

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I will seek the floor in my own right. I wish to just make a comment here in responding to the suggestion of our colleague from New York that the Democrats here voted against an open-ended \$600,000 appropriation hearing process because of the White House pulling strings. No one suggested that our Republican friends who voted unanimously to continue this were somehow having strings pulled at all, nor would I make that suggestion.

But certainly the fact that at this juncture we find ourselves in a stalemate ought to suggest, particularly when you consider it was only a few short months ago that this body voted almost unanimously for these hearings to be conducted—this was not a partisan issue. As in most cases, it was bipartisan to get this underway. It was almost unanimous, I believe.

Mr. SARBANES. Ninety-six to three.

Mr. DODD. Ninety-six to three, in fact, for the resolution to terminate the hearings, to call for the termination on February 29. It is unfortunate we have come to this where you have a request unprecedented in the annals of Congress—unprecedented, Mr. President—for an open-ended hearing with an additional \$600,000. That brings the pricetag of this investigation to in excess of \$30 million in this country.

That is the reason people are upset, frankly, that kind of open-ended appropriation, no end in sight and, of course, no substantiation of any unethical or illegal behavior. When you add that to the fact that we have had virtually no hearings occurring on major issues affecting people's lives in this country, like Medicare, Medicaid—we are going to have an extensive debate on education today; we are going to be cutting \$3 billion in education programs—there were hardly three or four hearings on all of education, as the Presiding Officer knows.

Yet, we had 50 hearings on White water and 10 or 12 hearings on Waco and Ruby Ridge and almost none on education, none on Medicare, none on health, and you want to know why people are angry? That is why they are angry in this country.

We spoke up and said, "Look, 5 weeks, \$185,000." That is plenty of time to complete this process. We are not saying stop it today. We are saying take another 5 weeks and wrap up the business of this committee. That is a reasonable, reasonable proposal, and I think it is regrettable we have a position taken of 4 months now which takes us virtually into September—when we eliminate the August recess—September, October, a handful of days before the election.

It is patently political. It is so transparently political that an infant can see through it, and most of the American people have. That is why we object to this request of an open-ended proposal with \$600,000. I hope that the majority Members, at least some of them, will step forward and offer to sit down

and resolve this matter so we can get the work done and not allow it to spill over into the campaign.

I thank my colleague from Pennsylvania for providing us some time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. SPECTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority manager of the bill is recognized.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, as I had started to say earlier before yielding to my distinguished friend from Connecticut, I did not know he was going to mention Ruby Ridge, or I might not have yielded to him. What is wrong with Ruby Ridge?

Mr. DODD. I just say to my colleague, I think there is a value in having those hearings. My colleague did a good job. My point is, if you do it to the exclusion of other hearings, then it seems to me we are off on the wrong track. My colleague did a good job.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank my colleague for that comment.

#### BALANCED BUDGET DOWNPAYMENT ACT, II

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, as I said, I had sought recognition to talk about a second-degree amendment, which shortly will be offered on behalf of myself and Senator HARKIN, which has been crafted very carefully after very, very extensive discussions among many parties. I thank the distinguished chairman of the committee, and I thank the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee, Senator DOMENICI, for his cooperation. I thought we might save some time by talking about the amendment for a few minutes while some final language change is being incorporated to accommodate some concerns which have arisen.

There had been extensive discussion yesterday and today—I did not hear it yesterday because I was traveling in my home State of Pennsylvania—but I heard the discussion this morning about the need for education. I think there is a consensus in America about the importance of education, about the priority of education and about our doing everything we possibly can to stretch Federal dollars as far as we can along the education line. I know that is something the distinguished Presiding Officer, the Senator from Vermont, feels very strongly about.

What we have done is structured an amendment with offsets, where we preserve the balanced budget so that we do not encumber future generations with more deficit spending. The amendment, while raising funds for education, job training, and head start, which is a very high priority, obviously, second to none—but it also is offset so as not to encumber future generations with our spending money

that they have to pay for—another high priority also second to none. These are very top priorities.

What we are submitting is an amendment in the second degree which will provide additional funding for education, Head Start and job-related issues.

We have heard from many, many mayors and many, many commissioners in local government. A comment was made this morning about summer jobs being a very important anticrime program, which is widely recognized, not really disputed at all. This amendment would add \$635 million for Summer Youth Employment Programs in the Department of Labor, a high priority item.

We are adding \$333 million in additional funds for the Dislocated Worker Retraining Program, which brings the total to \$1.2 billion, a very, very important item in an era where there is so much downsizing, where we have seen so many layoffs, we have seen so much anxiety in America, and people in the prime of their working lives losing their jobs which they have held for 10, 15, 20, 30 years but still with many good years ahead of them. So the Dislocated Worker Retraining Program will have that additional funding which also impacts upon base closures, something which is very important to my State and very important all over the country.

