

for the next ten years by setting aside projected Social Security surpluses of \$1.8 trillion.

The unified budget system created during President Lyndon Johnson's administration allows the government to account for non-Social Security programs using Social Security funds. For years it masked the size of the federal deficit. When it comes to Social Security, this accounting method has fanned unfavorable public sentiment. According to a survey conducted by the National Public Radio, the Kaiser Foundation, and the Kennedy School of Government, Americans believe that the Social Security trust fund is somehow being misused. Asked why the system is in trouble, more people (65%) selected "money in the Social Security trust fund is being spent on programs other than Social Security" than any other reason. It's time to change the system. The lock box legislation would help restore the public's trust in the system and ensure Congress and the President don't squander the surpluses accumulating in the Social Security trust fund.

The surplus could be very tempting to the President and Congress to spend. The Social Security "lock box" would institute a 60-vote budget point of order in the Senate which would limit Congress's ability to pass a budget resolution which uses a portion of the Social Security trust fund for non-Social Security purposes. In addition, this legislation would institute a limit on the debt held by the public.

Passing this legislation demonstrates Congress's ability and discipline to save money. Taxpayers and beneficiaries believe "reform" will translate into higher taxes and lower benefits. One way to quell public concern is by starting out on the right foot. We can protect the Social Security trust fund from being drained for non-Social Security purposes. As Members of Congress, we owe this to the future generations of America. As Senators, we should understand the dynamics of saving the Social Security trust funds because we all have constituents in our home states who have doubts about Social Security money being there for them when they retire. That is why this legislation is so important: it will help restore the confidence of the American people in their government. Locking away the Social Security trust fund is a key way to secure the public's peace of mind. Wage earners who contribute a sizable percentage of their paycheck every week to the public retirement system have grown leery about the Federal Government using their Social Security taxes for other purposes.

President Clinton, pledged in his 1998 State of the Union Address, to "save every cent of the Social Security Surplus." Some Members of Congress including myself along with Senators GREGG, BREAUX, and KERREY have put forth proposals to save Social Security. However, if Congress and the White

House reach a Social Security stalemate this year, the lock box legislation offers a bonus economic benefit. It would ensure the public debt is reduced. That's because the Social Security lock box effectively would limit the amount of public debt, which would prevent Social Security revenue from being used for other programs.

Some have expressed concern that passing this legislation would stifle Congress's ability to address emergency situations such as economic recession or war. Those situations were anticipated in the development of the lock box legislation. This bill would allow the flexibility necessary to address such situations by suspending the public debt limit in specific instances such as recession or a declaration of war.

We are at a point in time where talk is cheap and execution is everything. At one time or another we all learned the steps of first aid and the first step that is taken is to stop the bleeding. We need to stop the bleeding of the trust fund dollars from the Social Security trust fund.

I ask my colleagues to demonstrate the courage necessary to pass this bill and preserve the future of our great Nation.

I yield the floor.

SECTION 201 DECISIONS

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President I rise today to discuss my grave concern regarding the Section 201 petition brought forward by America's domestic lamb industry. This case has been sitting on President Clinton's desk for more than 2 months. He has had more than ample time to make a decision. Furthermore, the decision was slated for June 5. For 10 days, America's sheep producers have been waiting, wondering what is going to happen to their livelihood.

On February 9, 1999, the International Trade Commission voted unanimously that lamb imports are a threat to our industry. On March 26, the sheep industry scored another victory with the decision by the International Trade Commission to support 4 years of market stability. Several remedies have been offered, including tariff rate quotas and ad-valorem tariffs. Now a decision by President Clinton to approve, deny, or modify those remedies has been expected since June 5.

This administration has virtually ignored the request by America's sheep producers to solve the issue of excessive imports. While these producers are suffering, the President continues to deal with any and all other issues but this important agriculture case. While I understand that Kosovo and other world issues require much time and consideration, domestic policy cannot stand still during international situations.

