



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 104th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 142

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1996

No. 29

Senate

(Legislative day of Tuesday, March 5, 1996)

The Senate met at 9:30 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND.]

PRAYER

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

Lord God, You are infinite, eternal, unchangeable, and the source of wisdom, holiness, goodness, and truth. Today we want to hold together two Biblical admonitions. We are told that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom but also that we are not to fear. Help us to distinguish between the humble awe and wonder that opens us to the gift of Your guidance, and the negative panic that so often grips our souls.

Give us a profound reverence in Your presence that keeps us on the knees of our hearts. May we never presume that we are adequate for a day's challenges until we have received Your strength and vision. Give us the confidence that comes from trust in Your reliability and resourcefulness. You never let us down and constantly lift us up.

Lord, liberate us from all minor fears that haunt us: the fear of hidden memories, the fear of imagined failure, and the fear of what is ahead. We may not know what the future holds, but we do know that You hold the future. In the name of Him whose constant watch word is "Fear not, I am with you!" Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished acting majority leader, Senator LOTT, is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, today there will be a period for morning busi-

ness until the hour of 11 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for 5 minutes each, with the following exceptions: Senator FEINSTEIN, for 15 minutes; Senator DORGAN, for 15 minutes; Senator BINGAMAN, for 30 minutes; Senator THOMAS, for 30 minutes.

At the hour of 11 a.m., it will be the intention of the leadership to begin consideration of a resolution regarding the extension of the Whitewater Committee. Rollcall votes are, therefore, possible during today's session.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAMPBELL). The clerk will call the roll. The assistant 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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.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.

The Senator from North Dakota is recognized for 15 minutes.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE CHOICES TO MAKE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, yesterday was so-called Junior Tuesday, where there were a lot of Presidential primaries in our country. It is one more step in this public discussion that happens every even numbered year under the Constitution in our country whereby the American people make choices about their future.

It is interesting to watch the political system this year because the discussion and debate in our political system is fascinating and interesting to me and, I think, millions of others. There is one area especially that has me confused. We have, at the same time, candidates for public office who will tell us that this country is in terrible shape, America is in deep trouble, the Congress cannot do anything right,

and America is going down the wrong road. We have other candidates who say that the solution to at least one of our problems is to build a fence between the United States and Mexico to keep immigrants out.

I scratch my head and wonder, why would we want to build a fence to keep people out? Why do people want to come? Because this is a wonderful place, a remarkable country, a country full of hope and opportunity, a country many others look to as a beacon of hope in the world. So what is the disconnection here? Why is it that one group of people say it is an awful place, this country is going to hell in a handbasket, and other people say we have too many people who want to come here, so let us build fences to keep them out?

I could make the case as a politician, find a lectern and an audience and go on the stump and tell people about America: There are 23,000 murders a year, and we are the murder capital of the world. The United States consumes 50 percent of the world's cocaine. There are 110,000 rapes in a year, and there are a million violent aggravated assaults in a year. Ten million people are looking for work, 25 million are on food stamps, and 40 million people are living in poverty. There will be a million and a quarter babies born this year without a father present at the birth, and 900,000 of those babies will never in their lifetimes learn the identity of their fathers.

I can talk about the challenges and the troubles in this country. We entertain ourselves with everybody's dysfunctional behavior. We, every day and every way, on television and elsewhere, hold it up to the light on Oprah and Phil and Geraldo and Ricki, all of those programs, and say, "Is this not ugly?" "Is this not awful?" Yes, it is ugly. But it is the exception. So it becomes entertainment, entertaining people with other people's dysfunctional behavior.

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



Printed on recycled paper containing 100% post consumer waste

S 1537

This country is much, much more than any of that. The crime, the poverty, and the unemployment are challenges we have to respond to in this country. But this is a country that got through a civil war and united on the other side. This is a country that survived a depression and got through on the other side. This is a country that defeated Hitler and cured polio and put a man on the Moon. This is a country with remarkable resources and remarkable will.

