

Bill of Rights. It has been the framework of the most powerful democracy known to history. It has been the framework of a democracy that, if it keeps to its basic tenets, can last for hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years.

I do not like the Republican Contract With America. I think it would result in the largest transfer of benefits and entitlements from working-class families and the middle class to the rich of this country. I have seen reports that households with incomes over \$200,000 would receive an average annual tax entitlement of more than \$11,500 by the year 2002, and working-class America will lose. I will fight those changes in the Senate.

Since the Truman administration, Republicans and Democrats have strongly backed the School Lunch Program. The Lunch Program began because thousands of military recruits were turned down in World War II because of malnutrition and nutrition-related medical problems.

Now House Republicans want to end this 50-year tradition and repeal the School Lunch Act. The Republicans keep changing their minds on who they should pick on next—infants, toddlers, pregnant women, or school children?

In committee last week, the Republican majority repealed free lunches for school children who cannot afford a meal ticket.

They eliminated national nutrition standards for healthy school lunches. That will not make parents of grade school children very happy, but it will make a fortune for the soft drink bottlers.

House Republicans also have taken steps to cut thousands of toddlers off child care food programs, and they are dismantling the WIC Program. Millions of pregnant women, infants and children could be thrown off the WIC Program.

House Republicans have reduced dramatically the chance that low-income families can get off welfare—their cuts in day care funding may mean that thousands of day care homes go out of business.

This makes no sense whatsoever.

But, the Republicans know that children are not old enough to vote so they have targeted the School Lunch Program, the School Breakfast Program, child care programs, and WIC.

The fine print in the Contract With America is really a contract against children, and a contract against mothers and fathers. This assault on America's families must be stopped.

The contract is antichild, antifamily, and false advertising. It promises limited block grants, but delivers big cuts.

The contract is antitaxpayer as well. The House Republicans on the committee voted down last week a provision that would save taxpayers \$1 billion a year.

The WIC Program is required to buy infant formula under competitive bidding under a provision I was able to get

passed in 1989. That provision puts an additional 1.5 million pregnant women, infants, and children on WIC at no extra cost to taxpayers—it does this by saving \$1 billion.

Who wins under this Republican scheme? Four giant drug companies that make infant formula. Who loses? Taxpayers, and 1.5 million pregnant women, infants, and children.

At the same time House Republicans are throwing hundreds of millions of dollars at these corporate giants, they are proposing to cut free lunches to children who cannot afford the cost of a lunch.

The best arguments against block granting child nutrition programs have come from NEWT GINGRICH and Congressman WILLIAM GOODLING.

NEWT GINGRICH has done a complete about-face on these issues. He cosponsored a resolution in 1982 stating that the "Federal government should retain primary responsibility for the child nutrition programs and such programs should not be included in any block grant." [H. Con. Res. 384, which passed on September 29, 1982.]

The reasons that child nutrition programs should not be included in block grants was best stated by Congressman WILLIAM GOODLING who is now chairman of the House committee that just approved the block grants of child nutrition programs. He said that "a child's basic nutrition needs do not vary from State to State." [Cong. Rec., July 23, 1982, p. 17865.]

The report explaining that resolution, which was sponsored by NEWT GINGRICH, said that if you have "50 distinct State programs, there is no guarantee that the needy child whose family income has fallen below the poverty line would be entitled to participation in a free-lunch program."

The report concluded that Federal child nutrition programs "should not be turned back to the states or diluted through a block grant at reduced funding." [Page 4, Hse. Rpt. 97-870, Sept. 24, 1982.]

The report explains that block grants do not increase to address recessions, and thus they throw children off the program just when the lunch program is most needed.

That was true then. It is still true today.

Why has NEWT GINGRICH changed his mind? To understand why you have to look at the whole contract.

The Republican Contract With America and the balanced budget amendment—taken together—would likely result in the largest transfer of benefits and entitlements from working-class families and the middle class to the rich in the history of this country. I have seen reports that households with incomes over \$200,000 a year would receive an average annual tax entitlement of more than \$11,500 by the year 2002. And the working class will lose.

I will fight these changes in the Senate.

I yield the floor.

## WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, before contemplating today's bad news about the Federal debt, let's conduct that little pop quiz again: How many million dollars are in \$1 trillion? When you arrive at an answer, bear in mind that it was the Congress of the United States that ran up a debt now exceeding \$4.8 trillion.