The agricultural producers of this country that provide food and fiber for

the rest of the Nation, warrant more time and attention than this administration has paid them. I feel as though the crisis facing the sheep producers of this country is receiving about the same consideration from this administration as agriculture received 5 months ago in the State of the Union Address. Agriculture received a mere thirty seconds during that address and is receiving even less time in this important case.

The domestic lamb industry has every reason to believe their market has been substantially undercut by these countries. Imports now make up nearly one-third of the domestic market, and comparisons of imported and domestic lamb meat have found that imports undercut domestic products nearly 80 percent of the time. Between 1993 and 1997 imports increased 47 percent. The problems of imports are very real and have had a substantial impact on sheep producers.

Furthermore, the domestic industry has followed the legal process for trade action that is available to all industries under our trade agreements. The unanimous ruling of the ITC during the injury phase of this 201 case, followed by the entire Commission's recommendation to impose trade relief, clearly shows U.S. sheep producers have a viable case.

I urge my fellow colleagues to join me in urging the president to make an extremely timely decision in support of the section 201 petition and the recommendations made by the domestic sheep industry for strong and effective trade relief.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, the time has come. Our friends with disabilities have waited patiently. Our bipartisan coalition has remained united. The last obstacles have been resolved. Assurances have been given. I am referring to our pending consideration of the landmark legislation, S.331, the Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999.

When I came to Congress in January 1975, one of my legislative priorities was to provide access to the American dream for individuals with disabilities. It was not an easy task. I learned quickly that providing access for Americans with disabilities was complicated.

It involved providing access to education, it involved removing physical barriers, and it involved ensuring access to rehabilitation, job training, and job placement assistance.

It required obtaining access to assistive technology and health care. Most importantly, access to the American dream for people with disabilities meant gaining the opportunity to choose and to participate in the full range of community activities. Moreover, it involved making sure that the Federal Government, along with other entities, be made to comply with laws affecting access for people with disabilities. We have made tremendous progress in the last 24 years.

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, the Rehabilitation Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the Assistive Technology Act have changed, and will continue to change lives. Children with disabilities are being educated with their peers. No agency or individual, including the Federal Government, can discriminate against individuals on the basis of disability in employment, transportation, public accommodations, public services, or telecommunications.

Job training and placement opportunities for individuals with disabilities are ever expanding because of the reforms we achieved in the Work Force Investment Act of 1998 and because of low unemployment rates. I am proud of these accomplishments.

Today we will address the biggest remaining barrier to the American dream for individuals with disabilities—access to health care if they work.

I began work on the Work Incentives Improvement Act more than 2 years ago. Since then, I have learned a great deal. I suspect the same holds true for the 77 other co-sponsors of this bill. People with disabilities want to work, and will work, if they are given access to health care. This bill does just that—it gives workers with disabilities access to appropriate health care—health care that is not readily available or affordable from the private sector.

People with disabilities want to work, and will work, given access to job training and job placement assistance. This bill does just that—it gives individuals with disabilities training and help securing a job.

The Work Incentives Improvement Act gives people with disabilities the power to control their own destiny, the power to pay taxes and return the investment that society has made in them, and most of all the power to go to work.

First, I must thank my bipartisan co-sponsors Senators KENNEDY, ROTH, and MOYNIHAN the original co-sponsors of this bill who made a commitment many months ago to work together to create a sound piece of legislation to address this real problem for millions of Americans with disabilities. Such commitment represents the best of what the Senate can accomplish when sound policy is placed above partisanship.

I also thank the additional, original 35 co-sponsors of this bill and the subsequent 45 co-sponsors who represent a total of over three quarters of this body, perhaps a Senate record on health care legislation.

Over the last two weeks, the Majority Leader has been the driving force who urged us to work out policy differences that were delaying Floor consideration. We did so through good faith efforts that broadened support for the bill and reduced its overall modest cost.

In particular, I want to recognize Senators NICKLES, BUNNING, and

GRAMM for their willingness to reach consensus with us on policy without compromising the integrity of the legislation, thus, allowing S. 331 to move forward.

