

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

I want you to have time to do the questions and answers. You know by now that I was elected a private citizen—(laughter)—effective January 1st.

It wasn't my first choice. Abraham Lincoln's familiar line in a similar situation, which I think the President used the other day, comes to mind. He said he felt like a young boy who has just stubbed his toe; it hurt too much to laugh, but he was too old to cry. The temptation, you should know, is to whine, you know—(laughter)—at least a bit—Why not?—you served 12 years, you're entitled. And I caught myself doing that.

I began pointing out to people that even since the Republican landslide on November 8th, it's been getting dark outside a little earlier every day. (Laughter.) You notice that? (Laughter. Applause.) The whining is not what we need. So let me talk to you about some of the things I learned on the way back to private life, and there's a lot. Let's talk just a bit about America and how together we can make her stronger and sweeter. Founded by the most optimistic people in history, in just 200 years, as we all know, would become the most dominant military and economic machine, and the greatest engine of opportunity that the world has ever seen.

But recently, say, within the last 15 years, we have made some terrible mistakes as well. We produced two devastating recessions that stripped from millions of our middle-class families the basic promise of the American dream, and even the simple security of steady work; mistakes that for millions more have produced lives of sheer desperation, dependence, and despair.

Government did not create all these all these problems, but government didn't solve them either. And the people know that. Many of them are frightened, resentful, even angry. The conservative Republicans measured that seething unhappiness with polls, then designed some painless home remedies which they strung together in a new political agenda that they call now the "Contract With America." And tell us it will solve our problems. I don't think so.

Some of the agenda puts the spotlight on relevant issues—at least for the moment. But the truth is, the contract fails to deal substantially with the fundamental problems we face. It's not a plan—it's an echo of selected polls. It adds nothing to the opinion surveys. It makes absolutely no demand on our political leadership, other than that they set sail in whatever direction the political winds appear to be blowing at the moment.

It offers a kind of plastic populism, epitomized by its bold promise of a balanced budget that will bend—or probably break—when tested with the full weight of our real problems. We need something much sturdier. We need an agenda that deals with our real problems—all of them, especially the toughest ones—and proposes real, concrete solutions, even if they are politically inconvenient. The truth is—and I think we all know this, too: America is faced with a double-barreled challenge to our future. The most significant is an economy that is rewarding investors for sure, but at the same time threatening our workers.

You tell a \$30,000-a-year factory worker in Georgia or California that this is a growing economy, this third-wave economy, and see what reaction you get. The second challenge is the frightening cultural corruption of drugs, degradation, violence, and children having children, that's deteriorating our cities, crippling much of our potential work force, and alienating many of us from one another. And it is cultural. It is a cultural problem.

But the conservative Republican contract deals only superficially with our economic

challenge, and offers us little more than castigation and negativism with respect to our cultural weakness.

Now, Democrats should show America that we can do better. We should start by reaffirming our fundamental democratic principles, beginning with the confidence that this country can provide opportunity for everyone willing to earn it. And the first mistake would be to give up on that aspiration, to believe that somehow we are not as strong as we thought we were—we can't do it—take up the gangplank!—we can't afford them: That would be a mistake, an excuse if not a mistake, a cynical excuse for not making the tough decisions that will make it possible for us to realize what is obvious, enormous potential strength still unused.

Our strong suit as Democrats has always been our concern for the vast majority of Americans who must work for a living—that's where we come from. That means we are committed to creating good jobs in a strong free-enterprise system, and to making sure that every working family in this country can earn enough to live with a reasonable degree of security and comfort. We believe that as part of the Democratic bargain every American has responsibilities.

Everyone who can work should work, instead of expecting others to pay their way. Businesses that thrive should share the rewards with their workers fairly—business has a responsibility as well. And government should help create jobs, not discourage them; nor should it burden the rewards of work with unreasonable heavy taxes.

Now, we believe in law and order. I have built more prison cells than all of the governors in history of New York State before me put together. But we will insist on fairness, and privacy, and civil rights. We agree with Lincoln that we should have only the government we need. But we agree with Lincoln, as well, that we must have all the government we need. We must have all the government we need.

And so a balanced budget that fails to meet the basic needs of the struggling middle class or the desperate poor would be an emblem of failure. We believe in the common sense value of sticks, but we also believe in the common sense power of carrots. We believe that prevention is always a good idea, and almost always cheaper.

We'd rather preserve a family than build an orphanage. We believe that we're too good as a people to seek solutions by hurting the weakest among us—especially our children. And at our wisest—at our wisest, and it's not always true. It is probably not true at this moment. But at our wisest, we believe that we are all in this together, that Jeremiah was right, thousands of years ago, that we will find our own good in the good of the whole community.

Now, this is not the time or the place to give all the details of what we can and must do to deal with the challenges and opportunities, while living up to these principles. But we should reflect on enough of them, and I have the responsibility to give you at least enough of them so that you can see that the agenda offered by the Contract is obviously incomplete, and utterly inadequate to this moment in American history. Most of all, we need to generate more jobs.

We'll accept that—jobs that pay a living wage and make hope a possibility, and a global economy, where labor often costs less in other places in the world—and that's the key. This is a complex challenge. But the Republicans would have us believe that the solution is remarkably simple.

Now, do you know how hard it is? Taiwan and that part of the world, in China, Mexico—they can make things a lot cheaper than you can. That puts an enormous pres-

sure on your manufacturing. How do the Republicans deal with this problem? That's why the \$30,000 a year factory worker is scared to death. He knows it. He knows the investors are getting richer, and everybody is downsizing here, and the competition is enormous all over the world—a competition that I grew up without having to face.

Well, their proposal—the Republican proposal is right out of the permanent conservative Republican playbook. Cut the tax on capital gains, boost the defense budget, amend the Constitution to enforce a balanced budget. But let's not get bogged down in the awkward details about what we'd actually have to cut. Cut the taxes, boost the defense budget, and then provide a balanced budget. Does it sound familiar to you? Do you remember hearing that before? Cut your income, raise your expenses, and promise the bank that, this time, you're sure you can make ends meet. Does it sound familiar? It's nothing more than *deja vu*. (Laughter.)

In the early '80s—in the early '80s, the conservative Republicans promised huge tax cuts, a huge military, and a balanced budget—and we wound up, as we all know, with a deep recession and \$4 trillion more in debt. Now, why is it different now? Why would it work any differently now? Has something changed? Has there been some kind of cosmic alteration? Only the language has changed.

In the '80s, they talked about the magic of supply side. Now, they have thought up a new way to count. It's called dynamic scoring. Do you know what dynamic scoring means? It means that, for every basket they put in the whole, they get ten points. That's dynamic scoring. And it would be wonderful if it were as easy as that—free up the wealth in the hands of the wealthy, and it will eventually take care of all of us. Now, this country tries that every so often. We tried it in the '80s—the early '80s.

But then the truth re-emerges. Life is more complicated and harder. It includes bothersome details, like a national deficit, leashed in by President Clinton, but ready to run wild at the least relaxation or provocation. Life includes popular entitlement programs that won't be around for our children at all, if we cannot bring ourselves to make intelligent, but different sacrifices now. Everybody in this room knows it. In every conversation in Washington or New York or the capitals of the country, where people know what they're talking about, they all say the same thing. "You must do something about Social Security." We all know that. "You must deal with Medicare." You can't deal with our deficit problem without doing something about Social Security and Medicare.

However, it's political poison, so we won't do it. But didn't you just tell me that, if we don't do something about it, we're in terrible trouble? Yes. And then you tell me that it's going to be very difficult to deal with it politically. Yes. And what do you prescribe then? Keep yourself alive politically, and let the country die. Am I exaggerating? Do you hear it differently? You write about it. You write about it glibly. Everybody comments on it—most of the time, snidely. But nobody changes it. Warren Rudman leaves. Paul Tsongas creates a group. Peter Peterson writes books.

Everybody is saying the same thing, and all the people who are bright, saying they're right, and admitting—at the same time—we do not have the will to change it. Why don't you at least say this to the American people. Why don't you say, "Look, let's get this clear, because I have the obligation to tell the truth." Who knows? Maybe there is a heaven. Worse than that, maybe there's a hell. (Laughter.)

Maybe I'm going to be accountable. Maybe I'd better tell you the truth. So, I'm going to take a chance.

Ladies and gentlemen, all the tax cuts in the world won't wave you. They're popular, but we need a double bypass—and we're talking about giving you cosmetic surgery. And the reason we're doing that is, it's too tough to give you a bypass. We have to cut with a knife. That's very expensive. It's very costly. It's unpleasant for you. We have to do Social Security. We have to do Medicare. You have to apply a needs test of some kind. Everybody knows it.

