

essential connection between child care and welfare reform.

The third big difference, Mr. President, has to do with funding. I mentioned earlier that there is a \$70 billion reduction in the availability of funds. The Republican bill freezes funding at 1994 levels for the next 7 years. We are told that is a \$70 billion reduction. That is just the beginning. It is not just the amount of money but how that money is provided.

There is no needs determination in the Republican bill. That is, there is no system by which the more severe the situation, the greater the resources. It is all done on a formula. That formula is really based on a first-come-first-served theory.

A block grant is sent out based upon this formula. Whether or not it is enough, the money is there so long as it is available. If there are more people than there are funds, it will be up to the States to decide who gets it. There is no match requirement. States are not required in any way, shape or form to come up with a reciprocal amount of money—some supplemental amount, some pool of resources—that would enable them to benefit from the resources provided at the Federal level.

No needs determination, no match whatever. A formula that is determined in Washington, not based on severity, not based on the number of people on welfare, not based on the degree to which there are imaginative approaches being employed.

Mr. President, there is a very significant difference in the approach used by the Republican plan and the approach incorporated in the Work First plan.

Our view is that need ought to determine availability; that in some cases there is a greater need, regardless of population, for a lot of different reasons. We ought to take that into account prior to the time we arbitrarily make some formula decision that may or may not help some States.

Finally, there is also a big difference with regard to the availability of assistance for teenage pregnancy. The Republican bill makes assistance to be provided for curtailing teenage pregnancy simply an option to the States. They can do it or not. Regardless of their choice, there is no funding available to the States to do whatever it is they may do. Whatever they do, they are on their own. One can guess what choice most States will make under such circumstances.

There is encouragement to use second-chance homes. There is encouragement to require that teenagers be required to stay in school or at home,

but there is no funding. No availability of additional resources to see that might be something we should look at.

Mr. President, at least on those four principles, we have some fundamental philosophical differences that I think have to be addressed if, indeed, we are going to succeed in breaching the differences in arriving at a bipartisan bill some time this Congress.

Let me make two final points with regard to welfare reform. First of all, as we can see from the debate already today, and for that matter last Saturday, this ought to be a lively debate, a spirited debate, a debate in which very good points are raised—likely on both sides. I sincerely hope that Members of the Republican caucus will look at the Work First bill. I have every expectation they will consider even voting for it, at some point, given the significant new concepts incorporated in it.

I hope we can have a good debate but I hope we do not arbitrarily decide this thing can be resolved—this whole debate can be resolved—in a matter of a couple of days. I do not think it can be. This is one of the most consequential debates we will be taking up this year. It has broad ramifications. And if we do it right we may not have to visit this issue again for a long time to come, at least as it relates to our infrastructure. So I do not think we ought to be rushed into final passage. I do not think our success ought to be judged by how few days we actually take to resolve these differences and debate these points and come up with the best piece of legislation. So I sincerely hope we can have a good debate and not arbitrarily come to any conclusion as to how long a good debate may take.

Finally, let me say I hope it can be a bipartisan effort. I do not see it as necessarily a Democratic or a Republican issue, but it is going to be hard to be bipartisan if Republicans engage, once again as they did earlier this year, in negative political attacks when the debate has barely begun. It is wrong and deeply disappointing that Republicans would attack five Democratic Senators who have participated in the debate, who have made significant contributions to this effort, who may differ in some cases with Republicans on how we resolve these outstanding issues—but in good faith participate in the debate—and then be attacked politically simply because they may disagree. I would add that they have been attacked erroneously. Some of the attacks now being leveled against five of my colleagues in the Democratic caucus are wrong. They are outright fabrications. I hope the media take the

time to look into the claims and then check the facts, because if they do they will find that not only are these attacks wrong and shortsighted, but they simply do not represent the facts or the voting records of those who have been the subject of these unfortunate attacks in the last couple of days.

We can do this either way. I recall vividly some of the criticism Republicans had last year, for the partisan nature of some of the debate on health care. I recall how unfair they thought it was when some of the debate was politicized. On the other side, there was great concern about the Harry and Louise ads. We heard a lot about targeted ads in States and districts around the country. Both sides raised a lot of questions about whether or not that was the right way to debate an issue as important as health care was.

It was wrong then and it is wrong now. It is wrong now to politicize this debate at the very beginning of what I hope will be an opportunity for us to deal with this issue in a productive, meaningful way, coming to some resolution sometime this session of Congress to one of the most important and challenging issues of our day—welfare reform. I believe we can do it. I believe we can work together and, in spite of some of our deep differences philosophically, overcome those differences and come up with a plan that works a lot better than the one we have today.

That is not going to happen if we contaminate the debate with sharp political attacks against Members on either side. So I hope cooler heads will prevail, and I hope those responsible for those ads will have second thoughts and the good common sense to pull them before it is too late.

Mr. President, noting no other interest in debate, I yield the floor.

RECESS UNTIL 9 A.M. TOMORROW
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate now stands in recess until 9 a.m., Tuesday, August 8, 1995.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 8:14 p.m., recessed until Tuesday, August 8, 1995, at 9 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 7, 1995:

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

JOHN A. KNUBEL, OF MARYLAND, TO BE CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER, DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, VICE G. EDWARD DE SEVE.