I and II, members of the Survey served to defend our Nation. At the end of World War II, these members retained their military rank and compensation but returned to civilian duties as the NOAA Corps. Today, the corps numbers approximately 300 officers.

The corps operates the NOAA Fleet, flies the agency's hurricane research planes, and conducts a variety of activities essential for managing the Nation's natural resources. This bill seeks to maintain these services while improving the cost-effectiveness of the program. Under this legislation, civilian service positions would be created equivalent to existing NOAA Corps positions. Those officers with less than 15 years service would be eligible for these new civilian positions, while those with more than 15 years of service would be retired. Retired officers would still have an opportunity to compete for additional NOAA positions, as determined by the Under Secretary. The entire corps retirement program would be transferred to the Department of the Navy under this proposal.

Disestablishment of the corps has been recommended by the Vice President's National Performance Review, the Government Accounting Office, and the inspector general of the Department of Commerce. The GAO estimates that this bill would save \$5 million over a 10-year period.

I am concerned that the NOAA Corps officers be treated fairly, and I understand that several of my colleagues have additional concerns about the impacts of this legislation. I look forward to addressing these issues through the committee process.

By Mr. FEINGOLD:

S. 879. A bill to provide for home and community-based services for individuals with disabilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

LONG-TERM CARE REFORM AND DEFICIT
REDUCTION ACT OF 1997

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce S. 879, the Long-Term Care Reform and Deficit Reduction Act of 1997, legislation to reform fundamentally the way we provide long-term care in this country.

This legislation gives States the flexibility to establish a system of consumer-oriented, consumer-directed home and community-based long-term care services for individuals with disabilities of any age. It does so while reducing the deficit by \$30.4 billion over the next 5 years, and \$145.7 billion over the next 10 years with the potential for even greater savings.

Mr. President, the bill is based on Wisconsin's home and community-based long-term care program, the Community Options Program, called COP, which has been a national model of reform. COP was the keystone of Wisconsin's long-term care reforms

that have saved Wisconsin taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars.

The legislation is also similar, in large part, to the excellent bipartisan long-term care proposals developed by the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources as well as the Senate Committee on Finance during the 103d Congress, which in turn stemmed from the long-term care reforms included in President Clinton's health care reform proposal. Unlike so many other aspects of health care reform, the long-term care provisions that came out of the two Senate committees, that were included in the Mitchell compromise measure, and that were part of the proposals produced by the standing committees in the other body, received bipartisan support. It is somewhat remarkable that when there was so much controversy over so many issues relating to health care reform that there was so much agreement over the need to include long-term care reform.

Mr. President, the success of the Wisconsin program upon which this measure is based stems in large part from its flexibility, a flexibility that benefits both individual consumers of long-term care as well as local administrators.

This legislation reflects that same kind of flexibility. First and foremost, it does so by not creating a new, unfunded mandate. This program is entirely optional for States, and beyond four core services—assessment, care planning, personal assistance, and case management—those States choosing to participate will be free to decide what additional services, if any, they want to offer. States would be able but not required to offer such things as home-maker services, home modifications, respite, assistive devices, adult day care, supported employment, home health care, or any other service that would help keep a disabled individual at home or in the community.

Equally important, the measure provides both some initial funding, and the ability of States to recapture the bulk of the savings they can generate within the current long-term care system. The bill directs the Secretary of Health and Human Services to submit to Congress a proposal by which States could retain, in this new more flexible program, 75 percent of the Federal Medicaid long-term care savings they are able to generate. This not only provides a direct incentive for States to produce Medicaid savings, it also directly links the future of this reform to its ability to deliver results.

The legislation also creates a small hospital link pilot program based on our experiences in Wisconsin where such an initiative has helped direct individuals needing long-term care services out of hospitals, and back to their own homes and communities. The hospital discharge is a critical point of embarkation into the long-term care system for many, and this program helps ensure that those who leave a hospital in need of long-term care can

receive needed services where they prefer them—in their own homes.

Mr. President, though I am convinced that long-term care reform can result in substantial savings to taxpayers—and this has been our experience in Wisconsin—this measure does not depend on hypothetical savings for funding. This measure includes funding provisions consisting of specific savings within the health care system. Those savings include extending and making permanent the Medicare secondary payer provisions; establishing a prospective payment system under Medicare for nursing homes; eliminating the technical errors in the reimbursement of certain outpatient hospital services, known as the formula-driven overpayments; and, reforming the way Medicare risk contractors are reimbursed.

Mr. President, this last provision, fixing the payment system for Medicare HMO's, deserves special notice. The current system of reimbursement is flawed, and results in grossly inequitable distribution of costs and benefits within Medicare. Because the risk contract reimbursement formula is driven by the average fee-for-service costs in an area, Medicare beneficiaries in States like Wisconsin, where Medicare's standard fee-for-service costs are kept low, are punished. By contrast, areas with higher costs, including costs driven by unnecessary utilization and even waste, fraud, and abuse, are rewarded with generous benefit packages and little or no copayments.

This system of incentives is backward, and I am pleased to include a proposal to bring some sense and equity to Medicare's reimbursement of risk contracts as part of this measure.

Mr. President, the offsetting reductions in this measure produce savings of \$34.1 billion over 5 years, and \$166.2 billion over 10 years. Altogether, including the long-term care reforms and grants to States, the bill produces net deficit reduction of \$30.4 billion over 5 years, and \$145.7 billion over 10 years.

This must be the approach we adopt, even for those proposals which experience shows will result in savings. By including funding provisions in this long-term care reform measure, we ensure that any additional savings produced by these reforms will only further reduce the budget deficit.

And there is strong evidence that there will be additional savings, as we have seen in Wisconsin. Between 1980 and 1993, while the rest of the country experienced increased Medicaid nursing home use of 35 percent, thanks to Wisconsin's long-term care reforms, Medicaid nursing home bed use actually dropped 16 percent in the State, saving Wisconsin taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars.

Mr. President, aside from the immediate benefits of reducing the budget deficit, we need long-term care reform in its own right.

While the population of those needing long-term care is growing much

faster than those providing indirect support as taxpayers, informal care, which is largely provided by families, has been stretched to the limit by the economics of health care and the increasing age of the caregivers themselves.

The default system of formal long-term care, currently funded through the Medicaid Program, requires that individuals impoverish themselves before they can receive needed care, and it largely limits care to expensive institutional settings.

Failure to reform long-term care will inevitably lead to increased use of the Medicaid system—the most expensive long-term care alternative for taxpayers, and the least desirable for consumers.

Mr. President, there are few statistical forecasts as accurate as those dealing with our population, and estimates show that the population needing long-term care will explode during the next few decades. The elderly are the fastest growing segment of our population, with those over age 85—individuals most in need of long-term care—the fastest growing segment of the elderly. The over-85 population will triple in size between 1980 and 2030, and will be nearly seven times larger in 2050 than in 1980.

The growth in the population of elderly needing some assistance is expected to be equally dramatic. Activities of daily living, or ADL's, are a common measure of need for long-term care services. These activities include eating, transferring in and out of bed, toileting, dressing, and bathing. In 1988, approximately 6.9 million elderly could not perform all of these activities. By 2000, this population is expected to increase to 9 million, and by 2040 to 18 million.

Mr. President, that we have been able to stave off a long-term care crisis to date is due in large part to the direct caregiving provided by millions of families for their elderly and disabled family members. But here also we see that the demographic changes of the next several decades will result in increased strain on the current system.

While the number of people in need of care is increasing rapidly, the population supporting those individuals, either through direct caregiving, or indirectly through their taxes, is growing much more slowly, and thus is shrinking in comparison.

In 1900, there were about 7 elderly individuals for every 100 people of working age. As of 1990, the ratio was about 20 elderly for every 100, by 2020 the ratio will be 29 per 100, and after that it will rise to 38 per 100 by 2030.

These population differences will be further aggravated by the changing nature of the family and the work force. As the Alzheimer's Association has noted, smaller families, delayed child-bearing, more women in the work force, higher divorce rates, and increased mobility all mean there will be fewer primary caregivers available, and

far less informal support for those who do continue to provide care to family members in need of long-term care services.

Mr. President, while some elderly are relatively well off, thanks in part to programs like Social Security and Medicare that have kept many out of poverty, it is also true that too many seniors still find themselves living near or below the poverty line. This is especially true for those needing long-term care, who, on average, are poorer than those who do not need long-term care. In 1990, about 27 percent of people needing help with some activity of daily living survived on incomes below the poverty level, compared with 17 percent of all older people. About half of impaired elderly have income under 150 percent of poverty, compared with 35 percent of all elderly, and, according to Families USA, while 20 percent of the population as a whole had annual family income under \$15,685 in 1992, nearly half of the disabled population had income under that level.

Further aggravating the problem is that informal family member caregivers are getting older. These caregivers are already an average of 57, with 36 percent of caregivers 65 or older. As the population ages, so will the average age of caregivers, and as the population of caregivers increases, their ability to provide adequate informal care diminishes.

Mr. President, all in all our country faces a rapidly growing population needing long-term care services, a population which is disproportionately poor. At the same time, the group of family caregivers, that has kept most of the population needing long-term care out of Government programs like Medicaid, is shrinking relative to those in need of services, and is becoming progressively older.

The inescapable result of these trends is substantial pressure on Government provided long-term care services—services that are inadequate in several fundamental ways.

First, with some exceptions, the current system fails to build effectively on the informal care provided by families.

Mr. President, most people with disabilities, even with severe disabilities, rely on care in their home from family and friends. The Alzheimer's Association estimates that families provide between 80 and 90 percent of all care at home, willingly and without pay. The association estimates that this informal off-budget care would cost \$54 billion to replace.

This last figure can be only an estimate, not because it doesn't fairly represent the services currently being provided by family members, but because comparable services are largely unavailable from the long-term care system. The variety of home- and community-based services provided by family members simply do not exist in many areas.

Mr. President, the prevalence of family-provided caregiving affirms that, in

reforming our long-term care system, it is vital that we build on top of the existing informal care that is being provided, not try to substitute for that care by imposing a new system. The goal of long-term care reform is first to enable family caregivers to continue to provide the care they currently give and that their family members prefer.

Mr. President, another weakness of the current long-term care system is the lack of a home and community service capacity. This is due in part to the inadequacies of the Medicaid Program. Enacted in 1965, Medicaid was primarily a response to the acute care needs of the poor. Though Congress did not envision Medicaid as a long-term care program, it quickly became the primary source of Government funds for long-term care services.

For many years, those long-term services provided under Medicaid were almost exclusively institutionally based. Not until institutional services, such as nursing homes, had become well established were community- and home-based services funded.

The result of the head start given institutional long-term care services has been a continuing bias toward institutions in our long-term care programs. The rate of nursing home use by the elderly since the advent of Medicare and Medicaid has doubled, while the community and home-based alternatives to institutional care are considered exceptions to institutional care. A State must get a waiver from the Federal Government in order to qualify for community and home-based nonmedical service alternatives under Medicaid and, in many cases, an individual must otherwise be headed to an institution in order to qualify for those Medicaid funded community and home-based alternative programs.

More significantly, there remains an absolute entitlement to institutional care that does not exist for the home and community-based waiver alternatives.

Mr. President, many families have been able to provide long-term care services themselves to their elderly and disabled family members, but the lack of even partial support services makes it increasingly difficult for families to choose to keep their family members at home.

According to a 1991 Alzheimer's Association study, the family caregiving alternative to Government funded long-term care is likely to disappear not because of the increasing impairment of the long-term care consumer, but because of the physical, emotional, or financial exhaustion of the caregiver:

Family caregivers suffer more stress-related illness, resulting from exhaustion, lowered immune functions, and injuries, than the general population . . . Depression among caregivers of the frail elderly is as high as 43 to 46 percent, nearly three times the norm. . . . The likelihood of health problems is heightened by the relatively high age of caregivers: the average is 57. Thirty-six percent of caregivers are 65 or older.

Mr. President, the impact on the economy of the family caregiver is also

significant. Beyond the obvious strain on the personal economy of those families with members needing long-term care services, there is also a significant effect on employers.

One-quarter of American workers over the age of 30 care for an elderly parent, and this percentage is expected to increase with 40 percent of workers expecting to be caring for aging parents in the next 5 years.

These are impressive statistics when one considers that caregivers report missing a week and a half of work each year in order to provide care, and nearly one-third of working caregivers have either quit their job or reduced their work hours because of their caregiving responsibilities.

For those working 20 hours or fewer a week, over half have reduced their work hours because of caregiving responsibilities.

Mr. President, long-term care is very much a woman's issue. Women live longer than men, and make up a greater portion of the population needing care. And women are much more likely to be the family member that is providing care to a loved one who needs long-term care. One in five women have a parent living in their home, and nearly half of adult daughters who are caregivers are unemployed. Over a quarter of these women said they either quit their jobs or retired early just to provide care for an older person.

In addition to the impact on caregivers as employees, workers, and family breadwinners, there is also a measurable impact on their personal health. As the Alzheimer's Association study noted, caregivers are more likely to be in poor health than the general population, and are three times more likely to suffer from depression, a condition that raises the risk of other ailments such as exhaustion, lowered immune function, stress-related illness, and injury related to their caregiving responsibilities.

Compounding both the work-related and health-related problems, the burden of this kind of caregiving can increase over time. The Alzheimer's Association study noted that unlike caring for a child, which diminishes over time as the child matures and becomes more independent, caregiving responsibilities for an aging parent often increase as they become more dependent and require more care.

Mr. President, failure to reform long-term care will also lead to cost shifting and will undermine our efforts both to contain acute care costs and further reduce the deficit.

Thanks in large part to the lack of universal coverage and the attendant shared responsibility, the health care system has become expert at shifting costs. Federal and State policymakers, in attempting to control costs, have often only created bigger incentives to shift costs as they try to clamp down in one area only to see utilization jump in another. All too often, no real savings are achieved in the end.

This was seen, for example, when the Federal Government changed several aspects of Medicare reimbursements. Patients were discharged from hospitals quicker and sicker than they had been before with a resulting increase in utilization in other areas, including long-term care services such as skilled nursing facilities.

This example is particularly appropriate. As efforts are made to limit costs in the acute care system, it is precisely this kind of shifting, from the acute care side to the long-term care side, that will occur unless long-term care reforms are pursued.

A grandmother who is discharged from a hospital by an HMO seeking to lower its costs, may have little alternative but to enter a nursing home. Long-term care reform could provide her family with sufficient additional supports to be able to care for that grandmother in her own home, and at significantly lower cost to the family and the system as a whole.

But, Mr. President, as important as it is to gain control of our health care costs, long-term care reform is needed first and foremost as a matter of humanity.

In my own State of Wisconsin, long-term care has been the focus of significant reforms since the early 1980's.

One long-term care administrator, Chuck McLaughlin of Black River Falls, WI, testified before a field hearing of the Senate Aging Committee in the 103d Congress that prior to those reforms, he saw an almost complete absence of community or home-based long-term care services for people in need of support.

This was especially visible for older disabled individuals. Except for those seniors with sufficient resources to create their own system of in-home supports, he saw many forced to enter nursing homes who would have liked to have remained in their own home or community.

McLaughlin noted that though some eventually adjusted to leaving their home and entering the nursing home, others never did.

I saw people who simply willed their own death because they saw no reason to continue living. These were people who were literally torn from familiar places and familiar people. People who had lost the continuity of their lives and the history that so richly made them into who they were now. People who had nurtured and sustained their communities which in turn provided them with positive status in that community. These people were truly uprooted and adrift in an alien environment lacking familiar sights, sounds, and smells. Many of them simply chose not to live any longer. While the medical care they received was excellent, they were more than just their physical bodies. Modern medicine has no treatment for a broken spirit.

Mr. President, for many, the current long-term care system continues to be so inflexible as to be inhumane.

Mr. President, there are many reasons for pursuing long-term care reform—certainly more than are addressed here. But the one which may be

the most meaningful for those actually needing long-term care is the ability to make their own choice about what kinds of services they will receive. In particular, this will mean the chance to remain as independent as possible, living at home or in the community or, if they choose, in an institution.

Survey after survey reveal the overwhelming preference for home-based care, and these findings are consistent with the anecdotal evidence available from just about every family facing some kind of long-term care need.

Ann Hauser, a 74-year-old woman who retired after 30 years as a ward clerk in a Milwaukee hospital, offered testimony at a May 9, 1994, field hearing of the Senate Special Committee on Aging that is typical of what many have said over the years.

Now living at home with help from Wisconsin's home and community-based long-term care program, the Community Options Program [COP], Ms. Hauser related a number of problems she had experienced while in different nursing homes.

While at this nursing home and the others, I was to continue on IV antibiotics and needed some, but not total assistance for chair transfers. Before much time had passed, I was assisted in moving around so seldom that I lost muscle tone. Within 5 months, I became bedridden. The Heuer lift became a cop-out, and I learned that I was better to refuse it so that I would keep the use of some of my muscles. The less active I became, the more depressed I became. I was going downhill fast.

How could I be happy in places that allowed the aides to switch the TV station on my television to their favorite soap operas (when I don't even like shows like that)? Furthermore, when I would remind them that I was at their mercy to finish my bed bath as they stopped to watch just one more minute, they would take away my remote control while I shivered and waited.

The particulars of Ms. Hauser's experience are less important than the overall loss of control and independence that she experienced, something that is common for many in nursing homes. As Ms. Hauser noted:

How could I thrive in an environment that counted on my remaining inactive when I had been so active until now?

Dorothy Freund also gave testimony at the May 9 field hearing. At the time, she was a nursing home resident. Ms. Freund, who received her B.A. from Ohio State University, majored in English, and later received an additional degree from Maclean College of Drama, Speech, and Voice in Chicago.

After a brief stay in a hospital for treatment to her ankle, she came to a nursing home for further treatment. She gave up her apartment, because it was not designed for maneuvering in a wheelchair, and she has been on the COP waiting list for a year and a half.

Ms. Freund testified that she enjoys helping people, and this was obvious to those at the hearing as she related her efforts to tutor a nursing assistant who had worked at the nursing home. The aide decided that she would like to become a nurse, to get her LPN, but

needed to get her high school diploma. Ms. Freund helped her with English, geometry, government, and geography, and, thanks in large part to Ms. Freund's efforts, the nursing assistant did receive her high school diploma.

Ms. Freund spoke about her experience and her thoughts on living in a nursing home:

Then why not stay at the nursing home and help others in the same way? It is not an atmosphere of peace and quiet for any length of time. I'm not deprecating the nursing home and its quality of care. They are always looking for ways to improve situations and to solve problems that arise. Nor am I downgrading those who are trying their best to give that care. But when the shouting, moaning, screaming, and babbling all go on at the same time it can be bedlam. It may erupt at any moment. . . . The frustrations of being stuffed in a nursing home, the struggle to ride out the storms, and keep one's head above the turbulent waters, can seem overwhelming when there's not even a gleam at the end of the tunnel. But I just can't resign myself to a life of Bingo and Roll-a-ball. "Don't give up; there must be a way," I keep telling myself.

Ms. Freund's testimony, again, is typical of the experiences of many needing long-term care. And it bears emphasizing that the desire to live in one's own home, and to be able to function as independently as possible, exists despite the high quality of care that is provided in most nursing homes.

Mr. President, this should come as no surprise in a society that values independence so highly. We cannot expect an individual's value system to change the instant they require some long-term care, though this is precisely how our current long-term care system is structured.

If for no other reason, we need to reform our long-term care system to reflect the values we cherish as a nation, to live, as we wish, independently, in our own homes and communities.

Mr. President, during the debate over comprehensive health care reform in the 103d Congress, I issued a report reviewing the long-term care provisions in President Clinton's health care reform legislation and offering some modifications to those provisions based on our experience in Wisconsin. In that report, I noted that Chuck McLaughlin's eloquent comments on the importance of community were not only relevant, even central, to the discussion of long-term care, but that community must also be the focus of our efforts in many other areas of our lives as Americans and citizens of the world.

More often than not, the critical problems we face stem from a failure of community or a lack of adequate community-based supports—for example jobs and economic development, housing, crime, and education. These and other important issues are usually confronted by policymakers at a distance—from Washington, DC or from State capitals—essentially from the top down.

Too often we have tried to solve these challenges, including the chal-

lenge of long-term care, by imposing a superior vision from above. This approach has led to inflexible systems that cannot react to individual needs, but rather end up trying to fit the problem to their own structure.

This fundamental weakness is often enough to undermine even the sometimes huge amounts of money that we send along to implement the problem solving. It also limits the kinds of creative approaches those who are "on the ground" may see as useful and necessary.

Mr. President, just as we have a need to reinvent government to respond more efficiently to our country's needs and our national deficit, we need also to reinvent community to allow flexible approaches to problems, and to allow those in the community to exercise their judgment as to how best to solve problems.

A great strength of the Wisconsin long-term care reforms, and especially the home and community-based benefit on which this legislation is based, is that it is focused on the needs of the individual. Eligibility is based on disability, not age, and services are centered around the particular needs of an individual rather than the perceived needs of a group.

The approach this legislation takes is not only appropriate, but integral to the nature of long-term care.

Mr. President, the population needing long-term care services is a diverse group with widely differing needs.

Of the many misconceptions about long-term care, and about programs providing long-term care services, the most common may be that long-term care is purely an elderly issue. Though it is true that the elderly make up the largest part of the population needing long-term care services, long-term care is an issue facing millions of younger Americans. Approximately 1 million children have severe disabilities that require long-term care services.

Beyond the wide difference in the ages of those needing long-term care services, there is a diversity of needs, including the needs of the caregiving family members who may need a variety of different long-term care services.

From individuals with cerebral palsy to families that have a loved one afflicted with Alzheimer's disease, however well intentioned, no one set of services will address the individual needs of long-term care consumers.

Rather than trying to fit all of those needing long-term care services into one set of services, this legislation lets case managers, working with long-term care consumers and their families, determine just what services are needed and preferred.

Mr. President, the failure to enact comprehensive reform will not interrupt my own efforts to advocate and push individual reforms that respond to the needs of people and that can help save our health care system money.

In home and community-based long-term care reform, we can achieve both.

For taxpayers in Wisconsin, COP has saved hundreds of millions of dollars that would otherwise have been spent on more expensive institutional care.

At the same time, COP has provided an alternative that allows the consumer to participate in determining the plan of care and in the execution of that plan.

But, Mr. President, at the Federal level we are behind Wisconsin and other States in reforming long-term care. Despite the creation of community-based Medicaid waiver programs, consumers are, for the most part, faced with few alternatives. This proposal will begin to provide the flexibility State government needs to provide consumer-oriented and consumer-directed services.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a summary of the measure, followed by the complete text of the legislation, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 879

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Long-Term Care Reform and Deficit Reduction Act of 1997".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—HOME AND COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES

Sec. 101. State programs for home and community-based services for individuals with disabilities.

Sec. 102. State plans.

Sec. 103. Individuals with disabilities defined.

Sec. 104. Home and community-based services covered under State plan.

Sec. 105. Cost sharing.

Sec. 106. Quality assurance and safeguards.

Sec. 107. Advisory groups.

Sec. 108. Payments to States.

Sec. 109. Appropriations; allotments to States.

Sec. 110. Federal evaluations.

Sec. 111. Information and technical assistance grants relating to development of hospital linkage programs.

TITLE II—PROSPECTIVE PAYMENT SYSTEM FOR NURSING FACILITIES

Sec. 201. Definitions.

Sec. 202. Payment objectives.

Sec. 203. Powers and duties of the Secretary.

Sec. 204. Relationship to title XVIII of the Social Security Act.

Sec. 205. Establishment of resident classification system.

Sec. 206. Cost centers for nursing facility payment.

Sec. 207. Resident assessment.

Sec. 208. The per diem rate for nursing service costs.

Sec. 209. The per diem rate for administrative and general costs.

Sec. 210. Payment for fee-for-service ancillary services.

Sec. 211. Reimbursement of selected ancillary services and other costs.

- Sec. 212. Per diem payment for property costs.
 Sec. 213. Mid-year rate adjustments.
 Sec. 214. Exception to payment methods for new and low volume nursing facilities.
 Sec. 215. Appeal procedures.
 Sec. 216. Transition period.
 Sec. 217. Effective date; inconsistent provisions.

TITLE III—ADDITIONAL MEDICARE PROVISIONS

- Sec. 301. Elimination of formula-driven overpayments for certain outpatient hospital services.
 Sec. 302. Permanent extension of certain secondary payer provisions.
 Sec. 303. Financing and quality modernization and reform.

TITLE I—HOME AND COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES

SEC. 101. STATE PROGRAMS FOR HOME AND COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Each State that has a plan for home and community-based services for individuals with disabilities submitted to and approved by the Secretary under section 102(b) may receive payment in accordance with section 108.

(b) **ENTITLEMENT TO SERVICES.**—Nothing in this title shall be construed to create a right to services for individuals or a requirement that a State with an approved plan expend the entire amount of funds to which it is entitled under this title.

(c) **DESIGNATION OF AGENCY.**—Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall designate an agency responsible for program administration under this title.

SEC. 102. STATE PLANS.

(a) **PLAN REQUIREMENTS.**—In order to be approved under subsection (b), a State plan for home and community-based services for individuals with disabilities must meet the following requirements:

(1) **STATE MAINTENANCE OF EFFORT.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—A State plan under this title shall provide that the State will, during any fiscal year that the State is furnishing services under this title, make expenditures of State funds in an amount equal to the State maintenance of effort amount for the year determined under subparagraph (B) for furnishing the services described in subparagraph (C) under the State plan under this title or under the State plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.).

(B) **STATE MAINTENANCE OF EFFORT AMOUNT.**—

(i) **IN GENERAL.**—The maintenance of effort amount for a State for a fiscal year is an amount equal to—

(I) for fiscal year 1999, the base amount for the State (as determined under clause (ii)) updated through the midpoint of fiscal year 1999 by the estimated percentage change in the index described in clause (iii) during the period beginning on October 1, 1997, and ending at that midpoint; and

(II) for succeeding fiscal years, an amount equal to the amount determined under this clause for the previous fiscal year updated through the midpoint of the year by the estimated percentage change in the index described in clause (iii) during the 12-month period ending at that midpoint, with appropriate adjustments to reflect previous underestimations or overestimations under this clause in the projected percentage change in such index.

(ii) **STATE BASE AMOUNT.**—The base amount for a State is an amount equal to the total expenditures from State funds made under

the State plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.) during fiscal year 1997 with respect to medical assistance consisting of the services described in subparagraph (C).

(iii) **INDEX DESCRIBED.**—For purposes of clause (i), the Secretary shall develop an index that reflects the projected increases in spending for services under subparagraph (C), adjusted for differences among the States.

(C) **MEDICAID SERVICES DESCRIBED.**—The services described in this subparagraph are the following:

(i) Personal care services (as described in section 1905(a)(24) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(a)(24))).

(ii) Home or community-based services furnished under a waiver granted under subsection (c), (d), or (e) of section 1915 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n).

(iii) Home and community care furnished to functionally disabled elderly individuals under section 1929 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396t).

(iv) Community supported living arrangements services under section 1930 of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396u).

(v) Services furnished in a hospital, nursing facility, intermediate care facility for the mentally retarded, or other institutional setting specified by the Secretary.

(2) **ELIGIBILITY.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—Within the amounts provided by the State and under section 108 for such plan, the plan shall provide that services under the plan will be available to individuals with disabilities (as defined in section 103(a)) in the State.

(B) **INITIAL SCREENING.**—The plan shall provide a process for the initial screening of an individual who appears to have some reasonable likelihood of being an individual with disabilities. Any such process shall require the provision of assistance to individuals who wish to apply but whose disability limits their ability to apply. The initial screening and the determination of disability (as defined under section 103(b)(1)) shall be conducted by a public agency.

(C) **RESTRICTIONS.**—

(i) **IN GENERAL.**—The plan may not limit the eligibility of individuals with disabilities based on—

(I) income;

(II) age;

(III) residential setting (other than with respect to an institutional setting, in accordance with clause (ii)); or

(IV) other grounds specified by the Secretary;

except that through fiscal year 2007, the Secretary may permit a State to limit eligibility based on level of disability or geography (if the State ensures a balance between urban and rural areas).

(ii) **INSTITUTIONAL SETTING.**—The plan may limit the eligibility of individuals with disabilities based on the definition of the term “institutional setting”, as determined by the State.

(D) **CONTINUATION OF SERVICES.**—The plan must provide assurances that, in the case of an individual receiving medical assistance for home and community-based services under the State medicaid plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.) as of the date a State’s plan is approved under this title, the State will continue to make available (either under this plan, under the State medicaid plan, or otherwise) to such individual an appropriate level of assistance for home and community-based services, taking into account the level of assistance provided as of such date and the individual’s need for home and community-based services.

(3) **SERVICES.**—

(A) **NEEDS ASSESSMENT.**—Not later than the end of the second year of implementation, the plan or its amendments shall include the results of a statewide assessment of the needs of individuals with disabilities in a format required by the Secretary. The needs assessment shall include demographic data concerning the number of individuals within each category of disability described in this title, and the services available to meet the needs of such individuals.

(B) **SPECIFICATION.**—Consistent with section 104, the plan shall specify—

(i) the services made available under the plan;

(ii) the extent and manner in which such services are allocated and made available to individuals with disabilities; and

(iii) the manner in which services under the plan are coordinated with each other and with health and long-term care services available outside the plan for individuals with disabilities.

(C) **TAKING INTO ACCOUNT INFORMAL CARE.**—A State plan may take into account, in determining the amount and array of services made available to covered individuals with disabilities, the availability of informal care. Any individual plan of care developed under section 104(b)(1)(B) that includes informal care shall be required to verify the availability of such care.

(D) **ALLOCATION.**—The State plan—

(i) shall specify how services under the plan will be allocated among covered individuals with disabilities;

(ii) shall attempt to meet the needs of individuals with a variety of disabilities within the limits of available funding;

(iii) shall include services that assist all categories of individuals with disabilities, regardless of their age or the nature of their disabling conditions;

(iv) shall demonstrate that services are allocated equitably, in accordance with the needs assessment required under subparagraph (A); and

(v) shall ensure that—

(I) the proportion of the population of low-income individuals with disabilities in the State that represents individuals with disabilities who are provided home and community-based services either under the plan, under the State medicaid plan, or under both, is not less than

(II) the proportion of the population of the State that represents individuals who are low-income individuals.

(E) **LIMITATION ON LICENSURE OR CERTIFICATION.**—The State may not subject consumer-directed providers of personal assistance services to licensure, certification, or other requirements that the Secretary finds not to be necessary for the health and safety of individuals with disabilities.

(F) **CONSUMER CHOICE.**—To the extent feasible, the State shall follow the choice of an individual with disabilities (or that individual’s designated representative who may be a family member) regarding which covered services to receive and the providers who will provide such services.

(4) **COST SHARING.**—The plan may impose cost sharing with respect to covered services in accordance with section 105.

(5) **TYPES OF PROVIDERS AND REQUIREMENTS FOR PARTICIPATION.**—The plan shall specify—

(A) the types of service providers eligible to participate in the program under the plan, which shall include consumer-directed providers of personal assistance services, except that the plan—

(i) may not limit benefits to services provided by registered nurses or licensed practical nurses; and

(ii) may not limit benefits to services provided by agencies or providers certified

under title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.); and

(B) any requirements for participation applicable to each type of service provider.

(6) PROVIDER REIMBURSEMENT.—

(A) PAYMENT METHODS.—The plan shall specify the payment methods to be used to reimburse providers for services furnished under the plan. Such methods may include retrospective reimbursement on a fee-for-service basis, prepayment on a capitation basis, payment by cash or vouchers to individuals with disabilities, or any combination of these methods. In the case of payment to consumer-directed providers of personal assistance services, including payment through the use of cash or vouchers, the plan shall specify how the plan will assure compliance with applicable employment tax and health care coverage provisions.

(B) PAYMENT RATES.—The plan shall specify the methods and criteria to be used to set payment rates for—

(i) agency administered services furnished under the plan; and

(ii) consumer-directed personal assistance services furnished under the plan, including cash payments or vouchers to individuals with disabilities, except that such payments shall be adequate to cover amounts required under applicable employment tax and health care coverage provisions.

(C) PLAN PAYMENT AS PAYMENT IN FULL.—The plan shall restrict payment under the plan for covered services to those providers that agree to accept the payment under the plan (at the rates established pursuant to subparagraph (B)) and any cost sharing permitted under section 105 as payment in full for services furnished under the plan.

(7) QUALITY ASSURANCE AND SAFEGUARDS.—The State plan shall provide for quality assurance and safeguards for applicants and beneficiaries in accordance with section 106.

(8) ADVISORY GROUP.—The State plan shall—

(A) assure the establishment and maintenance of an advisory group in accordance with section 107(b); and

(B) include the documentation prepared by the group under section 107(b)(4).

(9) ADMINISTRATION AND ACCESS.—

(A) STATE AGENCY.—The plan shall designate a State agency or agencies to administer (or to supervise the administration of) the plan.

(B) COORDINATION.—The plan shall specify how it will—

(i) coordinate services provided under the plan, including eligibility prescreening, service coordination, and referrals for individuals with disabilities who are ineligible for services under this title with the State Medicaid plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.), titles V and XX of such Act (42 U.S.C. 701 et seq. and 1397 et seq.), programs under the Older Americans Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 3001 et seq.), programs under the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act (42 U.S.C. 6000 et seq.), programs under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (20 U.S.C. 1400 et seq.), and any other Federal or State programs that provide services or assistance targeted to individuals with disabilities; and

(ii) coordinate with health plans.

(C) ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURES.—Effective beginning with fiscal year 2007, the plan shall contain assurances that not more than 10 percent of expenditures under the plan for all quarters in any fiscal year shall be for administrative costs.

(D) INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE.—The plan shall provide for a single point of access to apply for services under the State program for individuals with disabilities. Notwithstanding the preceding sentence, the plan may designate separate points of access

to the State program for individuals under 22 years of age, for individuals 65 years of age or older, or for other appropriate classes of individuals.

