

community service to receive a high school diploma. States would determine what constitutes community service, the number of hours required, and whether to exempt some low-income students who hold full-time jobs while attending school full-time. The grants would be matched dollar for dollar with half of the match coming from the state and local education agencies and half coming from the private sector.

TITLE VIII—EXPAND THE NATIONAL BOARD CERTIFICATION PROGRAM FOR TEACHERS

The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, which is headed by Gov. Jim Hunt, established rigorous standards and assessments for certifying accomplished teaching. To pass the exam and be certified, teachers must demonstrate their knowledge and skills through a series of performance-based assessments which include teaching portfolios, student work samples, videotapes and rigorous analyses of their classroom teaching and student learning. Additionally, teachers must take written tests of their subject-matter knowledge and their understanding of how to teach those subjects to their students. The National Board certification is offered to teachers on a voluntary basis and complements but does not replace state licensing. The National Commission on Teaching for America's Future called for a goal of 105,000 board certified teachers by the year 2006 (since the exam began recently, only about 2,000 teachers are currently board certified). Since the exam costs \$2,000, many teachers are currently unable to afford it.

Provide \$189 million over five years so that states have enough money to provide a 90% subsidy for the National Board certification of 105,000 teachers across the country.

TITLE IX—HELP COMMUNITIES TO MODERNIZE AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

More than 14 million children in America attend schools in need of extensive repair or replacement. According to a comprehensive survey by the General Accounting Office (GAO) requested by Senator Moseley-Braun, Senator Kerry and others, the repair backlog totals \$112 billion. Researchers at Georgetown University found that the performance of students assigned to schools in poor condition fall by 10.9 percentage points below those in buildings in excellent condition.

To help rebuild, modernize, and build over 5,000 public schools, provide federal tax credits to school districts to pay interest on nearly \$22 billion in bonds at a cost of \$5 billion over five years.

TITLE X—ENCOURAGE PUBLIC SCHOOL CHOICE

Many public schools have implemented public school choice programs where students may enroll at any public school in the public school system. In contrast to vouchers for private schools, public school choice increases options for students but does not use public funds to finance private schools which remain entirely unaccountable to taxpayers.

Provide \$20 million annually in grants to states that choose to implement public school choice programs. School districts could spend the funds on transportation and other services to implement a successful public school choice program. Up to 10 percent of the funds may be spent by a school district to improve low performing school districts that lose students due to the public school choice program.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER** (Mr. ENZI). Under the previous order, the Chair recognizes the Senator from New Mexico for up to 20 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I thank Senator SESSIONS from Alabama. He was here ahead of me and, frankly,

had a more legitimate right to speak now than I, and I appreciate his permitting me to proceed.

SENATOR DALE BUMPERS

Mr. DOMENICI. First let me talk for a moment, since he is present on the floor, of Senator BUMPERS, the senior Senator from Arkansas. Let me use a couple of minutes of my time to say a few words about him before I proceed to talk about the budget and a few other matters.

First, I want to say to Senator BUMPERS, I don't think he needs me to repeat again what I have said in committee. He is going to be missed. He has been a real credit to this place called the U.S. Senate. I have never known him to behave, act, or in any way conduct himself as to demean this place. He has held it in respect, and that makes it a better place when we do that.

But I also want to remind the Senate, since it has not been stated here on the floor as I know of, that in the energy and water appropriations bill it was my privilege, at the behest of some of Dale BUMPERS' good friends here in the Senate, with the help of his staff and others, to include a resolution honoring him for his diligent and hard work on behalf of the public domain in the United States—the forest lands, the wilderness, the parks. In that bill, the resolution says we want him to be known for as long as there is an Arkansas. Thus, we took eight wilderness areas that are in his State that he had a lot to do with, and for name purposes we made all of them part of one wilderness called the Dale Bumpers Wilderness Area.

That is now 91,000 acres in total that will bear your name. I know many other things could be done to indicate our esteem for you, but many of us thought that this might just be one that would strike you as quite appropriate. And we hope so. It is now the law of the land. The President signed it about 22 hours ago. Thus, I am here saying it in your presence.

