

And that is just the impact on the farm price. What of the impact on consumer prices. You can look this up, as well. If you do so, you will find that prices in New England are actually lower than in the corresponding New York City market, where the Compact is not in place.

And what of the impact on "poor children"? Under current operation of the Compact, the WIC program and the School Lunch Program are both exempt. There is no impact on participants in these programs. Let me repeat: No impact on participants in the WIC and School Lunch programs. Period.

In conclusion, let me again speak directly to my troubled colleagues from the Upper Midwest.

As we look to the new millennium and our future, I wish my Midwestern colleagues again to understand that I will strive to work with them in common purpose. Our farmers from the northeast and Midwest are so similar. They are among the yeoman farmers who built this country so proud. We must be responsive to their common plight. Surely we should be able to reason together based on those issues we share in common rather than continue to dispute over issues which divide us.

In all the recent discussion about the Dairy Compact, one key fact seems to have gotten overlooked. Twenty-five of our fifty states have now passed dairy compact legislation. One-half of the states have embraced the Compact idea.

This means that twenty-five state legislatures and twenty-five governors (more, if you count the number of governors who have supported the bill over the years) have adopted the Compact approach as the best way to solve the dairy issue we all find so vexing.

I call upon my colleagues, especially those Members on my side of the aisle, to give due deference to the rights of the states to assist the Congress in defining policy. The states have spoken and are telling us that the free marketplace does not work with dairy pricing. We should listen to their wise counsel.

These Interstate Compacts are not all about dairy policy, but about the rights of states to work together under the compact clause of the constitution. It's a states right issue that deserves to be heard and understood. I hope my colleagues will take the time to understand the law and the purpose of this important state initiative.

I fully believe that those Members who have today spoken against them may see Dairy Compacts in a new light if they will view them from the perspective of the states which have adopted them. Instead of seeing cartels, they will see a regulatory framework that operates in the public interest. Instead of seeing a system of price supports that works only for dairy farmers, they will see a regulatory

mechanism that benefits all the citizens of the states—consumers, processors and farmers, alike.

This is the way our federalist system is supposed to work—the states talk and we listen. As an issue of states rights, I urge the Judiciary Committee to take this issue up when next we consider it.

TICKET TO WORK AND WORK INCENTIVES IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1999—CONFERENCE REPORT—Continued

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I am pleased with the progress we have made in two very important areas on issues that will affect the lives of Americans everywhere. This legislation—the Ticket to Work and Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999—will go a long way toward improving the quality of life for millions of Americans with disabilities. At the same time, important provisions within this legislation—provisions that extend important tax and trade relief provisions—will bring meaningful relief and increased opportunities to individuals and families. The Ticket to Work and Work Incentives Improvement Act will help Americans with disabilities live richer, more productive lives. Its core purpose is to assist disabled individuals in returning to work. It removes the real risk many people with disabilities face of losing their health insurance, and it provides new ways of helping them find and keep meaningful employment.

Is there any question how important this is?

Millions of Americans with disabilities are waiting for the vote. They are waiting to be freed from a disability system that stifles initiative and thwarts productivity rather than rewarding them—a system that tells individuals with disabilities that if they leave their homes and try to find productive employment they will lose their access to health insurance. The current system isn't right, Mr. President. It isn't productive. And it certainly is not ennobling.

Under current law, if a person with a disability wants to return to work—even taking a job with modest earnings—he or she will jeopardize access to insurance coverage through the Medicaid and Medicare programs. And as many individuals with disabilities have difficulties securing private sector insurance coverage, losing access to Medicaid or Medicare is not an option. In fact, it's a tragic consequence for many people with medical conditions that demand ongoing treatment. As a result, the only recourse these individuals have is to forego the opportunity to work—to build and grow professionally and personally—and to stay at home.

No one, Mr. President, should be forced to choose between health care

and employment. Robbing an individual of the opportunity to work becomes a double tragedy in the life of someone who is living with a disability. It's been said that work is the process by which dreams become realities. It is the process by which idle visions become dynamic achievements. Work spells the difference in the life of a man or woman. It stretches minds, utilizes skills and lifts us from mediocrity.

No one should have to choose between health care and work, and passage of the Work Incentives Improvement Act will make that choice unnecessary. By acting on this legislation today, the Senate will offer new promise to millions of Americans with disabilities. This legislation will help promote their independence and personal growth. It will help restore confidence and meaning in their lives—and greater security in the lives of their families.

