

the nobility and the bourgeoisie, by recognizing town residents as "freemen" who had judicial autonomy and expanded rights, and by extending the protection of the law to the peasantry who previously had no recourse against the arbitrary actions of feudal lords;

Whereas, although this Polish constitution was in effect for less than 2 years, its principles endured and it became the symbol around which a powerful new national consciousness was born, helping Poland to survive long periods of misfortune over the following 2 centuries; and

Whereas, in only the last 5 years, Poland has realized the promise held in the Polish constitution of 1791, has emerged as an independent nation after its people led the movement that resulted in historic changes in Central-Eastern Europe, and is moving toward full integration with the Euro-Atlantic community of nations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That—

(1) the people of the United States salute and congratulate Polish people around the world, including Americans of Polish descent, as on May 3, 1996, they commemorate the 205th anniversary of the adoption of the first Polish constitution;

(2) the people of the United States recognize Poland's rebirth as a free and independent nation in the spirit of the legacy of the Polish constitution of 1791; and

(3) the Congress authorizes and urges the President of the United States to call upon the Governors of the States, the leaders of local governments, and the people of the United States to observe this anniversary with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1996

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 9 a.m. on Thursday, May 2; further, that immediately following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be deemed approved to date, no resolutions come over under the rule, the call of the calendar be dispensed with, the morning hour be deemed to have expired; and there then be a period for morning business until the hour of 10 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each with the following Senators to speak for the designated times: Senator BURNS, 5 minutes; Senator GRASSLEY, 5 minutes; Senator GRAMS, 10 minutes; Senator DORGAN, 30 minutes; Senator BINGAMAN, 5 minutes. I further ask at the hour of 10 a.m. the Senate resume consideration of the immigration bill.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 1664, the immigration bill, tomorrow morning, and Senators should be reminded there are still several amendments to be debated. Hopefully, some of those can be disposed of on voice votes. It is our expectation to complete action on the immigration bill by early tomorrow afternoon. Then we will determine

what we will turn to. Hopefully, it can be something that might mean we might have debate on Friday but no votes on Friday, but I will make that announcement or Senator LOTT can make that announcement sometime tomorrow afternoon.

We would like to accommodate Members who are engaged in hearings tomorrow. So, for those who are offering amendments, if they will accommodate us, accommodate the managers, Senator KENNEDY and Senator SIMPSON, maybe we can postpone votes until 12 noon tomorrow.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, will the distinguished majority leader yield for a question? Did I understand that we might be able to get out of here to see the greatest 2 minutes in sports?

Mr. DOLE. That would be the Kentucky Derby?

Mr. FORD. I think it is set on Friday.

Mr. DOLE. We will try to work it out.

WISCONSIN WORKS WELFARE LAW

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, our current welfare system does not work because it is not based on the proven American formula for escaping poverty: A job. A strong family. A good education. Saving some money to buy a home.

Instead, it undermines almost every value that leads to self-reliance and success. Poverty persists and 3 out of every 10 births are out of wedlock. Unbelievably, the out-of-wedlock birth rate is 80 percent in some communities.

Within the past year, the U.S. Congress has twice passed Federal welfare reform. President Clinton has vetoed it both times. Face it, President Clinton has preserved the current system which is trapping another generation of Americans in despair and locking them out of the American dream.

Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson refuses to allow this to happen. Last Thursday, he signed into law a program replacing in Wisconsin the failed national welfare system. It is called Wisconsin Works. The new program provides work opportunities and work programs. In order to help beneficiaries get a job, it makes available child care and health care to all low-income families who need it.

As Governor Thompson stated:

After almost a decade of welfare reform experiments, Wisconsin Works represents the end of welfare in Wisconsin. The current aid to families with dependent children [AFDC] program has become, for many families, a way of life. Because the program does not require work or provide incentives to become self-sufficient, it has trapped many families in dependency. Wisconsin Works aims to rebuild the connection between work and income and help families achieve self-sufficiency.

