

The third point I will make is this: The other side and the White House celebrated extensively the passage of a \$500 education savings account, one-fourth the size of this savings account, and that was, as I said, celebrated on the White House lawn: "This is a great idea." Well, if \$500 worth of the ability to save is such a great idea, how come if we expand it up to \$2,000 it is suddenly an insignificant idea? That becomes a little hard to follow, too.

You know, again, I go back, Madam President. The President of the United States said, "I will veto the entire tax relief to every American citizen in the United States if that savings account for American families stays in the tax relief bill." So we had to take it out. We are not going to have every American family denied tax relief over this idea. We think it is a good idea, but we were not going to do that. So we brought it back as freestanding legislation and, as we have said here this afternoon, have been filibustered every step of the way.

The other point I would like to make to my colleague from Massachusetts and my colleague from Connecticut, who has left the floor, is that this proposal is now a much larger proposal. And the proposal represents the input of Senator BREAUX of Louisiana, Senator GRAHAM of Florida, and Senator MOYNIHAN of New York. In other words, we have made this a very broad-based, broad policy, with representatives from both sides of the aisle. This is no longer a Republican proposal; this is a Senate proposal. The chief cosponsor of this legislation is Senator TORRICELLI of New Jersey. He sits over there—principal cosponsor.

By listening to this thrashing back and forth this afternoon, you would think this was a gold-gilded Republican, highly partisan proposition. The proposal on the floor—if we can ever get to it—the amount of tax relief we represented, 80 percent of it comes from the Democrats' ideas. They are good ideas. State prepaid tuition plans; they are not going to tax students when they get the money to go to college; or expanding employer-provided educational assistance.

I yield for just a moment. I say to the Senator from Alaska, if he wants to call back his time, I will be glad to facilitate his needs.

Mr. STEVENS. Madam President, the Senator from Georgia is very kind. But I prefer to let him continue until the time comes to lay down the next amendment. It should be before his time expires, I assure him.

Mr. COVERDELL. I thank the Senator from Alaska.

Expanded employer-provided educational assistance. That is a tax relief to employers who help their employees expand their education. And the Joint Tax Committee says 1 million American workers will benefit from that.

Senator GRAHAM from Florida has a school construction provision which makes financing to build public schools

expanded and will lead to 500 new schools across the Nation.

The Senator from Arizona has arrived. The chairman of the Appropriations Committee needs to proceed with his business. I thank him for his cordial assistance here, and I yield the floor.

Mr. STEVENS. I am sure the Senator still has some time coming on his 26 minutes, and we certainly will account for that before this bill is over.

Mr. COVERDELL. Very good.

Mr. STEVENS. I yield the floor to the Senator from Arizona.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of Oregon). The Senator from Arizona is recognized.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR NATURAL DISASTERS AND OVERSEAS PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1998

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 2063

(Purpose: To eliminate unrelated, wasteful, and unnecessary spending items from the bill)

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I send amendment No. 2063 to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN], for himself, Mr. FEINGOLD, and Mr. GRAMS, proposes amendment numbered 2063.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 16, strike beginning with line 6 through page 18, line 5.

On page 19, strike beginning with line 2 through line 12.

On page 19, strike beginning with line 24 through page 20, line 2.

On page 26, strike beginning with line 7 through line 11.

On page 35, strike beginning with line 10 through page 38, line 18.

On page 40, strike beginning with line 1 through line 25.

On page 43, strike beginning with line 8 through line 13.

On page 4, strike beginning with line 13 through 10 page 5, line 3.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I want to begin by expressing my appreciation to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, my dear friend and a person who is responsible for the timely and important provision of this bill to the Senate. It is in the nature of the defense and disaster supplemental appropriations bill.

There are some very vital needs that have to be met in this bill for the good of the American people and for our defense. And, as always, I am very appreciative of the outstanding leadership exercised by the chairman of the committee.

As I have done for many years, Mr. President, however, I would like to

point out that there are provisions of this bill which I find wasteful and unnecessary and should not be included in any appropriations bill, much less one which is a defense and disaster supplemental appropriations.

This amendment that I have at the desk would eliminate \$78 million for unrelated wasteful and unnecessary spending that was added in committee.

I want to clarify that the amendment would not strike the \$50 million added for disaster relief for Georgia. These funds were added to the bill well before the disastrous tornadoes struck last Friday in Georgia and North Carolina and Tennessee. And I believe that in light of the clear need for relief of those hit by the devastating tornadoes last week, these funds should remain in the bill. I trust that the conferees will ensure that these added funds are shared among those who suffered losses of family, friends, and property in all three affected States.