But this legislation is not about big government. We do not tell the states what they must do. There are no mandates. And we do not tell individuals with disabilities what they must do. We create options. We create choices. And choice is the essence of independence, isn't it?

The unemployment rate among working-age adults with severe disabilities is nearly 75 percent. What a tragic consequence of errant public policy that discourages those who can and want to work from attaining their desires. It's my firm belief that this number will come down—it will come down dramatically as we pass this law allowing them to return to the workplace. My belief is based in part on the fact that over 300 groups of disability advocates, health care providers, and insurers endorse this change and are anxiously waiting for us to act.

These groups and individuals are not the only Americans watching what we do here today. Along with them, are countless other who are looking to this legislation to extend important tax and trade relief provisions that are included in the work incentives bill.

These provisions are "must do" business. Like appropriations, extenders are provisions that we have an obligation to address before we conclude this session. They are necessary fixes to our Tax Code, and will go a long way toward helping families and creating greater economic opportunity in our communities.

Among the important provisions contained in these extenders is one that excludes nonrefundable tax credits from the alternative minimum tax ("AMT"). This change alone will insure that middle-income families receive the benefits of the \$500 per child tax credit, the HOPE Scholarship credit, the Lifetime Learning credit, the adoption credit, and the dependent care tax credit. In this legislation, such relief is extended through December 31, 2002.

Another important provision in this legislation extends and expands the tax credit for production of energy from wind and closed loop biomass. This important alternative energy provision expired on June 30, 1999. In this legislation, the tax credit is expanded to cover poultry litter-based biomass, and it is extended through December 31, 2001. For my home State of Delaware and many other poultry producing regions, this provision provides an important option for the disposition of poultry litter in a way that will be beneficial and productive.

Other important expiring tax provisions included in this legislation are a 5-year extension and enhancement of the research and development tax credit and the tax-free treatment of employer-provided educational assistance. I can't overstate how important the R&D credit is to the high-tech community and many other important leading American economic sectors. The extension offered in this legislation will give businesses the certainty they need and will result in more and higher paid jobs for American workers. And as far as employer-provided educational assistance, I've made it clear that my goal is to make this provision permanent and expand it to graduate education. I know this is an important goal for Senator MOYNIHAN as well. Over one million workers will benefit from this extension, and under this legislation, the provision is extended through the end of 2001 for undergraduate education.

But, Mr. President, important extenders do not stop here. This legislation will also extend incentives designed to help Americans move from welfare to work through the end of 2001. These incentives include the work opportunity tax credit and the welfare to work tax credit.

Other extenders include the active finance exception to Subpart F—a provision that puts our banks, insurance, and securities firms on equal footing with their foreign competitors in overseas markets—and five other important tax provisions that are scheduled to expire. These provisions, which are extended through the end of 2001, include the "brownfields" expanding treatment of environmental cleanup costs. In addition, the school repair and renovation costs of some school districts are met by an extension of the qualified zone academy bond program.

But the provisions included in this legislation are not limited to tax relief. We also include some important trade issues. For example, we extend the Generalized System of Preferences, as well as Trade Adjustment Assistance programs. Both of these trade provisions are extended through the end of 2001. Beyond these, there are several revenue raising provisions that we've included. Most of these, I am pleased to report, close loopholes in the Tax Code raising some \$3 billion in return.

When all is said and done with this legislation, Mr. President, I am pleased that the tax relief in this bill amounts to a net tax of \$15.8 billion over 5 years and \$18.4 billion over 10.

There's no question that what have before us is a dynamic piece of legislation. From providing hope and opportunity to Americans with disabilities to extending and expanding important tax provisions for individuals and families, this is a comprehensive package. It has been carefully constructed, debated, and addressed in conference. It includes that efforts of many of our colleagues and countless hours of staff work.

I want to thank several Senators who have worked closely with me over the past year to bring the work incentives bill to the floor—Senators MOYNIHAN, JEFFORDS, KENNEDY, and BUNNING. Passage of the Work Incentives Improvement Act has been one of my top health care priorities during this Congress. It would have been impossible without close, productive, bipartisan cooperation. Likewise, the effort we've made to address the important tax and trade extenders. Without the work and cooperation of my distinguished friend and the Finance Committee's Ranking Democratic Member, Senator MOYNIHAN, we wouldn't be here today with a conference agreement.