To be exact, as of the close of business Friday, February 24, the Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at \$4,838,340,257,340.71—meaning that every man, woman, and child in America now owes \$18,366.42 computed on a per capita basis.

Mr. President, again to answer our pop quiz question—how many million in a trillion?—there are one million million in a trillion; and you can thank the U.S. Congress for the existing Federal debt exceeding \$4.8 trillion.

## REMARKS OF COMMISSIONER GEORGE W. HALEY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I would like to share with my colleagues the remarks of Commissioner George W. Haley, who was recently invited to speak at Dyess Air Force Base in Abilene, TX, in observance of Black History Month.

In his remarks, Commissioner Haley reminds us that the American experiment is indeed working today, despite all the divisions that beset our great Nation. Commissioner Haley's message is one of hope and optimism for the future. He understands that America is not perfect, but that injustice and imperfection should inspire us to work harder to ensure that the American dream can become a reality for all Americans.

Commissioner Haley comes from a military family. During World War I, his father was wounded in the Argonne Forest. His brother Alex spent 20 years in the U.S. Coast Guard. His brother Julius is a Korean war veteran. And Commissioner Haley himself served his country as a member of the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II.

We are proud of the Haley family, and we thank them for the important contributions they have made to our country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Commissioner Haley's remarks be reprinted in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY HON. GEORGE W. HALEY, POSTAL RATE COMMISSIONER, IN OBSERVANCE OF BLACK HISTORY MONTH

Martin Luther King, Jr., liked to tell a story about a minister who was very emotional and dramatic in his presentations. After one of his fiery Sunday morning sermons, a member of his congregation was commenting to one of his friends that afternoon on what a good sermon the minister had preached. His friend asked: "What did he say?" The parishioner replied: "I don't know, but he sure was good!"

My friends, it is my intention that my address this evening will be both good and thought provoking.

I consider it a great privilege to be invited to speak at this banquet this evening. Before I move on, let me pause for just a moment. General Henderson, I thank you and your staff very much for making this occasion and opportunity possible, and I am glad to be with you tonight.

Two prize members of your military family here, Major James Durant and his wife, Karen, are also members of my family. Major Durant, whom we affectionately call Jimmy, and his wife are both a credit to the military and to our Nation—our family is exceedingly proud of them.

On May 12, 1946, I was honorably discharged from your predecessor service, the United States Army Air Corps. I had been drafted three years earlier, just two months after my 18th birthday, to serve in the Second World War.

Being in the service was a rich experience for me. I had come from a rather sheltered environment, and I learned many valuable lessons about life as a young adult in the military. During my entire military career, the United States Army Air Corps, and all of the military forces of the United States, were totally segregated. Squadron F was the segregated squadron to which all African Americans, then called colored Americans, were assigned. Calling an African American "Black" at that time—well, those were fighting words. But the meaning of some words changes with time. For instance, then, the word mouse had no computer connotations. When we thought about a mouse, the only mouse we ever hoped to catch was in a trap and not a mouse driving a computer. Mr. Justice Holmes describes changes in meanings and interpretations of words most eloquently in a case before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1918, in which he says:

"A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged. It is the skin of a living thought, and may vary in circumstances according to the time and place in which it is used."

Everything was not dismal when I was a young man in the military. We were hardy, healthy, young men. We were proud of our country—aware of its inequalities, but willing and ready to defend it against its enemies and those who would threaten it. Our squadron sang the words, "Off we go into the wild blue yonder, climbing high into the sky \* \* \*," with much patriotism—and with gusto and pride.

My father served in the Army. He was wounded in the Argonne forest in France during World War I. My brother, Alex, spent 20 years in the United States Coast Guard, including the World War II years. Julius, my younger brother, served in the Korean conflict. Dad was proud that he and his three sons were all veterans and had served this Nation. He lost no opportunity to tell you about himself and his children. During his later years, Dad was a very active veteran serving for some years as Commander of the American Legion post in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and in many other capacities until his death at age 83.

I have been privileged to travel in all parts of the world, and there is absolutely no place I'd rather claim as a citizen—including the Republic of South Africa, under the magnificent leadership of Nelson Mandela—than the United States of America. But in spite of the sentiments of Oscar Hammerstein's famous song, "Summertime, and the Livin' is Easy," which, as you know, is from the beloved American classic, George Gershwin's opera, "Porgy and Bess," the lives of African Americans have never been easy.

