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Senate

(Legislative day of Monday, July 10, 1995)

The Senate met at 12:30 p.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

As we begin this day we grieve the death of our fellow worker and friend, Gerald Hackett, who served as executive clerk for 29 of his 33 years with the Senate. We pray for a special measure of God's comfort for his wife, Mary Ellen, and his family.

Dear God, our Creator, sustainer, and strength, You have given us the gift of life, blessed us with this new week, and given us work to do for Your glory. May three words—admit, submit, and commit—be the equation of excellence in our work today.

Father, we admit our need of Your insight and inspiration. You never intended that we should depend only on our own intellect and understanding. We humbly place our total dependence on Your power to maximize the use of the talents You have entrusted to us.

Sovereign of our lives, we submit to You the specific challenges and opportunities before us. We accept Your absolute reign and rule in our minds. Guide us Lord. Thank You for the peace of mind we have when we submit our needs to You.

Source of our courage, we unreservedly commit to You our lives and the decisions to be made today. We relinquish our control and intentionally ask You to take charge. Think and speak through us.

Thank You Lord, our eternal King;
these bold petitions we bring.
Your grace and mercy are such,
we never can ask too much.

Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). The majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. DOLE. I thank the President pro tempore. Let me explain to my colleagues, leaders' time has been reserved, and there will be a period for morning business until 1:30 p.m. At 1:30 p.m, we will begin consideration of H.R. 1905, the energy and water appropriations bill, for opening statements until 2 p.m. today.

It may be possible, unless there is an objection, to proceed on that for a little bit beyond 2 p.m, depending on whether or not we are prepared or ready to resume consideration of S. 908, the State Department reorganization bill.

Cloture was filed on that bill on Friday. A cloture vote will occur tomorrow. I think perhaps it will be tomorrow morning sometime prior to the policy luncheon of both sides of the aisle.

First-degree amendments must be filed by 1 p.m. in order to qualify under the postcloture. There will be no votes today before 6 p.m. There could be votes depending on what happens with S. 908. There will be no votes on anything with reference to H.R. 1905.

NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION AND WELFARE REFORM

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me take a minute or two of leader time to say I have just returned from Burlington, VT, where I was privileged to attend the National Governors' Association meeting and talk about welfare reform.

I outlined what I felt could be an agreed-upon package on the Republican side, pointing out there were still some differences among some Republicans. We explained our program in detail to the Republican Governors. There are now 30 Republican Governors out of 50. The 30 Republican Governors represent about 70 percent of the American people in the United States; or 70 percent live in those 30 States.

I wanted to report that of the 30 Republican Governors, 26 were present. Governor Wilson of California was not present, Governor James of Alabama was not present, Governor Racicot of Montana and the Governor of South Dakota were not present, and one Governor had to depart the meeting early, Governor Weld of Massachusetts. The other 25 Governors, Governor Leavitt of Utah, Governor Engler of Michigan, Governor Whitman of New Jersey, Governor Allen of Virginia, Governor Rowland of Connecticut, Governor Fordice of Mississippi, Governor Voinovich of Ohio, Governor Bush of Texas, Governor Geringer of Wyoming, Governor Keating of Oklahoma, Governor Almond of Rhode Island, Governor Schafer of North Dakota, Governor Graves of Kansas, Governor Sundquist of Tennessee, Governor Thompson of Wisconsin, Governor Symington of Arizona, Governor Pataki of New York, Governor Branstad of Iowa, Governor Merrill of New Hampshire, Governor Edgar of Illinois, Governor Beasley of South Carolina, Governor Carlson of Minnesota, Governor Johnson of New Mexico, Governor Ridge of Pennsylvania, Governor Batt of Idaho, all endorse the Republican alternative.

I just passed around a little sheet of paper. They all signed it after we had gone over it. I am certain the other five Republican Governors will also endorse what we think would be a strong Republican package. They like it. It returns power to the Governors, power to the States, and does not contain a lot

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

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of strings. In their view, whether liberal or conservative strings, they are still strings.

We know there may be some areas where we may not be able to accommodate the Governors. By and large, they are looking forward to designing their own plan when it comes to welfare. We also have a provision where you can opt out of the Food Stamp Program. What the Governors would like, of course, is more block grants. We are not able to do that because we do not have the votes.

I asked the Democratic Governors, when I spoke to the full session of the National Governors' Association at 9:45, to take a look at this proposal. We believe it can be approached on a nonpartisan, bipartisan basis. It is what the Governors have been telling us for years, in both parties, that they wanted—more power to the Governors, power to the States, power to the people.

This is all sort of patterned after the 10th amendment to the Constitution, which is part of the Bill of Rights. It is only 28 words in length, which says, in effect, that unless the power is vested in the Federal Government, it ought to be with the people and with the States.

Most Governors, regardless of party, believe that should happen, whether it is welfare reform, whether it is Medicaid, whatever it is. They believe they can better implement and rate the programs at less cost, less redtape, less bureaucracy, and provide better service to the people who must rely on Medicaid, food stamps, welfare, and AFDC—whatever the welfare program might be.

