

eyebrows of our constituents, and lower our esteem in their eyes. And that is inexcusable. But, the true role and influence of special interests on Congress is not determined by these gifts. Rather, the true role and influence of special interests on Congress lies with the financial contributions that Members of Congress receive for their campaigns.

If we use our successes on lobbying reform and the gift ban as a substitute for campaign reform, then we will have failed.

The practice of raising unlimited amounts of money through fundraisers hosted by corporations and lobbyists, distinguishes us from the executive branch. That branch of Government could never justify such an act, and neither should we.

Yet, the majority of Members of this body participate in the never-ending ritual of chasing after special interest money. And despite our success on lobbying reform, despite our success on gift ban, this money chase is the true impediment to the independence of our elected officials. The effort to restrict the gifts a Member may or may not receive is vital but incomplete. With or without gift reform, Congress will continue to be diminished in the eyes of the public until we pass comprehensive campaign reform.

So, Mr. President, I urge my colleagues not to let our efforts on gift and lobbying reform be a hollow gesture but, rather, the predecessor to comprehensive reform and to fully securing the respect and trust of the American people.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CHAFEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I ask that I might proceed for 2 minutes as in morning business.

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

#### BABY PEREGRINE FALCON AT THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, a week ago last Tuesday, July 18, the Washington Post had a very exciting article about the return of the peregrine falcons to the Washington area and the birth of a male peregrine falcon baby chick at 75 feet high on a window ledge of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Northeast Washington.

This is exciting news for those of us interested in the Endangered Species Act and the return of some of these species that have been so endangered in our society.

As a matter of fact, one of the things that led to the near demise of the peregrine falcon was the use of DDT and other pesticides which have now been banned. Because of the prevalence of those pesticides, particularly DDT, there were only 100 known pairs of peregrine falcons left east of the Mis-

issippi, but they are making their comeback. I wish to pay tribute not only to the Endangered Species Act, not only to our action in banning DDT, but the work of other areas such as the World Center for Birds of Prey which is located in Boise, ID, where raptors such as the peregrine falcon are brought together and the breeding takes place, and then they are put out in various parts of our country to live in the natural environment.

So this is exciting news. There are plenty of people who trash the Endangered Species Act, but I think it is important to bring to the attention of the public where that act has been successful as in this instance of the return of the peregrine falcon.

I thank the Chair. I thank my friend from Missouri for permitting me to go ahead.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Washington Post entitled "And Baby Falcon Makes Three" be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, July 18, 1995]  
AND BABY FALCON MAKES THREE—FINDING D.C. TO THEIR LIKING, PEREGRINE PAIR PRODUCE A RARE ADDITION  
(By D'Vera Cohn)

Washington may have no skyscrapers, but now it's got something else that is a symbol of a big city: A rare peregrine falcon hatched here this year, the first in memory.

It's a boy!

Few creatures inspire the awe that peregrines do. They are the world's fastest birds, zooming for prey at speeds up to 200 miles an hour. Kings used the hooded falcons for hunting. And they are still so scarce, after pesticides nearly wiped them out, that only 100 known pairs live east of the Mississippi River.

Peregrines are making a comeback in some cities, but they'd never been known to produce young in the District. They love heights—in the wild they nest on cliffs. Could it be that Washington's stubby skyline didn't present the right circumstances for romance?

Now, it seems, height isn't everything.

A pair of peregrines took up residence this spring on the ledge of a small round window about 75 feet up the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, at Fourth Street and Michigan Avenue NE. In April, church workers spotted a white downy chick.

"The baby in the nest would come to the edge and squawk," said Jan Bloom, secretary to the rector. One of the parents "would get breakfast and come back. . . . We'd see them on the roof pecking at what they'd caught."

Peregrines, the size of large crows, are killing machines. They knock down smaller birds with their strong claws, then finish them off with a bite to the nape.

The people at the shrine didn't give away their secret. But Washington's birding world had an inkling something was going on, somewhere.

For the last two winters, a pair of peregrines had been seen killing pigeons at a church on Thomas Circle in Northwest Washington. This year, one began giving food to the other, the avian equivalent of a bachelor offering a diamond engagement ring. Then, as spring arrived, they vanished.

Every rumor about where they'd gone triggered a search. A brood seen atop a down-

town building turned out to be kestrels. Birders checked Washington National Cathedral, assuming they must be in a tall place nearby. Nothing.

Then, one day in June, Deborah Ozga spotted three birds flying around the National Shrine. She heard the pulsing scream of a bird of prey. Thinking the three were hawks, she returned with binoculars and a bird book.

Ozga, who heads the chemistry and physics libraries at Catholic University next to the church, was stunned when she realized what had flown into the neighborhood.

"I knew that to see them was something pretty special," she said. "This book I was reading said they can see a mouse from a mile and a half away."

