

In western Minnesota, WAPA provides hydroelectric power at production costs to rural electric cooperatives, municipal utilities, hospitals, school districts, and Federal facilities. Without this program, the energy bill for people in greater Minnesota could rise as much as \$400 a year per customer—could rise as much as \$400 per year per customer.

In this time of budget cutting, it is important to point out that WAPA is not an example of wasteful Government spending. In fact, through WAPA we actually pay off a Government loan. And more importantly, WAPA is a Government program that recognizes the unique needs of rural communities that lack the access to affordable energy enjoyed by their metropolitan neighbors.

Rural Minnesota is willing to do its part as our country works to reduce the Federal deficit, including selling wasteful Government operations. But eliminating a program that does not cost money and actually contributes to the health of the rural economy is an example of cutting for cutting's sake. It makes neither economic sense nor common sense, and that is why, as a Senator from Minnesota, I put this battle at the very top of my list of priorities.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN and Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I have been in the Chamber some while. It is my intention to speak for 5 minutes on the PMA matter and then claim the additional 3 minutes on the morning business that was reserved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized for 8 minutes.

The Chair would advise the Senator from Illinois that she does have reserved time to speak for up to 10 minutes and prior to taking the additional 5 minutes, we would recognize the Senator from North Dakota for the remaining 3 minutes and then the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I would ask if the allotted time for morning business then allows for the full complement of time reserved for the Senator from Illinois; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. DORGAN. I thank the Chair.

SALE OF THE PMA'S

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I should like to add my voice to the thoughts expressed today by the Senator from South Dakota and the Senator from Montana and others on the matter of the sale of the Power Marketing Administrations, the PMA's.

This does not mean much to a lot of people because we hear the use of acronyms and titles of organizations with which most people are not familiar. But the power marketing administrations, along with WAPA, which is the

PMA that serves our region of the country, provide a very important mission and role for our region of the country and help provide, for a couple hundred thousand North Dakotans, reasonably low-cost power that has been a Federal promise to them for a long, long while.

We produce power through hydroelectric facilities that were built in conjunction with the construction of dams and reservoirs. Those projects have many purposes, including flood control and a range of other critical needs.

Part of the promise in the construction of those dams and the public works projects over time was the promise of being able to use the electricity from the hydropower generators and distribute it regionally at a reasonable cost. That has been of enormous benefit to rural consumers in my State, who, without this opportunity, would see their electric rates skyrocket.

The President has proposed selling the PMA's. The leaders of the House have proposed selling the PMA's. It does not make any sense, in my judgment, to do that. These are investments we have made. Payments have been made under these investments, on time and with interest. The PMA's are a \$21 billion investment. The customers of the electricity, the ratepayer in rural America, have repaid \$5.1 billion in principle and have paid \$8.8 billion in interest.

For those in Washington to force the sale of the PMA's would be kind of like a hostile takeover when somebody comes along and says, "Well, it is true, you made your payments. You bought this. Now we are going to sell it out from under you."

It is not the right thing to do. I do not know why the President included it in his budget recommendation. It was, in my judgment, foolish to have done so. It does not make good economic sense. I think it breaks a Federal promise, and I think it is actually moving in the wrong direction. I hope, on a bipartisan basis, that we will find a way here in the Senate to put the blocks against these wheels and say, "No more. You are not going to move this forward."

If someone happens to think that selling the PMA's is going to reduce the Federal budget deficit, they should understand that, according to our budget law, you cannot sell assets and claim that you have now reduced the budget deficit. It does not do that under our budget rules.

But, I hope that the Senator from South Dakota, Senator PRESSLER, Senator BAUCUS, Senator CONRAD, Senator WELLSTONE, myself, and so many others who care a great deal about this, will be able to work together in a bipartisan way with the President and the leadership in the U.S. House, to show that that is an idea whose time has never come and one that we must defeat this year.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask for the remaining 3 minutes of my time under the order. When the Chair indicated that my time had expired, I assume the Chair was speaking of the 5 minutes under the PMA discussion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator had 3 minutes remaining, and that time has expired.