The question is, How do we as a country and as a government—a representative government as called for in our Constitution—together create the things and do the things necessary to advance our country's interests and make it a stronger, better country for everybody in the future? We have a chorus of people who tell us that the solution is just get rid of Government. The problem is our Government.

We have done a lot of good things in this country together. I worry about a country where we treat as a public sport an effort to essentially try to denigrate our institutions. I worry about a democracy where there is not respect for the institution of government, because government is all of us. The people rule this place. Nobody but the people rule this Senate, because the people determine who serves here. Those they want out will very soon be out; those they want to retain, who they believe fight for the right public policies and the right kind of future for this country, will stay.

There is an enormous capacity for good in all of us, to do the right thing for this country's future, if we decide to concentrate not on what is wrong with these institutions, but decide to make sure these institutions work to create real solutions to the real problems confronting the American people.

Some would say the answer is just term limits. If we can impose term limits and get all these evil, venal people out of these institutions and move all the knowledge out the door with them, then we have something that is good for America. In fact, I saw all these folks who come to the floor of the Senate this year. I saw people who served here 20 and 30 years march to the floor of the Senate and vote for term limits. They did not believe in term limits; not for a minute. They felt politically, I suppose, it is the thing to do. Make sure those who have experience are told, "You cannot serve anymore." I would not trade one BOB DOLE for 75 freshman Republicans in the House, just because I think the people here with the experience and the people who are here who understand the value of doing the right things through this institution of government, an institution that is all of ours, are the people who are finally going to advance this country's interests, not Democrat or Republican, but just Americans, working together to solve problems.

What are the problems in this country? They are legion. There are a lot of

them. Personal security issues—we must deal with crime and do it in the right way. Values—diminished standards and values in this country are of concern. We must deal with that in the families, the neighborhoods, and the communities all across this country.

I want to talk today about the centerfold of what ought to be the debate in 1996. That is the economy and jobs. We have a circumstance in this country that is described well, I think, by two pieces in the Washington Post 2 weeks apart. First, "Labor Cost Rise in '95 was Lowest on Record." Blue collar workers, this says, had benefits or labor costs increasing 2.5 percent. That is not even the rate of inflation, just under the rate of inflation. So, workers down at the bottom of this country—the people who work, manufacture, and produce—are not quite keeping up with inflation. Two weeks later, "CEO's at Major Corporations Got a 23 Percent Raise Last Year." Average salary? \$4 million. Some of them got raises while they downsized and streamlined and cut out 10,000, 20,000, or 40,000 jobs to be more competitive.

What does that mean, being more competitive? It means they are global enterprises. They do not sing the National Anthem. They do not say the Pledge of Allegiance. What they want is profit for their stockholders, and they want to do that any way they can. If that means hiring people who work for 12 cents a day, 12 hours a day, even if they are 12 years old, in some foreign country to make tennis shoes, rugs, or shirts, and then ship the product to Pittsburgh, Fargo, or Denver and sell them, if that spells profit, that is just fine for those interests because it is in their economic interests, but it is not in this country's interest.

The center of the economic debate in this country is how do we provide the incentives to keep good jobs here in this country and prevent jobs from leaving? Now, we have a trade deficit that I am not going to talk about at great length. Pat Buchanan is out there and that lit the fuse on the debate. On part of it he is right, and on part of it he is wrong. The debate ought to be this: We ought not in this country create circumstances where we tell enterprises, "If you move your jobs and your plant overseas we will make a bargain with you. Your Federal Government will give you a tax break."

Can you think of anyone in the U.S. Senate who would decide to go out and hold a town meeting or announce for election and decide, "My hypothesis is this: I am going to decide to run on this proposition. I believe that we ought to provide a tax cut or a tax loophole or a tax break for manufacturing firms who close their businesses in the United States and move them overseas." How many votes do you think that politician would get? They would get booed out of every single room in this country and should be booed out of every single room in this country.

