

conservative. In a private letter, Bill Buckley commented that Herter was "a reminder of how civilized the world used to be."

There is a gap: no scholar has yet written a definitive biography about Chris Herter's multi-faceted contribution to history and the public welfare. His gigantic stature, both in size and character, will always remind us that moral and intellectual integrity can flower even in American politics.

#### PINEY WOODS OPRY IN ABITA SPRINGS, LA, RECEIVES ARTS ENDOWMENT GRANT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, there have been many articles and commentaries about the National Endowment for the Arts in recent months. Opponents have complained that the Endowment supports elitist institutions and elite audiences. But a recent story on the CBS Evening News describes a different and more accurate example of the Endowment's role—a grant made to Piney Woods Opry in Abita Springs, LA.

This grant from the NEA, totalling \$14,900, enabled the Opry to present performances of local musical folklore from the Depression era. The performances entertain the citizens of Abita Springs, and they will preserve this important part of America's musical heritage.

This success story, and thousands of others like it across the country, reveal the true mission of the Arts Endowment. Large corporations and wealthy donors are unlikely to fund these programs, but the Arts Endowment does. Mary Howell of Piney Woods Opry explained why:

When you ask why should the taxpayers want to support this kind of thing . . . Because it's about us. It's about every one of us.

I urge my colleagues to support the National Endowment for the Arts, and I ask unanimous consent that a transcript of this segment from the CBS Evening News may be printed in the RECORD.

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

[Transcript from the CBS Evening News, Mar. 31, 1995]

#### POSSIBLE BUDGET CUTS TO NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS CAUSE CONCERN FOR PINEY WOODS OPRY

CONNIE CHUNG, co-anchor. In the huge federal budget, \$170 million may not seem like much, but that's the 1995 budget for the National Endowment for the Arts. Some members of Congress think it should be zero. They call it a taxpayer subsidy for wacky or tacky artists who play to a cultural elite. Is that really where the money goes? John Blackstone has one case in point for tonight's Eye on America.

JOHN BLACKSTONE reporting. There was a time when Saturdays across much of rural America sounded the way they still sound in Abita Springs, Louisiana.

Unidentified ANNOUNCER: From the town hall in beautiful Abita Springs, the Piney Woods Opry.

BLACKSTONE. Piney Woods Opry never fails to draw an overflow crowd, though the songs and the sentiment are distinctly out of fashion.

(Excerpt from Opry performance)

BLACKSTONE. The musicians, often in their 60s and 70s, are among the last practitioners of a disappearing musical style.

Mr. BOB LAMBERT (Evening Star String Band): This is a true American music, and I think somewhere along the line, they're going to appreciate it again.

BLACKSTONE: The local congressman was invited here tonight, but he didn't come. He's a busy man these days, the new Republican chairman of the budget-cutting House Appropriations Committee, and one of the budgets he's busy cutting could have an impact right here.

Representative BOB LIVINGSTON (Republican, Louisiana): All we're trying to do is trying to bring common sense and sanity to the United States federal budget.

BLACKSTONE: Congressman Bob Livingston is bringing down the budget ax on federal funding for the arts, particularly the National Endowment for the Arts.

Rep. LIVINGSTON: We're going to be making drastic cuts, because we're going to be looking toward a balanced budget by the year 2002, and NEA has to prove that, you know, it is affordable.

BLACKSTONE: But ironically, Livingston is calling for cuts just as the Piney Woods Opry, right in his own district, is due to receive its first grant from the NEA, \$14,900.

Mr. LAMBERT: I don't want to get into politics but for the little bit that we have got, I don't think anybody could be complaining about that.

BLACKSTONE: Among the new Republican majority in Congress, money for the arts is called welfare of the cultural elite. Is this the cultural elite we're going to be seeing?

Mayor BRYAN GOWLAND (Abita Springs, Louisiana): Why, I wouldn't call it the cultural elite. I don't know.

BLACKSTONE: Many of the folks who show up at the Piney Woods Opry remember the hard times and honest music of rural America.

Mr. LAMBERT: You know, I—I—I grew up in the Depression, and I—I—I know what hard times is all about.

BLACKSTONE: Admission to the Opry is just \$3 at the door. Producers say the music isn't commercial enough to charge much more. Without financial help to keep the show running and the recorders turning, they say these songs will soon be gone, along with those who play them.

Ms. MARY HOWELL (Co-producer, Piney Woods Opry): We could lose our history. And it seems to me that that's when you ask why should the taxpayers want to support this kind of thing? I think that's why, because it's about us. It's about every one of us.

BLACKSTONE: Lauren Kilgore sings the songs her father taught her.

Ms. LAUREN KILGORE (Singer): (Singing) Grandpa, everything is changing fast.

BLACKSTONE: While the budget cutters sharpen their ax, the folks at the Piney Woods Opry say the value of this music can't be measured in dollars . . .

Ms. KILGORE: (Singing) . . . families rarely bow their heads to pray and daddies really never go away.

BLACKSTONE: . . . it can only be felt. In Abita Springs, John Blackstone for Eye on America.

#### IN HONOR OF HOWELL HEFLIN

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I rise today to add my voice to those of my distinguished colleagues in the Senate to pay tribute to our colleague, Senator HOWELL HEFLIN of Alabama who announced his intention to retire from the Senate at the end of this Congress.

I too will miss him, not only as a U.S. Senator, but as a very dear friend.

The Senate will not be the same without HOWELL HEFLIN. He brought the highest dignity, integrity, and diligence to this body along with his unique sense of humor.

Mr. President, he is a big man with a big heart; his life is marked with patriotism and service to mankind; clearly HOWELL HEFLIN has led an unselfish life dedicated to leading and helping people. He was twice wounded in World War II as a marine captain while leading his troops in battle on Guam. He was awarded two Purple Hearts and the Silver Star for bravery. As a young trial lawyer in Alabama, he was known as one of the best. His reputation as an excellent lawyer led to his eventual election as chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court. It just made sense that the "Judge" would eventually become a member of this distinguished body.

As a Member of the Senate, HOWELL HEFLIN brought great wisdom, and he used this wisdom for 13 years as a member of the Senate Ethics Committee and for two periods he served as its chairman. He has always fought for what was right for the country and for his constituents in Alabama. Mr. President, people may not agree with HOWELL HEFLIN's decisions all the time but they did respect them.

Mr. President, I could speak at length about HOWELL HEFLIN's many accomplishments. But for myself, I will always cherish the close friendship we have enjoyed over the years.

Mr. President, the Senate will never be the same without HOWELL HEFLIN. The people of Alabama and the people of this country have benefited from the service of the "Judge," one of the most outstanding Members to have served in this body. I look forward to working with him in the remaining months of the 104th Congress. My wife Millie and I wish both his lovely wife "Mike" and Judge HOWELL all of God's blessings. Mahalo for being such a good and faithful servant. Well done, Judge.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 1158, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1158) making emergency supplemental appropriations for additional disaster assistance and making rescissions for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Hatfield amendment No. 420, in the nature of a substitute.

D'Amato amendment No. 427 (to amendment No. 420), to require Congressional approval of aggregate annual assistance to any foreign entity using the exchange stabilization fund established under section 5302 of title 31, United States Code, in an amount that exceeds \$5 billion.

Murkowski/D'Amato amendment No. 441 (to amendment No. 427), of a perfecting nature.

Daschle amendment No. 445 (to amendment No. 420), in the nature of a substitute.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the distinguished Senator from Oregon, [Mr. HATFIELD], the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, wishes to be on the floor when the debate starts and that he wishes a quorum call. I understand he is on his way.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, although there are a number of rescissions proposed in the amendment by Mr. DOLE with which I agree, I am unable to vote for the amendment because of its rescissions of appropriations for the Nation's physical infrastructure, its proposed \$100 million cuts in IRS personnel, and its additional rescission of funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The Dole amendment would cut \$323.7 million from appropriations for highway construction. Of this amount, \$280 million would be cut on a pro rata basis from every State's allocation of Federal-aid highway funds. These Federal highway funds are used by the States for highway and bridge construction, as well as for reconstruction and repair. Federal highway spending is one of the most productive areas of Federal investment in the creation of new, well-paying jobs. The Dole amendment, by reducing highway spending by more than \$320 million, would cause a loss of up to 20,000 highway construction jobs.

Mr. President, while it is true that we have a horrific national debt and we must continue to cut Federal deficits, as the pending bill would do, we must simultaneously address our investment deficit in critical areas such as our Nation's highways and bridges.

And I made this point at the budget summit in 1990, at which time I said we have not only a trade deficit, we have not only a fiscal deficit, but we also have an investment deficit.

For a moment, I would like to recount some of the maladies we will pass to the next generation for our failure to invest in our transportation infrastructure. So we still have an in-

vestment deficit. According to the Department of Transportation, there are currently more than 234,000 miles of the nearly 1.2 million miles of paved, nonlocal roads which were in such bad condition that they require capital improvements either immediately or within the next 5 years. The Nation's backlog in the rehabilitation and maintenance of our Nation's bridges currently stands at \$78 billion. According to the Federal Highway Administration 118,000 of the Nation's 575,000 bridges—around one out of five—are structurally deficient. While most are not in danger of collapse, they are required to restrict heavier trucks from using them—an action that has an immediate adverse impact on the Nation's economy. Another 14 percent of the Nation's bridges are functionally obsolete, meaning they do not have the lane and shoulder widths or vertical clearance to handle the traffic they bear.