Due to his experience, Governor Thompson knows what he is talking about. He has made welfare reform a top priority by introducing more than 10 reform initiatives and by working hard to fix the current Welfare-to-Work Program called JOBS. During his

administration Wisconsin's AFDC caseload has been reduced by more than 27 percent.

Wisconsin Works is the good news. Now let me give you the bad. The Governor and the Wisconsin Legislature cannot deliver to the people of Wisconsin this replacement for the failed system until President Clinton and his administration give them permission. By twice vetoing Federal welfare reform passed by our Congress, the President has denied Wisconsin and many other States the opportunity to put into place needed reforms.

The status quo, which the President has preserved, requires Wisconsin to come to the Clinton administration on bended knee to ask Washington bureaucrats for permission to make adjustments to the current one-size-fits-all national welfare system.

No doubt about it, while welfare recipients remain trapped in the current system, President Clinton will claim he has helped reform welfare by granting States permission to experiment through controlled demonstration programs known as "waivers."

The reality is these waivers are not the solution. We all know waivers have brought us in the right direction. However, the waiver process perpetuates a flawed system. Real change will only occur when States are released from the burden of excessive Federal rules and regulations. The waiver process is too costly, time consuming, and burdensome, often requiring months and months of negotiating between a State and the relevant Federal Cabinet agency.

Earlier this year, all 50 of the Nation's Governors rejected the waiver process in favor of comprehensive welfare reform. Their unanimously adopted policy would provide greater State flexibility to enhance States as "laboratories of democracy" while ensuring the necessary State accountability to promote work, family, and individual self-sufficiency among welfare beneficiaries.

The national bipartisan Governor's welfare policy reflects the principles contained in both welfare reform bills passed by the Congress and vetoed by the President. I remain committed to working with our Nation's Governors to accomplish real Federal welfare reform.

President Clinton has said that he is reluctant to return power to the States because it will lead to a "race to the bottom." As Governor Thompson and the Wisconsin Legislature have proved, however, compassion and innovation can go hand in hand. I congratulate them for their achievement, and I invite President Clinton to join with this Congress in moving power out of Washington and returning it to where it belongs—our States, our communities, and our people.

UNITED STATES LOSES FIRST WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION CASE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, the World Trade Organization has just issued its first decision in a trade case brought under the new dispute settlement system.

The case was brought against the United States by Venezuela and Brazil. The allegation was that a U.S. environmental regulation, issued under the Clean Air Act, discriminated against imported gasoline.

On Monday, the United States lost the case. President Clinton must now decide whether to comply with the WTO decision. If he decides the United States should comply, he must announce a plan for doing so.

I believe the American people deserve an explanation from President Clinton about this case. They deserve an explanation about what this case might mean in the future for other U.S. laws and regulations.

Clearly there will be future WTO cases where the United States will be the losing party. We cannot expect to win every case. Perhaps Monday's case was properly decided.

But it seems to me that our laws should continue to be a matter for Americans, not international judges, to determine. We should decide what our environmental laws will be. We should decide what kinds of regulations are necessary to protect our environment. We should decide that our children deserve cleaner air and purer water, not some bureaucrat in Geneva.

We do not always agree, and that is part of our democratic process. But at least we work out for ourselves what laws and regulations are best for America.

Mr. President, I believe President Clinton has simply failed to tell the American people what his strategy is for defending other American laws in the future from potential wrongful attack in the WTO. As far as I know, President Clinton has been silent on this question, one that is deeply troubling to many Americans.

I have a strategy for defending American laws. I proposed a plan in January 1995 that would ensure that the United States could withdraw from the WTO if our laws, and our rights, were being trampled in Geneva.

Many, many Americans shared my concern—that the WTO might begin to operate out of control, might begin to issue rulings that were outside its mandate, in short, that the WTO might abuse its authority. I was concerned that if this were to happen, the United States would not have any adequate mechanism to deal with it. My proposal creates such a mechanism. It allows us to get all the benefits of the WTO, but protects us against the potential harm should the WTO fail to honor our rights.