Mr. DORGAN. When I sought the floor, I sought to use the 5 minutes under the PMA discussion that was under a previous unanimous-consent, after which I had 3 minutes remaining in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There was time for a list of speakers. My understanding is that you have used up all of your time under that list.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, there was how much time reserved for Senator BAUCUS and Senator PRESSLER to discuss PMA in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senator BAUCUS had no time, and spoke under the normal 5-minute limit under Senate rules in morning business. Senator PRESSLER had 30 minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. How much of that time was used?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senator PRESSLER had 20 minutes remaining.

Mr. DORGAN. My understanding is that is available in 3-minute increments for those of us who wish to speak about PMA's.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Parliamentarian advises me that there was no such order that allows that to be done under Senator PRESSLER's time.

Mr. DORGAN. I disagree with the Parliamentarian.

Let me ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak for 3 additional minutes as per the previous agreement in morning business.

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

THE BUDGET

Mr. DORGAN. In the remaining 3 minutes—and I appreciate the indulgence of the Senator from Illinois—I just want to discuss the issue raised by Senator CONRAD a few minutes ago.

We had, not very long ago, an urgency on the floor of the Senate to amend the U.S. Constitution to require a balanced budget, and the urgency was people moving around the floor here saying, "We must do this immediately. The country's future rests on it. It is critically important for the future of America. We must change the U.S. Constitution to require a balanced budget."

And, of course, almost everyone knew that if the Constitution were changed to require a balanced budget, not one penny's worth of difference in the Federal deficit would have occurred, because you cannot reduce the

Federal deficit by changing the U.S. Constitution.

How do you do it? By writing a budget and bringing it to the floor of the Senate. What is the requirement there? Well, the requirement is on April 1, a budget is required by law to be brought to the floor of the Senate. On April 15, a conference report is to be passed on the budget.

Now, the question that many of us asks is: Where is the urgency today? Where is the budget? Is there a budget?

Well, we expect there is a budget somewhere. We cannot seem to see the budget. We hope that those who claimed the reduction of the deficit was so urgent—and it is—just a month or two ago would now understand that urgency and meet their obligation to bring a budget to the floor of the Senate and begin to really cut Federal spending and really reduce the Federal budget deficit.

I said then and I will say again today that there is a difference between posing and lifting. There has been a lot of posing in this Chamber in the last 3 or 4 months, but now it is time for some lifting. I think the American public and the Senate would be well served if those who talked so much about changing the Constitution to eliminate the Federal budget deficit would now be interested and willing to bring a budget resolution to the floor of the Senate as required by law and really start to dig in and reduce the Federal budget deficit.

Why has that not yet occurred? Because they have ridden into a box canyon they call a middle-class tax cut which really gives most of the benefits to the wealthy in this country, and at the same time they really want to go ahead and cut about \$300 billion out of Medicare and Medicaid. They have ridden into a box canyon and discovered they have dismounted, running for the bushes, and now they cannot find any plans. They do not seem to have any notion at all about what to do about Medicare and Medicaid. They do not have a budget. They cannot bring it to the floor.

We do know this: They do have a tax-cut plan. It provides \$11,200 a year in tax cuts to families with over \$200,000 in income and it provides \$120 a year to families with under \$30,000 in income, and they call it middle class. Middle class on Rodeo Drive, I guess, but not middle class anywhere else in this country.

Most of us in this Chamber who want to deal with the deficit honestly want a budget and we want a budget that is real and does honest things. We want to cut Federal spending where we are spending too much. We want some additional revenues, to close some loopholes, and we want to reduce the Federal budget deficit. And we would like the majority party, while they are at it, while they bring the budget resolution to the floor, to jettison this tax cut and stop calling a tax cut for the wealthy a middle-class tax cut. It does not add up.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN pertaining to the introduction of S. 746 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

THE NEAS YEARS

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, tonight the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, one of the country's leading civil rights organizations, will take time to honor its executive director, Ralph Neas, as he leaves his position after a 14-year tenure. I would like to take a few moments to pay a brief tribute to this extraordinary individual, as he embarks on a new career after devoting the past 20-plus years to public service.