We are adding \$182 million in additional funds for the School-to-Work Program jointly administered by the Departments of Labor and Education. This brings the School-to-Work Program to a total of \$372 million.

We are adding \$137 million to restore fully the Head Start Program for the 1995 level. We will be adding \$60 million in additional funds for the Goals 2000 program, bringing the total in the bill to \$350 million. This is a matter which has produced some controversy, but I think that ultimately we may be in a position to eliminate strings so that we do not have the objection of too much Federal intervention and too much Federal control.

I personally believe that education ought to be left to the local level, but the idea of standards and goals is one which has great merit. Those standards and goals can be figured out at the local level; they do not need to come from Washington.

The Secretary of Education has testified of his willingness on behalf of the administration to give up some of the bureaucracy and some of the councils. Last September, the subcommittee had a hearing on Goals 2000, where we listened to people who were opposed to the program and might even be able to strike an accommodation of the disparate points of view by eliminating some of the Federal strings. Perhaps if the States do not wish to take Goals 2000 money, as some have so stated, that the funds might go directly to the local level.

We will be adding \$814.5 billion in additional funds for title I Compensatory

Education for the Disadvantaged Program, bringing the total to \$7.3 billion. This is a very, very healthy, substantial contribution to that very important program.

We will add \$200 million to the Drug Free Schools Program, bringing the total in the bill to \$400 million. We would have liked more, but that is a very substantial increase.

And \$10 million in additional funds has been added for the educational technology program, bringing the total in the bill to \$35 million; \$82.5 million in additional funds for vocational educational basic grants, bringing the total in back to last year's level.

If the Chair will indulge me for one moment, I have an additional item which I would like to comment upon.

We have added an additional \$32 million in State student incentive grants program and with respect to the Perkins loans, an additional \$58 million has been added, bringing the total to \$158 million. We have worked this out as we have proceeded to try to get all of these items in order, Mr. President.

We have offsets which we have worked out for some \$1.3 billion in the sale of the U.S. Enrichment Corporation, and \$92 million from the sale of oil from the strategic petroleum reserve oil, \$616 million from the FAA rescission, \$159 million from unobligated balances in the Pell grant program, \$166 million of unused budget authority in left in the committee allocation, \$200 million in year-round youth training, and \$25 million in the unemployed trust fund, AFDC jobs rescissions.

I want to thank my distinguished colleague, Senator HARKIN, for his cooperation, and thanks especially to the staff who worked around the clock last night, and counsel, for drafting, producing this bill, really, at the very last minute.

I think I am in the position now with the final additions having been made, Mr. President, to send this bill to the desk—before doing so, I want to add one addendum. That is that Senator HARKIN and I have discussed our agreement, having crafted this as carefully as we have, to try to accommodate education, that this accommodates the total program and if there are any other amendments—any Senator can offer any amendment at any time—that Senator HARKIN and I are unified in opposing any additional amendments.

It is always easy to add money, which we would all like to do, but without offsets it is impossible to do. And we have added as much as we think can be done. So that our agreement is that this is an excellent appropriations bill for education, and we are going to stand behind it. And that is it. If any additional amendments are offered, Senator HARKIN and I are unified in our determination to reject them because this is a comprehensive bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 3473 TO AMENDMENT NO. 3467

(Purpose: To revise provisions with respect to the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education)

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator HARKIN and myself, I send this second-degree amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER] for himself and Mr. HARKIN, proposes amendment numbered 3473 to Amendment No. 3467.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mr. SPECTER. A summary has been given. I now yield to my distinguished colleague from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority manager is recognized.

Mr. HARKIN. I again want to express my appreciation to Senator SPECTER for his leadership in this area and for working not only with me personally but our staffs working very closely together to craft this amendment.

This really does bring us to the point—maybe it is not all of what every one of us wants. I mean, we never get that around here, but at least it fills the need for getting the money out now to the school districts so that they know what to do next year.

For summer youth, there are all the things that Senator SPECTER spoke about that we have to get through. We have the offsets to pay for it.

Again, I want to thank Senator SPECTER for all of his diligent work in this. I want to again join Senator SPECTER in thanking our staffs. I know they worked long hours in putting these numbers together and working with Senator DOMENICI and Senator HATFIELD and Senator BYRD on our side. So I think it is a well-crafted amendment, and I agree with Senator SPECTER that it deserves the support from both sides of the aisle.

