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## House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, June 10, 1997, at 10:30 a.m.

## Senate

MONDAY, JUNE 9, 1997

The Senate met at 12 noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

### PRAYER

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

Sovereign God, our help in all the ups and downs of life, all the triumphs and defeats of political life, and all the changes and challenges of leadership, You are our Lord in all seasons and for all reasons. We can come to You when life makes us glad or sad. There is no place or circumstance beyond Your control. Wherever we go You are there waiting for us. You already are at work with people before we encounter them, You prepare solutions for our complexities, and You are ready to help us to resolve conflicts even before we ask You. And so, we claim Your promise given through Jeremiah, "Call on Me, and I will answer you, and show great and mighty things you do not know."—Jeremiah 33:3.

God of win-win solutions, guide the Senators to discover Your answer for the present deadlock over the disaster relief bill. We thank You in advance for a divinely inspired resolution. In the name of our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is recognized.

### ORDERS FOR TODAY

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, I ask unanimous consent that the routine requests through the morning hour be granted, and the Senate then be in a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak up to 10 minutes, with the following exceptions: Senator COVERDELL or his designee for 60 minutes, from the hour of 4 p.m. to 5 p.m., Senator DASCHLE or his designee for 60 minutes, and Senator MURKOWSKI, for 20 minutes.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Reserving the right to object, and I do not think I will, I wonder whether the acting leader would amend his request to include Senator WELLSTONE for up to half an hour.

Mr. FRIST. I ask unanimous consent Senator WELLSTONE be allowed to speak for up to 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

### SCHEDULE

Mr. FRIST. For the information of all Members, today the Senate will be in a period of morning business to allow a number of Senators time to speak. The Senate may also take up any executive or legislative business cleared for action. As previously announced, if any votes are ordered today, they would be set aside, not to occur before 5 p.m. As always, all Members will be notified if and when any votes are scheduled.

I appreciate my colleagues' attention. I yield the floor.

### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate is in a period of morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, I am not quite sure what the business of the Senate will be this week. I would be interested in knowing what the majority leader is planning.

### PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Brian Ahlberg be permitted privileges of the floor.

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

### DISASTER RELIEF

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I come to the floor and I think that other Senators will certainly be on the floor today, tomorrow, and as long as it takes, to speak about the disaster in my State and in the Dakotas and other States as well. I really come to the floor today to speak about a disaster, really a disaster on top of a disaster, because the disaster supplemental, which the Congress completed action on Thursday has still not been sent to the White House. There has been a disaster in our States and peoples lives have been devastated and they are waiting for additional Federal assistance.

Mr. President, there is the disaster that people are faced with in Minnesota and the Dakotas of having been

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



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flooded out of their homes. I heard the Chaplain's prayer, that we resolve our impasse this week, and I thank him for his prayer. He is always very sincere and I hope all of us will listen to him because there has to be a way that we can get help to people who really are trying to rebuild their lives.

I heard the mayor from Grand Forks, ND, this morning on one of the national network shows. She was saying that people are doing well at the community level because they really are helping each other out and trying to get back to their regular normal routines. But the one thing that is just continuing to really discourage and demoralize people is they still do not know whether or not there will be any additional Federal assistance. They are waiting week after week after week.

Mr. President, I feel that the disaster, the other disaster, is the disaster here in the Congress. I spoke for a long time about this last week, and then said at the end of the week—and I am not really, by the way, looking forward to this—I said that I was prepared to come to the floor and speak for a long time again this week on the need for this emergency supplemental assistance. I do not know what the business of the Senate will be, but I am prepared to make sure that there is no business as usual in the Senate until we pass a clean supplemental that the President can sign. This has to be resolved.

The particular disaster I want to speak to this afternoon, Mr. President, is the fact that some very controversial riders have been added to the supplemental. I think the people in Minnesota and the Dakotas are confused about this issue as well. They do not understand why some Members of the House and the Senate have insisted on adding these controversial riders. The purpose of this emergency disaster supplemental is to get much needed assistance out to these people who have been flooded out of their homes, not as a vehicle for unrelated issues like the continuing resolution and a provision relating to how the 2000 census will be done. By the way, the vast majority of people in Minnesota do not agree with that.