I especially thank the over two hundred national organizations that offered time, energy, and ideas to create and support a bill that will improve the quality of life for millions of Americans with disabilities who want to work.

One at a time, we each have come to understand the importance of health care and a job to individuals with disabilities. Sometimes the power of common sense and the voices of reason transcend politics and help us to forge new policy that will make America a better place for all of its citizens. The Work Incentives Improvement Act is the right policy at the right time, and we all know it.

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I am pleased to be an original cosponsor of S. 331, the Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999.

This historic initiative, which Republicans have been working on for many years now, has strong bipartisan support and will help tear down the barriers that prevent disabled Americans who want to work from reaching their full potential and achieving economic independence.

Approximately 8 million American adults receive more than \$73 billion a year in cash benefits under the Supplemental Security Income and the Social Security Disability programs, making these disability programs the fourth largest entitlement expenditure in the Federal budget. In Maine, there are close to 55,000 people receiving more than \$335 million each year in cash disability benefits under these two programs. If only 1 percent, or 75,000, of these disabled Americans were to enter the workplace, Federal savings in cash benefits would total \$3.5 billion over the worklife of these individuals.

While surveys show that the overwhelming majority of adults with disabilities want to work, fewer than one half of 1 percent of them actually do. The reason is very simple: The current law contains disincentives that prevent these people with disabilities from going into the workforce. I know that the Presiding Officer has been working on this issue for several years and shares our concern.

Removing the barriers that prevent Americans with disabilities from working will not only assist these individuals in their pursuit of self-sufficiency, but it will also contribute to preserving the Social Security trust fund.

Advances in medicine and technology, coupled with civil rights laws, have made it possible for more and more people with physical and mental disabilities to enter the workforce. These are people who genuinely want to work. They have the skills and the talents necessary to contribute greatly to the American economy, but they currently face a Catch-22. If they leave

the disability rolls for a job, they risk losing essential Medicare and Medicaid benefits that made it possible for them to overcome the obstacles that prevented them from entering or reentering the workforce in the first place. Moreover, many of these individuals' lives depend on the prescription drugs, the technology, the personal assistant services and the medical care that they receive.

Let me put a human face on this problem which is facing too many Americans with disabilities. In Bangor, ME, I know a young man in his 20s who unfortunately suffers from a severe mental illness. The good news is that if he takes his medicine, which is very expensive and is now covered by Medicaid, he can hold down a part-time job. He very much enjoys working. He enjoys the skills he is learning. He enjoys the companionship. He enjoys the sense of pride he feels when he works. Unfortunately, if he goes to work, he loses the very Medicaid coverage that provides the essential prescription drug that he needs to enable him to work. He should not face that kind of dilemma.

The truth is that no one should have to make the choice between a job and essential health care. The Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999 will create and fund new options for States, to encourage them to allow people with disabilities who enter into the workforce to buy into the Medicare program and the Medicaid program so that they can continue to receive the essential prescription drugs they need which enable them to work, and the personal assistant services and the medical care upon which they depend. It will also allow workers who leave the Social Security Disability Insurance program to extend their Medicare coverage for 10 years.

This is tremendously important since many people returning to work after having been on SSDI either work part-time and, therefore, are not eligible for most employer-based insurance, or they work in jobs that simply do not offer health insurance. Allowing these disabled Americans to maintain their Medicare coverage, and to maintain their Medicaid coverage in some cases, will serve as a tremendous incentive for them to return to or to enter the workforce.

Other provisions of this legislation incorporate a more user-friendly approach in programs, providing job training and placement assistance to individuals with disabilities who want to and are able to work.

Our legislation gives disabled SSI and SSDI beneficiaries greater consumer choice by creating essentially a ticket that enables them to choose whether they want to go to a public or a private provider of vocational rehabilitation services. The bill also provides grants to States and organizations to help connect people with disabilities with the appropriate services, and it funds demonstration projects

and studies to better understand and identify the policies that will encourage and enable work.