Do you know something? That provision now exists in our Tax Code, and we had a vote on it last October. I tried to get that provision repealed, saying we should no longer have an insidious provision in our Tax Code that pays companies to move their workers overseas—pays companies to shut down their manufacturing plant in our country and move their jobs overseas. Do you know how many people voted against my proposal to close that insidious loophole? Fifty-two. Fifty-two people said, "We believe we ought to keep that tax loophole."

The old advice in medicine, to save the party you stop the bleeding. If we are going to start talking about jobs—and we ought to be; that ought to be the central issue in this Chamber—we ought to start with step one. Every person in this Chamber ought to stand up on this question, and I will give them the opportunity a dozen times if it takes it this year, because we will vote on this proposition again and again and again: Do you believe we ought to have a provision in our Tax Code that says shut your plants down here, move your jobs overseas, and we will reward you, we will give you a big fat tax break worth billions of dollars. That is going to be closed this year, one way or another. This Senate is going to vote, and the vote is going to be different than the 52 votes against me last October. I believe we ought to do that as a first step—shut down that insidious tax provision.

The second step we ought to do is take the advice of the Senator from New Mexico, Senator BINGAMAN, and many others who worked on the high-wage task force, and start providing incentives to those who create good jobs in this country. Stop the hemorrhaging of jobs out of this country and start rewarding and providing incentives for those who create jobs in this country. We can talk forever about all the other ancillary issues, but what is important to the American family is this: 60 percent of them sit down for dinner these days and around the dinner table talk about their lot in life. What they discover is that they are working harder and, after 20 years, have less income. After 20 years, they have lost income when you adjust for inflation.

That is not the American dream. The American dream is to work harder and do better and hope your kids do better than that. But we now have an economic circumstance where the largest enterprises in our country and in the world have decided they want to produce where it is cheap and sell into established markets, which means American jobs leave. We have to decide as a Congress and as a country what it is we are going to do to rebuild once more an infrastructure of good manufacturing jobs in America.

I have said before and I will say it again until people are tired of it, you cannot measure America's economic strength by what we consume. The people at the Federal Reserve Board with

thick glasses, living in concrete bunkers, every month they measure what we consume. They think heart attacks are a source of national strength and an earthquake is a source of national economic enterprise. Hurricane Andrew added one-half of 1 percent to the gross domestic product in our country. That is true. That is the way the Federal Reserve Board measures economic progress, what do they consume. They document what we consume, not the damage. That is not what economic health is.

Economic health in this country will be measured by what we produce. Do you have a vibrant, working manufacturing sector that is competitive and produces in a way that is competitive with the rest of the world, and also produces good jobs with good income for American workers? If you do not have that, nothing else much matters to those families who are having dinner and losing money and talking about their lot in life, knowing that their wages are going down, their job is less secure, they have fewer benefits, and they know that the future for their children is less bright than that which they face.

That is why Senator BINGAMAN and others—all of us have worked together to try to create a circumstance where we can begin to debate in this Chamber the center of the economic debate in the country: How do you create and retain good jobs in America? There is not any way that we ought to lose on the international economic stage. We just should not.

I grew up in a town of 300 people, which is probably the case with many Members of the Senate. It was a small town. When I walked to school I knew I came from the country that was the biggest, the best, and the strongest. We could beat anybody in the world at anything and we could do it with one hand tied behind our back.

Our competitors are shrewd, tough, international competitors. The world has changed. We cannot countenance unfair trade. We cannot countenance dumping in our markets. We cannot countenance economic enterprises that decide they want to produce where it is cheap to produce and sell back to our established market, even if it means fewer American jobs.

We must decide to stand up for the economic interests of this country. It is not to say we ought to build a wall to keep things out. It is to say, whether we are talking about the Japanese trade surplus with us or our deficit with them, that we insist you buy more from us. If you have a \$50 billion trade surplus with us, or we a deficit with you, then we insist you buy more from us because that is what translates into more American jobs. Our failure to do that consigns us to a future of lower standards of living because of these trade deficits, and that is not something I am prepared to accept. It is not something I believe my constituents are prepared to accept.