So you have an effort to attach on what is called a continuing resolution, and then you have another amendment dealing with the way we take our census. Unrelated issues that the President said he would veto the bill over. By the way, when the President came out to visit North Dakota and South Dakota and Minnesota he said way back then when he looked at the devastation, "I just hope that people will keep this a clean bill. Please get the help to people. Do not put on other measures." He always said he would veto it.

Now, here is my question. Why hasn't the bill been sent to the White House yet? Here it is 12:10, today, Monday. To my knowledge, after this piece of legislation was to be sent to the President on Thursday of last week, it was not.

First we have the House of Representatives going on vacation, Memorial Day recess, not even finishing the bill, not even finishing the bill. Then we finally got this passed on Thursday and now we find out that, now it is 12:10 Monday, they still have not sent the bill over to the President. This is unconscionable on top of unconscionable. They did not send the bill over to the President on Friday. They know he will veto it. What is the majority party doing? I would be quite prepared to debate anybody who wants to debate me on this.

I do not agree, most of the people in Minnesota do not agree, with attaching unrelated issues to the supplemental. Keep the bill clean and get the help to people.

Why hasn't the bill, that you know the President is going to veto, been sent to the President? You did not send it on Friday, you have not sent it on the weekend, and you have not even sent it come Monday. Some people can be incredibly generous with the suffering of others. Can anybody on the floor of the U.S. Senate who agrees with this decision not to even send the bill to the President—you know he will veto it, then it comes back here, then maybe we can have an agreement—can anybody justify that? Not for me, as a Senator from Minnesota, but for the people in East Grand Forks or Grand Forks or Warren or Ada, and a whole lot of other communities.

Now, here is what I see, and this is just transparent:

GOP sources alternately said they declined to send the disaster relief bill to the White House last week because either they wanted to give the President a chance to change his mind—which they were hoping to do through a weekend grassroots effort—or they were afraid Clinton would be able to monopolize the Sunday talk shows with his explanation of the expected veto.

This is unbelievable. So here is what we have. Talk about talking out of two sides of your mouth. On the one hand people are saying, no, we do not want to send the bill to them because we really think that we will have a chance to change his mind. On the other hand, they say, no, we do not want to send a bill to him because we know he will veto it and we do not want him to be on Sunday shows talking about why he has vetoed it.

Mr. President, can I suggest a third point to you, and that is, to people who are waiting for help, they do not understand these games. So I suggest to my colleagues on the majority side that it is time to send the bill to the President. You should not have delayed it on Friday. You should not be delaying it today. You know full well he will veto the bill. You are playing politics with people's lives. Get the bill back here, let us get to work and get the help to people. This has become really callous and really insensitive.

Now here we have another explanation:

House Majority leader Dick Armey, Texas, on Friday said Congress would not send Clin-

ton the bill until today, even though the enrolling clerk had already finished work on it. "We think it's important that the President have a weekend to think this thing through," he said.

But Republicans also needed some time to think about what their plan will be if the measure is vetoed.

GOP leaders were in "some turmoil" over what their game plan should be, as a GOP aide said.

I put the emphasis on game. Stop playing games. I do not care whether it is Republicans or Democrats. I only care right now about the people in East Grand Forks, MN, and the people in the Dakotas and other communities in Minnesota. I do not care about these games. They know the President was going to veto it. This was just an effort to embarrass the President and it still has not been sent to him. You know what, colleagues? I do not know whether you have embarrassed the President or not, I do not think you have, but the point is you have embarrassed yourselves. You have embarrassed yourselves because everybody can see through this. If you want to provide disaster relief to people in an emergency supplemental, then we should understand it is an emergency supplemental bill. It is a disaster. People are waiting to rebuild their homes. People are waiting to rebuild their businesses. People are trying to find out whether or not they are going to be moved because they live in a floodplain or whether they will not be moved, and they cannot find out anything because of this unbelievable charade that is taking place here.

I really do not understand it. I said last week that you have seen in the Dakotas and Minnesota a real sense of community. I see no sense of community here. I see no sense of community here. By the way, the vast majority of people would agree.

I voted for the bill because I know how important it is to get help to people, but most people understand, and I can understand, what the President is doing. That as President, we have one President, he can say, look, give me a disaster relief bill, give me something that provides assistance to people. Do not mix up agendas. Do not impose your own agendas about how you want the census taken, do not impose your own agenda on whether you want money spent on education or not, do not impose your own agenda about public parks on a disaster relief bill for people.

Now, if anybody wants to debate me, come on out. I am willing to stay here all afternoon. I would be willing to stay here all afternoon. If people don't come out, then I assume there is no debate for right now. I want to make it clear, Mr. President—very clear—and I would rather not do it and I am sure there will be help—but this week, until this disaster relief bill gets done, insofar as I am able to as the Senator from Minnesota, I will make sure that nothing else gets done here. To the extent that I can use every bit of knowledge

that I have and leverage as a Senator to fight for people in Minnesota.

I am going to make sure that the Senate is a deliberative body. If my colleagues think this process is geared to grind slowly, I am going to make sure that it is practically at a halt.

This is outrageous, I say to the Chair, and he can't comment, and he may be in complete agreement with me on the substance. But, frankly, he would do the same thing, I think, probably if it was his own State. I mean, enough is enough. We are not going to do business as usual until this disaster relief bill is passed and we get assistance to people. I cannot, for a moment, understand why—and I doubt whether anybody from the majority party is going to come out and debate me—even though I don't agree with adding on other provisions, what I really have trouble understanding is why did they not send it to the President Friday? Why is it 12:20 on Monday and this still hasn't been sent to the President? Maybe delay is fine here, this is all abstract; but these are people's lives. I bet you that you ask the American people whether or not they think there is any defense for not sending the bill to the President, which you know is going to be vetoed, so you can then get down to work and finally pass a bill to get help to people who have been flooded out of their homes, I bet you 99 percent of the people in the country would say they don't understand this at all. And they should not understand it because there is simply nothing to defend.

Mr. President, the Washington Post had an editorial on Sunday that starts out, "The President is right and Republicans are wrong about the disaster relief bill." I will amend that. Frankly, at this point in time I agree, but I want to make it crystal clear that it should not be a partisan issue. Let's just get the help to people, just get a disaster relief bill with provisions in the bill that have to do with providing disaster relief, and pass it. That is what we should do.

The Post editorial goes on to say: "Once again"—this is the language that is important—"in trying to use an appropriations bill as a forcing device, they have overreached. The amendments raise important issues that deserve to be debated on the merits and under the regular rules." And then the conclusion—"An emergency bill to provide flood relief in the upper Midwest, and to pay some of the cost of the Bosnia peacekeeping mission, and to plug a few unexpected holes in the budget, is the wrong place to thrash out these other issues." They were talking about right-of-way across Federal lands like this. They ought to back off.

Here is an article written in the Pioneer Press by columnist Bill Salisbury. "Political Ping-Pong is a Pathetic Game." That is quite a title. It starts out:

The folks from Grand Forks and East Grand Forks were perplexed. They came here

Wednesday to make yet another plea for Federal aid to help them recover from the spring flooding that wrecked their town.

The group of 11 city officials and business leaders got patted on the head, assured that the national leaders feel their pain, and once again were promised that the money will soon be on its way.

But if our Federal leaders had been completely honest with the group, they would have said something like: "You're going to get your flood relief sooner or later, but first we're going to play a little political ping-pong game, and we're going to use you folks as the ball."

I don't think anybody could have said it better. That is what is going on here, a political ping-pong game using people in our communities, in the Dakotas and in Minnesota, as the ball. It is a political ping-pong game using people in our communities as the ball. Well, I have news for you, colleagues. If that is your plan, don't plan on conducting any other business on the floor of the U.S. Senate, because there are going to be some of us out here and we are going to really fight hard this week. This has just become outrageous.

