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## Senate

(Legislative day of Tuesday, September 5, 1995)

The Senate met at 9:15 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Gracious Lord God, Sovereign of our Nation, personal Lord of our lives, we claim Your promise given through Isaiah, "Your ears shall hear a word behind you saying, 'This is the way, walk in it'."—Isaiah 30:21. We dedicate this day to walk humbly with You. We are challenged by the realization that the Hebrew meaning of "walk humbly" is "to walk attentively." And so, we commit our minds and hearts to listen attentively to You. Speak to us so that what we speak may be an echo of Your voice which has sounded in the depth of our receptive souls. In the din of the cacophony of voices demanding our attention, help us to seek to know and do Your will for what is best for our beloved Nation.

Grant us the greatness of minds tuned to the frequency of Your spirit's guidance. Free us of any tenaciously held positions that may not have been refined by careful listening to You. May our united position together be that of women and men committed to Your righteousness and justice.

We ask for Your blessing for our President, the House of Representatives, the Justices of the Supreme Court, and the judges of the courts of our land who seek to carry out Your will in their decisions, and all who assume the awesome responsibilities of government. We listen to hear Your voice saying, "This is the way, walk in it—together." In the name of our Lord. Amen.

### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for morning business.

Mr. FORD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. FORD. I believe I have a standing order this morning that I have up to 20 minutes. Is that correct?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Correct.

Mr. FORD. I thank the Chair.

### APPRECIATION OF FLOOR STAFF

Mr. FORD. First, Mr. President, let me thank the floor staff for the effort they put forward all the time and the effort they made last evening to give this Senator a few moments of the Senate's time today, and I want them to know that I do appreciate it.

(Mrs. HUTCHISON assumed the chair.)

(The remarks of Mr. FORD pertaining to the introduction of S. 1262 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

### UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 1976

Mr. FORD. Madam President, on behalf of the majority leader, I ask unanimous consent that the orders for the three back-to-back votes and the debate with respect to H.R. 1976 be postponed to occur at 12 noon today.

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

### UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 1868

Mr. FORD. Madam President, I further ask unanimous consent that at 9:45 a.m. the Senate begin consider-

ation of H.R. 1868, the foreign operations appropriations bill, for opening statements until 11 a.m.

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

Mr. FORD. Madam President, therefore, the vote scheduled for 9:45 a.m. has now been postponed to occur at 12 noon and the Senate would instead begin consideration of the foreign operations appropriations bill at 9:45.

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

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

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

### CONGRESSMAN JAMIE WHITTEN

Mr. COCHRAN. Madam President, last week, I was very honored to be able to attend the funeral in my State of former Congressman Jamie Whitten. Congressman Whitten was my good friend and colleague in the House. I served in the House 6 years before coming to the Senate. During that time, I got to know him and be with him frequently. Even though I was not on the Appropriations Committee at that time when I was elected to the Senate, I soon became a member of the Appropriations Committee, and as irony caused it, I was immediately the chairman of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee.

The day I went on the Agriculture Subcommittee, the Republicans had become the majority in the Senate and that was my first assignment. Interestingly enough, on the House side, Congressman Whitten had been the chairman of the Agriculture Appropriations

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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Subcommittee since about 1949. He had been in the House only 8 years when he became chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture.

So that first year, I recall having the opportunity of going to conference with Congressman Whitten chairing the subcommittee on the House side and I chairing it on the Senate side, both being from the same State. I was very new to the job, and I remember he said to me that day as we began our negotiation on the House-passed and Senate-passed appropriations bills funding the Department of Agriculture and related agencies, "THAD, you had better be careful what you ask for now; you might get it."

I have never forgotten that. It was an interesting lesson and a good thing to tell me because in that position you have to defend what you have recommended; you have to understand that there are going to be those who will look critically at the contents of the bill. And we worked very cordially together during those 6 years when I chaired that subcommittee.

As I was handling the bill in this Chamber for the last couple of days we have been considering the Agriculture appropriations bill, I thought several times about my good friend and former colleague in the House and the lessons that I learned, which have certainly been good lessons to learn.