In closing, let me also mention that there are two provisions in this bill outside the Finance Committee's jurisdiction, one dealing with the organ donor and the other dealing with a NOAA procurement matter. I ask my colleagues to join us in seeing that all of these important provisions are passed into law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I do wish there were more Members present that we might rise in a general applause to the Senator from Delaware, chairman of the Finance Committee. I refer to him as our revered colleague. This legislation could not be here, most of it would not have been conceived, without him. It is a triumph against what has become our procedures that it is here today and will shortly be approved.

Millions of Americans who will not know that he has done this will benefit from what he has done, and that, for him, will be sufficient knowledge and reward. I want to say that.

I don't want to speak at length because other Senators wish to join in this matter. I simply make two points. One is how very much I appreciate the chairman's mention of the importance of providing employer education assistance for graduate students. Go to any major metropolis in this country, any area where there is a college, and find night schools where young America and not so young come to acquire fur-

ther skills and greater economic capacity.

Nothing could be more clearly in our national interests. It will go on whether we have a tax credit or not, but on the margins, it is important, first, recognizing the need for new skills, recognizing the need for developing new areas. Send our own employees to graduate school. Let them get this further degree while they are on the job, come back, be promoted, earn more, and be more valuable.

I spoke with our friend, the House majority leader, Mr. ARMEY. Of course he is a distinguished economist. He noted the last 5 years he was teaching, he was teaching at night school and teaching people who wanted to be there. They didn't have to be there to play soccer—put it that way.

I would secondly like to note, and I know the chairman would agree, absent from our measure today are two matters reported from the Committee on Finance: The Africa Growth and Opportunity Act of 1999 and the Caribbean Basin Initiative. They came out of the Finance Committee as near matter unanimous as can be—under our chairman, things come out of our committee unanimous. We did not succeed given the complexities of these negotiations this time. We will be back. I hope these matters will be addressed. I know on our side of the aisle, if you will, in the House, Representative Rangel, the ranking member in Ways and Means, my counterpart, very much hopes this will happen, and so do I.

Mr. President, I would briefly note, for the RECORD, some important provision in this legislation.

With regard to tax extenders, this bill extends the research and experimentation credit for five years and it extends all other provisions through December 31, 2001. Extending these provisions as long as possible was simply the right thing to do—providing certainty to employers and workers.

Might I add that some of these provisions are vitally important to working families. If we do not, for instance, pass the alternative minimum tax provision, approximately 1.1 million Americans will lose part or all of the \$500 child credit, the HOPE scholarship credit, or other non-refundable credits. We also, rightfully so, extend the Welfare-to-work and the Work opportunity credits.

I would also like to clarify two matters with respect to a provision based on S. 213, which I introduced on January 19, 1999—and which is known as the rum cover-over provision. I am very pleased that we were able to increase from \$10.50 to \$13.25 the amount of excise taxes on rum that is transferred to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Unfortunately, procedural obstacles required a delay in most of the transfer from fiscal year 2000 to fiscal year 2001.

Instead, up to \$20 million will be transferred 15 days after enactment. The remainder of the amount will not, however, be transferred until after September 30, 2000. However, our distinguished Finance Committee Chairman, Senator ROTH, and Chairman ARCHER from the House Ways and Means Committee have made a commitment that, to the extent possible, the delayed payments will be accelerated, or interest on the delayed amounts will be provided for in the Africa and CBI legislation next year.

With respect to the second matter, the rum cover-over provision, as passed by this body on October 29, 1999, included an additional transfer of 50 cents from the government of Puerto Rico to the National Historic Conservation Trust of Puerto Rico—the purpose of which is the protection and enhancement of the natural resources of Puerto Rico. Unfortunately, the 50 cent transfer is not included in the legislation before us today. However, it is my understanding that the Governor of Puerto Rico, the Honorable Pedro Rossello, has made the commitment to transfer one-sixth (45 cents), of the increase provided by this legislation, to the Trust. I applaud the Governor for his commitment.

I am also very pleased that this legislation would remedy some of the barriers and disincentives that individuals enrolled in Federal disability programs face in returning to work. Many disabled Americans do not return to work because they must lose their health care coverage and because they have inadequate access to employment and rehabilitation services.

