

## LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, we have been in a quorum call trying to work out an arrangement on the bill on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education, of which I am the manager for the majority as chairman of the appropriations subcommittee, and in the absence of any action on the bill up to the moment—we are optimistic we will have agreement on a procedure to move ahead—I thought it would be useful to take this time to make what would in effect be an opening statement on the bill so that people will be aware of what this bill means.

The Labor, Health and Human Services and Education bill, which will shortly be before the Senate, totals \$62.8 billion in discretionary budget authority, including \$65 million in funds from the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. Mandatory spending totals \$200.9 billion, an increase of \$17.7 billion over the 1995 levels, but those are mandatory expenditures over which we have no control, entitlements. These totals are within the subcommittee's 602(b) allocation for both budget authority and outlays, according to the Congressional Budget Office. The allocation falls over \$7 billion below the original appropriated funds for fiscal year 1995 and \$4.4 billion below the postrescission levels.

That means we have an enormous cut this year, but this is on a trend line to have a balanced budget by the year 2002 so that we do not burden further generations with excessive spending in the present.

In structuring this bill, we have tried to deal with this budget with a scalpel instead of a meat ax and very carefully approaching the allocations for the most important items, and I think we have succeeded in doing that.

This year has been an extremely difficult one for the subcommittee, and very many difficult decisions had to be made in order to stay within that allocation.

Senator HARKIN and I have taken a careful look at all of the programs within the bill and have sought to make some modifications in some of the proposals made by the House, particularly in education, workplace safety, and also funding for programs to protect women against violence.

I take this opportunity to thank my distinguished colleague, Senator HARKIN, for his help and cooperation in bringing this bill forward to this point. Senator HARKIN and I have worked together on this subcommittee. Last year, in the 103d Congress, he was the chairman, I ranking; this year it is nicer to be chairman, and Senator HARKIN has been a very cooperative ranking member.

The important programs funded within this subcommittee's jurisdiction provide moneys to improve the public health, strengthen biomedical research, assure a quality education for

America's children, and job training activities to keep America's work force competitive within world markets.

The funds are not adequate, Mr. President, but they are the best that can be done under the circumstances. The House budget was less than ours. We had almost \$1.6 billion additional funding, and we have put all of that money into education.

That is a subject, Mr. President, that I feel very strongly about from my days growing up where education was very heavily stressed in the Specter household really because my parents had so little of it.

My father, as an immigrant from Russia, coming to this country as a young man of 18, had no formal education at all. My mother came with her family when she was 5 years old from a small town on the Russian-Polish border and she went to only the eighth grade. Her father, my grandfather, died of a heart attack in his mid-forties, and she had to leave school in the eighth grade to help support the family. My brother, my two sisters and I, having had excellent educational opportunities, have been able to share in the American dream.

I think in the long run education is the answer. If you take a look at virtually all of the problems that beset our society, problems of welfare, problems of teenage pregnancy, problems of disintegration of the family, problems of crime, education would be the long-range answer.

Twenty-eight years ago, when I was an official in the city of Philadelphia, working as district attorney and a candidate that year for mayor, there was an impressive book written, "Cities in a Race with Time," and not a whole lot has changed because we really have not dug into the educational system in America.

One of the proposals in this bill which we have funded in the Senate but was not funded in the House has been the Goals 2000 program, initiated under a Republican President, President Bush, carried forward under a Democratic President, President Clinton.

There are two States which have not taken funding under Goals 2000, the State of Virginia and the State of New Hampshire, and one State, Montana, will not take funding next year.

It is my view, Mr. President, that Goals 2000 constitutes a very important step forward. They are voluntary goals. They are not mandatory. States may adopt other goals as they see fit. There are some standards. Terrel Bell, in 1983, was Secretary of Education when a book came forward talking about the crisis in the American educational system, and still we have failed to deal adequately with that issue.

We held hearings in the Labor, HHS and Education Appropriations Subcommittee, on September 12, looking for a way to eliminate some of the Federal strings to satisfy all of the States, and we may have found changes to pursue in an authorization bill.

Also, there is a possibility that funds might be given directly to local school districts subject to veto power by the State which has sovereignty. But it is my hope that states will use Goals 2000 to set these standards to strengthen education in America.