I thank you personally on behalf of our side of the aisle for everything you have done.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield just a moment for me to say: I want that to be my legacy, Senator. You couldn't have done anything that would please me more. I have had a few accolades in my 24 years in the Senate. I have had several things named after me. But I can tell you that what you did in that Energy and Water Committee gives me unbelievable satisfaction. The reason I sponsored that legislation and fought so hard for it several years ago is because I wanted my children and my grandchildren to know what my values were. I was trying to save something for them.

I thank you very much.

Mr. DOMENICI. Then, might I say to Senator BUMPERS, that aisle, from your

podium on down here to the first step into the well, is going to get a deserved rest when you leave. That aisle and the carpet there is going to take a new breath and say there is nobody walking up and down on top of us, because Dale BUMPERS is not walking, walking the floor there as he delivers his eloquent speeches on the Senate floor. I only say that by way of the great respect we have for the way you talk to us, and talk to the American people. I am very pleased that you used that little 30 feet of carpet and hall as your place to talk.

Mr. BUMPERS. Thank you, Senator.

ADDRESSING PRESIDENT CLINTON

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I want to talk about three or four things. I am going to try my very, very best to be factual. I am concerned that here, in these waning days, considering the situation that exists on Pennsylvania Avenue, that the President finds himself in a very supercharged political environment. I don't think I had to say that. I think everybody knows that. But I want to suggest that yesterday afternoon, or whatever time of day it was that the President had a quickly called press conference to talk about the Congress of the United States and what we have and haven't done, and particularly to say that we aren't taking care of his education programs, and unless we do, he is going to keep us here.

Normally, when I say "Mr. President," I am addressing the Chair, because that is what we are supposed to do. If we care to address anyone here, we do it through "Mr. President."

Permit me to address the Mr. President on Pennsylvania Avenue, President Bill Clinton.

President Clinton, you have been known to have a fantastic memory. As a matter of fact, I think you acknowledged that at one point recently, although, as with many of us who grow older, you did indicate that with the passage of time and the pressure of many things to do, that that great memory fails every now and then.

Now, Mr. President—Bill Clinton—I am suggesting that maybe your memory failed you when you gave that speech yesterday. So let me tell you what I remember about your education programs that you claim we have not funded.

I want everybody to know that on many things regarding budgets and programs, you can look to the budget that the President sends up here to see what it asks for and what we are giving him. This is the budget for the year we are now appropriating, which started technically on October 1. Here it is.

I had occasion, shortly after it was issued, to have the education parts of this reviewed. I remember coming to the floor of the U.S. Senate to say to the President, which OMB agreed to, "Mr. President, the official scorekeeper and official evaluator of budgets for the U.S. Congress says that

your request for money for two education programs—interest reduction so that schools can afford buildings they need and so-called 100,000 teachers so we can lower the classroom ratio—those two programs were found by the official budget analysts to not properly have been placed in this budget. What they said is, they break the budget that you just signed, Mr. President.” Point No. 1.

Point No. 2: If they are so important—and I am not denying that the President feels they are, and maybe many Senators feel they are—do you know what the President did in asking us to pay for them? He didn’t provide the money to pay for them. He did not. It is not in this budget. He said, “When you pass the cigarette tax, I would like you to use some of it for education.”

Let me just say, that sort of says to me, “I couldn’t find room in the budget for these things that I am telling you are very important. So if we get a cigarette tax, we’ll pay for them.”

Do you know what happened? After weeks of debate, we didn’t get a cigarette tax.

Mr. President, what I know is that the appropriators in the U.S. Senate, in the bill that takes care of education—so there will be no misunderstanding, in this regular budget you asked for \$31.4 billion for education. Look at the appropriations bill, Mr. President. Ask OMB, your official people who look at it. See how much the Senate gave you for education funding for the year you are complaining about. Interesting, \$31.4 billion—exactly what you asked for. Now, Mr. President, you tell the American people you are going to keep us here until we do this, as if we are the ones to blame for it not being done—that is, those two programs.