She reached Erika Wilson, who tapes the weekly "Voice of the Naturalist" phone report that local birders rely on for good sightings.

"As soon as she convinced me she had peregrines, I jumped in my car and went out there," Wilson said. "I think this is so neat!"

One reason for her joy is that Washington seemed the exception among big cities in not having baby peregrine.

Thanks to a captive breeding program that began two decades ago, the species is recovering so well that federal officials began the process this month of removing the peregrine falcon from the endangered list.

There's been a breeding pair in Baltimore since the late 1970s, nesting on a skyscraper. New York City has more than a half-dozen pairs. Even some smaller cities such as Roanoke have them.

The Chesapeake region—from the Blue Ridge to the bay—has more than two dozen peregrine pairs, according to Craig Koppie, a biologist with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in Annapolis.

When he went out to see the birds at the National Shrine last week, Koppie spotted the young falcon catching insects. Then he watched it dive across Michigan Avenue—swooping through morning rush-hour traffic—going after a smaller bird. (Best viewing is in the morning, especially in hot weather.)

All the evidence isn't in, but Koppie believes that the parents are the Thomas Circle peregrines. Despite their name, which means "wanderer," peregrines that live in this region often stay in a territory encompassing a few miles.

Saturday, Koppie used a pigeon lure to trap the young falcon in a net. He banded it for identification, so scientists can monitor how it's doing. He checked it for parasites and pronounced it in good health.

Then, as mother falcon watched, he released the young bird into the air.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be able to speak in morning business for up to 15 minutes.

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

Mr. ASHCROFT. I thank the Chair.

#### WELFARE REFORM

Mr. ASHCROFT. The question that this body will soon address in a formal sense is a question that has been titled welfare reform.

In our debate, we will hear a lot about numbers. We will hear about how much the system costs, about the share of the Nation's output that it occupies. But this debate, properly understood, is not a debate about numbers. It is a

debate about lives, the lives of people who are trapped in the web of the Washington-knows-best, one-size-fits-all welfare system, the lives of the people who are welfare's casualties.

Today, we have a welfare system that was designed with the best of intentions but has given to the poor the worst of all possible worlds, a world of despair where no future is seen, a world of no opportunity where advancement is virtually inconceivable, a world of no family, no support, no nurturing or care from loved ones, a world in which people are raised by welfare and fed through food stamps but they are starved of nurture and they are deprived of hope. The results of this kind of system are very frequently tragic.

It is my intention in the days and weeks to come to highlight this human side of the welfare system. I wish to share some situations that tell us the real tragedy of welfare. Some of the cases are of children who have been killed or neglected. Some are testimonies of people who are trapped in the system. But all of the stories are real, all have been documented in the mainstream press, and they are all stories which we should remember as we debate the statistics and the numerics of welfare, for we must remember the human costs of welfare.

For 30 years and more, we have been told that all we need to do is spend more money. We have been told that we would be able to solve the problems we faced if we simply had enough resources. We have been told that Government, particularly Washington, has all the answers. We have been told that Washington knew best how to help.

The facts are in. The evidence is conclusive, and it points to the fallacy of the argument, for today there are more people in poverty than ever before. There are more children being abused and killed. There is less hope and opportunity for those who are trapped.

I wish to share with you some case stories that illustrate this and that should motivate us to change the way we address the problem of those who need hope and need opportunity and who need our assistance.

I wish to share with you a rather shocking story today, an atrocious story of Ariel Hill. Hers is the body that lies in this casket that is being lowered into the ground in this picture on my left. It is a tragic picture.

According to the reports in the Chicago Tribune, Ariel came into the world on Christmas Eve of 1992, 1-month premature. She was the second of twin children. Her parents were 22-year-olds who had dropped out of high school and did not have jobs. Her mother had her first child as a teenager. Her father grew up on welfare. Ariel had three other siblings in diapers at the time she was born. There were three other diapered children in the family. They lived in a squalid, roach-infested, one-bedroom apartment in public housing, isolated from friends and relatives.

When police entered the home, dirty clothes and scraps of food were strewn

about, giving the apartment the stench of decaying garbage. Both of the parents used drugs. The main source of income was the \$900 per month in public aid checks and the food stamps they used to purchase their meals.

When the investigators went into the apartment, they found the welfare dollars for each child listed on a scrap of paper. It is a tragedy when the human resource of this Nation, the future of America, is valued in terms of its capacity to claim welfare benefits. This was a family trapped in a system without hope, without future, without a way out.

Ariel died on May 12, 1993, less than 6 months after she was born. Her body, weighing less than 7 pounds, had been malnourished and scalded under hot tap water. Ariel's parents were punishing her by refusing to feed her, starving her 5-month-old body. This program of punishment finally peaked on May 11; 30 hours later she was dead.