On biomedical research, Mr. President, we have for the National Institutes of Health nearly \$11.6 billion, an increase of some \$300 million over the fiscal year 1995 appropriations. These funds will boost the biomedical research appropriations to maintain and strengthen the tremendous strides which have been made in unlocking medical mysteries which lead to new treatments and cures. Gene therapy offers great promise for the future. In the 15 years that I have been in the Senate, all those years on the appropriations subcommittee dealing with health and human services, where cuts have been proposed by Presidents, both Democrat and Republican, we have increased funding for medical research, which I think it is very important.

Two years ago, I had a medical problem and was the beneficiary of the MRI developed in 1985, after I had come to the Senate, a life-saving procedure to detect an intracranial lesion. So I have professional, political, and personal experiences to attest to the importance of health research funding.

On Alzheimer's disease, Mr. President, this last year the United States spent over \$90 billion to care for Alzheimer's patients. This devastating disease robs its victims of their minds while depriving families of the well-being and security they deserve.

We have been working to focus more attention and more money into the causes and cures of Alzheimer's. To address this problem, the bill contains increased funding for research into finding the cause and cures for Alzheimer's disease. The bill also includes nearly \$5 million for a State grant program to help families caring for Alzheimer's patients at home. The statistics are enormously impressive, Mr. President, that if we could delay the onset of Alzheimer's disease, we could save billions of dollars.

On women's health, in 1995, 182,000 women will be diagnosed as having breast cancer and some 46,000 women will die from the disease. The investment in education and treatment advances led to the announcement last year that the breast cancer death rates in American women declined by 4.7 percent between 1989 and 1992, the largest such short-term decline since 1950.

And while this was encouraging news, it only highlighted the fact that the Federal Government investment is beginning to pay off. While it was difficult in a tight budget year to raise funding levels, the subcommittee placed a very high priority on women's health issues. The bill before the Senate contains an increase of \$25 million for breast and cervical cancer screening, increases to expand research on the breast cancer gene, to permit the

development of a diagnostic test to identify women who are at risk, and speed research to develop effective methods of prevention, early detection and treatment.

Funding for the Office of Women's Health has also been doubled to continue the national action plan on breast cancer, and to develop and establish a clearinghouse to provide health care professionals with a broad range of women's health-related information. This increase has been recommended for the Office of Women's Health, because of the very effective work that that office has been doing.

On Healthy Start, Mr. President, children born of low birthweight is the leading cause of infant mortality. Infants who have been exposed to drugs, alcohol or tobacco in utero are more likely to be born prematurely and of low birthweight. We have in our society, Mr. President, thousands of children born each year no bigger than the size of my hand, weighing a pound, some even as little as 12 ounces. They are human tragedies at birth carrying scars for a lifetime. They are enormously expensive, costing more than \$200,000 until they are released from the hospital.

Years ago, Dr. Koop outlined the way to deal with this issue by prenatal visits. The Healthy Start program was initiated, and has been carried forward, to target resources for prenatal care to high incidence communities; it is funded as well as we could under this bill with increases as I have noted.

On AIDS, the bill contains \$2.6 billion for research, education, prevention and services to embattle the scourge of AIDS, including \$379 million for emergency aid to the 42 cities hardest hit by this disease.

When it comes to the subject of violence against women, it is one of the epidemic problems in our society. The Department of Justice reports that each year women are the victims of more than 4.5 million violent crimes, including an estimated 500,000 rapes or other sexual assaults.

But crime statistics do not tell the whole story. I have visited many shelters, Mr. President, in Harrisburg and Pittsburgh and have seen firsthand the physical and emotional suffering so many women are enduring. In a sad, ironic way the women I saw were the lucky ones because they survived violent attacks.

The Labor-HHS-Education bill contains \$96 million for programs authorized by the Violent Crime Reduction Act. The bill before the Senate contains the full amount authorized for these programs, including \$50 million for battered-women shelters, \$35 million for rape prevention programs, \$7 million for runaway youth, and \$4.9 million for community demonstration programs, the operation of the hotline and education programs for youth. These funds have been appropriated, Mr. President, after very, very careful analysis as to where the subcommittee

and the full committee felt the money could best be spent.