No area of infrastructure investment is as critical as our Nation's highway system. The system carries nearly 80 percent of U.S. interstate commerce and more than 80 percent of intercity passenger and tourist traffic. I, therefore, strongly oppose the rescission of highway funds contained in the amendment by the majority leader.

I am also seriously concerned about the proposed \$100 million cut in the Internal Revenue Service Compliance Initiative. This initiative is designed to generate \$9.2 billion in additional revenue over its 5-year life.

The Internal Revenue Service advises that it would not be able to accommodate a \$100 million reduction in personnel funding between now and September 30, without furloughing all 70,000 compliance personnel for up to 10 days. A furlough of this magnitude would cost the Government approximately \$500 million in lost tax collections in addition to substantial losses in revenue from the 5-year initiative. All of these losses in tax revenues would have the effect of increasing the deficit.

I am gravely concerned about the continued plundering of one of this Nation's cultural lifelines—the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The majority leader's amendment would cut an additional \$86 million below the committee-passed rescission of \$55 million for public broadcasting. This is not thoughtful budget trimming. This is carnival-cut politics. It is flash-and-glitter knife tossing. Its intent is to give the illusion that there is some threat to a real target—the massive budget deficit—while, in a great and noisy show, it is merely popping balloons around the edges.

But, in the case of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, we are not merely popping bright balloons.

This knife has sailed into the heart of the crowd. It is hurtling toward children and adults whose lives are bettered by the exposure to the quality educational and cultural programming of public broadcasting.

In many communities throughout the Nation, public broadcasting provides the only glimpse some citizens will ever have of faraway destinations, ancient civilizations, and the words of the great masters. It beams into the homes of children their first lessons, in many instances, concerning the alphabet, their first lessons about science and math, and of geography and English literature.

Many in my own State of West Virginia, without local access to college-level classes, rely on public broadcasting for the courses they need to earn a college degree.

It is shameful and arrogant for some to sit here in the grandeur of the Nation's Capitol surrounded by museums housing the works of great artists, with close-by theaters offering the plays of Shakespeare, opera, ballet, and the music of great orchestras and thoughtlessly snip away at the only access many of our constituents have to these treasures.

So as we debate ways to address the Federal fiscal deficit, many of my colleagues have spoken tirelessly of the debt that we leave to our grandchildren, I am equally concerned with the state of the Nation that we leave behind to our grandchildren—the quality and value of our national assets—the ability of those national assets to provide the capability for sustained economic growth. The true challenge facing this Congress is how to address the Federal fiscal deficit and our Nation's infrastructure and education deficits simultaneously. The Dole amendment addresses only half of this equation, namely, the fiscal deficit. It, in fact, exacerbates our infrastructure and education deficits. In my view, it makes no sense to rob Peter in order to get the funds to pay Paul.

So I urge when the time comes that the amendment be defeated.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, first, I would like to thank my distinguished colleague from West Virginia for his remarks and, in particular, I want to pick up on one point that he made which has to do with the investment deficit. I really do believe the Senator from West Virginia is correct, that sometimes, unless you invest, decline begets decline. I think it is myopic and shortsighted not to make an investment in education and children and in our infrastructure. Sometimes you make an investment in the short run and are much better off in the long run. I think that is what my colleague from West Virginia is really trying to say today.

Mr. President, first of all, let me just simply take issue with the majority leader's substitute which is now before us and then talk a little bit about some

of the rescissions that are also before us.

The Dole substitute, as I understand it, contains all of the rescissions in the committee bill—in education, Head Start, in WIC, in child care. I want to talk about some of those rescissions. But above and beyond those rescissions, there are yet others. I would like to highlight a couple of areas where I do take very serious exception.

I visited in Appleton, MN—southwest Minnesota—with Pioneer Public Television. I can assure you that Pioneer Public Television is not a sandbox for the rich. I can tell you that the people in greater Minnesota, in rural Minnesota, are very connected to Pioneer Public TV, and they are connected to public television, for a number of reasons.

First and foremost, they appreciate the focus on children's programming. I have to say to the Chair, whom I know has a strong and sincere concern about children, that as I look at what is on commercial TV in the name of children's programming, with precious few exceptions, I do not find anything there very positive and enriching. Public television has done a truly magnificent job of presenting those of us who are parents and grandparents with some wonderful children's programming.

Second of all, Pioneer Public Television in southwest Minnesota is a real tool for education and empowerment for people in the community. It broadcasts programs that provide people with the kind of information that we encourage citizens to have to be more fully involved in their communities on the economic, political, and cultural issues.

So I find the additional cuts proposed in this substitute for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to be egregious.

I also have to say KTCA channel 2—and also channel 17—in Minnesota has really been a flagship public television.

Public television provides some superb public affairs programming. I do think people yearn for something more than the 10-second sound bites. I think they really do yearn for some substantive and thoughtful discussion of public issues. The effort to attack part of the cultural institution in this country, namely, public television or public radio, is a huge mistake. It takes us backwards.

I am concerned about other proposed cuts as well. I heard some of my colleagues talk about AmeriCorps last night, so I will not, except to say that I was lucky enough to be at the founding gathering of AmeriCorps for the volunteers in Minnesota. I think there must have been about 300 young people. It was truly inspiring—the diversity of the young men and women that were there, the idealism, and their commitment to community. This is a program which encourages the very best ideals of this country, serving community, and providing young people, many of

whom were from backgrounds that would not have enabled them to afford higher education, with some financial assistance to do so.

Mr. President, there is a strong record of service to community already in this AmeriCorps program. I find it difficult to understand the effort to attack such a program. I find it difficult to understand why some of my colleagues spend so much time attacking a program which has barely begun which, calls upon young people, to be their own best selves. I think people yearn for models of community involvement. I think people yearn for alternatives to cynicism, and I think the AmeriCorps is an alternative to cynicism. Again, I find the Dole substitute very troubling on this count.

Finally, there may be discussion of this section of the amendment later, but I am concerned about cuts to legal services. I have done a lot of work with low- and moderate-income people over the years, with many citizens in Minnesota. Whether or not it is protection vis-a-vis their rights as tenants or consumers—or on other issues—the Legal Services Program is the way in which we make sure our civil legal system is open and serves all citizens, regardless of income. It is a program that has never operated on a very large budget.

This program provides dedicated legal services lawyers who do not make much money, but who make sure that those citizens who do not have the economic means to purchase or to have good legal representation are able to receive it.

It has strong backing from the bar association in Minnesota; strong backing from the bar association nationally. Instead, we should be making cuts in programs like star wars, or programs that have to do with a variety of different tax dodges and loopholes and deductions which go to people who, in fact, do not need representation. But this focus on legal services makes very little sense.

Mr. President, let me now turn to the initial rescission bill that we have in the Senate. I, first of all, would like to congratulate my colleague from Oregon, Senator HATFIELD, because I think that some of the work that he has done is extremely important. I fully appreciate his commitment and certainly his ability as a Senator.

Mr. President, I would like to talk about a few programs where there are slated cuts in this rescission package which are simply a profound mistake for the country.

I start out with the call for \$35 million to be removed from the WIC Program. That is for this year, fiscal year 1995.

This was a program that was authorized in the Congress in 1972 under the leadership of such able Senators as Senator Robert DOLE, now the majority leader, and Senator Hubert Humphrey.

I have said it on the floor before: Senator Humphrey's framework is a

legacy that is very important to me. And the late Hubert Humphrey from Minnesota said that the test of a government and the test of a society is how we treat people in the dawn of life, our children; how we treat people in the twilight of their lives, the elderly; and how we treat people who are in the shadow of their lives, those that are sick, disabled, and needy. I think that is a pretty powerful framework for examining our actions.

Mr. President, the WIC Program has been astonishingly successful. It works. The Women, Infants, and Children Program is an investment we make to make sure that women, while pregnant, receive adequate nutrition and newborn infants also receive adequate nutrition.

Mr. President, I have had an amendment on the floor of the Senate over and over again, which was finally accepted a few days ago, that we would not take any action that would increase hunger and homelessness among children. It strikes me that proposed cuts in the Women, Infants, and Children Program, which has been a huge success, which decreases the number of low-birth-weight babies and the chances of infant mortality, goes precisely in the opposite direction.

Mr. President, according to a GAO report, the Women, Infants, and Children Program averted 13,755 very low-weight births in 1990. Assuming that all the funds would be used, if the \$35 million—this is the rescission cut—is distributed evenly throughout all of the categories (women, infants, and children)—then 138 very low-birth-weight babies will not be averted because of this rescission cut.

Mr. President, the problem is that low birth weight greatly increases the chance of infant mortality and, in addition, a variety of different conditions, from high rates of cerebral palsy, mental retardation, serious congenital anomalies, and so forth.

Let me just ask the question, if we go on record saying we will not take any action that will increase hunger or homelessness among children—and the Senate is now on record—why do we have proposed cuts in the Women, Infants, and Children Program when we know that the WIC Program speaks precisely to this problem in the Nation? Again, if you want to make sure that a child, at birth, has the same chance as every other child, the one thing you certainly do not want to do is cut into a program that makes sure that that expectant mother has a diet rich in minerals and protein. You want to make sure that you do not have rescissions in programs that will lead to more severely low-birth-weight infants, with the possibility of greater infant mortality as well a whole set of huge medical problems for those children. This is a program that reaches down to the poorest of the poor. This is a program that provides invaluable nutritional assistance for expectant women, children, and newborn infants. Mr.