(10) REPORTS AND INFORMATION TO SECRETARY; AUDITS.—The plan shall provide that the State will furnish to the Secretary—

(A) such reports, and will cooperate with such audits, as the Secretary determines are needed concerning the State's administration of its plan under this title, including the processing of claims under the plan; and

(B) such data and information as the Secretary may require in a uniform format as specified by the Secretary.

(11) USE OF STATE FUNDS FOR MATCHING.—The plan shall provide assurances that Federal funds will not be used to provide for the State share of expenditures under this title.

(12) HEALTH CARE WORKER REDEPLOYMENT.—The plan shall provide for the following:

(A) Before initiating the process of implementing the State program under such plan, negotiations will be commenced with labor unions representing the employees of the affected hospitals or other facilities.

(B) Negotiations under subparagraph (A) will address the following:

(i) The impact of the implementation of the program upon the workforce.

(ii) Methods to redeploy workers to positions in the proposed system, in the case of workers affected by the program.

(C) The plan will provide evidence that there has been compliance with subparagraphs (A) and (B), including a description of the results of the negotiations.

(13) TERMINOLOGY.—The plan shall adhere to uniform definitions of terms, as specified by the Secretary.

(b) APPROVAL OF PLANS.—The Secretary shall approve a plan submitted by a State if the Secretary determines that the plan—

(1) was developed by the State after a public comment period of not less than 30 days; and

(2) meets the requirements of subsection (a).

The approval of such a plan shall take effect as of the first day of the first fiscal year beginning after the date of such approval (except that any approval made before October 1, 1998, shall be effective as of such date). In order to budget funds allotted under this title, the Secretary shall establish a deadline for the submission of such a plan before the beginning of a fiscal year as a condition of its approval effective with that fiscal year. Any significant changes to the State plan shall be submitted to the Secretary in the form of plan amendments and shall be subject to approval by the Secretary.

(c) MONITORING.—The Secretary shall annually monitor the compliance of State plans with the requirements of this title according to specified performance standards. In accordance with section 108(e), States that fail to comply with such requirements may be subject to a reduction in the Federal matching rates available to the State under section 108(a) or the withholding of Federal funds for services or administration until such time as compliance is achieved.

(d) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.—The Secretary shall ensure the availability of ongoing technical assistance to States under this section. Such assistance shall include serving as a clearinghouse for information regarding successful practices in providing long-term care services.

(e) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations as may be appropriate to carry out this title on a timely basis.

SEC. 103. INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES DEFINED.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this title, the term "individual with disabilities"

means any individual within 1 or more of the following categories:

(1) INDIVIDUALS REQUIRING HELP WITH ACTIVITIES OF DAILY LIVING.—An individual of any age who—

(A) requires hands-on or standby assistance, supervision, or cueing (as defined in regulations) to perform 3 or more activities of daily living (as defined in subsection (d)); and

(B) is expected to require such assistance, supervision, or cueing for a chronic condition that will last at least 180 days.

(2) INDIVIDUALS WHO REQUIRE SUPERVISION DUE TO COGNITIVE OR OTHER MENTAL IMPAIRMENTS.—An individual of any age—

(A) who requires supervision to protect himself or herself from threats to health or safety due to impaired judgment, or who requires supervision due to symptoms of 1 or more serious behavioral problems (that is on a list of such problems specified by the Secretary); and

(B) who is expected to require such supervision for a chronic condition that will last at least 180 days.

Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall make recommendations regarding the most appropriate duration of disability under this paragraph.

(3) INDIVIDUALS WITH SEVERE OR PROFOUND MENTAL RETARDATION.—An individual of any age who has severe or profound mental retardation (as determined according to a protocol specified by the Secretary).

(4) INDIVIDUALS WITH MEDICAL MANAGEMENT NEEDS.—An individual of any age who due to a physical cognitive or other mental impairment requires assistance to manage his or her medical or nursing care (as determined by the Secretary).

(5) YOUNG CHILDREN WITH SEVERE DISABILITIES.—An individual under 6 years of age who—

(A) has a severe disability or chronic medical condition that limits functioning in a manner that is comparable in severity to the standards established under paragraphs (1), (2), or (3); and

(B) is expected to have such a disability or condition for at least 180 days.

The Secretary shall elaborate the criteria for children under 6 years of age based on an analysis of Phase I (1994) and II (1996) of the National Disability Survey.

(6) STATE OPTION WITH RESPECT TO INDIVIDUALS WITH COMPARABLE DISABILITIES.—Not more than 5 percent of a State's allotment for services under this title may be expended for the provision of services to individuals with severe disabilities and long-term medical or nursing needs that are comparable in severity to the criteria described in paragraphs (1) through (5), but who fail to meet the criteria in any single category under such paragraphs.

(b) DETERMINATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In formulating eligibility criteria under subsection (a), the Secretary shall establish criteria for assessing the functional level of disability among all categories of individuals with disabilities that are comparable in severity, regardless of the age or the nature of the disabling condition of the individual. The determination of whether an individual is an individual with disabilities shall be made by a public or non-profit agency that is specified under the State plan and that is not a provider of home and community-based services under this title and by using a uniform protocol consisting of an initial screening and a determination of disability specified by the Secretary. A State may not impose cost sharing with respect to a determination of disability. A State may collect additional information,

at the time of obtaining information to make such determination, in order to provide for the assessment and plan described in section 104(b) or for other purposes.

(2) PERIODIC REASSESSMENT.—The determination that an individual is an individual with disabilities shall be considered to be effective under the State plan for a period of not more than 6 months (or for such longer period in such cases as a significant change in an individual's condition that may affect such determination is unlikely). A reassessment shall be made if there is a significant change in an individual's condition that may affect such determination.

(c) ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA.—The Secretary shall reassess the validity of the eligibility criteria described in subsection (a) as new knowledge regarding the assessments of functional disabilities becomes available. The Secretary shall report to the Congress on its findings under the preceding sentence as determined appropriate by the Secretary.

(d) ACTIVITY OF DAILY LIVING DEFINED.—In this title, the term "activity of daily living" means any of the following: eating, toileting, dressing, bathing, and transferring.

(e) INDIVIDUALS WITH COGNITIVE OR OTHER MENTAL IMPAIRMENTS DEFINED.—In this title, the term "individuals with cognitive or other mental impairments" means an individual with Alzheimer's disease, dementia, autism, mental illness, mental retardation, congenital or acquired brain injury, or any other severe mental condition.

SEC. 104. HOME AND COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES COVERED UNDER STATE PLAN.

(a) SPECIFICATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the succeeding provisions of this section, the State plan under this title shall specify—

(A) the home and community-based services available under the plan to individuals with disabilities (or to such categories of such individuals); and

(B) any limits with respect to such services.

(2) FLEXIBILITY IN MEETING INDIVIDUAL NEEDS.—Subject to subsection (e)(2), such services may be delivered in an individual's home, a range of community residential arrangements, or outside the home.

(b) REQUIREMENT FOR NEEDS ASSESSMENT AND PLAN OF CARE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The State plan shall provide for home and community-based services to an individual with disabilities only if the following requirements are met:

(A) COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—A comprehensive assessment of an individual's need for home and community-based services (regardless of whether all needed services are available under the plan) shall be made in accordance with a uniform, comprehensive assessment tool that shall be used by a State under this paragraph with the approval of the Secretary. The comprehensive assessment shall be made by a public or nonprofit agency that is specified under the State plan and that is not a provider of home and community-based services under this title.

(ii) EXCEPTION.—The State may elect to waive the provisions of clause (i) if—

(I) with respect to any area of the State, the State has determined that there is an insufficient pool of entities willing to perform comprehensive assessments in such area due to a low population of individuals eligible for home and community-based services under this title residing in the area; and

(II) the State plan specifies procedures that the State will implement in order to avoid conflicts of interest.

(B) INDIVIDUALIZED PLAN OF CARE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—An individualized plan of care based on the assessment made under subparagraph (A) shall be developed by a

public or nonprofit agency that is specified under the State plan and that is not a provider of home and community-based services under this title, except that the State may elect to waive the provisions of this sentence if, with respect to any area of the State, the State has determined there is an insufficient pool of entities willing to develop individualized plans of care in such area due to a low population of individuals eligible for home and community-based services under this title residing in the area, and the State plan specifies procedures that the State will implement in order to avoid conflicts of interest.

(ii) REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO PLAN OF CARE.—A plan of care under this subparagraph shall—

(I) specify which services included under the individual plan will be provided under the State plan under this title;

(II) identify (to the extent possible) how the individual will be provided any services specified under the plan of care and not provided under the State plan;

(III) specify how the provision of services to the individual under the plan will be coordinated with the provision of other health care services to the individual; and

(IV) be reviewed and updated every 6 months (or more frequently if there is a change in the individual's condition).

The State shall make reasonable efforts to identify and arrange for services described in subclause (II). Nothing in this subsection shall be construed as requiring a State (under the State plan or otherwise) to provide all the services specified in such a plan.

(c) INVOLVEMENT OF INDIVIDUALS.—The individualized plan of care under subparagraph (B) for an individual with disabilities shall—

(i) be developed by qualified individuals (specified in subparagraph (B));

(ii) be developed and implemented in close consultation with the individual (or the individual's designated representative); and

(iii) be approved by the individual (or the individual's designated representative).

(c) REQUIREMENT FOR CARE MANAGEMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The State shall make available to each category of individuals with disabilities care management services that at a minimum include—

(A) arrangements for the provision of such services; and

(B) monitoring of the delivery of services.

(2) CARE MANAGEMENT SERVICES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the care management services described in paragraph (1) shall be provided by a public or private entity that is not providing home and community-based services under this title.

(B) EXCEPTION.—A person who provides home and community-based services under this title may provide care management services if—

(i) the State determines that there is an insufficient pool of entities willing to provide such services in an area due to a low population of individuals eligible for home and community-based services under this title residing in such area; and

(ii) the State plan specifies procedures that the State will implement in order to avoid conflicts of interest.

(d) MANDATORY COVERAGE OF PERSONAL ASSISTANCE SERVICES.—The State plan shall include, in the array of services made available to each category of individuals with disabilities, both agency-administered and consumer-directed personal assistance services (as defined in subsection (h)).

(e) ADDITIONAL SERVICES.—

(1) TYPES OF SERVICES.—Subject to subsection (f), services available under a State plan under this title may include any (or all) of the following:

(A) Homemaker and chore assistance.

(B) Home modifications.

(C) Respite services.

(D) Assistive technology devices, as defined in section 3(2) of the Technology-Related Assistance for Individuals With Disabilities Act of 1988 (29 U.S.C. 2202(2)).

(E) Adult day services.

(F) Habilitation and rehabilitation.

(G) Supported employment.

(H) Home health services.

(I) Transportation.

(J) Any other care or assistive services specified by the State and approved by the Secretary that will help individuals with disabilities to remain in their homes and communities.

(2) CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF SERVICES.—The State electing services under paragraph (1) shall specify in the State plan—

(A) the methods and standards used to select the types, and the amount, duration, and scope, of services to be covered under the plan and to be available to each category of individuals with disabilities; and

(B) how the types, and the amount, duration, and scope, of services specified, within the limits of available funding, provide substantial assistance in living independently to individuals within each of the categories of individuals with disabilities.

(f) EXCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS.—A State plan may not provide for coverage of—

(1) room and board;

(2) services furnished in a hospital, nursing facility, intermediate care facility for the mentally retarded, or other institutional setting specified by the Secretary; or

(3) items and services to the extent coverage is provided for the individual under a health plan or the medicare program.

(g) PAYMENT FOR SERVICES.—In order to pay for covered services, a State plan may provide for the use of—

(1) vouchers;

(2) cash payments directly to individuals with disabilities;

(3) capitation payments to health plans; and

(4) payment to providers.

(h) PERSONAL ASSISTANCE SERVICES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this title, the term "personal assistance services" means those services specified under the State plan as personal assistance services and shall include at least hands-on and standby assistance, supervision, cueing with activities of daily living, and such instrumental activities of daily living as deemed necessary or appropriate, whether agency-administered or consumer-directed (as defined in paragraph (2)). Such services shall include services that are determined to be necessary to help all categories of individuals with disabilities, regardless of the age of such individuals or the nature of the disabling conditions of such individuals.

(2) CONSUMER-DIRECTED.—For purposes of this title:

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term "consumer-directed" means, with reference to personal assistance services or the provider of such services, services that are provided by an individual who is selected and managed (and, at the option of the service recipient, trained) by the individual receiving the services.

(B) STATE RESPONSIBILITIES.—A State plan shall ensure that where services are provided in a consumer-directed manner, the State shall create or contract with an entity, other than the consumer or the individual provider, to—

(i) inform both recipients and providers of rights and responsibilities under all applicable Federal labor and tax law; and

(ii) assume responsibility for providing effective billing, payments for services, tax

withholding, unemployment insurance, and workers' compensation coverage, and act as the employer of the home care provider.

(C) RIGHT OF CONSUMERS.—Notwithstanding the State responsibilities described in subparagraph (B), service recipients, and, where appropriate, their designated representative, shall retain the right to independently select, hire, terminate, and direct (including manage, train, schedule, and verify services provided) the work of a home care provider.

(3) AGENCY ADMINISTERED.—For purposes of this title, the term "agency-administered" means, with respect to such services, services that are not consumer-directed.

SEC. 105. COST SHARING.

(a) NO COST SHARING FOR POOREST.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The State plan may not impose any cost sharing for individuals with income (as determined under subsection (d)) less than 150 percent of the official poverty level applicable to a family of the size involved (referred to in paragraph (2)).

(2) OFFICIAL POVERTY LEVEL.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term "official poverty level applicable to a family of the size involved" means, for a family for a year, the official poverty line (as defined by the Office of Management and Budget, and revised annually in accordance with section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)) applicable to a family of the size involved.

(b) SLIDING SCALE FOR REMAINDER.—The State plan may impose cost sharing for individuals not described in subsection (a) in such form and manner as the State determines is appropriate.

(c) RECOMMENDATION OF THE SECRETARY.—The Secretary shall make recommendations to the States as to how to reduce cost-sharing for individuals with extraordinary out-of-pocket costs for whom the imposition of cost-sharing could jeopardize their ability to take advantage of the services offered under this title. The Secretary shall establish a methodology for reducing the cost-sharing burden for individuals with exceptionally high out-of-pocket costs under this title.

(d) DETERMINATION OF INCOME FOR PURPOSES OF COST SHARING.—The State plan shall specify the process to be used to determine the income of an individual with disabilities for purposes of this section. Such standards shall include a uniform Federal definition of income and any allowable deductions from income.

SEC. 106. QUALITY ASSURANCE AND SAFEGUARDS.

(a) QUALITY ASSURANCE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The State plan shall specify how the State will ensure and monitor the quality of services, including—

(A) safeguarding the health and safety of individuals with disabilities;

(B) setting the minimum standards for agency providers and how such standards will be enforced;

(C) setting the minimum competency requirements for agency provider employees who provide direct services under this title and how the competency of such employees will be enforced;

(D) obtaining meaningful consumer input, including consumer surveys that measure the extent to which participants receive the services described in the plan of care and participant satisfaction with such services;

(E) establishing a process to receive, investigate, and resolve allegations of neglect or abuse;

(F) establishing optional training programs for individuals with disabilities in the use and direction of consumer directed providers of personal assistance services;

(G) establishing an appeals procedure for eligibility denials and a grievance procedure

for disagreements with the terms of an individualized plan of care;

(H) providing for participation in quality assurance activities; and

(I) specifying the role of the Long-Term Care Ombudsman (under the Older Americans Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 3001 et seq.)) and the protection and advocacy system (established under section 142 of the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act (42 U.S.C. 6042)) in assuring quality of services and protecting the rights of individuals with disabilities.

(2) ISSUANCE OF REGULATIONS.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall issue regulations implementing the quality provisions of this subsection.

(b) FEDERAL STANDARDS.—The State plan shall adhere to Federal quality standards in the following areas:

(1) Case review of a specified sample of client records.

(2) The mandatory reporting of abuse, neglect, or exploitation.

(3) The development of a registry of provider agencies or home care workers and consumer directed providers of personal assistance services against whom any complaints have been sustained, which shall be available to the public.

(4) Sanctions to be imposed on States or providers, including disqualification from the program, if minimum standards are not met.

(5) Surveys of client satisfaction.

(6) State optional training programs for informal caregivers.

(c) CLIENT ADVOCACY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The State plan shall provide that the State will expend the amount allocated under section 109(b)(2) for client advocacy activities. The State may use such funds to augment the budgets of the Long-Term Care Ombudsman (under the Older Americans Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 3001 et seq.) and the protection and advocacy system (established under section 142 of the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act (42 U.S.C. 6042)) or may establish a separate and independent client advocacy office in accordance with paragraph (2) to administer a new program designed to advocate for client rights.

(2) CLIENT ADVOCACY OFFICE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—A client advocacy office established under this paragraph shall—

(i) identify, investigate, and resolve complaints that—

(I) are made by, or on behalf of, clients; and

(II) relate to action, inaction, or decisions, that may adversely affect the health, safety, welfare, or rights of the clients (including the welfare and rights of the clients with respect to the appointment and activities of guardians and representative payees), of—

(aa) providers, or representatives of providers, of long-term care services;

(bb) public agencies; or

(cc) health and social service agencies;

(ii) provide services to assist the clients in protecting the health, safety, welfare, and rights of the clients;

(iii) inform the clients about means of obtaining services provided by providers or agencies described in clause (i)(II) or services described in clause (ii);

(iv) ensure that the clients have regular and timely access to the services provided through the office and that the clients and complainants receive timely responses from representatives of the office to complaints; and

(v) represent the interests of the clients before governmental agencies and seek administrative, legal, and other remedies to protect the health, safety, welfare, and rights of

the clients with regard to the provisions of this title.

(B) CONTRACTS AND ARRANGEMENTS.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in clause (ii), the State agency may establish and operate the office, and carry out the program, directly, or by contract or other arrangement with any public agency or non-profit private organization.

(ii) LICENSING AND CERTIFICATION ORGANIZATIONS; ASSOCIATIONS.—The State agency may not enter into the contract or other arrangement described in clause (i) with an agency or organization that is responsible for licensing, certifying, or providing long-term care services in the State.

(d) SAFEGUARDS.—

(1) CONFIDENTIALITY.—The State plan shall provide safeguards that restrict the use or disclosure of information concerning applicants and beneficiaries to purposes directly connected with the administration of the plan.

(2) SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ABUSE.—The State plans shall provide safeguards against physical, emotional, or financial abuse or exploitation (specifically including appropriate safeguards in cases where payment for program benefits is made by cash payments or vouchers given directly to individuals with disabilities). All providers of services shall be required to register with the State agency.

(3) REGULATIONS.—Not later than October 1, 1998, the Secretary shall promulgate regulations with respect to the requirements on States under this subsection.

(e) SPECIFIED RIGHTS.—The State plan shall provide that in furnishing home and community-based services under the plan the following individual rights are protected:

(1) The right to be fully informed in advance, orally and in writing, of the care to be provided, to be fully informed in advance of any changes in care to be provided, and (except with respect to an individual determined incompetent) to participate in planning care or changes in care.

(2) The right to—

(A) voice grievances with respect to services that are (or fail to be) furnished without discrimination or reprisal for voicing grievances;

(B) be told how to complain to State and local authorities; and

(C) prompt resolution of any grievances or complaints.

(3) The right to confidentiality of personal and clinical records and the right to have access to such records.

(4) The right to privacy and to have one's property treated with respect.

(5) The right to refuse all or part of any care and to be informed of the likely consequences of such refusal.

(6) The right to education or training for oneself and for members of one's family or household on the management of care.

(7) The right to be free from physical or mental abuse, corporal punishment, and any physical or chemical restraints imposed for purposes of discipline or convenience and not included in an individual's plan of care.

(8) The right to be fully informed orally and in writing of the individual's rights.

(9) The right to a free choice of providers.

(10) The right to direct provider activities when an individual is competent and willing to direct such activities.

SEC. 107. ADVISORY GROUPS.

(a) FEDERAL ADVISORY GROUP.—

(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Secretary shall establish an advisory group, to advise the Secretary and States on all aspects of the program under this title.

(2) COMPOSITION.—The group shall be composed of individuals with disabilities and

their representatives, providers, Federal and State officials, and local community implementing agencies. A majority of its members shall be individuals with disabilities and their representatives.

(b) STATE ADVISORY GROUPS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State plan shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of an advisory group to advise the State on all aspects of the State plan under this title.

(2) COMPOSITION.—Members of each advisory group shall be appointed by the Governor (or other chief executive officer of the State) and shall include individuals with disabilities and their representatives, providers, State officials, and local community implementing agencies. A majority of its members shall be individuals with disabilities and their representatives. The members of the advisory group shall be selected from those nominated as described in paragraph (3).

(3) SELECTION OF MEMBERS.—Each State shall establish a process whereby all residents of the State, including individuals with disabilities and their representatives, shall be given the opportunity to nominate members to the advisory group.

(4) PARTICULAR CONCERNS.—Each advisory group shall—

(A) before the State plan is developed, advise the State on guiding principles and values, policy directions, and specific components of the plan;

(B) meet regularly with State officials involved in developing the plan, during the development phase, to review and comment on all aspects of the plan;

(C) participate in the public hearings to help assure that public comments are addressed to the extent practicable;

(D) report to the Governor and make available to the public any differences between the group's recommendations and the plan;

(E) report to the Governor and make available to the public specifically the degree to which the plan is consumer-directed; and

(F) meet regularly with officials of the designated State agency (or agencies) to provide advice on all aspects of implementation and evaluation of the plan.

SEC. 108. PAYMENTS TO STATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to section 102(a)(9)(C) (relating to limitation on payment for administrative costs), the Secretary, in accordance with the Cash Management Improvement Act of 1990 (31 U.S.C. 6501 note), shall authorize payment to each State with a plan approved under this title, for each quarter (beginning on or after October 1, 1998), from its allotment under section 109(b), an amount equal to—

(1)(A) with respect to the amount demonstrated by State claims to have been expended during the year for home and community-based services under the plan for individuals with disabilities that does not exceed 20 percent of the amount allotted to the State under section 109(b), 100 percent of such amount; and

(B) with respect to the amount demonstrated by State claims to have been expended during the year for home and community-based services under the plan for individuals with disabilities that exceeds 20 percent of the amount allotted to the State under section 109(b), the Federal home and community-based services matching percentage (as defined in subsection (b)) of such amount; plus

(2) an amount equal to 90 percent of the amount demonstrated by the State to have been expended during the quarter for quality assurance activities under the plan; plus

(3) an amount equal to 90 percent of the amount expended during the quarter under the plan for activities (including preliminary screening) relating to determinations of eli-

gibility and performance of needs assessment; plus

(4) an amount equal to 90 percent (or, beginning with quarters in fiscal year 2007, 75 percent) of the amount expended during the quarter for the design, development, and installation of mechanical claims processing systems and for information retrieval; plus

(5) an amount equal to 50 percent of the remainder of the amounts expended during the quarter as found necessary by the Secretary for the proper and efficient administration of the State plan.

(b) FEDERAL HOME AND COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES MATCHING PERCENTAGE.—In subsection (a), the term "Federal home and community-based services matching percentage" means, with respect to a State, the State's Federal medical assistance percentage (as defined in section 1905(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(b))) increased by 15 percentage points, except that the Federal home and community-based services matching percentage shall in no case be more than 95 percent.

(c) PAYMENTS ON ESTIMATES WITH RETROSPECTIVE ADJUSTMENTS.—The method of computing and making payments under this section shall be as follows:

(1) The Secretary shall, prior to the beginning of each quarter, estimate the amount to be paid to the State under subsection (a) for such quarter, based on a report filed by the State containing its estimate of the total sum to be expended in such quarter, and such other information as the Secretary may find necessary.

(2) From the allotment available therefore, the Secretary shall provide for payment of the amount so estimated, reduced or increased, as the case may be, by any sum (not previously adjusted under this section) by which the Secretary finds that the estimate of the amount to be paid the State for any prior period under this section was greater or less than the amount that should have been paid.

(d) APPLICATION OF RULES REGARDING LIMITATIONS ON PROVIDER-RELATED DONATIONS AND HEALTH CARE-RELATED TAXES.—The provisions of section 1903(w) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(w)) shall apply to payments to States under this section in the same manner as they apply to payments to States under section 1903(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(a)).

(e) FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH STATE PLAN.—If a State furnishing home and community-based services under this title fails to comply with the State plan approved under this title, the Secretary may either reduce the Federal matching rates available to the State under subsection (a) or withhold an amount of funds determined appropriate by the Secretary from any payment to the State under this section.

SEC. 109. APPROPRIATIONS; ALLOTMENTS TO STATES.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—

(1) FISCAL YEARS 1999 THROUGH 2007.—Subject to paragraph (5)(C), for purposes of this title, the appropriation authorized under this title for each of fiscal years 1999 through 2007 is the following:

- (A) For fiscal year 1999, \$500,000,000.
- (B) For fiscal year 2000, \$750,000,000.
- (C) For fiscal year 2001, \$1,000,000,000.
- (D) For fiscal year 2002, \$1,500,000,000.
- (E) For fiscal year 2003, \$2,000,000,000.
- (F) For fiscal year 2004, \$2,500,000,000.
- (G) For fiscal year 2005, \$3,250,000,000.
- (H) For fiscal year 2006, \$4,000,000,000.
- (I) For fiscal year 2007, \$5,000,000,000.

(2) SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS.—For purposes of this title, the appropriation authorized for State plans under this title for each fiscal year after fiscal year 2007 is the appropriation authorized under this subsection for the preceding fiscal year multiplied by—

(A) a factor (described in paragraph (3)) reflecting the change in the medical care expenditure category of the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (United States city average), published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the fiscal year; and

(B) a factor (described in paragraph (4)) reflecting the change in the number of individuals with disabilities for the fiscal year.

(3) CPI MEDICAL CARE EXPENDITURE INCREASE FACTOR.—For purposes of paragraph (2)(A), the factor described in this paragraph for a fiscal year is the ratio of—

(A) the percentage increase or decrease, respectively, in the medical care expenditure category of the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (United States city average), published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, for the preceding fiscal year, to—

(B) such increase or decrease, as so measured, for the second preceding fiscal year.

(4) DISABLED POPULATION FACTOR.—For purposes of paragraph (2)(B), the factor described in this paragraph for a fiscal year is 100 percent plus (or minus) the percentage increase (or decrease) change in the disabled population of the United States (as determined for purposes of the most recent update under subsection (b)(3)(D)).

(5) LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS DUE TO MEDICAID OFFSETS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than January 1, 1998, the Secretary shall submit to the appropriate committees of Congress a legislative proposal that, during the period beginning on October 1, 1998, and ending on September 30, 2007, for each fiscal year during such period, allocates among the States with plans approved under this title an amount equal to 75 percent of the Federal Medicaid long-term care savings. The legislative proposal shall provide that funds shall be allocated to such States without requiring any State matching payments in order to receive such funds.

(B) FEDERAL MEDICAID LONG-TERM CARE SAVINGS DEFINED.—In subparagraph (A), the term "Federal Medicaid long-term care savings" means with respect to a fiscal year, the amount equal to the amount of Federal outlays that would have been made under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.) during such fiscal year but for the provision of home and community-based services under the program under this title.

(b) ALLOTMENTS TO STATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall allot the amounts available under the appropriation authorized for the fiscal year under paragraph (1) of subsection (a), to the States with plans approved under this title in accordance with an allocation formula developed by the Secretary that takes into account—

(A) the percentage of the total number of individuals with disabilities in all States that reside in a particular State;

(B) the per capita costs of furnishing home and community-based services to individuals with disabilities in the State; and

(C) the percentage of all individuals with incomes at or below 150 percent of the official poverty line (as described in section 105(a)(2)) in all States that reside in a particular State.

(2) ALLOCATION FOR CLIENT ADVOCACY ACTIVITIES.—Each State with a plan approved under this title shall allocate ½ of 1 percent of the State's total allotment under paragraph (1) for client advocacy activities as described in section 106(c).

(3) NO DUPLICATE PAYMENT.—No payment may be made to a State under this section for any services provided to an individual to the extent that the State received payment for such services under section 1903(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(a)).

(4) REALLOCATIONS.—Any amounts allotted to States under this subsection for a year that are not expended in such year shall remain available for State programs under this title and may be reallocated to States as the Secretary determines appropriate.

(c) STATE ENTITLEMENT.—This title constitutes budget authority in advance of appropriations Acts, and represents the obligation of the Federal Government to provide for the payment to States of amounts described in subsection (a).

SEC. 110. FEDERAL EVALUATIONS.

Not later than December 31, 2004, December 31, 2007, and each December 31 thereafter, the Secretary shall provide to Congress analytical reports that evaluate—

(1) the extent to which individuals with low incomes and disabilities are equitably served;

(2) the adequacy and equity of service plans to individuals with similar levels of disability across States;

(3) the comparability of program participation across States, described by level and type of disability; and

(4) the ability of service providers to sufficiently meet the demand for services.

SEC. 111. INFORMATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE GRANTS RELATING TO DEVELOPMENT OF HOSPITAL LINKAGE PROGRAMS.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—

(1) demonstration programs and projects have been developed to offer care management to hospitalized individuals awaiting discharge who are in need of long-term health care services that meet individual needs and preferences in home and community-based settings as an alternative to long-term nursing home care or institutional placement; and

(2) there is a need to disseminate information and technical assistance to hospitals and State and local community organizations regarding such programs and projects and to provide incentive grants to State and local public and private agencies, including area agencies on aging, to establish and expand programs that offer care management to individuals awaiting discharge from acute care hospitals who are in need of long-term care so that services to meet individual needs and preferences can be arranged in home and community-based settings as an alternative to long-term placement in nursing homes or other institutional settings.

(b) DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND INCENTIVE GRANTS TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOSPITAL LINKAGE PROGRAMS.—Part C of title III of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 248 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 327B. DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND INCENTIVE GRANTS TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOSPITAL LINKAGE PROGRAMS.

“(a) DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION.—The Secretary shall compile, evaluate, publish, and disseminate to appropriate State and local officials and to private organizations and agencies that provide services to individuals in need of long-term health care services, such information and materials as may assist such entities in replicating successful programs that are aimed at offering care management to hospitalized individuals who are in need of long-term care so that services to meet individual needs and preferences can be arranged in home and community-based settings as an alternative to long-term nursing home placement. The Secretary may provide technical assistance to entities seeking to replicate such programs.

“(b) INCENTIVE GRANTS TO ASSIST IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOSPITAL LINKAGE PRO-

GRAMS.—The Secretary shall establish a program under which incentive grants may be awarded to assist private and public agencies, including area agencies on aging, and organizations in developing and expanding programs and projects that facilitate the discharge of individuals in hospitals or other acute care facilities who are in need of long-term care services and placement of such individuals into home and community-based settings.

“(c) ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS.—

“(1) ELIGIBLE ENTITIES.—To be eligible to receive a grant under subsection (b) an entity shall be—

“(A)(i) a State agency as defined in section 102(43) of the Older Americans Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 3002(43)); or

“(ii) a State agency responsible for administering home and community care programs under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.); or

“(B) if no State agency described in subparagraph (A) applies with respect to a particular State, a public or nonprofit private entity.

“(2) APPLICATIONS.—To be eligible to receive an incentive grant under subsection (b), an entity shall prepare and submit to the Secretary an application at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the Secretary may require, including—

“(A) an assessment of the need within the community to be served for the establishment or expansion of a program to facilitate the discharge of individuals in need of long-term care who are in hospitals or other acute care facilities into home and community-care programs that provide individually planned, flexible services that reflect individual choice or preference rather than nursing home or institutional settings;

“(B) a plan for establishing or expanding a program for identifying individuals in hospital or acute care facilities who are in need of individualized long-term care provided in home and community-based settings rather than nursing homes or other institutional settings and undertaking the planning and management of individualized care plans to facilitate discharge into such settings;

“(C) assurances that nongovernmental case management agencies funded under grants awarded under this section are not direct providers of home and community-based services;

“(D) satisfactory assurances that adequate home and community-based long term care services are available, or will be made available, within the community to be served so that individuals being discharged from hospitals or acute care facilities under the proposed program can be served in such home and community-based settings, with flexible, individualized care that reflects individual choice and preference;

“(E) a description of the manner in which the program to be administered with amounts received under the grant will be continued after the termination of the grant for which such application is submitted; and

“(F) a description of any waivers or approvals necessary to expand the number of individuals served in federally funded home and community-based long term care programs in order to provide satisfactory assurances that adequate home and community-based long term care services are available in the community to be served.

“(3) AWARDS OF GRANTS.—

“(A) PREFERENCES.—In awarding grants under subsection (b), the Secretary shall give preference to entities submitting applications that—

“(i) demonstrate an ability to coordinate activities funded using amounts received under the grant with programs providing in-

dividualized home and community-based case management and services to individuals in need of long term care with hospital discharge planning programs; and

“(ii) demonstrate that adequate home and community-based long term care management and services are available, or will be made available to individuals being served under the program funded with amounts received under subsection (b).

“(B) DISTRIBUTION.—In awarding grants under subsection (b), the Secretary shall ensure that such grants—

“(i) are equitably distributed on a geographic basis;

“(ii) include projects operating in urban areas and projects operating in rural areas; and

“(iii) are awarded for the expansion of existing hospital linkage programs as well as the establishment of new programs.

“(C) EXPEDITED CONSIDERATION.—The Secretary shall provide for the expedited consideration of any waiver application that is necessary under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.) to enable an applicant for a grant under subsection (b) to satisfy the assurance required under paragraph (1)(D).