In 1986, we took our first step to remove obstacles facing disabled Americans who want to work. Our former Finance Committee Chairman and Majority Leader—Senator DOLE—introduced the Employment Opportunities for Disabled Americans Act to make permanent a demonstration project that enabled Supplemental Security Income—or “SSI” recipients to maintain Medicaid benefits during a transition to work. I was an original co-sponsor of the bill which was enacted on November 11, 1986. Building on that first step and other subsequent initiatives, Senators JEFFORDS, KENNEDY, ROTH and I introduced this work incentives bill in the Senate on January 28th of this year. The legislation has enjoyed overwhelming bipartisan support, passing the Senate 99–0 on June 16th and the House 412–9 on October 19.

The bill addresses an issue of paramount concern: how to encourage disabled individuals to return to work. Currently, less than one-half of one percent of individuals receiving disability benefits now leave the rolls and return to work. A survey by the National Organization on Disability found that only 29 percent of all disabled adults are employed full-time or part-

time, compared to 79 percent of the non-disabled adult population. The disabled find it difficult to work because if they earn income above a certain level, they lose their disability benefits and their health care coverage. In fact, witnesses testifying before the Finance Committee cited the potential loss of health care coverage as the primary obstacle between the disabled and their ability to work.

This legislation tries to remove this barrier by guaranteeing that working individuals with disabilities can maintain their Medicare and Medicaid coverage for a longer period of time. Under current law, Social Security disability beneficiaries, who go back to work and earn a modest income, may only continue their Medicare coverage for four years. This legislation would permit disabled workers to retain their Medicare coverage for an additional four and a half years.

Two important Medicaid provisions are included in this bill. The first would permit more lower-income disabled workers to pay premiums and buy into the Medicaid program. The second establishes a demonstration project that would provide Medicaid coverage to persons likely to become disabled without medical treatment. This is good common-sense policy: providing preventive health coverage to working individuals with serious medical conditions before such conditions worsen to a disabling level.

This legislation does more than just extend greater health care coverage to the disabled. Through a program called “Ticket to Work,” it would make it easier for disabled workers to access coordinated vocational rehabilitation and employment assistance services. It provides grants to States to develop the program infrastructure and to perform the outreach necessary to help disabled individuals to work. The legislation would also ensure that a mere return to work does not automatically trigger eligibility reviews that could result in being removed from the disability rolls. In addition, it would streamline the process for individuals to be reinstated for disability benefits, if they are unable to continue working.

Lastly, the bill funds Social Security demonstration projects on how best to encourage disabled individuals to return to work. For example, one innovative project will determine whether a sliding-scale reduction of disability benefits by \$1 for every \$2 earned would make it easier to go back to work. Such a result seems far more reasonable than the current situation where workers who earn income above a statutory limit lose their disability benefits entirely.

The overwhelming support for his legislation is not surprising given its simple and universal goal: providing disabled Americans the opportunity they deserve to work and contribute to

the fullest of their ability. For Americans with disabilities, enacting this legislation would take a great step forward in removing the many barriers they face in returning to work.

Before I conclude, Mr. President, I did want to mention that regrettably, this bill includes an extraneous provision delaying implementation of a new regulation to improve the Nation’s system of allocating human organs for transplant.

Mr. President, I thank the Chairman for his commitment to this tax extenders and work incentive legislation. I would also like to thank the staffs of the Joint Committee on Taxation, the Senate Finance Committee and the House Way and Means and Commerce Committees. Now, let’s go home.

Mr. ROTH. I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Vermont.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. May the Chair ascertain how many minutes?

Mr. ROTH. I yield 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Vermont is recognized for 5 minutes.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, first I ask unanimous consent Lu Zeph and Tom Valuck, fellows on my staff, be granted the privilege of the floor during consideration of the conference report.

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

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I see the Senator from Iowa, with whom I have worked all these years, was here just a moment ago. I would like to wish him a happy 60th birthday. I am sure all of us would like to join in that, and I will move on now and get to the purpose of being here today.

Mr. President, I am thrilled that the Senate will soon send to the President the Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999. This landmark legislation will open doors to jobs across the country for disabled Americans.

As we all know, the Federal Government often sets policies with the best of intentions, and the least of common sense. There are lots of examples, but today’s policy for disability benefits takes the prize.

If you are disabled and don’t work, you have access to federally funded health care. If you are disabled and you do work, you lose access to federally funded health care. Does it make any sense to you? No, it does not to me, either.

Access to health care is important to everyone, of course, but to severely disabled people it is absolutely vital for the everyday needs of life. And the price tag for this care can be astronomical.