As I grow older, I feel more the urge to express my thoughts and to articulate some of

the challenges which I believe confront young Americans—and more specifically, young African Americans. I want to share with you, as we consider your African-American heritage celebration this year, my interpretation and reaction to the incredible story of African Americans since we were brought to this country early in the 17th century. But I also want to stress how all of us can be proactive and accept the opportunities, challenges, and responsibilities to make this Nation and the world a better, safer, more humane place for the great experiment our Nation represents to continue.

It has been said that history is important only as it relates to the present and the future. From the evils of slavery came the Dred Scott case. The Dred Scott case was decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1856. It still amazes me when I read portions of it. The Nation's highest court found that a slave was not a person—that a slave was simply personal property—and could be sold like a pig or cow or mule.

Just a bit more than a decade after this case the era in our Nation's history which is the theme of our celebration here this year. Specifically, we are reflecting on the lives and philosophies of three Americans: Frederick Douglass, WEB DuBois, and Booker T. Washington. The influence of these three men continues to be felt, not only on the domestic front, but increasingly on the international scene as well.

There is no statement by Frederick Douglass that is more compelling and meaningful than when he states:

"We Negroes are here, and here we are likely to be. To imagine that we shall ever be eradicated is absurd and ridiculous. We can be remodified, changed and assimilated, but never extinguished. We repeat, therefore, that we are here; and that this is our country. We shall neither die out, nor be driven out, but shall go forth with this people, either as a testimony against them, or as an evidence in their favor throughout their generations."

Booker T. Washington advocated a doctrine which suggested that Blacks and whites could both prosper, but live in separate communities. This doctrine was calculated to appeal to whites. DuBois was more the carrier of Douglass's tradition towards an integrationist position. We can conclude from the debates between DuBois and Washington that in the making of history no individual has all of the answers—only God has all the answers. Life for all of us—Black and white; Asian, Native American, and Hispanic—is a compromise. We influence each other—as individuals, within the races, within the Nation.

Benjamin Elijah Mays, an eminent theologian, philosopher, educator—and for many years the President of Morehouse College from which I graduated—used to tell us when I was a student there:

"Train your minds while you are young. For the man who out-thinks you, rules you."

One of Dr. Mays' many other sources of inspiration were the writings of the Apostle Paul, from the Christian tradition. Specifically, he enjoyed Paul's letter to the church at Rome. In that epistle, Paul wrote:

"Do not be conformed to this age, but be transformed by the renewal of your mind."

And what can we say about this age? Our society and our communities in many areas of this Nation have become frightening. We don't need to cite isolated events; they abound all over the Nation—in big cities as well as small towns. Soaring homicide rates for young African-American men in center cities now commonly referred to as "war zones." There are more Blacks in prison than in college. Displays of profanity and sexuality abound, masquerading as free speech

and "the language of the people." The society in which we presently live would have given my grandmother apoplexy. I know that most of you are deeply troubled—as am I—by this chaotic state of affairs. We are reminded today, more than ever, that the mind is a terrible thing to waste. Is it not time for us to transform the entire political process by the renewal of our minds?

Don't be afraid to think and to act! And don't be afraid to change. The art of politics is power, and the ability to use it wisely.

In Shakespeare's "King Lear," one of the characters describes a politician as having few or no principles—a man who speaks without redeeming purpose while practicing his "oily art." I certainly would not consider all who are politicians to be practitioners of the "oily art"—the political process can be used for good or for bad, liberation or oppression. I urge you to use it well!

Many of you have brilliant minds. Use them. The economic and political world in our democracy is based on power and the wise use of political and business acumen—not race.

You must use your minds, because:

While you are here in the military, you have great opportunities for further preparedness.

Some of you will move on from military service into civilian life, still at very young and productive ages.

You need to prepare for further contributions.

Our country and the world need you.

You can continue your educations here. Many American colleges and universities have excellent correspondence programs for advancing your formal training.

You can hone your skills—become more proficient—not just getting-by or getting-over.

You must strive for excellence in whatever your responsibilities are.

You should be satisfied only after you have given your best and done your best.

We know that African Americans play with a stacked deck in America. Things are not always equal. Opportunities can appear and, just as suddenly, disappear. Such is the nature of the world in which we live. You cannot always control situations, but you can control your response. When slapped down, get up. When up, don't forget—help someone else. As you grow in strength, so does the Nation.

