

proposed by Mr. BAUCUS to the bill, H.R. 3675, *supra*; as follows:

At the end of the amendment, add the following:

SEC. . Prior to September 30, 1996, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Transportation shall conduct a review of the reporting of excise tax data by the Department of the Treasury to the Department of Transportation for fiscal year 1994 and its impact on the allocation of Federal aid highways.

If the President certifies that all of the following conditions are met:

1. A significant error was made by Treasury in its estimate of Highway Trust Fund revenues collected in fiscal year 1994;

2. The error is fundamentally different from errors routinely made in such estimates in the past;

3. The error is significant enough to justify that fiscal year 1997 apportionments and allocations of highway trust funds be adjusted; and finds that the provision in B appropriately corrects these deficiencies, then subsection B will be operative.

(b) CALCULATION OF FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY APPORTIONMENTS AND ALLOCATIONS.—(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), for fiscal year 1997, the Secretary of Transportation shall determine that Federal-aid highway apportionments and allocations to a State without regard to the approximately \$1,596,000,000 credit to the Highway Trust Fund (other than the Mass Transit Account) of estimated taxes paid by States that was made by the Secretary of the Treasury for fiscal year 1995 in correction of an accounting error made in fiscal year 1994.

(2) ADJUSTMENTS FOR EFFECTS IN 1996.—The Secretary of Transportation shall, for the State—

(A) determine whether the State would have been apportioned and allocated an increased or decreased amount for Federal-aid highways for fiscal year 1996 if the accounting error referred to in paragraph (1) had not been made (which determination shall take into account the effects of section 1003(c) of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (Public Law 102-240; 105 Stat. 1921)); and

(B) after apportionments and allocations are determined in accordance with paragraph (1)—

(i) adjust the amount apportioned and allocated to the State for Federal-aid highways for fiscal year 1997 by the amount of the increase or decrease; and

(ii) adjust accordingly the obligation limitation for Federal-aid highways distributed to the State under this Act.

(3) NO EFFECT ON 1996 DISTRIBUTIONS.—Nothing in this section shall affect any apportionment, allocation, or distribution of obligation limitation, or reduction thereof, to a State for Federal-aid highways for fiscal year 1996.

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect on September 30, 1996.

#### AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

##### COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. PRESIDENT. I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Armed Services be authorized to meet at the following times on Wednesday, July 31, 1996:

9:45 a.m. in executive session, to consider certain pending military nominations;

11:15 a.m. in open session, to consider the nomination of Lieutenant General Howell M. Estes III, USAG for appoint-

ment to the grade of general and to be Commander-in-Chief, United States Space Command/Commander-in-Chief, North American Aerospace Defense Command;

1:30 p.m. in open session, to consider the nomination of Admiral Jay L. Johnson, USN for reappointment to the grade of admiral and to be Chief of Naval Operations; and

3:30 p.m. in executive session, to consider certain pending military nominations.

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

##### COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Environment and Public Works be granted permission to meet to consider the nominations of Nils J. Diaz, and Edward McGaffigan, Jr., each nominated by the President to be a Member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Wednesday, July 31, 1996, immediately following the first vote, in the President's Room.

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

##### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Relations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 31, 1996, at 2 p.m.

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

##### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 31, 1996, at 10:00 a.m. to hold a hearing on "Losing Ground on Drugs: The Erosion of America's Borders."

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

##### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 31, 1996, at 2:00 p.m., to hold a hearing on judicial nominees.

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

##### COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Labor and Human Resources be authorized to meet in executive session during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 31, 1996, at 9:30 a.m.

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

##### SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Select Committee on Intelligence be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 31, 1996 at 9:30 a.m. to hold an open hearing on Intelligence Matters.

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

##### SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on International Finance of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, July 31, 1996, to conduct a hearing on H.R. 361, "The Export Administration Act of 1996."

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

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### MORE THAN A ROOF

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, for many years I have had the privilege of knowing Ed Marciniak, now president of the Institute of Urban Life at Loyola University, who chairs the City Club of Chicago's committee on the future of public housing in Chicago.