“(4) USE OF GRANTS.—An entity that receives amounts under a grant under subsection (b) may use such amounts for planning, development and evaluation services and to provide reimbursements for the costs of one or more case managers to be located in or assigned to selected hospitals who would—

“(A) identify patients in need of individualized care in home and community-based long-term care;

“(B) assess and develop care plans in cooperation with the hospital discharge planning staff; and

“(C) arrange for the provision of community care either immediately upon discharge from the hospital or after any short term nursing-home stay that is needed for recuperation or rehabilitation;

“(5) DIRECT SERVICES SUBJECT TO REIMBURSEMENTS.—None of the amounts provided under a grant under this section may be used to provide direct services, other than case management, for which reimbursements are otherwise available under title XVIII or XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq. and 1396 et seq.).

“(6) LIMITATIONS.—

“(A) TERM.—Grants awarded under this section shall be for terms of less than 3 years.

“(B) AMOUNT.—Grants awarded to an entity under this section shall not exceed \$300,000 per year. The Secretary may waive the limitation under this subparagraph where an applicant demonstrates that the number of hospitals or individuals to be served under the grant justifies such increased amounts.

“(C) SUPPLANTING OF FUNDS.—Amounts awarded under a grant under this section may not be used to supplant existing State funds that are provided to support hospital link programs.

“(d) EVALUATION AND REPORTS.—

“(1) BY GRANTEEES.—An entity that receives a grant under this section shall evaluate the effectiveness of the services provided under the grant in facilitating the placement of individuals being discharged from hospitals or acute care facilities into home and community-based long term care settings rather than nursing homes. Such entity shall prepare and submit to the Secretary a report containing such information and data concerning the activities funded under the grant as the Secretary determines appropriate.

“(2) BY SECRETARY.—Not later than the end of the third fiscal year for which funds are

appropriated under subsection (e), the Secretary shall prepare and submit to the appropriate committees of Congress, a report concerning the results of the evaluations and reports conducted and prepared under paragraph (1).

“(e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section, \$5,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1998 through 2000.”

TITLE II—PROSPECTIVE PAYMENT SYSTEM FOR NURSING FACILITIES

SEC. 201. DEFINITIONS.

In this title:

(1) ACUITY PAYMENT.—The term “acuity payment” means a fixed amount that will be added to the facility-specific prices for certain resident classes designated by the Secretary as requiring heavy care.

(2) AGGREGATED RESIDENT INVOICE.—The term “aggregated resident invoice” means a compilation of the per resident invoices of a nursing facility which contain the number of resident days for each resident and the resident class of each resident at the nursing facility during a particular month.

(3) ALLOWABLE COSTS.—The term “allowable costs” means costs which HCFA has determined to be necessary for a nursing facility to incur according to the Provider Reimbursement Manual (in this title referred to as “HCFA-Pub. 15”).

(4) BASE YEAR.—The term “base year” means the most recent cost reporting period (consisting of a period which is 12 months in length, except for facilities with new owners, in which case the period is not less than 4 months and not more than 13 months) for which cost data of nursing facilities is available to be used for the determination of a prospective rate.

(5) CASE MIX WEIGHT.—The term “case mix weight” means the total case mix score of a facility calculated by multiplying the resident days in each resident class by the relative weight assigned to each resident class, and summing the resulting products across all resident classes.

(6) COMPLEX MEDICAL EQUIPMENT.—The term “complex medical equipment” means items such as ventilators, intermittent positive pressure breathing machines, nebulizers, suction pumps, continuous positive airway pressure devices, and bead beds such as air fluidized beds.

(7) DISTINCT PART NURSING FACILITY.—The term “distinct part nursing facility” means an institution which has a distinct part that is certified under title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.) and meets the requirements of section 201.1 of the Skilled Nursing Facility Manual published by HCFA (in this title referred to as “HCFA-Pub. 12”).

(8) EFFICIENCY INCENTIVE.—The term “efficiency incentive” means a payment made to a nursing facility in recognition of incurring costs below a prespecified level.

(9) FIXED EQUIPMENT.—The term “fixed equipment” means equipment which meets the definition of building equipment in section 104.3 of HCFA-Pub. 15, including attachments to buildings such as wiring, electrical fixtures, plumbing, elevators, heating systems, and air conditioning systems.

(10) GEOGRAPHIC CEILING.—The term “geographic ceiling” means a limitation on payments in any given cost center for nursing facilities in 1 of no fewer than 8 geographic regions, further subdivided into rural and urban areas, as designated by the Secretary.

(11) HCFA.—The term “HCFA” means the Health Care Financing Administration.

(12) HEAVY CARE.—The term “heavy care” means an exceptionally high level of care which the Secretary has determined is required for residents in certain resident classes.

(13) INDEXED FORWARD.—The term “indexed forward” means an adjustment made to a per diem rate to account for cost increases due to inflation or other factors during an intervening period following the base year and projecting such cost increases for a future period in which the rate applies. Indexing forward under this title shall be determined from the midpoint of the base year to the midpoint of the rate year.

(14) MDS.—The term “MDS” means a resident assessment instrument, currently recognized by HCFA, any extensions to MDS, and any extensions to accommodate subacute care which contain an appropriate core of assessment items with definitions and coding categories needed to comprehensively assess a nursing facility resident.

(15) MAJOR MOVABLE EQUIPMENT.—The term “major movable equipment” means equipment that meets the definition of major movable equipment in section 104.4 of HCFA-Pub. 15.

(16) NURSING FACILITY.—The term “nursing facility” means an institution that meets the requirements of a “skilled nursing facility” under section 1819(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i-3(a)) and of a “nursing facility” under section 1919(a) of that Act (42 U.S.C. 1396r(a)).

(17) PER BED LIMIT.—The term “per bed limit” means a per-bed ceiling on the fair asset value of a nursing facility for 1 of the geographic regions designated by the Secretary.

(18) PER DIEM RATE.—The term “per diem rate” refers to a rate of payment for the costs of covered services for a resident day.

(19) RELATIVE WEIGHT.—The term “relative weight” means the index of the value of the resources required for a given resident class relative to the value of resources of either a base resident class or the average of all the resident classes.

(20) R.S. MEANS INDEX.—The term “R.S. Means Index” means the index of the R. S. Means Company, Inc., specific to commercial or industrial institutionalized nursing facilities, that is based upon a survey of prices of common building materials and wage rates for nursing facility construction.

(21) REBASE.—The term “rebase” means the process of updating nursing facility cost data for a subsequent rate year using a more recent base year.

(22) RENTAL RATE.—The term “rental rate” means a percentage that will be multiplied by the fair asset value of property to determine the total annual rental payment in lieu of property costs.

(23) RESIDENT CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM.—The term “resident classification system” means a system that categorizes residents into different resident classes according to similarity of their assessed condition and required services of the residents.

(24) RESIDENT DAY.—The term “resident day” means the period of services for 1 resident, regardless of payment source, for 1 continuous 24 hours of services. The day of admission of the resident constitutes a resident day but the day of discharge does not constitute a resident day. Bed hold days are not to be considered resident days, and bed hold day revenues are not to be offset.

(25) RESOURCE UTILIZATION GROUPS, VERSION III.—The term “Resource Utilization Groups, Version III” (in this title referred to as “RUG-III”) refers to a category-based resident classification system used to classify nursing facility residents into mutually exclusive RUG-III groups. Residents in each RUG-III group utilize similar quantities and patterns of resources.

(26) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

(27) SUBACUTE CARE.—The term “subacute care” means comprehensive inpatient care designed for an individual that has an acute illness, injury, or exacerbation of a disease process. The care is goal oriented treatment rendered immediately after, or instead of, acute hospitalization to treat 1 or more specific active complex medical conditions or to administer 1 or more technically complex treatments, in the context of a person’s underlying long-term conditions and overall situation. In most cases, the individual’s condition is such that the care does not depend heavily on high technology monitoring or complex diagnostic procedures. Subacute care requires the coordinated services of an interdisciplinary team including physicians, nurses, and other relevant professional disciplines, who are trained and knowledgeable to assess and manage these specific conditions and perform the necessary procedures. Subacute care is given as part of a specifically defined program, regardless of the site. Subacute care is generally more intensive than traditional nursing facility care and less than acute care. It requires frequent (daily to weekly) recurrent patient assessment and review of the clinical course and treatment plan for a limited (several days to several months) time period, until the condition is stabilized or a predetermined treatment course is completed.

SEC. 202. PAYMENT OBJECTIVES.

Payment rates under the Prospective Payment System for nursing facilities shall reflect the following objectives:

(1) To maintain an equitable and fair balance between cost containment and quality of care in nursing facilities.

(2) To encourage nursing facilities to admit residents without regard to such residents’ source of payment.

(3) To provide an incentive to nursing facilities to admit and provide care to persons in need of comparatively greater care, including those in need of subacute care.

(4) To maintain administrative simplicity, for both nursing facilities and the Secretary.

(5) To encourage investment in buildings and improvements to nursing facilities (capital formation) as necessary to maintain quality and access.

SEC. 203. POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY.

(a) RULES AND REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall establish by regulation all rules and regulations necessary for implementation of this title. The rates determined under this title shall be determined in a budget neutral manner and shall reflect the objectives described in section 202 of this title.

(b) FILING REQUIREMENTS.—The Secretary may require that each nursing facility file such data, statistics, schedules, or information as required to enable the Secretary to implement this title.

SEC. 204. RELATIONSHIP TO TITLE XVIII OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—No provision in this title shall replace, or otherwise affect, the skilled nursing facility benefit under title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.).

(b) PROVISIONS OF HCFA-15.—The provisions of HCFA-Pub. 15 shall apply to the determination of allowable costs under this title except to the extent that such provisions conflict with any other provision in this title.

SEC. 205. ESTABLISHMENT OF RESIDENT CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Secretary shall establish a resident classification system which shall group residents into classes according to similarity of their assessed condition and required services.

(2) **MODEL FOR SYSTEM.**—The resident classification system shall be modeled after the RUG-III system and all updated versions of that system, and shall be expanded into subacute categories and costs of care.

(3) **REFLECTIVE OF CERTAIN TIME AND COSTS.**—The resident classification system shall reflect of the necessary professional and paraprofessional nursing staff time and costs required to address the care needs of nursing facility residents.

(b) **RELATIVE WEIGHT FOR EACH RESIDENT CLASS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall assign a relative weight for each resident class based on the relative value of the resources required for each resident class. If the Secretary determines it to be appropriate, the assignment of relative weights for resident classes shall be developed for each geographic region as determined in accordance with subsection (c).

(2) **UTILIZATION OF MDSS.**—In assigning the relative weights of the resident classes in a geographic region, the Secretary shall utilize information derived from the most recent MDSs of all the nursing facilities in a geographic region.

(3) **RECALIBRATED EVERY 3 YEARS.**—Every 3 years the Secretary shall recalibrate the relative weights of the resident classes in each geographic region based on any changes in the cost or amount of resources required for the care of a resident in the resident class.

(c) **GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS; PEER GROUPINGS.**—

(1) **GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS.**—The Secretary shall designate at least 3 geographic regions for the total United States. Within each geographic region, the Secretary shall take appropriate account of variations in cost between urban and rural areas.

(2) **PEER GROUPING.**—The Secretary shall ensure that there are no peer grouping of nursing facilities based on facility size or whether the nursing facilities are hospital-based or not.

SEC. 206. COST CENTERS FOR NURSING FACILITY PAYMENT.

(a) **PAYMENT RATES.**—Consistent with the objectives described in section 202 of this title, the Secretary shall determine payment rates for nursing facilities using the following cost/service groupings:

(1) The nursing service cost center shall include salaries and wages for the Director of Nursing, quality assurance nurses, registered nurses, licensed practical nurses, nurse aides (including wages related to initial and ongoing nurse aid training and other ongoing or periodic training costs incurred by nursing personnel), contract nursing, fringe benefits and payroll taxes associated therewith, medical records, and nursing supplies.

(2) The administrative and general cost center shall include all expenses (including salaries, benefits, and other costs) related to administration, plant operation, maintenance and repair, housekeeping, dietary (excluding raw food), central services and supply (excluding medical or nursing supplies), laundry, and social services, excluding overhead allocations to ancillary services.

(3) Ancillary services that are paid on a fee-for-service basis shall include physical therapy, occupational therapy, speech therapy, respiratory therapy, and hyperalimentation. The fee-for-service ancillary service payments under part A of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.) shall not affect the reimbursement of ancillary services under part B of title XVIII of that Act (42 U.S.C. 1395j et seq.).

(4) The cost center for selected ancillary services and other costs shall include drugs, raw food, IV therapy, x-ray services, laboratory services, property tax, property insur-

ance, and all other costs not included in the other 4 cost-of-service groupings.

(5) The property cost center shall include depreciation on the buildings and fixed equipment, major movable equipment, motor vehicles, land improvements, amortization of leasehold improvements, lease acquisition costs, capital leases, interest on capital indebtedness, mortgage interest, lease costs, and equipment rental expense.

(b) **PER DIEM RATE.**—The Secretary shall pay nursing facilities a prospective, facility-specific, per diem rate based on the sum of the per diem rates established for the nursing service, administrative and general, and property cost centers.

(c) **FACILITY-SPECIFIC PROSPECTIVE RATE.**—The Secretary shall pay nursing facilities a facility-specific prospective rate for each unit of the fee-for-service ancillary services as determined in accordance with section 210 of this title.

(d) **REIMBURSEMENT FOR SELECTIVE ANCILLARY SERVICES.**—Nursing facilities shall be reimbursed by the Secretary for selected ancillary services and other costs on a retrospective basis in accordance with section 211 of this title.

SEC. 207. RESIDENT ASSESSMENT.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In order to be eligible for payments under this title, a nursing facility shall perform a resident assessment in accordance with section 1819(b)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i-3(b)(3)) within 14 days of admission of the resident and at such other times as required by that section.

(b) **RESIDENT CLASS.**—The resident assessment shall be used to determine the resident class of each resident in the nursing facility for purposes of determining the per diem rate for the nursing service cost center in accordance with section 208 of this title.

SEC. 208. THE PER DIEM RATE FOR NURSING SERVICE COSTS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—

(1) **NURSING SERVICE COST CENTER RATE.**—The Secretary shall calculate the nursing service cost center rate using a prospective, facility-specific per diem rate based on the nursing facility's case-mix weight and nursing service costs during the base year.

(2) **CASE-MIX WEIGHT.**—For purposes of paragraph (1), the case-mix weight of a nursing facility shall be obtained by multiplying the number of resident days in each resident class at a nursing facility during the base year by the relative weight assigned to each resident class in the appropriate geographic region. Once this calculation is performed for each resident class in the nursing facility, the sum of these products shall constitute the case-mix weight for the nursing facility.

(3) **FACILITY NURSING UNIT VALUE.**—A facility nursing unit value for the nursing facility for the base year shall be obtained by dividing the nursing service costs for the base year, which shall be indexed forward from the midpoint of the base period to the midpoint of the rate period using the DRI McGraw-Hill HCFA Nursing Home Without Capital Market Basket, by the case-mix weight of the nursing facility for the base year.

(4) **FACILITY-SPECIFIC NURSING SERVICES PRICE.**—A facility-specific nursing services price for each resident class shall be obtained by multiplying the lower of the indexed facility unit value of the nursing facility during the base year or the geographic ceiling, as determined in accordance with subsection (b), by the relative weight of the resident class.

(5) **PATIENT CLASSIFICATIONS.**—For patient classifications associated with the use of complex medical equipment and other specialized, noncustomary equipment (particu-

larly subacute classifications), the Secretary shall provide for a daily allowance for such equipment based upon the amortized value of such equipment over the life of the equipment.

(6) **SELECTED RESIDENT CLASSIFICATIONS.**—For selected resident classifications (particularly subacute classifications) requiring additional or specialized medical administrative staff, the Secretary shall provide for a daily allowance to cover these costs.

(7) **DESIGNATION OF CERTAIN RESIDENT CLASSES.**—The Secretary shall designate certain resident classes, such as subacute resident classes, as requiring heavy care. An acuity payment of 3 percent of the facility-specific nursing services price shall be added to the facility-specific price for each resident that the Secretary has designated as requiring heavy care.

(8) **PER DIEM RATE.**—The per diem rate for the nursing service cost center for each resident in a resident class shall constitute the facility-specific price, plus the acuity payment where appropriate.

(9) **PER DIEM RATE REBASED ANNUALLY.**—The Secretary shall annually rebate the per diem rate for the nursing service cost center, including the facility-specific price and the acuity payment.

(10) **PAYMENT.**—To determine the payment amount to a nursing facility for the nursing service cost center, the Secretary shall multiply the per diem rate (including the acuity payment) for a resident class by the number of resident days for each resident class based on aggregated resident invoices which each nursing facility shall submit on a monthly basis.

(b) **GEOGRAPHIC CEILING.**—

(1) **FACILITY UNIT VALUE.**—The facility unit value identified in subsection (a)(3) shall be subjected to geographic ceilings established for the geographic regions designated by the Secretary in section 205 of this title.

(2) **DETERMINATION.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall determine the geographic ceiling by creating an array of indexed facility unit values in a geographic region from lowest to highest. Based on this array, the Secretary shall identify a fixed proportion between the indexed facility unit value of the nursing facility which contained the medianth resident day in the array (except as provided in subsection (b)(4) of this section) and the indexed facility unit value of the nursing facility which contained the 95th percentile resident day in that array during the first year of operation of the Prospective Payment System for nursing facilities. The fixed proportion shall remain the same in subsequent years.

(B) **SUBSEQUENT YEARS.**—To obtain the geographic ceiling on the indexed facility unit value for nursing facilities in a geographic region in each subsequent year, the fixed proportion identified pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be multiplied by the indexed facility unit value of the nursing facility which contained the medianth resident day in the array of facility unit values for the geographic region during the base year.

(3) **EXCLUSIONS FROM DETERMINATION.**—For purposes of determining the geographic ceiling for a nursing service cost center, the Secretary shall exclude low volume and new nursing facilities (as defined in section 214 of this title).

(c) **EXCEPTIONS TO GEOGRAPHIC CEILING.**—The Secretary shall establish by regulation procedures for allowing exceptions to the geographic ceiling imposed on a nursing service cost center. The procedure shall permit exceptions based on the following factors:

(1) Local supply or labor shortages which substantially increase costs to specific nursing facilities.

(2) Higher per resident day usage of contract nursing personnel, if utilization of contract nursing personnel is warranted by local circumstances and the provider has taken all reasonable measures to minimize contract personnel expense.

(3) Extraordinarily low proportion of distinct part nursing facilities in a geographic region resulting in a geographic ceiling that unfairly restricts the reimbursement of distinct part facilities.

(4) Regulatory changes that increase costs to only a subset of the nursing facility industry.

(5) The offering of a new institutional health service or treatment program by a nursing facility (in order to account for initial startup costs).

(6) Disproportionate usage of part-time employees, where adequate numbers of full-time employees cannot reasonably be obtained.

(7) Other cost producing factors specified by the Secretary in regulations that are specific to a subset of facilities in a geographic region (except case-mix variation).

SEC. 209. THE PER DIEM RATE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE AND GENERAL COSTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) PAYMENT.—The Secretary shall make payments for the administrative and general cost center by using a facility-specific, prospective, per diem rate.

(2) STANDARDS FOR PER DIEM RATE.—The Secretary shall assign a per diem rate to a nursing facility by applying 2 standards that is calculated as follows:

(A) STANDARD A.—The Secretary shall determine a Standard A for each geographic region by creating an array of indexed nursing facility administrative and general per diem costs from lowest to highest. The Secretary shall then identify a fixed proportion by dividing the indexed administrative and general per diem costs of the nursing facility that contains the medianth resident day of the array (except as provided in subsection (a)(4)) into the indexed administrative and general per diem costs of the nursing facility that contains the 75th percentile resident day in that array. Standard A for each base year shall constitute the product of this fixed proportion and the administrative and general indexed per diem costs of the nursing facility that contains the medianth resident day in the array of such costs during the base year.

(B) STANDARD B.—The Secretary shall determine a Standard B for each geographic region by using the same calculation as in subparagraph (A) except that the fixed proportion shall use the indexed administrative and general costs of the nursing facility containing the 85th percentile, rather than the 75th percentile, resident day in the array of such costs.

(3) GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS.—The Secretary shall use the geographic regions identified in section 205(c) of this title for purposes of determining Standards A and B.

(4) EXCLUSION.—The Secretary shall exclude low volume and new nursing facilities (as defined in section 214 of this title) for purposes of determining Standard A and Standard B.

(5) PER DIEM RATE.—To determine a nursing facility's per diem rate for the administrative and general cost center, Standards A and B shall be applied to a nursing facility's administrative and general per diem costs, indexed forward using the DRI McGraw-Hill HCFA Nursing Home Without Capital Market Basket, as follows:

(A) Each nursing facility having indexed costs which are below the median shall be assigned a rate equal to their individual indexed costs plus an "efficiency incentive"

equal to ½ of the difference between the median and Standard A.

(B) Each nursing facility having indexed costs which are below Standard A but are equal to or exceed the median shall be assigned a per diem rate equal to their individual indexed costs plus an "efficiency incentive" equal to ½ of the difference between the nursing facility's indexed costs and Standard A.

(C) Each nursing facility having indexed costs which are between Standard A and Standard B shall be assigned a rate equal to Standard A plus ½ of the difference between the nursing facility's indexed costs and Standard A.

(D) Each nursing facility having indexed costs which exceed Standard B shall be assigned a rate as if their costs equaled Standard B. These nursing facilities shall be assigned a per diem rate equal to Standard A plus ½ of the difference between Standard A and Standard B.

(E) For purposes of subparagraphs (A) through (D), the median represents the indexed administrative and general per diem costs of a nursing facility that contains the medianth resident day in the array of such costs during the base year in the geographic region.

(b) REBASING.—Not less than annually, the Secretary shall rebase the payment rates for administrative and general costs.

SEC. 210. PAYMENT FOR FEE-FOR-SERVICE ANCILLARY SERVICES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall make payments for the ancillary services described in section 206(a)(3) on a prospective fee-for-service basis.

(b) PAYMENT METHODOLOGY.—The Secretary shall identify the fee for each of the fee-for-service ancillary services for a particular nursing facility by dividing the nursing facility's reasonable costs, including overhead allocated through the cost finding process, of providing each particular service, indexed forward using the DRI McGraw-Hill HCFA Nursing Home Without Capital Market Basket, by the units of the particular service provided by the nursing facility during the cost year.

(c) COMPUTATION PERIOD.—The fee for each of the fee-for-service ancillary services shall be calculated by the Secretary under this title at least once a year for each facility and ancillary service.

SEC. 211. REIMBURSEMENT OF SELECTED ANCILLARY SERVICES AND OTHER COSTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Reimbursement of selected ancillary services and other costs identified in section 206(a)(4) of this title shall be reimbursed by the Secretary on a retrospective basis as pass-through costs, including overhead allocated through the cost-finding process.

(b) CHARGE-BASED INTERIM RATES.—The Secretary shall set charge-based interim rates for selected ancillary services and other costs for each nursing facility providing such services. Any overpayments or underpayments resulting from the difference between the interim and final settlement rates shall be either refunded by the nursing facility or paid to the nursing facility following submission of a timely filed medicare cost report.

SEC. 212. PER DIEM PAYMENT FOR PROPERTY COSTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall make a per diem payment for property costs based on a gross rental system. The amount of the payment shall be determined as follows:

(1) BUILDING AND FIXED EQUIPMENT VALUE.—In the case of a new facility in any geographic region, the cost for building and fixed equipment used in determining the gross rental shall be equivalent to the me-

dian cost of home construction in the region (as measured by RS Means). Such cost shall then be multiplied by the factor 1.2 to account for land and the value of movable equipment. The resulting value shall be indexed each year using the RS Means Construction Cost Index.

(2) AGE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The gross rental system establishes a facility's value based on its age. The older the facility, the less its value. Additions, replacements, and renovations shall be recognized by lowering the age of the facility and, thus, increasing the facility's value. Existing facilities, 1 year or older, shall be valued at the new bed value less 2 percent per year according to the "age" of the facility. Facilities shall not be depreciated to an amount less than 50 percent of the new construction bed value.

(B) ADDITION OF BEDS.—The addition of beds shall require a computation by the Secretary of the weighted average age of the facility based on the construction dates of the original facility and the additions.

(C) REPLACEMENT OF BEDS.—The replacement of existing beds shall result in an adjustment to the age of the facility. A weighted average age shall be calculated by the Secretary according to the year of initial construction and the year of bed replacement. If a facility has a series of additions or replacements, the Secretary shall assume that the oldest beds are the ones being replaced when computing the average facility age.

(D) RENOVATIONS OR MAJOR IMPROVEMENTS.—Renovations or major improvements shall be calculated by the Secretary as a bed replacement, except that the value of the bed prior to renovation shall be taken into consideration. To qualify as a bed replacement, the bed being renovated must be at least 10 years old and the renovation or improvements cost must be equal to or greater than the difference between the existing bed value and the value of a new bed. To determine the new adjusted facility age, the number of renovated beds assigned a "new" age is determined by dividing the total cost of renovation by the difference between the existing bed value and the value of the new bed.

(E) STARTUP OF GROSS RENTAL SYSTEM.—To start up the fair rental system, each facility's bed values shall be determined by the Secretary based on the age of the facility. The determination shall include setting a value for the original beds with adjustments for any additions, bed replacements, and major renovations. For determination of bed values for use in determining the initial rate, the procedures described above for determining the values of original beds, additions, and replacements shall be used.

(3) TOTAL CURRENT VALUE.—The Secretary shall multiply the per bed value by the number of beds in the facility to estimate the facility's total current value.

(4) RENTAL FACTOR.—The Secretary shall apply a rental factor to the facility's total current value to estimate its annual gross rental value. The Secretary shall determine the rental factor by using the Treasury Bond Composite Yield (greater than 10 years) as published in the Federal Reserve Bulletin plus a risk premium. A risk premium in the amount of 3 percentage points shall be added to the Treasury Yield. The rental factor is multiplied by the facility's total value, as determined in paragraph (3), to determine the annual gross rental value.

(5) PER DIEM PROPERTY PAYMENT.—The annual gross rental value shall be divided by the Secretary by 90 percent of the facility's annual licensed bed days during the cost report period to arrive at the per diem property payment.

(6) PER RESIDENT DAY RENTAL RATE.—The per resident day rental rate for a newly constructed facility during its first year of operation shall be based on the total annual rental divided by the greater of 50 percent of available resident days or actual annualized resident days up to 90 percent of annual licensed bed days during the first year of operation.

(b) Facilities in operation prior to the effective date of this Act shall receive the per resident day rental or actual costs, as determined in accordance with HCFA-Pub. 15, whichever is greater, except that a nursing facility shall be reimbursed the per resident day rental on and after the earliest of the following dates:

(1) the date upon which the nursing facility changes ownership;

(2) the date the nursing facility accepts the per resident day rental; or

(3) the date of the renegotiation of the lease for the land or buildings, not including the exercise of optional extensions specifically included in the original lease agreement or valid extensions thereof.

SEC. 213. MID-YEAR RATE ADJUSTMENTS.

(a) MID-YEAR ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall establish by regulation a procedure for granting mid-year rate adjustments for the nursing service, administrative and general, and fee-for-service ancillary services cost centers.

(b) INDUSTRY-WIDE BASIS.—The mid-year rate adjustment procedure shall require the Secretary to grant adjustments on an industry-wide basis, without the need for nursing facilities to apply for such adjustments, based on the following circumstances:

(1) Statutory or regulatory changes affecting nursing facilities.

(2) Changes to the Federal minimum wage.

(3) General labor shortages with high regional wage impacts.

(c) APPLICATION FOR ADJUSTMENT.—The mid-year rate adjustment procedure shall permit specific facilities or groups of facilities to apply to the Secretary for an adjustment based on the following factors:

(1) Local labor shortages.

(2) Regulatory changes that apply to only a subset of the nursing facility industry.

(3) Economic conditions created by natural disasters or other events outside of the control of the provider.

(4) Other cost producing factors, except case-mix variation, to be specified by the Secretary in regulations.

(d) REQUIREMENTS FOR APPLICATION FOR ADJUSTMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—A nursing facility which applies for a mid-year rate adjustment pursuant to this section shall be required to show that the adjustment will result in a greater than 2 percent deviation in the per diem rate for any individual cost service center or a deviation of greater than \$5,000 in the total projected and indexed costs for the rate year, whichever is less.

(2) COST EXPERIENCE DATA.—A nursing facility application for a mid-year rate adjustment must be accompanied by recent cost experience data and budget projections.

SEC. 214. EXCEPTION TO PAYMENT METHODS FOR NEW AND LOW VOLUME NURSING FACILITIES.

(a) DEFINITION OF LOW VOLUME NURSING FACILITY.—In this title, the term "low volume nursing facility" means a nursing facility having fewer than 2,500 medicare part A resident days per year.

(b) DEFINITION OF NEW NURSING FACILITY.—In this title, the term "new nursing facility" means a newly constructed, licensed, and certified nursing facility or a nursing facility that is in its first 3 years of operation as a provider of services under part A of the

medicare program under title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.). A nursing facility that has operated for more than 3 years but has a change of ownership shall not constitute a new facility.

(c) OPTION FOR LOW VOLUME NURSING FACILITIES.—A Low volume nursing facility shall have the option of submitting a cost report to the Secretary to receive retrospective payment for all of the cost centers, other than the property cost center, or accepting a per diem rate which shall be based on the sum of—

(1) the median indexed resident day facility unit value for the appropriate geographic region for the nursing service cost center during the base year as identified in section 208(b)(2) of this title;

(2) the median indexed resident day administrative and general per diem costs of all nursing facilities in the appropriate geographic region as identified in section 209(a)(5)(E) of this title;

(3) the median indexed resident day costs per unit of service for fee-for-service ancillary services obtained using the cost information from the nursing facilities in the appropriate geographic region during the base year, excluding low volume and new nursing facilities, and based on an array of such costs from lowest to highest; and

(4) the median indexed resident day per diem costs for selected ancillary services and other costs obtained using information from the nursing facilities in the appropriate geographic region during the base year, excluding low volume and new nursing facilities, and based on an array of such costs from lowest to highest.

(d) OPTION FOR NEW NURSING FACILITIES.—New nursing facilities shall have the option of being paid by the Secretary on a retrospective cost pass-through basis for all costs centers, or in accordance with subsection (c).

SEC. 215. APPEAL PROCEDURES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) APPEAL.—Any person or legal entity aggrieved by a decision of the Secretary under this title, and which results in an amount in controversy of \$10,000 or more, shall have the right to appeal such decision directly to the Provider Reimbursement Review Board (in this section referred to as "the Board") authorized under section 1878 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395oo).

(2) AMOUNT IN CONTROVERSY.—The \$10,000 amount in controversy referred to in paragraph (1) shall be computed in accordance with 42 C.F.R. 405.1839.

(b) HEARINGS.—Any appeals to and any hearings before the Board under this title shall follow the procedures under section 1878 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395oo) and the regulations contained in (42 C.F.R. 405.1841-1889), except to the extent that they conflict with, or are inapplicable on account of, any other provision of this title.

SEC. 216. TRANSITION PERIOD.

The Prospective Payment System described in this title shall be phased in over a 3 year period using the following blended rate:

(1) For the first year that the provisions of this title are in effect, 25 percent of the payment rates will be based on the Prospective Payment System under this title and 75 percent will remain based upon reasonable cost reimbursement.

(2) For the second year that the provisions of this title are in effect, 50 percent of the payment rates will be based on the Prospective Payment System under this title and 50 percent based upon reasonable cost reimbursement.

(3) For the third year that the provisions of this title are in effect, 75 percent of the pay-

ment rates will be based on the Prospective Payment System under this title and 25 percent based upon reasonable cost reimbursement.

(4) For the fourth year that the provisions of this title are in effect and for all subsequent years, the payment rates will be based solely on the Prospective Payment System under this title.

SEC. 217. EFFECTIVE DATE; INCONSISTENT PROVISIONS.

(a) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The provisions of this title shall take effect on October 1, 1998.

(b) INCONSISTENT PROVISIONS.—The provisions contained in this title shall supersede any other provisions of title XVIII or XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq. 1396 et seq.) which are inconsistent with such provisions.

TITLE III—ADDITIONAL MEDICARE PROVISIONS

SEC. 301. ELIMINATION OF FORMULA-DRIVEN OVERPAYMENTS FOR CERTAIN OUTPATIENT HOSPITAL SERVICES.

(a) AMBULATORY SURGICAL CENTER PROCEDURES.—Section 1833(i)(3)(B)(i)(II) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l(i)(3)(B)(i)(II)) is amended—

(1) by striking "of 80 percent"; and

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting the following: " , less the amount a provider may charge as described in clause (ii) of section 1866(a)(2)(A). "

(b) RADIOLOGY SERVICES AND DIAGNOSTIC PROCEDURES.—Section 1833(n)(1)(B)(i)(II) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l(n)(1)(B)(i)(II)) is amended—

(1) by striking "of 80 percent"; and

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting the following: " , less the amount a provider may charge as described in clause (ii) of section 1866(a)(2)(A). "

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to services furnished during portions of cost reporting periods occurring on or after July 1, 1997.

SEC. 302. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF CERTAIN SECONDARY PAYER PROVISIONS.

(a) WORKING DISABLED.—Section 1862(b)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395y(b)(1)(B)) is amended by striking clause (iii).

(b) INDIVIDUALS WITH END STAGE RENAL DISEASE.—Section 1862(b)(1)(C) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395y(b)(1)(C)) is amended—

(1) in the first sentence, by striking "12-month" each place it appears and inserting "18-month"; and

(2) by striking the second sentence.

(c) IRS-SSA-HCFA DATA MATCH.—

(1) SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.—Section 1862(b)(5)(C) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395y(b)(5)(C)) is amended by striking clause (iii).

(2) INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.—Section 6103(l)(12) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking subparagraph (F).

SEC. 303. FINANCING AND QUALITY MODERNIZATION AND REFORM.

(a) PAYMENTS TO HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATIONS AND COMPETITIVE MEDICAL PLANS.—Section 1876(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395mm(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"(a)(1)(A) The Secretary shall annually determine, and shall announce (in a manner intended to provide notice to interested parties) not later than October 1 before the calendar year concerned—

"(i) a per capita rate of payment for individuals who are enrolled under this section with an eligible organization which has entered into a risk-sharing contract and who are entitled to benefits under part A and enrolled under part B, and

“(ii) a per capita rate of payment for individuals who are so enrolled with such an organization and who are enrolled under part B only.

