

Tennessee, the Honorable JOHN TANNER, told me not long ago when I first got here that he really believed that neither party had an exclusive on integrity or ideas, and I agree with that Congressman. And this should not be a Republican or a Democrat issue. This should be an American issue.

It is clear in my heart that this country wants this welfare system to change, not to be reformed but to be replaced. They want a working opportunity society. They do not want the continuance of the status quo with regard to welfare.

The Washington Post this morning—we all know the tendency politically of the Washington Post—editorialized and said about welfare: "Besides, what's the choice? The existing approach has failed and the public has no appetite for vast new social programs even if there were evidence they worked, and there isn't."

You know an outstanding Tennessee Congressman, Colonel Davey Crockett on the very floor of this House said about welfare, "We have the right as individuals to give away as much of our own money as we please as charity; but as Members of Congress we have no right so to appropriate a dollar of the public money" for charity.

Franklin Roosevelt said in 1935 about welfare: "Continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit."

There is a great article in this month's Reader's Digest. It is called "True Faces of Welfare." In it is a case study of a welfare recipient whose story appeared. Her name is Denise B.

"Denise says she would like to work. But she would have to earn a lot, she says, for it to be a better deal than welfare." She talks about how she would have to go to school, and work her way up to a higher salary. "It's a lot of work and I ain't guaranteed to get nothing. . . . Welfare by contrast, is guaranteed—in her words) 'until they cut it out, until they say no more.' Denise knows politicians are talking about that now and she does not believe they are wrong."

"Welfare," she offers, "is an enabler. It's not that you want to be in that situation. But it's there. We always know."

This has become a national attitude about this system, and it hurts children, and true compassion is what I want to discuss here tonight in my short time and as I rise to my feet to talk about welfare.

In my home city a social worker who I will leave unnamed came to me several times in the last few years to tell me of a story in Chattanooga, TN, where multiple children were being born for one reason and one reason only, and that is financial, to gain more benefits.

You know that system creates the worst form of child abuse imaginable, in my estimation, because children then are not born for the right reasons. They are not born because their par-

ents want to love them and sacrifice for them and set aside their own ambitions, and give to them and nurture and educate them. They are born so that they can receive financial benefits. And the stories continue to roll in of how many situations we have like this across the country.

The neglect that those children are suffering because this system promotes this kind of activity is what we need to focus on as we say listen. Everyone agrees, it is time to eliminate the welfare system and replace it with an opportunity society.

In the last 30 years we have spent \$5 trillion on welfare in this country, and we have got more illegitimacy, more poverty, more problems, more crime than you could ever buy with \$5 trillion. It has not worked and it is time to move on. And I believe from the very core of my experience, Mr. Speaker, that true compassion means having the guts to replace welfare at this critical moment in America's history.

TAKING CARE OF AMERICA'S CHILDREN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, America is asking the question that Congresswoman DELAURO just answered, and that is how is it that the Republicans can say they are not hurting the School Lunch Program when they take over \$2 billion away from the School Lunch Program and over \$7 billion away from the nutrition programs for the children of this Nation?

The fact of the matter is they cannot. They cannot fulfill the promise of this Nation to feed hungry children, to take care of children in need, and at the same time remove these funds. The mythical increase as she referred to simply does not provide for the element of growth in the program that takes into account the ever increasing cost of food, the increasing number of children unfortunately in this country who continue to be eligible for this program, and what happens in the downturn in our economy.

So the result is that in fact the school breakfast program, the lunch program, the after school program, and the commodities program simply cannot be taken care of.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of California. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, I think the gentleman is referring to this Republican plan to block-grant all of these different feeding programs into one single grant of money, and they are arguing that they are not cutting back.

Mr. MILLER of California. The gentleman is quite correct. What we see

here is the block grant. This is what you need, this is what you are trying to cover. This is the block, ladies and gentlemen, that you have to cover to take care of America's children. You have got to provide lunches for children who need lunches, you have to have food assistance in order to provide the commodities and fresh fruits and vegetables necessary so you can have a healthy lunch, and an after school and summer program because many children unfortunately, when school is out they still require food. It is necessary that they eat, they are still hungry. And of course the breakfast program has become more and more important as we see this is the key if children learn in the early hours of their school day and this is what is necessary.

But unfortunately you will see here that the Republicans do not do that. If you take care and provide full funding for lunches and you provide full funding for food assistance, and you do the breakfast program, you can see that the block grant does not cover the block because there is no funding available for summer programs which so many of our children rely on.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will further yield, the Republicans argue they are not killing these programs at all, in fact they are providing more money for them. And yet you have one of the blocks there, if I am not mistaken, the after school and summer program that is not provided for. How does this work?

Mr. MILLER of California. What the Republicans would do because they did not provide the increase for the commodities program, they would suggest the commodities is really taken care of, so there would be money left over to take care of after school and summer breakfasts, but there is, as is apparent readily to anyone in the audience, of course nothing here in the commodities program, and the commodities are a key component and that is why when Republicans say they are going to give a 4.5 percent increase for the nutrition programs they did not figure in the cost of commodities into their escalator. And once again there we find out that the block grant they talk about to feed American children is not fully covered and children now go without the commodities portion of that program.

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Mr. DURBIN. If the gentleman will yield, the school districts I represent in Illinois, their commodity assistance which they receive actually is a way that they are feeding the kids in terms of lunches and breakfasts and so forth.

Now, if the Republican block grant does not provide enough money for the food district have?

Mr. MILLER of California. Well, your school district could take another action. It could take away the breakfast program and provide the commodities that are so terribly important for the school lunch program where they make

up a large bulk of the school lunch program menu, but because there is no increase in the food assistance, they would have to take that from the breakfast program or one of these other. No matter how you move around the plates, of course, what you see is that the Republican proposal for child nutrition in our school lunch programs simply does not cover the needs of the children currently enrolled.