Three years ago, this paradox was brought to my attention, and I began the process of trying to figure out how we could solve it.

I realized that, unless and until we gave individuals with disabilities access to health care, they would not,

could not work to their full potential. That is why I am so proud that we are on the verge of changing the law that will, at last, change the lives of 9.5 million individuals with disabilities who have been waiting, pleading that we take this step.

These millions of Americans want and will use the job training and job placement assistance that this legislation authorizes. They will benefit from the advice and guidance that will be available on the complicated work incentives options in Federal law. They will go to work, work longer hours, work more hours, and seek advancement knowing that their health care will be there when they need it.

For those who look beyond what this legislation means in human terms, to its monetary applications, I say, you will see results. The taxpayer rolls will expand. Use of Federal and State public assistance programs will decrease. Data on the health care needs and costs of working individuals with severe disabilities will be collected. Private employers and their insurers will have data from which they may calculate risks and craft health care insurance options for employees with disabilities.

This conference report represents sound federal policy. Last night our colleagues in the House, on a vote of 418 to 2, endorsed this policy. We must do the same. Let us celebrate and confirm the consensus we have achieved. Individuals with disabilities are waiting to show us how they are ready, willing, and able to join the workforce, support their families, and contribute to their communities and our national economy.

The action we are taking is the next logical step in our efforts to ensure that disabled Americans can fully participate in our society. In 1975 we guaranteed each child with a disability a free appropriate education through the precursor to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. In 1978, we prohibited discrimination based on disability in all services, programs, and employment offered by or through the federal government. In 1988, for the first time, we recognized and addressed the need to provide assistive technology to individuals with disabilities.

And in 1990, we enacted the most comprehensive civil rights law for individuals with disabilities, the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Each of these actions was a building block toward true independence for individuals with disabilities.

But the promise of employment rights under the ADA was an empty one for millions of Americans who couldn't afford to take advantage of their rights. Today, we are making good on that promise.

I want to again commend the principal cosponsors of this legislation, Senators KENNEDY, ROTH, and MOY-

NIHAN for their incredible contributions. Five months ago, the four of us joined President Clinton in a room just off the Senate floor to call for enactment of this legislation.

I was confident then that the day would soon come, and I am elated that it finally has. It is the end of the session, we are all tired, and some tempers are frayed. But Mr. President, as we conclude our work for the year and return to our states, this is one accomplishment of which we can all be proud.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

The distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I have the pleasure to yield up to 15 minutes to my good and old friend, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, who has been so instrumental in this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for up to 15 minutes.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join with Senator MOYNIHAN and Senator ROTH in commending our colleagues on the Finance Committee for their strong work in helping bring us to where we are today. I thank them for their leadership.

I would especially like to acknowledge Senator JEFFORDS, who has been instrumental in the development of the legislation. And I, all of us on this side and throughout the Senate and across the country always recognize the real leader on all of the disability issues, our friend from Iowa, Senator HARKIN, who has had a lifetime of commitment on the issues of promoting the interests of disabled Americans. The Senate will welcome his comments this afternoon.

Today, Congress will complete action on the Ticket to Work and the Work Incentives Improvement Act, and this important legislation will go at long last to the White House. When President Clinton signs this bill into law, he will truly be signing a modern Declaration of Independence for millions of men and women with disabilities in communities across the country who will have a priceless new opportunity to fulfill their hopes and dreams of living independent and productive lives.

We know how far we have come in the ongoing battle over many decades to ensure that people with disabilities have the independence they need to be participating members of their communities.

Mr. President, 67 years ago this month we elected a disabled American to the highest office in the land. He became one of the greatest Presidents, but Franklin Roosevelt was compelled by the prevailing attitudes of his time to conceal his disability as much as possible. The World War II Generation began to change all that. The 1950s showed the Nation a new class of peo-

ple—people with disabilities—as veterans returned from the war to an inaccessible society. Each decade since then has brought significant progress.

In the 1960s, Congress responded with new architectural standards so we could build a society of which everyone could be a part.

The 1970s convinced us that full participation in society was needed, not only for disabled veterans but for disabled children and family members and for those injured in everyday accidents. Congress responded with a range of federally funded programs which improved the lives of people with mental retardation, supported the rights of children with disabilities to go to school, ensured the right of people with disabilities to vote, and gave people with disabilities greater access to health care.