For purposes of this section, the term ‘risk-sharing contract’ means a contract entered into under subsection (g) and the term ‘reasonable cost reimbursement contract’ means a contract entered into under subsection (h).

“(B)(i) The annual per capita rate of payment for each medicare payment area (as defined in paragraph (5)) shall be equal to 95 percent of the adjusted average per capita cost (as defined in paragraph (4)), adjusted by the Secretary for—

“(I) individuals who are enrolled under this section with an eligible organization which has entered into a risk-sharing contract and who are enrolled under part B only; and

“(II) such risk factors as age, disability status, gender, institutional status, and such other factors as the Secretary determines to be appropriate so as to ensure actuarial equivalence.

The Secretary may add to, modify, or substitute for such factors, if such changes will improve the determination of actuarial equivalence.

“(ii) The Secretary shall reduce the annual per capita rate of payment by a uniform percentage (determined by the Secretary for a year, subject to adjustment under subparagraph (G)(v)) so that the total reduction is estimated to equal the amount to be paid under subparagraph (G).

“(C) In the case of an eligible organization with a risk-sharing contract, the Secretary shall make monthly payments in advance and in accordance with the rate determined under subparagraph (B) and except as provided in subsection (g)(2), to the organization for each individual enrolled with the organization under this section.

“(D) The Secretary shall establish a separate rate of payment to an eligible organization with respect to any individual determined to have end-stage renal disease and enrolled with the organization. Such rate of payment shall be actuarially equivalent to rates paid to other enrollees in the payment area (or such other area as specified by the Secretary).

“(E)(i) The amount of payment under this paragraph may be retroactively adjusted to take into account any difference between the actual number of individuals enrolled in the plan under this section and the number of such individuals estimated to be so enrolled in determining the amount of the advance payment.

“(ii)(I) Subject to subclause (II), the Secretary may make retroactive adjustments under clause (i) to take into account individuals enrolled during the period beginning on the date on that the individual enrolls with an eligible organization (that has a risk-sharing contract under this section) under a health benefit plan operated, sponsored, or contributed to by the individual’s employer or former employer (or the employer or former employer of the individual’s spouse) and ending on the date on which the individual is enrolled in the plan under this section, except that for purposes of making such retroactive adjustments under this clause, such period may not exceed 90 days.

“(II) No adjustment may be made under subclause (I) with respect to any individual who does not certify that the organization provided the individual with the explanation described in subsection (c)(3)(E) at the time the individual enrolled with the organization.

“(F)(i) At least 45 days before making the announcement under subparagraph (A) for a year, the Secretary shall provide for notice to eligible organizations of proposed changes

to be made in the methodology or benefit coverage assumptions from the methodology and assumptions used in the previous announcement and shall provide such organizations an opportunity to comment on such proposed changes.

“(ii) In each announcement made under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall include an explanation of the assumptions (including any benefit coverage assumptions) and changes in methodology used in the announcement in sufficient detail so that eligible organizations can compute per capita rates of payment for individuals located in each county (or equivalent medicare payment area) which is in whole or in part within the service area of such an organization.

“(2) With respect to any eligible organization that has entered into a reasonable cost reimbursement contract, payments shall be made to such plan in accordance with subsection (h)(2) rather than paragraph (1).

“(3) Subject to subsection (c) (2)(B)(ii) and (7), payments under a contract to an eligible organization under paragraph (1) or (2) shall be instead of the amounts that (in the absence of the contract) would be otherwise payable, pursuant to sections 1814(b) and 1833(a), for services furnished by or through the organization to individuals enrolled with the organization under this section.

“(4)(A) For purposes of this section, the ‘adjusted average per capita cost’ for a medicare payment area (as defined in paragraph (5)) is equal to the greatest of the following:

“(i) The sum of—

“(I) the area-specific percentage for the year (as specified under subparagraph (B) for the year) of the area-specific adjusted average per capita cost for the year for the medicare payment area, as determined under subparagraph (C), and

“(II) the national percentage (as specified under subparagraph (B) for the year) of the input-price-adjusted national adjusted average per capita cost for the year, as determined under subparagraph (D),

multiplied by a budget neutrality adjustment factor determined under subparagraph (E).

“(ii) An amount equal to—

“(I) in the case of 1998, 85 percent of the average annual per capita cost under parts A and B of this title for 1997;

“(II) in the case of 1999, 85 percent of the average annual per capita cost under parts A and B of this title for 1998; and

“(III) in the case of a succeeding year, the amount specified in this clause for the preceding year increased by the national average per capita growth percentage specified under subparagraph (F) for that succeeding year.

“(B) For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i)—

“(i) for 1998, the ‘area-specific percentage’ is 75 percent and the ‘national percentage’ is 25 percent,

“(ii) for 1999, the ‘area-specific percentage’ is 60 percent and the ‘national percentage’ is 40 percent,

“(iii) for 2000, the ‘area-specific percentage’ is 40 percent and the ‘national percentage’ is 60 percent,

“(iv) for 2001, the ‘area-specific percentage’ is 25 percent and the ‘national percentage’ is 75 percent, and

“(v) for 2002 and each subsequent year, the ‘area-specific percentage’ is 10 percent and the ‘national percentage’ is 90 percent.

“(C) For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the area-specific adjusted average per capita cost for a medicare payment area—

“(i) for 1998, is the annual per capita rate of payment for 1997 for the medicare payment area (determined under this subsection, as in effect the day before the date of enactment of the Long-Term Care Reform

and Deficit Reduction Act of 1997), increased by the national average per capita growth percentage for 1998 (as defined in subparagraph (F)); or

“(ii) for a subsequent year, is the area-specific adjusted average per capita cost for the previous year determined under this subparagraph for the medicare payment area, increased by the national average per capita growth percentage for such subsequent year.

“(D)(i) For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the input-price-adjusted national adjusted average per capita cost for a medicare payment area for a year is equal to the sum, for all the types of medicare services (as classified by the Secretary), of the product (for each such type of service) of—

“(I) the national standardized adjusted average per capita cost (determined under clause (ii)) for the year,

“(II) the proportion of such rate for the year which is attributable to such type of services, and

“(III) an index that reflects (for that year and that type of services) the relative input price of such services in the area compared to the national average input price of such services.

In applying subclause (III), the Secretary shall, subject to clause (iii), apply those indices under this title that are used in applying (or updating) national payment rates for specific areas and localities.

“(ii) In clause (i)(I), the ‘national standardized adjusted average per capita cost’ for a year is equal to—

“(I) the sum (for all medicare payment areas) of the product of (aa) the area-specific adjusted average per capita cost for that year for the area under subparagraph (C), and (bb) the average number of medicare beneficiaries residing in that area in the year; divided by

“(II) the total average number of medicare beneficiaries residing in all the medicare payment areas for that year.

“(iii) In applying this subparagraph for 1998—

“(I) medicare services shall be divided into 2 types of services: part A services and part B services;

“(II) the proportions described in clause (i)(II) for such types of services shall be—

“(aa) for part A services, the ratio (expressed as a percentage) of the average annual per capita rate of payment for the area for part A for 1997 to the total average annual per capita rate of payment for the area for parts A and B for 1997, and

“(bb) for part B services, 100 percent minus the ratio described in item (aa);

“(III) for part A services, 70 percent of payments attributable to such services shall be adjusted by the index used under section 1886(d)(3)(E) to adjust payment rates for relative hospital wage levels for hospitals located in the payment area involved;

“(IV) for part B services—

“(aa) 66 percent of payments attributable to such services shall be adjusted by the index of the geographic area factors under section 1848(e) used to adjust payment rates for physicians’ services furnished in the payment area, and

“(bb) of the remaining 34 percent of the amount of such payments, 70 percent shall be adjusted by the index described in subclause (II); and

“(V) the index values shall be computed based only on the beneficiary population who are 65 years of age or older and are not determined to have end-stage renal disease.

The Secretary may continue to apply the rules described in this clause (or similar rules) for 1999.

“(E) For each year, the Secretary shall compute a budget neutrality adjustment factor so that the aggregate of the payments

under this section shall not exceed the aggregate payments that would have been made under this section if the area-specific percentage for the year had been 100 percent and the national percentage had been 0 percent.

“(F) In this section, the ‘national average per capita growth percentage’ for a year is equal to the Secretary’s estimate (after consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury) of the 3-year average (ending with the year involved) of the annual rate of growth in the national average wage index (as defined in section 209(k)(1)) for each year in the period.

“(5)(A) In this section the term ‘medicare payment area’ means a county, or equivalent area specified by the Secretary.

“(B) In the case of individuals who are determined to have end-stage renal disease, the medicare payment area shall be each State.

“(6) The payment to an eligible organization under this section for individuals enrolled under this section with the organization and entitled to benefits under part A and enrolled under part B shall be made from the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund. The portion of that payment to the organization for a month to be paid by each trust fund shall be determined as follows:

“(A) In regard to expenditures by eligible organizations having risk-sharing contracts, the allocation shall be determined each year by the Secretary based on the relative weight that benefits from each fund contribute to the adjusted average per capita cost.

“(B) In regard to expenditures by eligible organizations operating under a reasonable cost reimbursement contract, the initial allocation shall be based on the plan’s most recent budget, such allocation to be adjusted, as needed, after cost settlement to reflect the distribution of actual expenditures.

The remainder of that payment shall be paid by the former trust fund.

“(7) Subject to paragraphs (2)(B)(ii) and (7) of subsection (c), if an individual is enrolled under this section with an eligible organization having a risk-sharing contract, only the eligible organization shall be entitled to receive payments from the Secretary under this title for services furnished to the individual.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section takes effect on October 1, 1997.

SUMMARY OF FEINGOLD LONG-TERM CARE REFORM BILL

LONG-TERM CARE SERVICES
Overall

This proposal would give States incentives to provide home and community-based long-term care services through a voluntary, capped grant for severely disabled persons, regardless of age or income. No entitlement to individuals would be created. States would be given greater flexibility and an enhanced federal match relative to the current Medicaid program.

Eligibility

Those meeting any of the following criteria would be eligible for the program:

Individuals requiring assistance, supervision or cuing with three or more activities of daily living.

Individuals with severe mental retardation.

Individuals with severe cognitive or mental impairment.

Children under 6, with severe disabilities.

In addition, States could set aside funds for individuals who may not meet any one of the above criteria, but who have a disability of comparable level of severity.

Services

States participating in the program would be required to provide assessment, plan of care, personal assistance, and case management services. Beyond that, States may also offer any other service that would help keep a disabled individual at home or in the community. (Such services might include home-maker services, home modifications, respite, assistive devices, adult day care, habilitation/rehabilitation, supported employment, home health care, etc.)

Financing

States choosing to participate in the program would receive capped grants, and would match the Federal funding with State funding. The State match rate would be 15% lower than their current Medicaid State match rate.

States would be allowed to charge copayments and establish deductibles for services based on income, except that no such payments could be charged to individuals with income below 150% of poverty.

Total grant funding of the Federal share of the long-term care grants would be \$3.75 billion over 5 years, and \$20.5 billion over 10 years.

In addition to the specific grants outlined in the new version, the measure also includes a directive to the Secretary of HHS to submit a proposal to Congress whereby States can retain 75% of the Federal Medicaid long-term care savings they achieve through this program (e.g., reduced institutional utilization).

Offsetting Savings

Extend Medicare Secondary Payer Program—savings of \$7.2 billion over 5 years, and \$18.1 billion over 10 years.

Eliminate Formula-Driven Overpayments—savings of \$9.1 billion over 5 years, and \$30.1 billion over 10 years.

Establish Prospective Payment System for Skilled Nursing Facilities—savings of \$7.7 billion over 5 years, and \$24.5 billion over 10 years.

Reform Medicare HMO Reimbursement Formula—savings of \$10.1 billion over 5 years, and \$93.5 billion over 10 years.

Total offsets: \$34.1 billion over 5 years, and \$166.2 billion over 10 years.

Net deficit reduction: \$30.4 billion over 5 years, and \$145.7 billion over 10 years.

By Mr. GORTON:

S. 880. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Dusken IV*; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

JONES ACT WAIVER

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that S. 880 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 880

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That notwithstanding sections 12106 and 12108 of title 46, United States Code, and section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920 (46 U.S.C. App. 883), as applicable on the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Transportation may issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Dusken IV* (United States official Number 952645).

By Mr. WYDEN (for himself and Mr. SMITH of Oregon):

S. 881. A bill to provide for a land exchange involving the Warner Canyon Ski Area and other land in the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

THE WARNER CANYON SKI HILL LAND EXCHANGE
ACT OF 1997

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce legislation authorizing an exchange of lands between the U.S. Forest Service, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and Lake County, OR. I believe that this exchange project is a win-win proposition for both the Federal Government and Lake County.

Under my bill, the U.S. Forest Service will deed about 290 acres of national forest land, comprising the Warner Canyon ski hill, to Lake County. In exchange, Lake County will deed roughly 320 acres of land within the Hart Mountain National Antelope Refuge to the Federal Government. The refuge is managed by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

The specific acreage offered by the county will be determined upon a specific appraisal of all the lands in order to provide for an equal value land trade.

While there is a commonly held notion that western ski areas resemble Oregon’s Mt. Bachelor or Colorado’s Vail, the fact is that there are many dozens of very small, financially marginal ski hills in the backyards of many small western towns. Warner Canyon is one of them.

The Warner Canyon ski hill has been operated by the nonprofit Fremont Highlanders Ski Club since 1938. It’s one of America’s last nonprofit ski hills. It has one lift—a T bar. It has 780 vertical feet of skiing. The ski area is about 5 miles from the town of Lakeview, which has a population of roughly 2,500.

The people of Lakeview believe that this legislation is necessary to keep the ski area viable. The Federal requirements for managing ski areas are more in tune with the Vails than the Warner Canyons. I’m told that under county ownership the liability expense alone should be reduced tenfold. The forest supervisor tells us that it costs the Forest Service about \$10,000 per year to administer the ski area permit, yet the area generates just more than \$400 per year in ski fee revenues to the U.S. Treasury.

I also want to emphasize the benefits of this bill to the Hart Mountain Antelope Refuge. As my colleagues well understand, too many of our national wildlife refuges contain private land inholdings over which the Federal Government has essentially no control. These lands can be sold or developed at any time. If Lake County were ever strapped for cash, it would certainly be their prerogative to sell these parcels to the highest bidder. With this acquisition we move closer to the permanent protection of this important Oregon wildlife refuge.

I am pleased to be joined in this effort by Senator GORDON SMITH.

At this time, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be printed in the RECORD the bill and my statement, a document from the Lake County Board of Commissioners entitled "Reasons to support Warner Canyon Ski Hill Ownership Transfer," and letters of support from the Fremont Highlanders Ski Club, Inc., and the Lake County Chamber of Commerce.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 881

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Warner Canyon Ski Hill Land Exchange Act of 1997".

SEC. 2. LAND EXCHANGE INVOLVING WARNER CANYON SKI AREA AND OTHER LAND IN OREGON.

(a) AUTHORIZATION OF EXCHANGE.—If title acceptable to the Secretary for non-Federal land described in subsection (b) is conveyed to the United States, the Secretary of Agriculture shall convey to Lake County, Oregon, subject to valid existing rights of record, all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to a parcel of Federal land consisting of approximately 295 acres within the Warner Canyon Ski Area of the Fremont National Forest, as generally depicted on the map entitled "Warner Canyon Ski Hill Land Exchange", dated June 1997.

(b) NON-FEDERAL LAND.—The non-Federal land referred to in subsection (a) consists of—

(1) approximately 320 acres within the Hart Mountain National Wildlife Refuge, as generally depicted on the map referred to in subsection (a); and

(2) such other parcels of land owned by Lake County, Oregon, within the Refuge as are necessary to ensure that the values of the Federal land and non-Federal land to be exchanged under this section are approximately equal in value, as determined by appraisals.

(c) ACCEPTABLE TITLE.—Title to the non-Federal land conveyed to the United States under subsection (a) shall be such title as is acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior, in conformance with title approval standards applicable to Federal land acquisitions.

(d) VALID EXISTING RIGHTS.—The conveyance shall be subject to such valid existing rights of record as may be acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior.

(e) APPLICABILITY OF OTHER LAWS.—Except as otherwise provided in this section, the Secretary of the Interior shall process the land exchange authorized by this section in the manner provided in subpart 2200 of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act).

(f) MAP.—The map referred to in subsection (a) shall be on file and available for inspection in one or more local offices of the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture.

(g) ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—The Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture may require such additional terms and conditions in connection with the conveyances under this section as either Secretary considers appropriate to protect the interests of the United States.

LAKE COUNTY BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS

Robert M. Pardue, Chairman; Jane O'Keeffe,
Kathleen Collins

REASONS TO SUPPORT WARNER CANYON SKI HILL OWNERSHIP TRANSFER

Lake County agrees to accept the ownership of 280+-acres of land which is the loca-

tion of the Warner Canyon Ski Hill with all encumbrance.

Lake County offers 320+-acres of land in the Hart Mountain National Antelope Refuge as the mechanism to equalize the value for the Federal Government.

Lake County desires to have the proposal completed by November 1, 1997 to allow this winter season to come under our ownership.

The exchange will benefit the U.S. Forest Service, Fremont National Forest by removing management costs that exceed return generated by the Special Use Permit to the Fremont Highlanders.

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service benefits by having ownership of 320+-acres of inholdings within the existing refuge boundary. (Lake County owns additional land within the refuge that can be sued to facilitate this proposal if necessary.)

The Fremont Highlanders Ski Club, operator of the ski area, benefits from lower cost of liability insurance, no cost operating permit and possible supplemental funding from special county recreation funds.

The Lakeview community benefits from the long term stable operation of the ski hill to provide family winter recreation opportunities, facilities for high school ski race team, part time seasonal employment opportunities during high unemployment periods.

Lake County acquires a parcel of land that is adjacent to an existing 40 acres of county land over which the ski lift crosses. This is an opportunity for the county to demonstrate its desire to support the recreation and tourism industry and possibly enhance and expand winter recreation potential. The county receives R.V. registration fee rebates from the State of Oregon for use at county owned park or recreation areas. The Warner Canyon Ski area will be eligible for supplemental funding from these funds.

ROBERT M. PARDUE, *Chairman.*

FREMONT HIGHLANDERS SKI CLUB, INC.,

Lakeview, OR, June 5, 1997.

CHARLES GRAHAM,

Forest Supervisor, U.S. Forest Service, Lake County Commissioners.

DEAR MR. GRAHAM AND LAKE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS: The Fremont Highlanders Ski Club is in full support of the land trade involving Warner Canyon Ski Area between Lake County, the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Warner Canyon Ski Area is one of the few remaining non-profit ski areas in the United States. The Fremont Highlanders have operated this ski area for over 50 years. However, increasing regulations, fees, and insurance costs have severely impacted our ability to operate. We believe the land trade will reduce our costs of operating our ski area and will allow us to better serve our communities recreational interests.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL SABIN,

President.

LAKE COUNTY,

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

Lakeview, OR, June 6, 1997.

BOB PARDUE,

Chairman, Lake County Commissioners, Courthouse, Lakeview, OR.

DEAR BOB. On behalf of the Lake County Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors, we would like to congratulate you on your recent decision to make a land trade with the Fremont National Forest, regarding the Warner Canyon Ski Area.

Maintaining the level of operation, to provide a quality skiing experience for recreational skiers in Southeast Oregon, has been a difficult challenge for the Fremont Highlanders Ski Club. Liability Insurance has been a real obstacle, as well as sporadic

snow conditions. Thanks to Collins McDonald Trust Fund, as well as other generous Lake County businesses and citizens, we have been able to financially survive.

Three years ago the chamber received a grant to promote winter recreation in Lake County. The success of Warner Canyon Ski Area is an important component to that promotion, which impacts the local economy during the usual slow months.

We are very supportive of this trade and look forward to many successful ski seasons in the future.

Sincerely,

BARB GOVER,

Director, Lake County Chamber of Commerce.

By Mrs. BOXER:

S. 882. A bill to improve academic and social outcomes for students by providing productive activities during after school hours; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

THE AFTER SCHOOL EDUCATION AND SAFETY ACT
OF 1997

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I rise to introduce the After School Education and Safety Act of 1997. This bill creates after school enrichment programs for kindergarten, elementary, and secondary school-aged students. Today's youth face far greater social risks than did their parents and grandparents. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, youth between the ages of 12 and 17 are most at risk of committing violent acts and being victims of violent crimes between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m.—a time when they are not in school.

My bill will help schools expand their capacity to address the needs of school-aged children between these critical hours. Since juvenile crime peaks at the close of the schoolday—we need to give children a safe and supervised place where they can use those hours to their best advantage. Education is a key component of success. This bill seeks to increase the academic success of students while working to improve their intellectual, social, physical, and cultural skills. For older students, programs will be available to prepare them for work force participation.

Schools receiving grants under the act must provide at least two of the following programs: Mentoring, academic assistance, recreational activities, or technology training. It is critical that we work with our Nation's children during their school years to create strong foundations in academics, technology, and other fields which will carry them into adulthood.

Schools will be able to work within their communities to design programs that meet the needs of the area. Activities authorized by the bill are to take place in a school building or another public facility designated by the school.

Mr. President, the best investment we can make in this country is in our children. I urge my colleagues to review this legislation and join me in making after school a safe time for our Nation's children.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the legislation be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 882

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "After School Education and Safety Act of 1997".

SEC. 2. PURPOSE.

The purpose of this Act is to improve academic and social outcomes for students by providing productive activities during after school hours.

SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Today's youth face far greater social risks than did their parents and grandparents.

(2) Students spend more of their waking hours alone, without supervision, companionship, or activity than the students spend in school.

(3) Law enforcement statistics show that youth who are ages 12 through 17 are most at risk of committing violent acts and being victims of violent acts between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m.

(4) Greater numbers of students are failing in school and the consequences of academic failure are more dire in 1997 than ever before.

SEC. 4. GOALS.

The goals of this Act are as follows:

(1) To increase the academic success of students.

(2) To improve the intellectual, social, physical, and cultural skills of students.

(3) To promote safe and healthy environments for students.

(4) To prepare students for workforce participation.

(5) To provide alternatives to drug, alcohol, tobacco, and gang activity.

SEC. 5. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

(1) SCHOOL.—The term "school" means a public kindergarten, or a public elementary school or secondary school, as defined in section 14101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 8801).

(2) SECRETARY.—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Education.

SEC. 6. PROGRAM AUTHORIZED.

The Secretary is authorized to carry out a program under which the Secretary awards grants to schools to enable the schools to carry out the activities described in section 7(a).

SEC. 7. AUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES; REQUIREMENTS.

(a) AUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES.—

(1) REQUIRED.—Each school receiving a grant under this Act shall carry out at least 2 of the following activities:

(A) Mentoring programs.

(B) Academic assistance.

(C) Recreational activities.

(D) Technology training.

(2) PERMISSIVE.—Each school receiving a grant under this Act may carry out any of the following activities:

(A) Drug, alcohol, and gang, prevention activities.

(B) Health and nutrition counseling.

(C) Job skills preparation activities.

(b) TIME.—A school shall provide the activities described in subsection (a) only after regular school hours during the school year.

(c) SPECIAL RULE.—Each school receiving a grant under this Act shall carry out activities described in subsection (a) in a manner that reflects the specific needs of the population, students, and community to be served.

(d) LOCATION.—A school shall carry out the activities described in subsection (a) in a school building or other public facility designated by the school.

(e) ADMINISTRATION.—In carrying out the activities described in subsection (a), a school is encouraged—

(1) to request volunteers from the business and academic communities to serve as mentors or to assist in other ways;

(2) to request donations of computer equipment; and

(3) to work with State and local park and recreation agencies so that activities that are described in subsection (a) and carried out prior to the date of enactment of this Act are not duplicated by activities assisted under this Act.

SEC. 8 APPLICATIONS.

Each school desiring a grant under this Act shall submit an application to the Secretary at such time, in such manner, and accompanied by such information as the Secretary may require. Each such application shall—

(1) identify how the goals set forth in section 4 shall be met by the activities assisted under this Act;

(2) provide evidence of collaborative efforts by students, parents, teachers, site administrators, and community members in the planning and administration of the activities;

(3) contain a description of how the activities will be administered;

(4) demonstrate how the activities will utilize or cooperate with publicly or privately funded programs in order to avoid duplication of activities in the community to be served;

(5) contain a description of the funding sources and in-kind contributions that will support the activities; and

(6) contain a plan for obtaining non-Federal funding for the activities.

SEC. 9 AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out this Act \$50,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1998 through 2002.

By Mr. GREGG (for himself, Mr. ROTH, Mr. FAIRCLOTH, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. SANTORUM, and Ms. COLLINS):

S. 883. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to encourage savings and investment through individual retirement accounts, to provide pension security, portability, and simplification, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

THE RETIREMENT INCOME SECURITY AND SAVINGS ACT OF 1997

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I am extremely pleased to rise to introduce the Retirement Income, Security, and Savings Act of 1997.

Mr. President, this bill represents the culmination of literally months of work by the Republican Retirement Security Task Force, which I chair. It embodies a collection of policies which would, if enacted, do a tremendous amount for a critical national need—to increase retirement saving and ultimately, therefore, retirement income for all Americans.

It has become almost axiomatic to state that America is in dire need of a qualitative increase in its level of retirement saving. None of the three legs of the metaphorical retirement stool—Social Security, employer-provided

pensions, and individual saving—are saving an adequate amount for 21st century retirement needs. Social Security is not really a savings program at all, but is rather funded on a pay-as-you-go basis, the surplus loaned to the Government, to be paid back from general revenues at a future date. Employer-provided pensions only reach half of the working population, and there are problems of underfunding facing even the portion that are covered. And, as a general rule, only a few Americans are putting away sufficient saving on their own initiative to meet their future retirement income needs.

I would like to take a few moments to describe the current details with respect to retirement income in America, and then how our package addresses those needs. Only then, I believe, can my colleagues fully appreciate the quality and importance of the policy recommendations that we are making.

The typical retired American today receives retirement income from a variety of sources. On average, 41.7 percent comes from Social Security, 20.5 percent from asset income, 20.1 percent from pensions, 14.8 percent is annually earned, and the remaining 3 percent comes from a variety of other sources, including welfare programs such as SSI and unemployment compensation.

I would stress that this is only an average picture. The reality varies greatly from American to American. We need to look at the oldest of Americans to see the future of an aging nation. Americans currently 80 and older receive 52.6 percent of their income from Social Security, whereas their pensions provide proportionally less—down to 15.3 percent. And, of course, they are less able to earn money at this age, thus earnings make up only 3.9 percent of their income.

I describe this situation because it dramatizes our future. Americans continue to have longer and longer life expectancies. The population aged 80 and older is growing faster than any other age group, proportionally. This are group currently receives inadequate pension and individual savings income, and has needed to rely more heavily on Social Security. The plain fact is that as America grows older, this group of Americans simply must have access to more in the areas of pension coverage and personal savings if they are to maintain a dignified standard of living.

The current national picture is also not equitable with regard to the treatment of women. Currently, women are almost twice as likely as men to live in poverty in their retirement years—a 15.7 percent poverty rate versus an 8.9 percent poverty rate for men. For women who are widowed or divorced, the picture is worse still—widows suffer a poverty rate of 21.5 percent, divorcees 29.1 percent. Thus, the task force placed high priority on including provisions designed to help women generate saving in their own name.

Also of note are the discrepancies in income sources between high-income

and low-income Americans. Among elderly Americans in the lowest quintile, Social Security constitutes 82.6 percent of their income. Their next biggest source is public assistance—SSI, unemployment compensation, and other such sources—which make up 9.1 percent of their income stream. Thus, poorest Americans would benefit the most from expansions of existing pension coverage.

Mr. President, it is, therefore, essential that this Nation pursue policies that increase pension and individual savings in the private sector. One added reason for this is the plight of Social Security. Thus far, Congress has not been willing to address Social Security's enormous unfunded liability. Under current practices, we will continue to pour the annual Social Security surplus into current Government consumption. We have no method to pay for Social Security's trillions in unfunded liability other than the promise of future Government taxation.

Although few are willing to admit it, it is clear from the projections that Social Security in the 21st century will not be able to deliver as large a share of the income of retired Americans as it does today. That is simply not possible when the projected worker-to-collector ratios for the program will hit only 2 to 1 within a generation. When the program is brought into balance, as it must be, what will happen to the millions of Americans who rely on Social Security for the majority of their retirement income? The answer, Mr. President, depends on how successful we are in providing for retirement income via other means.

Our task force approached these problems in as objective a fashion as we could. We decided early on that the problem was one of inadequate saving, instead of one of inadequate regulation, or inequitable distribution. Indeed, many existing regulations and distribution requirements have actually worked against the aim of expanded pension coverage, because they deter employers from providing it. The result is that many small business owners do not believe that they can afford to offer pension coverage. Mr. President, we must begin to make it easier—in fact, we must begin to make it attractive—for employers to offer pensions.

There is a single common theme that runs through the Republican approach to retirement security: Retirement income comes from retirement saving. It comes from nowhere else. Everything in our package aims at generating additional retirement saving in a reasonably direct way. Government must do more to encourage saving, and in many ways this is best done by doing less to discourage it. We have produced a package that would make it easier for additional retirement saving to occur, by facilitating saving via a broad variety of measures.

That is not to say that we did not identify areas of the law where there

were simply technical adjustments to be made. Often there are absurd regulatory inconsistencies in our pension structures. We penalize employers who do not properly fund pension plans, but on the other hand, we prevent others from funding the full amount of liabilities that they know are coming. Or we will treat employer contributions one way, but the contributions of the self-employed another way. There is a host of confusing, sometimes inconsistent, regulations in effect. We did our best to identify and to rectify such problems and inconsistencies in existing law.

This package seeks to increase saving through individual savings incentives, through employer funding of pension plans, through simplification, through expanded portability, through defined contribution plans, and through defined benefit plans. We attempted to increase savings on every front. We cast our net wide. Thus, we have a package that is a veritable smorgasbord of reforms, more than Congress could possibly enact this year. But we have produced a host of proposals that are each candidates for at least partial inclusion in budget reconciliation, and I believe that Congress would do well to favorably consider them.

Because we attempted to approach our task with this specific policy objective in mind—increasing savings—we did not set ourselves up to oppose every idea that originated in another place. The centerpiece proposals of our package—full IRA deductibility for every American, the WISE women's equity package, and the new SAFE defined benefit plan—are not included in the package of pension proposals offered by the minority party. But we did not reject some good technical corrections merely because they have appeared in the work of others. I believe that there is a basis for Congress to review the proposals offered separately by Republicans, and by Democrats, and to pursue many initiatives on which there is a broad area of common ground.

I would like to thank Majority Leader LOTT for convening the task force and for selecting me to be its chairman. I also wish to thank Senator LARRY CRAIG for his helpful coordination of the various Republican task force efforts. I wish to thank each of the members of the Senate Republican Retirement Security Task Force—Senators BOND, COLLINS, HUTCHISON, JEFFORDS, MURKOWSKI, ROBERTS, SANTORUM, FAIRCLOTH—but most especially Finance Committee Chairman Senator WILLIAM ROTH, whose work was absolutely instrumental to this drafting effort. I would like to single out Doug Fisher of Senator ROTH's staff for the technical advice and assistance that he provided to me and to my staff at every stage of this process.

It would be appropriate at this point to say a word of appreciation to Senator GRAHAM of Florida as well, for his parallel work in fashioning a biparti-

san package of pension reforms that I understand will be introduced later this week. Our Republican task force has communicated in open and good faith with his bipartisan group, and there have been times when we have found ourselves working on overlapping ground. Senator GRAHAM and his staff have made important and original contributions to a bipartisan effort to promote retirement security, and I believe that we can work with Senator GRAHAM and others in this coalition, throughout the reconciliation process and beyond, to pursue reforms of common interest.

Let me now turn to the specific provisions of our legislation.

Title I would establish a fully deductible IRA for every American. The IRA is becoming a cornerstone of national retirement policy, and the Federal Government should not deter anyone from participating by limiting or eliminating the tax deductibility of the option. We endorse the Roth/Breaux schedule of phasing out the limits on IRA deductibility by 2001, and of indexing the contribution limits for inflation. We would also create the option of the back-loaded IRA—in which contributions are taxed when they are made, instead of upon withdrawal—in order to mitigate the revenue implications in the near-term. Stimulating personal saving—making it attractive for every American to adopt the habit of contributing to an IRA each year—is an important first step toward meeting tomorrow's retirement income needs.

Title II is the WISE bill introduced earlier this year. Already this important piece of legislation has 25 co-sponsors. These women's equity initiatives include a strengthening of the homemaker IRA, permitting a homemaker to make a fully deductible IRA contribution, regardless of whether his or her spouse receives an employer-provided pension. In addition, we would permit individuals who take maternity or paternity leave to make catch-up contributions to their 401-(k) or similar plans for the time missed from work. And—the most creative part of our legislation—we would permit individuals who are absent from pension plan participation for an extended period to raise a child—to make additional contributions upon return, and to catch up for up to 18 years of absence.

The WISE legislation is extremely popular, and I do not need to describe it at length here. However, I would say that it recognizes an important principle too frequently unrecognized in our pension law: That individuals do not have the same opportunities to save at every stage of their lives. Frequently, the financial pressures of raising a child prevent parents from attending to their own retirement saving. WISE attempts to give some flexibility, to permit individuals to put away more money when, at last, they have the surplus income to do so.

Title III of our bill is targeted at expanding pension coverage in small

business. This, Mr. President, is a title of our legislation that is just as vital as the first two, for a number of important reasons. First, it is those individuals who work for small businesses who are most likely to lack pension coverage. Second, we felt it was very important in this legislation to do something to make defined benefit plans more attractive to employers. The task force concluded that removing impediments to defined contribution saving was extremely important, but we could not stop there: We needed to pursue parallel methods with respect to establishing pension coverage for individuals who do not have discretionary income to put into retirement savings.