And we are now estimating that almost 2 million children that otherwise would be served will not be served because one of them, it is just sort of like musical chairs. One of them is going to show up for one of these programs. There is not going to be funding for that program. They are going to go unserved. That estimate is now 2 million children in the next 5 years.

Mr. DURBIN. If the gentleman will yield, what do you make of the Republican claim? They keep saying, "Wait a minute, we are giving a 4½-percent increase every year for school lunch; how can you complain? Four-and-a-half percent ought to be plenty."

Mr. MILLER of California. That is really similar if I were to cut your wages by \$20,000 and then say I am going to give you a 4½-percent increase over the next 5 years. You start out in the hole, and you never get well, and because they do not provide a 4½-percent increase on inflation, on the price of commodities, the price of food, the increase in enrollment, the 4½ percent turns out to be fraudulent. Under the Republican program, you can do this. You have no lunches, no food assistance, no afterschool program, and no breakfast. What a shame, shameful thing for America's children who were expecting a block grant to take care of their needs.

The plates will be available after the show.

SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HOKE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOKE. Mr. Speaker, tonight we are going to talk a little bit more about the school nutrition programs, because this seems to be the Democrats' favorite topic of the topics de jour.

Somewhat, somewhere along the line the Democrats have decided or believe that somehow they can make, by telling the same lie over and over and over, that they can somehow get a wedge with the American people. And the fact is that in some ways the opposition does understand politics perhaps better than the Republicans do. They understand that politics is about power, and when it is about power, you stop at nothing to try to regain it.

Republicans are still under the impression that politics is about ideas and ideals. But this is about the politics of deceit and the politics of the big lie.

I yield to my friend, the gentlewoman from Washington [Mrs. SMITH]. Mrs. SMITH of Washington. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

You know, I have been standing here for 2 days listening, in fact, nearly 2 weeks, to untruths.

My mom used to say, you know, it would be awful nice if people would just turn purple when they started stretching the truth, shifting words around and using wiggle words. There would be an awful lot of purple people here tonight if that were the case.

I think what we need to do is just make sure the American people understand that a 4½-percent-a-year increase is not a cut. Now, if you are used to being in Congress where you guys all have been spending more than we out there have been earning, you think a 4½-percent increase is a cut. The American people, I do not think, will agree with that.

So let us take a look at the actual members of how much the food programs are going to go up.

Mr. HOKE. Only a liberal could call a \$200 million increase a cut. Only people that think the way the people think inside of Washington could call that a cut.

I would like to draw attention just for a moment to the CRS study that was published just today. We got a copy of it just today [CRS] Congressional Research Service, completely independent, nonpartisan.

Mrs. SMITH of Washington. Not a Republican group.

Mr. HOKE. Not a Republican group, not a Democrat group. It is a completely nonpartisan group.

Here is what they say about what is going to happen in Ohio, a State close to my heart. What we are going to find in Ohio with respect to the school-based block grants, school-based nutrition programs, is that in 1995, fiscal 1995, under current law, \$190 million is being spent. Under the school-based block grant program, our Republican program, that will go up to \$202 million, an increase of \$11 million.

Mrs. SMITH of Washington. That is in one State.

Mr. HOKE. That is in one State, just the State of Ohio, an \$11 million increase. Now, for those who like baseline budgeting, which is to say we will take into account demographics, that is, changing populations, plus an inflation number, not the way that America thinks. I mean, this is the way that you get the phony numbers. But the fact is even using those numbers, the 1996 fiscal year current baseline would be \$199 million, a \$2 million increase over that.

Mrs. SMITH of Washington. That is a real increase in food.

Mr. HOKE. A real increase. This is food, and not only that, is there not a difference in the way that these programs get administered?

Mrs. SMITH of Washington. You know, what is amazing about it is the closer you get it to home, from what I can see, the less waste there is. We do

not seem to hear much about that. The closer the States have control, the less we are going to take the money here. I think the thing that surprised me the most when I flew into D.C., and I am from the west coast, did not even have a very long campaign, all of a sudden I was here as a write-in candidate. I fly in, and I see all of these buildings. I get here and find out they are all filled with bureaucrats. Those bureaucrats are deciding one layer of how money is spent, then the States decide, and then the locals, to where by the time the money gets down to food, it has a lot of red tape and rules around it.

What I like about the school lunch program is we unwrap it from a lot of that red tape and make sure the food gets to kids.

Mr. HOKE. And kids who really need it, the kids who need it most. We give them the opportunity; we make it possible for that money to get to those that need it the most. How? By making sure it goes to parents, administrators, and teachers and people right there in the neighborhoods locally making those decisions as opposed to Washington bureaucrats making those decisions.

Mrs. SMITH of Washington. You know, those other bureaucrats are going to whine, and that is the State superintendents of public instruction. They are going to whine, too, because we tell them you cannot spend any more than 2 percent on administration.

FACTS CONCERNING CHILD NUTRITION PROGRAMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure the people who are following these proceedings are really at a loss to figure out which side of this aisle is telling the truth. I am not sure my 5 minutes here will convince anyone one way or the other.

I would like to lay out a few of the facts which my friends on the Republican side just do not want to point to. The fact is if you took the time to go speak to a local school principal in your hometown or perhaps one of the people who runs the local school lunch program, they would tell you, as we have all heard on the Democratic side of the aisle, that the Republican idea is a very, very bad idea.

You would think, if the Republican position was so good and was going to give this authority to the local school districts and to the States, these people would be jumping up and down, and they are not. And do you know why? Because fundamentally what the Republicans are offering them is not enough money to do the job.

The Republican plan, yes, does provide additional funds in years to come. Let us concede that point. They just do not provide enough money, because we