There is much discussion about affirmative action in the Nation today. General Colin Powell recently stated:

"Nowhere in corporate America can it be said, as it can be said in the military, that a person is judged by his merit and his character and can supervise and command troops everyday at every level from corporal to general."

You, here in the military, are very much aware of the opportunities that affirmative action can bring about, but the discussion is also divisive and unsettling in many quarters. There is grave need to encourage and stimulate as much of the citizen ability as possible for the good of the entire Nation.

Affirmative action was initially designed to help make a level playing field for a race crippled socially, culturally, and economically from generations of unequal treatment. It was certainly never designed to take away any opportunities from white Americans by giving preference to underserving minorities. Rather it was designed to enable African Americans—and, subsequently, other minorities and women—to compete in education and industry for the betterment of the entire Nation. When I was growing up in the South, public schools for whites received the new text books and new science and laboratory

equipment, while the Black schools invariably inherited the used books and old equipment.

It is not questioned that there have been some abuses along the way of what the basic intentions of affirmative action are. Admittedly, some of its policies and remedies need reexamination. It cannot be challenged, however, that America is a better, stronger country when all of its citizens are able to compete and contribute. And this is the purpose of affirmative action!

Never let anybody convince you that you are inferior—the Bell Curve and anybody else's curve notwithstanding! Many whites are conditioned to think they are superior to African Americans and some African Americans are conditioned to think they are inferior. This is a most unfortunate myth. If intellect, survival, and progress of this Nation were based solely on skin color, this Nation would not be nearly so strong and vibrant.

Don't deal with these misconceptions in a hostile manner, even with those who seek to use African Americans as scapegoats. Most African Americans, male and female, cringed with fear as the Nation sought the head of a nonexistent Black male so vividly described by the distraught Susan Smith of Union, South Carolina, when, in fact, she, herself, had driven her two little boys down a ramp to their deaths in a lake. That was the same sort of apprehension when Charles Stuart of Boston, Massachusetts, said his wife was murdered by a Black man and he, himself, had done it.

Much of the madness which has developed in inner cities is, in fact, caused by a deep frustration of racial overtones in this Nation. We as a Nation simply must recognize it, and continue to seek solutions to solve our problems, not letting this madness consume us. This is a national problem, and white suburbia dare not keep its doors locked as if it didn't exist.

Even against these odds, African Americans have made untold contributions. Across America and throughout its history—whether in arts, literature, sports, science, politics, business, military—we have seen heroes. From Crispus Attucks to Colin Powell, we have witnessed incredible African-American contributions. African Americans have—indeed—assimilated into the American culture and strongly influenced many of its institutions. There is absolutely no end of contributors: Michael Jackson, Oprah Winfrey, Ed Brooke, Douglas Wilder, Marian Anderson, Benjamin O. Davis, Mary McLeod Bethune, Malcolm X, Jesse Jackson, Maya Angelou, Jackie Robinson, Joe Louis, Andrew Young, Roland Hayes, Sojourner Truth, and many, many others.

But do you know what? While it is easy to find fault, and while shortcomings abound, what Alexis de Tocqueville long ago called America's experiment in government is working! In so many situations, people from many ethnic backgrounds work together for a common purpose. Just as I have seen divisions based on color in my lifetime, so have I seen rich and rewarding diversity at work. And I think you also have seen what I am talking about. As a Nation, we can do better—we must do better, but maybe—just maybe—we are getting better.

My final question for you is: Where do you fit into this great American experiment—into this American dream? Have you ever seriously thought about it? You are unique. There is absolutely nobody else in all the world like you. No other person can offer the world what you can!

I leave you with the challenge as we reflect on this Black history observance this year. What will you do to keep this country strong and safe—this country we all are proud to call home?

I thank you!

#### CHERISHING THE IRISH DIASPORA—PRESIDENT MARY ROBINSON'S ADDRESS TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, 1995 marks the beginning of the 150th anniversary of the Great Irish Famine. Many of the 70 million men, women, and children of Irish descent around the world today, including 44 million Irish-Americans, are part of the Irish diaspora which the famine caused.

Earlier this month, President Mary Robinson of Ireland addressed both Houses of the Irish Parliament on the famine and on the larger subject of the Irish diaspora and the modern meaning of "Irishness" for peoples and communities everywhere. I believe that President Robinson's eloquent address will be of interest to all of us in Congress and I ask unanimous consent that it may be printed in the RECORD.