Title III of our legislation begins with the SAFE plan—a fully portable, fully funded, defined benefit plan designed for small business. This legislation attempts to make defined benefit plans a more realistic option for small businesses, just as the SIMPLE plan did last year for defined contribution plans. Because SAFE is a method of creating a defined benefit plan without running into the problems with funding and complex regulation that have deterred small businesses from offering other defined benefit plans, it is good for employers. And because it offers a defined benefit funded by the employer, rather than dependent upon employee contributions, it is good for lower income employees.

In essence, the way SAFE works is this: An employer can choose to establish a SAFE plan that accrues at either a 1-percent, a 2-percent, or a 3-percent rate. What this means is that for every year the employee works, they get either 1 percent, 2 percent, or 3 percent of their salary as their defined benefit upon retirement. If, for example, the employee works for 25 years in a plan that accrues at 3 percent, then their retirement benefit will be 75 percent of working income. Everyone in the plan accrues at the same rate. So the employer can make a choice: If they fund at the lower rate—say, 1 percent—then they will diminish the size of their own pension benefits as well as that of their employees. By treating all employees equally, across the board, SAFE bypasses the need for complex non-discrimination requirements. Fair treatment is assured by the basic construction of the plan.

SAFE plans are fully funded by the employer. The employer must fund the benefits such that, when a 5 percent interest rate is assumed, enough will be present at time of retirement to pay the defined benefit. If the employer is able to do better, in managing the plan, then that 5 percent interest rate, then the extra goes back into the pension benefits. Annually, the plan is monitored to ensure that the employer has kept pace with that 5 percent rate. If not, then the employer must make a makeup contribution at year's end. So, in all events, the pension benefits are protected. It is annually assured that the promised benefits are fully funded,

and it is also possible that the beneficiary will receive more. Moreover, because each individual's pension benefit is fully funded in advance by a defined amount, it is fully portable—the benefit can travel with the employee easily when they switch jobs.

The SAFE plan gives a small business owner the opportunity to create a simple defined benefit plan that has the potential to provide large pension benefits—for both the employees and the employer. Because of that potential and its resulting incentive, and because of the protection from messy discrimination rules, SAFE plans will be an attractive alternative for small businesses. And by creating this alternative, we increase the opportunities for lower income individuals to receive defined benefit pension coverage that they might not be able to fund via a defined contribution system.

It will take too much of the Senate's time to list every aspect of our comprehensive legislation, but I invite Senators to review this and other provisions we have created to make pensions more attractive to small business owners in title III of the bill.

Title IV contains assorted measures to ensure pension portability. This is essential in a mobile society such as ours, in which pension coverage is lowest among short-tenured young workers, moving from job to job. We do not generate retirement saving if these pension benefits simply turn into a cash-out every time one changes jobs. Our legislation would protect plans that accept rollovers from disqualification, and also specifically facilitate rollovers between a large variety of plans—government plans, nonprofit plans, and others.

Title V of the legislation deals with pension security. We felt it was important to highlight our finding that pension managers have an obligation to comply with the intent of ERISA, which directs that they manage these plans with an eye solely toward maximizing the accumulation of pension assets, not pursuing an external purpose, whether social, political, or any other. Accordingly, we would eliminate the promotion of the Department of Labor's Economically Targeted Investments Program. The last thing that we want, Mr. president, is for pension managers to feel pressured into investing in any vehicles that they do not believe meet the best interests of future pension beneficiaries. To the extent that these economically targeted investments produce healthy, sound investments, they do not need promotion by the Department of Labor. To the extent that they do not, pension managers should not invest in them.

Also in title V, Mr. President, is an important provision that gradually increases the current limitation on full employer funding of pension liabilities. Right now, employers may fund for no more than 150 percent of current liability, even when they may know that future liabilities are accruing and must

be funded. This is short-sighted policy by the Federal Government, undertaken solely to protect the Federal balance sheet, by limiting the tax deductibility of pension contributions. I would argue that this existing policy, in the long run, does not even protect the Federal balance sheet, because ultimately, these liabilities must be funded, and the deduction therefore taken. It is better to permit employers to invest the money now, and to let that investment compound to meet future liabilities, rather than to forbid them from doing so, and thereby force them to make a larger contribution later—and then claim an even larger deduction. We must take a far-sighted approach to funding pensions, and not discourage proper pension funding simply because we are looking at a short-term budget window here in the Federal Government. Our provision would gradually increase the 150 percent limit, by 5 percent every 2 years.

Finally, title VI deals with another vital area of pension reform—pension simplification. In this title, Mr. President, Senators will find a host of changes that eliminate existing inconsistencies within law and regulation, as well as facilitating the use of electronic technology to replace cumbersome paperwork. I would draw the attention of the Senate to one particular provision here that would exempt Government plans from existing non-discrimination rules. These non-discrimination rules, Mr. President, were not designed for Government plans, and it has proved very vexatious to determine how to apply them in cases when the employer is a government body. I believe that many Senators have probably heard from administrators of State government retirement plans regarding the need to make this exemption permanent, and our bill would do so. This is one provision, Mr. President, that I believe we should seek to include in budget reconciliation this year.

Mr. President, I am very proud to introduce this legislation. Tax law in this area is complicated and dry—I have become too familiar with that these last months—but it is imperative that we shoulder the burden of reforming it to make it work more simply, and more effectively, to encourage greater retirement income saving. I have worked long and hard to create this legislation, and I believe that it represents a good comprehensive effort to enhance the future retirement security of millions of Americans. I thank the rest of the task force, and the majority leader, for this opportunity to lead in this important work, and I commend this legislation to the Senate for its favorable consideration.

By Mr. D'AMATO (for himself, Mr. KERRY, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. BRYAN, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mrs. MURRAY, and Mr. CHAFEE):

S. 885. A bill to amend the Electronic Fund Transfer Act to limit fees charged by financial institutions for

the use of automatic teller machines, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

THE FAIR ATM FEES FOR CONSUMERS ACT

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today with Senator KERRY as my primary cosponsor to reintroduce legislation to protect consumers from excessive and redundant fees imposed by automated teller machine [ATM] operators. I am also pleased that Senators BOXER, BRYAN, MOSELEY-BRAUN, MURRAY, and CHAFEE have chosen to join with me once again in cosponsoring this important initiative.

Mr. President, last year, I introduced legislation to eliminate ATM fees. At that time, some of my colleagues argued that consumers could always choose to go to an ATM that does not double-charge. I predicted then that if we permit this practice, eventually every bank will double-charge consumers would have no choice but to pay through the nose.

Last fall, I asked the General Accounting Office to examine ATM fees. I want to know how many banks are double charging and how much consumers are being forced to pay.

This morning the Banking Committee heard GAO's results. Their results detail the spread of the anticonsumer, anticompetitive, and anti-free-market practice—double ATM fees.

In a nutshell, this abusive practice is spreading like wildfire and consumers across the country are getting burned. When I received the GAO report, I was shocked to find that, in just over a year, the number of ATM's that double charge consumers has risen 320 percent since the end of 1995. That means that consumers have less and less of a choice when they need to use an ATM.

The GAO study also reveals that 54 percent of the ATM's in the United States are now double-charging. Soon consumers will have nowhere to turn. For that reason, I am reintroducing my bill, the Fair ATM Fees for Consumers Act.

Until April of last year, most consumers paid a fee, usually about \$1, to their own bank each time they used another bank's ATM. This fee was intended to cover the cost of the transaction. Now, in addition to that fee, the ATM operator may charge these consumers a second fee. This second fee can run as high as \$3 per transaction. Many consumers are forced to pay a total of \$3 or more just to take \$20 of their own money out of the bank. That's outrageous.

Double-charging was prohibited in most of the country until April 1, 1996, when Visa and MasterCard, which operate the two largest ATM networks, endorsed this practice. When the Banking Committee held a hearing on double ATM charges last summer Visa and MasterCard refused to appear. I intend to hold further hearings on this issue and I fully expect Visa and MasterCard to testify as to why they suddenly permitted this double charge which hurts consumers and community banks.

Recent estimates show that the average consumer is paying a whopping \$155 per year to use automated teller machines or ATM's. The average family will pay several times that amount. That's outrageous. The banks are making windfall profits from working people.

A transaction conducted at an ATM costs about 25 cents while the same transaction conducted by a teller in a bank branch costs well over a dollar. Realizing this, banks strongly encouraged their customers to use ATM's. ATM's appeared everywhere as banks cut bank on branches and teller service. ATM networks were formed when individual banks joined together and agreed to let each other's customers use any ATM in the network without paying any extra charges.

Now, banks are suddenly claiming that ATM's are no longer cost effective. They have decided to soak consumers with multiple fees every time they need to take money out of their accounts.

Banks report record profits in part by slapping customers and noncustomers with ever-increasing convenience fees. In many cases, consumers are forced to pay multiple fees for a single ATM transaction. Imagine, working men and women are paying two separate fees for the privilege of getting their own money.

This is a windfall for the banks. The consumer receives no additional benefit and the bank provides no additional service. A recent study by the U.S. Public Interest Research Group [U.S. PIRG] reported that banks will profit \$1.9 billion from ATM surcharges alone this year. This double charge is a free lunch for the banks and consumers are footing the bill. I am not opposed to banks making a profit, but double ATM fees unfairly exploit the consumer.

Banks argue that consumers have the freedom to go to an ATM that doesn't double-charge. But working people on their lunch hours, or late at night, have no time to hunt for a free ATM when they need cash. As the GAO reported, those free ATM's are getting very hard to find.

The people who are getting hit the hardest are the ones who can least afford it. While many Americans can simply choose to avoid extra fees by taking \$100 or \$200 every time they go to an ATM, many families struggling to make ends meet don't have that option. Senior citizens on fixed incomes and students with little money to spare are being forced to pay \$2 or \$3 just to take out \$20. A \$3 fee on a \$200 withdrawal is a nuisance, but taking a \$3 bite out of a \$20 withdrawal is outrageous.

Mr. President, double-charging is a monopolistic practice that eliminates competition and distorts the free market. Banks are using double ATM fees to squeeze small competitors out of business. Community banks, thrifts, and credit unions have customers who depend on access to other institutions'

ATM's. These customers now pay twice whenever they use an ATM. Large banks with many ATM's are exploiting this situation to lure away small bank customers. Eventually, small banks will not be able to survive. That's not competition, that's a monopoly.

When ATM's were first introduced, banks claimed that these machines would give consumers more choices and greater convenience. ATM's were supposed to reduce costs and the savings could be passed on to consumers. Today, when bank profits are at record highs, it is astonishing that banks cannot resist the temptation to squeeze consumers a little harder by doubling ATM fees.

I look forward to holding additional hearings on ATM fees during this Congress to provide opponents and proponents of the bill, including representatives of various States that are attempting to enact bans, an opportunity to participate in this debate. I hope my colleagues will join me in taking a stand against this predatory banking practice.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 885

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Fair ATM Fees for Consumers Act".

SEC. 2 DEFINITION.

Section 903 of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693a) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (10), by striking "and" at the end;

(2) in paragraph (11), by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

"(12) the term 'electronic terminal surcharge' means a transaction fee assessed by a financial institution that is the owner or operator of the electronic terminal; and

"(13) the term 'electronic banking network' means a communications system linking financial institutions through electronic terminals."

SEC. 3. CERTAIN FEES PROHIBITED.

Section 905 of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (12 U.S.C. 1693c) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(d) LIMITATION ON FEES.—With respect to a transaction conducted at an electronic terminal, an electronic terminal surcharge may not be assessed against a consumer if the transaction—

"(1) does not relate to or affect an account held by the consumer with the financial institution that is the owner or operator of the electronic terminal; and

"(2) is conducted through a national or regional electronic banking network."

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I am pleased to join my colleague, the chairman of the Banking Committee, in introducing the Fair ATM Fees for Consumers Act of 1997.

Today, in the Banking Committee, representatives of the U.S. General Accounting Office discussed the findings

of their report on the growth of ATM surcharges. It is a fascinating report, and I recommend our colleagues take a look at it. I will highlight some of the findings, especially as they pertain to my home State.

I will tell you, Mr. President, it is not often in the Banking Committee that passions run this high on a financial services issue. I have heard from officials of large banks who tell me that prohibiting ATM surcharges is tantamount to nationalizing our banking industry.

Mr. President, I do not believe that it is the business of the U.S. Senate to set prices and fees at banks and other financial institutions. I am a great believer in the free market—not the Federal Government—dictating fee structures. But there is a general sense of fairness that is being violated in this surcharge.

When a depositor opens an account, he or she knows the fees associated with transactions. It is current federal law—found in statutes like the Electronic Funds Transfer Act, the Truth-in-Savings Act, and the Truth-in-Lending Act—that mandates fees to be disclosed to the consumer. So, when we open a bank account, we know how much each transaction will cost.

But now, with this new surcharge, we are left in the dark. In the absence of disclosure law dealing with surcharges, we don't find out, in many cases, how much it will cost to use an ATM machine not associated with our particular bank until our statement appears in the mail, long after the ATM transaction is completed.

That is bad for consumers and it is bad precedent. And, as the GAO report testifies, the trend is not favorable. Historic mergers, consolidations, and acquisitions have taken place in the financial service industry. Bank lobby hours have been curtailed so drastically, and so many human tellers replaced by machines, that we are forced to use ATM's. This is the undeniable direction of the industry.

Mr. President, some of the biggest banks argue that ATM fees are an outgrowth of the convenience consumers derive from using ATM's. But I suspect that other forces are at play. Commercial banks posted record profits last year, surpassing the previous record-breaking year. This new fee is not needed to ensure that banks are profitable.

Mr. President, last year, a constituent of mine from Dorchester, MA, testified before the Banking Committee on this issue. He owns a profitable bank with one ATM machine. He runs the bank well and serves the community. But his small bank is no match for far bigger competitors. He contends that these surcharges are designed by the big banks to draw customers away from community banks. This may not be an issue of establishing prices and fees; this has all the coloration of an antitrust issue. I want to set the marker down clearly—the Congress needs to

do a better job in monitoring and preventing the trend of consolidation from running the smaller banks out of business.

In Massachusetts, the two largest banks own more than 62 percent of the ATM's in the Commonwealth. The GAO report tells us that, nationally, one-third of all ATM's are owned by large banks. So, Massachusetts has double the national concentration. And that is a critical measure, Mr. President. The GAO report found that ATM surcharges are more prevalent among larger banks, 98 percent of which own ATM's. Fifty-four percent of large institutions assessed a surcharge as opposed to 32 percent of smaller institutions. That is the static measure, which is significant enough, but the trend is even more disturbing. The number of ATM's assessing a surcharge has risen 320 percent in the past 13 months. The highest surcharge found was \$3 and the average surcharge is \$1.14, up from 99 cents last year.

I will say that I appreciate the fact that BankBoston—one of the two large banks in Massachusetts—does not impose surcharges at all. I also know that the Massachusetts Bankers Association is grappling with this issue, trying to find some accommodation, and I am willing to listen to its arguments on this issue. My mind is certainly open to alternatives to the current draft of our legislation. But, Mr. President, I must say that the findings of the GAO report do little to dissuade me that we must move forward to prohibit these surcharges.

I thank my friend, the chairman of the Banking Committee, for his leadership.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, I would like to congratulate my colleague, the Senator from New York, Senator D'AMATO, for his leadership on this bill, the Fair ATM Fees for Consumers Act.

Few Americans will quarrel with the issue this bill addresses: surcharging, or double charging consumers for a single ATM transaction, is unfair and unnecessary.

Many banks charge their customers for using foreign ATM's—those ATM's not owned by the customer's bank. These fees are disclosed to the customer in advance, allowing consumers to shop for and choose banks that offer the best package of services at the best price.

I don't have a problem with that kind of fee. Customers have that information well in advance, and at a time they can use it. If the services offered by banks fail to meet the customer's satisfaction, customers can take their business elsewhere.

Surcharging, however, undermines all that. Last April, the major computer networks allowed ATM owners to begin charging fees to customers using foreign ATM's. From that day, the floodgates opened, and now customers nationwide are being charged twice for the same transaction—first by their

own institution, and by the institution owning the ATM machine.

These costs are spreading. According to a recent General Accounting Office report commissioned by the Senator from New York, ATM surcharges have ballooned 320 percent since 1995.

One example of the surcharge boom is in my hometown of Chicago. Earlier this month, First Chicago NBD instituted surcharges, affecting 710 ATM's in the area. That decision, coupled with the 1,550 ATM's in the region already levying surcharges, now means that more than half of the 4,400 ATM's in the Chicago area have a surcharge.

Mr. President, if current trends continue, few ATM's will remain that have no surcharge, and consumers, despite surcharge warnings posted on the computer screen or on the machine, will truly have no alternative but to be charged twice for the same transaction.

I am aware that there are some costs to convenience. There are more than 122,000 ATM's around the Nation, almost 5 times the number in place a decade ago. Americans used ATM machines more than 9 billion times last year, accessing their bank accounts and other financial services 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. I know there are costs associated with deploying these new machines, handling increased transactions, and other maintenance and safety issues.

It should not be forgotten, however, that banks moved customers to ATM's because, compared to teller transactions, ATM's were cheaper. According to a Mentis Corp. study, an ATM cash withdrawal from an in-branch ATM costs an average of 22 to 28 cents, while the cost of a teller transaction is 90 cents to \$1.15. And in some cases, banks charge customers for completing transactions with a teller if those transactions could have been completed at an ATM.

Certainly ATM's are a convenience for customers, but the truth is that banks have deployed more ATM's because it means lower costs to banks.

I remember when banks paid their customers for the use of their money. Today, however, it's increasingly expensive for the average working family to manage even a simple banking account. Americans who make timely credit card payments, or no payments at all, face higher fees. Americans who avoid special banking services are considered unprofitable customers, and face higher fees.

Now, with ATM surcharges, Americans are discovering that they must pay banks an additional \$155 each year simply to access their own money.

The market is out of whack. The public knows this is unfair, and their visceral reaction is a response to market excess.

I am hopeful that the financial industry will take the necessary steps to remedy this problem. Otherwise, the Government has a duty to correct the abuse of double and triple charging

people for accessing their own hard-earned dollars.

It is time to stop nickel and diming the American pocket. That's why I'm pleased to be a cosponsor of this bill, and I urge its swift approval by the U.S. Senate.

By Mr. MCCONNELL (for himself and Mr. LIEBERMAN):

S. 886. A bill to reform the health care liability system and improve health care quality through the establishment of quality assurance programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

THE HEALTH CARE LIABILITY REFORM AND QUALITY ASSURANCE ACT OF 1997

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce the Health Care Liability Reform and Quality Assurance Act of 1997. This is virtually the same legislation as S. 454 that I introduced in the last Congress with Senators LIEBERMAN and Kassebaum. That bill was reported out of the Labor Committee and received the support of 53 Senators when it was added as an amendment to the product liability legislation. Ultimately, however, the amendment was withdrawn under the threat of a filibuster. I am very happy to, once again, be joining with Senator LIEBERMAN in this effort.

Health care liability is one issue on which there has been some bipartisan consensus about the need to make significant changes. This bill which I am introducing today with the cosponsorship and assistance of Senator LIEBERMAN represents this bipartisan effort.

The purpose of our bill is to promote patient safety, compensate those who suffer injuries fully and fairly, without enriching lawyers and bureaucrats, make health care more accessible, gain some cost containment in health care, strengthen the doctor-patient relationship and encourage medical innovation. Our present system, unfortunately, does none of the above.

First of all, patients don't get compensated. The Rand Corp. has reported that only 43 cents of every dollar spent in the liability system goes to the injured party. That means lawyers, experts, and court fees eat up a significant percentage of every dollar spent in the liability system.

Second, the prohibitive cost of liability insurance means some doctors won't provide care to those in our society who need it most. Half-a-million rural women can't get an obstetrician to deliver their babies. This problem, however, is not limited to rural areas. High malpractice premiums force doctors to avoid the practice of medicine in urban areas as well, making it more difficult for minority communities to get necessary care.

Third, companies that invent new products are discouraged under the current system from putting them on the market. Medical device manufacturers are finding it more difficult to

get raw materials to produce life saving devices because of the risk of lawsuits.

Fourth, doctors are less likely to explore risky treatment because of the proliferation of lawsuits. A doctor has a better than 1 in 3 chance of being sued during his practice years. And the likelihood of suit has nothing to do with whether the doctor was negligent. The General Accounting Office reports that almost 60 percent of all suits are dismissed without a verdict or even a settlement.

So, something is very wrong with our liability system, and our bill will help solve the problem. I have included a summary of the bill's provisions, and I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the bill and the summary be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I am hopeful that health care liability will get full consideration and action in this Congress. It is very important that we tackle this issue, and I look forward to prompt action.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 886

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Health Care Liability Reform and Quality Assurance Act of 1997".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—HEALTH CARE LIABILITY REFORM

Subtitle A—Liability Reform

Sec. 101. Findings and purpose.

Sec. 102. Definitions.

Sec. 103. Applicability.

Sec. 104. Statute of limitations.

Sec. 105. Reform of punitive damages.

Sec. 106. Periodic payments.

Sec. 107. Scope of liability.

Sec. 108. Mandatory offsets for damages paid by a collateral source.

Sec. 109. Treatment of attorneys' fees and other costs.

Sec. 110. Obstetric cases.

Sec. 111. State-based alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.

Sec. 112. Requirement of certificate of merit.

Subtitle B—Biomaterials Access Assurance

Sec. 121. Short title.

Sec. 122. Findings.

Sec. 123. Definitions.

Sec. 124. General requirements; applicability; preemption.

Sec. 125. Liability of biomaterials suppliers.

Sec. 126. Procedures for dismissal of civil actions against biomaterials suppliers.

Sec. 127. Applicability.

Subtitle C—Applicability

Sec. 131. Applicability.

TITLE II—PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH AND SAFETY OF PATIENTS

Sec. 201. Additional resources for State health care quality assurance and access activities.

Sec. 202. Quality assurance, patient safety, and consumer information.

TITLE III—SEVERABILITY

Sec. 301. Severability.

TITLE I—HEALTH CARE LIABILITY REFORM

Subtitle A—Liability Reform

SEC. 101. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) EFFECT ON HEALTH CARE ACCESS AND COSTS.—The civil justice system of the United States is a costly and inefficient mechanism for resolving claims of health care liability and compensating injured patients and the problems associated with the current system are having an adverse impact on the availability of, and access to, health care services and the cost of health care in the United States.

(2) EFFECT ON INTERSTATE COMMERCE.—The health care and insurance industries are industries affecting interstate commerce and the health care liability litigation systems existing throughout the United States affect interstate commerce by contributing to the high cost of health care and premiums for health care liability insurance purchased by participants in the health care system.

(3) EFFECT ON FEDERAL SPENDING.—The health care liability litigation systems existing throughout the United States have a significant effect on the amount, distribution, and use of Federal funds because of—

(A) the large number of individuals who receive health care benefits under programs operated or financed by the Federal Government;

(B) the large number of individuals who benefit because of the exclusion from Federal taxes of the amounts spent to provide such individuals with health insurance benefits; and

(C) the large number of health care providers who provide items or services for which the Federal Government makes payments.

(b) PURPOSE.—It is the purpose of this Act to implement reasonable, comprehensive, and effective health care liability reform that is designed to—

(1) ensure that individuals with meritorious health care injury claims receive fair and adequate compensation;

(2) improve the availability of health care service in cases in which health care liability actions have been shown to be a factor in the decreased availability of services; and

(3) improve the fairness and cost-effectiveness of the current health care liability system of the United States to resolve disputes over, and provide compensation for, health care liability by reducing uncertainty and unpredictability in the amount of compensation provided to injured individuals.

SEC. 102. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this subtitle:

(1) CLAIMANT.—The term "claimant" means any person who commences a health care liability action, and any person on whose behalf such an action is commenced, including the decedent in the case of an action brought through or on behalf of an estate.

(2) CLEAR AND CONVINCING EVIDENCE.—The term "clear and convincing evidence" means that measure or degree of proof that will produce in the mind of the trier of fact a firm belief or conviction as to the truth of the allegations sought to be established, except that such measure or degree of proof is more than that required under preponderance of the evidence, but less than that required for proof beyond a reasonable doubt.

(3) COLLATERAL SOURCE RULE.—The term "collateral source rule" means a rule, either statutorily established or established at common law, that prevents the introduction of evidence regarding collateral source benefits or that prohibits the deduction of collateral source benefits from an award of damages in a health care liability action.

(4) CONTINGENCY FEE.—The term “contingency fee” means any fee for professional legal services which is, in whole or in part, contingent upon the recovery of any amount of damages, whether through judgment or settlement.

(5) ECONOMIC LOSSES.—The term “economic losses” means objectively verifiable monetary losses incurred as a result of the provision of (or failure to provide or pay for) health care services or the use of a medical product, including past and future medical expenses, loss of past and future earnings, cost of obtaining replacement services in the home (including child care, transportation, food preparation, and household care), cost of making reasonable accommodations to a personal residence, loss of employment, and loss of business or employment opportunities. Economic losses are neither non-economic losses nor punitive damages.

(6) HEALTH CARE LIABILITY ACTION.—The term “health care liability action” means a civil action against a health care provider, health care professional, health plan, or other defendant, including a right to legal or equitable contribution, indemnity, subrogation, third-party claims, cross claims, or counter-claims, in which the claimant alleges injury related to the provision of, payment for, or the failure to provide or pay for, health care services or medical products, regardless of the theory of liability on which the action is based. Such term does not include a product liability action, except where such an action is brought as part of a broader health care liability action.

(7) HEALTH PLAN.—The term “health plan” means any person or entity which is obligated to provide or pay for health benefits under any health insurance arrangement, including any person or entity acting under a contract or arrangement to provide, arrange for, or administer any health benefit.

(8) HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL.—The term “health care professional” means any individual who provides health care services in a State and who is required by Federal or State laws or regulations to be licensed, registered or certified to provide such services or who is certified to provide health care services pursuant to a program of education, training and examination by an accredited institution, professional board, or professional organization.

(9) HEALTH CARE PROVIDER.—The term “health care provider” means any organization or institution that is engaged in the delivery of health care items or services in a State and that is required by Federal or State laws or regulations to be licensed, registered or certified to engage in the delivery of such items or services.

(10) HEALTH CARE SERVICES.—The term “health care services” means any services provided by a health care professional, health care provider, or health plan or any individual working under the supervision of a health care professional, that relate to the diagnosis, prevention, or treatment of any disease or impairment, or the assessment of the health of human beings.

(11) INJURY.—The term “injury” means any illness, disease, or other harm that is the subject of a health care liability action.

(12) MEDICAL PRODUCT.—The term “medical product” means a drug (as defined in section 201(g)(1) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 321(g)(1)) or a medical device as defined in section 201(h) of such Act (21 U.S.C. 321(h)), including any component or raw material used therein, but excluding health care services, as defined in paragraph (9).

(13) NONECONOMIC LOSSES.—The term “non-economic losses” means losses for physical and emotional pain, suffering, inconvenience, physical impairment, mental anguish,

disfigurement, loss of enjoyment of life, loss of consortium, loss of society or companionship (other than loss of domestic services), and other nonpecuniary losses incurred by an individual with respect to which a health care liability action is brought. Non-economic losses are neither economic losses nor punitive damages.

(14) PUNITIVE DAMAGES.—The term “punitive damages” means damages awarded, for the purpose of punishment or deterrence, and not for compensatory purposes, against a health care professional, health care provider, or other defendant in a health care liability action. Punitive damages are neither economic nor noneconomic damages.

(15) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

(16) STATE.—The term “State” means each of the several States of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

SEC. 103. APPLICABILITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subsection (c), this subtitle shall apply with respect to any health care liability action brought in any Federal or State court, except that this subtitle shall not apply to an action for damages arising from a vaccine-related injury or death to the extent that title XXI of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300aa-1) applies to the action.

(b) PREEMPTION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The provisions of this subtitle shall preempt any State law existing on, or enacted subsequent to, the date of enactment of this Act, only to the extent that such law is inconsistent with the limitations contained in such provisions and shall not preempt State law to the extent that such law—

(A) places greater restrictions on the amount of or standards for awarding non-economic or punitive damages;

(B) places greater limitations on the awarding of attorneys fees for awards in excess of \$150,000;

(C) permits a lower threshold for the periodic payment of future damages;

(D) establishes a shorter period during which a health care liability action may be initiated or a more restrictive rule with respect to the time at which the period of limitations begins to run; or

(E) implements collateral source rule reform that either permits the introduction of evidence of collateral source benefits or provides for the mandatory offset of collateral source benefits from damage awards.

(2) RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.—The provisions of this subtitle shall not be construed to preempt any State law that—

(A) permits State officials to commence health care liability actions as a representative of an individual;

(B) permits provider-based dispute resolution;

(C) places a maximum limit on the total damages in a health care liability action;

(D) places a maximum limit on the time in which a health care liability action may be initiated; or

(E) provides for defenses in addition to those contained in this Act.

(c) EFFECT ON SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY AND CHOICE OF LAW OR VENUE.—Nothing in this subtitle shall be construed to—

(1) waive or affect any defense of sovereign immunity asserted by any State under any provision of law;

(2) waive or affect any defense of sovereign immunity asserted by the United States;

(3) affect the applicability of any provision of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976;

(4) preempt State choice-of-law rules with respect to actions brought by a foreign nation or a citizen of a foreign nation;

(5) affect the right of any court to transfer venue or to apply the law of a foreign nation or to dismiss an action of a foreign nation or of a citizen of a foreign nation on the ground of inconvenient forum; or

(6) supersede any provision of Federal law.

(d) FEDERAL COURT JURISDICTION NOT ESTABLISHED ON FEDERAL QUESTION GROUNDS.—Nothing in this subtitle shall be construed to establish any jurisdiction in the district courts of the United States over health care liability actions on the basis of section 1331 or 1337 of title 28, United States Code.

SEC. 104. STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.

A health care liability action that is subject to this Act may not be initiated unless a complaint with respect to such action is filed within the 2-year period beginning on the date on which the claimant discovered or, in the exercise of reasonable care, should have discovered the injury and its cause, except that such an action relating to a claimant under legal disability may be filed within 2 years after the date on which the disability ceases. If the commencement of a health care liability action is stayed or enjoined, the running of the statute of limitations under this section shall be suspended for the period of the stay or injunction.

SEC. 105. REFORM OF PUNITIVE DAMAGES.

(a) LIMITATION.—With respect to a health care liability action, an award for punitive damages may only be made, if otherwise permitted by applicable law, if it is proven by clear and convincing evidence that the defendant—

(1) intended to injure the claimant for a reason unrelated to the provision of health care services;

(2) understood the claimant was substantially certain to suffer unnecessary injury, and in providing or failing to provide health care services, the defendant deliberately failed to avoid such injury; or

(3) acted with a conscious, flagrant disregard of a substantial and unjustifiable risk of unnecessary injury which the defendant failed to avoid in a manner which constitutes a gross deviation from the normal standard of conduct in such circumstances.

(b) PUNITIVE DAMAGES NOT PERMITTED.—Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (a), punitive damages may not be awarded against a defendant with respect to any health care liability action if no judgment for compensatory damages, including nominal damages (under \$500), is rendered against the defendant.

(c) PROCEDURE FOR DETERMINING PUNITIVE DAMAGES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In any health care liability action subject to this subtitle in which punitive damages are recoverable, the trier of fact shall determine, concurrent with all other issues presented in such action, whether such damages shall be allowed. If the trier of fact determines that such damages are allowed, a separate proceeding shall be conducted by the court to determine the amount of such damages to be awarded.

(2) SEPARATE PROCEEDING.—At a separate proceeding to determine the amount of punitive damages to be awarded under paragraph (1), the court shall consider the following:

(A) The severity of the harm caused by the conduct of the defendant.

(B) The duration of the conduct or any concealment of such conduct by the defendant.

(C) The profitability of the conduct of the defendant.

(D) The number of products sold or medical procedures rendered for compensation, as the case may be, by the defendant of the kind

causing the harm complained of by the claimant.

(E) The total deterrent effect of other damages and punishment imposed upon the defendant as a result of the misconduct, including compensatory, exemplary and punitive damage awards to individuals in situations similar to those of the claimant and the severity of any criminal or administrative penalties, or civil fines, to which the defendant has been or may be subjected.

(3) DETERMINATION.—At the conclusion of a separate proceeding under paragraph (1), the court shall determine the amount of punitive damages to be awarded with respect to the health care liability action involved and shall enter judgment for that amount. The court shall clearly state its reasons for setting the amount of such award in findings of fact and conclusions of law, demonstrating consideration of each of the factors described in paragraph (2).

(d) LIMITATION AMOUNT.—The amount of damages that may be awarded as punitive damages in any health care liability action shall not exceed 3 times the amount awarded to the claimant for the economic injury on which such claim is based, or \$250,000, whichever is greater. This subsection shall be applied by the court and shall not be disclosed to the jury.

(e) RESTRICTIONS PERMITTED.—Nothing in this Act shall be construed to imply a right to seek punitive damages where none exists under Federal or State law.

SEC. 106. PERIODIC PAYMENTS.

With respect to a health care liability action, if the award of future damages exceeds \$100,000, the adjudicating body shall, at the request of either party, enter a judgment ordering that future damages be paid on a periodic basis in accordance with the guidelines contained in the Uniform Periodic Payments of Judgments Act, as promulgated by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in July of 1990. The adjudicating body may waive the requirements of this section if such body determines that such a waiver is in the interests of justice.

SEC. 107. SCOPE OF LIABILITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—With respect to punitive and noneconomic damages, the liability of each defendant in a health care liability action shall be several only and may not be joint. Such a defendant shall be liable only for the amount of punitive or noneconomic damages allocated to the defendant in direct proportion to such defendant's percentage of fault or responsibility for the injury suffered by the claimant.