Unfortunately, my proposal has not yet become law because of some opposition—not much. There is strong bi-

partisan support for this proposal, but one of my colleagues on the other side has had a hold on this bill several months, and we hope to move on it early this month or next month.

President Clinton supports my proposal. In fact, he endorsed my proposal when I endorsed the GATT at the White House nearly 2 years ago. I certainly would appreciate the President's help in getting this measure passed. I think it would be helpful to the President and to the country. It would answer a lot of concerns American workers have who are frustrated about the loss of American jobs.

So I hope we can have action on my proposal in the very near future with the President's support.

AFSA 35TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, the Air Force Sergeants Association [AFSA] marks the 35th anniversary of its founding today. I commend this association for all of its efforts on behalf of the entire military community but, in particular, the enlisted component.

In 1961, AFSA was founded as a non-profit association to represent the interests of Air Force enlisted members, who, at that time, had no voice to speak for them. Over the years, AFSA's membership has grown to 160,000 with nearly 300 chapters around the world. Today, AFSA represents active and retired enlisted Air Force, Air Force Reserve, and Air National Guard members and their families.

In my view, AFSA's reputation on Capitol Hill is better than ever, a broker of honest information—whether through testimony, visits, or correspondence—working hand-in-hand with elected officials. AFSA has worked hard over the years to keep Members of Congress focused on the quality of the lives of the active and retired enlisted men and women AFSA represents.

AFSA was directly involved in championing improved pay and allowances for active duty members, dental and income insurance programs for reservists, the restoration of military cola equity, the end of source taxation, and the increase in the Social Security earnings limit.

Last fall, AFSA generated massive grassroots support to clearly show where military personnel stood on the "high-one" retirement recalculation proposal.

AFSA also provides awards, grants and scholarships through the Airmen Memorial Foundation, AMF, established in 1983. In addition, the AMF has a post-military employment program that aids Air Force members who are about to retire or separate.

AFSA also believes in preserving the heritage and accomplishments of Air Force enlisted personnel. In 1986, AFSA founded the Airmen Memorial Museum in Suitland, MD, which is a comprehensive reference center for Air Force enlisted history.

On the occasion of their 35th anniversary, I congratulate the Air Force Sergeants Association. I know that AFSA will continue to be an effective, strong, and dedicated voice for Air Force enlisted personnel, active, reserve, guard, retired members, and their families. I thank the association for its successful efforts and look forward to continuing to work with AFSA on matters of mutual concern.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from Massachusetts wishes to speak. I ask unanimous consent, after the Senator from Massachusetts completes his remarks, that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order.

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

Mr. KENNEDY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

MINIMUM WAGE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on tomorrow, I expect the Senate to conclude its action on the illegal immigration bill. During the earlier discussion on the immigration bill, I tried to take advantage of the opportunity to offer an amendment that would have raised the minimum wage 90 cents—45 cents this year, 45 cents the next year—90 cents for working families. We were unable to get sufficient recognition to put that proposal before the U.S. Senate, and the cloture motion was put before us, which effectively restricted our opportunity to take any action on the minimum wage.

A further cloture motion was offered, which further prohibits us from having considered the minimum wage, even if we had extended the time, which under the rules would have permitted debate and discussion for some 30 hours.

So for this phase of the minimum wage debate, we will conclude tomorrow, through the decision of the Senate, action on the illegal immigration bill and any opportunity to have the minimum wage amendment before the Senate.

Then we will move on to other business and, as I have stated at other times, as the minority leader, Senator DASCHLE, has stated, and as others have stated—my colleagues Senator KERRY and Senator WELLSTONE—we will look for the first opportunity to offer that amendment.

It is a rather poignant time, Mr. President, as we are having this debate on the minimum wage, because in 1960, during the campaign of President Kennedy, one of the important issues was the issue of the increase in the minimum wage.

In the 1960 campaign against Richard Nixon, John Kennedy ran an ad in which he called for an increase in the minimum wage. And in the ad, he sat in front of the camera and said: