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No. 4

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:

Gracious God of new beginnings, who makes all things new, give us a viable hope and vibrant expectancy as we begin the work of the 105th Congress. On this day following the inauguration of President Clinton and Vice President GORE, as fellow Americans and patriots we ask for Your blessing on them. In the same breath, we renew our commitment to work together with them as we seek Your will for what is best for our Nation.

Endow our own Senate leaders, TRENT LOTT, TOM DASCHLE, DON NICKLES, and WENDELL FORD with a special measure of wisdom as they work cooperatively together to foster a spirit of oneness in the Senate. Help the Senators to delight in the diversity that sheds varied shades of light on the truth and debate that exposes maximum solutions. May this Senate be distinguished for its civility, creativity, and courage. Your spirit flourishes where men and women pray for each other, speak truth as they see it without rancor, and listen attentively to one another. When we all seek You and Your guidance, we find each other. The bond of our mutual love for You and for America will sustain us in the rough and tumble of political process. God, bless America and begin here in this Senate, through our Lord and Savior. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

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

SCHEDULE

Mr. LOTT. Under the order today, the time between now and 12:30 will be

equally divided between myself and the Democratic leader. At 12:30 today, following our remarks, the Senate will recess until 2:15 for the weekly policy conferences to meet. When the Senate reconvenes at 2:15, there will be a period of morning business to enable all Senators to make statements and introduce legislation.

I anticipate that many of our colleagues will be making statements during the morning business period. Therefore, there will be no rollcall votes during today's session. It is my hope that during tomorrow's session the Senate will be able to consider the Executive nomination of Madeleine Albright to be the Secretary of State, and I anticipate a rollcall vote on Wednesday on the confirmation of that nomination.

I also announce to my colleagues that all Members will be notified as soon as the schedule is finalized with regard to a memorial service on Thursday in Lowell, MA, for our former colleague, Senator Paul Tsongas.

Again, I note as we come out of our policy luncheons, Senator DASCHLE and I will be introducing bills. I will introduce the first 10 bills on behalf of the Senate Republican majority, and Senator DASCHLE will introduce the next 10 bills. We will be hearing during the remainder of the day from the leading sponsors of those bills and others who will be introducing bills and want to make statements. We will go, I am sure, a while into the afternoon. It is hoped we will not begin this session by going late into the night on a Tuesday. We would like to quit at a reasonable hour, for all concerned.

INAUGURATION CEREMONIES

Mr. LOTT. I ask unanimous consent that yesterday's proceedings of the inauguration of the President be printed in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the proceedings were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE VICE PRESIDENT, January 20, 1997

Members of the House of Representatives, Members of the Senate, Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Cabinet, members of the diplomatic corps, the Governors of the States, and the Mayor of the District of Columbia, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other distinguished guests assembled on the west front.

MRS. GORE

Mr. Martin Paone, Senate Secretary for the Minority, escorted Mrs. Gore, accompanied by Mrs. Lott and Mrs. Gephardt, to the President's platform.

MRS. CLINTON

Ms. Elizabeth B. Greene, Senate Secretary for the Majority, and Ms. Amelia Fields, Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies, escorted Mrs. Clinton, accompanied by Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Gingrich, to the President's platform.

THE VICE PRESIDENT

Mr. John Chambers, Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies Deputy Director, Ms. Loretta Symms, Senate Deputy Sergeant at Arms, and Mr. Jim Varey, House Deputy Sergeant at Arms, escorted the Vice President, accompanied by Senator Lott, Representative Gephardt and Representative Arney, to the President's platform.

THE PRESIDENT

Ms. Susan Magill, JCCIC Executive Director, Mr. Greg Casey, Senate Sergeant at Arms, and Mr. Wilson Livingood, House Sergeant at Arms, escorted the President, accompanied by Senator Warner, Senator Ford, Representative Gingrich, Senator Lott, Representative Gephardt and Representative Arney, to the President's platform.

THE INAUGURAL CEREMONY

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Majority Leader, Mr. Chief Justice, Members of the U.S. Congress, their families and guests—all one-quarter million who have joined here today on the grounds of their Capitol.

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



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[Applause.]

Welcome to the 53rd Inauguration of the President and the Vice President of the United States of America.

[Applause.]

Across our Nation, and around the world, Americans join William Jefferson Clinton as he reconfirms the oath of office as the 42nd President of the United States, and Albert Gore, Jr., as he reconfirms the oath of office as the 45th Vice President of the United States.

Our first President, George Washington, was inaugurated in 1789.

Thereafter, every 4 years, our citizens have witnessed this transition of authority as required by the Constitution of the United States.

It is the conferring of this trust and authority—which has occurred without any interruption for 208 years—that is the cornerstone of our representative democracy.

It is a tribute to the providential vision of our Founding Fathers.

It is a tribute to the strength of character of the American people and the endurance of their institutions.

It is a tribute to successive generations of Americans who have guarded our most valuable heritage—our freedom.

And, Mr. President, may I say, on behalf of the millions and millions of Americans, we express to you our gratitude for this past week, having invited to the White House a true man who fought for freedom, and you presented him with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Senator Dole. Thank you, Mr. President.

[Applause.]

For two centuries, the American Presidential Inauguration ceremony has represented both national renewal and continuity of leadership.

So it is altogether fitting that as the world's oldest continuous constitutional democratic republic, we gather today to honor this historical triumph, and to recommit ourselves to keep our Nation strong for future generations.

Mr. President, prayer has been an essential part of all inaugural ceremonies.

As I was privileged to drive up with you from the White House, you held the Bible and read the passage that you will read today.

Therefore, we are honored today to have the Reverend Billy Graham to lead our Nation in prayer, as he has at seven previous inaugurations.

Please stand for the invocation and remain standing for the Pledge of Allegiance. Reverend Graham.

INVOCATION

Reverend GRAHAM. President Clinton, Mrs. Clinton, Vice President Gore, Mrs. Gore, I am going to ask that we all bow our heads in prayer.

Our Father and our God, we thank You today for the privilege of coming into Your presence on this historic and solemn occasion.

We thank You for Your gracious hand which has preserved us as a Nation. We praise You for the peaceful continuity of Government that this inauguration represents.

We recall that the Bible says, "Except the Lord build a house, they labor in vain that build it." You also said that to whom much has been given, much will be required.

We look gratefully to the past, and thank You that from the very foundations of America You granted our forefathers courage and wisdom, as they trusted in You. So we ask today that You would inspire us by their example. Where there has been failure, forgive us; where there has been progress, confirm;

where there has been success, give us humility, and teach us to follow Your instructions more closely as we enter the next century.

Give to all those to whom You have entrusted leadership today a desire to seek Your will and to do it.

So today, we ask Your blessing on President Clinton and his wife, Hillary, and their daughter, Chelsea, and upon Vice President Gore and his wife, Tipper, and their children.

Give to all our leaders the vision of what You desire America to become and the wisdom to accomplish it and the strength to cross the bridges into the 21st century.

We pray also for the Members of the House and the Senate, for the Supreme Court, and for all who bear responsibility of leadership in this Nation which is blessed with such ethnic diversity.

We have not solved all the social problems of our times, such as drugs and racism. Technology and social engineering have not solved the basic problems of human greed, pride, intolerance, and selfishness. We need your insight, we need your compassion, we need your strength. As both President Clinton and Senator Dole urged us in the recent Presidential campaign, may this be a time of coming together to help us deal with the problems we face.

O Lord, help us to be reconciled first to You and secondly to each other. May Dr. Martin Luther King's dream finally come true for all of us. Help us to learn true courtesy to our fellow countrymen that comes from the One who taught us that "whatever you want me to do to you, do also to them."

Remind us today that You have shown us what is good and what You require of us—to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God.

We ask that as a people we may humble ourselves before You and seek Your will for our lives and for this great Nation. Help us in our Nation to work as never before to strengthen our families and to give our children hope and a moral foundation for the future.

So may our desire be to serve You and, in so doing, serve one another.

This we pray in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Mr. WARNER. Thank you, Reverend Graham.

THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

Mr. WARNER. The Pledge of Allegiance will be led by Eagle Scout David Morales, Boy Scout Troop 152, Vienna, VA.

(The Pledge of Allegiance was led by Eagle Scout David Morales.)

Mr. WARNER. Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my privilege to present the Children of the Gospel Mass Choir, under the auspices of the Washington Performing Arts Society.

More than 100 voices from the Washington metropolitan area make up this unique choir.

Accompanied by the United States Marine Band, the choir will perform an original composition by its director, Mr. Rickey Payton, entitled, "Let's Build a Bridge Across America."

(The Children of the Gospel Mass Choir sang "Let's Build a Bridge Across America.")

Mr. WARNER. Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my distinct privilege and honor to present the Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Honorable Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who will administer the oath of office to the Vice President of the United States, Albert Gore, Jr.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH OF OFFICE TO THE VICE PRESIDENT

Associate Justice GINSBURG. If you are ready to take the oath, Mr. Vice President, please repeat after me.

Associate Justice of the United States Ruth Bader Ginsburg administered to the Vice President-elect the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution, which he repeated, as follows:

"I, Albert Gore, Jr., do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office of which I am about to enter. So help me God."

Associate Justice GINSBURG. Every good wish, Mr. Vice President.

Vice President GORE. Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. WARNER. Ladies and gentlemen, participating in today's program is a person with talent described by music critics as a catalog of all that is virtuous in singing.

Accompanied by the U.S. Army Chorus and Chorale, please welcome the world renowned Jessye Norman, who will perform a medley of American music entitled "O Freedom."

Miss Norman.

[Applause.]

(Jessye Norman sang a medley of American music entitled "O Freedom.")

Mr. WARNER. Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, as chairman of the Joint Inaugural Committee, it is now my privilege to introduce my cochairman, Senator Wendell Ford of Kentucky, who will introduce the Chief Justice of the United States.

Senator Ford.

Mr. FORD. Thank you, my friend, John Warner. President Clinton, Mrs. Clinton, Vice President Gore, Mrs. Gore, my fellow Americans, and my colleagues.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, wife of the President-elect, will hold the Clinton family Bible. They are joined by their daughter Chelsea.

It is now my great privilege and high honor to present the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, the Honorable William Hobbs Rehnquist, who will administer the oath of office to the President and President-elect of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton.

[Applause.]

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH OF OFFICE TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. Chief Justice REHNQUIST. Are you ready to take the oath, Mr. President?

President CLINTON. Yes, I am.

Mr. Chief Justice REHNQUIST. Please raise your right hand and repeat after me.

The Chief Justice of the United States, William Hobbs Rehnquist, administered to the President-elect the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution, which he repeated, as follows:

"I, William Jefferson Clinton, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. So help me God."

[Applause.]

(Herald Trumpets play "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief", and 21-gun salute.)

Mr. FORD. Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States of America, William Jefferson Clinton.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

President CLINTON. My fellow citizens: At this last Presidential inauguration of the 20th century, let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century. It is our great good fortune that time and chance have put us not only at the edge of a new century in a new millennium, but

on the edge of a bright new prospect in human affairs. A moment that will define our course and our character for decades to come. We must keep our old democracy forever young. Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, let us set our sights upon a land of new promise.

The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our Nation spread across the continent, saved the Union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery.

Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the world stage to make this the American century.

And what a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power, saved the world from tyranny in two world wars and a long cold war, and time and again reached out across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty.

Along the way, Americans produced the great middle class and security in old age; built unrivaled centers of learning and opened public schools to all; split the atom and explored the heavens; invented the computer and the microchip; and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African Americans and all minorities, and extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity to women.

Now, for the third time, a new century is upon us, and another time to choose. We began the 19th century with a choice to spread our Nation from coast to coast. We began the 20th century, with a choice to harness the Industrial Revolution to our values of free enterprise, conservation, and human decency. Those choices made all the difference. At the dawn of the 21st century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the Information Age and the global society, to unleash the limitless potential of all our people, and, yes, to form a more perfect union.

When last we gathered, our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today. We vowed then to set a clear course, to renew our Nation.

In these 4 years, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, we are building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment. Problems that once seemed destined to deepen, now bend to our efforts: our streets are safer and record numbers of our fellow citizens have moved from welfare to work.

And once again, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of Government. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem; and Government is not the solution. We, the American people, we are the solution.

[Applause.]

Our Founders understood that well, and gave us a democracy strong enough to endure for centuries, flexible enough to face our common challenges and advance our common dreams in each new day.

As times change, so Government must change. We need a new Government for a new century, a government humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves. A Government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests around the world, and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their

everyday lives, Government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of our new Government is to give all Americans an opportunity—not a guarantee—but a real opportunity to build better lives.

[Applause.]

Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to us. Our Founders taught us that the preservation of our liberty and our Union depends upon responsible citizenship.

And we need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do, work that Government alone cannot do. Teaching children to read. Hiring people off welfare rolls. Coming out from behind locked doors and shuttered windows to help reclaim our streets from drugs and gangs and crime. Taking time out of our own lives to serve others.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume personal responsibility—not only for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our Nation.

[Applause.]

Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. For any one of us to succeed, we must succeed as one America.

The challenge of our past remains the challenge of our future: Will we be one nation, one people, with one common destiny—or not? Will we all come together, or come apart?

The divide of race has been America's constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political convictions, are no different.

[Applause.]

These forces have nearly destroyed our Nation in the past. They plague us still. They fuel the fanaticism of terror, and they torment the lives of millions in fractured nations all around the world.

These obsessions cripple both those who hate and, of course, those who are hated, robbing both of what they might become. We cannot—we will not—succumb to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul, everywhere. We shall overcome them.

[Applause.]

We shall replace them with the generous spirit of a people who feel at home with one another.

Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity will be a godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new ties that bind together.

As this new era approaches, we can already see its broad outlines. Ten years ago, the Internet was the mystical province of physicists; today, it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists now are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our most feared illnesses seem close at hand.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps; instead, now we are building bonds with nations that once were our adversaries. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people the world over. And for the very first time in all of history, more people on this planet live under democracy than dictatorship.

[Applause.]

My fellow Americans, as we look back at this remarkable century, we may ask, can we hope not just to follow, but even to surpass the achievements of the 20th century in America, and to avoid the awful bloodshed that stained its legacy? To that question, every American here and every American in our land today must answer a resounding "Yes."

[Applause.]

This is the heart of our task: With a new vision of Government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we will sustain America's journey. The promise we sought in a new land, we will find again in a land of new promise.

[Applause.]

In this new land, education will be every citizen's most prized possession. Our schools will have the highest standards in the world, igniting the spark of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy, and the doors of higher education will be open to all. The knowledge and power of the information age will be within reach, not just of the few but of every classroom, every library, every child. Parents and children will have time not only to work, but to read and to play together, and the plans they make at their kitchen table will be those of a better home, a better job, a certain chance to go to college.

Our streets will echo again with the laughter of our children, because no one will try to shoot them or sell them drugs anymore. Everyone who can work will work, with today's permanent underclass part of tomorrow's growing middle class. New miracles of medicine at last will reach not only those who can claim care now, but the children and hard-working families too long denied.

We will stand mighty for peace and for freedom and maintain a strong defense against terror and destruction. Our children will sleep free from the threat of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. Ports and airports, farms and factories will thrive with trade and innovation and ideas. And the world's greatest democracy will lead a whole world of democracies.

Our land of new promise will be a Nation that meets its obligations: A Nation that balances its budget, but never loses the balance of its values.

[Applause.]

A nation where our grandparents have secure retirement and health care, and their grandchildren know we have made the reforms necessary to sustain those benefits for their time.

[Applause.]

A Nation that fortifies the world's most productive economy, even as it protects the great natural bounty of our water, air, and majestic land.

And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests, regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.

[Applause.]

Fellow citizens, let us build that America, a nation ever moving forward toward realizing the full potential of all its citizens. Prosperity and power, yes, they are important, and we must maintain them, but let us never forget: The greatest progress we have made, and the greatest progress we have yet to make, is in the human heart. In the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit.

[Applause.]

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose life we celebrate today spoke to us down there, at the other end of this Mall, in words that moved the conscience of a Nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the heart. Martin Luther King's dream was the American dream. His quest is our quest: the ceaseless striving to live out our true creed. Our history has been built on such dreams and labors, and by our dreams and labors, we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st century.

To that effort, I pledge all my strength and every power of my office. I ask the Members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely, they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore.

[Applause.]

No, they call on us all instead to be repairers of the breach and to move on with America's mission.

America demands and deserves big things from us—and nothing big ever came from being small.

[Applause.]

Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernardin when facing the end of his own life. He said, "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time . . . on acrimony and division."

Fellow citizens, we must not waste the precious gift of this time, for all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.

And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great, and they are different. Let us meet them with faith and courage, with patience and a grateful, happy heart. Let us shape the hope of this day into the noblest chapter in our history. Yes, let us build our bridge—

[Applause.]

a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise. May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American dream alive for all her children, with the American promise of a more perfect Union a reality for all her people, with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us go forth. May God "strengthen our hands for the good work ahead"—and always, always bless our America.

[Applause.]

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, we thank you for that strong and inspiring message at this very important time in our history.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to introduce the Immanuel Baptist Church Sanctuary Choir and Orchestra of the Little Rock.

The choir and orchestra, under the direction of Reverend Lynn Madden, will present "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

(The Immanuel Baptist Church Sanctuary Choir and Orchestra sing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic.")

Mr. WARNER. Thank you for the singing of that most inspiring of American music.

As he did for his first inauguration in 1993, President Clinton has asked a distinguished American scholar to compose a poem for this historic day.

Please welcome writer, editor, poet, Mr. Miller Williams.

[Applause.]

OF HISTORY AND HOPE

We have memorized America,
how it was born and who we have been and
where.

In ceremonies and silence we say the words,
telling the stories, singing the old songs.
We like the places they take us. Mostly we
do.

The great and all the anonymous dead are
there.

We know the sound of all the sounds we
brought.

The rich taste of it is on our tongues.

But where are we going to be, and why, and
who?

The disenfranchised dead want to know.

We mean to be the people we meant to be,

to keep on going where we meant to go.

But how do we fashion the future? Who can
say how

except in the minds of those who will call it
Now?

The children. The children. And how does
our garden grow?

With waving hands—oh, rarely in a row—
and flowering faces. And brambles, that we
can no longer allow.

Who were many people coming together.

cannot become one people falling apart.

Who dreamed for every child an even chance.

cannot let luck alone turn doorknobs or not.

Whose law was never so much of the hand as
the head

cannot let chaos make its way to the heart.

Who have seen learning struggle from teach-
er to child

cannot let ignorance spread itself like rot.

We know what we have done and what we
have said,

and how we have grown, degree by slow de-
gree,

believing ourselves toward all we have tried
to become—

just and compassionate, equal, able, and free.
All this in the hands of children, eyes al-
ready set.

on a land we never can visit—it isn't there
yet—

but looking through their eyes, we can see.

what our long gift to them may come to be.

If we can truly remember, they will not for-
get.

[Applause.]

Mr. WARNER. Santita Jackson will lead the
singing of our National Anthem. She will be
accompanied by the Resurrection Choir, a
group composed of singers from the choirs of
American churches tragically destroyed by
fire in recent months.

This choir's performance is a befitting
commemoration of this day on which we
honor also Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Before we sing our National Anthem, the
Reverend Gardner C. Taylor will deliver the
benediction.

Ladies and gentlemen, please stand for the
benediction and remain standing to sing our
National Anthem.

Reverend Taylor.

BENEDICTION

Reverend TAYLOR. Let us lift up our spirits
before our Creator, eternal God, brooding
over the days of our years. In sovereign judg-
ment, and yet with tender mercy, now close
to the end of this solemn but joyous occa-
sion, we lift our hearts and our hopes before
Thee.

We pray for our President, William Jeffer-
son Clinton, that Thou will give to him ever
increasing vision and vigor and voice, that
he might speak tellingly to the American
promise in history.

We pray for the gracious and gallant lady
at his side, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and for
their daughter.

We ask Thy blessings upon the Vice Presi-
dent of the United States and upon his wife,
Mrs. Tipper Gore. Grant, we pray, that he
may ever be more a partisan of what is best
in our American tradition.

And now, our God, we hold before Thee this
Nation so richly endowed, so grandly blessed,
and yet imperiled, apparently often, by the
very richness of its diversity. Deliver us
from pettiness of heart, from harshness of
speech and from violence of action. Make us
worthy of our history, of patriots' sacrifices
and martyrs' blood, in the vanguard of which
stand Lincoln and King, Thy servants Abra-

ham and Martin. Give us ever a greater dedi-
cation and commitment to the grand defin-
ing words of our democracy—liberty, justice,
equality, opportunity.

And now let the words of our mouths, all of
our mouths, in the meditations of our
hearts, all of our hearts, be acceptable in
Thy sight, O Lord, our Strength and our Re-
deemer, and now unto the old, wise God, our
Deliverer, be glory and majesty, dominion
and power both now and evermore. Amen.

Mr. WARNER. Now, Miss Santita Jackson.
(The National Anthem was sung by Santita
Jackson and the Resurrection Choir, audi-
ence standing.)

[Applause.]

The inaugural ceremonies were concluded
at 12:48 p.m.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The
clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to
call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unani-
mous 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 know of
no Senator having indicated that he or
she desires to make a statement at this
time. No request being given to the
Cloakroom, I ask unanimous consent
that the Senate now stand in recess
until the previous order until 2:15.

There being no objection, the Senate,
at 12:20 p.m. recessed until 2:15 p.m.;
whereupon, the Senate reassembled
when called to order by the Presiding
Officer [Mr. COATS].

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr.
COATS). The majority leader is recog-
nized.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unani-
mous consent that the period for
morning business be divided as follows:
The first 30 minutes under the control
of the majority leader, the second 30
minutes under the control of the
Democratic leader, with the next hour
under the control of the majority lead-
er or his designee, to be followed by 1
hour under control of the Democratic
leader or his nominee.

I do not believe there is a problem
with this. We have cleared it with the
other side of the aisle.