According to court testimony, Ariel's mother was awakened by the daughter's crying that afternoon. Ariel needed to be changed. Her mother was so angry at being interrupted in the afternoon that she put the infant in the sink and began to burn her with hot water.

Police sources later told the Tribune that Ariel's mother was so upset because she was having difficulty keeping up with her responsibilities as a mother. She had not had much sleep in the last few days, the officer said, with five kids and all. As Ariel was in the sink under the hot water, her twin brother, Adrian, began to cry in the other room, and Ariel's mother left to look after Adrian, leaving the infant in the hot water for approximately 5 minutes. The mother believed that Adrian was healthier because he was a better baby.

By the time she returned, Ariel's skin had been badly burned and was beginning—well, her mother put hot butter on the wounds but did not seek medical attention because she did not want to deal with the division of family services. It was not until the next evening that Ariel's mother and father noticed that Ariel was no longer breathing, and they called 911.

When Ariel was rushed to the Children's Memorial Hospital, she was pronounced dead on arrival. According to experts, her injuries were likely aggravated by her malnutrition, perhaps to the point where she was unable to cry. Ariel also was found to have bruises around her eyes and on her forehead. One of the examiners said there was nothing to her, absolutely nothing to her at all.

According to the Tribune, at her funeral, Ariel's body was covered in a light pink dress and bonnet. Her casket was small enough to fit in the little red wagon that she was too young to play with.

Mr. President, in the days and the weeks ahead, there will be those in the Senate who will take to the floor and argue that what we need is to reform the current system.

I submit to you that unless we want tragedies like this, we need to replace the current system, not reform it. We rearranged the deck chairs on this welfare *Titanic* in 1988, and the skyrocketing record of welfare participation and tragedies, such as this one, indicate to us that reformation is not enough. This is no time for half measures. This is a time to focus on those in need and to realize that Washington never has had the answers and probably never will.

What we need to do is to move people from hopeless governmental dependence to hopeful economic independence, from the grasp of a perverse system of Government programs to the embrace of the loving and caring communities and the limitless opportunities of America.

Our welfare system has been weighed in the balances and found wanting. The prisoners in the war on poverty have been the poor themselves. We must revamp this system so thoroughly that reform cannot characterize the way we treat it. It has to be replaced. It has to be replaced with a system that will allow for the States to have full freedom to implement remedies that will reduce this problem, that will slow illegitimacy instead of grow illegitimacy. It has to be reformed in a way that will stop the incentive for additional births, illegitimate births, and the continuing payment of more and more for those who will bring individuals into the culture with less and less responsibility.

Our effort to save ourselves from the human tragedy that the casket of Ariel in this picture represents has to be a good-faith effort that confesses that it is time to let the States and communities tailor programs to meet the real needs of America. As I indicated earlier, over the next week or so, I will be talking about the welfare system and the fact—undeniable fact—that it is so badly broken that it is tragically destroying the lives of citizens of this land.

Welfare should be a hand up, it should be a way of moving from one standing to another. It should not be a way of ensuring that an individual trapped in a system stays there not just for his or her life, but condemns future generations to a similar existence of tragedy and pain.

If America has a virtue, it is a virtue of opportunity, it is a virtue of hope. We must make sure that the welfare revisions, the replacement of this welfare system in which we will engage in the days ahead, always includes the components of opportunity and hope, those which have been so desperately missing, those which are all too frequently buried as the mistakes of welfare are dealt with under the current system.

Mr. President, I thank you. 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. DORGAN. 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. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes as in morning business.

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

### WELFARE REFORM

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, after listening to my colleague on the subject of welfare reform, I hope that in the coming days we can have an interesting, thoughtful debate about welfare reform on the floor of the Senate. Much of what he described as a remedy I would support. It is, I suppose, useful to describe the failure of the welfare system through the image of a casket, a symbol of a system that does not work.

There are many pictures that one can use to describe the current welfare system. The only disagreement I have with the previous speaker is the notion that somehow the difficulty with this system is that it is administered by the Federal Government. As most of us in this Chamber know, the current welfare system is largely administered by the States and locally. There is plenty wrong with it. That's why we have on our side of the aisle in the Senate constructed a welfare reform plan that I think makes a lot of sense. It is called Work First.

I say to all those who come to the floor to talk about welfare reform and the need for a crusade against teenage pregnancy and a whole series of other reforms that we must embrace in the Congress, that we should also understand our responsibilities when the appropriations bills come to the floor of the Senate.

Yesterday, I saw the results of a bill which would cut nearly one-third of the funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is an agency of the Federal Government that can learn a few things about good administration and effective use of taxpayers' dollars. But as a result of where I think spending cuts have been proposed in some of the appropriations bills, especially with respect to native Americans, we will see some of the most vulnerable people in this country suffer some of the largest budget cuts.