(b) DETERMINATION OF PERCENTAGE OF LIABILITY.—With respect to punitive or noneconomic damages, the trier of fact in a health care liability action shall determine the extent of each party's fault or responsibility for injury suffered by the claimant, and shall assign a percentage of responsibility for such injury to each such party.

SEC. 108. MANDATORY OFFSETS FOR DAMAGES PAID BY A COLLATERAL SOURCE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—With respect to a health care liability action, the total amount of damages received by an individual under such action shall be reduced, in accordance with subsection (b), by any other payment that has been, or will be, made to an individual to compensate such individual for the injury that was the subject of such action.

(b) AMOUNT OF REDUCTION.—The amount by which an award of damages to an individual for an injury shall be reduced under subsection (a) shall be—

(1) the total amount of any payments (other than such award) that have been made or that will be made to such individual to pay costs of or compensate such individual for the injury that was the subject of the action; minus

(2) the amount paid by such individual (or by the spouse, parent, or legal guardian of such individual) to secure the payments described in paragraph (1).

(c) DETERMINATION OF AMOUNTS FROM COLLATERAL SERVICES.—The reductions required under subsection (b) shall be determined by the court in a pretrial proceeding. At the subsequent trial—

(1) no evidence shall be admitted as to the amount of any charge, payments, or damage for which a claimant—

(A) has received payment from a collateral source or the obligation for which has been assured by a third party; or

(B) is, or with reasonable certainty, will be eligible to receive payment from a collateral source of the obligation which will, with reasonable certainty be assumed by a third party; and

(2) the jury, if any, shall be advised that—

(A) except for damages as to which the court permits the introduction of evidence, the claimant's medical expenses and lost income have been or will be paid by a collateral source or third party; and

(B) the claimant shall receive no award for any damages that have been or will be paid by a collateral source or third party.

SEC. 109. TREATMENT OF ATTORNEYS' FEES AND OTHER COSTS.

(a) LIMITATION ON AMOUNT OF CONTINGENCY FEES.—An attorney who represents, on a contingency fee basis, a claimant in a health care liability action may not charge, demand, receive, or collect for services rendered in connection with such action in excess of the following amount recovered by judgment or settlement under such action:

(1) 33½ percent of the first \$150,000 (or portion thereof) recovered, based on after-tax recovery, plus

(2) 25 percent of any amount in excess of \$150,000 recovered, based on after-tax recovery.

(b) CALCULATION OF PERIODIC PAYMENTS.—In the event that a judgment or settlement includes periodic or future payments of damages, the amount recovered for purposes of computing the limitation on the contingency fee under subsection (a) shall be based on the cost of the annuity or trust established to make the payments. In any case in which an annuity or trust is not established to make such payments, such amount shall be based on the present value of the payments.

SEC. 110. OBSTETRIC CASES.

With respect to a health care liability action relating to services provided during labor or the delivery of a baby, if the health care professional against whom the action is brought did not previously treat the pregnant woman for the pregnancy, the trier of fact may not find that the defendant committed malpractice and may not assess damages against the health care professional unless the malpractice is proven by clear and convincing evidence.

SEC. 111. STATE-BASED ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION MECHANISMS.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT BY STATES.—Each State is encouraged to establish or maintain alternative dispute resolution mechanisms that promote the resolution of health care liability claims in a manner that—

(1) is affordable for the parties involved in the claims;

(2) provides for the timely resolution of claims; and

(3) provides the parties with convenient access to the dispute resolution process.

(b) GUIDELINES.—The Attorney General, in consultation with the Secretary and the Administrative Conference of the United States, shall develop guidelines with respect to alternative dispute resolution mechanisms that may be established by States for

the resolution of health care liability claims. Such guidelines shall include procedures with respect to the following methods of alternative dispute resolution:

(1) ARBITRATION.—The use of arbitration, a nonjury adversarial dispute resolution process which may, subject to subsection (c), result in a final decision as to facts, law, liability or damages. The parties may elect binding arbitration.

(2) MEDIATION.—The use of mediation, a settlement process coordinated by a neutral third party without the ultimate rendering of a formal opinion as to factual or legal findings.

(3) EARLY NEUTRAL EVALUATION.—The use of early neutral evaluation, in which the parties make a presentation to a neutral attorney or other neutral evaluator for an assessment of the merits, to encourage settlement. If the parties do not settle as a result of assessment and proceed to trial, the neutral evaluator's opinion shall be kept confidential.

(4) EARLY OFFER AND RECOVERY MECHANISM.—The use of early offer and recovery mechanisms under which a health care provider, health care organization, or any other alleged responsible defendant may offer to compensate a claimant for his or her reasonable economic damages, including future economic damages, less amounts available from collateral sources.

(5) NO FAULT.—The use of a no-fault statute under which certain health care liability actions are barred and claimants are compensated for injuries through their health plans or through other appropriate mechanisms.

(c) FURTHER REDRESS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The extent to which any party may seek further redress (subsequent to a decision of an alternative dispute resolution method) concerning a health care liability claim in a Federal or State court shall be dependent upon the methods of alternative dispute resolution adopted by the State.

(2) CLAIMANT.—With respect to further redress described in paragraph (1), if the party initiating such court action is the claimant and the claimant receives a level of damages that is at least 25 percent less under the decision of the court than under the State alternative dispute resolution method, such party shall bear the reasonable costs, including legal fees, incurred in the court action by the other party or parties to such action.

(3) PROVIDER OR OTHER DEFENDANT.—With respect to further redress described in paragraph (1), if the party initiating a court action is the health care professional, health care provider health plan, or other defendant in a health care liability action and the health care professional, health care provider, health plan or other defendant is found liable for a level of damages that is at least 25 percent more under the decision of the court than under the State alternative dispute resolution method, such party shall bear the reasonable costs, including legal fees, incurred in the court action by the other party or parties to such action.

(d) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND EVALUATIONS.—

(1) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.—The Attorney General may provide States with technical assistance in establishing or maintaining alternative dispute resolution mechanisms under this section.

(2) EVALUATIONS.—The Attorney General, in consultation with the Secretary and the Administrative Conference of the United States, shall monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of State alternative dispute resolution mechanisms established or maintained under this section.

SEC. 112. REQUIREMENT OF CERTIFICATE OF MERIT.

(a) **REQUIRING SUBMISSION WITH COMPLAINT.**—Except as provided in subsection (b) and subject to the penalties of subsection (d), no health care liability action may be brought by any individual unless, at the time the individual commences such action, the individual or the individual's attorney submits an affidavit declaring that—

(1) the individual (or the individual's attorney) has consulted and reviewed the facts of the claim with a qualified specialist (as defined in subsection (c));

(2) the individual or the individual's attorney has obtained a written report by a qualified specialist that clearly identifies the individual and that includes the specialist's determination that, based upon a review of the available medical record and other relevant material, a reasonable medical interpretation of the facts supports a finding that the claim against the defendant is meritorious and based on good cause; and

(3) on the basis of the qualified specialist's review and consultation, the individual, and if represented, the individual's attorney, have concluded that the claim is meritorious and based on good cause.

(b) **EXTENSION IN CERTAIN INSTANCES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Subject to paragraph (2), subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to an individual who brings a health care liability action without submitting an affidavit described in such subsection if—

(A) despite good faith efforts, the individual is unable to obtain the written report before the expiration of the applicable statute of limitations;

(B) despite good faith efforts, at the time the individual commences the action, the individual has been unable to obtain medical records or other information necessary, pursuant to any applicable law, to prepare the written report requested; or

(C) the court of competent jurisdiction determines that the affidavit requirement shall be extended upon a showing of good cause.

(2) **DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION WHERE EXTENSION APPLIES.**—In the case of an individual who brings an action to which paragraph (1) applies, the action shall be dismissed unless the individual submits the affidavit described in subsection (a) not later than—

(A) in the case of an action to which subparagraph (A) of paragraph (1) applies, 90 days after commencing the action; or

(B) in the case of an action to which subparagraph (B) of paragraph (1) applies, 90 days after obtaining the information described in such subparagraph or when good cause for an extension no longer exists.

(c) **QUALIFIED SPECIALIST DEFINED.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—As used in subsection (a), the term "qualified specialist" means, with respect to a health care liability action, a health care professional who has expertise in the same or substantially similar area of practice to that involved in the action.

(2) **EVIDENCE OF EXPERTISE.**—For purposes of paragraph (1), evidence of required expertise may include evidence that the individual—

(A) practices (or has practiced) or teaches (or has taught) in the same or substantially similar area of health care or medicine to that involved in the action; or

(B) is otherwise qualified by experience or demonstrated competence in the relevant practice area.

(d) **SANCTIONS FOR SUBMITTING FALSE AFFIDAVIT.**—Upon the motion of any party or on its own initiative, the court in a health care liability action may impose a sanction on a party, the party's attorney, or both, for—

(1) any knowingly false statement made in an affidavit described in subsection (a);

(2) making any false representations in order to obtain a qualified specialist's report; or

(3) failing to have the qualified specialist's written report in his or her custody and control;

and may require that the sanctioned party reimburse the other party to the action for costs and reasonable attorney's fees.

Subtitle B—Biomaterials Access Assurance**SEC. 121. SHORT TITLE.**

This subtitle may be cited as the "Biomaterials Access Assurance Act of 1997".

SEC. 122. FINDINGS.

Congress finds that—

(1) each year millions of citizens of the United States depend on the availability of lifesaving or life enhancing medical devices, many of which are permanently implantable within the human body;

(2) a continued supply of raw materials and component parts is necessary for the invention, development, improvement, and maintenance of the supply of the devices;

(3) most of the medical devices are made with raw materials and component parts that—

(A) are not designed or manufactured specifically for use in medical devices; and

(B) come in contact with internal human tissue;

(4) the raw materials and component parts also are used in a variety of nonmedical products;

(5) because small quantities of the raw materials and component parts are used for medical devices, sales of raw materials and component parts for medical devices constitute an extremely small portion of the overall market for the raw materials and medical devices;

(6) under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 301 et seq.), manufacturers of medical devices are required to demonstrate that the medical devices are safe and effective, including demonstrating that the products are properly designed and have adequate warnings or instructions;

(7) notwithstanding the fact that raw materials and component parts suppliers do not design, produce, or test a final medical device, the suppliers have been the subject of actions alleging inadequate—

(A) design and testing of medical devices manufactured with materials or parts supplied by the suppliers; or

(B) warnings related to the use of such medical devices;

(8) even though suppliers of raw materials and component parts have very rarely been held liable in such actions, such suppliers have ceased supplying certain raw materials and component parts for use in medical devices because the costs associated with litigation in order to ensure a favorable judgment for the suppliers far exceeds the total potential sales revenues from sales by such suppliers to the medical device industry;

(9) unless alternate sources of supply can be found, the unavailability of raw materials and component parts for medical devices will lead to unavailability of lifesaving and life-enhancing medical devices;

(10) because other suppliers of the raw materials and component parts in foreign nations are refusing to sell raw materials or component parts for use in manufacturing certain medical devices in the United States, the prospects for development of new sources of supply for the full range of threatened raw materials and component parts for medical devices are remote;

(11) it is unlikely that the small market for such raw materials and component parts in the United States could support the large investment needed to develop new suppliers of such raw materials and component parts;

(12) attempts to develop such new suppliers would raise the cost of medical devices;

(13) courts that have considered the duties of the suppliers of the raw materials and component parts have generally found that the suppliers do not have a duty—

(A) to evaluate the safety and efficacy of the use of a raw material or component part in a medical device; and

(B) to warn consumers concerning the safety and effectiveness of a medical device;

(14) attempts to impose the duties referred to in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (13) on suppliers of the raw materials and component parts would cause more harm than good by driving the suppliers to cease supplying manufacturers of medical devices; and

(15) in order to safeguard the availability of a wide variety of lifesaving and life-enhancing medical devices, immediate action is needed—

(A) to clarify the permissible bases of liability for suppliers of raw materials and component parts for medical devices; and

(B) to provide expeditious procedures to dispose of unwarranted suits against the suppliers in such manner as to minimize litigation costs.

SEC. 123. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this subtitle:

(1) **BIOMATERIALS SUPPLIER.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The term "biomaterials supplier" means an entity that directly or indirectly supplies a component part or raw material for use in the manufacture of an implant.

(B) **PERSONS INCLUDED.**—Such term includes any person who—

(i) has submitted master files to the Secretary for purposes of premarket approval of a medical device; or

(ii) licenses a biomaterials supplier to produce component parts or raw materials.

(2) **CLAIMANT.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The term "claimant" means any person who brings a civil action, or on whose behalf a civil action is brought, arising from harm allegedly caused directly or indirectly by an implant, including a person other than the individual into whose body, or in contact with whose blood or tissue, the implant is placed, who claims to have suffered harm as a result of the implant.

(B) **ACTION BROUGHT ON BEHALF OF AN ESTATE.**—With respect to an action brought on behalf of or through the estate of an individual into whose body, or in contact with whose blood or tissue the implant is placed, such term includes the decedent that is the subject of the action.

(C) **ACTION BROUGHT ON BEHALF OF A MINOR OR INCOMPETENT.**—With respect to an action brought on behalf of or through a minor or incompetent, such term includes the parent or guardian of the minor or incompetent.

(D) **EXCLUSIONS.**—Such term does not include—

(i) a provider of professional health care services, in any case in which—

(I) the sale or use of an implant is incidental to the transaction; and

(II) the essence of the transaction is the furnishing of judgment, skill, or services;

(ii) a person acting in the capacity of a manufacturer, seller, or biomaterials supplier; or

(iii) a person alleging harm caused by either the silicone gel or the silicone envelope utilized in a breast implant containing silicone gel, except that—

(I) neither the exclusion provided by this clause nor any other provision of this subtitle may be construed as a finding that silicone gel (or any other form of silicone) may or may not cause harm; and

(II) the existence of the exclusion under this clause may not—

(aa) be disclosed to a jury in any civil action or other proceeding; and

(bb) except as necessary to establish the applicability of this subtitle, otherwise be presented in any civil action or other proceeding.

(3) COMPONENT PART.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “component part” means a manufactured piece of an implant.

(B) CERTAIN COMPONENTS.—Such term includes a manufactured piece of an implant that—

(i) has significant non-implant applications; and

(ii) alone, has no implant value or purpose, but when combined with other component parts and materials, constitutes an implant.

(4) HARM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “harm” means—

(i) any injury to or damage suffered by an individual;

(ii) any illness, disease, or death of that individual resulting from that injury or damage; and

(iii) any loss to that individual or any other individual resulting from that injury or damage.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term does not include any commercial loss or loss of or damage to an implant.

(5) IMPLANT.—The term “implant” means—

(A) a medical device that is intended by the manufacturer of the device—

(i) to be placed into a surgically or naturally formed or existing cavity of the body for a period of at least 30 days; or

(ii) to remain in contact with bodily fluids or internal human tissue through a surgically produced opening for a period of less than 30 days; and

(B) suture materials used in implant procedures.

(6) MANUFACTURER.—The term “manufacturer” means any person who, with respect to an implant—

(A) is engaged in the manufacture, preparation, propagation, compounding, or processing (as defined in section 510(a)(1)) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360(a)(1)) of the implant; and

(B) is required—

(i) to register with the Secretary pursuant to section 510 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360) and the regulations issued under such section; and

(ii) to include the implant on a list of devices filed with the Secretary pursuant to section 510(j) of such Act (21 U.S.C. 360(j)) and the regulations issued under such section.

(7) MEDICAL DEVICE.—The term “medical device” means a device, as defined in section 201(h) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 321(h)) and includes any device component of any combination product as that term is used in section 503(g) of such Act (21 U.S.C. 353(g)).

(8) RAW MATERIAL.—The term “raw material” means a substance or product that—

(A) has a generic use; and

(B) may be used in an application other than an implant.

(9) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

(10) SELLER.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “seller” means a person who, in the course of a business conducted for that purpose, sells, distributes, leases, packages, labels, or otherwise places an implant in the stream of commerce.

(B) EXCLUSIONS.—The term does not include—

(i) a seller or lessor of real property;

(ii) a provider of professional services, in any case in which the sale or use of an implant is incidental to the transaction and the essence of the transaction is the furnishing of judgment, skill, or services; or

(iii) any person who acts in only a financial capacity with respect to the sale of an implant.

SEC. 124. GENERAL REQUIREMENTS; APPLICABILITY; PREEMPTION.

(a) GENERAL REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In any civil action covered by this subtitle, a biomaterials supplier may raise any defense set forth in section 125.

(2) PROCEDURES.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Federal or State court in which a civil action covered by this subtitle is pending shall, in connection with a motion for dismissal or judgment based on a defense described in paragraph (1), use the procedures set forth in section 126.

(b) APPLICABILITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), notwithstanding any other provision of law, this subtitle applies to any civil action brought by a claimant, whether in a Federal or State court, against a manufacturer, seller, or biomaterials supplier, on the basis of any legal theory, for harm allegedly caused by an implant.

(2) EXCLUSION.—A civil action brought by a purchaser of a medical device for use in providing professional services against a manufacturer, seller, or biomaterials supplier for loss or damage to an implant or for commercial loss to the purchaser—

(A) shall not be considered an action that is subject to this subtitle; and

(B) shall be governed by applicable commercial or contract law.

(c) SCOPE OF PREEMPTION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—This subtitle supersedes any State law regarding recovery for harm caused by an implant and any rule of procedure applicable to a civil action to recover damages for such harm only to the extent that this subtitle establishes a rule of law applicable to the recovery of such damages.

(2) APPLICABILITY OF OTHER LAWS.—Any issue that arises under this subtitle and that is not governed by a rule of law applicable to the recovery of damages described in paragraph (1) shall be governed by applicable Federal or State law.

(d) STATUTORY CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this subtitle may be construed—

(1) to affect any defense available to a defendant under any other provisions of Federal or State law in an action alleging harm caused by an implant; or

(2) to create a cause of action or Federal court jurisdiction pursuant to section 1331 or 1337 of title 28, United States Code, that otherwise would not exist under applicable Federal or State law.

SEC. 125. LIABILITY OF BIOMATERIALS SUPPLIERS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) EXCLUSION FROM LIABILITY.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), a biomaterials supplier shall not be liable for harm to a claimant caused by an implant.

(2) LIABILITY.—A biomaterials supplier that—

(A) is a manufacturer may be liable for harm to a claimant described in subsection (b);

(B) is a seller may be liable for harm to a claimant described in subsection (c); and

(C) furnishes raw materials or component parts that fail to meet applicable contractual requirements or specifications may be liable for a harm to a claimant described in subsection (d).

(b) LIABILITY AS MANUFACTURER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—A biomaterials supplier may, to the extent required and permitted

by any other applicable law, be liable for harm to a claimant caused by an implant if the biomaterials supplier is the manufacturer of the implant.

(2) GROUNDS FOR LIABILITY.—The biomaterials supplier may be considered the manufacturer of the implant that allegedly caused harm to a claimant only if the biomaterials supplier—

(A)(i) has registered with the Secretary pursuant to section 510 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360) and the regulations issued under such section; and

(ii) included the implant on a list of devices filed with the Secretary pursuant to section 510(j) of such Act (21 U.S.C. 360(j)) and the regulations issued under such section;

(B) is the subject of a declaration issued by the Secretary pursuant to paragraph (3) that states that the supplier, with respect to the implant that allegedly caused harm to the claimant, was required to—

(i) register with the Secretary under section 510 of such Act (21 U.S.C. 360), and the regulations issued under such section, but failed to do so; or

(ii) include the implant on a list of devices filed with the Secretary pursuant to section 510(j) of such Act (21 U.S.C. 360(j)) and the regulations issued under such section, but failed to do so; or

(C) is related by common ownership or control to a person meeting all the requirements described in subparagraph (A) or (B), if the court deciding a motion to dismiss in accordance with section 126(c)(3)(B)(i) finds, on the basis of affidavits submitted in accordance with section 126, that it is necessary to impose liability on the biomaterials supplier as a manufacturer because the related manufacturer meeting the requirements of subparagraph (A) or (B) lacks sufficient financial resources to satisfy any judgment that the court feels it is likely to enter should the claimant prevail.

(3) ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may issue a declaration described in paragraph (2)(B) on the motion of the Secretary or on petition by any person, after providing—

(i) notice to the affected persons; and

(ii) an opportunity for an informal hearing.

(B) DOCKETING AND FINAL DECISION.—Immediately upon receipt of a petition filed pursuant to this paragraph, the Secretary shall docket the petition. Not later than 180 days after the petition is filed, the Secretary shall issue a final decision on the petition.

(C) APPLICABILITY OF STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—Any applicable statute of limitations shall toll during the period during which a claimant has filed a petition with the Secretary under this paragraph.

(c) LIABILITY AS SELLER.—A biomaterials supplier may, to the extent required and permitted by any other applicable law, be liable as a seller for harm to a claimant caused by an implant if—

(1) the biomaterials supplier—

(A) held title to the implant that allegedly caused harm to the claimant as a result of purchasing the implant after—

(i) the manufacture of the implant; and

(ii) the entrance of the implant in the stream of commerce; and

(B) subsequently resold the implant; or

(2) the biomaterials supplier is related by common ownership or control to a person meeting all the requirements described in paragraph (1), if a court deciding a motion to dismiss in accordance with section 126(c)(3)(B)(ii) finds, on the basis of affidavits submitted in accordance with section 126, that it is necessary to impose liability on the biomaterials supplier as a seller because the related seller meeting the requirements

of paragraph (1) lacks sufficient financial resources to satisfy any judgment that the court feels it is likely to enter should the claimant prevail.

(d) **LIABILITY FOR VIOLATING CONTRACTUAL REQUIREMENTS OR SPECIFICATIONS.**—A biomaterials supplier may, to the extent required and permitted by any other applicable law, be liable for harm to a claimant caused by an implant, if the claimant in an action shows, by a preponderance of the evidence, that—

(1) the raw materials or component parts delivered by the biomaterials supplier either—

(A) did not constitute the product described in the contract between the biomaterials supplier and the person who contracted for delivery of the product; or

(B) failed to meet any specifications that were—

(i) provided to the biomaterials supplier and not expressly repudiated by the biomaterials supplier prior to acceptance of delivery of the raw materials or component parts;

(ii)(I) published by the biomaterials supplier;

(II) provided to the manufacturer by the biomaterials supplier; or

(III) contained in a master file that was submitted by the biomaterials supplier to the Secretary and that is currently maintained by the biomaterials supplier for purposes of premarket approval of medical devices; or

(iii) included in the submissions for purposes of premarket approval or review by the Secretary under section 510, 513, 515, or 520 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360, 360c, 360e, or 360j), and received clearance from the Secretary if such specifications were provided by the manufacturer to the biomaterials supplier and were not expressly repudiated by the biomaterials supplier prior to the acceptance by the manufacturer of delivery of the raw materials or component parts; and

(2) such conduct was an actual and proximate cause of the harm to the claimant.

SEC. 126. PROCEDURES FOR DISMISSAL OF CIVIL ACTIONS AGAINST BIOMATERIALS SUPPLIERS.

(a) **MOTION TO DISMISS.**—In any action that is subject to this subtitle, a biomaterials supplier who is a defendant in such action may, at any time during which a motion to dismiss may be filed under an applicable law, move to dismiss the action against it on the grounds that—

(1) the defendant is a biomaterials supplier; and

(2)(A) the defendant should not, for the purposes of—

(i) section 125(b), be considered to be a manufacturer of the implant that is subject to such section; or

(ii) section 125(c), be considered to be a seller of the implant that allegedly caused harm to the claimant; or

(B)(i) the claimant has failed to establish, pursuant to section 125(d), that the supplier furnished raw materials or component parts in violation of contractual requirements or specifications; or

(ii) the claimant has failed to comply with the procedural requirements of subsection (b).

(b) **MANUFACTURER OF IMPLANT SHALL BE NAMED A PARTY.**—The claimant shall be required to name the manufacturer of the implant as a party to the action, unless—

(1) the manufacturer is subject to service of process solely in a jurisdiction in which the biomaterials supplier is not domiciled or subject to a service of process; or

(2) an action against the manufacturer is barred by applicable law.

(c) **PROCEEDING ON MOTION TO DISMISS.**—The following rules shall apply to any pro-

ceeding on a motion to dismiss filed under this section:

(1) **AFFIDAVITS RELATING TO LISTING AND DECLARATIONS.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The defendant in the action may submit an affidavit demonstrating that defendant has not included the implant on a list, if any, filed with the Secretary pursuant to section 510(j) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360(j)).

(B) **RESPONSE TO MOTION TO DISMISS.**—In response to the motion to dismiss, the claimant may submit an affidavit demonstrating that—

(i) the Secretary has, with respect to the defendant and the implant that allegedly caused harm to the claimant, issued a declaration pursuant to section 125(b)(2)(B); or

(ii) the defendant who filed the motion to dismiss is a seller of the implant who is liable under section 125(c).

(2) **EFFECT OF MOTION TO DISMISS ON DISCOVERY.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—If a defendant files a motion to dismiss under paragraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a), no discovery shall be permitted in connection to the action that is the subject of the motion, other than discovery necessary to determine a motion to dismiss for lack of jurisdiction, until such time as the court rules on the motion to dismiss in accordance with the affidavits submitted by the parties in accordance with this section.

(B) **DISCOVERY.**—If a defendant files a motion to dismiss under subsection (a)(2)(B)(i) on the grounds that the biomaterials supplier did not furnish raw materials or component parts in violation of contractual requirements or specifications, the court may permit discovery, as ordered by the court. The discovery conducted pursuant to this subparagraph shall be limited to issues that are directly relevant to—

(i) the pending motion to dismiss; or

(ii) the jurisdiction of the court.

(3) **AFFIDAVITS RELATING STATUS OF DEFENDANT.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in clauses (i) and (ii) of subparagraph (B), the court shall consider a defendant to be a biomaterials supplier who is not subject to an action for harm to a claimant caused by an implant, other than an action relating to liability for a violation of contractual requirements or specifications described in subsection (d).

(B) **RESPONSES TO MOTION TO DISMISS.**—The court shall grant a motion to dismiss any action that asserts liability of the defendant under subsection (b) or (c) of section 125 on the grounds that the defendant is not a manufacturer subject to such section 125(b) or seller subject to section 125(c), unless the claimant submits a valid affidavit that demonstrates that—

(i) with respect to a motion to dismiss contending the defendant is not a manufacturer, the defendant meets the applicable requirements for liability as a manufacturer under section 125(b); or

(ii) with respect to a motion to dismiss contending that the defendant is not a seller, the defendant meets the applicable requirements for liability as a seller under section 125(c).

(4) **BASIS OF RULING ON MOTION TO DISMISS.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The court shall rule on a motion to dismiss filed under subsection (a) solely on the basis of the pleadings of the parties made pursuant to this section and any affidavits submitted by the parties pursuant to this section.

(B) **MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT.**—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, if the court determines that the pleadings and affidavits made by parties pursuant to this section raise genuine issues as concerning

material facts with respect to a motion concerning contractual requirements and specifications, the court may deem the motion to dismiss to be a motion for summary judgment made pursuant to subsection (d).

(d) **SUMMARY JUDGMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—

(A) **BASIS FOR ENTRY OF JUDGMENT.**—A biomaterials supplier shall be entitled to entry of judgment without trial if the court finds there is no genuine issue as concerning any material fact for each applicable element set forth in paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 125(d).

(B) **ISSUES OF MATERIAL FACT.**—With respect to a finding made under subparagraph (A), the court shall consider a genuine issue of material fact to exist only if the evidence submitted by claimant would be sufficient to allow a reasonable jury to reach a verdict for the claimant if the jury found the evidence to be credible.

(2) **DISCOVERY MADE PRIOR TO A RULING ON A MOTION FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT.**—If, under applicable rules, the court permits discovery prior to a ruling on a motion for summary judgment made pursuant to this subsection, such discovery shall be limited solely to establishing whether a genuine issue of material fact exists as to the applicable elements set forth in paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 125(d).

(3) **DISCOVERY WITH RESPECT TO A BIOMATERIALS SUPPLIER.**—A biomaterials supplier shall be subject to discovery in connection with a motion seeking dismissal or summary judgment on the basis of the inapplicability of section 125(d) or the failure to establish the applicable elements of section 125(d) solely to the extent permitted by the applicable Federal or State rules for discovery against nonparties.

(e) **STAY PENDING PETITION FOR DECLARATION.**—If a claimant has filed a petition for a declaration pursuant to section 125(b)(3)(A) with respect to a defendant, and the Secretary has not issued a final decision on the petition, the court shall stay all proceedings with respect to that defendant until such time as the Secretary has issued a final decision on the petition.

(f) **MANUFACTURER CONDUCT OF PROCEEDING.**—The manufacturer of an implant that is the subject of an action covered under this subtitle shall be permitted to file and conduct a proceeding on any motion for summary judgment or dismissal filed by a biomaterials supplier who is a defendant under this section if the manufacturer and any other defendant in such action enter into a valid and applicable contractual agreement under which the manufacturer agrees to bear the cost of such proceeding or to conduct such proceeding.

(g) **ATTORNEY FEES.**—The court shall require the claimant to compensate the biomaterials supplier (or a manufacturer appearing in lieu of a supplier pursuant to subsection (f)) for attorney fees and costs, if—

(1) the claimant named or joined the biomaterials supplier; and

(2) the court found the claim against the biomaterials supplier to be without merit and frivolous.

SEC. 127. APPLICABILITY.

This subtitle shall apply to all civil actions covered under this subtitle that are commenced on or after the date of enactment of this Act, including any such action with respect to which the harm asserted in the action or the conduct that caused the harm occurred before the date of enactment of this Act.

Subtitle C—Applicability

SEC. 131. APPLICABILITY.

This title shall apply to all civil actions covered under this title that are commenced

on or after the date of enactment of this Act, including any such action with respect to which the harm asserted in the action or the conduct that caused the injury occurred before the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE II—PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH AND SAFETY OF PATIENTS

SEC. 201. ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR STATE HEALTH CARE QUALITY ASSURANCE AND ACCESS ACTIVITIES.

Each State shall require that not less than 50 percent of all awards of punitive damages resulting from all health care liability actions in that State, if punitive damages are otherwise permitted by applicable law, be used for activities relating to—

(1) the licensing, investigating, disciplining, and certification of health care professionals in the State; and

(2) the reduction of malpractice-related costs for health care providers volunteering to provide health care services in medically underserved areas.

SEC. 202. QUALITY ASSURANCE, PATIENT SAFETY, AND CONSUMER INFORMATION.

(a) ADVISORY PANEL.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Administrator of the Agency for Health Care Policy and Research (hereafter referred to in this section as the "Administrator") shall establish an advisory panel to coordinate and evaluate, methods, procedures, and data to enhance the quality, safety, and effectiveness of health care services provided to patients.

(2) PARTICIPATION.—In establishing the advisory panel under paragraph (1), the Administrator shall ensure that members of the panel include representatives of public and private sector entities having expertise in quality assurance, risk assessment, risk management, patient safety, and patient satisfaction.

(3) OBJECTIVES.—In carrying out the duties described in this section, the Administrator, acting through the advisory panel established under paragraph (1), shall conduct a survey of public and private entities involved in quality assurance, risk assessment, patient safety, patient satisfaction, and practitioner licensing. Such survey shall include the gathering of data with respect to—

(A) performance measures of quality for health care providers and health plans;

(B) developments in survey methodology, sampling, and audit methods;

(C) methods of medical practice and patterns, and patient outcomes; and

(D) methods of disseminating information concerning successful health care quality improvement programs, risk management and patient safety programs, practice guidelines, patient satisfaction, and practitioner licensing.

(b) GUIDELINES.—Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Administrator shall, in accordance with chapter 5 of title 5, United States Code, establish health care quality assurance, patient safety and consumer information guidelines. Such guidelines shall be modified periodically when determined appropriate by the Administrator. Such guidelines shall be advisory in nature and not binding.

(c) REPORTS.—

(1) INITIAL REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Administrator shall prepare and submit to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives, a report that contains—

(A) data concerning the availability of information relating to risk management, quality assessment, patient safety, and patient satisfaction;

(B) an estimation of the degree of consensus concerning the accuracy and content of the information available under subparagraph (A);

(C) a summary of the best practices used in the public and private sectors for disseminating information to consumers; and

(D) an evaluation of the National Practitioner Data Bank (as established under the Health Quality Improvement Act of 1986), for reliability and validity of the data and the effectiveness of the Data Bank in assisting hospitals and medical groups in overseeing the quality of practitioners.

(2) INTERIM REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Administrator shall prepare and submit to the Committees referred to in paragraph (1) a report, based on the results of the advisory panel survey conducted under subsection (a)(3), concerning—

(A) the consensus of indicators of patient safety and risk;

(B) an assessment of the consumer perspective on health care quality that includes an examination of—

(i) the information most often requested by consumers;

(ii) the types of technical quality information that consumers find compelling;

(iii) the amount of information that consumers consider to be sufficient and the amount of such information considered overwhelming; and

(iv) the manner in which such information should be presented;

and recommendations for increasing the awareness of consumers concerning such information;

(C) proposed methods, building on existing data gathering and dissemination systems, for ensuring that such data is available and accessible to consumers, employers, hospitals, and patients;

(D) the existence of legal, regulatory, and practical obstacles to making such data available and accessible to consumers;

(E) privacy or proprietary issues involving the dissemination of such data;

(F) an assessment of the appropriateness of collecting such data at the Federal or State level;

(G) an evaluation of the value of permitting consumers to have access to information contained in the National Practitioner Data Bank and recommendations to improve the reliability and validity of the information; and

(H) the reliability and validity of data collected by the State medical boards and recommendations for developing investigation protocols.

(3) ANNUAL REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of the submission of the report under paragraph (2), and each year thereafter, the Administrator shall prepare and submit to the Committees referred to in paragraph (1) a report concerning the progress of the advisory panel in the development of a consensus with respect to the findings of the panel and in the development and modification of the guidelines required under subsection (b).

(4) TERMINATION.—The advisory panel shall terminate on the date that is 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE III—SEVERABILITY

SEC. 301. SEVERABILITY.

