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Senate

The Senate met at 10:30 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

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

Dear God, our Father, we thank You for the blessings You release when Your people pray. The President and Vice President and their families, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the Members of the House of Representatives, and the men and women of this Senate, along with those of us who are privileged to work with them, are recipients of the impact of the prayers of intercession prayed by millions of Americans around the clock. Help us to remember that You are seeking to answer these prayers as we receive Your wisdom and guidance. May we never feel alone or only dependent on our own strength. Your mighty power is impinging on us here as a result of people's prayers. An unlimited supply of supernatural strength, wisdom, and vision from You is ready to be released.

Also, remind us that our ability to receive is dependent on our willingness to pray for each other here as we work together in the Senate. We recommit ourselves to be channels of prayer power not only to our friends and those with whom we agree, but also for those with whom we disagree, those we consider our political adversaries, and especially those who test our patience, or those we need to forgive. So, lift our life together from a battle zone of combative words to a caring community of leaders who pray for and communicate esteem for one another. Thank You for giving us unity in spirit as we deal with diversity of ideas. In our Lord's name. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

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

Mr. LOTT. I thank the Chair.

THANKING THE SENATE CHAPLAIN

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, we thank our Chaplain for his assistance and his daily prayers and for his efforts this very morning with the Congressional Prayer Breakfast. We assure him of our prayers for him and his loved ones. We know it is a difficult circumstance he is dealing with at this time.

SCHEDULE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, today, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 1541, the farm bill. Under the previous order, all Senators should be aware that there will be two cloture votes today beginning at 1:30 p.m. Additional rollcall votes can be expected in order to complete action on the farm bill today.

Also as a reminder, Senators have until 12 noon today to file first-degree amendments to the pending substitute and until 1 p.m. to file second-degree amendments.

Today, there will be a joint meeting of Congress at 11:45 a.m. to hear an address by the President of France, President Chirac. Members should be in the Chamber at 11:25 in order to proceed to the House of Representatives for the address.

Mr. President, I would like to also this morning make some brief remarks with regard to the need for truth in packaging on welfare reform. I observe the Senator from Indiana, the chairman of the Agriculture Committee is here. There may be a need for the others that are involved in the agriculture bill to come to the floor. So, if the Sen-

ator will indulge me just a couple minutes, I would like to talk with regard to what is happening with welfare reform.

WELFARE REFORM

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, someday, perhaps a year from now, we will finally achieve genuine welfare reform to change welfare from the way we have known it, but it will not happen today. Indeed, it may not happen this year, not while President Clinton continues to brandish his veto pen against all efforts to clean up the welfare mess, to encourage work, and to help people who need assistance to get off welfare and get a job.

His first veto of welfare reform received little notice because it was part of our larger Balanced Budget Act. That legislation was long and complicated, touching upon many different programs. So the President was able to block welfare reform in the process of opposing other provisions in the bill.

His second veto of welfare reform likewise received scant attention because much of the country was distracted by the blizzard of 1996. It was vetoed late at night, and there was not much press coverage because most of official Washington was not paying attention. They were still concentrating on the overall budget agreement.

Now the President has promised a third veto of welfare reform, and he has done so in a way that blatantly violates his previous pledges on this issue. In an interview that appeared in yesterday's, that is Wednesday's, Washington Post, the President made clear that his earlier endorsement of the welfare reform bill that passed the Senate last fall is no longer operative.

The bill that passed the Senate was H.R. 4, which this body approved on September 19, 1995, by a strongly bipartisan vote of 87 to 12. It sailed through

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



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the Senate with the strong personal support of the President. But that was then, and now I guess his position has changed, based on this interview in the Washington Post. This is what Ann Devroy and John Harris reported in the Post interview:

On welfare reform, Clinton said he has not given up hope that a compromise bill acceptable to him will be approved this year. But he set a new price for his signature on a welfare system overhaul, asserting that the Senate proposal he indicated he would support last fall will have to be changed for him to support it now. He called on Republicans to send him a revised bill that would contain fewer cuts in funding for food stamps, provide child care for welfare recipients who work and preserve current protections for disabled children.

This is another example of the President's acknowledged skill at packaging and repackaging his positions, but it is a far cry from what was actually involved in the legislation that we considered.

The truth, as every Member of the Senate knows, is that the bill we passed last September was a compromise. A lot of work was put into that legislation by members of the committees involved, including the Senator from Connecticut, Senator DODD. That is why it gathered 87 votes on the Senate floor. It is why few Senators on both sides of the aisle opposed it.

The truth is that the Senate-passed bill did provide additional funding for child care for welfare recipients. It earmarked \$1 billion per year for child care assistance, and it provided another \$3 billion over the next 4 fiscal years for child care in certain States. In sum, that was a few billion more than what President Clinton had called for in his budget.