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

SENATE REPUBLICAN AGENDA

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I think we
have the opportunity here today to get
off to a good start, a fast start. It is
one about which we have commu-
nicated with our colleagues on the
other side of the aisle. We have in-
creased the number of bills that we of-
ficially introduce at the start of the

session from what has in the past been only 5 to 10, and therefore the Republicans will today introduce our first numbered 10 bills as well as Senate Joint Resolution 1, which will be the constitutional amendment for a balanced budget. And then the Democratic leader, on behalf of the Democrats, will introduce their first 10 bills, and then others can come in and offer bills as they see fit. The principal sponsors will come to the floor this afternoon in the hour we have designated to offer the bills and to make comments. Frankly, I see some overlap between our list of 10 bills and the Democrats' list of 10 bills. I think that is positive.

So we want to go ahead and get started with this. We are going to move forward aggressively wherever we can to handle the President's nominations to his Cabinet. We hope to confirm within the next 2 days his first two nominees, to be Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. We hope in the 2 weeks after that to move right along with other nominees. So we are trying hard to work with the administration and set up an atmosphere that will allow us this year to pass some good legislation for the best interests of the American people, but the President, we think, deserves his Cabinet in place so that he can have people there to work with us.

One of the glories of the Senate is that it runs as much by tradition and custom as it does by written rules, and so one of those customs we are carrying out today is introducing these first few bills that will lay out our agenda for the rest of the year.

So it is my honor to present to the Senate and to the Nation 11 major pieces of legislation, 10 bills and 1 resolution, that we will offer today. Each of them can stand on its own as an important initiative dealing with matters that touch the lives of most Americans. Together, however, they form a blueprint for the visionary changes our country needs. I might even call them the user's manual for a better, safer and more prosperous America. These bills represent the consensus of the 55 Republican Members of the Senate.

We did have a unique opportunity to sit together for 12 hours the week before last to talk through what we want to do in this session of Congress and what specific bills we wanted to take up. It does not mean that every Republican Senator subscribes to every part of this package. To the contrary, it is likely that every Republican Senator, this one included, will disagree with some provision or another in one bill or another. But as befits the party of the open door, we have had quite a lot of give-and-take in putting this package together, and, as always, our individual Members make their own decisions about what they will endorse. But each of these bills commands overwhelming support on the Republican side of the aisle, and I want to commend not just the lead sponsors of these bills but all the Senators and staff who worked together over the past few weeks to reach

the agreement and get these bills actually drafted and ready for presentation. I am going to leave it to the primary sponsors and others who have worked on the various pieces of legislation to give the details. So I am going to summarize in this time that I have today what is in this platform.

Pride of place goes to Senate Joint Resolution 1, as I already pointed out, a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution which will be introduced today by Senator HATCH, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and by Senator CRAIG of Idaho.

This one, obviously, needs no explaining. There may be still, somewhere in the hinterlands of America, a citizen who does not understand why a balanced budget amendment is desperately needed, but I doubt it. The American people keenly realize the problems caused by excessive Federal spending, and everywhere I have gone, every poll that I have seen indicates the American people support this initiative overwhelmingly.

I have tried to understand the arguments against a constitutional amendment for a balanced budget, but to no avail, quite frankly. We have not had a balanced budget in the Federal Government in 28 years, and it will probably be at least 4 more years before we get one, if then. I have watched good men and women, including Presidents, make commitments and actually have plans to get to a balanced budget, but it has not worked.

This year, I think we have an opportunity to work with the President to come to a balanced budget agreement. We will see his budget plan February 6. I hope he will show leadership and courage and will address some of the issues that need to be addressed that, frankly, he was not willing to deal with last year. But it was an election year, and, hopefully, he will approach it differently this time.

But even if we come together on a plan to get a balanced budget by 2002, I still have my doubts about whether it will actually happen if we do not have the leverage guarantee of a constitutional amendment. Remember, when we pass this constitutional amendment, it then does not go to the President for his signature, it goes to the State legislatures, to the people for their ratification.

Recent news accounts seem to indicate the administration will fight this amendment and will do it aggressively. I understand they may have some questions or objections. I expect them to make those, and we will listen to them. But this fight is not about politics, it is about the future of our children and grandchildren. It is about the burden of debt we are leaving them with, which is a cruel legacy. It is about right and wrong, and this time around, I am betting that right is going to prevail.

Because of the importance we attach to education, one of the first bills we will introduce today will deal with this area. Just like the constitutional

amendment for a balanced budget is important to us because of what we think it means to our children's future in holding down inflation and holding down interest rates and stopping the continuous increase in the interest we pay on the national debt that will lead to making it more difficult for our children and grandchildren to have home mortgages and student loans and car loans, we think that education, also, is a very high priority and also an investment in the future of our country.

If we have a strong educational system, if we deal with the illiteracy problems, if we deal with the needs of children with special needs, it will contribute to a better America, better educated children, will lead to more production, better jobs, more jobs, more trade, more development in technology.

So Republicans are placing a high priority this year on education with S. 1. The first numbered bill will be the Safe and Affordable Schools Act. It will be introduced by Senator PAUL COVERDELL of Georgia, and it is a comprehensive agenda for dramatic change. It will help not only parents—and that is where it begins, in the home with the parents—but also the States and the local communities to give their children a better education.

It focuses, especially, on children attending unsafe schools, to give their families consumer rights and choice in education. In this regard, it builds on the good work that was done in the 104th Congress by the distinguished Senator from Indiana, Senator COATS, who is now presiding in the Chamber. He has done a lot of great work in behalf of youngsters, and that work is confirmed in this piece of legislation.

In higher education, S. 1 establishes what we call the Bob Dole Investment Accounts to help parents set aside the resources on their own needed for their children's tuition.

Toward the same goal, it makes the interest on student loans tax deductible, and it gives favorable tax treatment to State prepaid tuition plans, to education aid provided by an employer to encourage more employers to provide that assistance to their workers which would benefit their children, and to student work-study awards.

S. 1 will fully fund the Individuals with Disabilities Act, IDEA, as it is quite often referred to, by authorizing an additional \$10 billion over the next 7 years. This is not something easily done, but it is something we promised children with these special needs and we promised the States we would do, and we have not done it.

In this legislation, we are making that commitment to fulfill that obligation. That will come as good news not only to the families with special-needs children, it will also mean a lot to the Governors and State legislatures which have been shouldering this Federal mandate without the funds to back it up.

I want to mention especially the good work that has been done by Senator GREGG of New Hampshire and Senator FRIST of Tennessee on this difficult but very important matter.

Finally, S. 1 sets up a block grant for States to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. This has been long a priority with Senator JEFFORDS, our chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, and I am especially pleased it will be included in this package.

As I said earlier today at a press conference, we have been talking about trying to deal with adult education and illiteracy problems for 10 years, but we have done very little about it. This is the place where the Federal Government can be helpful in helping to fill a void that maybe the States cannot do on their own.

The next bill we will introduce today is S. 2, which will be introduced by Senator ROTH. It is the Family Tax Relief Act. It contains key provisions from the tax relief legislation of the last Congress that was vetoed by President Clinton. Senator ROTH has long worked in this area. He is the chairman of the Finance Committee. He knows his subject backward and forward, and he knows we need a fairer Tax Code. He also knows we need to give some incentives for growth in the economy, to create more jobs, to have a stronger economy.

I still maintain that when the economy is only growing at 2 percent or 2.3 percent, that is a very weak growth, and we should have it more in the range of 3 to 3.5. We think this bill will help do that.

It will offset the President's 1993 tax increases by reducing taxes over the next 5 years. Fully 80 percent of that relief, some \$130 billion of it, or more, will go to working families, and those are the ones to whom we think the help really should go, and most of it will go to middle-income people.

In keeping with our Republican commitment to strengthen families, the bill does create a \$500-per-child tax credit for children under the age of 18. The President would like to lower that age, I understand, maybe even to 13, but if you are really trying to help families with children where they have the greatest needs, I really think it is in that bracket—14, 15. So that is how we would start it off. It would apply to some 44 million youngsters.

The bill would raise the contribution limit for the spousal IRA from its current \$250 to \$2,000, and it would allow for tax and penalty-free withdrawal from an IRA for the cost of higher education, for small business startups and for long-term unemployment.

What better way to encourage people to look after themselves and address the needs of education and startups of businesses and unemployment than to encourage them to have an IRA with the tax benefits that go with it?

S. 2 would also lower the antifamily inheritance tax—I call it the death

tax—which is now at confiscatory levels. When you have an estate tax that is 44 percent, or even as high as 55 percent, obviously, that is unfair.

Once again, it is hurting small businesses and farmers, as well as individuals, who work all their lives to build up a little nest egg for their children, and now many of them are selling those businesses, because they know if they don't, when they do pass on, they will have over half of what they worked for all their lives taken from their children.

Finally, this bill aims to boost savings, investments and job creation by allowing a 50-percent deduction for investment earnings on assets held more than 3 years and would let people who sell their homes at a loss deduct that as a capital loss.

The next bill is S. 3, the Omnibus Crime Control Act, again being introduced by Senator HATCH. He has done work on this for a long time, including this last year. It is a comprehensive package of tough-minded steps to fight illegal drugs, terrorism and child pornography.

It continues the Republican effort to reform our prison system, to end abuses therein, both by felons and by Federal judges. In so many instances now, felons in prisons are tying up the courts with petty, very trivial allegations that take up time and cost a lot of money. We want to try to reform that area and to save some of that lost time and effort.

We aim to restore public confidence in our courts by a series of reforms that will, at last, tilt the scales of justice in favor of innocent victims of crime. This bill reauthorizes major components of the Violence Against Women Act.

The next bill is S. 4, the Family Friendly Workplace Act, to be introduced by Senator ASHCROFT would extend to all workers the same options for flextime and comp time that employees of the Federal Government have enjoyed for decades. These opportunities would be 100 percent voluntary and a matter of choice for the men and women of today's work force.

Most of those workers have to juggle the demands of their jobs and the pressures of family life. Virtually all of them, especially those with small children, want more time with their families. S. 4 will help them arrange it while keeping a full paycheck.

A landmark of bipartisanship in the last Congress was built to reform the Nation's antiquated laws concerning liability. Unfortunately, despite the best efforts of Senator GORTON and Senator ROCKEFELLER and others in forging a compromise, that product liability reform legislation again fell victim to the President's veto pen.

We owe it to the American people to try again. We need legal reform. The American people want it. They expect it. They want broad legal reform. But at a very minimum, we should do it in this product liability area where so much good work has already been done.

This bill, S. 5, will also be introduced by Senator ASHCROFT, who is now chairman of the subcommittee with jurisdiction. It gives us another chance to overhaul an unfair and inefficient liability system for the benefit of American consumers and workers.

We will, in the bill S. 6, again reintroduce the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. This, too, was vetoed by President Clinton last year. But the times have changed, and as the old song says, "If times are changing, then maybe the results can be different." After the election of 1996, the Senate has changed, too.

We are hopeful this time around we will do away with this practice that I think has shamed the conscience of the Nation. I commend Senator SANTORUM, the bill's lead sponsor, and Senator SMITH for their dedication to this cause.

We will schedule this bill on the floor of the Senate for an early vote. I am sure the House will follow suit. We will send it again to the President. Hopefully, this time he will sign it.

S. 7 is the National Missile Defense Act. I am pleased to be introducing this legislation. Building on the work that has been done by Senator Dole, Senator KYL, Senator THURMOND, and others in the last Congress, it represents our commitment to the American people to secure for them, for their homes, their neighborhoods and, in fact, the country, the maximum possible protection against missile attack.

In the aftermath of the high-tech gulf war of 1990, many, perhaps most, Americans think that the Nation is already sheltered by sophisticated weapons systems like the one that protected Israel against the Iraqi scud missiles.

Don't we wish. But sadly, and potentially tragically, the truth is that in an era of international terrorism, the United States remains vulnerable to missile blackmail. So S. 7 will put our Nation back on the path toward security and toward lasting peace through unquestioned strength.

We have concerns about the environment. One of the bills that we will bring up again this year that we worked on—and we got it through the Senate after a filibuster, but it wound up getting 63 votes—was a bill that would bring to a conclusion the decision about where to have a nuclear waste site in America. We will move on that quickly.

But S. 8 is the Superfund Cleanup Acceleration Act. It offers a more efficient, commonsense approach to solving some of the Nation's worst environmental problems involving toxic waste. We have sites all over the country, hundreds of them. And yet almost—well, I will not say almost none, but very few have actually been cleaned up, I think maybe as few as 37. Yet, we have spent millions, probably a billion or more dollars. We are not getting our money's worth. This legislation is directed at doing that.

Senator SMITH and Senator CHAFEE will introduce this legislation. It would

end the costly litigation that has paralyzed the cleanup effort. That is what has happened. There has been nothing but a lot of litigation and no real cleaning up where we needed it. And that has diverted basically all the resources of the program.

S. 8 returns to the original vision of the Superfund program—the protection of human health and the environment through realistic cleanup standards; economic redevelopment of affected sites; and fair treatment of individuals, small business and municipalities.

S. 9 is the Paycheck Protection Act, introduced by the assistant majority leader, Senator NICKLES, who is here. He will introduce this legislation later on. It forbids corporations and labor unions to take money from their stockholders and employees or members for political purposes without that person's expressed consent. You will note it is applicable to the corporations, to management and to the workers, so that there is protection against this type of intimidation and, in fact, the practice of taking money from dues-paying members and using it for purely political purposes.

I think it is a matter of simple justice. No one should be compelled by any organization to pay for someone else's campaigning or lobbying. Right here this is where true campaign reform starts.

Finally, S. 10, the Violent Juvenile Offenders Act is a companion bill to Senator HATCH's S. 3 and is the result of not only his efforts but those of Senator DOMENICI, Senator ASHCROFT, and Senator THOMPSON. It rests on the principle that violent juveniles must be held personally accountable for their actions.

There has been a rising increase in juvenile crime in America. We all know the stories of very young people with automatic weapons going down the street, shooting innocent people sitting on their porches. We know that many of them wind up not being tried as criminals because of their age. It is a delicate balance. But we cannot ignore the problem, and we must be, I think, stronger in how we deal with these juvenile offenders.

This bill would assure that violence and repeat juvenile offenders are treated as adults. It targets violent youth gangs, toughens penalties for violent and drug crimes, and fosters the kind of crime prevention and juvenile rehabilitation that have proven records of success.

I heard on the radio this very morning, when I was getting ready to come to the Senate, that local officials of the District of Columbia are calling out for help in dealing with gangs in this city, because just last week a young man, young boy, on his way home from school, maybe 16 years old, was accosted by a couple gang members. They wound up dragging him into the woods where they shot him, killed him. He was not involved in the dispute, but he wound up losing his life.

This person on the radio was saying, do whatever is necessary. Bring in the National Guard if you have to, but we have to break up these gangs in our Nation's Capital.

Mr. President, these 10 bills, along with the balanced budget constitutional amendment, form a very ambitious agenda. It will take time to accomplish. I do not think we should put a time limit on them and say we must do them by the end of February or the end of March in each instance. We should do them as soon as we can, but we should make sure everybody has a chance to review them, make their case for or against them. Let us have full debate, but let us get it done and let us do it right. There will be adjustments and accommodations along the way, but we are trying to get started in a very positive way and offer bills we think are important for the quality of life and the future of our country.

The goal of the Senate Republicans is very clear, I think, and unchanging in this effort. It is to free the energy and genius of the American people so that they can achieve a better quality of life. The legislation we are introducing today we believe will allow them to do that—for themselves, their families and their communities—in a society that will be more secure, more prosperous and more caring.

Mr. President, I yield the floor to the Senator from Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, how much time remains of the majority leader's time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seven minutes 35 seconds is remaining under the majority leader's time.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I would be glad to yield the remainder of that time to Senator NICKLES if he would like to go ahead and begin his comments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate and compliment the majority leader of the Senate for his statement today, but also for his work with all of the 55 Republican Senators to put together this list.

This is a list which we have spent some time on. When I say "we," I am talking about all 55 Republican Senators, who had some input on this list. That is a little unusual. We have not done that before. We came up with 10 bills. In the past, our tradition has been to introduce five. We came up with 10.

I might mention later today, or in the next few days or weeks, we had several other bills people wanted to have in this list. But this list represents a consensus of an overwhelming number of Republicans, that these are positive things we can do, should do, and that we should pass this year.

Mr. President, let me just comment and take a second to compliment President Clinton on his inaugural address yesterday. President Clinton made two or three comments that I would like to refer to.

He said Government is not the problem, it is not the solution; the American people are the solution. I think you will find that we Republicans really do believe the American people are the solution. We have a lot of ideas for saving Medicare, saving Social Security, a lot of different things where we really want to involve the American people. I compliment the President on that. He said that Government should live within its means.

The first item that Majority Leader LOTT mentioned was a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. We have overwhelming support among our colleagues for passage of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. We are equally serious about passing legislation to implement a balanced budget. We want that to happen. Unfortunately, President Clinton vetoed that in the last Congress. We want to work with the President. He said in the inaugural address that we should live within our means. We are going to try and make that happen. We look forward to working with this administration to make that happen.

The President also said we should put petty politics and extreme partisanship aside. He is right. This Congress, this political year, maybe in the last year or two, has become too partisan and maybe too extreme in working with the administration. It has been too partisan. It has been too extreme. We need to put that aside.

So I welcome the President's comments. I look forward to working with President Clinton in this administration to implement many of the things he talked about. A lot of things we have in this agenda are targeted toward doing exactly that.

The constitutional amendment to balance the budget has overwhelming support among the membership, and rightfully so. We should live within our means. Almost all the States have provisions in their constitution saying they will not spend more than they take in. We should follow that guidance.

President Clinton, during the campaign, said he was in favor of tax relief. S. 2, the second bill we have in our list, does provide for family tax relief. Even during the campaign, President Clinton talked of a \$500-per-child tax credit. That is the foundation of our tax bill. Senator LOTT mentioned 80 percent of the tax bill we have introduced as the leadership package. We passed that last year, but again President Clinton vetoed it. He said in the campaign that he was in favor of it. We want to pass it this year and we want it to become law. We are not interested in passing legislation for legislation's sake or for political points' sake. President Clinton is not running again. We want

these bills to become law because they will have a positive, real impact on American lives.

We define the child tax credit as children up to age 18. President Clinton's proposal limited it to kids under 12. We think it should include at least kids up to 18. I told some people that my kids range up to age 26. We might have an amendment to make it age 26. The bill we introduced takes it to age 18.

We provide estate tax relief. There is a small business advisory council that advises the President and those of us in Congress and they always have an estate tax relief on their list. Why? Because if you have a taxable estate right now above \$600,000, Uncle Sam starts taking big bites. If your estate goes up to a million above that, Uncle Sam wants 35 percent of it. If you have an estate of 3 million, say your business is as a farmer or a rancher or a businessman, if it is 3 million above the \$600,000 deduction, Uncle Sam says, "We want 55 percent of anything above that amount." Instead of protecting property, it is confiscating property. We want to reduce that, especially for small business and especially for family-owned operations. That is in our package, as well.

We have capital gains relief because we think we tax transactions too much. We actually tax transactions more than almost any of our other industrial competitors. We need to reduce the taxes on transactions. If we do so, we will have more transactions and the Government will make more money, not less money. That is in our package. We can do better with the economy.

I think we put together a good package, one that is family friendly. We have a provision that Senator LOTT alluded to called the Family Friendly Workplace Act—Senator ASHCROFT has worked hard on it—giving families the option that if they work a few extra hours one week, we think they can take off for their kids the next week. Why have good Government come in saying, "We mandate you have time off for PTA." Why not let the families and employees make that decision? So we do that. We provide much greater flexibility for families, employers and employees in this bill. It is all on a voluntary basis, where they can work a few more hours one week and take time off for whatever they desire the following week. You do not need Government's blessing to do it. They allow for compensatory time. Instead of taking time-and-a-half if they have to work an hour or two above 40 hours, if they want they can bank some time and take time-and-a-half off. If they worked 44 hours, under present law they would be entitled to 6 hours of overtime pay. If they want to keep it that way, they have the right to do so. If they would like to have 6 hours off and maybe have a day off or maybe work some other kind of combination or schedule that meets their family's needs and desires, maybe for a vacation

day, maybe for more time off, maybe for time to visit their kids' athletic events, they have the right to do so without having the Federal Government enumerate that this is what you have to offer by law, and not be paid for that time. We give them, through flextime and through the comp time, the ability to have the flexibility in their schedules to meet their family's needs, all of which are different. All of our families are different. All of our families have more time demands that are at variance. This gives them that flexibility, and probably would be the most family friendly thing we can do.

We provide for a balanced budget package which will say the Government will live within its means. We are not going to spend more than we take in. Interest rates will come down. Homes will be more affordable. When we talk of family tax credits, if you have three kids under the age of 18, that is \$1,500 more you get to spend as you desire. Maybe it is for education, maybe it is for food on the table, maybe it is for a home. You make that decision, because we decided it is your money, not Government's money.

Then the flextime proposal, where we are basically saying that families can make the decisions. You have the flexibility in your schedules to work out what is mutually beneficial with you and your employer.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. NICKLES. I see the minority leader is not here, and I ask unanimous consent for an additional 2 minutes.

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

Mr. NICKLES. We also have an additional provision called the Paycheck Protection Act. It is fundamentally prodemocracy. It says no person should be compelled to contribute to a political organization without their consent. That person may be a stockholder. No one should be compelled, as a condition of employment, to contribute to a political group or organization, whether that be a PAC, whether it be a union organization or what. No one should be compelled. That is what this bill says. No one will be compelled to contribute to a political organization or entity or candidate against their will. They would have to sign a written authorization form before they would have contributions taken out.

Mr. President, I compliment Senator LOTT and all my colleagues for their work in putting this list together. I look forward to working with the minority leader and others on the other side of the aisle. I know they have their agenda list. I look forward to hearing what that is, and I look forward to working with them to see if we can have several items beneficial not for Congress but for the American people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the time is reserved for the minority leader for up to 30 minutes.