Now, why, therefore, don't the Republicans tell you that? Well, because they're into popularity. Why don't we tell you that? Because we're into popularity, too. (Laughter.) But we're going to say this to you. As long as the Republicans are in power in the Congress, and as long as it's absolutely clear that they will have a Pavlovian response to whatever you tell them in the polls, start telling them in the polls that you've finally awakened. You know they have to do something about Social Security and Medicare. Please do Social Security and Medicare. They will write a new Contract with America, addendum to the Contract with America. We've seen the latest poll. It just came in over the Internet. Okay. You can have Social Security. (Laughter/Applause.)

There's another—there is another inconvenient truth, and that is that you have to make investments if you want to get returns. The Republicans especially should know that. And that means, if we want to be the high tech capital of the world—which you have to be, because if you're going to compete with cheap labor, how are you going to do it? You're going to have to make things with exquisite high tech capacity and superb productivity so that you can make things better and faster and different from the things that they can make—even with cheaper labor.

How else do you do it? The only other way is to expand a whole other thing beyond manufacturing, make exquisite improvements in services. We're doing that. We're the service capital of the world already—and we will stay that way for a long time, especially as long as New York stays strong, because you have banking, investment banking, and a lot of that there, publishing, et cetera. We're doing fine with services. On the manufacturing side, you can't do it without high tech. You have to do what we're doing in New York State—make a unique lens that we just sold to the Japanese. And when I complained to the University of Rochester about selling a unique lens to the Japanese, who are so good at replicating our products and getting—and producing something cheaper, they said, "Don't worry about it. We're working on a second lens." (Laughter.)

Making a new mammography machine on Long Island through high tech—a mammography machine that solves the problem that the woman has with the old machine, where she has to press herself up against this plate, where there's constriction, discomfort, and a poor picture. This one inclines. Bennett X-ray. You incline and gravity does the work. And there's a full picture. And my daughter, the radiologist loves it. And the woman is pleased by it. And the physician who has to operate feels better about it because he has a better picture. And we sell it to the Germans that make surgical instruments. And when I say to Bennett X-ray, "I created a center of high technology. Now you take this wonderful product. You send it to the Germans. How long before they replicate it?" He says, "Five months." I said, "Well, what are we going to do about that?" He said, "Don't worry about it, Governor. We're working on digitalizing it. We're taking the digital engi-

neers from Grumman who have gone down, because they're no longer making planes. They're coming here. They're working on our mammography machine." You have to stay one step ahead of them in high tech.

That's the way you became great the first time around. You used to make all the things of value in this world. You were the makers and the sellers, the creditors and the bankers. That's how we became dominant. You can't get out of that business now because you're in a global economy. You have to make things. That means high tech. That means research. That means investment, investment, investment. And someone has to pay for it. There are plenty of good ways of making our workers better equipped, too. And you can't do that.

You can't leave that factory worker where he is now, or she is now, at \$30,000, and say, "Look, in this high tech world where we have to be smarter and slicker than they are, I'm afraid you're going to fall behind because you don't have the training." The GI Bill is a good idea for workers. Training vouchers is a good idea. Head Start is absolutely essential—learning technologies.

Is there any way you can explain how every kid in the United States of America doesn't have the opportunity to learn at a computer? How do you explain that to yourself? The richest place in world history, with all the tremendous wealth you have. How do you explain to yourself that there are kids who never see a computer—in my state, where people have Porsches parked or BMWs parked next to Jaguars? How do you explain it, when you're selling the airwaves for billions of dollars that you didn't even expect to have? Vice President Al Gore is right. Let's take some of that money and invest it in learning technologies.

Tax cut—hell of an idea. Learning technologies—an even better idea. Make your children the smartest in the world. Everybody knows that that's the avenue to the future. You write tracts about it. Kids write essays about it in the 8th grade.

But we're not doing it. That's the real world. It means investing, then capitalize, on the most extensive higher education system in the world. Promoting its strength and research, and making sure that it does not—that it becomes accessible to everybody. It means infrastructure. There is no money for infrastructure. Have you heard any Republican step forward and say, "And another thing we're going to do is we're going to build the infrastructure." Why? Infrastructure is an arcane word. You get no political points for infrastructure.