Now, let us turn to the items that would be eliminated by this amendment:

\$4.48 million in unrequested emergency funds for maple producers, to replace taps and tubing damaged by ice storms in the Northeast;

\$33 million in emergency funds for unrequested levee and waterway repairs in Alabama and Mississippi;

\$4 million in unrequested funds for development and demonstration of dielectric wall accelerator technology for remote explosive detonation, radiography, and fusion applications.

I want to repeat that one, Mr. President.

\$4 million in unrequested funds for development and demonstration of dielectric wall accelerator technology for remote explosive detonation, radiography, and fusion applications;

Language providing a special exemption from the law to allow the Secretary of Energy to pay \$80,000 in retraining costs for workers at the Pinellas Plant site;

\$2 million and language that requires payments to counties to replace funds counties expected to receive from timber road construction projects which will be canceled due to the proposed moratorium on such projects;

\$7.5 million as the first increment of a \$26.5 million project to repair and rehabilitate the Capitol Dome, and \$20 million for security upgrades around the Capitol complex;

\$6.9 million for transportation planning and research and an investment analysis in the area of transit planning and research.

None of these items, Mr. President, is related to military operations in Bosnia and the Persian Gulf. None of these items were requested as emergency disaster relief requirements, and most bear no relation to disaster relief at all. The bottom line is that none of them belongs in this emergency appropriations bill.

Let me briefly just talk about a few of the add-ons in greater detail.

First, I do recognize that the ice storms in the Northeast have had a devastating effect on the maple syrup and sugar industry. But I question whether the urgency of ensuring the future of maple sugar production warrants an earmark of almost \$4.5 million as an emergency expenditure. It would seem maple producers would have access to the same types of financial assistance made available to other businesses and individuals as a result of the disastrous storms in Vermont.

For example, why should workers at the Department of Energy's Pinellas Plant in Florida be retrained at the Government's expense? What about all those other Government employees who are displaced because of downsizing? And are not there already enough worker retraining programs at both the Federal and State levels that these employees could utilize?

I find it somewhat disturbing that we are providing \$2 million in additional funding for the Secretary of Transportation to conduct a study of the Amtrak system. Mr. President, at the end of the last session we went through a rather long and involved debate and discussion about restructuring Amtrak. We bailed them out to the tune of over \$3 billion, if I remember correctly. And we have appointed a new board to try to restructure and save Amtrak. And now, as an emergency, we are pumping in \$2 million extra. I don't get it.

The Secretary of Transportation also gets \$3 million to study transit system requirements in Hawaii. The Secretary of Transportation gets \$3 million to study transit system requirements in Hawaii. Mr. President, I don't go to Hawaii a lot, but I have to admit, I have heard no reports here on the mainland of some emergency that requires \$3 million to study the transit system. The people were getting back and forth to Waikiki easily the last time I checked.

Of course, the Olympics have to get their share of the pork. This bill contains another \$1.9 million for transportation requirements for the 2002 Winter Olympics in Utah. I have lost track of just how much money we have thrown at the Olympics over the years, and I have asked my friend, the junior Senator from Utah, to tell me just how much he thinks his State will need to host these games. I have yet to receive an answer from him.

You know, Mr. President, the latest scam that goes on in America is the following: A city wants to have the Olympics, so they get together all their civic boosters and supporters and commitments for financial support, and they go and they bid, and they receive the Olympics, and everybody is happy. And they are so proud because they did it themselves. And then, guess what. The first place they turn—and they perfected this to a fine art in Atlanta—is where? The Congress, to get tens, hundreds, of millions of dollars to take care of, guess what? Their Olympic requirements.

And, by the way, I do not blame them. I do not blame them for trying it. I blame them somewhat for getting away with it. So we have already spent numbers of millions of dollars.

Remember, this is 2002. We still have some time to go. We have already spent many millions of dollars already for the Olympics in Utah. And I can guarantee you one thing: There will be tens of millions of dollars or more before the torch is lit. I guarantee you that.

Finally, I would like to ask the managers of the bill if they could explain one of the add-ons in this bill. What is dielectric wall accelerator technology for remote explosive detonation, radiography, and fusion applications? And why is it essential that \$4 million be included in this bill for this program?

Mr. President, this amendment targets only those items that will cost taxpayers dollars, but there are several other provisions that do not appear to have a direct cost to the taxpayer, at least not yet.

For example, the bill contains a section that requires the Federal Government to construct the Trappers Loop connector road in support of, guess what. The 2002 Winter Olympics. The funding has already been provided for this project, but apparently it has run into some difficulties.