Mr. DASCHLE. Let me begin by thanking the Senator from Oklahoma for the tone of his comments. I did not have the opportunity to hear them all, but in keeping with the expressions of the majority leader and others who have indicated a desire to find ways with which to create greater harmony and greater opportunity for the country through increased bipartisanship, I appreciate very much his comments today.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S INAUGURATION

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, before I begin talking about the bills, let me make an initial comment about yesterday. We all witnessed a stirring ceremony as President Clinton and Vice President GORE were sworn in to a second term in office. President Clinton is the first Democratic President to earn a second term since Franklin Roosevelt. This is truly a historic event.

Anyone who witnessed the inaugural ceremony knows that, despite the cold weather, this quadrennial rite of American democracy was warmed by great pageantry, bipartisan good will, and a strong sense of national purpose and unity.

Yesterday's inaugural ceremony lasted a few minutes, but many weeks of hard work preceded the event. Everything from construction of the inaugural platform to ticket dispersal, security, and the traditional lunch in Statuary Hall, plus thousands of other tasks, required a great deal of preparation and attention to detail.

On behalf of Senate Democrats, I join with Senator LOTT and express my gratitude to the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies; in particular, the distinguished Senator from Virginia, Mr. WARNER, and the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, Mr. FORD, for all of their efforts toward making this such a successful inaugural event. Senators FORD and WARNER and the other members of the committee put in long hours under very tight deadlines. Time that they might have preferred to spend with family or in their home States attending to constituent matters was sacrificed for the benefit of all Americans who enjoyed this inauguration.

Senator WARNER was chairman of the Joint Inaugural Committee this year. He brought to this duty the same diligence, resolve, and reverence for the congressional rules and traditions that he brings to his job as chairman of the Senate Rules Committee. This was his first inaugural ceremony as chairman, and he should be commended for a job well done.

This is the fifth time Senator FORD has served as chairman or vice chairman of the Inaugural Committee. Like everything he does as Senate Democratic whip, ranking member of the Rules Committee, and senior Senator from Kentucky, Senator FORD once again approached the responsibility

with great humor and tenacity and a deep respect for our best American tradition. Senator FORD is as dependable and dedicated a public servant as anyone who has ever served in this great institution, and all Americans owe a debt of gratitude to the citizens of Kentucky, who have asked him to serve in the U.S. Senate.

I also express my thanks to the other members of the committee for their hard work. A special thanks goes to the leader, as well as to others in the House who made this whole event the success that it was yesterday. Many officers and employees of the House and Senate, along with representatives from the executive branch, assisted these congressional leaders in this enormous but ultimately successful task.

All who contributed to this historic event should be proud of their efforts and know that their country on this day after the inaugural is very grateful.

SENATE DEMOCRATS' AGENDA

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, as we begin the first session of the 105th Congress, American families are asking some difficult questions, most of which seek answers affecting their lives directly. How am I going to put my kids through college? How do we pay the doctor bills if the kids get sick? Will I have enough money when I choose to retire?

Our challenges this year ought to be to provide the answers to those questions. As we do, we all recognize the limits of Government, and we should all recognize the unlimited potential of achievement through bipartisanship. Everything important which we accomplished in the last Congress—health care reform, the minimum wage increase, mental health equity—was accomplished only when we realized that only by reaching across the aisle in an effective way, passing legislation with overwhelming bipartisan support, could we ultimately send the right message to the American people—that we hear them and we want to respond to the problems affecting their daily lives. If we remember that lesson and pick up in this Congress where we left off in the last one, then we can make this not only a productive Congress, but a historic one.

We can, in this Congress, pass a budget for the remainder of this century, a plan that eliminates the deficit and invests in our people and their potential, so that the 21st century will be another American century. If we work together, we can answer those questions that worry Americans most, but we must find a way to do what the President said yesterday and what I heard the leader talk about just now—work together.

Cooperation is in the best interest of the American people, and, frankly, it is in our own self-interest. Good Government is still good politics. Since the

election, there has been a good deal of rhetoric from both sides of the aisle, from both Houses of Congress, from the White House, expressing an interest in dealing with the 105th Congress in ways that are dissimilar to those dealt with in the 104th. We have heard the rhetoric. Now we have to demonstrate with our deeds whether or not that rhetoric will be true, whether or not the sincerity of our rhetoric will actually match the sincerity of our work.

We can use the issues that we will lay out and describe today as wedge issues, issues that divide us; or we can use those same issues as issues that unite us. That will be our choice. Again, today, there will be rhetoric. Again, today, we will hear from both sides about the importance of trying to find common ground. The question is, will we find it? And if we do, how will we?

Today, I offer the Senate Democrats' priority legislation for the 105th Congress. This is our agenda. The Families First agenda is neither radical nor revolutionary. Instead, it is moderate. In our view, it is achievable. Our agenda starts with the fundamental premise that our political system can't work if people believe the system is rigged against them. Yet, more and more Americans believe that. More and more Americans have chosen not to go to the polls. At the very time we need more involvement, their response to what they see is to stay away—and not without reason. So we are proposing as our first bill comprehensive campaign finance reform.

The problem with the current system isn't limited to soft money or hard money, corporate money or PAC money, your money or my money; the problem is that there is too much money, period. And it is getting worse with every election. The truth is, there are no limits anymore, given the Supreme Court decisions.

I have enormous respect for Senators FEINGOLD and MCCAIN. There is much in their proposal that I admire and I think we should adopt. In my opinion, their bill should provide a way with which we come together to find common ground. But it does not go as far as I would like it to. We need to limit spending, special interest influence, and level the playing field for all candidates.

S. 11 establishes voluntary spending limits, and it gives candidates incentives to live within those limits. It reduces television and postal rates. It also restrains soft money and PAC contributions. It toughens restrictions on foreign contributions and extends election laws to cover so-called independent expenditures.

I know that any talk of spending limits raises constitutional questions. So, in addition, Senator HOLLINGS and I will offer a constitutional amendment that will allow Congress to set reasonable limits on how much people can give and spend in Federal elections. I hope, Mr. President, that we will even

consider proposing the issue to the Supreme Court again.

There was an article recently in the op-ed pages of the Washington Post, stating that a case could be made that what we need to do is revisit this in this Supreme Court, to test the constitutional limits they have proposed in Buckley versus Valeo. Whether we accept the decisions made in Buckley versus Valeo, and other subsequent decisions, however we decide to do this, the question is this: Can we get campaign spending under control? I believe the answer is yes. I believe we must do that in this, the 105th Congress.

In the last 10 years of debate on campaign finance reform, Congress has produced 6,742 pages of hearings; 3,361 floor speeches, not including this one; 2,748 pages of CRS reports; 1,063 pages of committee reports; 113 Senate votes dealing with campaign finance reform, and 1 bipartisan Federal commission. We have had 522 witnesses; 49 days of testimony; 29 sets of hearings by 8 different congressional committees; 17 filibusters; 8 cloture votes on 1 bill; 1 Senator carried to the floor by the Sergeant at Arms and forced to vote on campaign finance reform, and 15 reports by 6 different congressional committees. That is just in the last decade.

There is only one thing left to do: Enact campaign finance reform now. Now. We should do it in the first 100 days of this Congress so that the new rules are in place by the next election. Mr. President, that is S. 11, our very first bill, and it is first because I speak with virtual unanimity within our caucus about the need to address this issue. I know there are concerns expressed and felt deeply by Members of the other side. This ought not be the wedge issue I described a moment ago. This ought to be a bridge issue.

Let us build that bridge to allow us success in dealing with it soon.

Our second bill is aimed at increasing the income of American families and the competitiveness of American business by investing in education. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 60 percent of all jobs created between now and the year 2005 will require education beyond high school. Yet, every year fewer families can afford the tuition. In the last 10 years, the cost of public college education has increased 23 percent. It is even worse in private colleges: 36 percent.

For the average family, the cost of sending one child to college is now 14 percent of total family income. The average debt load for a South Dakota college student is up by one-third just since 1991. Eighty-five percent of South Dakota's college students today are on financial aid. That is right; 85 percent rely on college aid in order to go to school in my home State of South Dakota.

Our bill, the Education for the 21st Century Act, includes the President's proposal to create a \$1,500 Hope scholarship for the first 2 years of college. The Hope scholarship is a refundable

tax credit. It will pay for more than the full college cost of tuition at most community colleges, or it can be used as a substantial downpayment at a more expensive 4-year school.

Our bill also includes the President's proposed \$10,000 per year higher education tax deduction for families with incomes up to \$100,000. In addition, we propose a new partnership to help communities repair and replace schools that are overcrowded, obsolete, and even dangerous. According to the General Accounting Office, one-third of all schools today in this country need extensive repair or replacement. Over 30 percent of the schools in this country are unsafe today for children to inhabit and obtain the education they deserve. Sixty percent of schools have at least one major problem, like a leaky roof or crumbling walls.

Schools have always been and should remain a local and State responsibility—and I emphasize that. But the enormity of the problem, an estimated \$112 billion nationwide, demands a partnership that includes a role by the people of the United States at the Federal level. Our bill reduces the interest rates for new school construction and repair by up to 50 percent. The interest rate reduction is equal to subsidizing \$1 out of every \$4 in construction and renovation spending.

We support the President's proposal to make sure that every child can read—and read well—once those schools are built and repaired, by the time he or she finishes third grade. One of the best predictors of whether a child will eventually graduate from high school is whether he or she can read by the end of the third grade. Yet 40 percent of fourth graders—40 percent—fail to attain even the basic level of reading on the National Assessment of Educational Progress test. Isn't that amazing? Four out of every 10 children today when they reach fourth grade cannot read at the level that will largely determine their ability to learn for the rest of the years they are in elementary school.

Let us resolve in this Congress to increase those numbers dramatically. Let us accept the President's America Reads challenge. Let us also make sure that our young people master the new literacy by connecting every school in America to the information superhighway by the year 2002.

This is our education bill. We applaud our Republican colleagues for joining us in the last weeks of the last Congress to support education, and we look forward to working with them to pass these proposals as well.

Our third bill builds on an important, bipartisan victory from the last Congress, the Kennedy-Kassebaum health bill. Kennedy-Kassebaum was a huge step in the right direction. Yet, a record number of Americans, over 40 million, are still without health insurance, and that includes 10 million American children. In my State of South Dakota alone, more than 17,000

children have no public or private health insurance. In fact, children are one of the fastest growing groups of uninsured. Each year more and more children lose private health coverage. And this trend is almost certain to continue as employers continue to reduce their health insurance costs by dropping dependent coverage for their workers.

These are not children of America's poorest families. Fortunately, they have Medicaid. A majority of uninsured children are from two-parent families where one or both parents work full time. It is unconscionable that a parent could work 40 hours a week 52 weeks a year and still not be able to buy basic health coverage for his or her children.

So today we are introducing a bill to make private coverage for children available to working families. The Children's Health Coverage Act of 1997 will provide tax credits to help working families purchase private coverage for their uninsured children. Our bill includes coverage for pregnant women because we know that the quality of prenatal care can have lifelong effects. The tax credit would cover most of a private health insurance premium for the lowest-income families and decrease on a sliding scale for families with higher incomes.

To stimulate competition for children's health insurance, we require that insurance companies that do business with the Federal Government—through Medicare or Medicaid or the Federal Employees Health Benefits Plan—to develop children's-only policies. We seek to build upon, not replace, the current employer-based health insurance system. Our bill, therefore, includes provisions to deter employers from dropping coverage for children of workers who qualify for this new credit.

Insuring children is good social policy, but it is also good economic policy. It costs about \$20 for a doctor's visit to treat a child with strep throat but thousands of dollars to hospitalize a child whose untreated strep throat eventually develops into rheumatic fever. Studies show that having a regular source of care cuts child health care costs significantly. So the modest cost of this program will pay for itself many times over and reduce health care costs down the line.

Some of my colleagues favor a slightly different approach. Senators KENNEDY and KERRY favor providing families with vouchers rather than tax credits to pay for their children's health care. These are differences in strategy only, Mr. President. I could support that approach, as I could the approach I just described. Democrats are united in their determination to take this next modest step in health care reform.

The United States is the only major industrialized country in the world that does not guarantee health coverage for children. Let us work together in this Congress to erase that ignoble distinction.

Our fourth bill seeks to increase Americans' retirement security. More than 51 million Americans today—half the private work force—do not have a pension. Only one-fifth of South Dakota's small business employees currently have pension plans. Last year, in the bill that contained the minimum wage increase, we passed laws that help expand pension coverage to an additional 10 million workers.

But so much more remains to be done. Because of a loophole, more than 32,000 large pension plans covering 23 million Americans—and containing more than \$1 trillion in assets—are still not effectively audited. The Retirement Security Act we are introducing today strengthens the accounting requirements for those funds.

Our bill also requires employers to diversify the savings of employee investments in 401(k) plans just as they must for more traditional kinds of plans so the bankruptcy of one company cannot devastate a pension plan. For multiemployer plans, which typically cover union members, our bill increases the Federal guarantee available should a plan become insolvent. The benefit level has remained flat since the creation of the program in 1980. Five million workers with pensions change jobs every year. Our bill provides those workers with new protections so they don't lose the money they have invested in a pension when they change jobs or leave behind an investment whose value will erode over time. It will do that by reducing by 2 years the time it takes for a worker to become vested.

In addition, we will build on some of the pension reforms we passed last year. Last year, by eliminating a lot of the red tape, we made it easier for small businesses to offer pension plans. This year, let's make it easier still by providing them with start-up costs.

Last year, Congress removed the restriction that kept spouses who don't work outside the home from taking full advantage of IRA savings opportunities if the other spouse was covered by an employer's pension plan. This year, we want to remove that restriction for spouses who do work outside the home.

Last year, we made it easier for women to collect pension benefits they are legally owed through a spouse or former spouse. Yet, 60 percent of women working in the private sector still lack pension plans. And, women's pensions benefits, on average, are only about half of men's benefits. Let's get rid of those inequities.

We are committed to keeping Social Security and Medicare solvent—and we will. But Social Security and Medicare were never intended to serve as retirement plans, only supplements to such plans. Let's agree in this Congress to give Americans the tools they need to retire with dignity. We can do it, if we work together.

Our fifth bill is aimed at two of the deadliest epidemics affecting young people. Those are the twin epidemics of drug abuse and violence.

Crime and drug use among adults are down. But juvenile crime and drug abuse is accelerating. Over the last decade, drug-related juvenile crime in this country more than doubled. And youth violence—particularly homicide committed with guns—skyrocketed.

We must reverse these deadly trends. Income security and retirement security don't really matter if we don't have personal security—if we're constantly afraid for ourselves and our families.

Our Youth Violence, Crime and Drug Abuse Prevention bill includes three main parts. First, we will build on the successes of the 1994 Crime Act by continuing the COPS program for two additional years and putting 25,000 more cops on the beat.

Second, our bill invests in crime and drug abuse prevention. It extends the Safe and Drug Free Schools Program. It expands existing drug courts, and creates new juvenile drug courts for first-time, non-violent drug offenders. Anyone convicted in drug court has a choice: mandatory treatment, or mandatory jail.

Our bill also offers incentives for private industry to invest in research and development in medicines to treat heroin and cocaine addiction. And, it reauthorizes the Office of National Drug Control Policy; if we're going to fight a war, we need a "war room."

Prevention and treatment are essential. But for youthful offenders who are repeat, hardened criminals—for those who commit the most heinous acts—it's time to make the punishment fit the crime. That's the third part of our bill.

Our bill changes federal law so that violent juvenile offenders no longer are automatically released when they turn 21.

We require all juvenile offenders to pay restitution to the victims of their crimes, and ensure victims' rights to speak at sentencing.

We give States the resources to hire more prosecutors for juvenile courts. And create special juvenile gun courts where juvenile gun offenders can be tried and sentenced on an expedited basis.

Our bill toughens penalties for possession of a firearm in connection with a violent or drug-trafficking crime. It extends to 10 years the statute of limitations for all crimes of violence and drug trafficking. And it eliminates the statute of limitations for all murders.

Finally, we propose tougher penalties for gang-related crimes.

The sixth bill we are introducing today is the Cattle Industry Improvement Act.

Cattle prices are lower than they've been in years. If prices don't rebound in the immediate future, farm foreclosures, job layoffs by agriculture-related businesses and bank failures could occur across rural America.

A special committee appointed last year by the Department of Agriculture to look into the causes of the low cat-

tle prices confirmed what many ranchers had long suspected: Low cattle prices appear to be tied in some cases to unfair competition posed by the largest beef processors.

Our bill enables USDA to make changes in the cattle market to give all producers—large and small—a chance to make an honest living and compete fairly in the marketplace.

It requires the Secretary to define and prohibit noncompetitive practices. It mandates price reporting for all sales transactions to ensure a fair and honest price discovery system.

Our bill also calls for a review of Federal lending practices to determine if the Government is contributing to meatpacker concentration.

In addition, it directs the President and the Secretaries of Agriculture and Health and Human Services to formulate a plan for consolidating and streamlining the entire food inspection system.

And it requires the USDA to develop a system for labeling United States meat and meat products. Companies will be encouraged to voluntarily label their products as originating from United States livestock producers.

The ultimate result of stifled competition in any market is always higher prices for consumers. Let's act together to make sure competition in the cattle industry remains fair and open.

These are the top six priorities for Senate Democrats as we begin this new session of Congress: Campaign finance reform, education, children's health care, pension security, juvenile crime and drug abuse, and a strong rural America. We are also introducing a number of other bills today.

Our Working Americans Opportunity Act streamlines and improves Federal worker training programs to keep pace with our changing economy. We consolidate more than 150 Federal job training programs over 14 agencies. And we put training dollars directly into workers' hands through a voucher system to give people more choices, and more control over their own futures.

We're also proposing a Targeted Investment Incentive and Economic Growth Act. This country does not need and cannot afford another across-the-board tax cut that provides a windfall for the wealthy. Instead, we propose targeted tax changes to both raise the rate of economic growth and spread its benefits to increasing numbers of Americans.

We will encourage investment in small businesses and innovation by allowing gains on the sale of small business stock to be deferred if they are fully reinvested in other qualifying small business equities. And by expanding the 50 percent exclusion on gains from the sale of small business stock held for at least five years that we enacted in 1993.

In addition, our bill will stimulate investment in other activities that propel job creation and family incomes,

such as worker training by companies, employee ownership, and infrastructure. It will also free up capital for investment and promote retirement security by giving people more flexibility in the way they manage the gains on their homes and family farms and businesses.

Our Brownfields and Environmental Clean-Up Act will help clean up and develop thousands of abandoned and contaminated industrial sites, or "brownfields," across America.

Our bill helps States and communities evaluate these sites. It limits potential liability for buyers who buy these brownfields in good faith, so they don't end up paying for someone else's mistakes. And it provides grants to State and local governments to create low-interest loans for current owners and prospective developers. It is not a substitute for Superfund reform, but a companion to it.

There are an estimated 100,000 brownfields in the U.S. Most already have well-developed infrastructure of utilities and transportation. By restoring these lands, we can conserve precious farmland and open space, and create new jobs and opportunities where they're needed most.

Our Working Families Child Care Act increases the availability of good, affordable child care. For too many families today, child care is simply not available in their community. Or, the child care that is available is not what they need—be that infant care or before and after school care. For other families, child care may be available but completely unaffordable. The cost of child care is often the most expensive—or second most expensive—monthly bill a family incurs, following rent or mortgage payments. And for those families who are lucky enough to find affordable child care, the type of care that is available may be of extremely poor quality.

I hope we can work together in a bipartisan manner to address the child care needs of today's working families.

Also in our package is a bill to make America's agricultural safety net whole again by correcting some of the problems with the Farm Act we passed last year. Our bill expands crop revenue insurance. It removes caps on commodity marketing loans, and establishes loan rates as a percentage of the average market price. And it encourages farmer-owned, value-added processing facilities.

Finally, we are offering the Paycheck Fairness Act to address the continuing wage disparities between men and women. With more and more families relying partly or entirely on women's earnings, America simply can no longer afford this often glaring inequity.

If there was a mandate in the last elections, it was a mandate for bipartisan cooperation. The American people want us to work together, as we did in the closing days of the last Congress, to find answers to their questions.

We can break the grip of special-interest money on the political process.

Family incomes have been stagnant too long. We can get them moving in the right direction again.

We make 2 years of college the new standard for education in this country.

We can guarantee that every child in America is able to see a doctor—and save on health care costs in the long run.

We can significantly increase the number of Americans who are able to retire with dignity and security.

We can make our communities safer and preserve rural America. We can help small businesses to create the jobs of the 21st century and help workers acquire the skills that will be demanded by those jobs.

We can do all of this, and more, if we work together. Democrats are ready to start today. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEMPTHORNE). Under the previous order, the next 60 minutes will be under the control of the majority leader or his designee.

Who yields time?

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—BILLS PLACED ON CALENDAR PURSUANT TO RULE XIV

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, pursuant to rule XIV, I shall shortly send to the desk eight bills to be considered en bloc and considered to have been read for the first time and be objected to following their second reading en bloc. I ask unanimous consent that be in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I send the bills to the desk. I ask unanimous consent that the statements with each be printed in the RECORD.

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

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, today I will introduce a series of eight bills to: First, restore the right of our children to pray; second, restore the rights of the unborn; third, strengthen the penalties for drug dealers and violent acts of crime; fourth, restore the supremacy of the individual over Government-imposed quotas; and fifth, protect the constitutional right to hold and express moral beliefs.

Mr. President, our traditions, our children, and our institutions which made this country great, are all under assault. They are not threatened in the military sense—instead they are threatened by moral decay. This Nation simply must regain its moral footing.

We are less than 4 years away from a new century full of promise for this great country. New technologies abound and unprecedented discoveries

in medicine are within our grasp. Yet, if America is to continue to prosper in the next century, Americans must retain the values and traditions established by our Founding Fathers.

Since the beginning, America has been protected by the moral foundations on which she was established. Values like personal responsibility, liberty, respect for human life, and an abiding faith.

These values have made America a shining beacon on a hill and the envy of the world.

Sadly though, we have seen a steady erosion of these values and beliefs. This raises a significant question: Where are we headed? Quo vadis America?

Mr. President, I believe we are in a battle—in the sense that we are engaged in a struggle for the soul of America. The moral decay has also chewed away at the institution of the family and led to soaring rates of illegitimacy and drug abuse.

The liberal establishment has turned a blind eye to what has been going on in America. Their supporters from the Hollywood crowd to Planned Parenthood set forth an agenda that eroded the values of this country.

We live in an era when it is fashionable to pretend that our Founding Fathers did not build this country upon biblical principles.

Mr. President, on September 7, 1864, Abraham Lincoln thanked a group of citizens for a Bible he was given saying, "In regard to this Great Book, I have but to say, it is the best gift God has given to man. All the good the Savior gave to this world was communicated through this book. But for it we could not know right from wrong."

It is imperative, that as we look to the next century, we not forget what brought us to this point in history—the faith and ideals of our forefathers. Alexis de Tocqueville, after traveling throughout this country, found the source of America's strength. He stated that America's greatness lies in its churches and synagogues.

Mr. President, the legislation that I will introduce today will go a long way to ensuring that America's foundations remain secure.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the bills will now be placed on the calendar pursuant to rule XIV.

Mr. ROTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

Mr. ROTH. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. ROTH pertaining to the introduction of S. 2 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. ROTH. I yield the floor.

Mr. CHAFEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. CHAFEE. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. CHAFEE and Mr. SMITH pertaining to the introduction of

legislation are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. COVERDELL pertaining to the introduction of S. 1 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. HATCH and Mr. CRAIG pertaining to the introduction of Senate Joint Resolution 1 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. HATCH pertaining to the introduction of S. 3 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements and Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. HATCH pertaining to the introduction of S. 10 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I also want to note that I have filed three other bills today; in particular, the Curt Flood Act of 1997, which is the baseball antitrust bill that I believe now is coming to fruition, which is something that we have tried to do for a long time. We have named it after Curt Flood, who died a day or so ago, and who really deserves the recognition because of the fights that he led on this act in organized baseball. That is S. 53.

We have also filed S. 54, which is the Federal Gang Violence Act of 1997, a bill by Senator FEINSTEIN and myself. She has worked very hard with me and others on the Judiciary Committee, and we certainly want to mention her sterling work on that bill.

Finally, the Civil Justice Fairness Act of 1997, which is already introduced.

(The remarks of Mr. HATCH pertaining to the introduction of S. 53 and S. 54 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. HATCH. I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. ASHCROFT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. ASHCROFT pertaining to the introduction of S. 4 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. ASHCROFT pertaining to the introduction of S. 5 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. MACK addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

(The remarks of Mr. MACK pertaining to the submission of Senate Resolution 15 are located in today's RECORD under

“Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.”)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the minority has 1 hour under their control. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY. I thank the Chair.

COMMITMENT TO YOUNG PEOPLE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, first of all, I rise to express appreciation to our leader, Senator DASCHLE, who has over the period of these recent weeks and months been working with many in our caucus and I know will be working closely, as well, with those on the other side of the aisle who are really interested in this Nation's commitment to the young people of this country in the field of education.

I think all of us who have had the opportunity to travel through the country, certainly in my travels around Massachusetts over this last year—no matter where we traveled—heard the concerns that parents had about access and availability in areas of education as one of the paramount issues.

The President has addressed those concerns by recommending a tax credit, also a \$1,500 tax deduction, and some \$10,000 that will be helpful to working families. Also included in the Daschle proposal are recommendations that we consider the interest on the debt for education in the same way that we would consider interest on the debt for machinery or the manufacturing industry assets, in being able to provide some deduction for those expenses as well.

That effectively, Mr. President, is to respond to the President's commitment to the American people to make the next two grades beyond the 12th grade—13th and 14th, the first 2 years of college—accessible and available to the young people in this country, so that future generations will be able to say that we, as a nation, during this Congress, have committed this Nation to the next two grades in the area of education.

I think this is a bold commitment. I think it is a dramatic enterprise. I think it will take the best judgment of all of us to achieve and accomplish this. But, nonetheless, as we understand it, the President's budget that will be submitted in the next 2-week period will demonstrate the funds that will be necessary to achieve it, and we will be able to say, in effect, when we actually legislate these proposals, that they are effectively paid and paid in full. That will be very, very important and a significant commitment to the young people of this country.

Included in the education proposal, Mr. President, are a number of other items which I think all of us should be able to embrace and endorse, and these have been outlined by Senator DASCHLE, I have been informed, earlier during the course of the day.

There will be commitments in terms of additional new technologies for our

young people in schools across this country, to make sure they are going to be able to take advantage of the latest in technology and also resources to make sure we are going to be able to train teachers so that they will be able to be well-trained and able to impart to the younger people of this country the skills that young people will need to be able to use these technologies.

It will be a modest program, but an important program, that follows the leadership of CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN, to try and give focus and attention to many of the schools in local communities across the country that are in very dilapidated conditions. That is true for most of the older cities of this country. It is true in my own city of Boston. It is true in many of the older communities of my State—Lowell, Lawrence, New Bedford, Fall River, Springfield, Worcester, and many others. It is equally true in many of the large urban areas.

This is a very modest program, but a very innovative and creative program about leveraging limited financial resources to address those particular needs in a modest way. Hopefully, we will be able to bring additional support for continuation of that program into the future.

A very important continuing commitment to literacy and expanding the opportunity for children to read in our society so that we can achieve the goal that children who have reached the third grade will be able to read in a rather creative way is using the funding that will be allocated in the various competitive grants in ways that the young people of this country are going to be able to read and to really challenge the young people in our Nation, many who are going to schools and colleges, to help and assist with that undertaking, and to challenge American people, in general, to help and assist young children in this country.

These are some of the elements of it. There are a number of others which are important, but I have summarized it, Mr. President. I hope that we will be able to move ahead in the area of education. It is extremely important.

At the end of the last session, we did move forward in terms of funding various programs. We are going to have to find the funding for these programs and also for the increased number of children who will be going to high school. We are seeing an increase in total student enrollment, and we want to make sure that their particular needs are going to be attended to, as well. I think that is very important. That is something I know Senator DASCHLE has addressed, and I know that the President's program will address it.

Hopefully, we will have broad, broad bipartisan support. For so many years in this body, the support for education was broad-based and bipartisan. It is bipartisan and broad-based in the country, and we should try and find ways to maintain that in the Congress and Senate.

Second, Mr. President, is an area that I consider of enormous importance and that is to address the needs of 10½ million children who are uninsured today. Ten and a half million will be uninsured over the course of a particular year. The leader has outlined approaches to addressing this issue.

There is a rather dramatic definition of who those children are, Mr. President. Children are the fastest growing segment of the uninsured population. It is a rather dramatic phenomenon. They are the ones who are being dropped from coverage in the current insurance system. Nine out of ten of the 10.5 million children who are uninsured have parents who are working.

We have the Medicaid Program which addresses the poorest children in this country. I welcome the fact that the administration is going to try and be more creative and imaginative in terms of reaching many of those children who are eligible for Medicaid. These children are desperately in need of a healthy start and are not receiving it today. But we are talking about the next level; that is, the sons and daughters of working families. These are men and women who go to work every day, they play by the rules, 40 hours a week, 52 weeks of the year making America work. They are the backbone of so much of what is right in our society, but their children are being left out and being left behind.

The figures and statistics are a fierce indictment of what is happening in our society. As one of the major industrial nations in the world, we still have one of the highest infant mortality rates. We are 17th among the industrial nations of the world.

More than half of all uninsured children with asthma never see a doctor, with all the implications that has, in terms of a child's future development and growth. As the father of a son who now happens to be a Congressman who had chronic asthma when he was a child, it is unbelievable to me the difficulties that he had in terms of coping with the problems of asthma. I do not know how he would have coped unless he had been able to get important medical attention.

We know one out of three uninsured children who have recurring ear infections never see a doctor. There are significant increases in the number of ear infections and the number of children who are going deaf in our society from preventable diseases. And the list goes on.

The final point that I want to make in this area, Mr. President, is that expanding coverage for children is wise economic policy.

We are always going to have to come back to justify this from economic means. We all know for every dollar that is invested in immunization, the savings are \$5 to \$6. That is true in terms of the investment in children's health. It is true certainly in terms of providing the kind of prenatal care that would be included in this program

for expectant mothers. That is an exceedingly wise investment.

There are different ways of funding this proposal, Mr. President. My principal interest and I believe all of ours is to get the job done. I will introduce legislation that will ensure that all working families can afford to purchase private health insurance for their children. I support an increase in the tobacco tax to cover this cost because of the relationship between tobacco and children's health. A number of our States are moving forward in terms of addressing the issues of children's smoking and all of the implications that has as a gateway drug. The States know that curbing smoking among young people is a sound and wise way to proceed.

But there are alternative ways to fund this program. I have every intention of working with our leader and those on the other side of the aisle to try and find alternatives.

Our principal interest is getting the coverage for these children. If we achieve very little else in this Congress we should cover our children. We should move in those areas, and also move in the areas of coverage of pensions for working families. We need to make steps in the area of pensions when we realize that close to 60 percent of all working families do not have any pensions at all and that there is an increasing number of working families that do not have pensions.

We are all thankful about Social Security. We know we have challenges that have to be addressed in the areas of ensuring its financial integrity over the period of the years but that is basically a program to prevent people from living in dire poverty. What we are talking about are those working families that have a standard of living who have been participants in our society, in so many instances served in the Armed Forces, want to be part of a pension system, and are not part of it because of various complications that have existed out there. We ought to make it easier for them to participate, encouraging employers as well as employees.

I would say in this area, Mr. President, no one has a greater interest in this area of pension coverage than women in our society. They are the ones that often are the part-time workers. They enter and leave the work force to meet various family needs and family requirements. And they are the ones, if you identify any group, are the ones that are left out and left behind in terms of a national pension system.

We have to be more responsive to their particular needs. And I commend the work that has been done on this by Senator BOXER and CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN and DIANNE FEINSTEIN, PATTY MURRAY, BARBARA MIKULSKI, and many in our caucus that have provided important leadership in this very important area.

Finally, Mr. President, I want to mention one area that working fami-

lies are very much concerned about. These themes are all related to security for working families. What is more important for working families than they are going to be able to make sure that their children are going to get covered? What is more important for working families than making sure that their children are going to be able to continue in the areas of education? What is more important for working families than if they are going to be able to look to the future with some degree of hope and opportunities and some degree of security with the pension reforms?

I just mention, finally, unfinished business as part of our immigration law last year. We are working to ensure protection for American workers, for American jobs that are being replaced by foreign workers who are displacing those American workers, not being paid the adequate kind of salary, given the decency in terms of benefits. They are replacing an American worker in the first place and then because they are doing that at much less of a wage, much less benefits, being able to be competitive to the disadvantage of other Americans with whom they might be competing in producing widgets, for example, and therefore seeing other Americans that are going to lose their jobs.

There are two basic and fundamental concepts that underlie our basic problems with the issues of immigration—one is addressing the needs at the border in terms of halting illegal immigrants that are coming here and, second, addressing the magnet of jobs—the magnet of jobs.

If you look at the Jordan study, if you look at the Hesburgh study on what is the key issue in terms of attracting immigrants, illegal immigrants, immigrants that are going to abuse the immigration system, you will find out it is jobs. Unless we are going to make sure that Americans are not going to have important jobs, and we are talking about hundreds of thousands of jobs a year in many instances—we have really failed on the other extremely important effort in terms of immigration reform. We had important provisions in the immigration bill last year that Senator SIMPSON supported, many of us supported. Those were dropped in the conference. We will come back to that particular issue in this year.

HEALTH CARE IN THE 105TH CONGRESS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if we act on health care in a spirit of bipartisanship this year and build on the accomplishments of last year, the new Congress can be the Health Care Congress.

There are several significant health care goals that this Congress can and should accomplish:

We should expand health insurance coverage for children and the unemployed.

We should deal with the serious problem of abuses by HMO's by adopting needed patient protections and standards for care.

We should put Medicare on a sound fiscal footing for the next decade, without dismantling the program or adding to the already high health care costs that burden senior citizens.

We should protect Medicaid, as we did last year, against any attempts to undermine protections for children, senior citizens, and the disabled.

The final months of the last Congress were a period of considerable accomplishment. We finally broke the long stalemate over health care reform. We passed a health insurance reform act. We made a start toward long-overdue parity for mental health coverage. We put an end to the insidious practice of drive-through deliveries, by guaranteeing newborn infants and their mothers a 48-hour stay in the hospital if they need it.

The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 ends some of the worst abuses in the current insurance system. It guarantees that, as long as you faithfully pay your premiums, your insurance cannot be taken away—even if you become seriously ill, or change your job, or lose your job. In addition, insurance companies can no longer impose new exclusions for pre-existing conditions, as long as you do not let your insurance lapse.

The legislation on mental health parity was a first step toward the day when those who suffer from mental illness will receive the care they need and deserve. The ban on drive-through deliveries is a wake-up call to unscrupulous health plans that exalt profits over patients' needs.

Now, we have a new Congress and a new opportunity to build on these achievements. The crisis that put health care on the front-burner of public policy has not gone away. In fact, it has become worse. Between 1990 and 1994, the number of uninsured Americans rose from 34 to 40 million, and it continues to climb.

A quarter of the uninsured—over 10 million—are children. One in every seven children in America today have no health insurance. Almost all of these children have parents who work. Cutbacks in employer coverage are worsening this problem, as more and more employers decide to cut costs.

Many firms are shifting from full-time to part-time employees. Others are contracting out work to firms that typically don't provide benefits. Large employers with generous benefits are reducing the number of employees eligible for the benefits. Other employers are dropping coverage for early retirees, or even all retirees. Cost-sharing is going up, and coverage of spouses and children is going down. Every 35 seconds another child loses private insurance. Parents should not have to live in fear that their employer's failure to provide coverage will deny their children good health care.

Every Member of Congress knows that those who are uninsured or underinsured can see the savings of a lifetime swept away by a single serious illness. Every Member of Congress knows that those who are uninsured are vulnerable to financial catastrophe, and are too often denied the timely, quality care they need to avoid disability or death. Children in particular often suffer premature death or a lifetime of unnecessary suffering because they lack the access to quality care that insurance provides.

All children deserve the health care they need for a healthy start in life. Every family deserves the security of knowing their children will get the health care they need. Unfortunately, too many American children lack that care, and too many families lack that security.

Uninsured children are less likely to see a doctor regularly. As they grow, they tend to receive little or no treatment, even when they need it for injury or illness. If the case is serious enough, they go to the hospital. The only family doctor they know is the hospital emergency room.

More than half of uninsured children with asthma never see a doctor. A third of uninsured children with recurring ear infections never see a doctor, and many suffer permanent hearing loss.

Providing health care for children is sound public policy and also sound economics. It's an investment in the future. Dollars spent immunizing a child or providing prenatal care can save hundreds or even thousands of dollars in future medical costs.

At the end of the last Congress, Senator JOHN KERRY and I introduced a program to make private health insurance coverage accessible and affordable for all children through age 18. Working families will have the financial assistance they need to purchase such coverage, including care for pregnant women, so that every baby has a healthy start in life. We intend to reintroduce this legislation with other Members of the Senate early this year. A similar plan is being introduced today by Senator DASCHLE, and I am hopeful action in this area will be high on the agenda of both parties.

The legislation that Senator KERRY and I intend to offer will make Federal assistance available to the States on a sliding scale to help families purchase health insurance for their children at group rates, if they do not already have coverage under an employment-based plan or an existing public program. The covered benefits will include in-patient, out-patient, and preventive care—all comparable to the coverage available under good group health plans.

The plan does not guarantee that every child will have insurance coverage. But it will give every family the opportunity to cover their children at a cost the family can afford.

I hope this program will receive broad bipartisan support. The Health

Insurance Reform Act passed by the last Congress was based on the common elements of proposals that had previously been introduced by Republicans and Democrats alike. Our current plan for coverage of children also meets that test. Every Republican proposal and every Democratic proposal introduced in the first 2 years of the Clinton administration expanded coverage by providing financial assistance to low and moderate income families to purchase private insurance. Almost all of these proposals included extra assistance to purchase children's coverage. Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle recognize the importance and priority of covering children.

Our legislation establishes no Government mandates. It relies on the private sector to provide insurance and deliver care. It imposes no price controls. It builds on the efforts of 14 States that already have similar programs in place.

Our plan will be financed by an increase in the tobacco tax, because that tax is an especially appropriate means of funding children's health coverage. Society pays dearly for the health costs of smoking. We know that the tobacco industry is targeting children. If children start smoking, the industry will live. If children stop smoking, the industry will ultimately die. It's as simple as that.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, if nothing more is done, 5 million of today's children will die prematurely as the result of smoking. An increase in the tobacco tax is the most important single step we can take to reduce childhood smoking, save lives, and lower the health costs of smoking over the long run.

In addition, we must do more to provide health care for the unemployed. For too many workers between jobs, coverage is difficult or impossible to afford. Too often, they are forced to let their insurance lapse in order to meet other needs. Modest financial assistance can make all the difference in making coverage available and affordable. Massachusetts has already shown that such coverage can be provided at reasonable cost.

Another key area to address is managed care. In many ways, its current growth is a positive development. Managed care offers the opportunity to extend the best medical practice to all medical practice. Good managed care plans provide more coordinated care and more cost-effective care for people with multiple medical needs.

It compares favorably with fee-for-service medicine in a variety of ways, especially preventive care and early diagnosis of illness. But the same financial incentives that make HMO's and other managed care organizations so cost-effective can also lead to under-treatment or excessive restrictions. Some managed care plans put their bottom line ahead of their patients' well-being—and pressure physicians in their networks to do the same.

Some of the worst abuses include failure to inform patients of treatment options; excessive barriers against referrals to specialists; irresponsible attempts to slash hospital care; unwillingness to order appropriate diagnostic tests; inadequate support for clinical trials and academic health centers; refusal to pay for potentially lifesaving treatment; and lack of fair ways to resolve disputes or redress grievances. Some of these problems affect conventional insurance as well. In many cases, these failures have tragic consequences.

The ban adopted in the last Congress on drive through deliveries was a first step in dealing with these problems. We also attempted to deal with another flagrant HMO abuse—the so-called gag rules that prohibit doctors from mentioning certain treatment options with patients. Time ran out before we could complete action, but the issue is high on our agenda for 1997. Managed care plans themselves have recently taken a strong position against this abuse. But there continues to be strong bipartisan support for additional steps to guarantee consumer protections and adequate care—and this Congress should be the Congress that enacts needed legislation in this area.

As we try to pass measures to improve the health of the American people, we must not undermine effective programs already in place. In the last Congress, a destructive proposal to slash Medicaid and convert it to block grants to the States threatened to strip children and parents, senior citizens, and disabled of needed coverage. Senior citizens in nursing homes could have lost their protection of quality of care, and their families would have been increasingly burdened by the high cost of long term care. Fortunately, that assault on Medicaid failed. In this new Congress, I hope that a bipartisan approach will keep such extreme measures from serious consideration.

Finally, we need to act responsibly on Medicare. President Clinton has proposed responsible steps to protect patients while extending the life of the trust fund for a decade. Senior citizens deserve fair action by this Congress on Medicare. But we should continue to reject proposals to slash Medicare to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy, or to force senior citizens to give up their own doctor and join private insurance plans under the guise of expanding patient choice, or to pile additional out-of-pocket costs on hard-pressed senior citizens.

This Congress can be the Congress that puts Medicare and Medicaid on a stable basis for the next decade. This can be the Congress that guarantees quality and consumer protection in managed care. This can be the Congress that gives every family health security for their children and every child the opportunity for a healthy start in life. This can be the Congress that grants the unemployed needed protection for health insurance. If we

work hard together, this Congress can achieve these goals, and both Republicans and Democrats will deserve a real vote of thanks from the American people.

SENATE DEMOCRATS' LEADERSHIP BILLS

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I want to commend the Democratic leader for the package of initiatives he has developed on behalf of Senate Democrats. Most of these proposals came out of the 1996 Families First agenda. I was proud to be involved in that attempt to meet the real needs of everyday Americans and I am proud to be a cosponsor of these bills today.

The Education for the 21st Century Act, S. 12, continues Democrats' historic commitment to education. Federal support for education is one of the best investments our Nation can make to ensure a prosperous future. The bill would provide tuition assistance, restore the student loan interest deduction, subsidize State and local bond issues used to finance school construction and repair, fund the Parents as Teachers Program to assist parents who want to help their children become successful readers, and create a technology literacy challenge fund to catalyze and leverage State, local, and private efforts to increase technology literacy among our Nation's schoolchildren.

The Children's Health Coverage Act, S. 13, would help working families purchase private health insurance for their children. Although Senator KENNEDY and I have a bill which uses a subsidy approach rather than a tax credit approach, our bills are fundamentally similar. Both would provide assistance to children 18 and under and pregnant women to purchase private health insurance, both would provide a comprehensive benefits package, and both would provide assistance on a sliding scale to the working parents of uninsured children. I look forward to working with Senator DASCHLE, my fellow Democrats, and my Republican colleagues to pass a bill this year to provide children the health insurance they need and working parents the peace of mind they deserve.

The Retirement Security Act, S. 14, includes a wide range of proposals designed to help Americans prepare for a secure retirement. These would address the fact that too many Americans lack pension coverage by covering more workers under existing plans, creating new retirement savings options for millions of Americans, and encouraging more businesses to establish plans and more employees to participate in them. The bill would improve pension access and coverage, strengthen pension security, promote pension portability, and increase equity for women.

The Youth Violence, Crime and Drug Abuse Control Act, S. 15, would build on the success of the 1994 Crime Act and other crime fighting initiatives en-

acted during President Clinton's first term. I am proud to have been a leader in securing funding in the 1994 Crime Act for placing 100,000 new cops on the streets of America's communities. Thanks to the presence of the newly funded police officers, a fully funded Violence Against Women Act, and the Brady law—which has prevented more than 60,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers from purchasing handguns, violent crime is lower than at any time since 1990. This bill balances the need to target and punish violent, young criminals with proven drug prevention programs. We would put 25,000 more police officers on the streets by extending the COPS Program for 2 years, and we would extend the Violence Against Women Act to provide shelter for 400,000 more battered women and their children, increase Federal penalties for juveniles by raising the mandatory release age from 21 to 26, increase penalties for gang violence, and reauthorize the Safe and Drug Free Schools Program.