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

CHERISHING THE IRISH DIASPORA—ADDRESS TO THE HOUSES OF THE OIREACHTAS  
(By President Mary Robinson)

Four years ago I promised to dedicate my abilities to the service and welfare of the people of Ireland. Even then I was acutely aware of how broad that term "the people of Ireland" is and how it resisted any fixed or narrow definition. One of my purposes here today is to suggest that, far from seeking to categorize or define it, we widen it still further to make it as broad and inclusive as possible.

At my inauguration I spoke of the seventy million people worldwide who can claim Irish descent. I also committed my Presidency to cherishing them—even though at the time I was thinking of doing so in a purely symbolic way. Nevertheless the simple emblem of a light in the window, for me, and I hope for them, signifies the inextinguishable nature of our love and remembrance on this island for those who leave it behind.

But in the intervening four years something has occurred in my life which I share with many deputies and senators here and with most Irish families. In that time I have put faces and names to many of those individuals.

In places as far apart as Calcutta and Toronto, on a number of visits to Britain and the United States, in cities in Tanzania and Hungary and Australia, I have met young people from throughout the island of Ireland who felt they had no choice but to emigrate. I have also met men and women who may never have seen this island but whose identity with it is part of their own self-definition. Last summer, in the city of Cracow, I was greeted in Irish by a Polish student, a member of the Polish-Irish Society. In Zimbabwe I learned that the Mashonaland Irish Association had recently celebrated its centenary. In each country I visited I have met Irish communities, often in far-flung places, and listened to stories of men and women whose pride and affection for Ireland have neither deserted them nor deterred them from dedicating their loyalty and energies to other countries and cultures. None are a greater source of pride than the missionaries and aid workers who bring such dedication, humour and practical common sense to often very demanding work.

Through this office, I have been a witness to the stories these people and places have to tell.

The more I know of these stories the more it seems to me an added richness of our heritage that Irishness is not simply territorial. In fact Irishness as a concept seems to me at its strongest when it reaches out to everyone on this island and shows itself capable of honouring and listening to those whose sense of identity, and whose cultural values, may be more British than Irish. It can be strengthened again if we turn with open minds and hearts to the array of people outside Ireland for whom this island is a place of origin. After all, emigration is not just a chronicle of sorrow and regret. It is also a powerful story of contribution and adaptation. In fact, I have become more convinced each year that this great narrative of dispossession and belonging, which so often had its origins in sorrow and leave-taking, has become—with a certain amount of historic irony—one of the treasures of our society. If that is so then our relation with the diaspora beyond our shores is one which can instruct our society in the values of diversity, tolerance, and fair-mindedness.

To speak of our society in these terms is itself a reference in shorthand to the vast distances we have traveled as a people. This island has been inhabited for more than five thousand years. It has been shaped by pre-Celtic wanderers, by Celts, Vikings, Normans, Huguenots, Scottish and English settlers. Whatever the rights or wrongs of history, all those people marked this island: down to the small detail of the distinctive ship-building of the Vikings, the linen-making of the Huguenots, the words of Planter balladeers. How could we remove any one of these things from what we call our Irishness? Far from wanting to do so, we need to recover them so as to deepen our understanding.

Nobody knows this more than the local communities throughout the island of Ireland who are retrieving the history of their own areas. Through the rediscovery of that local history, young people are being drawn into their past in ways that help their future. These projects not only generate employment; they also regenerate our sense of who we were. I think of projects like the Ceide Fields in Mayo, where the intriguing agricultural structures of settlers from thousands of years ago are being explored through scholarship and field work. Or Castletown House in Kildare where the grace of our Anglo-Irish architectural heritage is being restored with scrupulous respect for detail. The important excavations at Navan fort in Armagh are providing us with vital information about early settlers whose proved existence illuminates both legend and history. In Ballance House in Antrim the Ulster-New Zealand Society have restored the birthplace of John Ballance, who became Prime Minister of New Zealand and led that country to be the first in the world to give the vote to women.

Varied as these projects may seem to be, the reports they bring us are consistently challenging in that they may not suite any one version of ourselves. I for one welcome that challenge. Indeed, when we consider the Irish migrations of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries our pre-conceptions are challenged again. There is a growing literature which details the fortunes of the Irish in Europe and later in Canada, America, Australia, Argentina. These important studies of migration have the power to surprise us. They also demand from us honesty and self-awareness in return. If we expect that the mirror held up to us by Irish communities abroad will show us a single familiar identity, or a pure strain of Irishness, we will be