The report language acknowledges the potential for cost growth in the project, an ominous sign that more taxpayer dollars will be required to complete this nondiscretionary road project. Remember this one, Mr. President: Trappers Loop connector road. You will hear again about that. And we will pay several more millions of dollars so that the Trappers Loop connector road in support of the 2002 Winter Olympics will be paid for.

The bill contains a provision that directs the Secretary of the Interior to enter into negotiations with the City of Albuquerque, NM, for storm water runoff and drainage management in the Petroglyph National Monument. What concerns me is the potential of future costs to the road project that is facilitated by the directed boundary adjustment in the bill, the usual report language exhortations to various agencies to address myriad problems, but for which the solution is not, surprisingly, spending taxpayer dollars. Like another \$250,000 to complete damage repair in North Dakota, which was funded at \$600,000 as an add-on in the 1997 emergency disaster supplemental appropriations bill; adequate funds to repair and restock the Beckley, WV, Military Entrance Processing Station that was damaged.

Mr. President, I hope that we can pass this amendment. And I hope we will appreciate that when it comes time to take care of emergency supplemental appropriations bills, we will take care of true emergencies.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with my friend from Arizona, Mr. MCCAIN, in offering this amendment to strike a number of extraneous provisions from the emergency supplemental appropriations bill.

These provisions are only the most recent example of the abuse of our emergency appropriations process.

In general, the rules require that new spending, whether through direct spending, tax expenditures, or discretionary programs, be offset with spending cuts or revenue increases.

However, the rules provide for exceptions in the event of true emergencies.

The deliberate review through the federal budget process, weighing one priority against another, may not permit a timely response to an international crisis, a natural disaster, or some other emergency.

We do not ask that earthquake victims find a funding source before we send them aid, though that should not, even in dire circumstances, be read to imply we must not find ways to pay for emergencies, rather than simply add their costs to the deficit.

But, Mr. President, the emergency exception to our budget rules, designed to expedite a response to an urgent need, has become a loophole, abused by those trying to circumvent the scrutiny of the budget process, in particular, by adding non-emergency matters to emergency legislation that is receiving special, accelerated consideration.

One former Member of the other body, who was especially skilled at advancing spending items, was quoted as saying, "I never saw a disaster that wasn't an opportunity."

That, in a nutshell, is still the unfortunate attitude of a few.

Mr. President, there is a long history of adding non-emergency special interest items to emergency supplemental measures.

Just last year, a number of items were included in the disaster relief bill that had absolutely nothing to do with the need for emergency relief: an additional \$35 million available for new grants under the Advanced Technology Program; a \$5 million earmark for study of water allocation issues in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia; \$15 million for research on environmental factors affecting breast cancer; \$650,000 for the National Commission on the Cost of Higher Education; \$16 million for continued development of Automated Targeting System for the Customs Service; a \$12.3 million set-aside for construction of a parking garage at a VA medical center in Cleveland; and, a \$500,000 earmark for a parking garage in Ashland, Kentucky.

Mr. President, we even used the emergency relief bill to give the Secretary of the Senate \$5 million for the development of a Legislative Information System.

In the 103rd Congress, when the appropriations bill to provide relief for the Los Angeles earthquake was introduced, it initially did four things: provided \$7.8 billion for the Los Angeles quake, \$1.2 billion for the Department of Defense peacekeeping operations; \$436 million for Midwest flood relief, and \$315 million more for the 1989 California earthquake.

But, Mr. President, by the time the Los Angeles earthquake bill became law, it also provided: \$1.4 million to fight potato fungus; \$2.3 million for FDA pay raises; \$14.4 million for the National Park Service; \$12.4 million for the Bureau of Indian Affairs; \$10 million for a new Amtrak station in New York; \$40 million for the space shuttle; \$20 million for a fingerprint lab; \$500,000 for United States Trade Representative travel office; and \$5.2 million for the Bureau of Public Debt.

Mr. President, we now come to this year's model, and not much has changed.

The Senator from Arizona's amendment seeks to eliminate a number of extraneous provisions in the current emergency supplemental appropriations bill, including: \$7.5 million to begin repair and rehabilitation of the Capitol Dome; \$4 million for development and demonstration of dielectric wall accelerator technology for remote explosive detonation, radiography, and fusion applications; and, \$2 million for payments to counties to replace funds expected from timber road construction projects.

Mr. President, some of these projects may well be worthy.

In fact, the last provision I mentioned, providing \$2 million in payments to counties to replace funds expected from timber road construction projects, is something I believe may have great merit.