I am living in a different world, or the President’s memory has failed him, because do you understand, I say to my fellow Senators, that the President is asking for that money now for these two programs—and for many Senators it is doubtful whether that is the way to help education, but, nonetheless, let’s just follow it. He is now saying he is going to keep us here until we do it. But guess what. He knows, his helpers know, that he has to find programs within the Government to cut, which are called offsets, in order to pay for those two programs. He knows that, because this budget says he didn’t have room for it in here. He was making room through a cigarette tax that never happened.

As of right now, 2:25 p.m., I am not aware that the President has submitted a means to pay for those programs. I am not aware that the President has told us how to pay for them if we wanted to adopt them. All I am asking is that we depoliticize a few of these issues, or at least state the facts correctly. We do not deserve blame for not including two programs, which, I repeat, are not paid for in this budget, when as of today, 11 days into the fiscal year, we don’t know how the Presi-

dent intends to pay for them. All right? That is the first point I would like to make today.

Second point: There has been a lot of discussion this morning on the floor of the Senate by some Senators about this issue of a Patients’ Bill of Rights. I think the country understands, but just so it won’t be left unaddressed here this morning, let me again refresh our collective memories. With everything that we have to do, we took 3½ weeks to debate the Patients’ Bill of Rights on the floor of the Senate.

The minority can say we didn’t let it pass, but, Mr. President, the majority can say, they didn’t let it pass. They had a bill; we had a bill. We had more than 50 votes; they did not. They kept our bill from passing which had more than sufficient votes. So I ask, who is to blame for a bill not passing? Again, I want to be practical, I can’t say it is all their fault, the minority’s fault, but clearly it is certainly not all the Republicans’ fault.

What was the really big issue between the two parties? And I leave this one to the American people. The principal issue that divided us was the lawyers of the United States. They support the minority heavily—not all of them, not all of them, but those who litigate. What did they want in the bill that we didn’t want in the bill? We didn’t want a new right to go to court to sue managed care entities, HMOs. We left the right to sue the doctors and the professionals, but we didn’t want to create a new right to sue the HMOs in courts of law for damages.

We, on this side, for the most part—not unanimously, but for the most part—have adopted a sense about health care, and it says lawyers and lawsuits don’t deliver health care; lawyers and lawsuits make health care cost more. We could not see why, if the minority and the President think it is such an enormous new status and set of rights that we should adopt—and we tend to agree—why would the minority that didn’t have the votes to pass here but we had the votes to pass ours—why would they deny a bill’s passage based upon, they want lawyers back in the loop and we don’t want lawyers back in the loop? I leave it to those listening and those who will look at the RECORD. See if I am correct that that was the biggest stumbling block, and see whether the President and the minority caused the Patients’ Bill of Rights bill to fail or not.

Those are two points, and I want to make a third.

Mr. President, in the election past, two things worked for the President. He is probably the best public relations President we have ever had. Two things worked for him as certain—as certain—as when you write a name in ink on a piece of paper with indelible ink; it will be there. And those two things that he has used over and over—you need not think; they will pop into your mind—Social Security and education. Right?

What we have seen, I say to my friend from Alabama, we have seen the

Social Security card played. How? “No tax cuts out of the surplus because it jeopardizes Social Security.” That is the typical every 2-year issue. It is raised again.

Let me suggest to Mr. President, Bill Clinton, you know, Mr. President, that we are about, in the next 72 hours, to pass a very big appropriations bill. Maybe Pennsylvania Avenue does not know this, but here is the best estimate I have. We are about to spend—spend; not tax, spend—\$18 billion of the surplus that was supposed to be saved for Social Security. Got it? The same pot that the President says, “Don’t touch it. It’s for Social Security,” we are about to spend \$18 billion of it for so-called “emergencies.” And I will get to that in a moment.