The 1980s brought a new realization that when we are talking about assisting people with disabilities, we must not look only to Federal programs, but to the private sector as well. Congress again responded by guaranteeing fair housing opportunities for people with disabilities, by ensuring access to air travel, and making telecommunication advances available for people who are hard of hearing or deaf.

The 1990s brought us the Americans with Disabilities Act, which promised every disabled citizen a new and better life, in which disability would no longer put an end to the American dream.

But too often, for too many Americans, the promise of the ADA has been unfulfilled. Now, with this legislation, we will finally link civil rights clearly with health care. It isn't civil and it isn't right to send a person to work without the health care they need and deserve.

As Bob Dole stated in his eloquent testimony to the Finance Committee earlier this year, this issue is about people going to work—"it is about dignity and opportunity and all the things we talk about, when we talk about being an American."

Millions of disabled men and women in this country want to work and are able to work. But they have been denied the opportunity to work because they lack access to needed health care. As result, the Nation has been denied their talents and their contributions to our communities.

Current laws are an anachronism. Modern medicine and modern technology make it easier than ever before for disabled persons to have productive lives and careers. Current laws are often a greater obstacle to that goal than their disability itself. It's ridiculous that we punish disabled persons who dare to take a job by penalizing them financially, by taking away their health insurance lifeline, and by placing other unfair obstacles in their path.

Currently, there are approximately 9 million working-age adults who receive

disability benefits, many of whom could take jobs if they could keep their governmentally financed health benefits. A national survey earlier this year showed that, while 76 percent of people with disabilities wanted to work, nearly 75 percent are unemployed. Of those receiving benefits, only ½ of 1% leave the disability roles to return to work.

Disability groups have estimated that about 2 million of the 8 million would consider forgoing disability payments and take jobs as a result of this legislation.

The estimated cost of this new program would be recouped if only 70,000 people leave the disability benefit roles. If 210,000 of them take jobs, the government would actually save \$1 billion annually in disability payments.

That 210,000 constitutes only 10% of the number of people who the disability community believe will avail themselves of this program. If their estimates are even close to accurate, the savings to the Federal Government could eventually approach \$10 billion per year. Far more important than the savings is the impact on people's lives. It is about dignity. It is about opportunity that is by far the most important charge.

Today is a new beginning for persons with disabilities in their pursuit of the American dream. This bill corrects the injustice they have unfairly suffered.

The Work Incentives Improvement Act removes these unfair barriers to work that face so many Americans with disabilities:

It makes health insurance available and affordable when a disabled person goes to work, or develops a significant disability while working.

It gives people with disabilities greater access to the services they need to become successfully employed.

It phases out the loss of cash benefits as income rises, instead of the unfair sudden cut-off that workers with disabilities face today.

It places work incentive planners in communities, rather than in bureaucracies, to help workers with disabilities learn how to obtain the employment services and support they need.

Many leaders in communities throughout the country have worked long and hard and well to help us reach this milestone. They are consumers, family members, citizens, and advocates. They showed us how current job programs for people with disabilities are failing them and forcing them into poverty.

In all the time I have been in the Senate, I doubt if there has really been a single piece of legislation that has so coherently reflected the common concerns of a constituency and all of that constituency worked so effectively on recommendations to the Congress of the United States.

We have worked together for many months to develop effective ways to

right these wrongs. And to all of them I say, thank you for helping us to achieve this needed legislation. It truly represents legislation of the people, by the people and for the people. It is all of you who have been the fearless, tireless warriors for justice.

When we think of citizens with disabilities, we tend to think of men and women and children who are disabled from birth. But fewer than 15% of all people with disabilities are born with their disabilities. A bicycle accident or a serious fall or a serious illness can suddenly disable the healthiest and most physically able person.

In the long run, this legislation may be more important than any other action we have taken in this Congress.

I say that very sincerely. In the long run, this legislation may be the most important piece of legislation we have passed in this Congress. Its offers a new and better life to large numbers of our fellow citizens. Disability need no longer end the American dream. That was the promise of the Americans with Disabilities Act a decade ago, and this legislation dramatically strengthens our fulfillment of that promise.

This bill has a human face. It is for Alice in Oklahoma, who was disabled because of multiple sclerosis and receives SSDI benefits. She will now be able to get personal assistance to work and live in here community. No longer will she have to use all of her savings and half of her wages to pay for personal assistance and prescription drugs. No longer will she be left in poverty.