I wish I could think of some sexy way to say roads, bridges, telecommunication, fiber optics. Infrastructure. Forty percent of the roads and bridges are in trouble. Overseas, they spent \$6 billion, Maglev, they're way ahead of you. You cannot succeed economically unless you invest in infrastructure. Where are you going to get the money? They didn't even mention it. How could you not mention it? Is there anybody alive with any brains at all who knows anything about the economy who would not say to you that, "Of course, we must invest more in the infrastructure." Or do they get challenged?

Does the public rise up after they have heard somebody on television say, "Well, I'll never vote for you. You never even mentioned—that was that—infrastructure." Infrastructure. (Laughter.)

Those conservative Republicans cannot deny that all of these investments are essential. They simply ignore them because they're politically difficult truths, and because the polls don't give you points for arcane things like infrastructure. They know America needs a double bypass. And they know they're only suggesting cosmetic sur-

gery. But as long as its popular, that's what they're going to give you.

Now, massive tax cuts of any kind would surely ring the popularity bell. But would you insist on them, if it meant that local tax rates would explode across the country—which they could, if you cut back programs that the states are going to have to pay for instead. Would they insist on tax cuts if they knew that bridges would collapse, that the deficit might go up again, that you were failing to meet your educational needs? And if we can afford to lower taxes, would you give 70 percent of the immediate benefits to people who make \$100,000 a year, or would you give 70 percent of the immediate benefits to the ordinary families across America?

And as long as you Republicans are so quick to point out that the people have spoken—who told you? The poll. Why don't you take a poll on it. Mr. and Mrs. America, we're going to give you a tax cut. What do you want? A tax cut the immediate benefit of which goes to—70 percent of which goes to the people above 100,000, or one that goes to people under 100,000? What do you think the poll would say? How about this one. Mr. and Mrs. America, would you like to shorten the congressional session and cut everybody's salary in half—senators and congressmen? What do you think they'd say? (Laughter.)

Last time I looked, it was 82 percent said yes. I didn't see a single Republican hold up, "The people have spoken." (Laughter.)

Of course, Democrats respect and believe in the efficiency of capitalism. A capital gains tax cut, in some circumstances, could be a very, very good thing. Deregulation—a very, very good thing. I did a lot of it in my own state. But if our system works only for investors and leaves millions of our people without the skills or opportunity to do more than tread water against the tide, our system fails. Now, if they're silent on these important things, what are they loudest on? Now, I'm really going to have to rush—and it's a shame.

Welfare. Why? Because it's popular. Don't you see what's happened? They've turned the middle class against the crowd beneath them. In the depression, you know, when everybody was angry, in 1932, whom did they blame? They blamed the power. The people who made it happen.

The bankers. The government. Everybody turned on the government—and they were right. And what's happened this time? Now they've turned the middle class downward. Instead of looking up at the people with the wealth, they're looking down at the people who are the victims. And who are you blaming?

The immigrants. That's easy. They have no political power, really, to speak of. Forget the fact that everybody here is an immigrant and that we all started by killing the only real entitled people to the place—the Native Americans. We butchered them. We savaged them. Everybody else is an intruder by your popular current definition. Forget that, because I'm lucky to be here now. It's the immigrants who are our problem. It's that baby who's making a baby. Forget about the fact that you allowed her, at the age of two, to be a toddler in streets surrounded by pimps and prostitutes and every kind of disorientation, that you allowed her to be seduced by somebody with a crack pipe when she was only nine years old.

Forget about that, that you allowed that society, that you allowed it to happen. She's the problem. Punish her. Punish the mother. No benefits for that child. Stick the child in an orphanage. You really think that's the answer? I don't.

In New York State we have problems, but we have answers, too, and they're not orphanages. We can show you ways to bring

down teenage pregnancy dramatically, and we have with the new Avenues to Dignity program in New York. That's not as popular as draconian devices, like what they want to do with welfare or the death penalty. In the end, behind nearly every one of the Republican proposals lurks the same harshness and negativity. And I think we need better from our leaders than to have them distill our worst instincts and then bottle the bitter juices and offer them back to us as a magic elixir.

We need a cure, not a reaffirmation of our distress. We must understand that our great social problems are not visited upon us like earthquakes and floods. They are uniformly avoidable disasters. And with intelligent and timely action, we can prevent them before they pull our children down. Punishment has its place, of course. But prevention requires more than fear. In New York, the movement toward prevention is the strongest element in our approach to health care.