He was a man who was very courteous, very knowledgeable about the subject. In his dealings with other Members of the House and Senate, he was always a gentleman. I respected that and appreciated that in Jamie Whitten.

When he retired from the House, we truly saw come to an end a legendary career in many ways, not because of length of service, which was longer than anyone had ever served in the House of Representatives, but because of the kind of person he was and the way he did his job. He took it seriously. He was conscientious, he did it well, and he did it well for a long period of time.

I was reading editorials just over the last few weeks in our State, and there have been many written talking about Congressman Whitten. There were two that I particularly appreciated, and I will put them in the RECORD. One is from the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal in Tupelo, and the other was written by Bill Minor, who has a syndicated political column in Mississippi, and this was printed in the Clarion-Ledger in Jackson, MS.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that both of these editorials be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal, Tupelo, MS, Sept. 12, 1995]

FORMER CONGRESSMAN JAMIE WHITTEN

Jamie Whitten started his public service career when some Mississippians still had

eye-witness memories of the Civil War and only dreamed of one day having electricity in their houses. He concluded his public service after a 53-year tenure in the U.S. Congress when many Americans routinely communicate from their homes via computers with people halfway around the world.

His journey ends in Charleston, the same small town that nurtured his early political career and always sustained him as the place he called home. It was the place where almost everyone knew him and called him Jamie, not Mr. Chairman or Congressman or any of the other honorifics by which he was addressed in his official capacities. He was, in the words of longtime staff leader Buddy Bishop, "just one of the guys" in Charleston. His town, the state, and the nation bid Whitten farewell in a service at Charleston Presbyterian Church, where he had been an active member for almost 70 years.

Whitten, 85, died Saturday in an Oxford hospital less than a year after retiring from the U.S. House of Representatives. His 53 years in the House is the record for longevity in that chamber. He is second only to the late Sen. Carl Hayden of Arizona, whose 56 years in the House and Senate combined is Capitol Hill's longest tenure.

Whitten was a low-profile giant who thrived on the serious and demanding business of making public policy. His legislative gifts were no place more evident than in federal policy, laws and programs related to improving and enhancing life in rural America. The depth and breadth of his influence and interest inevitably grew as he moved up the ladder of power and responsibility in Washington. The ladder finally took him to the pinnacle chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee.

Mississippi's senior senator, Republican Thad Cochran, considered Whitten a congressional mentor and close friend. Cochran said Monday that Whitten possessed the invaluable gift of remaining unhurried and courteous in a political atmosphere that was more often frenetic and sometimes discourteous.

Whitten believed in federal investment in America, a practice some people derisively and mistakenly call pork-barrel spending. Whitten often stated his belief in spending federal dollars to generate a return from the productivity of American citizens. That idea always is unpopular with congressmen who don't have the intelligence or the influence to steer a share of the investment to their states and districts. Whitten understood, as he networked with colleagues from coast to coast, that a good investment provides a good return, no matter where it's made.

He also understood that the vast resources of the federal government, as a moral imperative, must be applied to people in crisis and people in need.

Many other members of Congress in this century have been more widely known, more colorful and more ambitious. A bare handful stand in company with Whitten's impact and influence because, for him, effectiveness was vastly more important than fame.

Winston Churchill said that "singleness of purpose and simplicity of conduct" are powerful attributes of public servanthood.

Those same qualities distinguish Congressman Jamie L. Whitten's long record as the people's representative in Washington.

[From the Clarion-Ledger, Sept. 17, 1995]

JAMIE WHITTEN KNEW REAL POWER WAS IN THE PURSE STRINGS

(By Bill Minor)

Mississippi's 53-year congressional veteran served his state well.

What Jamie Whitten's half-century in the House of Representatives did for the state of

Mississippi is incalculable, because it is beyond comparison to any other person who has represented this state or almost any state in the Congress of the United States.

Certainly Whitten gave this relatively small state in the whole scheme of things for greater influence—you can call it clout—than it had reason to expect. He made the strongest case for longevity as opposed to the current demand for term limits.