On the school-to-work program, the committee recommends \$245 million within the Departments of Labor and Education, which is maintenance of the level provided in 1995. We would like to have had more money, but that was the best we could do considering the other cuts.

On nutrition programs for the elderly, for the congregate and home-delivered meals program, the bill provides almost \$475 million. Within this amount is \$110.3 million for the home-delivered meals program, an increase of \$16.2 million over the 1995 appropriation because there are such long waiting lists, so many seniors who really depend upon this for basic subsistence.

On education, we have allocated the full amount of the increase that our subcommittee received, some \$1.6 billion. The bill does not contain all of the funds we would like to have provided, but it is a maximum effort on this important subject.

As to job training, Mr. President, we know all too well that high unemployment means a waste of valuable human resources, inevitably depresses consumer spending, and weakens our economy. The bill before us today includes \$3.4 billion for job training programs. And again, candidly, I would like to see more, Mr. President, but this is the maximum that we could allocate.

As to workplace safety, the bill contains an increase of \$62 million over the amount recommended by the House for worker protection programs. While progress has been made in this area, there are still far too many work-related injuries and illnesses, and these funds will provide programs and inspect businesses and industry, weed out occupational hazards, and protect worker pensions within reasonable bounds.

LIHEAP is a program which is very important, Mr. President, to much of America. It provides low-income heating and fuel assistance. Eighty percent of those who receive LIHEAP assistance earn less than \$7,000 a year. It is a program which was zeroed out by the House, and we have reinstated it in this bill. We have effectively included a total of \$1 billion here, \$100 million of which is carryover funds, as we understand the current state of affairs, although it is hard to get an exact figure, and an additional \$900 million.

As the Congress consolidates and streamlines programs, Federal administrative costs must also be downsized. In this bill, with the exception of the Social Security Administration, we have cut program management an average of 8 percent. Many view administrative costs as waste and others suggest that deeper cuts are justified. It is our judgment that any further reductions would be counterproductive.

In closing, Mr. President, I want to thank the extraordinary staffs who have worked on this program. On the Senate side, Bettilou Taylor and Craig

Higgins have been extraordinary and professional in taking inordinately complicated printouts and working through a careful analysis of the priorities.

We received requests from many of our colleagues. And to the maximum extent, we have accommodated those requests. We have received many requests from people around the country. We have accommodated as many requests for personal meetings as we could, both with the Senators and with their staffs. And we think this is a very significant bill.

There are people on both sides who have objected to provisions of the bill. When a motion to proceed is offered, it is my hope that we will proceed to take up this bill and that we will pass it. We are aware that there has been the threat of a veto from the executive branch, and I invite the President or any of his officials to suggest improvements if they feel they can do it better.

There is a commitment in America to a balanced budget and, that is something we have to do. We have structured our program to have that balanced budget within 7 years by the year 2002. The President talks about a balanced budget within 9 years. I suggest that our targeting is the preferable target.

To the extent people have suggestions on better allocations, we are prepared to listen, but this is our best judgment. We urge the Senate to proceed with this bill.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, we have been trying to figure out some way to move this bill out of the Senate. As the Senator from Pennsylvania has been explaining, it is a very important bill. We understand the President is going to veto it. We have been trying to determine how can we get it to the President quickly.

Of course, one way to do it is to pass it without any amendments, have him veto it, and then have the fight on all these different amendments at a later time. Unfortunately, we do not seem to have an agreement on that procedure. But the two leaders have agreed to a request, and it has been signed off on by the Senator from Pennsylvania, Senator SPECTER, the chairman of the subcommittee, and Senator HARKIN from Iowa, the ranking member on the subcommittee. I will propound that request.

Let me first explain to all Senators that we have a problem here because we could not come together. There would have been a filibuster on a motion to proceed. In order to have a motion to proceed, it takes 60 affirmative votes to shut off debate so you can go to the bill. That also requires that you set up getting a cloture motion signed. Then it must be filed and there must be one intervening day of the Senate's session. We are within a couple of days of completing our work on the appropriations bills prior to the end of the

fiscal year. It seems to me the agreement I will ask for in a minute seems to achieve this 60-vote test without having to file cloture motions to comply with all other provisions of rule XXII.