The truth is that the Senate-passed bill provided a base amount of \$16.8 billion in welfare funding in each of the next 5 years; an additional \$879 million for States with higher growth; a \$1.7 billion revolving fund for special borrowing; additional funds as incentive grants to States which make the most progress in getting persons off the welfare rolls; a \$800 million emergency assistance fund; a contingency fund of up to \$1 billion; \$150 million for second chance homes for unwed mothers and more.

The truth is that by returning control of public assistance to the States, the Senate-passed bill did not weaken protections for disabled children. On the contrary, 87 Members of the Senate, from both sides of the political aisle, voted to give flexibility to States in meeting the needs of those children.

The truth is that the Senate-passed bill required an 80-percent maintenance of effort—80-percent maintenance of effort—by the States to allay any fears that benefits to the needy might be recklessly reduced.

In fact, we made so many changes, we put in so much more money, that it was just marginally possible for this Senator to even vote for the bill. But it

was a compromise; it was a step in the right direction, and, like a lot of others on both sides, I went along with it.

But, based on what we are hearing from the administration, all that goes down the memory hole. The President is now upping the ante, demanding that the Congress give him a version of welfare reform not worthy of the name. His goal in doing so is obvious. Having campaigned on a promise to end welfare as we know it, he has done his utmost to end welfare reform as we know it, substituting in its place a gutted, toothless, costly sham.

As far as this Senator is concerned—and I am certain I speak for a number of other Members of Congress—that just cannot happen. We are not going to betray our promise to the American people in order to get the President's signature on a welfare bill.

There is nothing worse than for Congress to say, as we have too many times in the past, that we have accomplished something with a bill, giving it a glorious sounding title, when there is no substance to it—and when there will be no glorious results when it is actually implemented.

There are some things worse than no welfare reform. Phony reform is the main one. A welfare bill that leaves AFDC as an entitlement is phony reform. A welfare bill that keeps control of welfare in Washington in the Federal bureaucracy, in my opinion, is phony reform. A welfare bill that makes dependency more attractive by providing more benefits to more people is not genuine reform.

The President's latest comments on this subject present us with a stark choice between false reforms, misleading action, and nothing at all. He is probably hoping that, rather than return to the voters empty-handed, we will collude with him to give the public the appearance of reform, that we all declare victory, and it will be years before the taxpayers figure out they have been duped by what is called welfare reform.

I do not believe the majority in Congress is going to play that game. We are not going to break faith with the American people on this issue. If welfare reform has to wait until next year, I guess it will be worth the wait. If welfare reform must wait until the veto pen has been removed from the President, then so be it. But that delay is not necessary.

We can get genuine welfare reform. It can be one that will be supported in a bipartisan way, and it can be one that will be good for the people who now depend on the system and are looking for a way out. But that will take real cooperation. We must make sure that whatever we do is genuine reform that will produce the results we promised. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

AGRICULTURAL MARKET TRANSITION ACT OF 1996

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEWINE). Under the previous order, the

Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1541, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1541) to extend, reform, and improve agricultural commodity, trade, conservation, and other programs, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Craig (for Leahy-Lugar) amendment No. 3184, in the nature of a substitute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time for debate is equally divided between now and 11:25.

Mr. LUGAR addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I yield myself as much time as I may require.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, in beginning debate on S. 1541, the farm bill, let me just say that it is very important to farmers all over the country who have been notifying Senators and Members of the House that they want, certainly, a degree of certainty before they get into the fields to plant.

They would like, as a matter of fact, to see the Congress at work on this vital legislation. In response to that, the distinguished majority leader has, in fact, called us to that cause today, as Senators are aware.

This is a very important day. It is extraordinarily important legislation for all of America. Farmers want to know what is going to happen now. Hopefully, the Senate will provide that guidance through constructive action to completion and passage of this legislation today.

Over a year ago, at the beginning of the 1995—and now 1996—farm bill debate, I posed 53 questions about future agricultural policy in this country. The answers to those questions made it clear that a status quo farm policy was not a good idea. S. 1541, the legislation before us today, represents a bold new direction. It answers the 53 questions that I asked and that other Senators posed in a broad review of farm policy in this country.

There were five basic reasons to support Senate bill 1541.

First of all, a good reason to support it is its simplicity of approach. Traditional farm policy is so arcane that even many U.S. Department of Agriculture officials can barely comprehend all of its complexity. The bill we consider today offers a straightforward, commonsense policy.

Second, the bill offers certainty. Farmers who sign contracts will know their future payments for the next 7 years. Taxpayers, importantly, will know precisely what money is going to be spent during the next 7 years and that the budget savings we have already debated in this Chamber are certain.

That is especially important, Mr. President, because as you will recall,