In his incredible 53-year service in the U.S. House, Whitten wisely concentrated on the area where the real power lies in Congress, the power of the purse. He long ago staked out a seat on Appropriations, working his way up to the chairmanship in 1980. But for many years before that, he headed the agriculture subcommittee of Appropriations, the spot that earned him the sobriquet as "the permanent Secretary of Agriculture." It was true that Whitten held the purse strings for farm programs as well as a broad spectrum of other programs that were tucked under his wing and the huge agricultural industry of this country knew it. His first concern always was to see that the farm interests of Mississippi were well-served.

Whitten, said his onetime Mississippi colleague, former U.S. Rep. David Bowen, "could digest an appropriation bill faster than anyone" in Congress. His legendary reading of the fine print in an appropriation bill is what rescued the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway from the public works graveyard in 1967.

Whitten's reputation as the "mumbler" when he was handling amendments to complicated appropriations bills, was actually strategy and was done intentionally, says Bowen. "His speaking style may have seemed obfuscating, says Bowen, "but he was a very bright man." Perhaps he was not outwardly articulate as an orator in comparison to some of his colleagues, but Whitten got the job done.

One important thing in light of what has recently come out of the Bob Packwood diaries about the inordinate influence of Washington lobbyists, is that Whitten, with all his power in spending, never had much time for lobbyists.

The career of Jamie Whitten is a remarkable story of a small-town Mississippian who started out in Congress as a New Dealer with Franklin Roosevelt a half-century ago. Then he became a Dixiecrat in the 1950s when the Citizens' Council and Ross Barnett were in their heyday. In fact, he was one of the leaders in the anti-civil rights Southern Manifesto in Congress.

Back in those days he hardly let it be known back in Mississippi that he was a member of the Democratic Party. But by the late 1960s, Whitten began his transformation to a loyal team player for Democratic programs and eventually became a key cog in pushing liberal programs of the Democratic leadership.

While most political figures become more conservative as they grow older, Whitten on the other hand, grew more liberal, or as some close observers believe, he returned to his New Deal populist roots.

Yes, Jamie Whitten could be said to have been a pragmatic politician. However, he used the political system to not for his own glory, but in a very real sense for his own state. Essentially, Whitten believed in the fundamental value of the federal government as an instrument for the good of the people.

Fortunately, Whitten's best years were in the days before the austerity era became vogue in Congress, and when there was more money available to fund projects such as the Tenn-Tom.

It was never his style to dabble in someone else's politics or build a political organization beyond his own small, loose-knit cadre

of followers. The furthest he ever ventured into statewide politics was once, in 1976, when came down to Jackson to endorse Jimmy Carter for president. That occasion was also his rare (maybe only) exposure to sharp questioning by the state press of Mississippi in a full-fledged news conference. I recall that it was quite an unsettling experience for him.

Jamie probably overstayed his time in Congress when his failing health made him no longer productive. Yet, with his passing last week at age 85, everyone in this state must be grateful that he served them so long and so well. It's unthinkable we'll ever see another like him.

#### WELFARE REFORM

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate concluded several weeks of debate on welfare reform legislation. The changes that were incorporated in the legislation are profound, marking a great departure from the system that has been in place for 60 years. As one who has served my State of Rhode Island and this Nation as a U.S. Senator from 35 of those 60 years, I did not take lightly the vote that I cast yesterday. I thought long and hard about the desire for change, for reform, and for a better welfare system, and I share all of those goals.

As I look at the bill, I remain concerned. It does not provide nearly enough of what I think is necessary for quality welfare reform. And it does not sufficiently protect our children or provide adults with the tools they need to move off of welfare and into work.

But the final bill was also a drastic improvement over the House welfare legislation, and, with the addition of the Dole-Daschle compromise, moves us more in the direction that I think is best for our Nation. So while it was with some reluctance, I decided to cast my vote in favor of the legislation that was before us yesterday. I did so with the understanding that the American people want and demand action, and are seeking a new way of accomplishing what the existing system has not been able to accomplish. I am willing to try a new way, but acknowledge freely that without the minimal protections put into place by the Dole-Daschle agreement with respect to child care and other important provisions, I would not have voted "yea."

I cannot help but hope that the conference committee will see fit to incorporate more of the provisions contained in the Work First proposal introduced by Senator DASCHLE, which I cosponsored. I still support and strongly prefer its provisions—its emphasis on transitioning welfare recipients to work, its understanding that providing child care is a linchpin of successful reform, and its premise that—despite very real abuses of the current system by some welfare recipients—most people want to get off welfare and work at a job that provides a living wage. But I realize that the conference committee is more likely to move this bill in a direction that I cannot support, by being more punitive to parents and, in

the process, harming children who have not chosen their parents or their circumstances.

Mr. President, it would be my intention, should the bill return from the conference committee stripped of these moderating provisions, or including any of the more draconian provisions we defeated during the Senate debate, to cast my vote against the conference report. I hope that this will not be necessary and that we will be able to pass a conference report that really does move the Nation in the direction that we all want to see—toward workable reform that moves this generation off of dependency while ensuring that the next generation does not suffer for its parents' failures or misfortunes.

#### TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY, UNIT 230, PIKE-HUSKA POST

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, today I pay tribute to certain members of the American Legion Auxiliary, Unit 230, Pike-Huska Post in Aurora, SD. Governor William Janklow designated the first day of the recent South Dakota State Fair as "Victory Day Golden Anniversary Celebration" in honor of South Dakota veterans who served in the Second World War. Ten special women in the American Legion Auxiliary in Aurora provided South Dakota World War II veterans attending the celebration with tokens of their appreciation and gratitude in memory of our veterans' dedicated service.

Mr. President, I had the opportunity to join my fellow South Dakotans at the State fair in expressing appreciation to the outstanding men and women who served their country during the Second World War. I am proud of the contributions made by South Dakotans during the war years. More than 2,200 South Dakota National Guardsmen served on active duty. More than 41,000 South Dakotans were called into military service through the draft and 23,192 South Dakotans enlisted. More than 1,500 South Dakotans stood face to face against Hitler's war machine and gave their lives to turn back Nazi aggression. At home, South Dakotans dug deep into their pockets to keep American troops armed, fed, and clothed. During eight national fundraising campaigns, South Dakota consistently ranked first or second in the per capita sale of series "E" war bonds. In fact, South Dakotans raised \$111.5 million from the sale of series "E" war bonds to help the war effort.

Mr. President, as a war veteran myself, having served in the United States Army as a lieutenant in Vietnam, I extend my sincere respect, admiration, and appreciation for the dedicated service and selfless sacrifice of South Dakota's Second World War veterans. I especially appreciate the 10 members of the American Legion Auxiliary in Aurora, SD, who provided on behalf of themselves and all South Dakotans, a small token of our boundless gratitude

for those courageous veterans who answered the call to duty more than 50 years ago.

#### THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, before discussing today's bad news about the Federal debt, how about "another go," as the British put it, with our pop quiz. Remember? One question, one answer.

The question: How many millions of dollars does it take to add up a trillion dollars? While you are thinking about it, bear in mind that it was the U.S. Congress that ran up the Federal debt that now exceeds \$4.9 trillion.

To be exact, as of the close of business yesterday, September 19, the total Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at \$4,965,954,997,403.59, of which, on a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,850.85.

Mr. President, back to our pop quiz, how many million in a trillion: There are a million million in a trillion.

#### FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report H.R. 1868.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows.

A bill (H.R. 1868) making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Appropriations, with amendments, as follows:

(The parts of the bill intended to be stricken are shown in boldface brackets and the parts of the bill intended to be inserted are shown in italic.)

H.R. 1868

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes, namely:

#### TITLE I—EXPORT AND INVESTMENT ASSISTANCE

##### EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

The Export-Import Bank of the United States is authorized to make such expenditures within the limits of funds and borrowing authority available to such corporation, and in accordance with law, and to make such contracts and commitments without regard to fiscal year limitations, as provided by section 104 of the Government Corporation Control Act, as may be necessary in carrying out the program for the current fiscal year for such corporation: *Provided*, That none of the funds available during the current fiscal year may be used to make expenditures, contracts, or commitments for the export of nuclear equipment, fuel, or technology to any country other than a nuclear-