Incidentally, that's what reforming health care should be all about, prevention. The reason you need to cover those 39 million people is not compassion. It's not that they're not getting health care. They are getting health care. In my state, everybody gets health care, even the people without insurance. They fall down in the street and they're taken to the emergency room. Or they come with a terrible pain in their belly that would have been nothing if they had been insured and been to a doctor early, but now is acute. And we take care of them. What would we do, let them die? "You have no Medicaid. You have no insurance. Lay here and die." Of course not. We operate. You can find in the hospitals of New York City women and men on machines being kept alive for nobody knows how long except God, without any insurance, without any name, and we take care of them. You can't afford that.

Health care costs are going through the roof everywhere except in New York State. And they're high there, but we're the lowest-growing in the United States of America. That surprises a lot of people.

You have to do something about those 39 million people. And if Congress closed its eyes because it couldn't find a proper solution last time, you can't simply say, "This is too difficult; leave the problem there." You will go bankrupt. Really? Of course. You all know that. It's not just Ira Magaziner. You can't make it go away by saying, "Well, it was very unpopular." So do something else. Do something like what we're doing in New York. At least let the children of working people get insurance, get them into plans. We subsidize them to get them into plans. Why? Prevention. If you can vaccinate them, it's cheaper than trying to deal with their disease; so, too, with drugs. What is the answer to drugs? Look, you can build all the prisons you want.

You can contrive all the draconian punishments you want. You can say what the Republicans say, that more police, more prisons, more executions and reversing the ban on assault weapons will take care of the drugs and take care of the crime. It won't. Forget all about the complicated talk. Imagine this. Imagine a village. Imagine a village where the young people are drinking at a poisoned lake. And it makes them mad, and they come in every night to the village and they commit mayhem. And they rape and they kill and you arrest more and more of them and you stick them into jails in the village, and the jails are getting bigger and bigger and you have more and more village police and the villagers are complaining because they can't afford it.

And the generation of criminals keeps pouring out of the hills, having come from

the poison lake. Wouldn't somebody with some brains say, "For God's sakes, let's dry up the lake; let's find another source of water"? Of course you would. But why aren't you doing it here? Why doesn't it occur to you that unless you stop the generation of these drug-ridden people who become criminals and then violent criminals—your biggest problem now in terms of crime: children with guns. You're not going to get at that. Take it from me.

I told you, I've built more prison cells than all the governors in history before me put together, and it's not going to work. Ask any policeman. Fifteen years ago they would have told you something else. You have cultural problems. I'm going to have to end it now, and it really is a shame because I'm leaving out a lot of the good stuff. (Laughter.)

I really am. But let me leave with maybe the largest point, and maybe the largest point that I have learned in public life, and it's something that I kind of intuited before I was in public life. It's something I spoke about in my first speech before I ever even ran, and this was up in Buffalo in 1973 and I was talking about mama and papa and what was important about mama and papa and what they taught me, these two illiterate people, what they taught me by their example.

And what they taught me, basically—and then a Vincencian priest, you know, added to it, and then good books, you know, taught you most of all, that you're going to spend your whole life learning things and experiencing things, most of all disappointment and occasionally moments of joy. But in the end, you've got to find some *raison d'être*. You have to find some reason for living. You have to find something to believe in. And for it to work, it has to be larger than you, that you will discover that you are not enough to satisfy yourself. Now, you might get to be 70 years old before you figure it out, but sooner or later you'll figure it out, that you must have something larger than yourself to hold on to.

Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio, Bobby Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr.; some great cause, some great purpose? The Second World War did that. I remember a little bit of that. The Second World War was a horrid thing, but it unified everybody in America. They were evil; we were good. They were Satan; we were doing God's work. And everybody got together—the men, the women, the blacks, everybody; forget about poor, forget about middle class, forget about everything else.

There's a grander purpose here. There's a greater truth here, something we can give ourselves to, and we'll fight like hell. And we did. We haven't had anything like that since, and you don't have it now.

You're turning those white factory workers all over the country against people of color. You're turning them against the immigrants. They're blaming them. And I understand why they're blaming them, their life is vulnerable. They say, "You're doing nothing for me, everything for them." That's the truth of it. You know it. We all talk about it. We don't all write about it that clearly, but you know that the society is being fragmented.

It used to be the middle class against the rich, but now somehow, I think with a little encouragement from some of the politicians, you have turned the middle class to look downward instead of up. And they're now pitted against the poorest. So here are the least powerful people in your society, the least fortunate, squabbling with one another.

Ladies and gentlemen, unless we find a way to put this whole place together, unless we find a way to see that your interest de-

pends upon your seeing the child in South Jamaica, that Latina, that little Hispanic girl who just had a baby, that little black girl who just had a baby, as your child, or unless you see that factory worker in Georgia as your father about to lose his job, unless you understand that it's not as a matter of love, not even at Christmas and Hanukkah time; I wouldn't ask that of anybody in a political context. It's too much to use the word compassion. Forget that. You'll lose.

As a matter of common sense, you cannot afford the loss of productivity. You cannot afford the cost of drug addiction. You cannot afford it. We will not make it in this country unless we invest in dealing with those problems. And to deal with those problems, you have to give them other avenues to dignity instead of streets of despair. You will not frighten them into being good. You will not punish them into stopping drugs. You have to teach them. How to teach them?

Have a crusade; not just a rhetorical crusade, a real crusade. Invest in it. How would you teach children not to have sex too soon, to treat it as a great gift, not to be violent, not to take the drugs? How would you teach them? How do you teach anybody? Well, at home; their family is broken. In school; the teacher is too busy. In the church, the temple, the mosque; if they went there, it wouldn't be a problem. How do you teach them? Let the government teach them with laws. There's a role there, yes.

What's the best teaching instrument you have? Television. Yes, that's right. Why don't we teach them every night on prime time? Well, we have Partnership for a Drug-Free America. Once every week or two weeks they'll see those great commercials by the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. You read the New York Times this week. Drug use is up with teenagers. Why? Part of the reason, Partnership for a Drug-Free America isn't being seen enough. How do you explain that to yourself? You know it works.

You know the best thing you can do is teach the children not to take the drugs. The best way to teach them is television. Why aren't you on prime time? How can you settle for once a week or once every two weeks? If you were a mother of a child in South Jamaica, my neighborhood, and you knew that they were out there, going to tempt her with a crack pipe, and you had to go to work, would you settle for a stick-it note on the refrigerator once a week saying, "Hey, dear, if they come at you with a pipe, make sure you don't take it. See you tonight. Mother." Would you settle for that?

We're settling for it as a society. You want to talk about tax cuts? You want to talk about all these nice things? Talk about the real problems. Talk about how to invest in your economy, how to create jobs, how to invest in a real crusade that would have to put up some money. Buy some time. Sit down with Tisch at NBC and all the others. Say, "We'll put up 5 million bucks. We want you to do the same." Let's saturate the place. Let's have billboards. Let the National Press Club write about it. Let all the community groups talk about it. Let's go at this problem for real because it's killing them and it's killing us.

Look, I lost an election. I've lost more than one, but I've learned a whole lot on the way, and I haven't forgotten any of it. And I'm telling you that I am absolutely certain we are not being honest about our problems. And the person who stands up and is honest with America and reminds America that they're now in charge—politicians used to think of themselves as shepherds. That's all over now.

Now the politicians are following the sheep. Read the polls. They'll tell you where they should go to pasture. And as long as

you know that, you had better send the right signals to your government, because if you tell them you want the death penalty, you'll get it. If you tell them you want tax cuts, you'll get it. If you tell them to take up the gangplank, you'll get it. If you tell them to ignore sick people, you'll get it. If you tell them to ignore the poor, you'll get it. If you tell them to victimize young children, you'll get it.

Be careful what you ask for, because they're listening for you. And ask for the real things. Ask for the truth. Ask for the real solutions to the real problems. I learned that. I won't forget it. Thank you for your patience.

RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION FOR THE 104TH CONGRESS

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, pursuant to the requirements of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I herewith submit for publication in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of the rules of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. These rules were adopted by the committee January 12, 1995.