Now, Mr. President, I could focus on all of the conditions and the lives of people in our communities, and I will do that as we move forward this week because I want to reserve my voice and my strength for when the majority party is trying to conduct its business so I can come out here and make sure that doesn't happen. But let me, one more time at least, bring this to the attention of the people in Minnesota and in the Dakotas and elsewhere in the country.

What is going on here? You have a disaster, and the disaster is right here in the Congress. The disaster right here is the leader—the disaster right here is the failure of the majority party to move this bill forward. I am sorry, I don't know any other way to say it. There are three issues. You have people in pain and they need help. They have been waiting week after week after week, and they are being used as the ball in a political ping-pong game.

Second issue. You have people here who decided on an oh-so-clever strategy and that strategy was to say, OK, here is a disaster relief bill. Everybody is going to be for providing help to people. So now we have these other agendas. Why don't we take our other political agendas having to do with the Census Bureau and their work, and public parks and roads, having to do with fights over budget priorities, and why don't we just put these provisions in this bill? That is a disaster. But now we have another disaster. The disaster I am talking about today is the disaster of the majority party and after loading on these provisions and knowing the President is going to veto the bill on Friday, not sending the bill over, and with the bogus argument made about how "we didn't want to because we thought maybe the President would change his mind," or "actually, we didn't want to because, if we did, the President could get on the Sunday talk shows and make us look bad."

I don't really care whether those I work with look bad. I am worried about the people in my State. And now it is Monday and I have a question for the majority party: When are you going to send this bill to the President? What are you waiting for? How much more suffering does there have to be? How many more people do you want to demoralize? How much longer do you want people waiting? Where is your humanity? Send the bill over to the President, and then the President will veto the bill—he is going to veto the bill. Let's get to work and let's have some agreement. Let's have some compromise. Let's work things out, let's pass this bill, and let's pass this bill this week—tomorrow.

But, Mr. President, we can't do anything until the majority party sends the bill over. I extend an invitation to any of my colleagues: Anytime you would like to come out on the U.S. Senate floor today and debate this question, please do, because it is a question that people in Minnesota and in the Dakotas have. If you would like to explain to the people in Minnesota and in the Dakotas on the floor of the U.S. Senate why you have not sent this bill to the President and why you are engaging in further delay, I would be very pleased for you to do so. I would be pleased. Actually, I think really you owe people that explanation. But I don't really think there is any argument that you can make.

I will conclude this way this afternoon. I want my colleagues to know that I think it is indefensible and I don't blame you for not being out here because you can't defend it. I also want colleagues to know—those in support of this effort—that if we don't get to work on this and we don't pass this disaster relief bill, then I am prepared—and I am sure I will be joined by other colleagues as well because I heard Senator DASCHLE express a tremendous amount of indignation, along with both Senators from North Dakota, Mr. CONRAD and Mr. DORGAN, and Senator JOHNSON from South Dakota, and we are prepared to fight very hard.

So to my colleagues, whoever you are on the other side, whoever you are who made this decision not to even send this bill to the President, causing yet further delay and postponing the time when people will finally get help back in Minnesota, for some reason, I gather you think this is a clever strategy. I want you to know that people see through it and, in any case, I want you to know that until we get the work done here and we get the help to people, as a Senator from Minnesota, I am going to make sure that there will be no business as usual on the floor of the U.S. Senate. I may not always be able to get the floor, and it may not be all that easy, but I am quite convinced that this is what I should do, and I think other Senators will do the same thing. There comes a point in time when the only thing you can do, if you are trying to fight for people you represent, is come to the floor of the U.S.

Senate and use your leverage. It looks like this is one of those times.

Mr. President, let me conclude on a more positive note. I hope that my colleagues in the majority party will send this bill to the President today. I hope that it will come back to us right away, and I "hope and pray," in the words of the Chaplain, that we will reach agreement and pass a disaster relief bill and that we will get help to people in Minnesota and in the Dakotas.

Mr. President, these are good people, really good people. They have really been through a lot and they deserve our help. They don't deserve what we are doing to them right now.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, while it has been called to my attention that, in speaking quickly, I might have also called the leadership a disaster. That was not my intention.