President, it strikes me that these cuts simply go against the very best of what we are about in this Nation.

In my home State of Minnesota, in 1993, over 3,000 people were on the waiting list for WIC benefits.

Mr. President, we have all heard the statistics before. You invest \$1 in WIC and you save yourselves \$3 that you would be paying over the first 18 years in additional medical assistance. So we have waiting lists, we have children in need, women and children. I believe the WIC Program right now only serves about 60 percent of those that are eligible for such assistance. Yet in the initial rescission package we have cuts in the WIC Program.

Mr. President, this debate really is about priorities. I simply have to argue that what we see in this package, in the Dole substitute, with cuts on top of cuts, is very distorted priorities. Yesterday, Senator KENNEDY was on the floor talking about this expatriate tax dodge and I joined in. We were talking about a tax dodge that goes to individuals or families with, roughly speaking, over \$5 million of net worth. We were talking of revenue losses to the tune of several billion dollars over the next 5 years.

At the same time we have that kind of tax dodge, at the same time we are talking about spending more money on star wars, at the same time we continue to talk about more money for military weapons, in preparation for war with the Soviet Union which no longer exists, weapons which are not essential to our having a strong defense, we have all of these loopholes and deductions. Yet when we look to where the deficit reduction is going to come from, all of the tax dodges, and loopholes and star wars weapons are left untouched, because in this rescission package, we are talking about cutting into the WIC Program.

I believe there is a contradiction between the Senate going on record that we will not do anything to increase more hunger or homelessness among children and talking about cuts in the WIC Program.

Mr. President, I want to focus on one other rescission and then I will yield the floor. There are many I could talk about. But I would like to talk about the rescission package which includes an \$8.4 million cut in the child care development block grant. Yet again, Mr. President, we have children bearing the brunt of a budget cut. This cut is painful to participants in a program with long waiting lists. No accusations of mismanagement. This is a program which subsidizes child care for the working poor. This child care increases the ability of low-income families to become or remain independent and to assure minimal uniform health and safety standards in the child care settings these children are in.

Mr. President, it makes no sense to have cuts in a child care program. Cutting child care will hurt children. Mr. President, if parents cannot afford

quality child care and we are talking about low- and moderate-income families, many of them hard-working families who are trying to, on the one hand, work and also afford child care, if they cannot afford quality child care, then we know what happens. Either you have very haphazard arrangements, because parents have no other choice, in which case, all too often their children may be placed in dangerous situations. Some reports have come out which should be extremely upsetting to all of us, which have pointed out that the conditions of child care, both home based and center based, in this country are all too often very dangerous, really quite deplorable. It is not a good picture.

So if you are going to make it impossible for families to afford child care, either the children become latchkey children and nobody is taking care of them because they are home alone, or they are going to be receiving child care; but it will not live up to the standards that all of us would apply to our own and any other children.

Mr. President, I do not think there is one Senator, Democrat or Republican, here in this Chamber who would desire for his or her child or grandchild anything less than good developmental child care. To have these cuts in child care programs when there are long waiting lists in the State, when it is a program that works well, when it is the key to independence is shortsighted. I will tell you right now it is also the key to welfare reform.

I think it is a huge mistake.

I would say to my colleagues, if we do not invest in children when they are young, if we do not provide a nurturing environment, if those children are not given encouragement, if those children are just receiving custodial care, if those children are in arrangements that sometimes are dangerous, then we have not served the children of this country well.

Now, Mr. President, understand that we have a whole decade plus of history of abandonment of children in this country, if we just look at the state of children in America. We have been trying, slowly but surely, within tight budgets to invest a little bit more by way of resources in decent child care. Now we have these proposed cuts.

Mr. President, Florida has about 19,000 on its working poor waiting list. Minnesota has a waiting list of 7,000. The State of Washington, 3,000. In Minneapolis alone, there is a waiting list of 2,100 families. In rural Minnesota, in proportion to need, there is even a greater waiting list.

So, Mr. President, I believe that these cuts—and it is why indeed I support the Daschle amendment—are unacceptable. They are unacceptable.

Once again, who pays the price? Children do. Why are we targeting children? Why are we making cuts in an affordable child care program, which already is severely underfunded, which we know will have the predicted results

of: First, parents not being able to provide their children with decent child care; and second, families not being able to become independent.

As a matter of fact, quite often what happens with welfare families, if we are talking about welfare families, but when we talk about child care, we are also talking about working families, as well—in the case of welfare families, about 75 percent of welfare mothers within 2 years, right now, go to work, but many of them go back to welfare.

There are several reasons for that. One of those reasons is that, in the absence of affordable child care, and then quite often losing their health care coverage, their families are worse off by the mothers going to work. We cannot have welfare reform unless there is affordable child care. We cannot expect families to become more independent unless we have affordable child care.

Here we have a proposed cut, Mr. President, which is an \$8.4 million cut in the child care development block grants. Mr. President, I just do not understand. It seems to me that we would want to spend a lot less money on star wars in space, and we would want to spend a little more money taking care of our children right here on Earth.

In that sense, I find this to be a distorted priority. I think the Daschle amendment is hugely important. For that reason, I support it.

I think the Dole substitute, which is, as I said, in addition to all the rescissions that were in the committee bill in education—and I have not talked about some of the chapter I cuts; I have not talked about the Safe Schools Program, as well, in child care, in Head Start, in WIC, in addition to even more cuts—strikes me as being harsh, strikes me as being a distorted priority.

Mr. President, this leads me to my last point. What we are doing here on the floor of the U.S. Senate, in this rescissions package made far worse with the Dole substitute, is looking at this year's budget, but unfortunately this is exactly what some of my colleagues intend to do as they budget this out over the next several years: We are going to make cuts based upon the path of least political resistance.

I have said this over and over again. That is why I brought this amendment out on children. I could see it happening. We are going to make cuts based upon the path of least political resistance. We are going to avoid the heavy hitters. That is why so far there has not been any discussion of reductions in subsidies for oil companies, or subsidies for tobacco companies or coal companies or pharmaceutical companies or insurance companies, and on and on and on. They are not asked to tighten their belts.

When it comes to child care; the Women, Infants, and Children Program; education; Head Start, we are more than willing to move forward with cuts in programs that already do not even serve nearly as many children

as need such assistance so they will have the same chances that we all want for our children.

Mr. President, in this context of who has the power and who does not, in this context of who decides who benefits and who is asked to sacrifice, I do not see a standard of fairness operative here.

## AMENDMENT NO. 450

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAMPBELL). The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE] proposes an amendment numbered 450.

The amendment is as follows:

At an appropriate place in the bill, insert the following:

"SEC. . It is the sense of the Senate that before the Senate is required to vote on the question of whether the WIC Program and other nutrition programs should be converted to block grant programs to be administered by the States, a full and complete investigation should be conducted by the Senate Committee on Agriculture to determine whether, and if so, to what extent, such a proposed substantial change in national policy is the result of the improper influence of the food industry and lobbyists acting on the industry's behalf."

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I want to ask the Chair, would it be in order to read excerpts from a newspaper article which refers to the other body and to Members of the other body?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would inform the Senator, under the precedents, as it is, it is improper for a Senator to make reference to or reflect on the Members of the House, to refer to a Member of the House by name, to criticize the action of the Speaker, or to refer to debate of a Member of the House in terms that are imputative of unworthy motives.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Just so I can be clear on the ruling, if I were to read from an article and without using the names of any Members—would that be in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the opinion of the Chair, that would be in order.

Mr. WELLSTONE. That would be in order. Let me, then, give my colleagues a little background for the "why" of this amendment.

I refer to a piece today in the Washington Post that I believe is one of the best investigative pieces I have seen in a good many years. I speak as a political scientist.

Mr. President, would it be in order for me to insert this article in the RECORD?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the opinion of the Chair, it would be in order.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, this is an article by Michael Weisskopf and David Maraniss, and it deals with our nutrition programs. I refer my colleagues to this ar-

ticle. It appears in today's Washington Post, and I would just like to read from excerpts that I think will give my colleagues the background for this amendment.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 4, 1995]

INSIDE THE REVOLUTION: A MODERATE'S DILEMMA: FOOD PROGRAM DEFENDER BECOMES A DISMANTLER

(By David Maraniss and Michael Weisskopf)

The congressional office of Bill Goodling, Room 2263 of the Rayburn building, is a quaint and cozy place straight out of the 1950s, with the ambiance of a small-town Pennsylvania school principal's den. Portraits of Ike at Gettysburg grace the front wall. In the far right corner stands a century-old upright piano, a clangingly out-of-time instrument that nonetheless brings the congressman great comfort when he pounds out Methodist church hymns alone at midnight. Behind his desk sit rows of potted African violets, which the grandfatherly Goodling fondly refers to as his children.

This old-fashioned hideaway is hardly the first spot one would look in search of leading characters in the House Republican revolution, with its New Age rhetoric and antigovernment fervor. Yet William F. Goodling somehow reached center stage in one of the most compelling productions of The First 100 Days, a drama that tested his political soul as he struggled, at the twilight of an obscure career, to attain and hold power in an institution dominated by young partisans pushing him from the right.