I will now make the request.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT  
AGREEMENT—H.R. 2127

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at 9 a.m. on Thursday, I be recognized to make a motion to proceed to consideration of H.R. 2127; that a vote occur on the motion to proceed at 10 a.m. on Thursday; that the time between 9 a.m. and 10 a.m. be equally divided in the usual form.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that if the motion to proceed does not receive 60 or more votes, there then be a second vote on the motion to proceed at 11 a.m. on Thursday, with the time between votes to be equally divided in the usual form.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that if the second vote on the motion to proceed does not receive 60 votes in the affirmative, the motion automatically be withdrawn.

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

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I think I have explained this. This, in effect, saves a couple of days going through the cloture route, intervening days and all these things. It seems to me we have so many differences on each side that this bill is in great difficulty, notwithstanding the splendid efforts made by the managers, particularly the chairman of the subcommittee.

But it also seems to me if we are not going to have any movement on the bill, we at least ought to make the effort and then withdraw the motion to proceed and lay the bill aside.

That would leave us one additional bill, State, Justice, Commerce appropriations to deal with yet this week, and also the continuing resolution, and also to complete in the Finance Committee and the Agriculture Committee our reconciliation obligations.

I think the other committees, as far as I know, have completed them. The Finance Committee will meet this evening as soon as we recess, which will be in a few moments.

So I hope this procedure will expedite something. I am not certain what. Maybe it will expedite getting out this week.

Hopefully, this may not happen, but I have discussed this with the manager, Senator SPECTER, after we have these two votes, if we do not receive 60 votes, maybe then we can convince our colleagues on each side to let us pass this by voice vote, send it to conference,

and get it down to the President. He already said he is going to veto it. There is no question about a veto. The veto cannot be overridden. Then we initiate a new bill in the House, it will come back to the Senate, and then we have our fight sometime probably late October. In the meantime, it will be wrapped in the continuing resolution.

MEASURE READ FOR FIRST  
TIME—H.R. 927

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I inquire of the chair if H.R. 927 has arrived from the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has arrived.

Mr. DOLE. Therefore, I ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 927) to seek international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes.

Mr. DOLE. I now ask for its second reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, as a pro forma matter, I voice an objection at this time since there is no other Senator on the floor to raise that objection. I do so pro forma to protect the record, not because I would not like personally to see us proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. DOLE. I thank my colleague from Pennsylvania. Senator DASCHLE would have objected and appreciates you doing that for him.

Mr. DOLE. As I understand, the bill remains at the desk?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be read a second time on the next legislative day.

Mr. SPECTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

THE RUSSELL, KS, DELEGATION

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader for working out this procedure. I have been here almost 15 years. This is the first time, I think, that only Senator DOLE and I have been on the floor at the same time. I hope everyone in Russell, KS, who has C-SPAN 2 is watching this proceeding. This is a full Russell, KS, delegation now on the floor conducting the Senate business. I do hope if Russell High School has not yet initiated a course in Senate procedure, they do so very, very promptly. Perhaps Senator DOLE and I can nominate Mrs. Alice Mills, the sole remaining teacher who taught both of us, to be emeritus instructor of that course.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania. I do hope people in our hometown are watching. It is a small place, but a lot of good people there.

They are friends of both of ours. They are having great difficulties sorting out all this 1996 Presidential politics in Russell, KS.

Mr. SPECTER. That is the most encouraging thing I have heard today, Mr. President.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 2:30 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 927. An act to seek international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2399. An act to amend the Truth in Lending Act to clarify the intent of such Act and to reduce burdensome regulatory requirements on creditors.

MEASURES READ THE FIRST TIME

The following bill was read the first time:

H.R. 927. An act to seek international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, to plan for support of a transition government leading to a democratically elected government in Cuba, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on September 22, 1995 he had presented to the President of the United States, the following enrolled bills:

S. 464. An act to make the reporting deadlines for studies conducted in Federal court demonstration districts consistent with the deadlines for pilot districts, and for other purposes.

S. 532. An act to clarify the rules governing venue, and for other purposes.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND  
JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. GRASSLEY:

S. 1276. A bill to permit agricultural producers to enter into market transition contracts and receive loans, to require a pilot