This bill is for Tammy in Indiana, who has cerebral palsy and uses a wheelchair and works part-time at Wal-Mart. No longer will she be forced to restrict her hours of work. Her goals of becoming a productive citizen will no longer be denied—because now she will have access to the health care she needs.

This bill is for Abby in Massachusetts, who is six years old and has mental retardation. Her parents are very concerned about her future. Already, she has been denied coverage by two health insurance firms because of the diagnosis is of mental retardation. Without Medicaid, her parents would be bankrupted by her current medical bills. Now when Abby enters the work force, she will not have to live in poverty or lose her Medicaid coverage. All that will change, and she will have a fair opportunity to work and prosper.

This bill is for many other citizens whose stories are told in this diary, called "A Day in the Life of a Person with a Disability."

Disabled people are not unable. Our goal in this legislation is to banish the stereotypes, to reform and improve existing disability programs, so that they genuinely encourage and support every disabled person's dream to work and live independently, and be a productive

and contributing member of their community. That goal should be the birthright of all Americans—and with this legislation, we are taking a giant step toward that goal.

A story from the debate on the Americans with Disabilities Act illustrates the point. A postmaster in a town was told that he must make his post office accessible. The building had 20 steep steps leading up to a revolving door at the only entrance. The postmaster questioned the need to make such costly repairs. He said, "I've been here for thirty-five years, and in all that time, I've yet to see a single customer come in here in a wheelchair." As the Americans with Disabilities Act has proved so well, if you build the ramp, they will come, and they will find their field of dreams. This bill builds new ramps, and vast numbers of the disabled will now come—to work.

The road to economic prosperity and the right to a decent wage must be more accessible to all Americans—no matter how many steps stand in the way. That is our goal in this legislation. It is the right thing to do, and it is the most effective thing to do. And now we are finally doing it.

Eliminating these barriers to work will help disabled Americans to achieve self-sufficiency. We are a better and stronger and fairer country when we open the door of opportunity to all Americans, and enable them to be equal partners in the American dream. For millions of Americans with disabilities, this bill is a declaration of independence that can make the American dream come true. Now, when we say "equal opportunity for all," it will be clear that we mean all.

No one in America should lose their medical coverage—which can mean the difference between life and death—if they go to work. No one in this country should have to choose between buying a decent meal and buying the medication they need.

Nearly a year ago, President Clinton signed an executive order to increase employment and health care coverage for people with disabilities. Today, with strong bipartisan support, Congress is demonstrating its commitment to our fellow disabled citizens. But our work is far from done.

This bill is only the first step in the major reform of the Social Security disability programs that will enable individuals with disabilities to have the rights and privileges that all other Americans enjoy; 54 million Americans with disabilities are waiting for our action. We will not stop today, we will not stop tomorrow, we will not ever stop until America works for all Americans.

Mr. President, in these final moments, I especially commend President Clinton, Vice President Gore, and Secretary Shalala. President Clinton made this one of his top priorities over this

year and during these final negotiations. He understands the importance of this legislation, and this was a matter of central importance to him and his Presidency.

I also thank John Podesta and Chris Jennings who saw this through to the very end.

I commend the many Senate staff members whose skilled assistance contributed so much to the achievement: Jennifer Baxendale, Alec Vachon, and Frank Polk of Senator ROTH's staff; Kristin Testa, John Resnick, Edwin Park, and David Podoff of Senator MOYNIHAN's staff; Pat Morrissey, Lu Zeph, Chris Crowley, Jim Downing, and Mark Powden of Senator JEFFORDS' staff; Connie Garner—a special thanks to Connie Garner—Jim Manley, Jonathan Press, Jeffrey Teitz, and Michael Myers of my own staff; and the many other staff members of the Health Committee and the Finance Committee.

No longer will disabled Americans be left out and left behind. The Ticket to Work and the Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999 is an act of courage, an act of community, and, above all, an act of hope for the future. I urge its passage, and I reserve the remainder of the time of the Senator from New York.

Mr. ROTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMS). The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from New Mexico.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Thank you very much, I say to Senator ROTH.

I might say, on the bill that we are speaking to, the Ticket to Work and Work Incentives Improvement Act, I do not know how many Senators have ever had a disabled person who is holding a job and getting a paycheck. Come and see them. A disabled person who is holding a job and just got a paycheck—and you get to visit with them—they are glowing. They are filled with pride that they are able to work. Actually, it is the best therapy in the world for a disabled person to have a job.