Mr. President, let me just in way of talking about this amendment talk a little bit about the past weekend in Iowa. Right now all of the basketball tournaments are taking place in the State. There is a lot of anxiety about who is going to win and who is going to lose. I would like to deviate a little bit, if I could, from the debate on this amendment, just for a moment, Mr. President, to recognize the newly crowned State champions in what we call the premier high school tournament in Iowa, the annual Girls State Basketball Championships. Winfield-Mount Union in class 1A, Sibley-Ocheyedan in class 2A—I saw that; it was a great game—Carroll in class 3A, and that was also a great game that I

got to see. I missed the last game because I was not there for it, but it is my alma mater, West Des Moines Dowling girls, who won the State championship in class 4A.

So I just want to say to all the teams that competed in the tournament, congratulations on your accomplishments, and to the winners, congratulations on winning.

I might add, this week the best high school boys basketball teams make their annual trek to Des Moines for the final winner tournaments for the boys basketball games. So, again, there is a lot of anxiety in the State right now about who is going to win and who is going to lose.

But I must say, Mr. President, the anxiety extends well beyond the gymnasium. In school after school in Iowa and across this country, school administrators and school boards are worrying about which teachers will lose their jobs and which students will not get title I reading assistance. They are contemplating what vocational education activities will go by the wayside and how to deal with the cuts for the safe and drug-free schools program.

The list goes on. In January, I worked as a title I teacher at Johnson Elementary School in Cedar Rapids. I learned firsthand the value of title I, and my concern about the cuts were heightened.

Late last month this article appeared in the Cedar Rapids Gazette: "6 Schools to Lose Remedial Reading: Cedar Rapids District Sites Expected \$350,000 Cut in Federal Funds."

Mr. President, if we do not pass this amendment to that Senator SPECTER and I have joined on, if we do not pass this, nine teachers in Cedar Rapids will lose their jobs; 350 students who need extra help with reading at six elementary schools in Cedar Rapids will not get it next year.

In Council Bluffs on the other side of the State, five teachers will lose their jobs, 113 fewer students will be helped. Of equal concern is the fact that the district will lose the investment they made to train three teachers in reading recovery, a short-term, intensive, one-on-one teaching technique that is showing great promise of quickly bringing first graders up to grade level in reading.

The Iowa Department of Education estimates that across the State 7,300 fewer students will get title I assistance and 200 teachers will be laid off if this amendment is not adopted.

This scenario will be repeated in every State and school district across the country. Secretary Riley estimates that 40,000 teachers will be laid off nationwide as a result of the \$1.1 billion cut in title I.

Mr. President, the sixth national education goal calls upon us to ensure that by the turn of the century every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in the global economy. But the deep cuts in job

training programs will not lead us toward this goal. It signals a fast retreat.

Next year, without this amendment, funding for dislocated worker training will be cut by 29 percent, and summer jobs for youth is totally eliminated. These cuts could not come at a worse time. You can hardly pick up a newspaper or turn on the evening news without seeing yet another story about worker dislocations caused by downsizing.

Last year, Federal JTPA funds assisted 105 workers who lost their jobs at Tyson Foods in LeMars, IA, and 85 individuals formerly employed by MCI in Sergeant Bluff, IA. The planned cuts in retraining for dislocated workers means next year 300 fewer Iowans will benefit from such assistance.

However, the number of worker dislocations has not abated in my State. FDL Foods has announced layoffs in Dubuque and Eveready Battery is closing its plant in Red Oak, IA. Unfortunately, with cuts of this magnitude in job training, many of these people will not get the assistance they need.

Mr. President, the bill before the Senate restores many of these cuts, but only if we pass some other bill in the future to pay for them. That is the underlying bill. That is a mistake. Schools cannot budget based on a contingency. School districts need to know now what they will receive next fall. In Iowa, the final deadline for making decisions on teacher hires is April 30, but many districts are already making those decisions. Without a firm commitment now, across the country thousands of teachers will get the pink slip for next year.

Mr. President, we should pay for this up front, not based on some contingency that might happen, but pay for it now. That is what this compromise bipartisan amendment does that Senator SPECTER and I are introducing. Again, Senator SPECTER and our staffs have worked long and hard to craft this compromise. It is certainly not everything that I would like or anyone else would like, but it is a giant leap from where we are. The offsets were difficult to come by this late in the fiscal year, but we did it. I wish we could do more, but I believe this is an honest and reasonable effort to avoid devastating cuts in education and job training. I urge all of my colleagues to support it.

Mr. President, Iowa's schools stand to lose almost \$12 million in education funds next year. Title I will fall by \$8.6 million. These cuts would be devastating to my State. Those are not my words. In a February 27 news article announcing the plan to cut title I from Cedar Rapids' Van Buren School, this is what the school's principal, Mary Lehner, had to say: "It's just going to be devastating for kids. I am very concerned about those students who need the extra help with those reading skills."