Senator DASCHLE deserves our thanks for his leadership in spotlighting these issues of education, children's health care, retirement security, and youth violence that are so critical to the future of our Nation and to the well-being of the American people. He and his staff are to be commended for drafting these bills to address the issues. I look forward to working with Senator DASCHLE and other Senators on both sides of the aisle to pass legislation to meet these compelling needs.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. DORGAN pertaining to the introduction of legislation are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

SERIES OF INITIATIVES

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I intend to discuss at a later time a series of initiatives that Senator DASCHLE discussed in brief form dealing with health care, education, pensions, and a number of other issues, including discussing another issue that is important to me, a piece of legislation that Senator DASCHLE and I and others are introducing dealing with some changes with respect to agricultural programs and family farmers in our country.

I see others are seeking the floor. I yield the floor at this time.

I would like to reserve the remainder of the Democratic time today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. COLLINS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. Madam President, what is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority has reserved its time. The Senator from new Mexico may seek time.

Mr. DOMENICI. I ask that I be permitted to speak for 10 minutes.

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

THE REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE AGENDA

Mr. DOMENICI. Madam President, fellow Senators, I rise to compliment the Republican leader on the announcement today of the first Republican legislative agenda for the 105th Congress. I believe that most Americans would support the principles and the ideas contained in these 10 pieces of legislation. I also believe that within the Senate itself there is a compelling majority that will support these 10 proposals. From my standpoint, I support them all, but I do reserve the right in two or three instances to change some of the things that are in the bills. But in no way does it minimize my admiration of and respect for the leadership for putting these bills forth, and the Republican conference and the hard work they put into coming up with these ideas and these basic premises.

I would like to just run through each one quickly with a few thoughts of my own, and then yield the floor to my friend, the new Senator from Wyoming.

The balanced budget constitutional amendment: I do not think there is any question that that piece of legislation speaks to the wishes of a huge percentage of Americans. I would not be surprised if as many as 70 percent or 75 percent of Americans believe that we ought to build into our institutions a mandate—unless we have a war where we cannot abide by a balanced budget—that we ought to produce a balanced budget every year.

Frankly, I have been working on budgets long enough to on the one hand be pulled by those who say, "Why don't we do it ourselves? Why do we need the force in effect of a constitutional amendment?" I guess the fact that we have all been working on it so long and can't get it done—and that when we look across the industrial nations, all we find is that with the passage of time instead of spending less, all governments spend more; instead of getting their deficits and debts under control there is growing concern, even in Europe, among most of our industrial friends there, that such things as pension plans and deferred obligations are going to bankrupt their countries. We are doing fairly well. But I do not think anybody ought to misconstrue the trend lines in terms of our current deficits to think that it is going to be easy to keep the deficit under control.

In the next couple of weeks the Budget Committee will have a series of hearings to show what the next century is going to look like and what the major problems are, as the President

speaks of a "bridge," what we ought to be carrying across that bridge so we don't have bigger problems rather than a better life in the next century.

The balanced budget amendment's time has come. There are some who will say, "What happens when you need to spend more money and there is not enough room in this budget," such as unemployment compensation during a recession. Let me say that this amendment is very, very simple in that respect. If that is a serious problem, as serious as some would say, then all you need to do is get 60 votes. You don't have to pass any resolutions declaring emergencies. You just need 60 votes instead of 51 to let those expenditures take place. I believe that is good enough. I think history will reveal that we have had caps that are similar to this, to this constitutional amendment, on parts of our budget and that when we have been confronted by the need to increase something like unemployment compensation there has been far more than 60 votes to go ahead and break the caps because there is somewhat of a countercyclical economic necessity that is forthcoming.

So, from this Senator's standpoint, I hope that the early count of Senators who back home during the campaign said they were for a constitutional amendment, plus those who voted heretofore, continues to add up—and that the number clearly when you do that is there are plenty of votes to pass it—that they will not change their minds based upon Washington, DC talk—because most heard from their people, and I hope that we will all live up to that and get this job done.

Safe and affordable schools is our second one. All I can say about that is I am not sure that any of us know the extent to which we ought to be for change in our education system. But I can tell you one anomaly that is rather frightening. All you have to do is go home and talk to people in the business sector that want to employ people from your State of Maine, or my State of New Mexico, and who continue to tell us, "Well, the people we need don't have the skills required. They don't have the right training." I guess in the broadest sense they are saying they are not educated for the workplace.

Frankly, I hope that we could sooner rather than later go beyond these few principles in this bill and come up with some concepts that would push our current institutions that educate our young people—and even our adults—to force them to be more responsive to the needs of our people who are looking for jobs.

I ask for another 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator still has 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thought you were reporting that I didn't have any time left. Excuse me. I still ask for 5 additional minutes.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. Madam President, let me suggest that while the United

States for college, community colleges, public education, and kindergarten through 12 continues to spend more and more, everywhere we look there are huge numbers of Americans who are not well enough educated for the jobs of today. Frankly, we continue to pour money into vocational institutions and vocational education; we put the strings on that so we can put money into our public education, albeit very small amounts. But somehow or another it seems that the time has come to ask the institutions which we currently spend our money on to see if they can't change their way of doing business a little bit so they may be more the engine of training and skills improvement rather than us having to fund new institutions and new ways of doing them.

Family tax relief: This Senator's only comment is that every single item in there are very exciting items. And they are all probably good for either American families, or the American economy, or are motivated by fairness. In that context, I support them. In the context of how much we will be able to afford, I reserve the right to decide. We may not be able to afford all the enumerated items in the bill. But obviously, we will have to look at that, and I want to make that comment in the RECORD.

The workplace act I think is an exciting piece of legislation. I support it. I hope we can get the message out as to what is in the bill and what is not, for some who are already talking about what they believe the bill does, but they are really talking about things that are not part of this legislation.

Product liability reform has come under some great leadership in the Senate. We have already done a lot of work on that bill, but we cannot get it passed through for the President's signature. I hope we get there.

For the partial-birth abortion ban, I believe there is a compelling majority of support for the bill. The question is whether we have enough to override a Presidential veto. I have heard words from the White House, but more importantly from Senators like Senator DASCHLE saying maybe we ought to work something out here, which leads me to believe that there are even more Senators who deplore the partial-birth abortion technique than those who voted for it. I, too, hope we can get something done there.

Let me just quickly go through the Missile Defense Act. Obviously, there are some who would not put this in the top 10, but there are many who are concerned enough about it, and I support it wholeheartedly, in an effort to solve the problems that are stated by that legislation.

The Superfund cleanup is long overdue. It is now good to know that Senator CHAFEE and Senator SMITH of New Hampshire support a measure that will reform Superfund. And reform means that we will put more of the billions that will be spent during the next 10

years into actual cleanup instead of into court cases and litigation. I think that is the motivation and that is what we are trying to do. I think that is very positive.

The Paycheck Protection Act speaks for itself. And then I will go to the last one, the Violent Juvenile Offenders Act. I am very pleased that many of the provisions of the legislation I introduced last year, after numerous hearings in New Mexico and a great deal of input from our judges and from probation officials, are in this bill. I think it is obvious that if any part of our criminal justice system has fallen apart, it is the juvenile justice system. For the most part, in most of our States, the juvenile justice system has not kept up with the times. It does not meet today's challenges, and I believe we are going to sensitize our States to this by offering to give them more financial support if they will modernize their systems. I believe this bill will lead them to hold more teenagers accountable for their actions and make more public the activities of the courts, rather than to hide their activities. They also should make juveniles more accountable, even for smaller offenses, so they do not wait until they have committed the equivalent of 10 or 15 felonies before something is done to try to help the teenager.

Many of these things are encapsulated in the bill. There are some things that I am not sure ultimately, after detailed hearings, are going to be as good as they sound. We are trying to reform the existing law. The existing law is rigid and in many cases harms juvenile justice at home in our States.

I am not sure that people are aware of it, but we have mandates in the Federal juvenile justice law, and one of them is called sight and sound separation. It has gotten way out of hand. I am not sure we should do away with the mandates entirely, but we have had a situation in New Mexico where because one correctional facility would have had the same kitchen for both adults and teenagers, the State was told that it could not house teenagers there. I guess they expanded the mandate to sight, sound, and smell, or maybe the flavor that will come from using the same kitchen. But I do not know how that had much to do with whether you ought to keep the teenagers in that facility.

Perhaps we are underfunding the OJJP provisions, we are cutting those a little bit, and we ought to look at that. There are a couple of other things we ought to include, but for the most part we are moving in the right direction, and I am very pleased to be a cosponsor and essentially had a lot to do with what we put in that bill.

I believe I am close to the time the Senate has granted me to speak, and I thank the Senate for the time and yield the floor.

Mr. LAUTENBERG addressed the Chair.

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

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, just so our new colleague from Wyoming understands, this was the order that was agreed to under unanimous consent, and therefore, since he is waiting, I want to explain that this was not just being discourteous; it had been set that way. The junior Senator from Wyoming will get used to some of those things off in the corner. He may not like it, but it works out.

(The remarks of Mr. LAUTENBERG pertaining to the introduction of S. 18 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

DISAPPOINTMENT WITH INTRODUCTION OF SUPERFUND BILL

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, while I am on the floor, I want to express some disappointment at the introduction today by my friend and colleague, Senator CHAFEE, of a comprehensive bill amending our Federal hazardous waste cleanup law, better known as Superfund.

This bill was introduced without consultation with any of the Democrats or with the administration. My staff, and those of the ranking member on the Environment and Public Works Committee, did not see a copy of this bill until late this morning. If we are to make reforms to Superfund this year—and it was hoped we would do it last year and the year before—it is critical that we work together in a bipartisan manner.

Today's bill introduction is not a positive first step toward that bipartisanship. Enacting any Superfund legislation this year is going to require Members of both parties in the House of Representatives and in the Senate to work together. It will also require all of us to work with the President and EPA Administrator Carol Browner.

In addition, Madam President, it would require us to appreciate that times have changed since the debate over Superfund reauthorization began in the late 1980's. The administration has made wide-ranging administrative proposals that have made a real difference, and this is not the same Superfund program of years past.

We have learned a lot. We have improved its processing. We have reduced the possibility of heavy litigation costs. I want to be clear, I support changes to Superfund that would speed cleanups, reduce litigation, increase equity, save money, and protect the health and environment of those who live near Superfund sites. But, Madam President, it is important to do this right. We should not be shifting costs from polluters to taxpayers, and the President has made it very clear that he will not abide by that either.

So, Madam President, I hope that the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee will closely examine the administrative reforms already undertaken before moving forward on changes to the Superfund program. I

hold this up as an example of what is in here, introduced this morning without consultation. This is not a way to get ourselves a bipartisan kickoff to this very important reauthorization program.

I look forward, as I have for many years, to working with our distinguished colleague, Senator CHAFEE, and Senator BOB SMITH from New Hampshire and others, to find common ground. I want to reauthorize Superfund, but I would like to do it in a way that is fair to taxpayers and in a way that is going to work.

I yield back the time on the Democrats' side reserved. How much time is left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Time is controlled by the minority. There is 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I yield back the time at this point that I have not used and reserve for our side the remaining minutes.

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

Mr. FORD. Madam President, the distinguished Senator from Wyoming wishes to speak, and I don't want to get in his way, but I will need more than 5 minutes, so I will wait until others are through so I can get my time on the floor in addition to the 5 minutes. So I alert the Chair to that. Thank you.

Mr. ENZI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I rise in support of Senate Joint Resolution 1, the balanced budget amendment. I specifically chose the balanced budget amendment as the focus of my first statement in this hallowed Chamber. I chose it because the need for a balanced budget is the most important issue facing all of America today. Without a balanced budget, our children will be saddled with a mountain of debt. Our children and grandchildren will be left with no hope of fulfilling their dreams and aspirations. Our Nation will be weakened and vulnerable.

I know how to balance a budget. I'm an accountant. I have balanced budgets as a family man, a shoe store owner, a mayor, and a legislator. You and I know how easy it is to spend money. We know it's easier to say "yes" to programs than "no." There is a constituency for every single program. But I have had to say "no." We have a duty and a responsibility to our communities, our families and our children to live within our means. Right now we are spending more money than we are taking in. Overspending is a prescription for disaster. Almost any school child understands that if you spend more than your take in—you go broke.

Because of the Federal Government's ability to print money, we can easily feel there are no spending limits. How can we pay the bills of a nation when we reach the point where interest payments on our debt exceed all the revenue? That scenario is possible. We are

now on that course. Without restraint, that could happen even at an impossible 100 percent tax rate on the citizens of this great Nation. Governments go broke when they cannot afford the interest.

The Federal Government must learn to live within its means. If we were not saddled with such enormous debt, we would have additional revenues to invest in the people and we could reduce the tax burden for every working man and woman in this country. Many States have a constitutional provision to balance the budget. Those States balance their budgets. It is time for us to require ourselves to balance the budget just as they now require the States to do.

History shows we cannot balance the budget with willpower alone. It is time to look at the hard, cold facts. We now have a \$5.2 trillion dollar Federal debt. The deficit looms so large. Many Americans voted for candidates based on their stand on this single issue. A balanced budget amendment was the key to voter confidence. Failure to support this issue will diminish that confidence and could lead to the defeat of other candidates in 2 years.

The balance budget amendment would help end the frustrating impasse between Congress and the President by requiring that we agree on a budget that is balanced. A constitutional requirement will remove from debate the variable of how long it will take to balance the budget. The argument about whether we should balance it at all will be removed from the discussion. All Americans know that we have to work within the parameters of fiscal sanity. The balanced budget amendment will focus our effort and our attention.

We have not had a balanced Federal budget since 1969. This fact alone illustrates the difficulty of balancing a budget without an amendment. By failing to balance the budget, we are giving in to the whims of the moment. Without a balanced budget we abandon the ideals of self-control, discipline, and hard work. When we do not balance a budget, we lead by the example of selfishness, recklessness and folly. We condone living beyond our means.

Those opposed to a balanced budget amendment fear it would result in drastic cuts to programs they deem necessary. That is a very shortsighted view of the world. Only by balancing the Federal budget, however, can we guarantee long-term security to any Federal program, including Social Security. By balancing the budget, we do a great service for all Americans. We especially serve those living on fixed income retirement programs. When we pass and the States ratify this amendment, everyone will benefit. Interest rates will decrease. Inflation will be held in check. Business will have true growth. Jobs will increase.

We need to pass this amendment with no gimmickry, no smoke and no mirrors. Any proposal to exempt Social Security would rule out the possibility

of a true balanced budget. Any exemption of Social Security plays games with the future. We need to deal with the facts. Making Social Security exempt from this process would simply allow unlimited spending. An exemption would give the false pretense that we have a balanced budget.

Getting our entitlement programs in good working order is essential. Finger pointing about who wants to cut entitlements are simply diversions. Sleights of hand over who wants to save entitlement programs are all political ploys. Don't let politics confuse the issue and stall the passage of this amendment.

The economic future of America's families depends on what we do now. My family is very important to me. I know your families are important to you as well. Every day that passes without a balanced budget hurts. The responsibility of the debt falls on the shoulders of our children and our grandchildren. Will we leave them a legacy of colossal debt totaling more than \$5.2 trillion? That incredible debt will burden generations to come. Our kids and grandkids will have an enormous tax burden. They will inherit an economy so weak and a debt so large there will be no hope of them ever paying it off.

When I was going to grade school, we spent a lot of time on the enormity of a million dollars. I've always been fascinated with Carl Sagan's emphasis of the difference between a million and a billion. Now we roll a trillion off our tongues with great ease; \$5.2 trillion. This is the cruelest of all legacies.

That debt we are incurring for our kids amounts to taxation without representation. We mounted a revolution over that before. Our Founding Fathers would be embarrassed. We should imitate our forefathers in fulfilling our duty to our children and to our children's children. We must save them from the bondage of insurmountable taxes. If the balanced budget amendment fails, we lose. Future generations lose as well.

It is time to heed the words of Thomas Jefferson, "I place economy among the first and important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared." President Jefferson knew the economic and moral importance of not owing anything to anyone. He also knew that a large public debt could make the United States a slave to other countries and foreign interests.

Defeat is the real national danger on our horizon. The national security of the United States is threatened by the immense debt. We, as a nation, will be unable to protect ourselves against our enemies, foreign and domestic. And, we will be unable to protect Americans—their jobs and their families. We cannot leave ourselves exposed to economic collapse. A world relies on us to get our economic house in order. If we—you and I—continue the practice of overspending, history will harshly judge us.

We will say, "We have met the enemy—and it is us." America has the best form of government on Earth. Now it requires responsibility from its leaders and citizens. The time for leadership is now. The time for the balanced budget amendment is now.

The American people demand an end to runaway spending. We need to show the American people that we are responsible. This bill will prove restraint by constitutionally limiting the ability to spend taxpayer dollars. Let us not fail them or ourselves.

We have the longest continuous government on the face of the Earth. This bill is a critical link to the future. We must preserve and protect our Nation and do it for our children and our grandchildren. This is the turning point. What will history say about each of us?

I urge my colleagues to support the balanced budget amendment.

CONGRATULATING SENATOR ENZI

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I must rise to congratulate our colleague, the new Senator from Wyoming, Senator ENZI, for his statement. I think it is an outstanding statement—his first speech, as I understand it, on the floor on our first legislative day. I just wish to compliment him. I hope every American could hear that speech, a very well-thought-out speech on the necessity and importance of a balanced budget amendment.

I think Senator ENZI's credentials are certainly meritorious of that statement, the fact he is an accountant by trade, a businessman, former State legislator as well as mayor. I compliment him and thank him for his well-thought-out speech. I hope everyone will pay attention to it and follow his advice and pass this amendment.

I thank him again for his speech.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as in morning business for a period of 5 minutes.

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

CONGRATULATING SENATOR ENZI

Mr. GREGG. I wish to thank the Senator from Kentucky for allowing me to proceed even though he had prior permission.

I also want to congratulate the Senator from Wyoming on his superb discussion of the balanced budget amendment. It was thoughtful, to the point, focused, and really highlighted the importance of that amendment, which happens to be the first item on the agenda for the Republican majority in the Senate. Of the 10 items listed by the majority leader today as being the priority items which the Senate shall pursue under the Republican agenda, No. 1 was the balanced budget amendment.

The Senator from Wyoming has done a superb job of pointing out why it is absolutely essential that we pass that amendment.

EDUCATION IN AMERICA

Mr. GREGG. Madam President, I want to speak briefly here to the second item on the agenda, which is education. Obviously, we all recognize the significance and importance of education. We also recognize, those of us who have been involved in the issue for a while, that the issue of education is, for the most part, settled at the local school level, at the local community level, especially as it involves elementary and secondary education, and that the Federal role is narrow and one which is focused on specific areas. It is not the Federal Government's obligation nor is it appropriate that the Federal Government step into the designing or the curriculum or the choosing of the proper activities for school systems.

Rather, it is the Federal Government's role to pick areas where it can assist the local school districts and can assist parents in helping their children to get a better education. The proposal that has been put forward by the Republican Senate today, Republican Members of the Senate, as the second item on our list of 10, is a very strong proposal on behalf of the parents of America and the students of America.

It is an effort to identify a number of areas where we think the Federal Government can assist parents in helping their children get a better education. We all recognize that education is the core activity that we must undertake if we are to have a competitive society.

We especially recognize this in New England where we depend so much on brainpower because we have no great natural resources. Our natural resource is the intelligence of our citizenry, which is extraordinarily high and depends on a strong education system.

In this area I want to highlight two activities that have been pointed to by our proposal. The first is that we understand that there is this huge baby-boom generation—of which Bill Clinton happens to be the most visible individual—which happens to also have children. And all those children of that baby-boom generation, people like Chelsea, people like my own children, are moving into the college-age years.

There are a lot of parents who are very concerned about how they are going to pay for the high cost of higher education. This proposal gives parents an option. It gives them an opportunity, sets up the Bob Dole grants, which are the specific vehicle that allows parents to invest for their children's education, to save for their children's education, and be able to plan ahead so that they can use the vehicle of, basically, a designated savings account which will receive significant tax benefits to assist them in getting ready for their children's college education.

In addition, it supports prepaid tuition plans that many of our States are now pursuing, where parents can actually choose a college or group of colleges within a State and pay the tuition early and thus avoid the cost of inflation and put themselves in a position where they can better afford the cost of education as their children get older and the costs go up.

In addition, it expands the deduction for student loan interest, a very important element in having the ability to go to college or go to graduate school and to be able to get a loan and still be able to pay it back. This expansion of the deduction will have a positive impact in that area.

It expands study awards and assists employers who are assisting their employees in higher education. It is a very significant effort to make higher education more affordable for the families of America.

In addition, the bill has another major element which is absolutely critical, especially in New Hampshire. That is, it says that the Federal Government is financially going to step up to its obligation to special ed children. A long time ago we passed something called 94142, which was an excellent bill, the purpose of which was to make special education more readily available to children who needed it.

The concept was that the Federal Government would pay 40 percent of the cost and the States would pay 60 percent of the costs. Today, unfortunately, the Federal Government is only paying about 6 percent of the costs that are borne in order to care for a child who has special requirements in education.

As a result, this has put a huge burden on the local communities and the local school systems. States like New Hampshire, which rely heavily on real estate taxes to support their schools, or even States that rely on State government income taxes or sales taxes, find that a large percentage of the tax dollars they are raising for education are going to support what should have been the Federal obligation to help out with the special education child.

As we all know, the special education child can, in instances, cost \$100,000 or more as compared with a child going through the system in an average school system which may cost \$4,000. So it can skew dramatically the ability to apply resources to benefit other children in the system because of the fact that the Federal Government has shirked its obligation to come forward with its 40 percent, as it said it would when it initially passed this bill a long time ago.

