the Nation, such as housing and transportation programs that help minorities move out of ghettos and buy their own homes.

If the positive effects of Head Start fade out several years after children leave the program, why eliminate Head Start rather than improve the rest of the education system to extend its success?

If answers tried in the past have failed, it means we should try new answers, not give up on the problem. As a government—and as a society—our policies must have a moral dimension:

They must respect the value of each individual, and never dismiss anyone or any group of people as unworthy of a fair chance.

Shredding the social safety net will not avert a crisis; in my view, it only propels us ever faster toward crisis.

It will swell the divisions between rich and poor; it will lead to more racial animosity and ethnic hatred; it will sacrifice the dream—the very American dream of Martin Luther King, who foresaw a day when his four children would, in his words,

> Live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

He spoke of a ''beloved community,'' his vision of an America living in racial harmony, where individuals judge each other on individual merit and achievement; where values triumph over charts, graphs, and stereotypes; where all people are nourished and expected to succeed.

This is a vision of a moral society—the kind of society our forefathers saw as their bequest to the Nation—and it stands in stark contrast to the custodial state envisioned in ''The Bell Curve.''

Fulfilling Dr. King's vision of a beloved community, founded on both individual responsibility and equal opportunity—a community that rewards achievement and places barriers before no one—has always been and remains today the foremost challenge for American society.

Martin Luther King understood that better, perhaps, than any other American of this century, and we can offer him no greater memorial today—we can offer ourselves no greater assurance of maintaining our American heritage—than by rejecting both the arguments and the conclusions of ''The Bell Curve'' in favor of that ''beloved community'' for which Martin Luther King, Jr., lived and died.

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I yield the distinguished Senator from Tennessee 7½ minutes of my time.

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

The Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. ASHCROFT, and Mr. BOND, pertaining to the introduction of Senate Joint Resolution 21 are located in today's RECORD under ''Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.'')

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LIEBERMAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed an opportunity to speak for up to 10 minutes that I was provided for in morning business, and that the time for resumption of consideration of S. 1 and the corresponding time for a vote on amendments that have been set down be moved up accordingly.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KYL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

WELCOME SENATOR ASHCROFT

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, before our new colleague from Missouri leaves the floor I want to add my welcome. I do so with a personal sense of pride and pleasure because he and I were classmates together at college. It gives me great pride to see him join Members here.

The Chair will no doubt hold this revelation against the Senator from Missouri and me, but in any case, he was an honorable, decent, intelligent person when I knew him back more years than I will state for the record. I know he brings those talents with him here and beyond. As the senior Senator said, he is a person of extraordinary faith and comes here not only with great talent but with an appropriate spirit and a religious sense of humility. We could use that around here. I look forward to working with him in the years ahead.

Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. LIEBERMAN pertaining to the introduction of S. 246 are located in today's RECORD under ''Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.'')

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I yield the floor.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS SAID ''YES''

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, anyone even remotely familiar with the U.S. Constitution knows that no President can spend a dime of Federal tax money that has not first been authorized and appropriated by Congress, both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

So when you hear a politician or an editor or a commentator declare that ''Reagan ran up the Federal debt'' or that ''Bush ran it up,'' bear in mind that it was, and is, the constitutional duty of Congress to control Federal spending. We'd better get busy correcting this because Congress has failed miserably to do it for about 50 years.

The fiscal irresponsibility of Congress has created a Federal debt which stood at $4,806,933,452,098.25 as of the close of business Wednesday, January 10. Averaged out, every man, woman, and child in America owes a share of this massive debt, and that per capita share is $18,247.20.

MARIO CUOMO AND COMMON SENSE

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, the wail and cry around Washington today is similar to what we heard 14 years ago when President Reagan came to town—get rid of the Government, downsize, the Government is the enemy. Today, like 14 years ago, the game to blame Government sounds good to many voters across the land. But look at the reality that has been inflicted on our country by 12 years of Republican rule—a deficit that is exploding and a debt that has more than quadrupled. The return of this feel-good kind of blaming in Washington is what Mario Cuomo related in his last official talk as Governor of New York. As he told reporters at the National Press Club on December 17, 1994, the game being played is ''deja voodoo'' and return to ''plastic populism.''

Government is not an evil that the Founding Fathers thrust upon the people. Government in its best form is a means to provide economic opportunity, create jobs, and rebuild our American standard of living. It is time for all of us to work together to rebuild America, instead of only harping, squawking, and howling at the Moon.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to read and study this talk by Governor Cuomo. He speaks commonsense truths that are rooted in reality. As he says, we need a cure for our problems not a simple reaffirmation of the disease. We have to fix what is broken, but not break what works. To that end, I ask unanimous consent that his talk be reported in its entirety in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

REMARKS OF GOV. MARIO CUOMO AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, DECEMBER 16, 1994

Governor CUOMO. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. There are a lot of things I wanted to say immediately, just in quick response to Gil Klein's introduction. I—the truth about 1992 was that Klein, or somebody like him, just before that plane took off, over the wire came a story in which I was referred to as a consummate liberal. And that did it. I decided to stay behind in New York State. (Laughter.)

And I must say this—although I was going to say nothing at all, because I don't want to use the 25 minutes they gave me—there's a lot I do want to tell you. I did note with some interest that the two biggest laughs from this rather difficult looking groups were for the postmaster general and Dan Quayle. (Laughter.)

I am going to do something unusual now in this, what appears I think to be the last time I'll be able to speak as a public official, because nothing is going to happen over the next couple of weeks—and that didn't strike me until I sat down and started making some notes. But maybe especially because it is the last opportunity—there is a whole lot I want to get in. And because of that I'll stay close to my notes, closer than I usually do—and I'll rush a bit, if you don't mind, because