Friends here in the Senate and those listening, you cannot have it both ways. You cannot say to Republicans, “You can’t use the surplus to give back to the American people in taxes, even if it’s a tiny amount, but you can spend the surplus for bigger Government.” You know, it just does not wash. Both are diminishing, to some extent, the surplus of \$1.6 trillion that we expect in the next decade.

I do not think it will be that much. In fact, the year we are in right now is supposed to have an \$80 billion surplus. I think it will be \$20 billion off because of economics. And then we will spend \$18-, \$20 billion of it that we did not plan to spend. Then we will have something for defense next year that we need, and there will probably be none left for tax cuts. That is what it looks like.

So I want to just talk about one of the emergencies.

I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. One of the “emergencies” is a real emergency. That is to help agriculture in the United States. But let me suggest, to help agriculture in the United States, we sent the President a bill. We had \$4 billion in the emergency funding for the farmers of the United States.

When the President of the United States asked us for emergency money—which he knew people like Senator DOMENICI would start adding up to see how much more you are spending of the surplus than the Republicans planned to use in tax cuts—the President asked for \$2.3 billion for agriculture. We gave him \$4 billion.

But in the meantime, a distinguished Senator on the minority side, whom I have great respect for, the minority leader, Senator DASCHLE, introduced a bill saying, “We want \$7.2 billion as an emergency for agriculture. And we want to wipe out the new law which is only 18 months old called Freedom to Farm because we currently have an emergency”—\$7.2 billion. The President asked for \$2.3 billion. Now we get a communication from the President that says, “I asked you for \$2.3 billion,

but essentially I want DASCHLE's bill, too." Now, believe it or not, we sent him a bill with \$4 billion. He vetoed it and said, "Now you've got to give me what Senator DASCHLE's bill has."

Mr. President, we have had the best people in this body working on agriculture who put this emergency package together. And believe me, the \$4 billion package would make the American agriculture whole. There would be no net loss of income to the agriculture community. They know it. The experts know it. But because it is an election year, and because of the turmoil that exists that I have alluded to earlier in my conversation with the Senate here, the President now holds agriculture programs hostage. If we do not do it his way, we will close down the Department of Agriculture. Frankly, if we did, it would be the President's—it would be on his shoulders, not ours. But you know, it will get worked out. I just thought everybody ought to know how these things work.

Now, should it matter? We have worked for 20 years to get a balanced budget and a balanced budget agreement. The result has been nothing but good news for America. Almost everybody that even touched the issue lays claim to having done it all, including the President who claims the entire economic well-being of the country is because he is President. He can do that. That is fine.

The truth of the matter is, there are plenty—plenty—who deserve credit, including the Federal Reserve, including Republicans in the Senate, Democrats in the Senate, the same in the House. But it really started happening, in terms of restraining the budget, when both bodies became Republican. And we can go back and trace that. That is when we fixed welfare to save money, that is when we changed Medicaid to save big dollars, and on and on.

Let's go home, let's wrap this up in the next few days, but let's remember the facts. And let's not let this superheavy, politically charged environment color things such that we are going to take that surplus we take so much pride in, and find out in 3 or 4 months that there is only 25, 30, 40 percent of it left, even though we were told, "You're going to really use it up if you cut taxes." What happened? We did not cut taxes, and it got used up. Interesting.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Arkansas.

FAREWELL SPEECH

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon to speak, for what may be the last time, on the floor of the Senate. It is a very bittersweet time for me, after 24 years, most of which have been spent at this very desk. I might say at this moment that I have been blessed by having Senator KEN-

NEDY as my seatmate these many years, and before him Senator GORE—both truly outstanding men.

In order to deliver a speech such as I am about to deliver, Mr. President, I do not think there is anything wrong with listing some of the defining moments in my life, because this speech is really more for the benefit of my children and grandchildren than it is for my colleagues or the people of America.