I will make sure that my remarks do not reflect that. I think it is a disaster here, what is going on. But I want to make it clear that nothing I said was intended in that way.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be recognized to speak as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are in morning business. The Senator may proceed.

#### THE EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I know there is some misunderstanding over what is happening right now in terms of this emergency supplemental, and I believe maybe some clarification would be in order.

The very distinguished Senator from Minnesota spent 30 minutes expressing his anxiety over the passage of this emergency supplemental legislation. Let me assure you, Mr. President, if you were listening to that, that there are not any people in North Dakota or in Minnesota right now who are going without the emergency provisions that are authorized. And, as a matter of fact, there are some things that won't

really be done, such as the outright replacing of infrastructure and some of those things.

So it is not as if those people are being ignored. It is not as if we went off and took a vacation during the time that was happening.

But I think it is important to mention a couple of other things that are in this emergency supplemental. I am hoping that the President won't veto it. It is not at all unusual that the bill is not sent to the President. If it were sent to the President after it was only passed on Thursday night, by Monday morning, then, that would probably set some new kind of a record around here. Things don't move that fast. There is nothing unusual about the fact that this bill has not been sent to the President. But this presupposition that the President is going to veto it, I think, is really wrong. I think the President will have to look very closely at whether or not he wants to veto this emergency legislation.

For one thing, it is the President that got us into the situation that we are in in Bosnia right now. But we should never have sent troops over to Bosnia when you have a military budget that is suffering and while we have great threats that are out there to send troops on humanitarian missions and peacekeeping missions all around the world where we don't have strategic interests at stake.

I can remember 18 months ago standing on this floor when the President of the United States said that the cost in Bosnia would be somewhere between \$1.5 and \$2 billion. At that time I said, "I bet it will be \$8 billion before it is over." Guess what? It is already passing through \$6.5 billion. And some of the money that is in this emergency supplemental is going to be going to support the effort in Bosnia. It has already been paid.

But this is replenishing, the same as it is up in North Dakota and for some of the flood victims. They have been addressed. Problems have been addressed. Of course, we do need to replenish that emergency fund, which we intend to do.

But I think the main thing is the idea that the President is going to automatically veto this. I think you know that the automatic continuing resolution is on this, which I think is very, very good. It wasn't too long ago that the President shut down the Government and blamed the majority party for it, and if we had this continuing resolution in place, that couldn't happen again. All we want to do is to be sure that we are going to be able to carry on Government and let Government operate in the event there is an impasse between Congress and the President of the United States on some appropriations bills. That is exactly what this is all about. So, if we had the continuing resolution that is passed, which is a part of this emergency supplemental legislation, then the continuing resolution will provide that

Government won't shut down, that it will continue to operate at last year's funding level, which I think is very reasonable. We don't want to shut down Government. That way, we can ensure it won't happen. That is all in this emergency supplemental.

So I am hoping, of course, that the President doesn't use the automatic continuing resolution as an excuse to veto this bill, because if he does, what he is saying is, I want Government to be able to be shut down. It is as simple as that.

Lastly, I say that I have the utmost respect for the Senator from Minnesota. Quite often you see different philosophies expressed on this floor. Of course, his is quite different than mine. I think the basic difference is that when we look at money that Government spends, we look at it as coming from the taxpayers rather than just some big pot of money that is owned by Government. So we have conservatives and we have liberals. And the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, Senator WELLSTONE, is very liberal, and we are very conservative.

So this is a forum where those things can be heard. I think, in good time, the President will get this emergency supplemental, and I am certainly hopeful that the President will not veto the supplemental.

I yield the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I would like to speak as if in morning business for about 5 minutes.

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

Mr. THOMAS. I appreciate very much the Senator from West Virginia yielding to give me the opportunity to do this.

#### FREEDOM FROM GOVERNMENT COMPETITION ACT

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to talk about a problem that I think we have in this country in terms of the organization of Government, in terms of the future role of Government, in terms of where we want to be with respect to Government and the private sector, and specifically Government's competition with the private sector. This competition, of course, takes many forms, but the basic premise is that the Federal Government provides commercial goods and services in-house instead of going to the private sector and contracting out for these needs. This is called insourcing, and it leads to larger