

Has anyone ever heard the word "surplus" in Washington? Balanced budgets by 1984, balanced budgets by 1991, and then, finally, in 1995—we could look at the documents—a surplus of \$20.5 billion. Here, instead of a surplus of \$20.5 billion, we have a \$283.3 billion deficit.

So there it is. "Here we go again," as our fearless leader, President Ronald Reagan, said. "Here we go again."

I thank the distinguished Chair.

CHARLAYNE HUNTER-GAULT AND A SENSE OF HISTORY

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I would like to draw my colleagues' attention to a column in today's Washington Post that is a good remembrance of the early 1960's when black students integrated Southern colleges. In touching remarks, South Carolina native Charlayne Hunter-Gault, public television's national news correspondent, weaves an excellent reflection of the history of the times as she remembers the life of Hamilton Earl Holmes. Together in 1961, Ms. Hunter-Gault and Mr. Holmes became the first two African-American students to attend the University of Georgia.

Back in the early 1960's as the University of Georgia integrated, the State of South Carolina was employing every means to keep Clemson University segregated. We ran out of courts.

But fortunately, we had people like Mr. Holmes and Ms. Hunter-Gault who were willing to show us the way in South Carolina. Their courage and ability to stand up led to Clemson's peaceful admission of Harvey Gantt, the former mayor of Charlotte and a former candidate for U.S. Senate.

With the death of Hamilton Earl Holmes, it is important for us to remember the struggles of the past and to find the courage to move forward—and not fall further into the bitterness of racism and make mistakes of the past.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Ms. Hunter-Gault's column to be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 31, 1995]

ONE IN A MILLION

(By Charlayne Hunter-Gault)

One of the black men who was not "one in a million" at the Million Man March was Hamilton Earl Holmes. But in a real sense, if the purpose was to have black men "stand up"—and surely no one could have thought that this was the first time that has happened—Hamilton had long since pioneered in standing up. And while there might have been millions cheering him on, for the most part he stood up alone.

It was in the early winter of 1961, when Hamilton Holmes, armed with a court order, walked onto the campus of the University of Georgia and into history as the first black man ever to be admitted and attend classes there in its 170-year history. If he never did anything else in his life, that single act of manly courage in the face of jeers, spitting and rioting would have been enough to qual-

ify him as a "standup guy." but Hamp did that and a lot more. For a major part of his purpose in life was to demonstrate to the world that black men were as good as any men. Not better, but as good as, although there were times in his classes in biology and physics and calculus and all the other courses that an aspiring doctor has to take that he earned a second layer of enmity from his classmates by consistently pushing the curve up to 98 or 99 and often a hundred, leaving the next best grade some 10 points behind.

It was such a performance that led him to be elected to Phi Beta Kappa, a notation that appeared beside his name when he graduated in 1963 as one of two black students in a class of 2,000. Had he not been recovering from surgery on a heart that was as big as the world, but in the end was vulnerable to its pressures, he might have been at the Million Man March with his son, Hamilton Jr. (Chip), at his side. And while his was never the gift of oratory, he could have offered his own quiet but soul-elevating testimony to the strength of black men and to black families. He could surely have given the lie, as he always had, to notions of inferiority and rampant irresponsibility. He could have also provided as well a window into a world that existed not so long ago, one that raised obstacles and inflicted pain on black men that only the most ignorant or callous among us would forget.

Hamp had come from a distinguished black family of doctors and educators and activists who challenged the laws that kept blacks "in their place," starting when Hamp was still in junior high school with the all-white Atlanta golf course. His grandfather, a doctor who lived to be 82, once explained the family philosophy to the writer Calvin Trillin: "I trained my children from infancy to fear nothing, and I told my grandson the same thing. I told him to be meek. Be meek, but don't look too humble. Because if you look too humble they might think you're afraid, and there's nothing to be afraid about, because the Lord will send his angel to watch over you and you have nothing to fear."

And Hamp produced a distinguished family. During his 30-year marriage to Marilyn, he had a son who followed in his footsteps, albeit less ceremoniously, to the University of Georgia, graduated and now works in communications, and a daughter. Allison, also a college graduate, who is in banking. Also during those 30 years, he overcame whatever bitterness he had toward the university and became one of its biggest boosters and supporters. This was fairly amazing to me, especially since the two things Hamp wanted most in college were good labs (he had always said he could get the education he needed at Morehouse, the all-black men's college where he had a four-year, all-expenses-paid scholarship, but the university had better facilities) and the opportunity to play football for the Georgia Bulldogs. The officials at Georgia refused to let him play "for his own safety." But when I returned on a visit to Atlanta in the early '80s, one of the biggest "dawgs" around was Hamp, who by then had accepted an appointment as a trustee to the Georgia Foundation, the body that oversees university funding. The other day, Charles Knapp, the current president of the university, called Hamilton "one of our most distinguished graduates."

In the years since Hamp and I were joined at the hip of history, I have often had occasion to think back to the time when we were fighting in federal court to win the right to attend the university. President Knapp's words sent me back to those days, when the top officials of the university tried to keep Hamp out by testifying in court that he was unqualified, not because he was black. The latter would have been illegal under the 1954 Brown decision, and officials of the state had

sworn to resist integration, but only "by all legal means." Hamp might have been able to overlook being called "nigger," but "unqualified"? The valedictorian of our Turner High School class of 1956? The smartest student in all Atlanta, according to his proud father, Tup. If there was a fighting word to Hamp, it was that "unqualified."

And while he was slow to anger and preferred classroom combat to the real thing, he was capable of standing up that way too. Once, when had parked in front of the house of one of the most racist fraternities on campus, and the fraternity guys saw whose car it was, they began to taunt him and make moves that suggested they were prepared to go further. Knowing he had only himself to rely on and understanding the white southern mentality perhaps better than they themselves, Hamp made a quick but deliberate move to open the car door, reached across to the glove compartment and took out something that he immediately placed in his pocket. It was a flashlight, but who knew? Hamp was relying on the prevailing predisposition to embrace every known stereotype of black men, and his instinct proved correct. They backed off in a heartbeat. The irony of the encounter was that the next day, Hamp was summoned to the dean's office and admonished for carrying a gun. The rest of the time, the frat brothers did their dirty deeds in stealth. Like letting the air out of Hamp's tires while he was in class. Early and often.

But Hamp persevered, often finding release in a game of pickup basketball with the brothers from town, who at that point could come to football games but still had to sit in the section reserved for blacks, called the "crow's nest." They were proud of Hamp; and who knows how many of them he inspired—if not to apply to the university then to be all they could be.

If he had been well enough and so inclined, that might have been his message at the Million Man March. He might have dusted off an old speech he made in our senior year, just before he graduated, went on to become the first black student at Emory Medical School and then to a distinguished career as an orthopedic surgeon and teacher.

Back then, in the spring of 1963, he liked to talk about "The New Negro." "Ours is a competitive society," he'd say. "This is true even more so for the Negro. He must compete not only with other Negroes, but with the white man. In most instances, in competition for jobs and status with whites, the Negro must have more training and be more qualified than his white counterpart if he is to beat him out of a job. If the training and qualifications are equal, nine out of 10 times the job will go to the white man. This is a challenge to us as a race. We must not be content to be equal, education- and training-wise, but we must strive to be superior in order to be given an equal chance. This is something that I have experienced in my short tenure at the University of Georgia. I cannot feel satisfied with just equaling the average grades there. I am striving to be superior in order to be accepted as an equal. If the average is B, then I want an A. The importance of superior training cannot be over-emphasized. This is a peculiar situation, I know, but it is reality, and reality is something that we Negroes must learn to live with."

How much would he have edited that speech for the march? Hamilton Earl Holmes was not there that day to be one in a million, and today we will bury him, one in a million, to be sure, but also one of many millions of black men who have given more than should

have been required of any human beings, and whose death at 54 should give us pause to contemplate the meaning of his life, of theirs and of the millions of black men who live on.

INNOVATIVE LEADERSHIP BY THE INS AGAINST ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to call the attention of my colleagues in Congress to a compelling example of the kind of innovation we are seeing today by the Clinton administration in addressing the problem of illegal immigration.

Stronger border enforcement is part of the answer. But is obviously not the only answer. The Immigration and Naturalization Service estimates that 40 to 50 percent of the illegal aliens currently in the United States entered the country legally on visitors visas and other temporary visas, then remained illegally in the country after their visas expired.

The overriding challenge we face is to remove the magnet of jobs which encourage so many people to come to the United States illegally or to remain here illegally.

A key element in this strategy must be to assist employers to abide by the law and to hire only those persons entitled to work in the United States.

Clearly, the INS is making progress. Last week, the Ford Foundation and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard announced that an INS program in Dallas has won one of this year's Innovations in American Government Awards for its success in encouraging employers to remove illegal aliens from their rolls and hiring U.S. workers in their place.

This kind of innovation combats illegal immigration, helps employers, and provides good jobs for American workers. I am hopeful that as Congress considers immigration reform legislation in the coming weeks, we can encourage more new approaches like this to combating illegal immigration.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Washington Post describing the Dallas INS initiative be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 26, 1995]
FOUNDATION AWARDS HONOR 15 CREATIVE
GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS
(By Stephen Barr)

When the Immigration and Naturalization Service discovered 220 illegal immigrants were working at a Dallas plant that makes aluminum windows and doors, INS agents could have raided the plant and deported the workers. But a raid might have put the company out of business.

So INS assistant district director Neil Jacobs offered the company a "common-sense approach" to the problem. Rather than treat the company as the enemy, he gave it 60 days to recruit replacement workers from Dallas-area community and welfare programs. When the deadline arrived, the INS made its arrests and the company averted a shutdown.

Today, the Innovations in American Government awards program sponsored by the

Ford Foundation and Harvard University will announce that Jacob's strategy for enforcing immigration laws is one of 15 local, state and federal programs receiving a \$100,000 cash prize.

Thus is the first time that awards have gone to federal programs since the Ford Foundation and Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government began their initiative in 1986. The awards will go to six federal and nine state and local programs at a time when a Republican-controlled Congress is cutting federal spending and turning more responsibility over to the states.

Three of the federal programs honored this year, such as Jacobs's "Operation Jobs," reflect the government's search for less punitive and more effective ways to regulate business. A number of the local and state award winners created solutions to their problems by forgoing partnerships with unions, nonprofit organizations and private-sector companies to deliver services cheaper or more efficiently.

In the current cost-cutting environment, Michael Lipsky, the Ford Foundation official responsible for the innovations program, said, "It is the deeply felt position of the foundation that the government deserves more recognition for creativity and ought to be encouraged to be better."

As Debbie Blair, the personnel manager at General Aluminum—a plant in Dallas that tried Jacobs's approach—said, "Clearly, the old tactics used by INS were not successful. They are thinking smarter in trying to figure out a new way to solve an old problem."

In Texas, a major INS problem has been how to handle illegal immigrants, mostly from Mexico, who obtain jobs with fraudulent papers. Although job applicants must show employers documents that indicate they are U.S. citizens or legal residents, federal law allows candidates to choose which papers from a prescribed list to present employers.

In some cases when the INS found widespread violations, it would secure a warrant, raid a company without informing the employer and endanger its own agents as they conducted arrests. Jacobs found, however, that the illegal workers quickly returned to the Dallas area and got new jobs or their old jobs back. "That was frustrating us," he said.

So Jacobs, keeping in step with INS policy to work toward increasing voluntary compliance with the law, threw out his idea for "Operation Jobs" at a staff meeting one day and, after a few false starts, his Dallas office created a system linking the INS to police and community groups. The INS "treats the employer as the client rather than the enemy," he said.

Moving beyond its traditional enforcement functions, the Dallas INS office began putting employers in touch with city social service programs, refugee assistance groups and other community agencies that try to find jobs for laid-off workers, legal immigrants or school dropouts. To avert financial losses, companies are given time to recruit and train the new hires, write the understanding that at a pre-arranged time the INS will show up to make arrests.

"Everybody wins on all sides," said Tina Jenkins, a Tarrant County official who helps out-of-work residents get emergency assistance for rent and utilities. "We get people employed, the employer is happy, and it's good p.r. for INS—they aren't looked at as the bad guys."

Jacobs estimates that about 50 companies have participated in Operations Jobs over the last two years, providing residents of North Texas about 3,000 jobs that previously were held by undocumented workers.

Many companies, of course, gamble that INS will never learn about their hiring prac-

tices, and not every INS attempt at cooperation with companies under investigation works out. "We've had situations where we get back in 30 days and no one is left," Jacobs acknowledged. "But most employers feel that if 'I don't show I'm a team player now . . . ' we won't be as cooperative the next time we do an inspection."

Under pressure from the Republican Congress, the Clinton administration has been moving toward more aggressive enforcement of the prohibition on hiring illegal immigrants. Still, in Jacobs's office, fewer than a dozen of the 50 agents he supervises handle employer sanctions.

The notion that regulatory and enforcement agencies like INS and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, also an award winner this year, should create partnerships with the private sector "doubtless reflects the mood of the time," said Alan Altshuler, the director of the innovations program at Harvard.

"Good government has to be creative, innovative government today," Altshuler said. "It is not enough to simply get rid of waste, fraud and abuse."

The 15 award winners, who were selected from a field of about 1,600, will be honored tonight at a dinner that Vice President Gore is scheduled to attend. The finalists were selected by a committee headed by former Michigan governor William G. Milliken (R) that included industry leaders, journalists and former elected officials.

The program encountered some of Washington's legendary red tape when it was informed that some of the federal agencies being honored could not legally accept the gifts. As a result, the \$100,000 prizes will be administered by the nonprofit Council for Excellence in Government. The council will help the agencies sponsor conferences or events to explain their programs to other groups.

The awards represent a small fraction of the \$268 million in grant money that the Ford Foundation gave away last year, Lipsky said, but provide the foundation with a forum to "stand for the proposition that there is a great deal of good in government that goes unrecognized. While no one says government is perfect, the balance between positive news and negative news goes heavily toward the negative."

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, on that evening in 1972 when I first was elected to the Senate, I made a commitment to myself that I would never fail to see a young person, or a group of young people, who wanted to see me.

It has proved enormously beneficial to me because I have been inspired by the estimated 60,000 young people with whom I have visited during the nearly 23 years I have been in the Senate.

Most of them have been concerned that the total Federal debt which is \$27 billion shy of \$5 trillion—which we will pass this year. Of course, Congress is responsible for creating this monstrosity for which the coming generations will have to pay.

The young people and I almost always discuss the fact that under the U.S. Constitution, no President can spend a dime of Federal money that has not first been authorized and appropriated by both the House and Senate of the United States.