

children from our Federal life-support system would be the most "regressive and brutal act of social policy since Reconstruction."

Think of what it means for our cities. Remember, not all these children will be 4 months old or 4 years old. Many will be 14 years old. In 5 years' time, you will not recognize Detroit, Los Angeles, New York. These are cities where a majority of births are out of wedlock. The average for our largest 50 cities is 48.0 percent.

What is going on is a profound social change which we do not understand, just as we could not comprehend the problem of unemployment in the first part of this century, and ended with the crisis of the world depression, which almost destroyed democracy. It was a very close thing. Now, we are putting the viability of our own social system at risk.

This year the National Center for Health Statistics reported that the nonmarital, out-of-wedlock ratio of births in the United States has now reached one-third, 32.6 percent. That was for 1994, so it is a third today. In Detroit, that number is 75.3 percent; in Los Angeles, it is 50.1 percent; in New York City, 52.3 percent; in Chicago, 56 percent; in New Orleans, 64 percent. I think Detroit and New Orleans are probably the highest. No society in history has ever encountered this problem. These numbers a half century ago were 4 percent. New York City, 4 percent half a century ago, 52 percent today; Manhattan, 54 percent.

Nobody understands. Something like this is going on in Britain, in Canada, in France, in Germany. We are undergoing an enormous social change which we do not understand. Although it does not happen at all in Japan. Ratios were 1 percent in 1940 and 1 percent today.

Yet, we are acting as if we do understand. The basic model of this problem in the minds of most legislators, and most persons in the administration, is that since we first had welfare and we then got illegitimacy, it must be that welfare caused illegitimacy. And they may be right. I do not know. But neither do they.

I have stood on this floor and argued for the Family Support Act, which one Senator after another invokes as a measure that works, getting people out of dependency, into jobs. It could continue to work. But not this sharp cut-off—bang, 2 years, you are off; 5 years, you are off forever. That invites the kind of calamity which it may be we are going to have to experience in order to come to our senses.

I said on the floor last September that we will have children sleeping on grates if this becomes law. I repeat that today. I hope I shall have been proved wrong. I hope.

We will have a chance to track it. In the Social Security Act Amendments of 1994, I was able to include a small, but significant, provision to try to get us some accumulation of information and then perhaps theoretical knowl-

edge about this situation. We enacted the Welfare Indicators Act of 1994. It requires the Secretary of Health and Human Services to start producing an annual report based on the Economic Report of the President, which derives from the Employment Act of 1946.

We will have the first interim report due October 31 of this year. It takes a long time for these institutions, if I can use that word, to mature, but we will have documentation of what this legislation did. We will know, unless we are reduced to concealing the truth, which we are getting very close to in this debate. Administration officials saying, when asked for the report, "There is no report"; when the report is published saying, "Well, I guess there was a report"; then saying, "No more reports." We are standing here on the Senate floor with no report from the administration. Shame.

One of the comments I have made throughout this debate, over the last year and a half, is that it has been conservative social analysts who have been most wary of what we are doing. They have consistently warned us that we do not know enough to do this. They have asked us to be conservatives and not take this radical step, putting at risk the lives of children in a way we have never done.

After we allowed a system to develop in which children are supported in this manner, to suddenly stop that support based on some very vague notion of human behavior—that if you are going to suffer awful consequences, you will change your behavior. We will be making cruelty to children an instrument of social policy. Lawrence Mead of NYU said you don't know enough to do this. Lawrence Mead, no liberal he; a career telling the liberals they were letting this situation get out of hand.

But 52 percent of the children born in the city of New York are to a single parent. John J. Dillulio, Jr., at Princeton saying, "Conservatives should know better than to take such risks with the lives of children."

And then George F. Will. George Will of unequalled authority as a commentator on the difficulty of social change and the care with which it is to be addressed. He wrote of the vote last September:

As the welfare debate begins to boil, the place to begin is with an elemental fact: No child in America asked to be here. No child is going to be spiritually improved by being collateral damage in a bombardment of severities targeted at adults who may or may not deserve more severe treatment from the welfare state.

I end on that proposition. No child in America asked to be here. Why, then, are we determined to punish them?

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, how much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico has approximately 36 minutes remaining.

Mr. DOMENICI. I yield 15 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Thank you, Mr. President. I thank the chairman.

EXPRESSING CONDOLENCES TO PEOPLE OF MONTOURSVILLE, PA

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, before I speak about the welfare bill, I just want to express my condolences to the people of Montoursville, PA. As many of you know, the crash of TWA Flight 800 included French students from that high school in Montoursville, along with five chaperones.

I talked with some people in Montoursville today. To say the people are shocked and overwhelmed does not quite, I think, relay the feelings that are going through that small town in north central Pennsylvania, near Williamsport, PA.

Senator SPECTER and I have pledged to do all we can to aid the people of that community in getting information that is necessary to begin the healing process, which is a very difficult one. We will do whatever we can to assist them in that process. Obviously, we will be vigilant in making sure the U.S. Government follows up and makes a thorough investigation of this and to the cause of this accident, hopefully accident.

PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY, WORK OPPORTUNITY, AND MEDICAID RESTRUCTURING ACT OF 1996

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, let me move on to the issue before us of welfare reform. It is never easy to follow the Senator from New York when talking about this issue, because there is no one on the Senate floor who knows more about this issue than the Senator from New York. But I was struck by one of the comments he made. I felt compelled to respond to that comment, when he made the comment that the bill before us invites calamity. I am quoting him. He used the term "invites calamity."

I found it odd that he used the term, that the bill before us invites calamity, right after a very eloquent and fact-filled dissertation on the calamity that has been created by this welfare system, that calamity of illegitimacy in our civilization.

He suggested there is no solution, at least we do not know the solution, and, therefore, we should not try anything. I assume that is the conclusion. Since we are not absolutely sure what causes illegitimacy, then we should not even attempt to bring it up since we do not have the answer.

I suggest that the Senator from New York should have been here in the 1960's when in fact we did not know the solution for poverty but we went ahead and tried the Great Society programs anyway. We went ahead not knowing