There is an old African proverb which says "God made the world round so we could not see too far down the road." I think it is fitting to mention that proverb here, as I first met Ralph Neas years ago, when we were both students at the University of Chicago Law School. I do not think that either of us could have imagined then that, some 20 years later, I would be a U.S. Senator saluting my former classmate as one of our Nation's foremost civil rights leaders. But I always knew that Ralph Neas would make a real difference, and I take great pride in his accomplishments, and I feel very lucky to be able to call him my friend.

Mr. President, when Ralph Neas finished law school, the world was his oyster. As one of the top graduates of the Chicago Law School, he could have been hired by any of the major law firms, and he could have made a great deal of money in the process. Instead, he chose to devote his life to public service. He joined the Congressional Research Service as a legislative attorney on civil rights, but was soon hired to a legislative assistant to Republican Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, eventually becoming the Senator's chief legislative adviser. He stayed with Senator Brooke until his defeat in 1978, at which time he accepted a job as chief legislative assistant to Senator Durenberger of Minnesota. It was shortly after accepting the job with Senator Durenberger that Ralph was stricken with Guillian-Barre syndrome. Within weeks of contracting the illness in February 1979, he had been placed on a respirator and was paralyzed from the neck down. For nearly 100 days, he lay in the hospital, kept alive by machines, unable to even speak. At one point, he was administered the last rites. When he recovered, he took an 8-month sabbatical, spending time touring Europe, drafting a book about his Guillian-Barre experience, and helping to establish the

Guillian-Barre Syndrome Foundation, now entitled the GBS Foundation International, which now has 15,000 members and 130 chapters throughout the world.

In the spring of 1981, Ralph was offered the job as executive director of the leadership conference. It was not the ideal time to take a job as head of a civil rights organization. The Republicans had just captured the presidency and control of the Senate, and many of Ralph's friends questioned why he would want to take such a demanding job after the experience he had endured. But as he stated later when asked about his decision:

I certainly had more than a few moments [while in the hospital] to think about my life. Here I just came through an experience where I had been a disabled individual, and here [I was offered] a job that dealt with equal opportunity for disabled people, and victims of discrimination. Whatever happened in 1979 was not only important but there were some reasons for it happening. I learned a lot of lessons and I took the job.

Given the fact that the majority of Ralph Neas' tenure at the leadership conference was spent under Republican Presidents and Republican Senates, it might be understandable if little was achieved. But the Neas years were actually among the most productive that the leadership conference has ever had, a fact that is a tribute to his leadership. Ralph Neas was able to reach out to individuals on both sides of the aisle, and truly make civil rights a bipartisan issue.

But you do not have to take my word for it, Mr. President. All you have to do is consider just a few of the civil rights victories that have been achieved during the Neas years. First and foremost, of course, is passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, a bill that overturned a series of Supreme Court decisions that made it harder for victims of discrimination to have their day in court. This legislation codified the "disparate impact" standard, allowing plaintiffs to present statistical evidence of the composition of a workplace in order to help prove their discrimination claims, and for the first time provided monetary damages to women, persons with disabilities, and certain religious minorities who were the victim of intentional job discrimination.

In addition, consider the passage of the Americans With Disabilities Act, one of the most significant and dramatic improvements in civil rights law in two decades. This bill extended civil rights protection in employment, transportation, communications, and public accommodations, and greatly improved the quality of life for 49 million Americans with disabilities. During the Neas years, the leadership conference played a critical role in defeating repeated attempts to weaken or repeal Executive Order 11246, the Federal Executive order on affirmative action. I could go on, Mr. President, for there