These concerns are not only being expressed by school officials but by business owners. Mr. President, I got an in-

teresting letter here from a business owner in Carroll, IA, Mr. Tom Farnar, of the Farnar-Bocken Co. It is interesting what he said:

It has come to our attention that the Federal Government is planning to cut title I Reading Program by 17 percent. We feel this will hurt the quality of our labor force not only for the State of Iowa but in the Carroll region. Our business does not require a lot of skill but it does demand for our employees to be able to read picking labels and invoices.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent this letter from Mr. Tom Farnar be printed in the RECORD, along with other pertinent correspondence from Iowa constituents.

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

FARNER-BOCKEN Co.,  
Carroll, IA.

SENATOR HARKIN,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR HARKIN: It has come to our attention that the Federal Government is planning to cut the Title I Reading Program 17%. We feel this will hurt the quality of our Labor Force not only for the State of Iowa but in the Carroll region. Our business does not require a lot of skill but it does demand for our employees to be able to read picking labels and invoices.

Our company is a part of a food buying group called Pocahontas Foods with companies all over the United States. I just attended a show in Colorado Springs where the owners of the companies got together to discuss issues and problems that we face in our industry. One of the main problems talked about was the percentage of errors on orders that are delivered to customers. They were discussing that their percentage rate was around 70-75% and that 80% was great. Our companies percentage rate is between 80-85%. This demands the skills of people to read labels, invoices, etc.

Reading is a very essential tool for people to survive in today's fast growing world and economy. Let's not jeopardize our children's future by cutting back on Title I.

Please vote no to cutting back Title I.

Sincerely,

TOM FARNER.

CARROLL, IA  
February 26, 1996.

Senator Tom Harkin,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR HARKIN: It has come to our attention that the Federal Government is planning to cut the Title I reading program by 17%. This will mean drastic cuts in our local program. This also means a reduction of teachers, not as many students in need of reading assistance will be served. To me, this makes no sense. Why cut back on education when Title I has a proven track record? What will this mean for our students? I am a second grade teacher in a Catholic School near Carroll. I also have a son in the Title I program. I see the benefits on both sides, as a parent and a teacher. These teachers are so very good at what they do; each student is made to feel a success! Why make these children pay for these cutbacks? Because, ultimately, that is what will happen. If they do not get the help they need when they're young, you will be investing in them in the future in welfare and other government programs. Please, save yourself the money now and do not cut back on education. It is our

future and your future that you are playing with. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

MARY ANN BRINCKS.

KATHY BEHRENS  
Carroll, IA, February 20, 1996.

DEAR SENATOR HARKIN: I am writing to you in regards to the proposed funding cuts to the Title 1 Program. As a Title 1 teacher, I personally witness the value of this program and I encourage you to vote against the proposed cuts.

In our Title 1 program students are given individual, small-group instruction. These are the kinds that would fall through the cracks if not given the extra reading instruction with a reading specialist. So many of these kids' parents are "too busy" to spend the extra time at home.

I realize that Title 1 funds are under question as to whether or not the funds are being used properly. I can tell you that in our school district the Title 1 program is using the funds very wisely. We have six teachers who serve approximately 190 students at 5 buildings. If the proposed cuts were to take effect, 60 students would not receive the help they need.

I sincerely believe that this proposed cut would turn a nation of readers into a society of illiterate children. Please vote "no" for the proposed budget cuts!

Sincerely,

KATHY BEHRENS.

LINDA WETTER,  
Floyd, IA, February 26, 1996.

TOM HARKIN,  
Hart Senate Office Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. HARKIN: I am writing in regard to the government plan to cut funding for the Title 1 program for our schools.

As a parent of a son with a learning disability, I have learned over the past five years how important this program is. My son, with the help of this program is finally gaining the confidence to reach out and set his goals high—not to accept this disability as a life sentence, but to overcome it.

I have spent years telling my son that this learning disability is not his fault—that everyone learns differently and that the extra help he needs is available to him.

Please do not let him or his future or our countries future down. There MUST be another place to make a cut back.

Remember—a learning disability does not discriminate—it could affect your family too—a son, a daughter or maybe a grandchild.

Please reconsider and keep my son's future bright. Do not add to his burden. His future is in your hands.

Thank you for your time. Your help in this matter is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

LINDA WETTER.

CLINTON, IA,  
February 25, 1996.

Senator TOM HARKIN,  
Des Moines, IA.

DEAR SENATOR HARKIN: I am writing this letter as a concerned parent and teacher, regarding the cuts in Title I funding. I cannot believe that the government would even consider cutting the funds of such a beneficial program.

As a Reading Recovery Title I Teacher, I believe that many disadvantaged children would not make it in the regular classroom without the support of the Title I teacher. I can think of one family in particular that I have dealt with personally. One brother is in third grade and did not receive the benefits of Title I in the early grades. Now as a third

grader, he is being tested for special education. I am serving his first grade brother in my Reading Recovery program and can see that he is making tremendous gains—he's reading. I believe that the Title I program has saved him from special education, and will help him to live a better life. How many other lives has Title I changed?

I know I speak for many parents and teachers when I say that we would really appreciate your support in seeing that the funding is not cut for the Title I program.

Sincerely,

CYNTHIA S. CRAMER,  
*Title I Teacher.*

Senator HARKIN,  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.*

DEAR SENATOR HARKIN: It has come to my attention that the Federal Government is planning to reduce the Title I reading program funds. As a mother of a student who has participated in this program in 1995, I am asking you to please reconsider this action.

This intervention program in 1st grade has helped my child considerably with his reading capabilities. Because of the program, he is able to keep up in his current class without continued help. I know the program gave him a positive attitude toward school and has helped his self esteem. With a good start in the early years, all children will benefit tremendously in the future. Our children are the future!

Please reconsider the cut in funds for the Title I reading program. It has been a valuable asset to our son and to our school.

Sincerely,

LOIS M. BEHRENS,  
*Mother.*  
JOHN E. BEHRENS,  
*Father.*

RENEE GENTER,  
*Carroll, IA, February 21, 1996.*

DEAR SENATOR HARKIN: My name is Renee Genter and I am the mother of a title one reading student. Recently I was informed the Federal Government is planning to cut back 17% of our local schools reading program, which is very upsetting to my husband and I. We are the parents of four wonderful little boys who unfortunately have problems with reading. Our oldest child who is eight years old has struggled with reading since he started school. About two years ago we were introduced to the title one reading program and it has been a life saver to our son. At one point he was feeling different from the other children in his class and now he is able to read in the same level as his classmates, which has done wonders for his self-esteem. Knowing that some of our other children will have the same problems and knowing that the program may be canceled makes me wonder what are we to do about extra help for them. I am writing in hopes that the Government will change its plans for cutting back on such a great program. I know I am not alone on these feelings. Parents and our school programs are our only help for our children and their children. Thank you for taking the time to read my letter. I hope we can make a difference. Our children are depending on us.

Sincerely,

RENEE GENTER.

CARROLL COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT,  
*Carroll, IA, February 13, 1996.*

DEAR BUSINESS LEADER(S): It has come to our attention that the Federal Government is planning to cut the Title I reading program 17%. This will mean drastic cutbacks in our local program, both in the public and parochial schools. The equivalent of two teachers may need to be cut, which will mean we will not be able to serve the number

of students we have in the past. It will be unfortunate if some students in need of reading assistance could not be served due to lack of funding. We, as educators, are very aware of the importance of having employees in your business with good reading skills. We believe our program can help accomplish that.

As a business person in this community, we are asking you to send a short note to the legislators who represent you. You might want to mention how Title I can benefit your business and your concern about what will happen if such drastic funding cuts occur.

The legislators and their addresses are:

Senator Harkin, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20515

Senator Grassley, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C. 20515

Rep. Tom Latham, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515

Thank you for your efforts in this matter. Unless we voice our opinions, this funding cut will be passed. We are sure that you feel as we do—Our children and their futures are very important!

Sincerely,

TITLE I STAFF.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, it is not just the teachers who are saying this, but business people say they need people who can read. Although they may not need highly skilled people, at least they have to be able to read and understand.

Mr. President, our amendment will provide the offsets to pay for the increases in education and training programs recommended by title IV of this legislation. Again, we believe we have to provide for these now, not at some possible point in the future, as is in the underlying bill. The last thing we need to do is get mired down in the same old stuff that has already shut down the Government twice before.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment, to match the desire to avert the education cuts with the resources to make sure the cuts will not happen. We need to make sure that the add-ons are paid for now so that teachers will not lose their jobs, children will continue to get title I services, and workers will get the training assistance they need to remain competitive.

In closing, Mr. President, I want to thank Senator SPECTER for his work in this area and thank our staffs for putting this together. No one likes to make cuts, but we have made these offsets, and I believe the offsets are good and the money will go to all of the things that Senator SPECTER mentioned: Summer youth employment program, dislocated workers, school to work, Head Start, Goals 2000, of course title I, which I talked a lot about, drug-free schools, educational technology, Perkins loan and SSIG for higher education.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator WELLSTONE be added as a cosponsor of this amendment.