I happen to know that from personal experience in my own family. But I have seen it in scores of faces of people who come and tell me as disabled people that they are working and they are getting a paycheck.

The U.S. Government, probably because it did not understand what it was doing, decided that we would help disabled people who were not working with health insurance, either under Medicare or Medicaid. Then what a cruel hoax, as soon as they started working and making sufficient money, as low as \$700 a month, they started losing their health care coverage, and they began to wonder and their parents

began to wonder, why did they ever take a job?

For some, they did not even make any net profit out of getting a job. Because if they are cut off from health care, some of them have to pay their entire paycheck to take care of their illness. That is just not right. Frankly, it was a hard issue in terms of drafting something that could work, and I compliment everybody that worked on this bill. I think it is a very important day today.

In fact, I am sorry it is getting passed along with a great deal of other legislation because the importance of it might very well get lost. Sometimes a long debate on a bill is meritorious, for the country finds out what we are doing. They are not necessarily going to find out about this bill because we did not use a lot of time today. But I asked the distinguished chairman if I could use a few moments and he gave it to me. Now, if the Senate would bear with me, I just want to take the remaining time I have, and how much is that?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 7 minutes remaining.

THE BUDGET

Mr. DOMENICI. I am going to take a few moments to thank a few people and summarize the budget bill that we are going to pass this evening, hopefully.

I want to thank the White House for their cooperation in coming to an agreement with reference to the appropriations bill and all of those things that are in the so-called omnibus package.

In particular, I want to thank the director of the Office of Management and Budget, Mr. Lew. The last evening when we were about to depart and part company and say we will go our own ways, they asked me if I would meet with Mr. Lew, and if we could see if we could work something out. We are here today with a bipartisan bill because we did work something out.

I thought it was the very best thing we could do. Frankly, I am proud of it. I wish it could have been done sooner. I am hoping that next year we will get the appropriations bills done perhaps 6 to 7 or 8 weeks sooner than we did this year. But I want to start by quoting from the New York Times, not necessarily a newspaper that thinks what Republicans do is necessarily good, as I do, but they said in their editorial, on their editorial page, the following thing about this budget bill that we are going to have before us:

There are modest spending increases in some of the President's priority areas like education but over all the Republican approach of spending restraint has shaped this budget."

I am very proud of that. I think that is true because what we have done is we have kept the faith with those who

want a balanced budget. This budget proposal ensures a balanced budget without using Social Security trust fund money.

I ask parenthetically for those who still doubt that because they do not have a Congressional Budget Office letter that says it, if the President of the United States would be asking Democrats to vote for this measure if he and his OMB Director thought it was using Social Security trust fund money? I think the answer is no. They know it does not. I know it does not. And I can promise the Senate, come February or March, when you reestimate everything, it will not be using the Social Security trust fund money.

I think that is the new discipline that has been imposed on our economy and our fiscal policy. It is a brand new event to say we are not going to spend Social Security money, and it is the best thing we can do for the American economy because, Senator MOYNIHAN, to the extent we do not spend it, we reduce the public debt. So for those who are wondering about the public debt, the public debt is reduced dollar for dollar when you leave Social Security surpluses alone year by year as they accumulate and do not spend them.

Now, let me tell you a dramatic statement about our current fiscal policy. Who would think a budget chairman could stand on the floor and say to the Senators who are listening, we will pay down the publicly-held debt by \$130 billion? Think of that—\$130 billion. If that does not mean that as soon as we saw surplus we did not run out and spend it, then I do not know what it means.

Frankly, I think my good friend, Senator GRAMM from Texas, is correct; in about 30 or 40 years, when they look back on this period in time, they are going to say: Incredible. With the kind of surpluses that existed, not a single new entitlement program of major proportion was started, and not a single new American spending program was started because the accumulations went into the Social Security trust fund instead of being used to pay for more Government.

I am proud of that. I think it is the best medicine for growth and prosperity in the future.

It holds Government spending, as we calculate it overall, to about 3.3 percent this year over last year—that includes entitlements and appropriations—a very interesting number.

In the 1970's, it was 11 percent growth.

In the 1980's, it was 8 percent growth.

For those who in editorial comments across this land call this a bloated budget, let me suggest, the fiscal policy of the United States which has the Government growing less than the economy is growing is not bad fiscal policy. That is about where we are now under the culmination of this budget process for this year.