Since he entered Congress in 1975 after a career as an educator in the heart of Pennsylvania Dutch country, Goodling had earned a reputation on the House Education and Labor Committee as a moderate who worked in bipartisan fashion to protect the federal role in food and nutrition programs for needy children, infants and pregnant mothers. It was a natural extension of his paternalistic personality: taking care of his children, just as he had as father, public school teacher and administrator and cultivator of African violets.

When the Republicans took power this year, he suddenly became chairman of a committee that had been repopulated with antigovernment conservatives and went by a newfangled Third Wave name, Economic and Educational Opportunities. His first assignment from Speaker Newt Gingrich (Ga.) and Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (Tex.) was to carry out one of the most controversial missions in the "Contract With America." They directed him to dismantle and send back to the states the very nutritional programs that he had long championed.

Goodling's personal dilemma—how to respond to the pressures of the conservative leadership without repudiating his past legislative career—illuminated a larger morality play in the House: the struggle of the Republican majority to maintain the populist appeal of antigovernment rhetoric without appearing to acquiesce to special interests.

On one side, pushing hard for more power and freedom, were the nation's newly ascendant Republican governors, who visited Washington so often to lobby for block grants that they virtually set up a shadow White House two blocks from Goodling's congressional office. On another side were major cereal companies, infant formula manufacturers, agribusinesses and fast-food giants for

whom the federal retreat from the nutrition field presented an opportunity for new markets and less government regulation. And finally there were the most vulnerable members of society, whose needs historically had been met by a bipartisan coalition in Congress under the precept that hunger in America was a nationwide crisis too dire to be left to the states and was, as President Richard M. Nixon had declared in a seminal speech 26 years ago, a federal responsibility.

## PROFIT AND IDEOLOGY

At first, Dale Kildee could not imagine that his friendly adversary bill Goodling was changing. This must be a technical error, the veteran Democratic congressman from Michigan later remembered thinking to himself when he entered the Opportunities Committee room one day late in February for the vote to send the nutrition programs back, to the states.

The bill as the Republicans had drafted it left out any requirement that states use competitive bidding procedures when buying infant formula from the major companies supplying the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)—a nutritional program assisting 7 million people that had an effective record combating infant mortality and premature births.

In the early days of the WIC program, infant formula was bought at market prices. Since the federal government began requiring competitive bidding six years ago, the prices had dropped dramatically, saving more than \$1 billion last year alone and nearly \$4 billion over the last five years. All of those savings were put back into the program, meaning that more needy infants and pregnant women could be served.

When he noticed that competitive bidding had been left out of the Republican bill this year, Kildee assumed that it was an unintentional omission, so he drafted an amendment restoring it. He took the amendment to Chairman Goodling confident that it would be accepted quickly. But Goodling's reaction was cool and distant. Go "work out" with Hoekstra, he told Kildee, referring to Peter Hoekstra, a second-term congressman from western Michigan, one of the youthful free-enterprise Republicans on the committee who was gaining stature as a confidant of Speaker Gingrich.

Nothing was to be worked out. Hoekstra had a strong distrust of the federal government and was one of the staunchest proponents of devolving power back to the states. "Philosophically," he said, "it was a no-brainer" that Congress should eliminate federal mandates whenever possible—even the competitive bidding requirements that had saved money.

Hoekstra's philosophical commitment in this case coincided with the desires of one of the major corporations in his congressional district—Gerber Products, a Fremont-based company that is the nation's largest manufacturer of baby foods and is WIC's leading supplier of infant cereals. Unlike in the infant formula field, competitive bidding is not required of infant cereal suppliers, but the government seemed to be moving in the direction and Gerber wanted to maintain the status quo. The company lobbied hard against competitive bidding requirements in the infant cereal industry and had consulted with Hoekstra in the drafting of the legislation.

When Kildee's amendment came to a vote in committee, it was defeated on a near party-line vote, with only one Republican supporting it, Marge Roukema, a veteran moderate from New Jersey. Roukema said

later that she was not even aware that competitive bidding was omitted from the Republican bill until the deliberations that day.

In the committee room after the vote, Roukema asked several Republican members seated near her why they had done what they had done. Their responses, she said, were shrugs of the shoulders and the words, "We trust the governors."

#### BIG WINNERS

Only a few blocks from the land of Opportunities sits a venerable Republican redoubt called the Capitol Hill Club, where members of Congress mix easily with important visitors from back home and corporate lobbyists. It was there, beneath crystal chandeliers and oil paintings of GOP stalwarts, that key committee members met with the big winners in the transfer of money back to the states, Republican governors such as John Engler of Michigan, Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin, Pete Wilson of California and William F. Weld of Massachusetts.

The governors, said Opportunities Committee member Steve Gunderson, a moderate Republican from Wisconsin, had become the loudest constituents. "We can't give them more money," Gunderson said. "So we had to give them something else."

The state executives did not get everything they had demanded. Their bid for a single enormous block grant for all the programs was rebuffed by Goodling and Rep. Rudy "Duke" Cunningham (R-Calif.), the nutrition subcommittee chairman, who thought they could define the terms of the transfer better with two separate block grants. But the governors did receive more power and flexibility to run the school lunch and WIC programs. For years, some governors and corporate interests had bristled at regulations that they considered too intrusive—from dictating the amount of sugar allowed in WIC foods to when and where soft drinks could be sold in public schools.

Michigan's Engler was among the loudest critics of federal rules and regulations, which he derided at a committee hearing as a "crazy quilt." There were, as in the case of fellow Michigander Hoekstra and the Gerber connection, narrower economic consequences of devolution important to Engler as well, in this case involving another major manufacturing constituent—the Kellogg Co.

The cereal giant from Battle Creek has fought for years to modify a federal limit on sugar content that excludes Raisin Bran, one of its top-selling products, from the nutrition program for needy pregnant women and their young children. Purchased separately, raisins and bran both fall within the sugar standard, but combined in Raisin Bran they represent twice the amount that government nutritionists consider healthy in a single serving.

Until the Republican revolution in Washington, Kellogg's efforts to revise the standard and compete in the \$285 million-a-year market for WIC adult cereals had proved futile—"like hitting a brick wall," in the words of company vice-president James Stewart. This year Kellogg saw an opportunity to accomplish on the state level what it could not do with the federal government. The firm employed John Ford, son of the former committee chairman, retired Democratic Congressman William D. Ford of Michigan, to head its lobbying effort. Kellogg also enlisted the support of Gov. Engler and his staff, who pressed the committee to keep the block grants silent on the question of nutritional standards.

Not even the harshest critics of block grants predict an abandonment of sound nutrition by the states. But the devolution process will create a long-sought opening for many food industries to carve out larger

niches in the annual \$8.5 billion school lunch and WIC programs. Financially strapped state governments and part-time legislators, many nutritionists believe, are ill-equipped to make sound public health judgments and can be more easily swayed by corporate lobbyists.

The return of nutrition programs to the states would lift federal controls on the lunchtime sale of junk food in school cafeterias—a prospect that several corporate food giants are already anticipating. Coca-Cola Co., which last year fought off a legislative effort to extend the junk food ban to all high school grounds, is now showing signs of interest. Last month, as the devolution legislation was moving through the House, the company's law librarian called the national association of school cafeteria personnel for a breakdown of state laws on soft drink sales in schools.

Also at stake in the transfer of power to states is one of the cornerstones of the war on hunger, a 1946 requirement that school lunches provide one-third of the recommended dietary allowance of protein, vitamins and minerals. The dietary guideline is intended to assure at least one healthy serving a day of milk, vegetables, grain, fruit and meat for the 25 million children in the program. Federal agriculture officials were planning this summer to add limits on fat, saturated fat and sodium for school lunches.

With standards defined by states, food companies and agricultural interests with special regional standing would have more power, some nutritionists contend. "You could find a battle going on in a state legislature over what drinks to serve at school lunch," said Lynn Parker, a child nutritionist for the Food Research and Action Center. "In a dairy state, it might go one way. If soda interests are strong, it could go another way. Whatever way it goes, it may not be fought out on the grounds of what's best for the kids."

Goodling and his Republican colleagues on the Opportunities Committee express confidence that the states will demonstrate sound nutrition and financial practices in dealing with the programs. Their critics are less certain, and cite the recent history of the WIC program as evidence.

The infant formula industry, dominated by Mead Johnson & Co. and Ross Products Division of Abbott Laboratories, had raised prices a dozen times from 1981 to 1989, gobbling up more and more of the funds allocated for cereals, milk, eggs, cheese, juice and other foods in the program. After competitive bidding was imposed nationwide, with Goodling's support, prices dropped enough to feed another 1.5 million needy women and infants.

In defending the decision to drop competitive bidding language from the devolution legislation this year, Goodling said governors would be "idiots" not to impose it themselves. But as a recent case in California shows, states are not always as cost-conscious or resistant to industry pressures. When California's competitively awarded contract with Ross expired last December, it sought to extend the deal without rebidding it. The Agriculture Department said no, forcing a new round of solicitations and a new low bid—half the price of the old deal. The state ended up saving \$22 million a year.

If ever there was a case of narrow corporate interests over broad societal interests, this is it," said Robert Greenstein, head of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

#### THE TRANSFORMATION

By the time he reached Washington two decades ago, Bill Goodling already had a reputation for compassion and a deep interest in children and nutrition. As superintendent of

the Spring Grove school district, he ate lunch every day in the cafeteria with his students. When the truck from Harrisburg pulled up with vegetables and meats from the federal commodities program, he helped carry the food down to the freezer in the basement of the administration building. When the mother of one of his students dies, he taught the young man how to cook dinner for himself and his father.