He had a commentary on public housing that was published in *Commonwealth*, which is really more of a commentary on poverty and urban life and what we ought to do. He says:

The average income of families living in Chicago's public housing is \$2,500. Broadly speaking, a fatal flaw of these projects is that they provide tenant families with little else than space: little in the way of opportunity or incentive to better themselves and their children. In most cities the high-rise projects, often with as many inhabitants as a small town, house not a single teacher, nurse, firefighter, manager, technician, or civil servant and offer few role models for the children, few standard-setters for the adults, and scant motivation to become self-sufficient.

Recently Congress has approved a pilot project called *Moving to Opportunity*. Marciniak points out that it was based on a model in Chicago. He writes:

*Moving to Opportunity* was modeled on a successful program sponsored by Chicago's Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities. Since 1976, the Council has used federal funds to screen and then relocate more than 6,000 public housing families, most of them female-headed, into privately owned apartments, half of them in suburbs. By bidding good-bye to public housing, most of the families not only bettered their living conditions but also greatly improved their children's opportunities. Among the suburban children only 5 percent dropped out of school, 54 percent attended college, and 27 percent found jobs. When people's expectations were raised and standards established, many started living up to them. Residential mobility made a difference.

I have had a chance to observe this program and it is a great step forward.

With a little creativity and sensitivity we can do much better in this country.

What is required is that we recognize that we have to do something to address the problems of those who are the least successful now in our society. They lack success not because of lack of ability in most cases, but because they find themselves trapped.

We have to open that trap.

Mr. President, I ask that the article from *Commonweal* be printed in the *Record*.

The article follows:

**MORE THAN A ROOF—PROMISING MOVES IN PUBLIC HOUSING**

(By Ed Marciniak)

Not long ago, I attended a national housing conference where a featured panelist was a woman introduced as a longtime resident of public housing. She herself then noted, matter-of-factly, that she had lived in public housing for forty-five years. For me, that admission was mind-blowing. Even more startling, however, was the realization that her remark had not caused even a ripple of surprise among the subsidized-housing professionals in the audience. Nonchalantly, they had come to accept public housing's way of life as a given for which they felt no personal responsibility.

It's unlikely that informed members of the general public are so complacent, whether as taxpayers concerned with the costs or as citizens aware of the pathologies associated with much public housing. People in the know are beginning to insist that government subsidies must not only meet their recipients' immediate needs but must be oriented toward helping them become self-supporting. Recent developments in and around Chicago, the area I know best, confirm that most public housing clients, the poorest of the urban poor, have not given up. Many have already helped themselves escape the trap that public housing has become. We now know that there are ways of giving them a chance to do so that have been tested, at least on a small scale, and found workable. These approaches deserve to be better known and more broadly applied. But, as will be seen, many questions need to be asked and answered.

In a bipartisan effort, Congress is currently overhauling the U.S. Housing Act of 1937. Despite its noble purpose and promising beginnings with scattered, low-rise public housing, that legislation has produced something of a monster. Today the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD] finances some 1.4 million apartments owned and managed by local housing authorities. Another 1.5 million privately owned units are federally subsidized through rent vouchers of one kind or another. Taking into account these programs and a host of others sponsored by HUD, the department has become the nation's largest slumlord.

But the problem is not primarily the numbers or costs. Our giant high-rise public housing projects have become ghettos for the urban poor: conglomerations riddled with drugs, gangs, crime, and poverty, peopled by far too high a proportion of single-family households, some now in their third and fourth generation. The average income of families living in Chicago's public housing is \$2,500. Broadly speaking, a fatal flaw of these projects is that they provide tenant families with little else than space: little in the way of opportunity or incentive to better themselves and their children. In most cities the high-rise projects, often with as many inhabitants as a small town, house not a single teacher, nurse, firefighter, manager, technician, or civil servant and offer few role models for the children, few standard-setters for the adults, and scant motivation to become self-sufficient.

In recognition of these realities, Congress has persuaded HUD to begin dismantling these housing projects by giving residents, through rent vouchers, the option of living in privately owned housing in mixed-income neighborhoods; by scattering low-rise public

housing throughout the city and its suburbs; by tearing down vacant high rises instead of rebuilding them; by using HUD dollars to attract other investment in additional housing for families of low and moderate income; and by stricter screening of applicants and the prompt eviction of lawbreakers who are drug dealers or gang leaders. In April, HUD Secretary Henry G. Cisneros released a report on "The Transformation of America's Public Housing," reporting these and other steps HUD is taking to ensure "long-term recovery."

Congress has approved, though as a pilot project, a "Moving to Opportunity" initiative, which offers public housing families a chance to move to scattered-site public housing in the city or the suburbs. This modestly funded program, already in operation in Baltimore, Boston, Los Angeles, New York, and elsewhere, is being evaluated by its success or failure in escorting families into the urban mainstream. Important data will be collected about families who become home owners or leaseholders paying conventional rents. What were the bridges or escalators they used to leave public housing? Who provided the ladders of opportunity? Are the relocated families now in better housing? How many stayed in the suburbs, how many moved back to the city?

"Moving to Opportunity" was modeled on a successful program sponsored by Chicago's Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities. Since 1976, the Council has used federal funds to screen and then relocate more than 6,000 public housing families, most of them female-headed, into privately owned apartments, half of them in suburbs. By bidding good-bye to public housing, most of the families not only bettered their living conditions but also greatly improved their children's opportunities. Among the suburban children, only 5 percent dropped out of school, 54 percent attended college, and 27 percent were enrolled in a four-year college. As for the parents, 75 percent found jobs. When people's expectations were raised and standards established, many started living up to them. Residential mobility made a difference.

This good news is part of a larger movement toward depopulation of Chicago's family projects; occupancy has decreased from 137,000 in 1980 to 80,000 in 1995. More importantly, the council's work reflects a growing awareness among government and private funders of antipoverty programs of the need to find answers for certain key, long-neglected questions. How do people shed chronic dependency to achieve self-sufficiency? How do we reverse the nation's poverty rate, which declined in the 1970s and early 1980s but has been inching up ever since? How is the underclass turned into a working class?

Accordingly, the role of the private sector serving poverty-engulfed neighborhoods is also under scrutiny. Churches, social service agencies, youth clubs, and counseling centers are being asked to link short-term aid to more lasting improvement, to do more than collect the statistics on Sunday attendance, on youngsters who use the gym, on Christmas baskets, on kids in day care, on midnight basketball, or on mothers in self-improvement classes. Funders want to know whether and how their dollars made a difference: How many of the families were no longer on public aid? What percentage of the teen-agers finished high school? How many adults found jobs?

Similar questions can be and are now being asked about the persistence of homelessness. How did it happen that the homeless were made the immediate responsibility of local housing officials? Many of the homeless are jobless or the victims of a family break-up. Many were evicted from mental health insti-

tutions and dumped mercilessly on city streets. Some are vagabonds, down-and-outers addicted to drugs and/or alcohol. All may qualify as homeless, but what they desperately need encompasses a lot more than a space to live in.

Too often, of course, discussion of such problems devolves into ideological debates, focused on "Who is to blame?" rather than on "What is to be done?" On homelessness, however, as with public housing, there are pragmatic initiatives in play. An example is Deborah's Place in Chicago, a shelter for homeless women but with a difference. From day one, the purpose of Deborah's Place has been to help the women return to a more normal lifestyle—a job, a family, or, in case of need, to a caring institution that matches the woman's special problem. At three different locations, each with a staged program, Deborah's Place works to "help women leave the streets and shelters behind for new lives of independence, productivity, and well-being." As clients move up and out, they leave room and time for other women to be assisted.

On ending joblessness, strategy can also make a difference. Suburban Job Link, with offices in Chicago's South Lawndale community and suburban Bensenville, uses a unique method for promoting upward mobility. On contract with relatively job-rich suburban employers, the organization buses workers to temporary jobs that often lead to "working interviews" for applicants who want to demonstrate their potential to fill entry-level positions. Factory owners and other employers are invited to hire any worker full-time without a fee, thus supplying the missing rung on a stepladder to year-round employment. Through its "no-charge" arrangement, Job Link will place 1,000 "temps" into regular jobs with benefits in the next twelve months. Finally, it continues to bus the newly hired until they arrange transportation on their own, through a car pool, for example. As a not-for-profit, Job Link is funded by government and foundation grants and by its own earned income.

Another strategic point of entry for encouraging upward mobility has to do with school choice. Over the past decade it has become evident that nonpublic schools, especially those under religious sponsorship, have been remarkably successful in easing not only children but also their low-income parents into the urban mainstream. Nearly one of every four youngsters enrolled in an elementary or secondary school in Chicago attends a nonpublic school. Now, hundreds of scholarships to attend Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopal schools are given to youngsters who live in the Cabrini Green, Henry Horner, Rockwell Gardens, and other public housing projects. The aid covers only part of the tuition, requiring parents or guardians to pay the balance and fees.

Though statistics are not available, it is our experience that the decision by a public housing family to enroll children in a private school is often the first step that eventually leads to an apartment in the private housing market. The choice made by a deserted mother, taken at personal sacrifice, is rewarded and reinforced when she sees that her child is in fact making educational progress; she is likely to strive even harder to climb out of poverty in order to continue sending her child to the school of her choice.

A final example—useful even though at present it is a matter of aspiration rather than achievement—returns to a housing program. It will be operative in 1997 when Chicago's Lawson YMCA finishes rehabilitating its twenty-five-story building to provide 583 single-occupancy rooms. The difference here lies in the overall aim, which is not just to provide livable space for otherwise homeless

persons but also to help people who are homeless, jobless, and difficult-to-employ get jobs, preferably within walking distance, and become self-sufficient. The YMCA staff will work, for example, with people who are recovering from substance abuse by concentrating aggressively on job training and job getting. Success will be measured not just by occupancy rates but, more importantly, by the number who have moved to independent living.

As with the other examples, the virtue of the YMCA initiative lies in its responding not just to today's need but also to tomorrow's challenge. To paraphrase columnist Robert J. Samuelson, the United States struggles through a soul-searching transition from an era of entitlement to an era of responsibility.●

#### MODEL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS FOR EX-OFFENDERS

● Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to recognize the continued outstanding accomplishments of a model employment program for ex-offenders in my home State of Colorado.

The Golden Door program, founded and developed by Bill Coors, president of the Coors Brewing Co., was implemented 28 years ago this month. The goal of Golden Door is to provide ex-offenders with a comprehensive program for reentry into society with a focus on employment. In addition to an employment opportunity targeting people with limited employment skills, the Golden Door program offers an education, training in personal finances, general counseling, and the stability that allows people to successfully maintain a job.

Eighty percent of the participants in the Golden Door program complete it successfully and move on to assume full-time positions within the corporation. While this kind of opportunity is somewhat rare, Colorado has proven that the concept can be effectively duplicated, proving profitable to the sponsoring business, the community and the participants.

Bill Coors' vision for a better community and a second change for people has left the State of Colorado with his legacy of philanthropic efforts and a solid example to which businesses, small and large alike, can aspire. It was in 1994 that I first called the attention of Congress to the Golden Door program, commending its good will and success. I also used that opportunity to express my support for the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit—now the Work Opportunity Tax Credit—initiative, a program designed to assist smaller businesses in employing people of similar target groups.

Since then, a variety of other legislative action has been taken to encourage the successful reentry of ex-offenders into society. Employment training is being institutionalized in prisons, and Congress is working to safeguard the continuation of these programs as we move through the legislative process.

In addition to highlighting the ongoing success of Golden Door and the Na-

tion's concern over reducing the rate of recidivism, I would like to recognize a sister program to Golden Door called Gateway Through the Rockies, a community partnership to reduce criminal recidivism. The El Paso County, CO, Sheriff's Department recently kicked off Gateway to provide inmates nearing release with a comprehensive program of education, counseling, work experience, social skills training and post-release support. Modeled after Golden Door, Gateway offers ex-offenders a second chance at no cost to taxpayers.

Golden Door and Gateway Through the Rockies are shining examples of how communities and businesses can work together toward improving the quality of life for the community, while drastically reducing the cost we now incur by simply shuffling people in and out of the penal system. On July 11 of this year, my colleague, Senator GRAHAM, stated in a Senate floor statement that in Florida, "the recidivism rate among those prisoners who have been through our prison industry program is one-fifth of the recidivism rate of the population as a whole." These figures are impressive. It is my hope that in our effort to practice fiscal responsibility and become a less intrusive and yet more responsive government, we would make practical decisions regarding that segment of our community that has paid its debt and is capable of making a positive contribution. Programs serving as this segue simply makes sense.

Mr. President, I would like to state my commitment to encouraging such programs and exploring potential legislative initiatives to facilitate community partnerships to reduce recidivism. Again, my thanks to all of the individuals, organizations and businesses for their ground-breaking contributions to community-based programs in Colorado and across the country.●

#### CITY CAB CO.

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise to honor City Cab Co. on its 68th anniversary. City Cab Co. is the Nation's oldest African-American taxicab association.

On July 17, 1928, a group of ambitious African-American taxi drivers met in Detroit to discuss the possibility of starting a nonprofit corporate association because they were not accepted at the major cab company. Two weeks later, City Cab Co. was founded with nine charter members. City Cab membership has grown over the last 68 years, and as the company has remained in the city since its inception, it has become closely involved with the community. City Cab has transported children with special needs to and from school for over 30 years free of charge. This year, an anniversary gala will benefit these children further with proceeds going to scholarship fund.

City Cab has shown the people of Detroit what it means to be a supportive partner of the community. I know my

Senate colleagues join me in congratulating City Cab Co. on its 68th anniversary.●

#### THE GATHERING STORM

● Mr. BRYAN. Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to read an article by Maj. Gen. Edward J. Philbin, which I ask be printed in the RECORD. In the wake of downsizing our national defense apparatus, we will come to rely even more on the capabilities of United States' Reserve Forces. As Members of Congress, we should take it upon ourselves to insure that guard and reserve units are prepared to carry this mission well into the next century.

The article follows:

[From National Guard, June 1996]

#### THE GATHERING STORM

(By Maj. Gen. Edward J. Philbin (ret.))

Recently, I was conducting experiments on the aerodynamic behavior of low-altitude, low-velocity spherical bodies at the Andrews Air Force Base golf course. Like all weather-wary flyers, I kept a suspicious eye on the mutating cloud formations overhead. Across the initially cloudless, blue sky crept wisps of white, which slowly burgeoned into rising silver cloud towers, the pinnacles fattening into great overhanging mushrooms of gold and purple. Progressively, the sky was darkened by a great sea of these forbidding gray thunderstorms. And then, these "duty boomers" unleashed a lightning barrage, which generated peals of thunder, followed by a monsoon-like deluge of water.

With apologies to Winston Churchill for appropriating one of his titles, I was struck by the similarity between this atmospheric spectacle and the acerbic treatment accorded the Army Guard since Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm almost six years ago. At that time an orchestrated public affairs attack on the Army Guard was launched, concentrating on the three round-out brigades federalized on November 30, 1990. The most popular target of abuse was Georgia's 48th Infantry Brigade, roundout to the 24th Infantry Division, because of its alleged post-mobilization ineptitude at the National Training Center (NTC). The fact that the 48th Brigade had, before mobilization, been consistently evaluated as combat ready by the 24th Infantry Division was ignored. Also ignored was the 48th's call-up 3½ months after its parent division was alerted for Gulf deployment. Also never mentioned was the fact that, despite all the obstacles placed in its path at the NTC, the 48th was revalidated as combat ready in 91 calendar days, which was just one day more than scheduled, and on the very day the cease-fire went into effect. During those 91 days, the 48th Infantry Brigade spent only 65 days actually training.

Despite these facts, the 48th has been continually flogged and castigated by the media for "failure" to deploy to the combat area. With relentless determination, the media have published a rash of articles emphasizing fictional failings rather than positive accomplishments of the 48th, concluding that since the 48th "couldn't hack it," then none of the Army Guard "can hack it." This World War II tactic relies on the theory that "if you tell a big enough lie, and tell it often enough, most people will eventually believe it." The audience for which this propaganda is intended is the members of Congress in the hope they will relegate the Army National Guard to a state constabulary.

The Reserve Officers Association (ROA), in its May issue of the ROA National Security