So what we have proposed as Republicans is that the Federal Government will finally step forward and fund special education at near the 40-percent level. We are talking about a \$10 billion increase in funding for special education, which increase will be met by ramping up, over a series of years, 7 years, and thus allowing the States and

the communities to free up those education dollars which they are now using in order to support the Federal obligation to care for the special ed child, to educate the special ed child, to free up those dollars to use them to expand education activity for other children in the school system.

If you want to look at it in its cleanest sense, it is actually going to be the largest block grants to local education the Federal Government has ever pursued. It should have occurred earlier, but it is going to occur now as a result of the commitment that has been made by the Republican majority here in the Senate.

The sign that it is going to occur is the fact that we already made the downpayment. In the last session—and this did not get much attention unfortunately; it should have gotten a lot more attention; I do not know why it did not get a lot more attention; maybe it was because of a national election and people wanted jingle on their positions—but in the last budget process last September we, as Republican Members of the Senate, put \$730 million more into special education than the present funding was. We increased it by that amount of money.

It was a downpayment on this effort to try to fully fund the 40 percent that the Federal Government originally said it was going to fund. As a result, a State like New Hampshire will receive an increase of approximately \$3 million. That is a lot of money to help out with the special education issues.

So we are not talking in rosy scenarios here. We are not using words. We are not trying to create perceptions. We are talking in terms of deeds. We have already made the downpayment on this effort to expand our commitment to special education. And now with the putting forward of the Republican list of initiatives for this Congress, we are making it very clear that we are going to follow through on that commitment.

This will be positive for the children across this country and for the educational systems across this country. I think Republicans can take great pride that we at least have been willing to step up to this very critical issue of first educating our children in college and relieving the pressure on parents who are trying to send their children to college; and, second, helping out with the special ed needs which the States have for so long borne but which the Federal Government has for so long said it would bear.

Madam President, I yield back my time.

Mr. FORD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. FORD. Madam President, I want to use the 5 minutes that has been assigned to the minority, and I ask unanimous consent I have such time as I need beyond that.

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

Mr. FORD. I thank the Chair very much.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM IN THE 105TH CONGRESS

Mr. FORD. Madam President, as we begin a new Congress, we begin with the hope that the bipartisanship that existed at the end of the 104th Congress will carry through the 105th Congress.

Together, Democrats and Republicans were able to put aside partisan differences and pass meaningful and important legislation, from raising the minimum wage to the Kennedy-Kassebaum health care bill, to the reauthorization of the Federal Aviation Administration and the airport improvement program, and adding additional funds to education.

Madam President, I think in not only the minds of some in this body but the general public, one glaring example where we fail to come together is campaign finance reform. While the American people saw that we can work together to pass legislative solutions to everyday problems, the American people also saw our failure to restore integrity to our political system with the passage of campaign finance reform.

Unfortunately, this last election cycle once again demonstrates that we need fundamental campaign finance reform. This last election cycle demonstrated that the money chase continues. Only this time, the pace was more intense.

Preliminary figures from the Federal Election Commission for the 1996 cycle are astounding. Fundraising by the Republican and Democrat Parties—"parties" I underscore—in the period from January 1, 1995, through November 25, 1996, totaled \$882 million. That represents a 73-percent increase over the same period for the 1992 Presidential election cycle.

The largest increase in funding and spending by the parties was soft money. The Republican National Committee raised \$141.2 million, a 183-percent increase over 1992's \$49.8 million. Republicans spent \$149.6 million compared to their spending in the 1992 election cycle, an increase of 224 percent. Democrats raised \$122 million, a 237-percent increase over 1992's \$36.5 million, and spent \$117.3 million, a 250-percent increase over 1992 when Democrats spent \$32.9 million.

Madam President, the money chase does not stop there. Based on reports by the Federal Election Commission, congressional candidates—that includes the House and the Senate—spending may be at an all-time high. Totals for both the House and the Senate general election candidates show they raised \$659.6 million, an 8-percent increase over 1994. That is in addition to the other money that I am talking about. So we are nearing the \$2 billion figure as it relates to spending in campaign finance in campaigning.

One thing we will become in the House and the Senate will be bit players in the political aspects of this country—bit players because money will put us on television and money will do the work for us. So the big player will become the consultant, will become television, become advertising, and so we will become bit players in this stage called the American political system.

An average winning Senate candidate in all 34 races this past election spent \$4.4 million. Compared to 1994, this represents, by the way, an 8-percent decrease. However, the States in which Senate races were held in 1996 included most of the smaller and less populated States. Nevertheless, when you break down the \$4.4 million per race, that means the average a candidate would have to raise is approximately \$13,969 each week for 6 years. Someone dismissed that figure by saying that most candidates raise approximately 80 percent of their funds in the 2 years prior to the election. If you accept that statistic, then the amount you have to raise each week occurring in that 2-year period is almost \$34,000. With those statistics, one would be hard pressed to argue that there is no money chase.

Some have suggested that we simply do not spend enough in our elections. They have even been so bold as to suggest that we should spend more. They say we spend more on bubble gum than we spend on elections. Well, this is not about bubble gum. This is about running this great country of ours and keeping it on the right track and a leader of the world.

How much more can we spend, Madam President, when you have to raise \$13,000 a week for every week of your Senate term? How can we say that we are truly doing the people's business? The more time that we have to devote to raising money, the less time we have to commit to our constituents. That is certainly the perception of the average citizen. I argue that this is one area where the perception is the reality.

Furthermore, Madam President, I suggest that the more money raised and spent in our elections does not necessarily mean that we have better campaigns. Al Hunt recently wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that there is enough anecdotal evidence to suggest that the more candidates spend, the more negative the campaign. No, Madam President, I do not believe the answer is more money in our election. Rather, I believe, that the solution for real and effective campaign finance reform must include spending limits. The terms of those limits should be open to negotiation and discussion. In the end, there cannot be any real and meaningful reform without spending limits.

Changing the current system is difficult. You can understand why someone opposes changing the status quo because it is a system that got them in office, and by and large keeps them in office. I recognize that spending limits

pose constitutional difficulties. I believe that we can craft a system of voluntary spending limits that will sustain constitutional scrutiny by the Supreme Court. I also believe that in order to restore the integrity of our political system, imposing spending limits is the right course of action. If we must—and I underscore if we must—then it might be worth the task to amend the Constitution.

The fact is, Madam President, when it comes to putting an overall cap on candidate spending, the Congress is way behind the curve. Just this past November, I believe the voters in the great State of Maine passed a ballot initiative that would impose spending limits on their State races.

I direct the attention of my colleagues to my own home State of Kentucky. In 1995, we had our first gubernatorial election with spending limits, \$1.8 million. The previous election was \$12 million. Overall, these reforms in my State worked well for the candidates and for the voters. The Kentucky system has a general election spending cap of \$1.8 million. Everyone agrees the Kentucky system still has some problems and some loopholes that need to be addressed. But on the whole, I think the candidates and the electorate approved of the spending limit plan. In fact, spending limits in the Kentucky race changed the overall course of the election. With a limit on the amount they could spend, both the Republican and the Democrat candidates had to revise the campaign play book.

Spending limits put a premium on debates. A premium on debates—think about that. You try not to debate your opponent in this day and age, you try to stay away from him because he is unknown, the people are not knowledgeable. So you do not want to give him any publicity, so you do not want to have debates, maybe one or two on educational television that maybe nobody would watch while there is a basketball game, football game, or baseball game going on at that time. I have seen it. I played that game. I am no spring chicken at this game. I am still spry, but no spring chicken.

In fact, the spending limits put a premium on debates and joint appearances across our Commonwealth. The candidates didn't fly; they drove because it saved money. They were looking for every Rotary Club, Lion's Club, every J.C. Club, whatever groups were together. They were wanting to express their desires and hopes for the future of our great State. Overall, I think most Kentuckians were pleased with the results, because the candidates came and talked about issues rather than being on television. The net result was a better informed electorate and therefore a better campaign.

So, Madam President, I believe that the terms of spending limits should be open to negotiation. All items should be on the table for discussion. But I believe that we simply cannot have effective

and meaningful reform without the restriction of limits that one might spend in a campaign.

In addition to spending limits for congressional campaigns, meaningful reform also requires us to close the soft money loophole. As I mentioned earlier, we saw a dramatic increase by the national parties in the raising and spending of soft money.

We also need to address issues like independent expenditures and issue advocacy. Recent decisions by the Supreme Court require the Congress, I think, to reexamine the current law. We cannot prevent an individual or group of individuals from engaging in political activity independent of a candidate or political party. But we can make sure that such activities are truly independent and that those expenditures are adequately and fully disclosed to the Federal Election Commission. We will hear a little more about the hand-off funding as we proceed into the debate on campaign finance reform. If you don't understand hand-off funding, see me or listen to one of my speeches. I will try to tell you what that is.

Finally, Madam President, I believe that we need to examine the structure and authority of the Federal Election Commission. If we are going to have an agency charged with a mission to enforce our campaign finance laws, then I believe it is incumbent upon us to make sure that the FEC has the authority and the means by which to execute that authority.

As the former chairman of the Rules Committee and now ranking member, I have sat through countless hearings on the issue of campaign finance reform. I can go back to the archives of the Rules Committee and produce volumes and volumes and volumes of testimony and printed records of hearings where the committee received testimony from Members, from professors, from campaign consultants, and all the election experts you could ever think up. We can easily identify the problems. The question is, Are we ready to try to work on solutions? The problems are there and we understand them, but are we ready to work on solutions?

Madam President, with all due respect, we do not need more hearings on these issues. We know all too well what the problems are. We need to sit down together—and I underscore together—to craft the solutions. In the past, campaign finance reform has been an issue that has received too much lip service. We can no longer afford to let the opportunity to enact meaningful reform pass us by. The time to act is now. I hope that we can move forward and make campaign finance reform one of the first and lasting accomplishments of the 105th Congress. I know that many of my colleagues share a similar commitment to reforming our campaign finance laws. I look forward to working with my colleagues. Hopefully, through this campaign finance reform, we can restore trust and we

can restore integrity to our electoral system by enacting meaningful campaign finance reform legislation.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I know my colleagues have been waiting patiently. Would their mind if I went ahead for a few minutes?

Mr. GRAMS. That is fine.

(The remarks of Mr. NICKLES pertaining to the introduction of S. 9 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. NICKLES, Mr. GRAMS, and Mr. HUTCHINSON pertaining to the introduction of S. 9 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

1996 YEAR END REPORT

The mailing and filing date of the 1996 Year End Report required by the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended, is Friday, January 31, 1997. Principal campaign committees supporting Senate candidates file their reports with the Senate Office of Public Records, 232 Hart Building, Washington, DC 20510-7116.

The Public Records office will be open from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. on the filing date to accept these filings. In general, reports will be available the day after receipt. For further information, please contact the Public Records office on (202) 224-0322.

REGISTRATION OF MASS MAILINGS

The filing date for 1996 fourth quarter mass mailings is January 27, 1997. If a Senator's office did no mass mailings during this period, a form should be submitted that states "none."

Mass mailing registrations, or negative reports, should be submitted to the Senate Office of Public Records, 232 Hart Building, Washington, DC 20510-7116.

The Public Records Office will be open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. on the filing date to accept these filings. For further information, please contact the Public Records office on (202) 224-0322.

TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR PAUL TSONGAS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is with great sadness that we learned last weekend of the death of our former colleague from Massachusetts, Paul Tsongas. Paul served in the House of Representatives for 4 years, from 1975 to 1979, and in the Senate for 6 years, from 1979 to 1985. All of us who knew him respected him and admired him.

Paul was a great friend, a great Congressman for the people of Lowell, a great Senator for the State of Massachusetts. He had a special dedication to public service that began as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia in the

1960's and endured throughout his brilliant career, including his 1992 Presidential campaign.

As a Lowell city councilor, a county commissioner, Congressman, Senator, and Presidential candidate he had a special vision of America as it ought to be. Above all, he had an extraordinary personal and political courage. It was a courage demonstrated during his long illness and in all aspects of his years in public service. He often took stands that were unpopular. He had strongly held beliefs and he fought hard for them regardless of the passing political cause. He cared more for the truth than public opinion. And the people of Massachusetts loved him all the more because of it.

President Kennedy would have called him a "profile in courage."

One of his enduring legacies is the Lowell National Historic Park, which symbolized a great deal about his commitment to Lowell and to that entire region of our State. He had the vision to conceive the park and the skill to achieve it. In a larger sense, it also typified his unique ability to find new ways to see old problems. Where others saw a fading mill town, Paul saw the opportunity for rebirth, growth, and a thriving new economy.

He applied that same dedication to new ways of thinking in everything he did in our State, our country, and our common planet, yet he had both a realistic and idealistic vision of a better future and a powerful commitment to reach it so no one would be left out or left behind.

He reminded me of Robert Kennedy. As my brother often said, "Some people see things as they are and say, why. I dream things that never were and say, why not?" That was true of Paul Tsongas as well. We will miss him very much. Our hearts go out to his wife Niki, his sisters, Thaleia and Vicki, all the members of his wonderful family, his three daughters, Ashley, Katina, and Molly.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that editorials from the Lowell Sun and the Boston Globe be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Lowell Sun, January 20, 1997]

COMING HOME

When he stood in the raindrops at Boarding House Park, Paul Tsongas spoke of embarking upon his "journey of purpose" to become the President of the United States.

We in Lowell knew better.

We in Lowell knew Paul Tsongas' purposeful journey began long before he tossed his hat into the presidential ring, and endured long after his candidacy came to an end.

For Citizen Paul Tsongas, his journey to make his city and his world a better place began as soon as he was old enough to make a difference, and continued—with as much passion and purpose as ever—until it ended all too soon Saturday night.

Let others talk about Sen. Tsongas' extraordinary contributions to the national landscape—as they should and will.

Let us in Lowell talk about contributions far more significant and enduring.

Let us talk about a man who brought a remarkable wife to Lowell, and a father who raised three wonderful children in the city of his birth.

Because before all else—before all the politics and the presidential campaigns—Paul Tsongas devoted his life to his beloved and cherished wife and daughters. And even if his journey consisted "only" of Nicola, Katina, Ashley and Molly, he would have succeeded—grandly—in making this city and this world a better place in which to live.

If a man's legacy is first and foremost his family, Paul Tsongas' journey has left us all with a living legacy to cherish and honor as we do his own life.

For years, we in Lowell have needed Paul Tsongas. Now it is time for all of us to begin to repay our debt to him by reaching out to Nicola, Katina, Ashley and Molly with our arms, our hearts and our prayers.

They surely don't need us to tell them, but we should let them know just how proud we are of her husband and their father, and how much we, too, will miss him.

For those who knew Paul Tsongas—and so many in this city were privileged by his friendship—we knew him first as a husband and a father. In these parts, he was not Sen. Tsongas. He was "just" Paul Tsongas, a guy who clearly was happiest not on the firing lines of City Hall or Capitol Hill, but rather in his back yard on Mansur Street.

'Our' Paul Tsongas was not a politician or a presidential candidate. He was something much more special than that.

He was Tsongy—our neighbor and our friend. A guy who may have been better at driving his kids to school than he was at driving legislation through the U.S. Senate. A hard-working environmentalist whose most beloved contribution to the greening of America was surely cleaning up and landscaping Kittredge Park, on his hands and knees, as content as a man could be.

Let others applaud and exalt the contributions Rep. and Sen. Tsongas made to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—as they should and will. Let the national pundits and politicians ponder what contributions a President Tsongas would have made to the country—as surely he would have.

We in Lowell need only walk through our city to celebrate—every day—what Paul Tsongas did for his hometown.

A national park here, a Boarding House Park there. The Wang Towers over there, and an arena going up just over here. And here's one of our new middle schools, not too far from our downtown hotel. And just over there, where the river bends, we're going to have a brand new ball park for Lowell's own minor league ball club. You know, the Spinners, the team Paul Tsongas brought to town.

Let those on the national stage talk about the bumpy, bizarre and truly incredible road which Paul Tsongas nearly traveled to the White House.

Here, in Lowell, we'll walk and talk about the most important roads in Paul Tsongas' life—Highland Street, where he lived as a child. Gorham Street, where young Paul toiled in his father's dry cleaning store. And Mansur Street, where Paul Tsongas of Lowell lived and raised his family.

Let other congressmen and senators and presidents talk about the unique contribution Paul Tsongas made to deficit reduction and our grandkids at the Concord Coalition.

Here, in Lowell, we'll reminisce about the first and most important budget Paul Tsongas ever balanced in his life—the one in that dry cleaning shop on Gorham.

We knew The Road from Here would always lead back to Lowell.

And even though his journey of purpose often took Paul Tsongas to bigger cities and

faraway lands, we all knew that his journey began here, drew its strength from here, and will end, too soon, when he is buried here.

Paul Tsongas' journey of purpose may have been all too brief, but like a meteor blazing across the civic skyline he so loved, it was brilliant, intense and unforgettable.

"Lowell is my home. It is where I drew my first breath. It is where I will always derive a sense of place and a sense of belonging.

"It is what I am."

Amen.

Think of Paul Tsongas whenever you take your kids to a Spinners game. We think he'd like that.

[From the Boston Globe Jan. 19, 1997]

PAUL TSONGAS OF LOWELL

Paul Tsongas, 55, relished the uphill fight but was unable to beat back his most formidable opponent and succumbed last night to complications from the lymphoma that dogged him since 1988.

His seemingly inexhaustible ability to rally from a battery of grueling medical procedures, including two bone marrow transplants, was testimony to his grit and a spur to anyone tempted to complain about life's lesser challenges.

Tsongas was a tough taskmaster in his political life too, always willing to challenge conventional wisdom and unafraid to give people bad news if he felt it would fix an ailing system. In 1980 he faced a hall full of doctrinaire liberals at a convention of the Americans for Democratic Action and told them it was time to "escape the '60's time capsule."

Probusiness, open-minded about nuclear power, a relentless deficit hawk but at the same time unstinting in his support of civil rights, gay and women's issues and the environment, Tsongas was a "New Democrat" long before it became trendy.

Since voting for the controversial Lowell connector highway as a city councilor in his hometown in 1972, Tsongas built a reputation on following his political conscience despite the odds.

He was a long shot in his successful 1978 U.S. Senate race against Ed Brooke and was the first Democrat to challenge President George Bush. Asked about the near-empty Democratic field for the 1992 presidential race, he replied: "It's a medical problem: gonads, not lymph nodes."

Independent, thoughtful, passionate, he was as devoted to his family as he was to fighting the good fight. He quit the Senate in 1984 so he could spend time with his wife Niki and three daughters. "They're going to lay me in the ground someday," Tsongas said in a 1992 interview with the Globe. "I want to do the things I would have wanted to have done when that happens so my grandchildren will feel good about me."

Paul Tsongas has left all of us much to feel good about even as we mourn his passing.

OECD SHIPBUILDING AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. The 104th Congress was unable to reach a consensus on legislation to implement an OECD Shipbuilding Agreement. Opponents of the agreement, as negotiated, insisted that the amendments passed by the House of Representatives be incorporated into any implementing legislation. Supporters of the agreement found these amendments unacceptable. As a result, no legislation was passed to put the OECD Shipbuilding Agreement into effect.

If the outcome is to be any different in the 105th Congress, I would urge the

Administration and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative to fully consider the amendments to H.R. 2754 passed by the House last year. Those amendments, which were sponsored by the House National Security Committee, were in response to major concerns regarding this agreement's damaging impact on our national security interests, and on the Navy's core shipbuilding industrial base. While preserving the underlying intent of the OECD agreement, the amendments adopted by the House provide some modest safeguards with respect to these national security concerns.

Ms. SNOWE. Those amendments were approved by an overwhelming majority in the House who felt that, without the changes, the OECD Agreement failed to provide an effective mechanism for disciplining foreign shipbuilding subsidy practices. I should add that a number of Members in this body who have examined the agreement also share this view. The base agreement, coupled with the many loopholes and special concessions granted to foreign governments, would continue to place U.S. shipbuilders at a tremendous competitive disadvantage. For this reason, the largest U.S. shipbuilders, representing over 90 percent of all workers in the Nation's major shipbuilding base, opposed implementation of the agreement even though they were the primary advocates of an effective discipline on foreign government subsidy and dumping practices in the first place.

Mr. LOTT. In order to put into perspective the concerns of the U.S. shipbuilding industry, it may be helpful to review some of the background leading up to this agreement. In 1981, the U.S. Government terminated its subsidy program to the U.S. shipbuilding industry. Thus, in 1989, the United States went to the negotiating table as the only nonsubsidizing shipbuilding country. The U.S. shipbuilding industry had already lost all of its commercial shipbuilding market share and was bracing itself for a dramatic decrease in Navy shipbuilding orders.

Ms. SNOWE. In 1993, 4 years after international negotiations had failed to produce an agreement to end foreign subsidies, Congress and President Clinton revived and amended a modest ship loan guarantee program called Title XI. The purpose of this program was to help U.S. shipbuilders recapture commercial market share in the face of dramatic cuts in the Navy's shipbuilding plan and continued foreign government subsidies in the commercial market.

Mr. LOTT. This modest loan guarantee program has begun the revival of commercial shipbuilding in the United States. For the first time in almost 40 years, our major U.S. shipbuilders are building commercial ships for export. Environmentally safe oceangoing double-hulled oil tankers are being constructed for our domestic trades. Over a 2-year period, \$1.7 billion in commer-

cial shipbuilding orders has been generated in the United States. These commercial orders are helping to sustain our major builders of Navy ships.

Ms. SNOWE. In 1996, when the administration sought congressional approval of the OECD Shipbuilding Agreement, the Department of Defense submitted a Navy shipbuilding budget request for the fewest numbers of ships in more than 60 years. While the Navy's Fiscal Year 1997 Future Years Defense Plan called for an average of only 5 ships per year, the Navy anticipates that it will need to procure 10 to 12 ships per year beginning in the year 2002, if it is to maintain a 346-ship fleet. The challenge for our Nation and the Navy is to sustain the critical core shipbuilding industrial base during this alltime low in Navy shipbuilding and still have the capability to meet future Navy building needs.