Goodling's own father, George Goodling, ran an apple orchard on the old Susquehanna Road and served in Congress for six terms. When he retired, Bill Goodling replaced him. The small-town educator transferred his interests to the broader stage of the Education and Labor Committee. He became known as one of the staunchest defenders of the nutrition and school lunch programs on the GOP side of the aisle. In 1982, he was the chief Republican cosponsor of a resolution opposing a Reagan administration proposal to send nutrition programs back to the states through block grants.

Three years later, when conservative Republicans in the House were considering ways to trim the budget and broached the possibility of cutting back on the national school lunch program, Goodling swiftly killed the idea before it advanced beyond the discussion stage. According to Tom Humbert, then a budget aid to then-Rep. Jack Kemp (R) of New York, Goodling called him one day. "Please come and see me," Goodling said. Humbert soon appeared in Goodling's office, where he found the congressman tending his African violets. "Mr. Humbert," Goodling said, "I hear that you are considering cutting the school lunch program. That would be a very bad idea!"

This same Tom Humbert, who came from Goodling's home district, returned to York County in 1992 and ran against the incumbent in a heated three-way general election contest—a race that Humbert and others see as the beginning of Goodling's political transformation. Humbert ran as an independent, challenging Goodling from the right. He and the Democratic candidate Paul Kilker, both blasted Goodling for his role in the House Bank scandal—it came out that year that Goodling had hundreds of overdrafts.

In Goodling's moment of need, he received a visit and timely endorsement from an unlikely friend—the leader of House conservatives, Newt Gingrich. That visit formed a bond between Goodling and Gingrich that grew stronger: Goodling supported Gingrich in his rise to power, and Gingrich elevated Goodling to the chairmanship after the revolution. Former aides on the committee's minority staff say they detected a noticeable shift in their boss's politics as he linked his fortunes to Gingrich. Even his moderate colleague on the committee, Steve Gunderson, said he noticed Goodling moving to the right last year. Gunderson attributed it to positioning by new members of Goodling's staff who wanted to be in favor with Gingrich.

The word inside the committee and around the nutrition community was that Goodling was instructed by the leadership to "carry the water" for the committee's portion of the Contract With America, as one former aide put it.

By the time he took over the committee this year, Goodling had little choice in any case. The panel, once a haven for moderates, had been transformed into a strong-hold of free-enterprise true believers, many recruited by their intellectual leader, Richard Armey of Texas, who served on the panel before becoming majority leader. The sense of these committee conservatives, as expressed by Rep. Cass Ballenger (R), a garrulous good

old boy from North Carolina was "to get rid of Washington whenever and wherever we can."

Ballenger had a personal interest in trying to remove the federal bureaucracy from the school lunch program. He and his wife founded the Community Ridge Day Care Center in his home town of Hickory, a federally subsidized program that serves school breakfasts and lunches. The paperwork for reimbursements, Ballenger said, now goes through Raleigh, then Atlanta and finally Washington, a process that means Ballenger's center "has to underwrite" the meals for a month. He will get his money quicker, the congressman said, with the federal government out of the way.

The Opportunities panel, by Ballenger's account, is now attracting what he proudly calls free-enterprise "wild men" and "nuts" who have various similar frustrations with the federal bureaucracy. They were in such a mood of cutting and slashing, Ballenger declared, that they would "kill motherhood tomorrow if it was necessary."

Goodling would not go that far. He and Duke Cunningham, who was once a teacher and coach himself, as well as a fighter pilot who was the real-life model for Tom Cruise's character in "Top Gun," managed to prevent efforts by committee conservatives to curb the school lunch program more drastically. Hoeksta and Ballenger wanted to limit the increase in the block grants to half the 4.5 percent that eventually was allowed. Goodling and Cunningham also rebuffed an attempt by governors and conservative committee members to lump all the program in one block grant. "I said, 'No way, Jose' to that one," Goodling boasted.

Compared to projections for family and school nutrition programs under current law, the two block grants shaped by Goodling's committee and passed by the House represent a reduction of \$6.6 billion over five years, according to the Agriculture Department. But Goodling said that the states deserved the opportunity to run the programs—"We can't dictate everything," he said—and that the reduced bureaucracy would lead to savings that could be passed along to those who need the programs.

The sight of Bill Goodling leading the way for the end of federal involvement in the anti-hunger programs surprised some longtime colleagues. It seemed as though to some extent he was being forced to eat something that he did not find entirely palatable. His training as an educator might have helped there, too. Once, while eating lunch with first-graders at one of the Spring Grove elementary schools, Goodling found himself staring down at a steaming heap of cooked spinach. He hated cooked spinach. But there was a little boy staring at him, and he felt that he had no choice but to "push this slimy stuff down my throat to show that I'm eating everything that's on the plate."

(About This Series: Propelled by a wave of populist discontent with Congress and the Democrats, the new Republican congressional majority now confronts the reality of power. The struggle to fulfill the demands of the Republican mandate while also responding to the special interest groups traditionally allied with the party will be examined in a series of occasional articles in the months ahead.)

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, this is under a section titled "Profit and Ideology," and I will have to be careful to make sure I leave out all names.

The bill as the Republicans had drafted it left out any requirement that States use competitive bidding procedures when buying infant formula from the major companies

supplying the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC)—a nutritional program assisting 7 million people that had an effective record combating infant mortality and premature births.

In the early days of the WIC program, infant formula was bought at market prices. Since the Federal Government began requiring competitive bidding 6 years ago, the prices had dropped dramatically, saving more than \$1 billion last year alone and nearly \$4 billion over the last 5 years. All of those savings were put back into the program, meaning that more needy infants and pregnant women could be served.

"When he noticed that competitive bidding had been left out of the Republican bill this year," and there is a blank, a colleague "assumed that it was an unintentional omission, so he drafted an amendment restoring it. He took the amendment \* \* \*" and hoped that it would be accepted quickly, but that did not happen. Nothing was worked out.

The philosophical commitment to not have competitive bidding—and I am now just kind of paraphrasing here, not using names—coincided with the desires of one of the major corporations, Gerber Products. This is a company which is the Nation's largest manufacturer of baby foods and is WIC's leading supplier of infant formulas.

Unlike in the infant formula field, competitive bidding is not required of infant cereal suppliers, but the Government seemed to be moving in that direction and Gerber wanted to maintain the status quo. The company lobbied hard against competitive bidding requirements in the infant cereal industry, and was successful.

Part 1. So you have Gerber and the whole question of whether there is going to be competitive bidding. I thought we were trying to be efficient, which would save money that can be plowed back into serving the poorest children in America. But apparently that did not happen, and I will have the amendment read again so my colleagues will know what we will have an up-or-down vote on.

Then, part 2:

The cereal giant from Battle Creek has fought for years to modify a federal limit on sugar content that excludes Raisin Bran, one of its top-selling products, from the nutrition program for needy pregnant women and their young children. Purchased separately, raisins and bran both fall within the sugar standard, but combined in Raisin Bran they represent twice the amount that government nutritionists consider healthy in a single serving.

Until the Republican revolution in Washington, Kellogg's efforts to revise the standard and compete in the \$285 million-a-year market for WIC adult cereals had proved futile—"like hitting a brick wall," in the words of company vice president. This year Kellogg saw an opportunity to accomplish on the state level what it could not do with the federal government. The firm employed—

Someone who did the effective lobbying, and the whole effort was,

. . . to keep the block grants silent on the question of nutritional standards.

The final part.

So now we are talking about Kellogg and sugar content.

The return of nutrition programs to the states would lift federal controls on the lunchtime sale of junk food in school cafeterias—a prospect that several corporate food giants are already anticipating. Coca-Cola Co., which last year fought off a legislative effort to extend the junk food ban to all high school grounds, is now showing signs of interest. Last month, as the devolution legislation was moving through the House, the company's law librarian called the national association of school cafeteria personnel for a breakdown of state laws on soft drink sales in schools.

\* \* \* \* \*

"If ever there was a case of narrow corporate interests over broad societal interests, this is it," said Robert Greenstein, head of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

So, Mr. President, we have Gerber lobbying against competitive bidding on baby food. I thought we were interested in competitive bidding, efficiency. But no, there is no competitive bidding. Then we have Kellogg: We do not want any standards on sugar content having to do with what our children are eating, though there is not a nutritionist in the United States of America who would not tell you that is important. Then finally you have Coca-Cola eying junk food.

Mr. President, let me simply read this amendment again to the underlying bill, I certainly hope and I plan to have an up-or-down vote on this.

It is the Sense of the Senate that before the Senate is required to vote on the question of whether the WIC program and other nutrition programs should be converted to block grant programs to be administered by the states, a full and complete investigation should be conducted by the Senate Committee on Agriculture to determine whether, and if so, to what extent, such a proposed substantial change in national policy is the result of the improper influence of the food industry and lobbyist acting on the industry's behalf.

Mr. President, I send this amendment to the desk and speak on this amendment because I was talking about distorted priorities earlier, and that was in the context of some of the rescissions in the Dole substitute on top of what is already before us. I was arguing why the path of least resistance? Why is everybody so excited about star wars in space but unwilling to invest resources to feed children right here on Earth?