Mr. President, this legislation is an investment in human potential that promises tremendous returns. By ensuring that Americans with disabilities have access to affordable health insurance, we are removing a major barrier, a significant disincentive that too often keeps them out of the workplace.

The Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999 will both encourage and enable Americans with disabilities to be full participants in our Nation's workforce and growing economy and, equally important, it will allow them to reach their full potential. It deserves our strong support and the President's signature. I am very proud to be an original cosponsor of this landmark legislation.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I rise in support of the Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999. I was an original cosponsor of the Work Incentives bill when we introduced it last year, and again this year, and was at the White House when the President endorsed the bill.

Almost nine years ago, the Americans With Disabilities Act became law. On that day, we told Americans with disabilities that the door to equal opportunity was finally open.

And the ADA has opened the doors of opportunity—plenty of them. Americans with disabilities now expect to be treated as full citizens, with all the rights and responsibilities that entails. And they are participating in American life like never before in our Nation's history.

But we have not been as successful in employment. Far too many people with disabilities who want to work are unemployed. More than eight million people between 18 and 64 are on SSI and SSDI—and less than one-half of one percent of them return to work each year.

Clearly, there are barriers to be torn down.

Let me tell you the story of a young woman from Iowa named Phoebe Ball. Phoebe just graduated from the University of Iowa and she was shocked when she found that if she took an entry level job paying \$18,000, she would suffer a huge loss—her health insurance.

Phoebe wrote an article for an Iowa City newspaper. Here is what she said:

I want off SSI desperately . . . I want to work. I want to know that I have earned the money I have . . . I don't feel good about the money the government sends me each month. I don't feel entitled to it because I know what I am capable of.

My parents and my society made a promise to me. They promised me that I can live with this disability, and I can. . . . What is limiting me right now is not this wheelchair, and it's not this limb that's missing. It's a system that says if I can work at all, then I'm undeserving of any assistance, I'm undeserving of the basic medical care that I need to stay alive.

. . . What is needed is a government that understands its responsibility to its citizens

. . . then we'll see what we are capable of, then we will be working and proving the worth of the ADA.

Mr. President, the Work Incentives Improvement Act is a well-crafted, comprehensive bill that would be the answer to Phoebe Ball's dilemma.

It provides health care and employment preparation and placement services to individuals to reduce dependency on cash assistance;

It creates new options for States to allow people with disabilities to purchase Medicaid coverage;

It lengthens the current period of extended eligibility for Medicare coverage for working disabled individuals; and

It establishes a return to work "ticket" program that will allow people with disabilities to secure the best possible services they can find to get and keep jobs.

If only 1 percent—or 75,000—of the 7.5 million people with disabilities, like Phoebe, who are now on benefits were to become employed, Federal savings would total \$3.5 billion over the work life of the beneficiaries. That not only makes economic sense, it also contributes to preserving the Social Security Trust fund.

Mr. President, the disability community and members from both sides of the aisle here in the Senate have wholeheartedly endorsed this bill. The Work Incentives Improvement Act has 78 cosponsors. 78! Rarely do we see in this chamber such broad bipartisan support.

The Work Incentives Act will open the door to full participation by people with disabilities in our workplaces, our economy, and our American Dream, and I urge all my colleagues to support it.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I rise to speak in support of S. 331, the Work Incentives Improvement Act of 1999.

This is the most far-reaching Social Security disability bill to come before the Senate in a generation, and it's going to give thousands of men and women who are trapped in the disability program the tools they need to return to work.

While it's not a perfect bill, it's still a significant step forward.

Right now there are over 4½ million Americans on disability. Four and a half million, Mr. President. And of this group, less than one-half of 1 percent will return to work.

Many of these folks have permanent conditions and need assistance. But, many of these people want to return to work, and can return to work. For them, the disability program has become a black hole that swallows everyone who falls in. With proper training and rehabilitation, many of these people could work. But the disability system is not working for them.