I can bring a picture to the floor today of a young woman from Fort Yates, ND, who at age 3 was placed in a foster home by a caseworker who was handling 150 separate cases. She went to a home which had never been previously inspected by the caseworker and, as a result of going to a home where alcoholism and parties were the norm, this young girl during a drunken party was beaten so severely that hair was pulled out of her head by the roots. Her arm was broken. Her nose was broken. This is a 3-year-old young girl consigned to a foster home by a case-

worker who was handling 150 cases and could not bother or did not have the time or the money or the resources to check the homes she was sticking young children in.

I say to somebody who wants to talk about reform in this system, to somebody who believes that one caseworker ought to be able to handle 150 cases, you are consigning the children in those cases to the kind of harm that occurred to this 3-year-old, physical harm from which she will probably never fully recover.

Look into the eyes of Tamara someday and see what was visited upon this young lady, because there was not enough money to hire the two, three, or four caseworkers to check the houses in which they were going to put these kids.

When we talk about welfare reform, we talk about our obligations to people and then say we do not have enough money for social workers to take care of kids, that is not much reform, in my judgment. We say we cannot afford to enroll kids in Head Start, and that we cannot find enough money for WIC. Part of reforming this system is also to understand our obligation to kids and our obligation to some of the most vulnerable people in this country.

I can show you an office in this country where there are stacks of paper on the floor this high of reported abuses against children, of sexual and physical abuse, that have never been investigated—not even investigated. There are reports that a 3-year-old or a 5-year-old or a 7-year-old has been sexually abused that have not even been investigated. Why? Because they do not have people to go out and investigate. And so, today, a 5-year-old is probably at a home where a previous report has been made of sexual violations against this child or of physical abuse against this child. This child is at risk today and every day because somehow there is not enough money to pay a social worker to go out and investigate the reports.

Any country as good as this country, that can afford to find the resources to have caseworkers and investigators to help protect children who are living in the grip of poverty in this country and who are living in the saddle of fear, and in some of the circumstances that I have seen and I think others have seen, has something wrong if its priorities do not include full protection for these children. In any discussion about reform of our welfare system and in any discussion about our obligations as they relate especially to appropriations bills that come to the floor, I hope will include a full discussion among those of us who have different thoughts about our obligations. I hope to be an active participant, because I have some very strong feelings about what is wrong in this country. We will find many areas of agreement. But to talk about reform and then deny the basic resources necessary to hire caseworkers to protect the lives of children

who are gripped by fear and poverty and live day-to-day fearing for their safety is not a priority that I share. I believe the priority must be for us to decide that it matters, we care, and we will do something about it.

Mr. President, we will soon begin discussing specific proposals on how to reform the Medicare system. I do not know exactly when we will discuss them. I heard the majority leader discussing the schedule a few moments ago. I intend to say to him in a meeting with my colleagues soon that I am not very impressed with the schedule. He has an enormously difficult job, and I understand that. But if you are trying to raise a family and work in the U.S. Senate and find that at 8, 9 o'clock every night, you do not know whether there are going to be more votes, in my judgment, there is a better way to do things. I hope we can find a schedule that allows us to do our work in the Senate and still participate in family life, as well. That is a subject for another time and one that a number of us hope to talk to the leadership about on both sides of the political aisle.

When we talk about the issue of Medicare in the coming days—I was noticing today, on the 30th anniversary of the Medicare bill, that the newspaper, USA Today, has an ad by the Republican Party in it. It says, "Too Young to Die." There is a tombstone on the ad. "Medicare 1965-2002." It has a Medicare pledge called The Republican Pledge to Save Medicare. It says, "If Clinton lets Medicare go bankrupt, you can keep your existing coverage, but only for 7 years. If Clinton lets Medicare go bankrupt, you can keep your own doctor for only 7 years." It goes on at great length. This from a party, 97 percent of whom did not support Medicare in the first place. They always opposed Medicare. They fought to the death here to try and prevent a Medicare Program from becoming a part of our law in this country. Now, on the 30th anniversary, most of them want to love it to death.

Thirty years later, has Medicare worked? You ask some 75-year-old person who has new knees, or a new hip, or who has had cataract surgery and is not consigned to blindness or a wheelchair, or who has had open heart surgery. Ask them whether Medicare has worked and if they are free from the fear of whether they will have health care when they grow old.

Ninety-seven percent of our senior citizens are covered with health care coverage. I am proud of that. Before Medicare, less than half of the senior citizens had access to health insurance. Now, almost all of them do. Is that an accident? No, it is not. It is because people in this Chamber in years past had the vision to say we ought to put together a system that frees senior citizens from the fear of when they reach the advancing age of lower income and more health problems, frees them from the fear that they may not be able to get medical help because