Now we have a different kind of priority. We have a situation where you have your big lobbyists, large corporations, well represented: We do not want competitive bids on formula, although competitive bids held the price down and would enable us to feed more hungry children. We do not want to have any standards in relation to sugar content, or worrying about that, so we try to make sure the Federal Government does not set any kind of standards here. Then of course you have these companies eyeing the junk food market in our School Lunch Program. All

of them are apparently very well represented.

Do you know what, Mr. President? I did not see mentioned anywhere in this lengthy piece in the Washington Post today of any of the women and men who are involved in these nutrition programs, who devote their lives to serving children—their voice, apparently, was not heard at all.

Mr. President, I did not in this article read a word about any of the child advocates or, for that matter, any children who figured into this discussion at all. But, instead, what we have here is, unfortunately, an example of the tremendous influence of the food industry and lobbyists acting on behalf of the food industry on legislation, while children, those concerned with the needs of children, with the concerns and circumstances of children's lives, are left out of the loop. That is the "why" of this amendment. I ask the clerk to read this amendment one more time, if I could.

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

The bill clerk read as follows:

At an appropriate place in the bill, insert the following:

"SEC. . It is the sense of the Senate that before the Senate is required to vote on the question of whether the WIC program and other nutrition programs should be converted to block grant programs to be administered by the states, a full and complete investigation should be conducted by the Senate Committee on Agriculture to determine whether, and if so, to what extent, such a proposed substantial change in national policy is the result of the improper influence of the food industry and lobbyists acting on the industry's behalf."

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I thank the Chair. I would simply say—

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

Mr. ASHCROFT. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is objection.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

Mr. EXON. Reserving the right to object, and I am not certain I will object—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair informs the Senator that he does not have the right to reserve the right to object.

Mr. EXON. Reserving the right to object—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator can object.

Mr. EXON. Reserving the right to object, if I could get the clarification of the procedures that we are undertaking, the Senator from Nebraska sought recognition a few moments ago.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would inform the Senator that he may not reserve the right to object.

Mr. EXON. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. DOLE. Speed up the call, and we will have a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk resumed the call of the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 451 TO AMENDMENT NO. 450

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator for Kansas [Mr. DOLE], for himself and Mr. MCCONNELL, proposes an amendment numbered 451 to amendment No. 450.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will inform the Senator from Minnesota he does not have the right to do that when the clerk is reporting the amendment.

The bill clerk continued with the reading of the amendment.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted, insert the following:

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING AND RELATED PROGRAMS

BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT

DEBT RESTRUCTURING

DEBT RELIEF FOR JORDAN

For the cost, as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, of modifying direct loans to Jordan issued by the Export-Import Bank or by the Agency for International Development or by the Department of Defense, or for the cost of modifying: (1) concessional loans authorized under Title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, and (2) credits owed by Jordan to the Commodity Credit Corporation, as a result of the Corporation's status as a guarantor of credits in connection with export sales to Jordan; as authorized under subsection (a) under the heading, "Debt Relief for Jordan", in Title VI of Public Law 103-306, \$275,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 1996: Provided, That not more than \$50,000,000 of the funds appropriated by this paragraph may be obligated prior to October 1, 1995.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I have the floor.

Mr. President, last time I checked there were 70 amendments on that side

pending. This may clarify the question of the Senator from Nebraska. We had 28. This is Tuesday. We hope to recess on Friday. And everybody is just dreaming up little amendments to try to make a few political points. I have talked with the White House this morning. If they do not want this bill, that is fine with me. But what we hope to do is to take Jordan aid off the first supplemental and add it to this bill. Then maybe that will get White House attention.

This is a Jordan aid amendment that has wide support. It is supported by the President. Many of us met with King Hussein this year. It has broad bipartisan support. All I do in my amendment, in lieu of the matter proposed by the Senator from Minnesota, I insert the following. And if we are going to proceed with this bill, then we will have a vote on this amendment. Maybe then the White House will become interested in this bill because now I do not think the White House cares, and I do not see any reason to continue this spectacle on the Senate floor, have everybody offering some little amendment to score some political points. We will move on to something else.

So I have asked Mr. Panetta, the White House Chief of Staff, to let me know after he has a discussion with the Democratic leader, Senator DASCHLE, and then after lunch we decide whether we pull the bill down or whether we proceed to vote on this amendment and on the Daschle amendment and on the amendment offered by Senator ASHCROFT of Missouri. But if there is no interest in passing this supplemental bill—there does not appear to be any in the White House—then it would be my intent to just take the bill down. Then we are not going to send the other supplemental to the White House either. If they do not want to be involved in this process, that is up to them. But they cannot have it both ways.

So the amendment is simply the Jordan amendment, which we have discussed and which has been a matter of intense interest to the Senator from Kentucky, Mr. MCCONNELL, and this amendment is offered by me on Senator MCCONNELL's behalf.

I would be happy to yield to the Senator from Nebraska for an additional question.

Mr. EXON. Will the Senator from Kansas yield without losing his right to the floor for a question?

Mr. DOLE. I am happy to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized.

Mr. EXON. I would say to the majority leader and other Senators on both sides of the aisle that it is not the intention of this Senator to cause any unnecessary delay. I think every Senator should be protected with his or her right to offer any amendments that they think are in order. I do happen to think this is an important piece of legislation.

I have an amendment that I talked about on Friday morning with regard to eliminating the mandates on the States with regard to funding of rape and incest that I talked about and ever since that time there seemed to be one roadblock or another to bringing this up. I had stood aside and said I just want to place this in the flow of business somewhere along the line. So I would certainly ask the majority leader to recognize the rights of the Senator from Nebraska, with the other amendments that the Senator said were being considered, as to whether or not the Senator was going to pull down the bill.

I hope that maybe we could get together with some kind of a unanimous-consent agreement to protect the rights of every Member of this body and still expedite the process, which I assume is what the Senator, the majority leader would like to have. In other words, there may be some filibuster, minifilibuster, call it what you want. I have no objection to that. I would think though that if we are going to be able to have the recess we had scheduled for this weekend, we are all going to have to recognize there is going to have to be some give and take somewhere along the line on this. And if there are reasons why filibusters are going to be mounted, maybe we could reach a time agreement to expedite the cloture process after a reasonable time of debate and not have the 3-day rule.

Basically, if we get into a 3-day rule with regard to a filibuster, it is pretty clear that we are not going to be able to finish this bill by the end of the week. And I share some of the concerns that the majority leader has, while I will fight, as I always have, for the rights of Senators on both sides of the aisle to offer amendments as they are entitled to under the rules.

I am just wondering. My question of the majority leader is, has there been a meeting recently between the majority leader and the minority leader with regard to the proposition of trying to come to some finite number of amendments, agree to a time limit on those; that if filibusters come up, we possibly could have an agreement that we would have expedited procedures where cloture could be recognized the same day, it could be considered the same day as a cloture motion would be filed, something to move this process along?

Primarily, I think it is important that we do the business of the Senate, work our will and then let the rules apply as to whether or not we are going to pass this piece of legislation.

I recognize the frustration of the majority leader, although I question whether it is wise to have foreign aid funds be added to this measure on top of all of the other consternation that obviously and justifiably surrounds this very important piece of legislation. But we have to move ahead.

My question is: Has there been a recent meeting between the two leaders to see if something could not be

worked out to scale down the number of amendments and at least get some unanimous consent agreements as to how much time we are going to spend on each amendment?

Mr. DOLE. I thank the Senator from Nebraska.

I would say we have been meeting at a staff level. Both Senator DASCHLE and I have talked about it on the Senate floor. He indicated he might be able to whittle down the 70 amendments.

Well, it is Tuesday. I am certain we could whittle down the 28 amendments. Maybe we will get it down to 50 amendments. If you took an hour or more on each one, plus rollcalls, it is not going to happen. It seems to me that rather than just let everybody bring up amendments here, posturing, doing whatever they are doing, it is best just to pull the bill down and have those debates at some other time.

I know the Senator from Nebraska has an amendment. I know he is serious about it. It is a serious amendment. I would just guarantee him, if we reach an agreement, that amendment will be in the mix unless the Senator decides otherwise.

Mr. EXON. I thank the leader.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Will the majority leader yield for a brief comment, without his losing the floor—just a very brief comment?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me explain the Jordan amendment. It is \$275 million debt relief for Jordan, \$50 million in fiscal 1995, \$225 million in fiscal 1996. And it is an effort by this administration, supported by bipartisan supporters on each side of the aisle, to support the peace process.

The Senator from Kentucky has just arrived on the floor and can explain it in greater detail. But the purpose of it and the reason for it is the fact that Jordan has made peace with Israel. We hope there would be an overall peace in the Mideast at the earliest possible time. I know the White House supports the amendment. I hope they would support it on this bill and then help us bring this bill to a conclusion. It does not take any rocket scientist to figure out we are not going to deal with 100 amendments if we are going to have sense-of-the-Senate amendments on everything. We had one from the Senator from Massachusetts, taking a couple hours on Friday, several hours yesterday, on a sense-of-the-Senate amendment that does not mean anything.

Now we have another one by the Senator from Minnesota on the WIC Program. And we will probably have a lot of sense-of-the-Senate amendments. Maybe that means something somewhere, but I fail to see where.

If we really want to get this bill done, if we are really concerned about reducing the debt, we ought to be voting to do it. This is \$13.5 billion in rescissions, a fairly substantial package, talking about real spending restraint.