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

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I thank my distinguished colleague from Iowa for his comments. I believe this is a well-crafted bill that accommodates education while maintaining the bal-

anced budget principle. As Senator HARKIN has pointed out, people now in school districts know what they can do by way of planning if this finally becomes law.

I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, the need to balance the Federal budget must be driven by more than just numbers; it must also reflect sound priorities. Our budget must not only be fiscally responsible; it must also reflect the priorities of the American people.

A survey conducted in January found that 82 percent of Americans oppose cutting education spending.

A different poll in January found that 67 percent of voters rank the quality of education in public schools as their top priority.

Last year, 75 percent of Americans polled said that aid to education should be expanded.

Unfortunately, the omnibus appropriations bill before us today does not reflect these priorities. It makes more than \$3 billion in Federal education and job-training programs—programs that provide opportunities for America's children and students—contingent on a future budget agreement. The bill essentially says to our children and students: Your education will be a priority later—maybe.

The Daschle-Harkin amendment doesn't wait—because today's children will grow up regardless of whether or not there is a budget agreement, and tomorrow's economy will not be any kinder to them if there is not.

It is easy to understand why so many Americans make the quality of education one of their top priorities. Education is related in a positive way to almost every index of domestic and social well-being.

The average earnings of a college graduate are 75 percent higher than those of someone with only a high school education, and 150 percent higher than the earnings of a high school dropout.

Sixty-two percent of small children whose parents have not completed high school live in poverty. By contrast, only 4 percent who have at least one parent with a high school diploma live in poverty.

More than 80 percent of prison inmates are high school dropouts.

The American people place such a high priority on education because education is an essential investment in our future. A quality education has always opened the door to the American dream—the chance to achieve as much as your ability, talent, and brains will take you.

Education is much more than a private benefit to individual students. Education funding is an investment in America. Quality education affects the

entire community, and it is as much a part of our national defense as any missile system. As Laura Tyson said, a country's people are its most precious resource.

Yet, under this bill, if the contingency funds do not become available, the bill:

Cuts the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Program—which helps to provide a safe environment conducive to learning—by almost 60 percent;

Cuts the Title I Program—which provides basic assistance to low-income children and school districts—by 10 percent;

Cuts Goals 2000—which helps fund innovative, locally driven efforts to raise the quality of education—by 22 percent.

The bill also targets programs that make it possible for more Americans to afford a higher education. Without the contingency funds, the bill cuts the Pell Grant Program by 6 percent, the Perkins loans by 37 percent, and the State student incentive grants by 50 percent.

The cost of college has risen more than 230 percent in the last 15 years. Yet, according to the Department of Labor by the year 2000, 52 percent of all new jobs will require more than a high school education. Diminishing access to higher education is not one of the priorities of the American people, and it should not be one of the priorities of this Congress.

This bill also cuts billions from programs that provide young people with summer employment and job training, and that help prepare dislocated workers for new careers. Without the contingency funds, this bill cuts the JTPA Program by 25 percent, training for dislocated workers by 29 percent, and the summer jobs program by 100 percent.

Education and job training programs are about knowledge, about competitiveness, and about being able to adapt to a changing economy. I am reminded of a quote from one American philosopher, who wrote: "In times of change, learners inherit the Earth, while the learned find themselves beautifully equipped to deal with a world that no longer exists."

The Daschle/Harkin amendment reflects that philosophy by truly putting the \$3.1 billion for education and job training back into the budget.

Thirty-five percent of the American people believe that education funding should be Congress' No. 1 legislative priority. Let us not let them down—or the 82 percent who oppose education cuts period—by failing to enact this amendment.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I rise in support of the Harkin education amendment. This amendment aims to restore funding for the Department of Education, and for all education and training to fiscal year 1995 levels.

This amendment is fully paid for. It adds back funds to the fiscal year 1996 appropriations with offsets scored by CBO. This amendment, unlike the Re-

publican addbacks, do not depend on future contingencies at an unspecified time in the future of a congressional-Presidential agreement on an overall budget. This will allow schools, now in the process of planning their budgets for next year, to know the funding level for which they can budget.

The amendment represents addbacks that both parties agree to: \$151 million for education reform; \$1,279 million for title 1; \$208 million for school improvement programs; \$82 million for adult and vocational education; and \$10 million for education research and statistics. This will provide funds for Goals 2000; title 1; safe and drug-free schools; charter schools; vocational and adult education; education technology; Head Start; dislocated workers; adult training; school-to-work; summer jobs for youth; and one-stop career centers.