It is something we can alter, we can change, if we, in this Chamber, finally get rid of all these distractions and get to the center of the economic debate: What about good jobs in America's future? How do we create them and how do we keep them? And can we take the first baby step by deciding, all of us, that we will finally and completely close the insidious loophole in our Tax Code that actually rewards companies to move jobs overseas, and then begin to take other steps to say we want to, in addition to stopping jobs going overseas with juicy tax breaks, we want to provide incentives that will help create new jobs, good jobs, good paying jobs in this country? And that represents part of the work that we have done in the Democratic caucus, especially with the task force headed by Senator BINGAMAN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD] is recognized.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, what is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is in morning business. Several Senators have reserved time to speak.

Mr. FORD. I did not want to interrupt anything. Could I have 5 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All Senators may speak for up to 5 minutes each.

Mr. FORD. Well, could I have 5 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

WORKERS' DECLINING STANDARD OF LIVING

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I think we all ought to listen to the Senator from North Dakota. I think the Senator from North Dakota laid it out very well and if we listen to what he says and the direction he wants to go, he has within him the American dream. It was instilled in him as a boy. He could be my son. That's the difference in age. I hope I have instilled into my son that he has that opportunity.

But, Mr. President, our Nation's economy is strong and it is growing. Home ownership, when you read the records, is at its highest rate in 15 years. Mr. President 7.8 million new jobs have been created in the last 3 years. And the administration's 1993 economic plan has cut the deficit nearly in half. However, for the first time—and I underscore first time—in our country's history, productivity is surging but real wages for workers are declining. That is unacceptable. That is just unacceptable, that productivity is surging and real wages for workers are declining.

The majority of Americans are working longer and harder, as my friend from North Dakota said, without the promise of higher wages or job security from their employers.

The days of having one parent at home with the child, or children, are

becoming a distant memory for many, many families in this country. American working families need both parents' incomes now, in order to make ends meet. The number of two-worker families rose by more than 20 percent in the 1980's and more than 7 million workers—think about this—7 million workers are holding more than one job. At least two. The largest increase in population of working spouses was among families earning the least money.

There is no question the standard of living of American working families is declining. Workers have invested their hard work, their time—and let me underscore—loyalty to the company they work for, and employment in the companies, and are being repaid with layoffs, downsizing, and relocation by these same employers.

The American dream is fast becoming a distant vision for many American working families.

Society is changing with the growth in technology. Computers are replacing jobs that were once done by hand. We need to change the outlook for the American work force by adjusting our education and training opportunities to reflect the needs of the marketplace.

We can no longer view the development of a skilled work force separately from development of the business community. By adjusting to the needs of the business community we can provide our workers with good jobs at real wages. Government cannot solve this problem alone.

Let me give an example. In my home State of Kentucky the business community, the educational community and local leaders are working together through school-to-work, and work force development programs, to create jobs for the future. We are creating high-technology jobs at high-technology wages. This is a partnership: Education, partnership with business; partnership with government.

Government cannot be all things to all people but it can be an honest partner.

Kentucky has taken the approach that students not entering college should have both a high school diploma and certified skills, enabling them to enter the work force at a living wage.

So, Mr. President, in order to prepare our work force of the future we must maintain the tools such as school-to-work that have succeeded in places like my State of Kentucky. The President has requested that funding for school-to-work be restored and I think it should be in the next continuing resolution. I ask my colleagues to support this add-back, which will assist 27 States in building statewide school-to-work transition systems.

I appreciate the efforts of my colleagues, Senator BINGAMAN, Senator DASCHLE, Senator DORGAN. I feel their report addresses issues that are foremost in the minds of American families.

I read the other day a statement, I do not know who to attribute it to, but I