If the White House does not want to pass it, if they do not want any spending restraint—which, apparently, they

do not—that is certainly the prerogative of the President.

I assume we will be hearing from the Chief of Staff momentarily. In the meantime, I would ask the cosponsor of this amendment if I have forgotten anything in the process.

Mr. McCONNELL. Will the leader yield?

Mr. DOLE. I yield, without losing my right to the floor.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I just want to commend the distinguished leader for offering the Jordanian debt relief amendment. This is exactly the same amendment which I offered earlier this year to the defense bill.

Essentially what the leader's amendment would do, it would provide \$50 million in debt relief, which would be obligated in fiscal year 1995, and \$225 million for 1996.

The point is, this is the final installment in the agreement that we have with the Jordanians. The King was in town, as we all know, last week. Many of us met with him. He is making a good-faith effort to turn his country around and to be an important part of this growing peace movement in the Middle East.

I think this is an extremely important measure. I commend the majority leader for offering it to this bill. Maybe it will make this bill a little sweeter for those who seem not to want it to go anywhere. I, obviously, hope this will be approved at the appropriate time.

I thank the leader.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the Senator from Kentucky.

How much time does the Senator from Minnesota need?

Mr. WELLSTONE. I say to the majority leader—and I thank him for his graciousness—I would need no more than 3 or 4 minutes, just a brief comment in response to where we are, without the Senator losing his right to the floor.

Mr. DOLE. Would the Senator want 5 minutes?

Mr. WELLSTONE. Five minutes would be fine.

Does the Senator from Connecticut want any time?

Mr. DODD. Five or 10 minutes.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, after the Senator from Minnesota proceeds for 5 minutes and the Senator from Connecticut for 10 minutes, that we stand in recess under the previous order until 2:15.

Does the Senator from Kentucky want any more time?

Mr. McCONNELL. No. I would just make the point that this is completely paid for. This Jordanian debt relief is totally paid for.

Mr. DOLE. Let me add, I failed to recognize that, with the adoption of the Shelby amendment, it actually raised the rescission package to \$15 billion, not \$13.5 billion. So I was in error.

Is there objection to my request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WELLSTONE. Not at all.

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

The Senator from Minnesota is recognized for 5 minutes, and the Senator from Connecticut will be recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, just so my colleagues understand and the majority leader understands, I understand that Senators have a right to second-degree amendments and I am pleased for us to have this debate, and there will be a vote. But I will bring this amendment back to the floor after the vote on the second-degree amendment.

I do not understand why my colleagues have any fear of an up-or-down vote on this amendment. I say to you, Mr. President, it is very relevant and timely. We are talking about the WIC Program. We are talking about nutrition programs.

At the same time, we see the power of the food industry. We do not have competitive bidding on infant formula which would save money, money that could be used to feed more children.

We are talking about an effort to strip away, I fear, some nutrition standards. We are talking about an effort to move in by the junk food market. And so my amendment is hardly, Mr. President, for show. It is very serious.

It reads:

It is the sense of the Senate that before the Senate is required to vote on the question of whether the WIC Program and other nutrition programs should be converted to block grant programs to be administered by the States, a full and complete investigation should be conducted by the Senate Committee on Agriculture to determine whether, and if so, to what extent, such a proposed substantial change in national policy is the result of the improper influence of the food industry and lobbyists acting on the industry's behalf.

Mr. President, this is not filibuster. I am quite willing to agree to a time limit. I just want an up-or-down vote on this amendment.

Here we have these proposed cuts in nutrition programs, talking about block-granting, and, in addition, unfortunately, we have evidence of an industry and lobbyists having, I think, too much influence in developing some of this legislation as it moves along in the Congress.

I am just simply saying: What happened to competitive bidding? What about nutrition standards for children?

We should investigate before we move forward. I think the operative language is to investigate "to what extent, such a proposed substantial change in national policy as the result of the improper influence of the food industry and lobbyists acting on the industry's behalf."

Mr. President we ought to have an up-or-down vote.

So I say to the majority leader, I understand the second-degree amend-

ment. We will have that debate. But then I will come back with this amendment, and we will have an up-or-down vote on this amendment. And I will keep bringing this amendment to the floor until we do have that up-or-down vote.

Mr. President, this amendment is germane to the debate of rescissions and cuts in nutrition programs. It is relevant to the debate about whether we go in the direction of block grants. It is very relevant to what is happening in the 104th Congress.

I think the Senate sends a very positive message to the people of the country that we certainly want to make sure that the final nutrition legislation that we pass, I say to my colleague from Connecticut, has, first and foremost, the interests of children, not the interests of the food industry. That is what this amendment speaks to. Nobody should be afraid of this amendment. Everybody should want to vote for it up or down, and I would assume that we would have 100 votes in favor of it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMPSON). Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the Senator from Connecticut now has 10 minutes.

Mr. DODD. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, I would like to return, if I could, to the basic thrust of the legislation before us, and that is the rescission bill.

You are going to almost have to hire a mountain guide to find your way through the legislative process that is unfolding here, with various amendments that are now being offered to the underlying bill and to the substitutes that have been suggested.

Let me, if I can, get back to the core set of issues here. What is primarily before us is the rescission bill that cuts into the heart of an awful lot of critically important programs that affect the most vulnerable of people in our society. It seems to me that we ought to try and keep our eye on that debate. Adding elements here that deal with Jordan and other issues, no matter how laudable and appropriate at some point for us to debate and discuss, I think it becomes rather obvious, patently obvious, to anyone who is following this debate that these are efforts to try and distract the attention from the central question.

Certainly this body ought to vote on whether or not you think the cuts in nutrition programs and Head Start and drug free schools ought to take place or not—we should not have to dwell interminably on those questions—and cast your votes yes or no. If you think that these cuts are ones that ought to be made, then you vote for them. If you do not, then you vote otherwise.

But I do not think we assist by doing this, since this is almost a self-imposed filibuster by the majority on these issues.

Mr. President, I want to, first of all, begin by commending the majority to this extent; and that is, the bill, the rescission bill, is a lot better than what existed in the House. No question, this is an improvement over what was coming over from the House.

But it is still a far cry from what I think most people in this country understand are valuable investments to the future of this Nation.

I was responsible for Head Start, Mr. President, 2 years ago, to bring the reauthorization bill of Head Start to the floor of the U.S. Senate. It was a comprehensive bill that called for many substantive changes in how Head Start was functioning, but it also called for full funding of Head Start.

Frankly and very honestly, I prepared myself to come to the floor for an extensive debate—it was a fairly controversial bill, the Head Start Program—and to extend full funding and to make other changes, many of which had been suggested, I might point out, by the distinguished Senator from Kansas, now the chairperson of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, Senator KASSEBAUM.

In any event, I came over with leaflets, folders, and binders to defend this reauthorization bill. I was on the floor all of about 20 or 30 minutes. There was not a single voice raised in opposition to the bill. It was unanimously adopted by this Chamber.

It is ironic—maybe that is not the best word to be using here—that we find just a matter of months later a cut coming into the Head Start Program, again, a program that has never been the subject of much partisan debate and division over the many years that the program has existed because it works. It does the job that we need to be doing to try to see to it that the young children of this country get a good start in their educational life.

It has been a program that has worked tremendously well. Regrettably, we are only getting 1 in 4 of the eligible children with it. So there it was the collective judgment that it made sense for us to try to reach as many of those eligible children as possible.

So the reauthorization bill did that, unanimously adopted, not a single amendment offered on the floor. We had extensive hearings in the Labor and Human Resources Committee and worked out, I think, a good bill. I think the best evidence of the fact it was a good bill is that there was not a dissenting voice, and not a dissenting vote on that measure.

Now we come back this year and find out all of a sudden not only are we not going to fund to the extent possible all eligible children in this country, but we are actually going to go after the resources that are only reaching 1 in 4 of the children in this Nation.

There are a lot of messages and people have offered a lot of interpretations as to what happened on November 8 in the election, but I think it is a total

misreading of those electoral results to assume that the people who voted for the new majority anticipated that some of the very first actions we would be taking would be to go after the most vulnerable citizens in our society. The list goes on at some length in this \$13 billion rescission package that really does cut into the investment programs that are critically important for America's children and America's families.

I mentioned Head Start. There are also the nutrition programs and child care development. Again, here we are going to be debating shortly, I hope, welfare reform for the country. I do not know of anyone—in fact, I want to begin by commending my colleague from Connecticut, Congresswoman NANCY JOHNSON, who is a leading Republican Member of the House. To her great credit, she was able to restore some of the funding for the child care block grant. She could only go so far, quite frankly, with her amendment to beef up the funding in that area in the House package, but we are still terribly short of the child care needs in this Nation.

There are some 10 States that have waiting lists of over 10,000 people for existing child care slots before we move people from welfare to work. In Florida, I think the number is 23,000 on the waiting list. In Georgia, it is in the neighborhood, I think, of 15,000, to cite two States that come to mind immediately.

As we now try to move people from welfare to work, we have to try to come up with a decent approach to how we care for these children. And yet, in this rescission package, we find again several millions of dollars in cuts in the block grant going back to the States, despite the fact there are already literally hundreds of thousands of people on waiting lists. As we move people from welfare to work, then obviously there is a heightened degree of demand for those slots and additional slots. Again, without even expanding the present need out there, we are cutting into the present need as we move people in that direction.