First of all, I was blessed by my parents. I remind my brother from time to time that everybody was not so lucky in choosing their parents as he and I were. And that really is the reason that I stand here as one of 1,843 men and women ever to serve in the U.S. Senate. We were taught when we were children that when we died we were "going to Franklin Roosevelt". And the reason we were taught that is because we were very poor. Most people do not realize that the South, from 1865 until about the time Franklin Roosevelt became President, was still living almost as a conquered nation. National politicians paid very little attention to the South.

In our household, we were poor during the Great Depression. And I might say, the Great Depression is certainly one of the most important defining moments of my life. But it was during the Great Depression that Franklin Roosevelt began to provide all kinds of things for people in the South that they had previously thought unthinkable.

We didn't have indoor plumbing. We didn't have running water. We didn't have paved streets. We didn't have much of anything. The people in our community died of typhoid fever in the summertime because the outhouse was just a few steps away from the well from which we drew our drinking water. Then Franklin Roosevelt began to provide immunizations for children against smallpox and typhoid. It was free. We got those shots at school.

We had then what we called hobos or tramps; today we call them homeless people. My mother always saved a few scraps after breakfast knowing that some tramp was going to knock on the back door and ask for food. That was back before welfare came into existence. So we were very poor.

I remember when I was 12 years old my father heard that Franklin Roosevelt was coming to Arkansas. He was a great believer in America and the political system and public service. He wanted my brother and me to see Franklin Roosevelt. So we drove over a gravel road 20 miles to Booneville, AR, and when the train on the Rock Island line pulled in, Franklin Roosevelt came out on the back platform, obviously being held up by a couple of Secret Service men. I tugged on my father's arm and I said, "Dad, what's wrong with him?" He said, "I will tell you later." On the way home, he told us that Franklin Roosevelt had contracted polio when he was 37 years old, he couldn't walk, and he carried 12 pounds of steel braces on his legs.

Then he told my brother and me that if Franklin Roosevelt could become President and couldn't even walk, there was no reason why my brother and I, with strong minds and bodies, couldn't become President, too. I never took my eye off that goal until many, many years later.

In the following year, my father was president of the Arkansas Retail Hardware Association. They gave our family \$300 to go to Los Angeles to the national convention. I can remember the big party at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles in 1937. I had never stepped on a carpet before in my life, and the Biltmore was filled with thick carpet. We just loved it. We didn't stay at the Biltmore. We were staying at the \$2-a-night cabin.

But the night of the big party, everybody was in tuxedos and long dresses, except my parents. And all the children were dressed in tuxedos, too, even in that Depression year of 1937. But I can remember my brother and I had on long pants and white shirts, no tie, no coat. We were terribly embarrassed. My father sensed that, and so the next day he told us that he knew we were embarrassed but he reminded us that the most important thing was that we were clean, our clothes were clean, our bodies were clean, and the kind of clothes you wore really were not all that important. He made it OK.

When I was 15 years old, I had a high school English and literature teacher named Miss Doll. Every member of the U.S. Senate has been influenced by a college professor or high school teacher, maybe a preacher or somebody else. She was my influence.

I remember my mother, who had a tendency—not to denigrate my mother—to not build our self-esteem. My father was working against that, trying to teach us self-esteem, not ego, but esteem.

We were reading Beowulf in English, a great piece of literature. We would read a paragraph and discuss it. One time it came my time to read. I started reading, and all of a sudden—I read about 2 pages and Miss Doll still hadn't stopped me—I looked up and she was standing there. She looked at me and she looked at the class and she said, "Doesn't he read beautifully?" "Doesn't he have a nice voice?" And she said, "And wouldn't it be tragic if he didn't use that talent." At first I thought she was making fun of me, but she did more for my self-esteem in 10 seconds than anybody, except my father, ever did. Some of my political detractors think she overdid it.

And then just out of high school, but only after 6 months at the University of Arkansas, I went into the Marine Corps. World War II was raging. It was a terrifying time. I fully expected to be killed in that war. The Marines were taking terrible casualties in the South Pacific. Happily, I survived that. The best part of it was when I got home there was a caring, generous, compassionate Federal Government, waiting with the GI bill.