I was very encouraged after the meeting with the Republican Governors. They know there are some differences on the Republican side. They will be weighing in very heavily on the proposal this week. We hope to take it up either Friday or Saturday of this week and finish it sometime next week or the following week. I hope that before we conclude, we will have broad bipartisan support.

PRAISE FOR GIFT BAN

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, on another matter, I want to again thank my colleagues, Senator LOTT and Senator MCCONNELL, as well as Senator LEVIN, Senator WELLSTONE, Senator FEINGOLD, and many others on both sides of the aisle who worked together on the gift ban proposal.

As I said on the floor on Friday, I think we made a lot of progress. I read the editorial in the New York Times which indicated many fought it to the bitter end, which was not true. Editorial writers are entitled to their opinion, but they are not entitled to lie. If they had followed the debate, they would have known there was a lot of work going on all week long, in good faith, by Democrats and Republicans, by the leader, by the Democratic leader.

What we finally did was say, ''OK, we agree on this. We cannot agree on three things. We will agree on what we agree on and vote on what we cannot agree on.'' That is precisely what we did.

So, to the editor, whoever wrote that in the New York Times—I do not normally read it, but Sunday was a slow day—I hope that they will try to at least stick with the facts, maybe once a year, twice a year. We do not want to overdo it for the New York Times, but every little bit would help. They are entitled to facts, they are entitled to opinions, but understand what the facts are. And it is supposed to be the paper of ''all the news that is fit to print''—some say a 10th, but I say all the news fit to print. We hope for more responsibility from the editorial board of the New York Times.

The primary purpose was to thank my colleagues for all the work they did and the good-faith effort. I think we made a giant step forward, and, hopefully, we will ease the concerns of many of our constituents when it comes to Members of Congress and gift rules.

Also, lobbying reform was another bipartisan effort on the floor. I thank my colleagues who were engaged in that.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my leader's time.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KYL). Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 1:30 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak up to 5 minutes each.

Under the previous order, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] is recognized to speak for up to 30 minutes.

The Senator from Illinois.

THE EXPLOSIVE GROWTH OF GAMBLING IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, in November of last year, when I announced I would retire from the Senate after 1996, President Clinton suggested that with the freedom from political restraint I now have, and with slightly more credibility because political opportunism would not be the immediate cry of critics, I should, from time to time, make observations about our Nation, where we are going, and where we should go.

One of the marks of our civilization, virtually unnoticed as we discuss the Nation's problems, is our fastest-growing industry: gambling.

Local governments, Indian tribes, and States—all desperate for revenue—increasingly are turning to what appears to be a quick and easy solution: legalized gambling. And, temporarily, it often works. Poverty-stricken Indian tribes suddenly have revenue. Cities like East St. Louis, IL, with every possible urban malady, find themselves with enough revenue to at least take care of minimal services.

There are four basic questions:

First, how rapidly is this phenomenon growing?

Second, what are its advantages?

Third, what are its disadvantages?

Fourth, is there a role for the Federal Government to play, and should it play a role?

Gambling is not a new phenomenon. The Bible and early historical records tell of its existence. Gambling surfaced early in U.S. history, then largely disappeared as a legal form of revenue for State and local governments. It remained very much alive, however, even though illegal, in the back rooms of taverns and in not-so-hidden halls, often with payoffs to public officials to ''look the other way'' while it continued. I particularly remember traveling overseas and back while in the U.S. Army. The troop ship became one huge gambling operation with dice or cards, activity slowed only by the occasional walking tour of a conscientious officer whose coming would be foretold by someone taking the voluntary watch for his fellow enlisted men—and they were then all men—who gambled. After the watchman's signal, suddenly that portion of the ship's deck or hold could meet the highest puritanical standards. Within seconds of the disappearance of the dreaded officer, the games would begin again. Participation had no appeal to me, not primarily for moral reasons, but I have always been too conservative with my money to enjoy risking it that way. What I remember about those shipboard activities was the enormity of the stakes that could be built up—enormous for enlisted men on meager salaries in 1951–1953—and the ability of some of my friends to continue their activity with almost no sleep.

Gambling's appeal, particularly for the idle—and a troop ship is loaded with them—is clear.

Early in our Nation's history, almost all States had some form of lottery, my State of Illinois being no exception. When Abraham Lincoln served in our State legislature from 1834 to 1842, lotteries were authorized, and there apparently was no moral question raised about having them. In 1839, for example, the Illinois House of Representatives voted unanimously to authorize a lottery to raise funds ''for the purpose of draining the ponds of the American bottom'' in the vicinity of what is now East St. Louis, an area that to this day has a severe drainage problem, and a city that today has a significant gambling presence.

In Illinois and other States the loose money quickly led to corruption, and the States banned all forms of gambling. Illinois leaders felt so strongly about it, they put the ban into the State constitution. For many years, Louisiana had the only lottery, and