Facing these circumstances, in 1989 the U.S. shipbuilding industry sought an international agreement to end foreign government shipbuilding subsidies. The industry believed then, as it does now, that it was essential to end foreign government participation in the commercial shipbuilding market if it was to have a fighting chance to make the transition to building both commercial and Navy ships, and thus survive this historic low in Navy shipbuilding.

Mr. LOTT. As negotiations dragged on for over 5 years, the marketplace was changing dramatically and rapidly, while the objective of the negotiators seemed to remain static. There was a failure on the part of our negotiators to recognize these changes and the activities of the various participating parties during the negotiations.

China, which had no commercial shipbuilding market in 1990, began to target shipbuilding to industrialize its economy. China now ranks third in the world for commercial shipbuilding, and it is not a signatory to this agreement. Other countries, such as the Ukraine and Poland, are also not covered by this agreement and have displayed a renewed interest in their shipbuilding sectors.

Ms. SNOWE. During the negotiations, Germany granted \$4 billion in shipyard modernization subsidies to the former East German shipyards. South Korea approved close to a \$1 billion bailout of its largest shipbuilder Daewoo. Other European countries continued to grant billions in subsidies to their shipbuilding industries to fill their order books.

Mr. LOTT. When an agreement was finally reached in 1994, major U.S. shipbuilders expressed their objections with the terms of the OECD Shipbuilding Agreement before it was signed by the U.S. and other parties. These builders articulated to the Administration their concerns with the very generous transition concessions granted to the

foreign signatories, the changing market conditions with the growing prominence of China, and the ineffective "injurious pricing" or anti-dumping provision—especially in light of South Korea's massive expansion of its shipbuilding capacity throughout the negotiations.

Ms. SNOWE. These concerns and the agreement's negative implications for the U.S. Navy shipbuilding industrial base were ignored by the negotiators of this agreement. U.S. shipbuilders were also dismayed that they were granted no transition period in contrast to what was granted to the foreign governments. The successful, but modest, Title XI loan guarantee program would be rendered ineffective immediately upon the agreement's entry into force and the domestic trade of the United States, as governed by the Jones Act, was placed in severe jeopardy by our negotiators. In an effort to correct these weaknesses and flaws, the House of Representatives amended the implementing legislation (H.R. 2754) to address the major national security concerns of the agreement.

Mr. LOTT. The Office of the U.S. Trade Representative has maintained throughout the debate on this agreement that the Jones Act, which requires ships transporting cargo between two U.S. ports to be U.S.-built, -owned, and -operated, is exempt from the agreement. This is only partially true. Although the agreement does not repeal the law, it establishes a framework and procedure for foreign governments to take retaliatory actions against U.S. shipbuilders and U.S. exporters for ships constructed for the domestic trades of the United States. These countermeasures include bid restrictions and bid tariffs against U.S. builders seeking international orders if they also benefit from Jones Act orders. The agreement also provides that GATT-related tariff concessions may be withdrawn against other U.S. products to offset the benefit of Jones Act ship construction contracts to U.S. builders. Moreover, the agreement states that the Jones Act is a derogation of the agreement—and I quote—"could undermine the balance of rights and obligations of the Parties under the Agreement and is unacceptable to the other Parties."

Ms. SNOWE. U.S. ownership, manning, and construction of vessels serving the Jones Act trade has provided the Department of Defense with a pool of trained mariners, vessels, and the industrial capability to respond in time to national defense emergencies. For example, the very shipyards that build and repair Jones Act vessels were called upon to activate military reserve ships during Operation Desert Storm/Desert Shield, and it was the trained mariners who operate Jones Act vessels in peacetime who were called upon to crew these military ships once activated. The Jones Act contributes to the maintenance of this skilled work force and defense industrial capability.

Because of the importance of the Jones Act to our national security, the House adopted an amendment specifically prohibiting the imposition of trade countermeasures against U.S. shipbuilders and other exporters for Jones Act ship construction. This amendment is essential to our Nation's defense readiness.

Mr. LOTT. The House also adopted an amendment defining and exempting "military reserve vessels" from coverage under the agreement. This provision is essential to ensure that military ships—such as Army, Navy, and Marine Corps surge and prepositioned sealift ships—cannot be deemed commercial ships under the agreement because of their dual-use characteristics and capability. Without this exemption, DOD may be precluded from procuring military reserve and auxiliary ships with defense features from U.S. shipbuilders without the threat of retaliatory trade countermeasures.

Ms. SNOWE. Many of DOD's reserve and auxiliary ships are commercially built, owned, and operated, and they are chartered to DOD under long-term lease agreements. The U.S. Navy intends to continue this approach to acquiring these needed assets in the future. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to completely separate a ship's defense features from its commercial features. Therefore, the implementing legislation needs to contain the definition and exemption for these types of ships or the United States will be subjected to an international trade panel's interpretation of what is, or is not, a military vessel or a defense feature.

Mr. LOTT. As I mentioned earlier, the only government support program for U.S. shipbuilders is the Title XI Ship Loan Guarantee Program. The program was revived and amended in FY 1994 as part of the National Shipbuilding Initiative contained in the National Defense Authorization Act. The purpose of the program was to help U.S. shipbuilders attract commercial shipbuilding orders in the face of a dramatic turndown in Navy orders and foreign government commercial shipbuilding subsidies.

Ms. SNOWE. Title XI provides for a government guarantee of commercial loans for the construction of ships in the United States for U.S. and export customers. Up to 87.5 percent of the 25-year loan is guaranteed under the program. Upon entry into force of the OECD Shipbuilding Agreement, however, the terms of title XI would be immediately changed to guarantee only up to 80 percent of a commercial loan over a 12-year period. According to U.S. shipbuilders, the current orders for construction of large oceangoing commercial ships would not have been consummated under these terms and conditions.

Mr. LOTT. Almost every signatory to this agreement—except the United States—was granted special transition subsidy authority for a period of 3

years. Many members of the House of Representatives and Senate do not understand why the title XI program should not continue under its current terms and conditions for a 3-year period given the agreements' special deals, exemptions, and transition programs in the billions of dollars for Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Germany, France and South Korea. This inequity in the transition rules is extremely detrimental to U.S. builders were disadvantaged for 15 years while they received no government subsidies in the face of billions by foreign governments. Moreover, without a 3-year continuance of title XI, U.S. shipbuilders would be three years further behind their foreign competition. This is unacceptable to the majority in Congress.

Ms. SNOWE. The House bill would place the U.S. on an equal par with foreign signatories time-wise. It would allow title XI to continue at its present terms and conditions during the 3-year transition period in which foreign signatories were granted very generous subsidy concessions. Furthermore, major U.S. shipbuilders desperately need this extension to the program if they are to complete their transition back to building commercial ships. If this transition is unsuccessful, the Navy's core shipbuilding base will not be sustained to meet its future requirements.

Mr. LOTT. In closing, it is incumbent upon each Congress to ensure that our international trade agreements are in our best national interest. Rubber stamping every international agreement, regardless of its content or impact, is not in anyone's best interest. I understand that the office of the U.S. Trade Representative has invested years of hard work in reaching the OECD Agreement. Unfortunately, it falls abysmally short of the objectives established by the very industry which sought an international agreement. After all, who better understands the shipbuilding industry than the shipbuilding industry itself? And for that matter, who in Congress better understand our national security interests that the committees with jurisdiction over national security policy?

There are major disagreements in Congress on whether this agreement is good or bad for this country. Indications from the Office of the USTR are that it is unwilling to reopen the negotiations to achieve an agreement that addresses the concerns of the majority in Congress of both political parties. If this is the position of the U.S. Trade Representative, then I can only say that pursuing implementing legislation in the 105th Congress will result in the same outcome as that of the 104th Congress. I would hope that the USTR would have learned something from last year's experience and not waste its time or our with a repeat performance.

IN MEMORY OF PAUL E. TSONGAS

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I was saddened Saturday to learn of the loss of

one of the great men that I have had the honor of serving with in the U.S. Senate, Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts.

Paul Tsongas and I arrived in this body at the same time almost exactly 18 years ago in 1979. By that time Paul had already distinguished himself in 4 years of service in the House of Representatives, including legislation creating the first urban national historical park in his beloved hometown of Lowell. This became the catalyst for a remarkable renaissance in that historical New England mill town.

He arrived as the first Peace Corps veteran ever elected to the Senate. He valued highly his opportunity to serve in Ethiopia and spoke frequently of those 2 years as the formative years of his desire for public service. As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he was a voice for human rights around the world, but particularly on the African continent. In his 1981 book, "The Road From Here," Paul wrote, "[Human rights] are rooted in our culture and history, and we should champion them. Third World people need to have us honor this principle because if we don't, no one effectively will. And ultimately it is the moral and economic strength of America that will count, not just our military might."

Paul accomplished a great deal in a short time in the Senate, including the passage of the Alaska Lands Act of 1980 which more than doubled the size of the national park system and which President Carter called the most important conservation legislation of the century.

However, he will be remembered best for his years after the Senate. He retired from the Senate in 1984 after learning that he had cancer, pledging to devote more time to his family. In the book, "Heading Home", about his decision to leave the Senate, he wrote: "On their deathbed, no one ever said, 'I wish I had spent more time with my business.'"

He overcame cancer undergoing a then-experimental medical procedure, and went on to become a Presidential candidate in 1992, and a founder of the Concord Coalition, a bipartisan organization which has become a credible and widely-respected grassroots voice for fiscal responsibility in government.

As the family and friends of Paul Tsongas mourn his death and celebrate his life, Barbara and I will have Niki and Paul's three daughters Ashley, Katina, and Molly in our thoughts and prayers.

Mr. President, a member of my staff, Rich Arenberg, who served Paul Tsongas for more than 10 years as a staff member and friend wrote a few personal words which are most apt:

Paul Tsongas was an uncommon man. He honored America with the purity of his honesty and candor. There was no private Paul Tsongas, no public Paul Tsongas. He gave totally and completely of himself. He said exactly what he believed. In an age of partisan

vitriol, he spoke softly and without animus. Although his voice was cool, his beliefs were passionately and tenaciously held. He believed that rational people of good will could solve any problem, bridge any difference, and lead by the force of reason. Paul Tsongas loved his family more than anything on earth and he loved his country deeply. He saw little distinction between the two because he believed the greatest gift we can give to our children is a strong future for America.

THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT CLINTON

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, yesterday, in a moving ceremony, we witnessed the swearing in of President Bill Clinton and Vice President AL GORE for their second term. The inaugural ceremony is significant not only to the history of our Nation, but for the message it sends to the rest of the world about our democracy.

The ceremony required a tremendous amount of planning by many, many people. The extensive preparations included construction of the platform, ticket distribution, coordination of security measures, organization of the ceremony, planning the luncheon in Statuary Hall and countless other tasks.

Leading this team of dedicated people was the distinguished Senator from Virginia, Senator JOHN WARNER. As chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies, he had the monumental task of making the arrangements for this historic occasion. He performed his responsibilities with great efficiency and with outstanding attention to every detail. As master of ceremonies, he skillfully orchestrated the entire program. I, along with my colleagues, would like to thank Senator WARNER and congratulate him on a job well done.

In addition, I would like to applaud the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, Senator WENDELL FORD. His contribution of hard work and past experience as Chairman of the committee was evident in the success of this endeavor. I wish to express my gratitude to Senator FORD for his hard work.

I would also like to thank and congratulate the other members of the Joint Inaugural Committee for such a successful ceremony. Those members were Majority Leader LOTT, Speaker GINGRICH, Representative ARMEY, and Minority Leader GEPHARDT. In addition, the members of the committee were ably assisted by the officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives, as well as by personnel from the executive branch. The success of the ceremony demonstrated tremendous cooperation between both parties, as well as both Houses of Congress and the executive branch.

I offer my appreciation to everyone who contributed countless hours to the 1997 inauguration ceremony, particularly to the chairman, Senator WARNER, and the ranking member, Senator FORD. Thanks to the efforts of all in-

volved, the ceremony will be a memorable event for our Nation.

KENTUCKY DOMINICAN SISTERS 175TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I am proud to stand before you and my colleagues today to recognize the 175th anniversary of the founding of the Kentucky Dominican Sisters. They are the oldest group of Dominican Sisters in the United States and I am pleased they chose to put down roots in Kentucky.

It was a time in our Commonwealth's history when the rural communities were sometimes forgotten. But nine pioneers took it upon themselves to help meet the needs of those in rural Kentucky. They made a commitment to the community to serve through service, prayers, and study—a commitment which has lasted 175 years. It was this group of women who laid the foundation for the Kentucky Dominican Sisters of today.

The Sisters responded to the needs of their time. They nursed soldiers in Kentucky during the Civil War and established hospitals for residents who previously traveled miles for emergency care. As the times have changed so have the needs of citizens of Kentucky. But the Sisters are still answering those in distress. My regret today is that I can only highlight some of their recent work including working with persons living with AIDS, assisting refugees to resettle and advocating for food, shelters and health care for not only the people of Kentucky, but for those throughout our great United States.

On April 4, 1997, Sisters from around the United States will gather at their Motherhouse in Springfield, KY, for a weekend of celebration. Mr. President, I ask you and my distinguished colleagues to join me in honoring the Kentucky Dominican Sisters for 175 years of service.

HONORING BILL WEBER, ST. CHARLES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE 1996 CITIZEN OF THE YEAR

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the St. Charles Chamber of Commerce 1996 Citizen of the Year, William H. Weber. On January 24, 1996, Bill Weber will gather with friends, family, and colleagues to celebrate his distinguished contributions to his community.

Bill is a lifelong resident of Missouri and St. Charles. His volunteer career has touched innumerable organizations with his leadership, commitment, and unselfish hard work. Bill has been the driving force behind such significant projects as fund raising to build both the St. Peters Rec-Plex and the YMCA of St. Charles County. After a volcano destroyed the city of Armero, Colombia, South America, he worked tirelessly to build a YMCA facility to provide basic needs and housing for the children of that disaster.

Closer to home, he has served on the boards of directors for Boys and Girls Town of Missouri, the Regional Commerce and Growth Association, St. Louis Sports Commission, St. Charles Public Schools, St. Charles Police and Fire Board, Crimestoppers, Mid America Theater, St. Charles County Horse Racing Commission, Daniel Boone District Chairman, Boy Scouts of America and the Eagle Board of Review, YMCA and United Services Blue Ribbon Committee.

He received the Boy Scouts' highest honor, the Silver Beaver Award in 1989, Channel 5's [KSDK] Volunteer Board of Governors Jefferson Award in 1993, the YMCA's highest leadership award and Youth in Need honored him as its first recipient of their Youth Leadership Award. For this lifetime of service, I rise today to recognize and salute William H. Weber, St. Charles Chamber of Commerce 1996 Citizen of the Year. His volunteer work has been a shining example to me as well as all Missourians.

HONORING THE POTTERS ON THEIR 50TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, families are the cornerstone of America. The data is undeniable: Individuals from strong families contribute to the society. In an era when nearly half of all couples married today will see their union dissolve into divorce, I believe it is both instructive and important to honor those who have taken the commitment of "till death us do part" seriously, demonstrating successfully the timeless principles of love, honor, and fidelity. These characteristics make our country strong.

For these important reasons, I rise today to honor Donna and Ralph Potter of Kansas City, MO, who on Sunday, January 5, 1997, celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary. My wife, Janet, and I look forward to the day we can celebrate a similar milestone. Donna and Ralph's commitment to the principles and values of their marriage deserves to be saluted and recognized.

LOUIS J. AMABILI

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, today I would like to say something about a hero. The distinguished historian Stephen E. Ambrose says that we need to teach our children about heroes. It is by understanding the contributions of great men and women that our youth set standards of achievement for themselves. Common heroes provide a sense of unity and inspire us to aim a little higher than we did the day before.

This week in Delaware, an outstanding man is being recognized for his more than 50 years of service to community, State, and Nation. His name is Louis J. Amabili. He's a loving husband, a devoted father, an attentive grandfather, and fearless firefighter. He's a man who, for half a century, has risked his life to protect the lives and property of others.

Louis is my friend, and I am honored to count him among my friends. He is a member of the Hockessin Fire Company and the founding Director of the Delaware State Fire School. For 32 years, he served as director of that school, leading it to its current pre-eminent position as one of the leading fire training facilities in the United States.

During his tenure, the Delaware State Fire School not only built its facility in Dover, but established training centers in Sussex and New Castle Counties, providing fire training centers within 30 minutes of every fire company in Delaware.

In additions to these many successes, Louis Amabili also served as president of the New Castle Volunteers Firemen's Association, the Delaware Volunteer Firemen's Association, and the International Association of Fire Service Instructors. Richard Nixon appointed him to the Fire Prevention and Control Commission, and Delaware Governor Pete DuPont recognized him with the "Order of the First State."

Mr. President, Louis Amabili is one of the most well-recognized fire service leaders in America. He served on the Board of Directors of the National Fire Protection Association, and chaired the Fire Officers Professional Qualifications Standards Committee for more than a decade.

Louis was a member of the International Fire Service Training Association and received their highest honor for his role in fire service training. He chaired the Joint Council of National Fire Service Organizations and helped establish the National Fire Service Professional Qualifications System.

He serves as a member of the board of directors of the Congressional Fire Services Institute—which I have the honor of co-chairing—and he has received that institute's highest honor, the CFSI Fire Service Person of the Year Award.

On this occasion, as Louis Amabili retires from a distinguished career, it is my privilege to recognize his years of selfless service, the lives he has touched, the lives he has taught, and the lives he has saved. I want to express my gratitude to his wonderful wife, Carmen, to his son Louis Jr., and to his daughter, Janice, and I want the record to show without question that we do, indeed, still live in a time of heroes. Quite often these valiant men and women live right next door.

CHILDREN'S HEALTH CARE

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, children's health care coverage needs to be a priority in this Congress. We need to be committed to providing access to affordable coverage and care to all working families in America. We also need to provide coverage for uninsured pregnant women, in order to ensure that children get a healthy start in life. All children should have access

to services that provide for their basic health care needs such as immunization, preventive services, acute care, and dental care services, regardless of whether they live in rural or urban areas.

Employers are rapidly cutting health care coverage for children of their employees. When a family earning \$16,000 each year is required to pay over 10 percent and sometimes as much as one-third of their income to purchase health insurance for their children, they are forced to make very difficult choices. They must choose between providing their children with basic needs such as food and shelter, and paying for health insurance.

Health care coverage for children is an investment in the future. Children with undiagnosed or untreated health problems may have difficulty learning in school. A child with poor vision that has not been diagnosed or treated may be unable to see the blackboard. A child who is in pain from preventable tooth decay may not be able to eat an adequate diet, and the pain may make it difficult for the child to concentrate. A child with asthma who has poor access to care may spend many hours in an emergency department and many days in the hospital for treatment of problems that could have been prevented. This occurs at a significant cost not only in terms of dollars, but also in terms of lost opportunities to attend school, and loss of work time and income for the child's parents. These situations can be prevented with adequate health care coverage and access for children.

Children in rural areas are especially vulnerable, as there are fewer services available in these areas, and some needed services are located at significant distances from their homes. In addition, these children often live in homes where their parents work for small employers, who are unable to offer dependent coverage at a low cost.

Several States have demonstrated the cost savings available by providing assistance to working families. My home State, Minnesota, operates its own program that helps families buy private health insurance. Ninety-thousand people are covered, including 50,000 children. Over the years, more than 41,000 families have used MinnesotaCare to leave or stay off welfare, saving the taxpayers \$26 million per year.

It is essential that we address this issue and provide low- and middle-income families with the option to purchase affordable private insurance coverage for their children. These families must be provided with the means to purchase this coverage in a timely manner, so that they do not have to delay the purchase of coverage for their children.

We need to build on successful private, State, and Federal efforts to help working families afford to provide health coverage for their children. Providing coverage for children through

age 18 and pregnant women is the next logical step in incremental health care reform. It is sound policy and makes economic sense. It will ensure that all children in America have a healthy start in life.

S. 10, THE VIOLENT AND REPEAT OFFENDER ACT OF 1997

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, earlier today Senator HATCH introduced S. 10, the Violent and Repeat Offender Act of 1997. Senators LOTT, DOMENICI, SESSIONS, and I worked with him in developing the bill. While not perfect, the bill does take the initial steps in dealing with the epidemic of violent juvenile crime sweeping the Nation.

Mr. President, the face of crime in America is indeed changing. Throughout our history, one thing has been clear: government's first responsibility is to keep the citizenry safe. John Jay wrote in *The Federalist*, No. 3, "Among the many objects to which a wise and free people find it necessary to direct their attention, that of providing for their safety seems to be first."

The murderers, robbers, rapists, and drug dealers of yesteryear were typically adults. Now they are typically juveniles. As the age of these criminal predators becomes younger and younger with each passing year, so does the age of their victims.

Last Wednesday afternoon, 12-year-old Darryl Dayan Hall was abducted at gunpoint from the Southeast Washington area by three teenagers of a gang known as the Simple City Crew. This is the same gang that opened gunfire at a crowded community swimming pool in June 1993, wounding six children. This past Saturday, police found Darryl's frozen body. He had been shot once in the back of the head and at least once in the body.

The three teenagers who are now charged with Darryl's murder have had numerous prior brushes with the law. One of Darryl's assailants was charged as a juvenile with possession of PCP in 1995 and then was released—as is too often the case—promising not to run afoul of the law again. Another of Darryl's assailants was, and is, on probation following his juvenile conviction last spring for possession of PCP with intent to distribute. Darryl's third assailant was charged as a juvenile just last month with carrying a deadly weapon.

Mr. President, from 1984 to 1994, the number of juveniles murdered in this country increased 82 percent. In 1994, one of every five juveniles murdered was killed by another juvenile. The rate at which juveniles 14 to 17 years old were arrested for murder grew by 22 percent from 1990 to 1994 and the problem is going to get worse, much worse.

Congress over the last three decades has established 131 separate Federal programs—administered by 16 different departments and agencies—to serve delinquent and at-risk youth, according to a report issued by GAO last March.