Because of problems with the current program, they face too many hurdles, too many disincentives, in trying to return to the workforce. That is a tragedy.

Some of us have been fighting for a long time to improve the Social Security Disability Program. When I chaired the House Social Security subcommittee, we held numerous hearings on disability.

And we learned there are indeed many, many disabled who want to return to work, and can work. But they're afraid to try. They're afraid to try because returning to work often means losing their health care coverage.

Many other disabled workers could return to their jobs if they had the proper training. But because of backlogs and problems in the current vocational rehabilitation system, they have not been able to get the assistance they need.

The bill before us today will change things for the better. It removes barriers that discourage the disabled from returning to work. It helps harness the power of the private sector and competition to help provide training for the disabled. And it extends basic health care coverage to help them make the difficult transition back to work.

It represents a fundamental, revolutionary change for the disabled community.

As an added benefit, this legislation will have money for Social Security—big money. For every 1% of the total number of disabled who return to work, we save \$3 billion for Social Security. The legislation before the Senate today has the potential to literally save billions and billions for Social Security.

Mr. President, last year, the House did pass my disability bill by a vote of 410-1. Unfortunately, the bill was tied up in the Senate by some shenanigans and it died. That was a tremendous disappointment to me, and to be honest, I didn't think we would be back to talking about a disability bill in the Senate for a long, long time.

But we are back here today, and I am proud that the disability provisions in the bill before us largely borrows from my old legislation. The bill's sponsors did make some further changes to their bill at my request that I think improves it, and I appreciate that.

But we still have a way to go. And there are several conditions that have to be met for me to support any conference report.

The bill has to be fully paid for with other spending reductions. Under the unanimous consent agreement, the conference report has to be fully offset, and contain no new taxes. I intend to stick by that agreement.

I also want to see changes that the sponsors negotiated with me on the ticket maintained in the final conference report. I appreciate their working with me, and I think our efforts have produced a better bill. We shouldn't move backward in the conference report.

This is a good bill, but it is not perfect. And we still have to hear from the House. But we are making progress. I'm eager to move forward.

I urge support for the bill.

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND RELATED AGENCIES

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I am aware that an amendment or amendments relating to dairy policy may be offered during full committee mark-up on the fiscal year 2000 appropriations bill for Agriculture, Rural Development and Related agencies. I serve as ranking member for the Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies Subcommittee and I am proud of the work I have done with Senator COCHRAN, Chairman of the Subcommittee, in preparing the bill for fiscal year 2000 and having it approved unanimously by the entire Subcommittee. I am, therefore, very distressed to learn of possible amendments that are authorizing in nature, and that would result in setting dairy policy with disastrous consequences for my State and region.

Due to my very strong commitment to keep the fiscal year 2000 appropriations bill clean of amendments of the nature suggested, I am prepared to take whatever steps possible to prevent inclusion of these amendments during consideration of the bill by the Senate Appropriations Committee. I strongly believe that the issues surrounding these amendments are of such an important nature that deliberation by the full Senate is imperative. If proponents of these amendments wish to bring them to the floor to offer and debate them, I welcome the opportunity for the discussion. However, I will do all I can to ensure that these matters are not decided by the smaller number of Senators that comprise the Appropriations Committee.

In the event an amendment or amendments relating to dairy policy, such as one establishing or extending interstate compacts, are offered for adoption by the full Appropriations Committee, I am prepared to offer, and will offer, a number of second degree amendments to eliminate the harmful policy that amendment proponents apparently seek to impose on farmers and consumers. Also, in an attempt to keep this sort of anti-consumer, anti-farmer amendment from ending up on the bill, I am prepared to offer, either as first or second degree amendments, a number of other amendments—some related to the bill and some not. If the committee chooses to enter into controversial debates that belong in authorizing committees, I too have several non-Appropriations issues that I would like considered.