If any provision of this Act, an amendment made by this Act, or the application of such provision or amendment to any person or circumstance is held to be unconstitutional, the remainder of this Act, the amendments made by this Act, and the application of the provisions of such to any person or circumstance shall not be affected thereby.

HEALTH CARE LIABILITY REFORM AND QUALITY ASSURANCE ACT OF 1997

TITLE I—LIABILITY REFORM

SUBTITLE A—HEALTH CARE LIABILITY REFORM

1. Scope

The bill: Applies to any action, filed in federal or state court, against a health care provider, professional, payor, hmo, insurance company or any other defendant (except in cases based on vaccine-related injuries);

Preempts state law to the extent it is inconsistent with the provisions herein; no preemption for state laws which provide, among other things: a. additional defenses; b. greater limitations on attorneys' fees; c. greater restrictions on punitive or non-economic damages; d. maximum limit on the total damages.

Does not create federal jurisdiction for health care liability actions.

2. Uniform statute of limitations

Cases could be filed two years from the date that the injury was discovered or should have been discovered, except that any person under a legal disability may file within two years after the disability ceases.

3. Limit on punitive damages

Punitive damages will be awarded if it is proven by clear and convincing evidence that the defendant: a. intended to injure; b. understood claimant was substantially certain to suffer unnecessary injury and deliberately failed to avoid injury; or c. acted with conscious disregard of substantial and unjustifiable risk which defendant failed to avoid in a way which constitutes a gross deviation from the normal standard of conduct.

No punitive damages where compensatory damages of less than \$500 are awarded.

Trier of fact determines if punitive damages are allowed. If so, then a separate proceeding is conducted by the court.

In determining the amount, court must consider only: a. severity of harm; b. duration of defendant's conduct and any concealment; c. profitability of defendant's conduct; d. number of products sold/procedures rendered which caused similar harm; e. similar awards of punitive damages in similar circumstances; f. criminal penalties imposed on defendant; g. civil fines imposed.

No award may exceed the greater of 3 times the amount of economic damages or \$250,000.

4. Periodic payment of future damages

No more than \$100,000 of future damages may be required to be paid in one single payment. The court will determine the schedule for payments, based on projection of future losses and reduced to present value. This requirement may be waived, in the interests of justice.

5. Several, not joint, liability

A defendant would be liable only for the amount of non-economic and punitive damages allocated to defendant's direct proportion of fault or responsibility. The trier of fact determines percentage of responsibility of each defendant.

6. Collateral source

Total damages must be reduced by payments from other sources to compensate individuals for injury that is the subject of the health care liability action. The offset is reduced by any amount paid by the injured party (or family member) to secure the payment. The reductions must be determined by the judge in a pretrial proceeding.

7. Attorneys' fees

This section limits attorney contingent fees to 33⅓% of the first \$150,000 and 25% of any amount in excess of \$150,000.

8. Obstetric cases

This section precludes a malpractice award against a health care professional relating to

delivery of a baby, if the health care professional did not previously treat the woman during the pregnancy, unless malpractice is proven by clear and convincing evidence.

9. State-based alternative dispute resolution

Prior to the filing, or immediately following the filing of the action, the parties are encouraged to participate in a state administered alternative dispute resolution system.

The Attorney General will develop methods for use by the states, including arbitration, mediation, early neutral evaluation, early offer and recovery. The parties may elect binding arbitration.

10. Certificate of merit

The certificate of merit provision requires that, prior to bringing a lawsuit, an individual (or his or her attorney) must submit an affidavit declaring that a qualified specialist reviewed the facts and concluded that the claim is meritorious.

A qualified specialist means a health care professional with expertise (the specialist practices or teaches or has experience or demonstrated competence) in the same or substantially similar area of practice as that involved in the case.

A court may impose sanctions for the submission of a false affidavit.

SUBTITLE B—BIOMATERIAL ACCESS ASSURANCE

1. Summary

The Biomaterial Access Assurance Act would allow suppliers of the raw materials (biomaterial) used to make medical implants, to obtain dismissal, without extensive discovery or other legal costs, in certain tort suits in which plaintiffs allege harm from a finished medical implant.

TITLE II—PROTECTION OF PATIENT HEALTH AND SAFETY

1. Quality assurance

The quality assurance section requires each state to establish a health care quality assurance program and fund, approved by the Secretary of HHS. It also allocates 50% of all punitive damage awards to be transferred to the fund for the purpose of licensing and certifying health professionals, implementing programs, including programs to reduce malpractice costs for volunteers serving under served areas.

2. Risk management programs

Finally, professionals and providers must participate in a risk management program to prevent and provide early warning of practices which may result in injuries. Insurers also must establish risk management programs and require participation, once every 3 years, as a condition of maintaining insurance.

By Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN (for herself and Mr. DEWINE):

S. 887. A bill to establish in the National Park Service the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

THE NATIONAL UNDERGROUND RAILROAD NETWORK TO FREEDOM ACT OF 1997

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, I am pleased to have the opportunity today to introduce the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act of 1997.

The Underground Railroad, as my colleagues know, was among the most successful efforts in history in helping to undermine and destroy the institution of slavery in the United States. Beginning during the colonial period,

this clandestine resistance movement reached its peak in the 19th century, helping hundreds of thousands of African-Americans flee servitude in the South and begin new lives in the North, and in Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean.

Despite its historical significance, the Underground Railroad has not been officially recognized in any fashion. Consequently, in 1990, my distinguished former colleague, Senator Paul Simon, and former Congressman Pete Kostmayer of Pennsylvania, introduced legislation directing the National Park Service to explore and study options for commemorating the Underground Railroad. Congress passed that legislation later that year, and the National Park Service went to work gathering information on the routes and sites used by the Underground Railroad.

That study, completed in 1996, found that the Underground Railroad story was of national significance. The study documented over 380 sites, including 27 national park units, national historic landmarks, routes, privately owned buildings, and churches associated with this resistance movement. The study also found that many of these sites were in imminent danger of being lost or destroyed, and that despite a tremendous amount of interest in the Underground Railroad, little organized coordination and communication existed among interested individuals and organizations. The study reached a final recommendation that the U.S. Congress should authorize and fund a national initiative to support, preserve, and commemorate the sites and routes associated with the Underground Railroad.

Mr. President, the bill I am introducing today, along with my distinguished colleague from Ohio, Senator DEWINE, will enact many of the findings of that National Park Service study into law. Our bill, the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act, will create within the National Park Service a nationwide network of historic buildings, routes, programs, projects, and museums that have certifiable thematic connections to the Underground Railroad. The bill will also allow the National Park Service to produce and disseminate educational and informational materials on the Underground Railroad, and enter into cooperative agreements with Federal agencies, State and local government, and historical societies to provide technical assistance and coordination among network participants. Participation in the network by private property owners is purely voluntary.

This bill does not create a new park unit in the traditional sense. In order to ensure the maximum safety and secrecy of its activities, the Underground Railroad was an amorphous and loosely organized system. No single site or route, therefore, completely characterizes the Underground Railroad, making it unfeasible that these sites could have boundaries and be operated as a

traditional national park. Instead, it is the intent of this bill to create a network of cooperative partnerships, identified by an official or unifying symbol or device, at a limited annual operating cost.

Mr. President, we will never know how many individuals were freed from servitude, or how many Americans, black and white, women and men, mayors, ministers, businessmen, housewives, or former slaves endangered or sacrificed their lives in the defense of the belief that no American, and no human, should be bought, traded, or sold.

That's why I urge my colleagues to swiftly pass the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act. This bill grants Federal recognition to the Underground Railroad as a significant aspect of American history. This bill helps to preserve the structures and artifacts of an organized resistance movement for freedom. And finally, and most important, this bill commemorates those Americans whose efforts helped destroy the ugly legacy of slavery in this country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 887

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act of 1997".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

- (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that—
- (1) the Underground Railroad, which flourished from the end of the 18th century to the end of the Civil War, was 1 of the most significant expressions of the American civil rights movement during its evolution over more than 3 centuries;
 - (2) the Underground Railroad bridged the divides of race, religion, sectional differences, and nationality, spanned State lines and international borders, and joined the American ideals of liberty and freedom expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to the extraordinary actions of ordinary men and women working in common purpose to free a people;
 - (3) pursuant to title VI of Public Law 101-628 (16 U.S.C. 1a-5 note; 104 Stat. 4495), the Underground Railroad Advisory Committee conducted a study of the appropriate means of establishing an enduring national commemorative Underground Railroad program of education, example, reflection, and reconciliation;
 - (4) the Underground Railroad Advisory Committee found that—
 - (A) although a few elements of the Underground Railroad story are represented in existing National Park Service units and other sites, many sites are in imminent danger of being lost or destroyed, and many important resource types are not adequately represented and protected;
 - (B) there are many important sites that have high potential for preservation and visitor use in 29 States, the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands;
 - (C) no single site or route completely reflects and characterizes the Underground

Railroad, since the Underground Railroad's story and associated resources involve networks and regions of the country rather than individual sites and trails; and

(D) establishment of a variety of partnerships between the Federal Government and other levels of government and the private sector would be most appropriate for the protection and interpretation of the Underground Railroad;

(5) the National Park Service can play a vital role in facilitating the national commemoration of the Underground Railroad; and

(6) the story and significance of the Underground Railroad can best engage the American people through a national program of the National Park Service that links historic buildings, structures, and sites, routes, geographic areas, and corridors, interpretive centers, museums, and institutions, and programs, activities, community projects, exhibits, and multimedia materials, in a manner that is both unified and flexible.

(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act are—

(1) to recognize the importance of—

(A) the Underground Railroad;

(B) the sacrifices made by slaves who used the Underground Railroad in search of freedom from tyranny and oppression; and

(C) the sacrifices made by the people who helped those slaves; and

(2) to authorize the National Park Service to coordinate and facilitate—

(A) Federal and non-Federal activities to commemorate, honor, and interpret the history of the Underground Railroad;

(B) the Underground Railroad's significance as a crucial element in the evolution of the national civil rights movement; and

(C) the Underground Railroad's relevance in fostering a spirit of racial harmony and national reconciliation.

SEC. 3. NATIONAL UNDERGROUND RAILROAD NETWORK TO FREEDOM PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Interior (referred to in this Act as the "Secretary") shall establish in the National Park Service a program to be known as the "National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom" (referred to in this Act as the "National Network"). Under the program, the Secretary shall—

(1) produce and disseminate appropriate educational materials, such as handbooks, maps, interpretive guides, or electronic information;

(2) enter into appropriate cooperative agreements and memoranda of understanding to provide technical assistance under subsection (c); and

(3) create and adopt an official and uniform symbol or device for the National Network and issue regulations for use of the symbol or device.

(b) ELEMENTS.—The National Network shall include—

(1) any unit or program of the National Park Service determined by the Secretary to pertain to the Underground Railroad;

(2) any other Federal, State, local, or privately owned property pertaining to the Underground Railroad that has a verifiable connection to the Underground Railroad and that is included on, or determined by the Secretary to be eligible for inclusion on, the National Register of Historic Places;

(3) any other governmental or nongovernmental facility or program of an educational, research, or interpretive nature that is directly related to the Underground Railroad.

(c) COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS AND MEMORANDA OF UNDERSTANDING.—To achieve the purposes of this Act and to ensure effective coordination of the Federal and non-Federal elements of the National Network referred to

in subsection (b) with National Park Service units and programs, the Secretary may enter into a cooperative agreement or memorandum of understanding with, and provide technical assistance to—

(1) the head of another Federal agency, a State, a locality, a regional governmental body, or a private entity; or

(2) in cooperation with the Secretary of State, the Government of Canada, Mexico, or any appropriate country in the Caribbean.

(d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out this Act—

(1) \$500,000 for fiscal year 1998; and

(2) \$1,000,000 for each fiscal year thereafter.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 20

At the request of Mr. DASCHLE, the name of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 20, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the rate and spread the benefits of economic growth, and for other purposes.

S. 28

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 28, a bill to amend title 17, United States Code, with respect to certain exemptions from copyright, and for other purposes.

S. 387

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL] was added as a cosponsor of S. 387, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide equity to exports of software.

S. 411

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the name of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 411, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a tax credit for investment necessary to revitalize communities within the United States, and for other purposes.

S. 419

At the request of Mr. BOND, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 419, a bill to provide surveillance, research, and services aimed at prevention of birth defects, and for other purposes.

S. 496

At the request of Mr. SPECTER, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. 496, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a credit against income tax to individuals who rehabilitate historic homes or who are the first purchasers of rehabilitated historic homes for use as a principal residence.

S. 555

At the request of Mr. ALLARD, the names of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. INHOFE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS], and the Senator from Colorado

[Mr. CAMPBELL] were added as cosponsors of S. 555, a bill to amend the Solid Waste Disposal Act to require that at least 85 percent of funds appropriated to the Environmental Protection Agency from the Leaking Underground Storage Tank Trust Fund be distributed to States to carry out cooperative agreements for undertaking corrective action and for enforcement of subtitle I of that Act.

S. 561

At the request of Mr. SHELBY, the name of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 561, a bill to require States receiving prison construction grants to implement requirements for inmates to perform work and engage in educational activities, to eliminate certain sentencing inequities for drug offenders, and for other purposes.

S. 622

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 622, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to modify the application of the pension nondiscrimination rules to governmental plans.

S. 627

At the request of Mr. JEFFORDS, the name of the Senator from California [Mrs. BOXER] was added as a cosponsor of S. 627, a bill to reauthorize the African Elephant Conservation Act.

S. 720

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the names of the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN] and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB] were added as cosponsors of S. 720, a bill to amend titles XVIII and XIX of the Social Security Act to expand and make permanent the availability of cost-effective, comprehensive acute and long-term care services to frail elderly persons through Programs of All-inclusive Care for the Elderly (PACE) under the medicare and medicaid programs.

S. 725

At the request of Mr. CAMPBELL, the name of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLARD] was added as a cosponsor of S. 725, a bill to direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey the Collbran Reclamation Project to the Ute Water Conservancy District and the Collbran Conservancy District.

S. 757

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the names of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HAGEL], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB], the Senator from Maine [Ms. COLLINS], and the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN] were added as cosponsors of S. 757, a bill to amend the Employee Retirement Savings Act of 1974 to promote retirement income savings through the establishment of an outreach program in the Department of Labor and periodic National Summits on Retirement Savings.

S. 781

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HAGEL], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. BURNS] were added as cosponsors of S. 781, a bill to establish a uniform and more efficient Federal process for protecting property owners' rights guaranteed by the fifth amendment.

S. 829

At the request of Mrs. BOXER, the name of the Senator from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 829, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to encourage the production and use of clean-fuel vehicles, and for other purposes.

S. 852

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the name of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER] was added as a cosponsor of S. 852, a bill to establish nationally uniform requirements regarding the titling and registration of salvage, nonrepairable, and rebuilt vehicles.

S. 866

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the name of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] was added as a cosponsor of S. 866, a bill to amend title 28, United States Code, to provide that certain voluntary disclosures of violations of Federal law made as a result of a voluntary environmental audit shall not be subject to discovery or admitted into evidence during a judicial or administrative proceeding, and for other purposes.

S. 873

At the request of Mr. ASHCROFT, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 873, a bill to amend the prohibition of title 18, United States Code, against financial transactions with state sponsors of international terrorism.

SENATE RESOLUTION 92

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the names of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. SMITH], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HAGEL], the Senator from Louisiana [Ms. LANDRIEU], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MCCONNELL], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. AKAKA], the Senator from California [Mrs. BOXER], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. WYDEN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 92, a resolution designating July 2, 1997, and July 2, 1998, as "National Literacy Day."

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

MEDICARE AND THE ADJUSTED AVERAGE PER CAPITA COST

• Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, during the Budget Committee's debate on the fiscal year 1998 budget resolution, I joined with my colleague from Oregon, Senator WYDEN to introduce a Sense-of-the-Senate amendment regarding the Medicare reimbursement rate for health plans. In fact, most of my colleagues on the Budget Committee cosponsored this amendment, and I was pleased to see it incorporated into the final budget resolution passed by the Senate.

Reforming the way Medicare determines the reimbursement rate for managed care plans is critical to provide Medicare equity in States like my home State of Minnesota—especially for those citizens in rural communities in my State and throughout the country.

Mr. President, there are three points I would like to emphasize.

First, the Medicare reimbursement rate is unfair. While every American pays the same 2.9-percent payroll tax to the Medicare trust fund, Minnesotans find themselves with the second-lowest reimbursement rates in the Nation. Every single county in Minnesota falls below the national average in terms of Medicare reimbursement. In fact, Minnesota is not alone in this category. There are 16 States in which every county is below the national average—Iowa, Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Clearly, Mr. President, having this many States without a single county at the national average indicates something is wrong with the system.

Second, the Medicare reimbursement formula discourages quality health care. Minnesota has consistently been recognized throughout the Nation, and perhaps the world, as one of the most innovative, efficient, cost, and quality-conscious States in terms of health care. Yet, these same traits—which should be encouraged, not discouraged—have skewed the Medicare formula against our providers and beneficiaries. We are being penalized for our success, while those less efficient States benefit—and have no incentive to move in our direction.

Mr. President, I think it is clear to everyone that efficient health care markets have reduced overutilization, eliminated unneeded hospital beds, and aimed for the highest quality service at the lowest price. Urban areas that are efficient in delivering health care—like Minneapolis, MN—decrease overutilization in the fee-for-service category of Medicare. This reduces the adjusted average per capita cost [AAPCC] which makes it difficult for health plans to remain competitive due to the lower payment.

Third, the Medicare reimbursement formula discriminates against seniors who live in rural communities. These rural Americans already face fewer health care options than those living in urban centers. Because of the lower reimbursement rates health plans receive, there is no incentive for them to offer their services—let alone provide extra benefits many seniors in other States receive at no added cost. That means even fewer choices for the senior citizens living in rural Minnesota.

Mr. President, no one would suggest that we take away the extra benefits seniors receive in other States; indeed, we should encourage health plans to do what they can to provide these benefits, while at the same time focusing on the need to become more efficient and cost-effective. However, what we are saying is that senior citizens living in rural America should at the very least have the opportunity to make these same choices in their health care plan.

I'd like to conclude by offering an example of how the disparity in payment affects the benefits of two seniors living in different States.

A Medicare beneficiary living in Blue Earth County, MN, who would like to enroll in a health plan would have none offered at the reimbursement rate of \$302 a month. Not one health plan is willing to offer even basic Medicare coverage at this rate. He or she would have no choice but to enroll in the fee-for-service plan and incur higher out-of-pocket expenses.

However, this same beneficiary's brother, sister or cousin living in Los Angeles County, CA would have their choice of 15 health plans offering full Medicare coverage and in addition, receive a \$1,500 prescription drug benefit, \$150 credit for hearing aids, and dental coverage. Why do they have these choices? Because their health plans are reimbursed \$519 a month and can afford to offer the extra benefits. This disparity is not fair—and it must be fixed.

Mr. President, while I am pleased the Senate has gone on record in support of my sense-of-the-Senate amendment included in the budget resolution, we need to move forward in changing the system. As we begin consideration of the reconciliation bills, I ask all my colleagues to examine this issue carefully and restore some equity in this outdated formula.●

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF CNA INSURANCE CO.

• Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize the 100th anniversary of CNA Insurance Co., whose headquarters are located in the city of Chicago in my home State of Illinois.

CNA is one of the Nation's largest insurance companies. It employs over 20,000 people nationwide, 6,000 of whom live and work in Illinois. It has offices in more than 100 cities and is represented by nearly 80,000 independent insurance agents across the country.

CNA has always prided itself on being an innovator in the insurance industry.

When women began to enter the work force in the early 1900's, CNA was among the first to offer them accident and health coverage. CNA also met the concerns of farmers by developing a new product specifically tailored to their accident and health needs. CNA was one of the first companies to offer worker's compensation coverage and was one of the first to provide retirement income annuities for senior citizens before the establishment of Social Security.

CNA has also played a behind-the-scenes role in some of our Nation's most memorable events. CNA insured Presidential candidates Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower against accidents during their campaigns in 1952 and insured President John F. Kennedy's inaugural festivities. It also insured the Beatles' 1965 Shea Stadium performance for the Ed Sullivan Show and the Apollo 16 astronauts' 1972 flight to the moon.

Mr. President, I ask to have printed in the RECORD a more detailed history of CNA that was recently prepared by the company and I would like to congratulate CNA for 100 years of insuring America. I hope that during the next 100 years, CNA continues its record of success and remains a leader in the insurance industry.

The material follows:

A TRIBUTE TO CNA IN CELEBRATION OF ITS CENTENNIAL

CNA Stands for Commitment, 1897-1997
INTRODUCTION

CNA, one of the country's largest commercial insurance groups, is celebrating one hundred years of commitment and service to the American people both at home and abroad. Since 1897, whenever America has sought a sense of security, CNA has been there, anticipating that need and forging its reputation as an industry innovator. Railroad workers, teachers, movie stars, athletes, even U.S. Presidents have depended on CNA's protection against both expected risks and unforeseen dangers.

Since its modest beginnings in Detroit, Michigan, with \$100,000 in capital stock and a \$60,000 surplus, CNA has become one of the largest property/casualty insurers in the nation, with over \$60 billion in assets. Originally operating out of a two-room office with 15 employees, CNA today occupies some 400 office sites in over 100 cities and employs over 20,000 people nationwide. Now headquartered in Chicago, CNA directly employs more than 6,000 people in Illinois alone. Almost 80,000 agents currently represent CNA throughout the United States, testament to the company's successful alliance with independent agents.

CNA's exemplary accomplishment—a century culminating in financial stability and preeminence in the industry—attests to its history of astute leadership, integrity and commitment to quality service.

THE FOUNDING

Collins Hubbard, CNA's founder, set the course of perceptive leadership that has guided CNA to the top of the insurance industry. Calling together several of his colleagues, Hubbard proposed a company that would insure America's working class against unexpected disasters. The Continental Assurance Company of North America, as CNA was then known, provided coverage with an innovative twist: both accident and

health insurance, at a time when most of its contemporaries offered only accident coverage.

Focusing on railroad workers as its initial customer base, CNA became the largest insurer in Michigan within two years of its founding. Despite its rapid growth, the fledgling company faced intense competition from other insurance companies. In light of this, the company underwent two major changes. First, it changed its name to the more forceful and representative, Continental Casualty Company. Then, in September 1900, the company merged with Metropolitan Accident Company, a Chicago insurer, and moved its headquarters to Chicago. This strategy catapulted the combined companies to fifth among the nation's accident insurers.

CNA BECOMES AN INDUSTRY LEADER

Early in the 20th century, CNA distinguished itself as a leader in the insurance industry by demonstrating the capacity for discerning new markets and developing innovative products. When women began to enter the work force, CNA was among the first to provide them with accident and health coverage. As agricultural production expanded, CNA devised new products specifically geared to farmers' accident and health concerns.

CNA reinforced its position at the forefront of the industry in 1910 by expanding beyond accident and health into different lines of insurance such as liability, auto insurance and burglary. In 1911, the company entered the life insurance field by forming the Continental Assurance Company. In 1915, CNA began offering workers' compensation coverage as factories employed more people to increase output for the World War I effort.

Policies combining multiple lines of insurance proved successful, particularly as automobiles—and accidents involving automobiles—became commonplace. Motorist coverage insured both the driver and any persons injured or property damaged.

The growth of an affluent American middle-class meant increased incidents of theft. Property owners' concerns were met by CNA's wide range of burglary insurance—protecting against bank robberies, home break-ins and safe deposit box theft.

GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS

By the early 1920s, the flourishing company was operating in every state and territory of the United States, as well as every province in Canada. That decade also marked the beginning of CNA's pioneering relationship with associations, a relationship that has lasted until the present day and has played a significant role in CNA's rise to the upper echelon of insurance companies.

CNA is credited with the first teachers association group policy, written for the Cleveland Teachers Association in 1921. CNA insured the American Society of Civil engineers in 1945, becoming the first insurer to successfully install a group plan for a nationwide association. Teaming up with the American Camping Association in the 1950s, CNA initiated an educational campaign to promote camp safety and insure campers. Camp insurance led to the formation of "PONY," Protect Our Nation's Youth, a youth program offering medical expense reimbursement from kindergarten through college.

CNA has also demonstrated unwavering commitment to the nation's retirement-age population. In the 1930s, before compulsory Social Security, the company was among the first to offer retirement income annuities. By 1955, CNA had developed the first group health plan for those over 65. Originally conceived as a group medical insurance plan for retired teachers associations, the plan

evolved into "Golden 65", a policy offered directly to the individual. After the implementation of Medicare in the summer of 1965, CNA redesigned Golden 65 to complement the Medicare plan, while other insurers exited the over-65 health insurance field.

DEPENDABILITY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

Dependability in times of crisis is a CNA hallmark. The company refused to exit the field of polio insurance at a time when the nation was literally crippled by the rampant, dreaded disease. CNA introduced its polio coverage the year of the worse polio outbreak in two decades. It continued to provide comprehensive and affordable polio coverage for the duration of the epidemic.

The company's willingness to take on the challenge of even the most unusual coverage request has marked its true American spirit—bold, enterprising and innovative. Where other companies see uninsurable risks, CNA sees possibilities—a company trait that has ensured its success and longevity in the insurance business. CNA has staunchly stood behind Americans in all manner of pursuits and ventures, these past 100 years.

CNA insured presidential hopefuls Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower against accidents during their campaign trips in 1952. When John F. Kennedy was inaugurated as the nation's 35th president, CNA provided liability coverage for the ceremonial activities. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson asked CNA to write the bond for the train that stood waiting in case emergency evacuation was necessary during Martin Luther King's civil rights protest march to Montgomery, Alabama. The 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago was covered by CNA's liability insurance.

A special CNA reinsurance policy covered the cancellation or postponement of the 1965 Shea Stadium performance of the Beatles for the Ed Sullivan show. The Apollo 16 astronauts were insured in case of accidental death on their 1972 flight to the moon.

Little League teams around the country have enjoyed CNA protection since 1948, as have Indianapolis 500 drivers, pit crews and race officials. The American athletes competing in the 1952 Helsinki Olympic games were insured by CNA. Water events at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics were covered by MOAC, CNA's marine unit.

CNA CARES ABOUT COMMUNITY

CNA's commitment to its employees, its clients, and the American people extends far beyond insurance. The company encourages and subsidizes both employees and CNA leadership in community projects. In the 1920's, the company sought to enrich the lives of its employees through its Continental Welfare Association which offered disability pensions, life insurance and retirement pensions.

Later, during World War II, the employees reached out to help in the war effort. CNA employees organized their own chapter of the Red Cross, calling it the Continental Red Cross. By the midpoint of the war, Continental employees had invested \$232,418 in war bonds.

Today, in more peaceful times, CNA and its employees have dedicated time and resources toward the education of the nation's youth. In the early 1980's, CNA sponsored Illinois' first math contest. With the Chicago Urban League, the Chicago Board of Education, and the Illinois Council of Teachers of Mathematics CNA developed MATHCOUNTS, a model math tutorial program. The program quickly garnered nationwide attention. By 1984, MATHCOUNTS had evolved into the country's first nationwide math contest boasting as cosponsors the National Society of Professional Engineers, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, the National Aeronautics and Space

Administration, and the U.S. Department of Education.

CNA's investment in the nation's future—its children—is evident in CNA's involvement with the Leadership for Quality Education, a coalition of business and civil leaders working to improve the Chicago school system. Out of this, CNA created Project Participate, providing paid time off, resources and training to employees wishing to run for Chicago's Local School Councils. CNA has also adopted Chicago's Mark Skinner School as part of the Chicago Board of Education's Adopt-A-School Program.

CONCLUSION

CNA stands for a century of commitment, stability and financial strength. Entering the final years of the 10th century, the company prepared for the 21st century in typical CNA fashion—it acquired the Continental Insurance Company in 1995. This merger, the most significant property/casualty insurance merger in the last 25 years, expanded CNA's scope—elevating its presence worldwide, adding new specialty operations and pooling the considerable talent and resources of both companies.

As the new millennium approaches, unfathomable leaps in technology, social transformations and economic upheaval are as much a source of apprehension today as in 1897. CNA saw the birth of a new century that brought with it several wars, a severe economic depression, fantastic advances in modes of travel and communication, social change and natural disasters. It has met the challenges of the past 100 years and stands poised for another century, confident of its continued success based on its core values: commitment, stability and financial strength.●

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF KAREN E. WETTERHAHN, PH.D.

● Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Karen E. Wetterhahn of Lyme, NH. Karen was an Albert Bradley third century professor in the sciences at Dartmouth College, who died of mercury poisoning on June 8 while working on the cutting edge of the scientific and academic communities.

Karen, a research chemist of international reputation, spanned the fields of inorganic chemistry, biochemistry, and chemical toxicology. Sometime last year while working with dimethyl mercury, she came in contact with and received mercury poisoning during her studies of mercury toxicity. A dedicated member of the Dartmouth community, her work involved understanding how elevated levels of the elements known as heavy metals, which include chromium, lead, and arsenic, interfere with the processes of cell metabolism and the transfer of genetic information.

Karen not only shaped the work inside her laboratory but in the classroom as well. Dr. Wetterhahn helped to develop curriculum in the life science area known as structural biology, which studies the structure of biologically active molecules such as DNA, RNA, and proteins to learn how they function.

She was born in Plattsburgh, NY, in 1948 and graduated from St. Mary's High School in Champlain, NY. Karen

graduated magna cum laude at St. Lawrence University where she earned her bachelor's degree. She received her doctorate from Columbia University in 1975, where she won the prestigious Hammett Award in chemistry. Karen was also a National Institutes of Health trainee at the Institute of Cancer Research, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, also in 1975. One year later she joined the faculty of Dartmouth College, in Hanover, NH.

Karen also had an instrumental role in making Dartmouth's sciences and administration more representative of the changing faces in the college community. While in Hanover, she co-founded Dartmouth's women in science project, which was aimed at increasing the number of women majoring and taking courses in the sciences.

Mr. President, Dr. Wetterhahn worked to make the world a better place, and she will be truly missed by all of us who knew and worked with her. Researchers like the late Karen Wetterhahn are important to the future of New Hampshire and the future of this Nation.●

RECOGNITION OF BOB BELLACK AND RON HEUMILLER'S ASSIST- ANCE DURING THE NATURAL DISASTERS OF 1997

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to recognize the important work of two McCook County Highway Department employees, Bob Bellack and Ron Heumiller, in ongoing disaster recovery efforts in South Dakota.

Early this year, residents of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota experienced relentless snowstorms and bitterly cold temperatures. Snowdrifts as high as buildings, roads with only one lane cleared, homes without heat for days, hundreds of thousands of dead livestock, and schools closed for a week at a time were commonplace. As if surviving the severe winter cold was not challenge enough, residents of the Upper Midwest could hardly imagine the extent of damage Mother Nature had yet to inflict with a 500-year flood. Record levels on the Big Sioux River and Lake Kameska forced over 5,000 residents of Watertown, SD, to evacuate their homes and left over one-third of the city without sewer and water for 3 weeks. The city of Bruce, SD was completely underwater when record low temperatures turned swollen streams into sheets of ice.

At the height of the snowstorms in South Dakota, Bob Bellack and Ron Heumiller drove snowplows at 3 to 4 miles per hour and in zero visibility to open roads for rescue and emergency medical crews. Wind gusts of 40 miles per hour dropped the temperature to nearly 70 degrees below zero as the medical crews followed Bob and Ron for 263 miles to rescue families without heat and stranded motorists from all over the county.

While those of us from the Midwest will never forget the destruction wrought by this year's snowstorms and floods, I have been heartened to witness firsthand and hear accounts of South Dakotans coming together within their community to protect homes, farms, and entire towns from vicious winter weather and rising flood waters. The selfless actions of Bob Bellack and Ron Heumiller illustrate the resolve within South Dakotans to help our neighbors in times of trouble.

Mr. President, there is much more to be done to rebuild and repair our impacted communities. Bob Bellack, Ron Heumiller, and the individuals at the McCook County Highway Department illustrate how the actions of a community can bring some relief to the victims of this natural disaster, and I ask you to join me in thanking them for their selfless efforts.●

RECOGNITION OF LORI RUSSELL AND BARB NAVRISKY'S ASSIST- ANCE DURING THE FLOODS OF 1997

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to recognize the important work of Lori Russell and Barb Navrisky in ongoing flood recovery efforts in the Dakotas.

Early this year, residents of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota experienced relentless snowstorms and bitterly cold temperatures. Snowdrifts as high as buildings, roads with only one lane cleared, homes without heat for days, hundreds of thousands of dead livestock, and schools closed for a week at a time were commonplace. As if surviving the severe winter cold was not challenge enough, residents of the Upper Midwest could hardly imagine the extent of damage Mother Nature had yet to inflict with a 500-year flood. Record levels on the Big Sioux River and Lake Kameska forced over 5,000 residents of Watertown, SD to evacuate their homes and left over one-third of the city without sewer and water for 3 weeks. The city of Bruce, SD was completely underwater when record low temperatures turned swollen streams into sheets of ice.

The 50,000 residents of Grand Forks, ND and 10,000 residents of East Grand Forks, MN were forced to leave their homes and businesses as the Red River overwhelmed their cities in April. The devastation was astounding; an entire city underwater and a fire that gutted a majority of Grand Forks' downtown. Residents of both cities recently were allowed to return to what is left of their homes, and the long and difficult process of rebuilding shattered lives is just beginning.

Barb Navrisky lived through the 1972 flash flood that killed hundreds of people in Rapid City, SD. She knows what her North Dakota neighbors are currently experiencing. Lori Russell knows the devastation all too well. Her parents, Eman and Leona Hejlik, live

in Grand Forks and lost their home in the flood. That's why both Barb and Lori mobilized the city of Box Elder, SD and collected clothing, cleaning supplies, food, and toys for flood victims in Grand Forks. Lori and Barb's relief effort included the mayor of Box Elder, Dave Kinser, raising \$200 in donations for a Grand Forks resident who lost everything. Students from area high schools and elementary schools also helped by collecting cleaning supplies and food items.