The Harkin amendment would maintain the fiscal year 1995 level of \$18.4 billion for Department of Education funding except Pell grants, and funds for Pell grants, including the fiscal year 1995 surplus carried forward to fiscal year 1996, would also remain level.

This amendment maintains fiscal year 1995 levels of funding for education by identifying offsets, not by adding anything to the deficit.

These addbacks support programs needed by everyone, and especially those in New Mexico. Title 1 supports teaching basic reading and math skills to disadvantaged students. Every school district in New Mexico would be hurt if these funds are not restored. Albuquerque public schools alone would lose almost \$2 million if House cuts are not restored.

Education reforms funds support school-industry cooperation in developing programs that teach students going directly to work from school those skills they need to perform a job; and Goals 2000 supports professional development and raising standards of literacy to internationally competitive levels. The grant awards in New Mexico for these programs have provided great local control and pride and initial signs of success. Vivian LaValley of Bernalillo High School was here last Thursday describing her School-to-Work Program and it was very impressive.

The need for such Federal support is sorely felt both by my constituents and other leaders across the country. In 2 weeks Lou Gerstner of IBM and Gov. Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin will host the Nation's Governors and business leaders in an education summit to discuss the need for education standards and technology. The addbacks provided in this amendment provide States and communities the resources they need to pursue these efforts as they see fit.

For the last 6 years the Federal Government, on a bipartisan basis, has increased funding for education each year. Congress was right to do so. As our future depends increasingly on the competitiveness of our work force in

the global economy, improving our education performance and investing in education should be top U.S. priorities. Unfortunately this amendment does not increase funding for education. But it does provide at least level funding for education.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I rise in support of the Daschle-Harkin amendment restoring funds cut from education. This amendment stands for something; it stands for a continuing commitment to learning for all Americans.

One program the amendment would restore is the School-to-Work Program. I would like to tell you how this program has helped one student in my State to turn her life around and avoid the effects of violence.

Mr. President, we all hear about the epidemic of violence in America. The people most affected by this epidemic, and the people who sometimes end up contributing to the problem, are our young people. Too frequently, a young American's world of love, tenderness, and growth is replaced by a world of hate, abuse, and death.

The homicide death rate in Washington State has more than doubled since 1970, for children between 15 and 19 years old. Significant numbers of younger children are also becoming victims of homicide in recent years.

Juvenile drug and alcohol offenses have declined in my State since 1991, but were too high to start with. Violent crimes are on the rise among youth, and more young people are being incarcerated than ever before.

Mr. President, I want to make sure we do not misplace the blame for this epidemic, however. Adults are the ones capable of making the changes that will prevent adult violence and child abuse.

Adults are also capable of preventing youth violence. Young people tell me: Adults don't seem to care about them; they don't have access to youth activities; they can't get summer jobs; adults don't set a good example for kids; adults don't encourage positive behaviors—so young people get attention by exhibiting bad behavior.

This should not be allowed to happen, because it has an immediate effect on the lives and psyches of our young people, and a longer term effect on the economy and social fabric of our Nation.

The good news is: Adults can do something about these problems, and adults set good examples every day. Just being willing to talk with, and listen to, young people is a great start.

Last week, as part of his ongoing response to this problem for young people, the President hosted a White House Leadership Conference on Youth, Drug Use, and Violence. He brought together people from around the country to talk about problems and solutions for today's youth.

Mr. President, one of the people in attendance at the conference was a former high school dropout from Washington State, who has turned her life

around through a program in vocational skills training.

This young woman is named Jessica Shillander. She spent her young life in a two-parent family, but later experienced a difficult family breakup. After this happened, this soon got very difficult for Jessica, and she had to prove how capable and resilient she really is—a thing we shouldn't ask from any child in America.

Jessica was kicked out of her mother's home as a seventh grader. Not surprisingly, she almost immediately got involved with gangs, drugs, and an abusive boyfriend almost twice her age.

Jessica dropped out of school, and if it were not for the help of caring adults, and a special program funded with Federal School-to-Work funds, she would not be the success story she is today.

However, due to a dropout retrieval program run by the New Market Vocational Skills Center in Tumwater, WA, Jessica started having success in school.

At New Market, Jessica felt the support from adults which allowed her to improve her academic and job skills. Thanks to the program, Jessica has almost graduated. She has turned away from violence.

She is now working a paying job as a student advocate, and looks forward to a career helping young people. Last week she spoke to applause at the White House Conference, letting adults and youth learn from her story.

This dropout retrieval program would not be possible without Federal School-to-Work funds. Run through the vocational skills centers in Washington State, the program is unique in the country. High school dropouts—kids from lower- and middle-class working families—get special assistance to get them involved in instruction which is relevant to their lives.