I do not relish holding up the work of my Committee, and I will not if these sort of dairy amendments are not offered. But I feel it is only fair to my fellow Committee members and to the Senate to let them know how very seriously I take attempts to harm the dairy industry in the State of Wisconsin.

The amendments I may offer that are relevant to the Agriculture Appropriations bill, include, but are not limited to:

An amendment to provide additional funds for the President's Food Safety Initiative.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the WIC program.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the President's Human Nutrition Initiative.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the Wetlands Reserve Program.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the Conservation Farm Option Program.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the TEFAP program.

An amendment to provide additional funds relating to the Food Quality Protection Act.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the National Research Initiative.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the NET program.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the Food and Drug Administration.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the EQIP program.

An amendment to provide additional funds for the Fund for Rural America.

An amendment to express the sense of the Senate on the history of dairy policy.

An amendment to express the sense of the Senate on dairy compacts and their harmful effects on consumers.

An amendment to express the sense of the Senate on dairy compacts and their fundamental conflict with the principles of free trade.

An amendment to express the sense of the Senate on dairy compacts and their harmful effect on the Midwestern dairy industry.

An amendment to express a sense of the Senate on the economic policy problems with dairy compacts.

In addition to these, I have at least 40 other amendments funding changes to the bill that will require votes by the full Committee.

I also have many amendments not relevant to the bill and more in the nature of authorizing legislation. However, as I said before, if the Committee is going to consider dairy legislation of an authorizing nature—legislation with a very real impact on my State—I would insist on also considering other authorizing issues of importance to my constituents. These would include:

The Patient Abuse Prevention Act: This amendment is based on my bill that establishes a national registry of abusive long-term care workers, and requires nursing homes, home health agencies and hospices to check the registry and do criminal background checks on potential employees before hiring them.

Folic Acid Promotion and Birth Defects Prevention Act: This amendment is based on a bill I will be introducing with BOND and ABRAHAM next week. It would authorize \$20 million per year to provide education and training to health care providers and the public on the need for women to take folic acid to reduce birth defects.

Sense of the Senate on the nursing home bill: This amendment is based on

an amendment that passed two years ago on the Budget Resolution. It is a Sense of the Senate that Congress should create a national registry system so long-term care facilities may conduct background checks on potential employees.

Organ distribution amendment: This amendment would nullify the HHS proposed rule that changes the way organs are distributed across the nation.

Class size fix: This would amend the Class Size Reduction program to ensure that smaller school districts have access to their class size funds without having to form a consortium with other districts.

National Family Caregiver Support program: This would provide support services, including respite services, to persons caring for a disabled or elderly relative.

Sodas in Schools: This is based on a bill introduced by LEAHY, JEFFORDS, KOHL, and FEINGOLD last month) This would prohibit the giveaways of free sodas during the school lunch program.

The Child Care Infrastructure Act: This amendment would establish a tax credit for employers who provided child care benefit to their employees.

Child Support Pass Through: This amendment would reform the child support collection system to provide more income support for low-income families.

Income Averaging for Farmers: This, and another amendment creating Farmer IRAs would establish more fairness for farmers.

Several foreign policy Sense of the Senates including: A sense of the Senate resolution calling for a United States effort to end restrictions on the freedoms and human rights of the enclaved people in the occupied area of Cyprus; a sense of the Senate resolution condemning Palestinian efforts to revive the original Palestine partition plan of November 29, 1947, and condemning the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for its April 27, 1999, resolution endorsing Palestinian self-determination on the basis of the original Palestine partition plan; a sense of the Senate regarding a peaceful process of self-determination in East Timor, and for other purposes.

Apostle Islands: An amendment to direct the Secretary of the Interior to study whether the Apostle Islands National Lakeshore should be protected as a wilderness area.

Zachary Baumel: An amendment to locate and secure the return of Zachary Baumel, a citizen of the United States, and other Israeli soldiers missing in action.

Women's Business center: A bill to amend the Small Business Act with respect to the women's business center program.

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge: A bill to designate a portion of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as wilderness.