The WIC Program—Women, Infants, and Children—again, this is a program for which I do not know of dissenters, never heard of them here, because there is the general conclusion that investment in these nutrition programs in the earliest stages of a child's life—in fact, earlier for pregnant women—have made tremendous gains for us, not only ethically and morally, but fiscally in this country. We know today that a dollar invested in the proper care of a pregnant woman and an infant saves \$4 later in health care costs. Those numbers are not being made up. Those are the facts. Why in the world would we be making a significant cut in the Women, Infants, and Children Program, recognizing that it is going to cost us that much more down the road if we do not make those kinds of investments?

I might point out, I joined last year with 70 of our colleagues—70—70 percent of this body joined as cosponsors for full funding of this program. Now we find, again, not only are we not reaching the full funding, we are cutting into the dollars that are necessary just to maintain the program at its present level.

In education, again—I hardly think it needs repeating out here—the investment in the educational needs of our children are just going to be greater year after year. Here we had the Speaker of the House offer a suggestion that there ought to be a tax break given to people who make a donation of a computer to children. People laughed at it. They said, "That's a silly idea." I do not think the Speaker was silly at all. You might argue about whether or not a tax-cut approach is the best way to go, but his instincts were absolutely correct.

Today, if you are not computer literate coming out of an educational system, you are so disadvantaged, and I am not talking about jobs with investment banking firms or insurance companies or defense contractors. Even the most basic simple functions today require a literacy in computer technology. And here we are making a \$100 million cut in a program to provide computers for children in our school systems.

I do not understand what the thinking process is if we expect to grow economically. The best deficit reducer is a growing economy, people at work. That is the best way to cut into this deficit.

If we deny these young people the tools they are going to have to have to get the best possible paying jobs in the future, then we are going to see the obvious effects.

In Goals 2000, again, we had increases for disadvantaged children, Mr. President. To see 70,000 disadvantaged special-needs children being dropped off the list of getting help because of a \$73 million cut in this \$13 billion package, again, I do not understand the importance of that.

In a sense, maybe this one particular issue has more poignancy for me. I have a sister, Mr. President, who is legally blind, who has been a teacher for 25 or 30 years. In growing up, my parents were fortunate enough to have the resources to make the investments so that my sister could get all the benefits of someone who was disabled.

As a result of that, today she has made a significant contribution. She has taught in the largest inner-city elementary school in the State of Connecticut, helped provide the Montessori system of teaching in this country, has two master's degrees, has been a highly productive citizen, and has made a significant contribution. What would my sister's life be like today had she not grown up in a family that had the resources to make those kinds of investments for her? Would she be as productive? And what will happen to these children today that we are cutting out

of these title I programs? What happens to them?

Again, I thought most people in this country understood the value of investing in these kids so they maximize their potential, become self-sufficient, become productive citizens to the maximum extent possible, and here we are now going to eliminate some 70,000 of these children and their families from that kind of assistance and support.

Again, I do not think that is what the message was. I think people understand that those kinds of investments truly do make a difference in the wealth of the Nation.

Let me if I can, Mr. President, move, because I know the time is moving fast here, to the national service issue.

Again, there is a significant cut here. I want to thank the distinguished Senator from Missouri, Senator BOND, and others, because they did a lot better than what was in the House bill.

I think it is important that people understand we are talking about a difference here between what was in the House and what is in the Senate package. Mr. President, I think this national service idea, the one that enjoyed such broad-based support only a year or so ago, deserves the strong backing of our colleagues.

Again, let me cite a personal story if I can. Mr. President, 35 years ago another American President challenged a generation by serving in something called the Peace Corps. When I was finishing up my college, I heard that challenge and it excited me. And I served for 2 years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Latin America, in the Dominican Republic.

I think it was a tremendously valuable experience. The total cost for my 2 years was about \$5,000. That was about \$100 a month I got paid as a volunteer, and whatever benefits they provided. I think the total amount was about that.

This program here is a national service program, but not to serve overseas. This American President said, "I think voluntarism and serving one's country has tremendous value, and I am going to link it with educational benefits. How about serving here at home, instead of going overseas." Lord knows, we could use the investment.

It was exciting and generating a lot of enthusiasm, particularly among younger Americans, to answer the call. Presently 20,000 young Americans have answered the call to serve their country. That is a remarkable, remarkable return on such a call.

In the Peace Corps days, we did not get anything like that, in the number of people stepping forward to volunteer. Here, 20,000 Americans already, in a little over a year, have stepped forward to volunteer, to try and make this a stronger and better country and reduce costs.

They have taught or tutored some 9,000 preschool children. Mr. President, 9,000 preschool children have benefited as a result of the AmeriCorps Program.

They have established after-school and summer tutoring for more than 4,000 young children. That is just in the first year or so of this program. They have organized, and supervised community service projects for more than that 4,400 children, cleaning up neighborhoods, delivering food to the elderly.

In return for their service, of course, these members earn an educational award worth about \$4,700 to pay for college courses. What better tradeoff could we be getting, than asking Americans to step in and help out in needed communities, help needy citizens in our country, in return for which they get assistance to go on to higher education. Again, all of us recognizing, I think, the value of trying to defer those costs.

Mr. President, the Daschle amendment includes funding for these programs, restoring them, in the areas of nutrition, education, and AmeriCorps, the volunteer program, that are critically important for disadvantaged children. These are small investments to be making, and yet the return to our country is invaluable.

There are many people who remember the GI bill and VA mortgages. In early 1950 dollars those were expensive programs, they were not cheap. Yet, I do not know of anyone who would say it was a bad investment to make when we asked the taxpayers of this country to invest in the education needs of another generation of Americans. That is what we are doing here.

To come out on the very first efforts, the very first targets, the very first constituencies that are being asked to bite the bullet are the ones that we will be counting on in the future to make this a stronger, a healthier, more vibrant country in the 21st century.

Mr. President, I would hope that the Daschle amendment would be supported. I would hope that we could get an up-and-down vote on these matters, and not cloud and obfuscate the debate by engaging in procedural tactics here that avoid debate and discussion in votes on the issues that are the substance of the underlying bill.

It seems to me no one is well served by that tactic. It only indicates to many Members that there is somehow some fear about having the kind of votes on these issues that this Chamber ought to, if we are going to accept the kind of cuts that have been proposed.

Mr. President, I hope we can get back to this debate, that we can consider the Daschle amendment, and not see matters be brought up that properly belong on a foreign relations bill and not on a rescission bill dealing with the economic needs of our Nation.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

#### RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:15 p.m., recessed until 2:23 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Vice President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Senators will please take their seats, clear the aisles, and cease audible conversation.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 451, AS MODIFIED, TO  
AMENDMENT NO. 450

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is the Dole amendment No. 451 to the Wellstone amendment.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I send a modification of that amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has a right to modify the amendment. It is so modified.

The amendment (No. 451), as modified, is as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted, insert the following:

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING AND  
RELATED PROGRAMS  
BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE  
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT  
DEBT RESTRUCTURING  
DEBT RELIEF FOR JORDAN

For the cost, as defined in section 502 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, of modifying direct loans to Jordan issued by the Export-Import Bank or by the Agency for International Development or by the Department of Defense, or for the cost of modifying: (1) concessional loans authorized under Title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended, and (2) credits owned by Jordan to the Commodity Credit Corporation, as a result of the Corporation's status as a guarantor of credits in connection with export sales to Jordan; as authorized under subsection (a) under the heading, "Debt Relief for Jordan", in Title VI of Public Law 103-306, \$275,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 1996: Provided, That not more than \$50,000,000 of the funds appropriated by this paragraph may be obligated prior to October 1, 1995: *Provided*, That the language under this heading in title V of this Act shall have no force and effect.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I have been asked if we might have a 10-minute pe-

riod for morning business. I ask there be a period of 10 minutes for morning business, 5 minutes to be used by the Senator from Maine and 5 minutes by my colleague from California.

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

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, will the majority leader yield for a question?

Mr. DOLE. Yes.

Mr. KERRY. I ask him what his intention would be after the morning business. Would we go back to the amendment?

Mr. DOLE. I will have a discussion with the distinguished Democratic leader during the 10 minutes to see.

Mr. KERRY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. DOLE. Does the Senator need morning business time?

Mr. KERRY. No. Mr. President, I had wanted to address the bill itself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. COHEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

(The remarks of Mr. COHEN pertaining to the introduction of S. 664 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

#### UCLA'S VICTORY

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor a great team, a great school, and a great State. It is fair to say that California has had its share of troubles, but it is also fair to say that we have had our share of victories.

We had a great victory last night, when the UCLA Bruins defeated the University of Arkansas Razorbacks for the NCAA Men's Basketball Championship.

The victory was all the more impressive because they did it without the play of Tyus Edney, their little floor general.

In his absence, the rest of the team stepped up to the challenge. They broke the aggressive defense of the Razorbacks, which has been described as 40 minutes of Hell.

They won with a combination of youthful enthusiasm, guts, teamwork, and stamina. And they won under the watchful gaze of the Wizard of Westwood—the legendary retired coach, John Wooden.

UCLA pulled down 50 rebounds, 21 of them at the offensive end.

Ed O'Bannon, the senior who battled back from knee injury, played the entire game last night and was named Most Outstanding Player.

Toby Bailey, the freshman phenomenon from Los Angeles, had 26 points. It was a masterful performance against a great opponent.

This is the 11th championship by UCLA, and the first for Coach Jim