If they need help with transportation, or child care, or just need someone to care enough those first few days back at school to give them a wakeup call or see that they get an alarm clock or work clothes—the help is there.

And, like most Americans, these young people respond well to high expectations and a caring attitude—they need less help as they become more confident in their own abilities. These programs have an average placement rate of 90 percent—either in jobs, higher education, or the military.

At a time when our world is more complex than ever, when all employees, young or old, are finding the working world more difficult, when all schools need to be more relevant, Congress is about to cut the very School-to-Work funds that make Washington's School-to-Career program possible.

Here's Jessica's reaction: "School-to-work transition needs to begin as early as kindergarten, to help all students find value and self-worth. I want all students to have this opportunity."

Mr. President, I just held four children's forums in my State, in Yakima,

Vancouver, Spokane, and Tacoma. In every one of these meetings, adults and young people came out in the winter weather to confirm that all schools need to be more relevant, and that School-to-Career programs are exactly the kind of thing this country needs more of.

But, instead, we are here today debating an amendment to restore these funds after they have been cut. This is folly. We must invest in our future, not bankrupt it. The Daschle-Harkin amendment will restore School-to-Work funds for programs like the one that helped Jessica.

I believe, as did President Franklin Roosevelt, that "The only real capital of a nation is its natural resources and its human beings." America cannot continue to act like a business having a fire sale, we must continue the investments which will give our country a future. Education is paramount among these. I want my colleagues to support the Daschle-Harkin amendment in this light.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I wish to speak as in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

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

#### EXTENSION OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE WHITEWATER

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I wanted to say how disappointed I am that the Senate failed in a vote a few minutes ago to end the filibuster of our resolution to continue the Whitewater hearings.

The question before the Senate today should have been whether or not we would authorize additional funding for the continued investigation into Whitewater. Unfortunately, the current filibuster that is underway prevents us from even considering this question or voting on either the resolution or the Democratic alternative.

I recognize that some of our colleagues who have not closely followed the course of this investigation could reasonably believe that enough time and money has been spent on the matter, and under ordinary circumstances, they might be right.

Should we not have the opportunity to openly and honestly debate—and vote—on this issue? We may have disagreements over the need to continue the Whitewater investigations, but shouldn't those disagreements be argued and resolved in the light of full public scrutiny? I believe they should.

Unfortunately, that is not the situation we face today. But that should not come as any surprise; after all this filibuster simply follows the course of action directed by the White House.

Whatever its motivation, the White House has refused to fully cooperate with this investigation. For months, they have delayed the production of documents, presented witnesses who exhibit suspiciously selective memo-

ries, and raised dubious questions of privilege in order to withhold potentially damaging evidence. All for the purposes of downplaying the significance of Whitewater and running out the clock on this investigation.

Let us review the facts. Nine people have been convicted for crimes relating to Whitewater, and seven more—including Arkansas Governor Jim Guy Tucker and the Clintons' business partners, Jim and Susan McDougal whose trial has begun in Little Rock—are currently under indictment.

The President and the First Lady have both been compelled to testify separately before grand juries on the subject of Whitewater.

Yet, the White House still refuses to make full, prompt disclosures in response to our requests. And in those refusals rest the real Whitewater scandal.

Just as important as the actual and alleged crimes committed in Arkansas during the 1980's is the potentially criminal coverup going on in the White House today.

Our chief frustration centers around the stark difference between the claims the First Family makes in front of the cameras and the actions taken by the White House behind closed doors.

The President and the First Lady have repeatedly pledged full cooperation with this investigation, but as a Washington Post editorial puts it, "they have a weird way of showing" that cooperation.

It has been clear from day one that a concerted and coordinated effort has been made on the part of the White House, associates of the President, and Clinton appointees to thwart the work of the special committee.

You can think of Whitewater as a jigsaw puzzle with a timeclock—a puzzle that did not come in a box or with a picture to work from. You begin assembling the scattered pieces, but when you think you are done, something does not seem quite right.

Maybe it is the holes at the edges of the puzzle or the extra pieces you are holding that don't seem to fit anywhere. With time ticking away, you look around to see if anything is missing, when you find them in someone else's hands.

And as all the pieces begin to fit together, you still have no idea what you'll end up with, but you realize that the puzzle is bigger than you had ever imagined.

It sounds incredible but look at the obstacles we have had to face.

Withheld records. Last summer, the committee requested the phone records of Margaret Williams and Susan Thomases for the time period immediately following the death of Vince Foster. By December, we had received them, but only after making four separate requests and issuing a subpoena.

The records detail a phone tree between Williams, Thomases, and the First Lady on the night of Foster's death, leading to the removal of documents from Foster's office. But it took months to get them.