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

RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION¹

I. MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

1. The regular meeting dates of the Committee shall be the first and third Tuesdays of each month. Additional meetings may be called by the Chairman as he or she may deem necessary or pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 3 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

2. Meetings of the Committee, or any subcommittee, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public, except that a meeting or series of meetings by the Committee, or any subcommittee, on the same subject for a period of no more than 14 calendar days may be closed to the public on a motion made and seconded to go into closed session to discuss only whether the matters enumerated in subparagraphs (A) through (F) would require the meeting to be closed followed immediately by a record vote in open session by a majority of the members of the Committee, or any subcommittee, when it is determined that the matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such meeting or meetings—

(A) will disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interests of national defense or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;

(B) will relate solely to matters of Committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;

(C) will tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct, to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy, or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of an individual;

(D) will disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or will disclose any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement;

(E) will disclose information relating to the trade secrets of financial or commercial

information pertaining specifically to a given person if—

(1) an Act of Congress requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or

(2) the information has been obtained by the Government on a confidential basis, other than through an application by such person for a specific Government financial or other benefit, and is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person; or

(F) may divulge matters required to be kept confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulations.

3. Each witness who is to appear before the Committee or any subcommittee shall file with the Committee, at least 24 hours in advance of the hearing, a written statement of his or her testimony in as many copies as the Chairman of the Committee or subcommittee prescribes.

4. Field hearings of the full Committee, and any subcommittee thereof, shall be scheduled only when authorized by the Chairman and ranking minority member of the full Committee.

II. QUORUMS

1. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for official action of the Committee when reporting a bill or nomination; provided that proxies shall not be counted in making a quorum.

2. Seven members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of all business as may be considered by the Committee, except for the reporting of a bill or nomination; provided that proxies shall not be counted in making a quorum.

3. For the purpose of taking sworn testimony a quorum of the Committee and each subcommittee thereof, now or hereafter appointed, shall consist of one Senator.

III. PROXIES

When a record vote is taken in the Committee on any bill, resolution, amendment, or any other question, a majority of the members being present, a member who is unable to attend the meeting may submit his or her vote by proxy, in writing or by telephone, or through personal instructions.

IV. BROADCASTING OF HEARINGS

Public hearings of the full Committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall be televised or broadcast only when authorized by the Chairman and the ranking minority member of the full Committee.

V. SUBCOMMITTEES

1. Any member of the Committee may sit with any subcommittee during its hearings or any other meeting but shall not have the authority to vote on any matter before the subcommittee unless he or she is a member of such subcommittee.

2. Subcommittees shall be considered *de novo* whenever there is a change in the chairmanship, and seniority on the particular subcommittee shall not necessarily apply.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

UNFUNDED MANDATE REFORM ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1) to curb the practice of imposing unfunded Federal mandates on States

and local governments; to strengthen the partnership between the Federal Government and State, local and tribal governments; to end the imposition, in the absence of full consideration by Congress, of Federal mandates on State, local, and tribal governments without adequate funding, in a manner that may displace other essential governmental priorities; and to ensure that the Federal Government pays the costs incurred by those governments in complying with certain requirements under Federal statutes and regulations, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Committee amendment No. 11, beginning on page 25, line 11, pertaining to committee jurisdiction.

Gorton amendment No. 31 (to committee amendment No. 11) to prohibit the approval of certification of certain national history standards proposed by the National Center for History in Schools.

Levin/Kempthorne/Glenn amendment No. 143, to provide for the infeasibility of the Congressional Budget Office making a cost estimate for Federal intergovernmental mandates.

Bumpers amendment No. 144 (to amendment No. 31) to authorize collection of certain State and local taxes with respect to the sale, delivery and use of tangible personal property.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there shall now be 30 minutes for debate to be equally divided between the Senator from Idaho [Mr. KEMPTHORNE] and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD].

Who yields time?

Mr. KEMPTHORNE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, I yield time to the assistant majority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Idaho for yielding this time to me. I want to again commend him for the work he has been doing on this very important piece of legislation and for the patience and diligence he has exhibited over the past several days as we have crawled toward final passage of this unfunded mandates legislation.

We have now spent 5 very full days discussing procedures and unrelated matters on this very important legislation. That is the way the Senate works. It is a very deliberative body, and that is the way it has been historically.

I do want to urge my colleagues this morning to allow us to move forward, to debate seriously this very important legislation and to start dealing with germane amendments—amendments that really do relate to the substance of this bill.

A lot of charges have been made that this legislation was being moved too quickly. This obviously is not the case. The distinguished majority leader has exercised a lot of patience and has allowed all the time that Members could

¹ Adopted by the Committee January 12, 1995.