While those of us from the Midwest will never forget the destruction wrought by this year's floods, I have been heartened to witness firsthand and hear accounts of South Dakotans coming together within their community to protect homes, farms, and entire towns from rising flood waters. The selfless actions of people like Lori Russell and Barb Navriski illustrate the resolve within South Dakotans to help our neighbors in times of trouble.

Mr. President, there is much more to be done to rebuild and repair Grand Forks and other impacted communities. Lori Russell and Barb Navriski illustrate how two individuals can bring some relief to the victims of this natural disaster, and I ask you to join me in thanking them for their selfless efforts.●

RECOGNITION OF THE ASSISTANCE OF LEO FLYNN DURING THE FLOODS OF 1997

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to recognize the important work of Leo Flynn in ongoing flood recovery efforts in the Dakotas.

Early this year, residents of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota experienced relentless snowstorms and bitterly cold temperatures. Snowdrifts as high as buildings, roads with only one lane cleared, homes without heat for days, hundreds of thousands of dead livestock, and schools closed for a week at a time were commonplace. As if surviving the severe winter cold was not challenge enough, residents of the upper Midwest could hardly imagine the extent of damage Mother Nature had yet to inflict with a 500-year flood. Record levels on the Big Sioux River and Lake Kampeska forced over 5,000 residents of Watertown, SD to evacuate their homes and left over one-third of the city without sewer and water for 3 weeks. The city of Bruce, SD was completely underwater when record low temperatures turned swollen streams into sheets of ice. Heavy winter snows forced Big Stone Lake, along the South Dakota and Minnesota border, to 9 feet above flood level. The rising waters drove 40 families from their homes and caused vast amounts of damage.

Many South Dakota communities prepared for the floods by constructing makeshift dikes around homes and neighborhoods. While some of these barriers held up against the rising

water, a number of communities saw their defenses washed away in the record levels of flooding. The costs of preparing for, and ultimately cleaning up after, these natural disasters strained municipal budgets and threatened other flood recovery programs. Milbank attorney Leo Flynn came to the assistance of a number of counties and towns by donating \$280,000 to help local governments cover the costs of blizzards and flooding.

While those of us from the Midwest will never forget the destruction wrought by this year's floods, I have been heartened to witness firsthand and hear accounts of South Dakotans coming together within their community to protect homes, farms, and entire towns from rising flood waters. The selfless actions of individuals like Leo Flynn illustrate the resolve within South Dakotans to help our neighbors in times of trouble.

Mr. President, there is much more to be done to rebuild and repair impacted communities. Leo Flynn illustrates how the actions of an individual can bring some relief to the victims of this natural disaster, and I ask you to join me in thanking him for his selfless efforts.●

RECOGNITION OF GATEWAY 2000'S ASSISTANCE DURING THE FLOODS OF 1997

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to recognize the individuals of Gateway 2000 of North Sioux City, SD in ongoing flood recovery efforts in the Dakotas.

Early this year, residents of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota experienced relentless snowstorms and bitterly cold temperatures. Snowdrifts as high as buildings, roads with only one lane cleared, homes without heat for days, hundreds of thousands of dead livestock, and schools closed for a week at a time were commonplace. As if surviving the severe winter cold was not challenge enough, residents of the Upper Midwest could hardly imagine the extent of damage Mother Nature had yet to inflict with a 500-year flood. Record levels on the Big Sioux River and Lake Kampeska forced over 5,000 residents of Watertown, SD, to evacuate their homes and left over one-third of the city without sewer and water for 3 weeks. The city of Bruce, SD, was completely underwater when record low temperatures turned swollen streams into sheets of ice.

The 50,000 residents of Grand Forks, ND, and 10,000 residents of East Grand Forks, MN, were forced to leave their homes and businesses as the Red River overwhelmed their cities in April. The devastation was astounding; an entire city underwater and a fire that gutted a majority of Grand Forks' downtown. Residents of both cities recently were allowed to return to what is left of their homes, and the long and difficult process of rebuilding shattered lives is just beginning.

The individuals of Gateway 2000 donated 17 computers to Grand Forks to assist city hall in resuming everyday operations. These computers enabled the mayor and Grand Forks officials to coordinate flood relief efforts throughout the disaster.

While those of us from the Midwest will never forget the destruction wrought by this year's floods, I have been heartened to witness first-hand and hear accounts of South Dakotans coming together within their community to protect homes, farms, and entire towns from rising flood waters. The selfless actions of the individuals from Gateway 2000 illustrate the resolve within South Dakotans to help our neighbors in times of trouble.

Mr. President, there is much more to be done to rebuild and repair Grand Forks and other impacted communities. These individuals illustrate how the actions of a community can bring some relief to the victims of this natural disaster, and I ask you to join me in thanking them for their selfless efforts.●

RECOGNITION OF KEVN TELEVISION'S ASSISTANCE DURING THE FLOODS OF 1997

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to recognize the important work of individuals at KEVN-TV in Rapid City, SD, in ongoing flood recovery efforts in the Dakotas.

Early this year, residents of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota experienced relentless snowstorms and bitterly cold temperatures. Snowdrifts as high as buildings, roads with only one lane cleared, homes without heat for days, hundreds of thousands of dead livestock, and schools closed for a week at a time were commonplace. As if surviving the severe winter cold was not challenge enough, residents of the Upper Midwest could hardly imagine the extent of damage Mother Nature had yet to inflict with a 500-year flood. Record levels on the Big Sioux River and Lake Kampeska forced over 5,000 residents of Watertown, SD, to evacuate their homes and left over one-third of the city without sewer and water for 3 weeks. The city of Bruce, SD, was completely underwater when record low temperatures turned swollen streams into sheets of ice.

The 50,000 residents of Grand Forks, ND, and 10,000 residents of East Grand Forks, MN, were forced to leave their homes and businesses as the Red River overwhelmed their cities in April. The devastation was astounding; an entire city underwater and a fire that gutted a majority of Grand Forks' downtown. Residents of both cities recently were allowed to return to what is left of their homes, and the long and difficult process of rebuilding shattered lives is just beginning.

KEVN-TV aired a live fundraiser that collected over \$53,000 for flood victims in Grand Forks. Many families escaped rising flood waters in the dead of night, often with only the clothes on their back, and ultimately lost everything in their homes. The money donated by KEVN-TV viewers will help families rebuild their lives.

While those of us from the Midwest will never forget the destruction wrought by this year's floods, I have been heartened to witness firsthand and hear accounts of South Dakotans coming together within their community to protect homes, farms, and entire towns from rising floodwaters. The selfless actions of the individuals at KEVN-TV illustrate the resolve within South Dakotans to help our neighbors in times of trouble.

Mr. President, there is much more to be done to rebuild and repair Grand Forks and other impacted communities. The individuals at KEVN-TV in Rapid City illustrate how the actions of a community can bring some relief to the victims of this natural disaster, and I ask you to join me in thanking them for their selfless efforts.●

RECOGNITION OF KOTA RADIO'S ASSISTANCE DURING THE FLOODS OF 1997

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to recognize the important work of individuals at KOTA Radio in Rapid City, SD, in ongoing flood recovery efforts in the Dakotas.

Early this year, residents of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota experienced relentless snowstorms and bitterly cold temperatures. Snowdrifts as high as buildings, roads with only one lane cleared, homes without heat for days, hundreds of thousands of dead livestock, and schools closed for a week at a time were commonplace. As if surviving the severe winter cold was not challenge enough, residents of the Upper Midwest could hardly imagine the extent of damage Mother Nature had yet to inflict with a 500-year flood. Record levels on the Big Sioux River and Lake Kampeska forced over 5,000 residents of Watertown, SD, to evacuate their homes and left over one-third of the city without sewer and water for 3 weeks. The city of Bruce, SD, was completely underwater when record low temperatures turned swollen streams into sheets of ice.

The 50,000 residents of Grand Forks, ND, and 10,000 residents of East Grand Forks, MN, were forced to leave their homes and businesses as the Red River overwhelmed their cities in April. The devastation was astounding; an entire city underwater and a fire that gutted a majority of Grand Forks' downtown. Residents of both cities recently were allowed to return to what is left of their homes, and the long and difficult process of rebuilding shattered lives is just beginning.

KOTA Radio aired a live, 2-day fundraiser that collected over \$16,000 for flood victims in Grand Forks. Many families escaped rising flood waters in the dead of night, often with only the clothes on their back, and ultimately lost everything in their homes. The money donated by KOTA listeners will help families rebuild their lives.

While those of us from the Midwest will never forget the destruction wrought by this year's floods, I have been heartened to witness first-hand and hear accounts of South Dakotans coming together within their community to protect homes, farms, and entire towns from rising flood waters. The selfless actions of the individuals at KOTA Radio illustrate the resolve within South Dakotans to help our neighbors in times of trouble.

Mr. President, there is much more to be done to rebuild and repair Grand Forks and other impacted communities. The individuals at KOTA Radio in Rapid City illustrate how the actions of a community can bring some relief to the victims of this natural disaster, and I ask you to join me in thanking them for their selfless efforts.●

RECOGNITION OF EMM BAUMAN AND BETA SIGMA PHI'S ASSISTANCE DURING THE FLOODS OF 1997

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to recognize the important work of Emm Bauman and Rapid City's Beta Sigma Phi chapters in ongoing flood recovery efforts in the Dakotas.

Early this year, residents of Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota experienced relentless snowstorms and bitterly cold temperatures. Snowdrifts as high as buildings, roads with only one lane cleared, homes without heat for days, hundreds of thousands of dead livestock, and schools closed for a week at a time were commonplace. As if surviving the severe winter cold was not challenge enough, residents of the Upper Midwest could hardly imagine the extent of damage Mother Nature had yet to inflict with a 500-year flood. Record levels on the Big Sioux River and Lake Kampeska forced over 5,000 residents of Watertown, SD, to evacuate their homes and left over one-third of the city without sewer and water for 3 weeks. The city of Bruce, SD, was completely underwater when record low temperatures turned swollen streams into sheets of ice.

The 50,000 residents of Grand Forks, ND and 10,000 residents of East Grand Forks, MN were forced to leave their homes and businesses as the Red River overwhelmed their cities in April. The devastation was astounding; an entire city underwater and a fire that gutted a majority of Grand Forks' downtown. Residents of both cities recently were allowed to return to what is left of their homes, and the long and difficult

process of rebuilding shattered lives is just beginning.

Emm Bauman initiated a series of coffee parties in Aberdeen 25 years ago that raised \$5,000 for victims of the flash flood that killed hundreds of people in Rapid City, SD. Each participant paid a minimum of \$1 and then hosted a smaller party of her own until there was no one left to host. Once again, Emm mobilized fellow members of Beta Sigma Phi to host a series of Friendship Vanishing Coffee Parties in hopes of raising another \$5,000 for Grand Forks flood victims. The money will help families who lost everything in the devastating floods rebuild their lives.

While those of us from the Midwest will never forget the destruction wrought by this year's floods, I have been heartened to witness first-hand and hear accounts of South Dakotans coming together within their community to protect homes, farms, and entire towns from rising flood waters. The selfless actions of people like Emm Bauman and members of Beta Sigma Phi illustrate the resolve within South Dakotans to help our neighbors in times of trouble.

Mr. President, there is much more to be done to rebuild and repair Grand Forks and other impacted communities. Emm Bauman and the members of Beta Sigma Phi illustrate how individuals can bring some relief to the victims of this natural disaster, and I ask you to join me in thanking them for their selfless efforts.●

BIRTH DEFECTS PREVENTION ACT

● Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, vitamin supplements containing the B vitamin folic acid, have been proven to prevent common and disabling birth defects, including spina bifida and anencephaly, if taken daily before and in the early days after conception. This vitamin could prevent six to nine cases of these birth defects per day, saving \$245 million per year in the United States.

On June 10, 1997, the March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation released a new nationwide survey which shows that while more American women of childbearing age have heard of folic acid, the proportion of women actually taking a multivitamin on a daily basis remains low. Only 32 percent of women ages 18 to 45 take a daily multivitamin containing folic acid.

Awareness of folic acid jumped 14 percentage points over the 2-year period, from 52 percent of women in 1995 to 66 percent in 1997. However, women under age 25 are the least likely to consume vitamins daily, with only 23 percent reporting that they do so, and this age group accounts for 39 percent of all births in the United States. It is because of these statistics that I encourage my colleagues to vote for S. 419, the Birth Defects Prevention Act of 1997.

This legislation would establish a national birth defects surveillance, research, and prevention system. This

system would include research projects for the prevention of neural tube defects, one-half of which could be prevented if women of child bearing age consumed a small amount of folic acid daily. In addition, this legislation would set up public education programs to teach more women about the importance of folic acid to the health of their children.

And so together with the March of Dimes I encourage my colleagues to pass this important legislation.●

EMPLOYMENT NON-DISCRIMINATION ACT

● Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, our Nation benefits when every citizen has the opportunity to contribute to the best of his or her ability to the economy, to the society, and to the country. Discrimination, in any form, prevents the utilization of all available talents and makes our future less bright than it could be—less bright than it should be. It is for this reason that I join my colleagues, Senator KENNEDY, Senator JEFFORDS, and Senator LIEBERMAN, in cosponsoring the Employment Non-Discrimination Act [ENDA].

The Employment Non-Discrimination Act prohibits employment discrimination based on sexual orientation. It creates no special rights, or quotas, it merely ensures that gay and lesbian Americans have the same rights as every other American in the workplace.

Employment discrimination impedes economic competitiveness, frustrates fairness, and obstructs opportunity.

Employment discrimination impedes economic competitiveness for America's businesses. Our work force is what makes America strong. Discrimination only serves to lessen that strength. Many companies have already adopted their own antidiscrimination policies, recognizing the negative impact discrimination can have on their continuing competitiveness. These businesses understand that there is no place for discrimination as we transition into the 21st century's global workplace.

Unfortunately, not all businesses understand this yet, and in 39 States, employment discrimination based on sexual orientation is still legal. There are many documented cases highlighting the fact that discrimination in the workplace still occurs. Without national legislation to protect all Americans, cases of discrimination against gay men and lesbian women will continue to occur unchallenged and businesses, and thus our national economy, will continue to suffer.

Employment discrimination is fundamentally unfair. Each of us should be allowed to fully participate in society, regardless of our gender, race, or sexual orientation. ENDA prohibits giving preferential treatment to any individual based on sexual orientation. Employers may not provide special treatment to gay men, lesbians, or

heterosexuals. The bill provides that an employer may not use the fact of an individual's sexual orientation as the basis for positive or negative action against that individual in employment opportunities. Americans should not be promoted, nor should they be held back, by conditions that have nothing to do with merit, or talents and abilities.

Employment discrimination obstructs opportunity for America's workers. If there is any objective that should command complete American consensus, it is ensuring that every American has the chance to succeed—and that, in the final analysis, is what this bill is about. No issue is more critical to our country, and nothing makes a bigger difference in a person's life than opening up opportunities.

The basic principle we should keep in mind is that every American must have the opportunity to advance as far in their field as their hard work will take them. That is the American way. Gay and lesbian Americans should not have to face discrimination in the workplace, should not face dismissal, be denied promotions, or experience harassment, simply because of their sexual orientation.

In endorsing the Employment Non-Discrimination Act in the 104th Congress the American Bar Association wrote:

Over the years, and with some struggle, this nation has extended employment discrimination protection to individuals on the basis of race, religion, gender, national origin, age, and disability. ENDA takes the next necessary step by extending this same basic protection to another group that has been vilified and victimized—gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals. All workers, regardless of their sexual orientation, are entitled to be judged on the strength of the work they do; they should not be deprived of their livelihood because of the prejudice of others.

This is an eloquent statement of one of the fundamental tenets of the United States of America—equal opportunity for all. This Nation was founded by people fleeing prejudice and discrimination. ENDA continues that legacy.

As a matter of fundamental fairness and because all workers should be entitled to legal protection and opportunity in the work force, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting the Employment Non-Discrimination Act.●

TRIBUTE TO ATLAS ADVANCED PYROTECHNICS, RECENT WINNER OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE'S 1997 INDEPENDENCE DAY AERIAL FIREWORKS DISPLAY

● Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Atlas Advanced Pyrotechnics, the Granite State's largest pyrotechnics design firm, on winning the National Park Service's 1997 Independence Day aerial fireworks display, to be held July 4 by the Washington Monument in Washington, DC.

Atlas Advanced Pyrotechnics is well known in the New Hampshire commu-

nity for some of their spectacular shows like the annual Rock 101 Skyshow and Jaffery's Festival of Fireworks. Atlas won the North American Pyrotechnics Competition in 1994 and was the United States representative at the 1995 Benson and Hedges International Pyrotechnics Competition in Montreal, Canada.

Atlas will light the sky over the Nation's Capital with more than 3,000 shells in 20 minutes. The entire show will be digitally synchronized to patriotic music of Copeland, Gershwin, Bernstein, and Eubie Blake.

In addition to this year's fireworks display on the Mall in Washington DC, the National Park Service has also awarded Atlas the prestigious Harper's Ferry Historical Park display on June 28, at Harper's Ferry, WV.

I commend Atlas for their hard work and dedication that has earned them such prestigious awards. I applaud the people of Atlas for their accomplishments in bringing joy to the American public. I wish them a very happy Fourth of July.●

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY

● Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today in support of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty [CTBT]. Along with many of my colleagues, I call upon the Senate to ratify this important treaty which will help to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, improve the environment in which we live, save billions of dollars, and enhance the security of our Nation.

The CTBT prohibits all nuclear test explosions worldwide. The treaty establishes an international agency to coordinate nuclear policy and verify test ban compliance through an International Monitoring System, onsite inspections, consultation and clarification, and confidence-building measures. The treaty is quite simple, really, and it is something that Americans have wanted for a long time.

"The conclusion of such a treaty * * * would check the spiraling arms race in one of its most dangerous areas. It would place nuclear powers in a position to deal more effectively with one of the great hazards which man faces * * * the further spread of nuclear arms. It would increase our security; it would decrease the prospects of war. Surely this goal is sufficiently important to require our steady pursuit, yielding neither to the temptation to give up the whole effort nor the temptation to give up our insistence on vital and responsible safeguards."

Those words, so appropriate today, were spoken 34 years ago by President John F. Kennedy, in an historic speech at American University. In that speech, the President announced the beginning of high-level discussions among the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom regarding "a comprehensive test ban treaty." Even then,

long before the demise of the Soviet Union rendered the United States the sole remaining superpower, President Kennedy and many others recognized the dangers inherent in nuclear testing, and the many benefits of a test ban.

A test ban will curb the spread of nuclear weapons, helping to keep them out of the hands of rogue states and terrorists. A test ban will mean that children do not have to grow up in areas contaminated by nuclear explosions. A test ban will mean that money spent on maintaining test sites and running tests—hundreds of millions of dollars a year in the United States alone—could be spent on education, health, and other priorities of the American people. In short, a nuclear test ban will enhance the military, political, and economic security of our Nation. That's why President Clinton has signed and 158 countries in the United Nations have endorsed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. That is also why 80 percent of Americans are calling upon us to ratify it.

When President Kennedy began test ban negotiations 34 years ago, he was realistic about the challenges in negotiating with the Soviet Union. He said, "Our hopes must be tempered with the caution of history, but with our hopes go the hopes of all mankind." Today, Mr. President, history and hope are on our side. Now is the time to conclude the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Now is our chance to fulfill the hopes of all mankind.●

MICHIGAN'S 1997 BLUE RIBBON SCHOOLS

● Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today in tribute of seven truly exceptional educational institutions in my State of Michigan. On Friday, May 23, the U.S. Department of Education announced the recipients of the 1997 Blue Ribbon School Awards. It gives me great pleasure to recognize today before my colleagues each of these schools and commend them on this prestigious award.

To be named a blue ribbon school is no small achievement; it requires the successful passage of a rigorous nomination and screen process. The Department of Education review panel evaluates as conditions of effective schooling the following: leadership; teaching environment; curriculum and instruction; student environment; parent and community support; and organizational vitality. The review panel also considers objective indicators of success, such as: Student performance on measures of achievement; daily student and teacher attendance rates; students' postgraduation pursuits; school, staff, and student awards; and high student retention-graduation rates.

Obviously, those select few schools afforded the status of Blue Ribbon Awards are more than deserving of the national attention that accompanies such an honor. I would like to take a

moment to individually recognize each of the Michigan elementary and middle schools, and the dedicated principals under whose leadership these schools have thrived, for entry into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Anna M. Joyce Elementary School, Detroit, MI, Mr. Leslie Brown, principal.

Brace-Lederle Elementary School, Southfield, MI, Dr. Bobbie K. Hentrel, principal.

Grand View Elementary School, Grandville, MI, Mr. Rich Doyle, principal.

Lincoln Park Elementary School, Norton Shores, MI, Ms. Tresea Goff, principal.

Pine Tree Elementary School, Lake Orion, MI, Mrs. Beverly Tepper, principal.

Rogewood School, Rockford, MI, Mrs. Sharon Bennett, principal.

Troy Union Elementary School, Troy, MI, Dr. Ronald J. O'Hara, principal.

Educating our children is no simple task, and everyone involved with the success of these blue ribbon schools deserves to feel a great sense of pride. On behalf of all my fellow Senators I extend to the staff, students, and parents of each of these communities my most sincere congratulations and best wishes for the even brighter future that awaits them.●

ESTATE TAX LAWS MUST BE REFORMED

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I want Congress to act decisively to stop our estate tax laws from hindering the transfer of family businesses and family farms and ranches to the next generation. These family enterprises are the major creators of new wealth and new jobs in this country. Yet in far too many cases, our estate tax laws force the children and grandchildren who inherit a modestly sized family business to sell it, or a large part of it, to pay off huge estate taxes. I want our tax laws to assist the transfer of family enterprises so they can continue to generate jobs and new wealth. Instead our estate tax laws now hinder that transfer.

I've authored legislation in several Congresses to allow family farms, ranches, and other small family businesses to be passed along to the next generation without being loaded up with massive estate tax debt. The legislation I've introduced in this Congress increases the unified estate and gift tax exemption from \$600,000 to \$1 million. In addition, it provides a new \$1 million exclusion for family business assets. Together, my proposals would allow a family business, valued up to \$2 million, to be passed to the children and grandchildren to operate without any estate tax liability.

A number of my colleagues in the Senate share my concerns about estate taxes. In fact, I worked with a core group of Senators, including Senators

GRASSLEY, LOTT, NICKLES, and BAUCUS for several months this spring to develop a comprehensive, bipartisan estate tax relief bill. This effort led to the introduction of a bipartisan bill, called the Estate Tax Relief for the American Family Act of 1997 (S. 479), which includes a number of important provisions including proposals to increase the unified estate and gift tax exemption and to target additional support for family-owned and operated businesses. Most of the changes recommended in this legislation are long-overdue, and I will work with my colleagues to include them in revenue legislation this Congress.

I have decided to add my name as a cosponsor of S. 479 because I support the primary thrust and goals of this initiative. I want to send a reminder to those calling for tax cuts that estate tax relief for family businesses is not a partisan issue. It is important for the survival of our Nation's family businesses, and it should be included in the balanced budget tax relief package now being drafted in Congress.

Although I am adding my name as a cosponsor to signal a bipartisan desire to pass some estate tax relief, I do want to see one provision of this bill changed. The cut in the estate tax rate for estates in the \$2.5 million to \$11 million range is, I believe, excessive. I would prefer to use the money available for estate tax reduction for a larger exemption at the bottom rather than additional tax breaks at the top.

But I hope that when estate tax relief is enacted that the work we have done together will contribute to helping family businesses and family farms and ranches to be passed on to the children who will continue to operate them.●

THANKING THE LANGUAGE SERVICES SECTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE FOR ITS SUPPORT TO THE SENATE BANKING COMMITTEE

● Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to thank the language services section of the Congressional Research Service for its support to the Senate Banking Committee in our inquiry into the disposition of heirless assets in Swiss banks, before, during, and after World War II. During the course of our inquiry thousands of pages of documentation have been examined as we have tried to establish the ultimate disposition of assets which were deposited in Swiss banks by Holocaust victims prior to World War II.

Hundreds of pages of these historical documents were written in various languages which dealt with extremely technical matters. It was imperative that the Banking Committee obtain accurate translations for these documents. The language services section never let us down.

I would especially like to recognize David Skelly who provided translation support in the German and French languages. Mr. Skelly worked with my

staff on a daily basis and his efforts were truly noteworthy.

On many occasions we contacted Mr. Skelly and solicited his translation assistance on an immediate basis. Mr. Skelly never complained. He never said, "I can't do this. You're asking too much." He said simply, "How soon do you need it?" and "OK. I'll get right on it."

On one particular instance Mrs. Deanna Hammond, Mr. Skelly's supervisor and another true professional in that office, contacted Mr. Skelly at home on his own time and read him a very technical document in German which he translated. Mrs. Hammond typed up the English translation and we had it in our hands 2 hours after sending in our request.

Mr. President, this is the type of dedicated service which Government employees all too often perform, and no one hears anything about it. You certainly won't hear it from anyone in the language service section. This is all in a day's work for them. This is a group of people who take their commitment to the Congress and the American people very seriously. And they deliver.

I consider the language services section to be an indispensable office within the Congressional Research Service which provides a truly unique service to the Congress. I congratulate all of the workers there on their fine work and extend to them my thanks.●

AMERICA'S FREEMASONRY AND FLAG DAY

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, as our Nation prepares to celebrate Flag Day on the 14th of this month, I rise to pay tribute to over 1 million men who belong to the largest and oldest fraternal organization in the world, America's Freemasonry. Since the Continental Congress adopted the Stars and Stripes as our Nation's flag on June 14, 1777, Masons have given this beloved symbol their staunch support.

It is nearly 48 years since President Harry S. Truman signed an act of Congress recognizing Flag Day as a national holiday. Truman's contribution as a Mason follows the efforts of other great Masonic national leaders. Adm. John Paul Jones flew Old Glory at Quiberon Bay, France on February 13, 1778, in the first recognition of the United States by a foreign nation. Nearly 200 years later, Astronaut Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin traveled with an American flag to the Moon. With their distinguished moral code and immutable patriotism, these and other Masons, including Francis Scott Key, helped to advance the flag as a true symbol of our Nation.

Senator Robert C. Winthrop (1809-1894) of Massachusetts once said, "Our flag is our national ensign, pure and simple, behold it! Listen to it! Every star has a tongue, every stripe is articulate." Indeed, with the constant help of America's Freemasonry, the

U.S. flag has been seen in every corner of the world and has been recognized as an emblem of our continued democracy.●

APPOINTMENT BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 276d-276g, as amended, appoints the Senator from Washington [Mrs. MURRAY] as vice chair of the Senate delegation to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group during the 105th Congress.

APPOINTMENT BY THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Democratic leader, pursuant to Public Law 101-445, appoints Arlene M. Chamberlain, of South Dakota, to the National Nutrition Monitoring Advisory Council.

Mr. LOTT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

VOTE ON MOTION TO ADJOURN

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 a.m. on Thursday, June 12, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to adjourn. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUE] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 55, nays 44, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 99 Leg.]

YEAS—55

Abraham	DeWine	Inhofe
Allard	Domenici	Jeffords
Ashcroft	Enzi	Kempthorne
Bennett	Faircloth	Kyl
Bond	Frist	Lott
Brownback	Gorton	Lugar
Burns	Gramm	Mack
Campbell	Grams	McCain
Chafee	Grassley	McConnell
Coats	Gregg	Murkowski
Cochran	Hagel	Nickles
Collins	Hatch	Roberts
Coverdell	Helms	Roth
Craig	Hutchinson	Santorum
D'Amato	Hutchison	Sessions

Shelby	Specter	Thurmond
Smith (NH)	Stevens	Warner
Smith (OR)	Thomas	
Snowe	Thompson	

NAYS—44

Akaka	Feingold	Levin
Baucus	Feinstein	Lieberman
Biden	Ford	Mikulski
Bingaman	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Boxer	Graham	Moynihan
Breaux	Harkin	Murray
Bryan	Hollings	Reed
Bumpers	Johnson	Reid
Byrd	Kennedy	Robb
Cleland	Kerrey	Rockefeller
Conrad	Kerry	Sarbanes
Daschle	Kohl	Torricelli
Dodd	Landrieu	Wellstone
Dorgan	Lautenberg	Wyden
Durbin	Leahy	

NOT VOTING—1

Inouye

The motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate stands adjourned until 11 a.m. tomorrow, Thursday, June 12, 1997.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:32 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, June 12, 1997, at 11 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 11, 1997:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

ROBERT L. MALLETT, OF TEXAS, TO BE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, VICE DAVID J. BARRAM.

POSTAL RATE COMMISSIONER

GEORGE A. OMAS, OF MISSISSIPPI, TO BE A COMMISSIONER OF THE POSTAL RATE COMMISSION FOR A TERM EXPIRING OCTOBER 14, 2000, VICE WAYNE ARTHUR SCHLEY, TERM EXPIRED.

FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION

JANE GARVEY, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION FOR THE TERM OF FIVE YEARS, VICE DAVID RUSSELL HINSON, RESIGNED.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

KARL FREDERICK Inderfurth, of North Carolina, to be Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, vice Robin Lynn Raphael.

DAVID ANDREWS, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE LEGAL ADVISER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, (NEW POSITION) TIMBERLAKE FOSTER, OF CALIFORNIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA.

RALPH FRANK, OF WASHINGTON, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL.

JOHN C. HOLZMAN, OF HAWAII, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH.

NANCY JO POWELL, OF IOWA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA.

AMELIA ELLEN SHIPPY, OF WASHINGTON, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF MALAWI.

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE U.S. NAVY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 624:

To be captain

CHRISTINE L. ABELEIN, 1294
BRYAN S. APPLE, 2257
MICHAEL AUGUSTINE, 4680
GLENN S. BACON, 8579
RICHARD S. BAKALAR, 9761
JOHN L. BALL, 0576

MAUREEN R. BANNON, 5922
 CHARLES O. BARKER, 2525
 DEBORAH J. BARKER, 5443
 STEPHEN E. BARKER, 8958
 DAVID J. BARNETTE, JR., 0729
 DENNIS G. BENGTSON, 0553
 JUSTUS BENJAMIN, JR., 9096
 PHILIP B. BESHANY, 5741
 RICHARD T. BEX, 9865
 DONEL S. BIANCHI, 9271
 SANDRA C. BIBB, 3519
 JAY A. BLACK, 8092
 PAUL K. BLAKE, 5777
 BRUCE N. BLANDY, 6835
 ROBERT E. BLUNDELL, JR., 0760
 GERALD A. BOECHLER, 8642
 LELAND D. BOWEN, 4517
 JEAN N. BRAKEBILL, 9343
 TERESA M. BRENNAN, 8531
 MICHAEL A. BROPHY, 8313
 SARAH E. BROWN, 5390
 CHARLES L. BRYNER, JR., 4232
 GREGORY J. BUCHANAN, 3422
 LADEAN W. BUNKERS, 0847
 SHARYN A. BURKE, 3720
 ALICE M. CAHILL, 4885
 DAVID M. CHRISTENSON, 1481
 MARK W. COBB, 3640
 MICHAEL H. CONAWAY, 1007
 FRANCES L. CONNOR, 1367
 THOMAS CORTEMEGLIA, 4703
 DAVID P. COTE, 1141
 MARC S. CUNNINGHAM, 3218
 MELODIE C. DACORTA, 9382
 LINDA M. DAEHN, 2037
 JANE G. DALTON, 7426
 MICHAEL M. DARBY, 4054
 CHARLES B. DAVIS, 4404
 SANDRA L. DEGROOT, 6796
 PATRICIA M. DENZER, 4557
 JOHN P. DEPNER, 8747
 JAMES R. DEVOLL, 5904
 JOLINE I. W. DEVOS, 1539
 OSCAR W. DICKEY, 8834
 JAMES L. DIETZ, 9394
 WILLIAM D. DOLAN, 3668
 JONATHAN P. EDWARDS, 2704
 ROGER D. EDWARDS, 8828
 RICHARD T. EVANS, 6520
 PAUL E. FARRELL, JR., 7076
 RICHARD H. FEIERABEND, 7412
 WILLIAM B. FERRARA, 3702
 HOWARD H. FISCHER, JR., 3157
 RICHARD J. FLETCHER, JR., 8749
 MELANIE D. FRANK, 9059
 JOHN T. FRENCH, 0024
 ROBERT F. FRISBY, JR., 9851
 STUART D. FUNK, 0868
 VANCE G. GAINER, JR., 2476
 ROSCOE D. GEORGE, III, 6636
 H. J. GERHARD, 0107
 MARK D. GILBERTS, 8317
 BILLIE G. GOFF, 7006
 CANDACE M. GORTNEY, 9996
 KELLY D. GUBLER, 6387
 JAMES N. HAGARTY, 9364
 DANIEL W. HANSEN, 3343
 MARK D. HARNITCHEK, 5185
 PAMELA A. HEIM, 3395
 RONALD W. HERTWIG, 4056
 CLYDE J. HOCKETT, 8619

JAMES R. HOFFOWER, 6311
 MAUREEN P. HOGAN, 8368
 ELIZABETH K. HOLMES, 1901
 ROBERT E. HOYT, 5202
 PHILLIP D. HUNT, 5326
 JOHN F. JOHNSON, II, 8493
 EDGAR T. JONES, 5410
 CHERYL L. KAMINSKA, 0824
 JOHN R. KELLY, 0363
 BRIAN R. KELM, 3739
 DAVID L. KENNEDY, 3746
 KEVIN R. KERRIGAN, 4372
 EDWARD M. KILBANE, 6528
 LOUIS J. KITSLAAR, 7849
 GENE M. KOHLER, 8054
 MICHAEL J. KRENTZ, 4373
 MAUREEN A. KUSNIEREK, 4486
 LEO KUSUDA, 6227
 SUSAN LAING, 8840
 FRANK C. LAWTON, III, 9140
 FRED C. LEGE, 1851
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