Conservative estimates of Federal appropriations used for these at-risk and delinquent youth programs was more than \$4 billion in fiscal year 1995.

Despite this ongoing massive expenditure, the Federal Government has failed to meet its responsibility of providing public safety in this arena because it has not focused on holding juveniles accountable for their violent crimes. We now have a new category of offenders that requires a different, tougher approach. In short, we have criminals in our midst—young criminals—not juvenile pranksters and truants.

The juvenile offenders of today will become the career criminals of tomorrow, if government continues to fail to recognize that America has an acute social illness that cannot be cured solely with money spent on social programs. This legislation introduced today takes a common sense approach in dealing with the current epidemic of juvenile violence. It would help States make urban, suburban, and rural communities safe once again.

The bill would provide \$2.5 billion over 5 years in new incentive grants for States to enact accountability-based reforms in their juvenile justice systems. This legislation would authorize funding for various programs, including efforts aimed at trying our most violent juveniles as adults; establishing the ability of States to collect juvenile criminal records, fingerprints, and photographs, and to share such criminal histories and information within a State, with other States, and with the Federal Government; and establishing Serious Habitual Offender Comprehensive Action Program [SHOCAP]. Religious organizations would also be permitted to participate in the rehabilitative programs included in the bill.

Mr. President, serious, violent, and repeat juvenile offenders must be held responsible for their crimes. Today we are living with a juvenile justice system that was created around the time of the silent film. We are living with a juvenile justice system that reprimands the crime victim for being at the wrong place at the wrong time, and then turns around and hugs the juvenile terrorist, whispering ever so softly into his ear, "Don't worry, the State will cure you."

The juvenile justice system's primary goal today is to treat and rehabilitate the juvenile offender. Such a system can handle runaways, truants, and other status offenders; but it is ill-equipped to deal with those who commit serious and violent juvenile crimes repeatedly.

The criminal justice system can emphasize to adult criminals that acts have real consequences. The purpose of the criminal justice system is to punish, that is, to hold defendants accountable.

This legislation would provide financial assistance to States to help them reform their juvenile justice system to

get the message to juveniles that their acts have real consequences to them as well. States will be eligible to receive Federal funds to help provide for the adult prosecution—as a matter of law or prosecutorial discretion—of juveniles 14 or older who commit violent crimes such as murder, forcible rape, armed robbery, and assault with a deadly weapon or offenses involving controlled substances or involving the possession of a firearm or a destructive device.

Mr. President, punishing dangerous juveniles as adults is an effective tool in fighting violent juvenile crime. For example, in Jacksonville, FL, State Attorney Harry Shorstein instituted a program to prosecute and incarcerate such offenders in 1992. Two years later, the number of juveniles arrested in the city dropped from 7,184 to 5,475. While juvenile arrests increased for most of the Nation, Jacksonville's arrest rate actually decreased by 30 percent.

Mr. President, States also need to create and maintain juvenile criminal records. Typically, State statutes seal juvenile criminal records and expunge those records when the juvenile reaches age 18. The time has come to discard the anachronistic idea that crimes committed by juveniles, no matter how heinous, must be kept confidential from the rest of society.

Our laws continue to view juveniles through the benevolent prism of basically good kids gone astray. The law should really view the juvenile predators of today as the criminals that they are. These young criminals know that they can commit crime after crime because their juvenile records are kept hidden under a "veil of secrecy." They also know that when they reach their 18th birthday, they can begin a second career as adult criminals as if they had never committed a crime in their young lives. The argument is that we are protecting juveniles from the stigma of a record, but in reality we are coddling hardened criminals. We must separate rhetoric from reality by lifting the "veil of secrecy."

The law enforcement community needs to know if an individual has a prior juvenile criminal record in order to conduct criminal investigations and apprehend those responsible for crimes in their towns, cities, and counties.

According to Police Chief David G. Walchak, who is also president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, law enforcement is in desperate need of access to juvenile criminal records. The police chief says, "Current juvenile records (both arrest and adjudication) are inconsistent across the States, and are usually unavailable to the various programs' staff who work with youthful offenders." Chief Walchak also notes that "there are only 26 States that even allow law enforcement access to juvenile records * * * if we [law enforcement] don't know who the youthful offenders are, we can't appropriately intervene."

Mr. President, it is that simple. As juvenile gangs spread from urban to suburban to rural areas, as they travel from State to State, the "veil of secrecy" draped over their criminal histories and records undermines the ability of law enforcement to protect the rest of society.

In order to empower local law enforcement, the proposed bill would provide money to States to create and maintain juvenile criminal records, and to share those records with other federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies.

Mr. President, school officials also need access to juvenile criminal records to assist them in protecting the best interests and safety of all students. The decline in school safety across the country can be attributed to a significant degree to laws that put the protection of dangerous students ahead of protecting innocent, law-abiding students. While visiting with school officials in Sikeston, MO, a teacher told me how one of her students came to school wearing an electronic monitoring ankle bracelet. The student told the teacher, "You don't know if I'm a murderer or a rapist and I ain't gonna tell you." That student was not only brutally honest, he was right. No one had any knowledge of what crime he had committed and, more importantly, they had no way of finding out.

If schools knew the histories of violent juveniles, they could respond to any misbehavior by imposing stricter sanctions, assigning particular teachers, or having the student's locker near a teacher's doorway entrance so that the teacher can monitor his conduct during the changing of class periods. In short, this bill would allow school officials to take measures that could prevent violence against other children at school.

Mr. President, for purposes of adult sentencing, adult courts need to know that convicted felons have a history of criminal behavior. According to the 1991 Survey of Inmates in State Correctional Facilities, nearly 40 percent of prison inmates also had prior criminal records as juveniles. That is approximately 4 in 10 prison inmates. The proposed legislation would allow adult courts to have access to juvenile records so that criminals could no longer masquerade as neophytes before the adult criminal justice system.

The bill also allows State and local governments to use Federal funds to implement the Serious Habitual Offenders Comprehensive Action Program [SHOCAP].

SHOCAP is a multi-agency crime analysis and case management process for identifying and prosecuting violent and hard-core juvenile offenders in a community. SHOCAP targets such serious habitual offenders for intensive social supervisory interventions, intensive accountability in school attendance and discipline, and strenuous investigation and prosecution when they commit a new crime.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention [OJJDP] conducted five test pilots of SHOCAP. Oxnard, CA was one of the sites selected. When SHOCAP was implemented in Oxnard in 1983, officials found that less than 2 percent of all juveniles arrested in that community were responsible for over 35 percent of the felonies committed by juveniles. Four years later, Oxnard's juvenile violent crime dropped 38 percent. Illinois and Florida have also recently established statewide SHOCAP programs in an effort to reduce their juvenile crime rates. S. 10 would allow all jurisdictions to use Federal funds to help implement SHOCAP.

Mr. President, reforms are also necessary at the Federal level as well. S. 10 would make it easier for Federal prosecutors to try juveniles as adults. Under the bill, U.S. attorneys would have discretion to decide whether to try as adults juveniles 14 years or older without having to go through the Attorney General's office in Washington.

Federal juvenile court proceedings would be opened to the general public. When imposing a sentence, the district court would also be allowed to consider a juvenile's entire criminal record under the bill. In any case in which a juvenile is tried as an adult, access to the record of that offense would be made available to law enforcement authorities and others in the same manner that adult criminal records are publicly available.

Mr. President, the government should also be able to mount a counter-attack on gang violence. This legislation targets violent youth gangs, like the notorious Simple City Crew in the District. There would be new Federal penalties for offenses committed by criminal street gangs. Gangs are no

longer concentrated in the big cities, they are now in rural towns. The bill would also provide \$100 million to hire assistant U.S. attorneys to prosecute juvenile criminal street gangs.

We as a nation and a government must challenge this culture of violence and restore the culture of personal responsibility and accountability. It is high time to consider hard-headed and sensible juvenile justice policies. Where possible we must give second chances. Where necessary we must punish severely. This is a first step to restore justice to a nation that has grown weary of injustice.

In sum, this legislation would send a clear, cogent, and convincing message to violent juveniles: "Serious acts have serious consequences."

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, it was not quite 12 months ago—on Friday, February 23, 1996—that the Federal debt broke the \$5 trillion sound barrier for the first time in history. The records show that on that day, at the close of business, the debt stood at \$5,017,056,630,040.53.

Just 20 years earlier, in 1976, the Federal debt stood at \$629 billion—and that was after the first 200 years of America's history had elapsed, including two world wars. Then the big spenders really went to work and the interest on the Federal debt really began to take off—and, presto, during the past two decades the Federal debt has soared into the stratosphere, increasing by more than \$4 trillion in two decades from 1976 to 1996.

So, Mr. President, as of the close of business Friday, January 17, 1997, the Federal debt stood—down-to-the-penny—at \$5,309,774,506,681.99. On a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$19,917.66 as his or her share of that debt.

This enormous debt is a festering, escalating burden on all citizens and especially it is jeopardizing the liberty of our children and grandchildren. As Jefferson once warned, "to preserve [our] independence, we must not let our leaders load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude."

Was Mr. Jefferson right, or what?

NOTICE

Incomplete record of Senate proceedings. Except for concluding business which follows, today's Senate proceedings will be continued in the next issue of the Record.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.
TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:19 p.m. adjourned until Wednesday, January 22, 1997, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 21, 1997:

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

AYSE MANYAS KENMORE, OF FLORIDA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM SERVICES BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING DECEMBER 6, 2000. (REAPPOINTMENT)

LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

JOHN T. BRODERICK, JR., OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION FOR A TERM EXPIRING JULY 13, 1999. (REAPPOINTMENT)

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

SUSAN E. TREES, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE HUMANITIES FOR A TERM EXPIRING JANUARY 26, 2002, VICE PETER SHAW, TERM EXPIRED.

INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION

JEFFREY DAVIDOW, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION, FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 20, 2002, VICE ALEXANDER FLETCHER WATSON.

FOREIGN SERVICE

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED PERSONS OF THE AGENCIES INDICATED FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF THE CLASSES STATED, AND ALSO FOR THE OTHER APPOINTMENTS INDICATED HEREWITH:

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER OF CLASS ONE, CONSULAR OFFICER AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

PAUL ALBERT BISEK, OF VIRGINIA

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER OF CLASS TWO, CONSULAR OFFICER AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SUSUMO KEN YAMASHITA, OF MARYLAND

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF CLASS THREE, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

SUSAN KUCHINSKI BREMS, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
CHRISTINE M. BRYNE, OF VIRGINIA
JAMES ERIC SCHAEFFER, OF FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

KARLA B. KING, OF FLORIDA
TERRY J. SORGI, OF WISCONSIN

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF CLASS FOUR, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

TANIA BOHACHEVSKY CHOMIAK, OF FLORIDA
LINDA JOY HARTLEY, OF CALIFORNIA
SHARON HUDSON-DEAN, OF PENNSYLVANIA
CONSTANCE COLDING JONES, OF INDIANA
STEVEN LOUIS PIKE, OF NEW YORK
DAVID MICHAEL REINERT, OF NEW MEXICO

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SARAH J. METZGER, OF VIRGINIA

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER OF CLASS FOUR, CONSULAR OFFICER AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA EFFECTIVE JUNE 28, 1996:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

MARC C. JOHNSON, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, TO BE CONSULAR OFFICERS AND/OR SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF AMERICA, AS INDICATED:

CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ROBERT L. ADAMS, OF VIRGINIA
VEOMAYOURY BACCAM, OF IOWA
DOUGLASS R. BENNING, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
STEVEN A. BOWERS, OF VIRGINIA
MICHAEL A. BRENNAN, OF CONNECTICUT
KERRY L. BROUGHAM, OF CALIFORNIA
ANDREA BROUILLETTE-RODRIGUEZ, OF MINNESOTA
PAAL GAMMERMEYER, OF MARYLAND
PRISCILLA CARROLL CASKEY, OF MARYLAND
JULIANNE MARIE CHESKY, OF VIRGINIA
CARMELA A. CONROY, OF WASHINGTON
JULIE CHUNG, OF CALIFORNIA
EDWARD R. DEGGES, JR., OF VIRGINIA
THOMAS L. ELMORE, OF FLORIDA
WAYNE J. FAHNESTOCK, OF MARYLAND
DENIS BARRETT FINOTTI, OF MARYLAND
KENNETH FRASER, OF MARYLAND
GARY R. GIUFFRIDA, OF MARYLAND

PATRICIA M. GONZALEZ, OF TEXAS
DAVID J. GREENE, OF NEW YORK
RAYMOND FRANKLIN GREENE III, OF MARYLAND
RONALD ALLEN GREGORY, OF TENNESSEE
DEBORAH GUIDO-O'GRADY, OF VIRGINIA
AUDREY LOUISE HAGEDORN, OF VIRGINIA
PATTI HAGOPIAN, OF VIRGINIA
CHARLES P. HARRINGTON, OF VIRGINIA
RONALD S. HIETT, OF VIRGINIA
RUTH-ERCILE HODGES, OF NEW YORK
KRISTINA M. HOTCHKISS, OF VIRGINIA
ANDREAS O. JAWORSKI, OF VIRGINIA
RALPH M. JONASSEN, OF NEW YORK
MARNI KALUPA, OF TEXAS
JANE J. KANG, OF CALIFORNIA
SARAH E. KEMP, OF NEW YORK
FREDERICK J. KOWALESKI, OF VIRGINIA
STEVEN W. KRAPCHO, OF VIRGINIA
GREGORY R. LATTANZE, OF VIRGINIA
CHARLES W. LEVESQUE, OF ILLINOIS
JANICE O. MACDONALD, OF VIRGINIA
C. WAKEFIELD MARTIN, OF TEXAS
BRIAN I. MCCLEARY, OF VIRGINIA
ALAN D. MELTZER, OF NEW YORK
DAVID J. MICO, OF INDIANA
CHRISTOPHER S. MISCIAGNO, OF FLORIDA
JOSEPH P. MULLIN, JR., OF VIRGINIA
BURKE O'CONNOR, OF CALIFORNIA
EDWARD J. ORTIZ, OF VIRGINIA
MARIA ELENA PALLICK, OF INDIANA
DAVID D. POTTER, OF SOUTH DAKOTA
ERIC N. RICHARDSON, OF MICHIGAN
HEATHER C. ROACH, OF IOWA
TAYLOR VINSON RUGGLES, OF VIRGINIA
THOMAS L. SCHMIDT, OF SOUTH DAKOTA
JONATHAN L.A. SHRIER, OF FLORIDA
JAMES E. SMELTZER III, OF MARYLAND
CHRISTINE L. SMITH, OF VIRGINIA
KEENAN JABBAR SMITH, OF PENNSYLVANIA
BRIAN K. STEWART, OF VIRGINIA
CHRISTINE D. STUEBNER, OF NEW YORK
STEPHANIE FAYE SYPTAK, OF TEXAS
ERMINDO TELLES, OF VIRGINIA
MARK TESONE, OF VIRGINIA
MICHAEL ANTHONY VEASY, OF TENNESSEE
GLENN STEWART WARREN, OF CALIFORNIA
MARK E. WILSON, OF TEXAS
ANTHONY L. WONG, OF VIRGINIA
GREGORY M. WONG, OF MISSOURI
KIM WOODWARD, OF VIRGINIA
MARTHA-JEAN HUGHES WYNNYCZOK, OF VIRGINIA
TERESA L. YOUNG, OF VIRGINIA

SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

JOHN WEEKS, OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED PERSONS OF THE AGENCIES INDICATED FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF THE CLASSES STATED, AND ALSO FOR THE OTHER APPOINTMENTS INDICATED HEREWITH:

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER OF CLASS ONE, CONSULAR OFFICER AND SECRETARY IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

LARRY CORBETT, OF NEVADA

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF CLASS TWO, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

HANS J. AMRHEIN, OF VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PHYLLIS MARIE POWERS, OF TEXAS
MICHAEL S. TULLEY, OF CALIFORNIA

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS OF CLASS THREE, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

KIMBERLY J. DELANEY, OF VIRGINIA
EDITH FAYSSOUX JONES HUMPHREYS, OF NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JEMILE L. BERTOT, OF CONNECTICUT

FOR APPOINTMENT AS FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER OF CLASS FOUR, CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ALFRED B. ANZALDUA, OF CALIFORNIA
DAVID A. BEAM, OF PENNSYLVANIA
DONALD ARMIN BLOME, OF ILLINOIS
P. P. DELAN BRYNE, OF WASHINGTON
LAUREN W. CATTON, OF NEW JERSEY
JAMES PATRICK DEHART, OF MICHIGAN
JOSEPH DEMARIA, OF NEW JERSEY
MICHAEL RALPH DETAR, OF NEW YORK
RODGER JAN DEUERLEIN, OF CALIFORNIA
STEPHEN A. DRUZAK, OF WASHINGTON
MARY EILEEN EARL, OF VIRGINIA
LINDA LAURENTS EICHLATT, OF TEXAS
JESSICA ELLIS, OF WASHINGTON
STEPHANIE JANE FOSSAN, OF VIRGINIA
CHRISTOPHER SCOTT HEGADORN, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HARRY R. KAMIAN, OF CALIFORNIA
MARC E. KNAPPER, OF CALIFORNIA
BLAIR L. LABARGE, OF UTAH
WILLIAM SCOTT LAIDLAW, OF WASHINGTON
KAYE-ANN LEE, OF WASHINGTON
BRIAN LIEKE, OF TEXAS
BERNARD EDWARD LINK, OF DELAWARE
LEE MACTAGGART, OF WASHINGTON
RICHARD T. REITER, OF CALIFORNIA
KAI RYSSDAL, OF VIRGINIA
NORMAN THATCHER SCHARPF, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
JENNIFER LEIGH SCHOOLS, OF TEXAS
JUSTIN H. SIBERELL, OF CALIFORNIA
ANTHONY SYRETT, OF WASHINGTON
HERBERT S. TRAUB III, OF FLORIDA
ARNOLDO VELA, OF TEXAS
J. RICHARD WALSH, OF ALABAMA
DAVID K. YOUNG, OF FLORIDA
DARCY FVYOCK ZOTTER, OF VERMONT

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO BE CONSULAR OFFICERS AND/OR SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AS INDICATED:

CONSULAR OFFICERS AND SECRETARIES IN THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

DEREK A. BOWER, OF VIRGINIA
STEVEN P. CHISHOLM, OF VIRGINIA
HENRY J. HEIN, JR., OF VIRGINIA
HOLLY ANN HERMAN, OF VIRGINIA
E. KEITH KIRKHAM, OF MAINE
MARY PAT MOYNIHAN, OF VIRGINIA
JOHN W. RATKIEWICZ, OF NEW JERSEY

SECRETARY OF THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

WILLIAM B. CLATANOFF, JR., OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR PROMOTION IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED, EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 18, 1992:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

ELIZABETH B. BOLLMANN, OF MISSOURI
MARSHA D. VON DUEREKHEIM, OF CALIFORNIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992 NOW TO BE EFFECTIVE APRIL 7, 1991:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

JOAN ELLEN CORBETT, OF VIRGINIA
JUDITH RODES JOHNSON, OF TEXAS
MARY ELIZABETH SWOPE, OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992, NOW TO BE EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 6, 1991:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

SYLVIA G. STANFIELD, OF TEXAS

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON NOVEMBER 6, 1988, NOW EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 12, 1986:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

JOAN ELLEN CORBETT, OF VIRGINIA
JUDITH RODES JOHNSON, OF TEXAS
MARY ELIZABETH SWOPE, OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON NOVEMBER 6, 1988, NOW EFFECTIVE JANUARY 3, 1988:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

SYLVIA STANFIELD, OF TEXAS

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON APRIL 7, 1991, NOW EFFECTIVE NOVEMBER 19, 1989:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

VIRGINIA CARSON YOUNG, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 6, 1991, NOW EFFECTIVE APRIL 7, 1991:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

JUDITH M. HEINMANN, OF CONNECTICUT

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992, NOW EFFECTIVE APRIL 7, 1991:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

JUDY LANDSTEIN MANDEL, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
MARY C. PENDLETON, OF VIRGINIA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PREVIOUSLY PROMOTED INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED ON OCTOBER 18, 1992, NOW EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 6, 1991:

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

JEANANNE LOUIS, OF VIRGINIA
SHARON MERCURIO, OF CALIFORNIA
RUTH H. VAN HEUVEN, OF CONNECTICUT
ROBIN LANE WHITE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE AGENCY FOR INTER-

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR PROMOTION IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASSES INDICATED:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER:

TERRENCE J. BROWN, OF VIRGINIA
KELLY C. KAMMERER, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
LINDA E. MORSE, OF VIRGINIA

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR:

ROSE MARIE DEPP, OF MARYLAND
GREGORY F. HUGER, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
GEORGE JONES, OF COLORADO
LINDA N. LION, OF VIRGINIA
CARLOS E. PASCUAL, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
ERIC R. ZALLMAN, OF FLORIDA

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR PROMOTION INTO THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE.

CAREER MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF COUNSELOR:

HARRY F. BIRNHOLZ, OF NEW YORK
PAUL A. BISEK, OF ILLINOIS
DOUGLAS A. CHRIBOGA, OF VIRGINIA
PAUL R. DEUSTER, OF VIRGINIA
WILLIAM J. GARVELINK, OF VIRGINIA
VIVIANN GARY, OF WASHINGTON
GENE V. GEORGE, OF NEW YORK
RICHARD H. GOLDMAN, OF FLORIDA
RICHARD J. GOUGHNOUR, OF FLORIDA
FREDERICK J. GUYMONT, OF FLORIDA
JOHN VAN D. LEWIS, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
JOHN R. MARTIN, OF ILLINOIS
LOUIS MUNDY III, OF FLORIDA
EVERETT B. ORR, OF FLORIDA
KAREN M. POE, OF VIRGINIA
THOMAS LEE RISHOI, OF FLORIDA
TERRENCE P. TIFFANY, OF OREGON

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY FOR PROMOTION IN THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CLASS INDICATED:

CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER:

MARILYN MCAFFE, OF FLORIDA