But, Mr. President, just because a provision may be worthwhile does not justify using an emergency appropriations bill to skirt normal budget scrutiny.

Mr. President, though non-emergency matters attached to emergency bills are still subject to the spending caps established in the concurrent budget resolution, as long as total spending remains under those caps, these unrelated spending matters are not required to be offset with spending cuts.

Some might suggest that new spending is less a problem on emergency supplemental appropriations when it is offset with spending cuts.

But, Mr. President, in such instances, we miss an opportunity to use those rescissions to reduce the deficit, having instead to use them just to stay even.

Moreover, by using emergency appropriations bills as a vehicle, these extraneous proposals avoid the normal scrutiny through which legislative proposals must go to justify Federal spending.

Mr. President, those who add unrelated provisions to disaster relief meas-

ures are engaging in a game of chicken—daring the body to oppose the emergency relief that may be desperately needed.

I urge my colleagues to reject this reckless approach, and support the McCain amendment to strip out the unrequested provisions added to this emergency supplemental appropriations measure.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I am grateful to the Senator from Arizona for raising these issues, and I think it is good to have a dialog on what we are doing. I am trying to get the answer to the question the Senator asks.

On page 14 of the report, we report that we have recommended \$4 million for the development of the electric wall accelerator technology, in the atomic energy division of the Department of Energy. It is fully offset by a reduction in Federal funds for defense. It is not an emergency; it is not an add-on. It really is a reprogramming through this bill. I understand it is at the request of the Department. It was presented by a Senator to the full Appropriations Committee. I might add, I am a member of the committee and I am trying to get further information about the wall accelerator technology. It is related to the smaller accelerators, I am told, not the large types. It is a \$4 million item using money that has already been allocated to another form of defense activity and moved over to this, and the other account has been reduced accordingly.

I might say, this is one of my problems about the bill, Mr. President, because when we reprogram this money, it is my understanding that the Congressional Budget Office still charges us with the original \$4 million and the second \$4 million. This is what has led us into this great debate with the Office of Management and Budget and the CBO about the scoring for the purpose of our Budget Act of transfers, reprogrammings, and recessions. I hope to talk about that at a later time.

I note, also, the Senator has given us a list of the items. He is correct; there is no question about it that Olympics cost us money. There isn't a nation in the world that doesn't fight to have Olympics. I have just come back now from Australia where I looked at the venue for the Olympics to be held in the year 2000 by that country. I can tell the Senator that every National Government expends substantial funds. I saw the changes in the wharfs, I saw the changes in the site. As a matter of fact, they are making an addition to one of their national parks as their venue for their world Olympics. There is a considerable amount that will be spent there in the effort to assure that those games are carried on to meet their national needs. Many of these items really are moneys that are in advance of expenditures under other Federal programs.

I also went up to look at the site of the 2002 Winter Olympics. I am sure the Senator remembers, as chairman of the

Commerce Committee, my interest in the Olympic movement. I can report that he is absolutely correct. This is not the last time we will hear about the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City. It does require a substantial change in traffic patterns there, both in terms of rail and road connections, to assure that we can handle in this country the tremendous number of foreign visitors who will come to our country when we once again host the 2002 Winter Olympics.

Beyond that, Mr. President, as I said, as I look at these questions that the Senator has raised, there is no question that there are terrible ice storms in the Northeast. One of the substantial problems there is to make available funds for the damage that occurred there in the area where they produce, as one of the major economic activities, the maple syrup. That is a lot of money, but it is something that we looked at, and it is consistent with the precedence of the Senate in dealing with the disaster. We accepted the amendment in regard to that.

I personally, as I told the Senate, went to Georgia, met with the people handling the transportation activities in Georgia, and at the time met others who were involved in dealing with some of the difficulties that were encountered there in the floods. I did not make a trip to Alabama and Mississippi, but I did get a briefing on levy and waterway repairs in both of those States, and I believe that money that the Senator from Arizona has questioned is within, again, the precedence of the Senate in dealing with emergency funding.

As a matter of fact, I might say to my friend from Arizona, we expect either today or tomorrow another request from the administration for FEMA money, Federal Emergency Management money, because of the two very difficult storms that occurred the past weekend. That money must be added to this bill or wait until fall when we approve the regular bill. I do not expect we will have another supplemental between now and consideration of the regular appropriations bills for the fiscal year 1999. That could change, but I do not expect it at this time.

The road moratorium money is another item here that was questioned, section 405, that requires payments to counties to replace funds counties expected to receive from the timber road construction projects. This is another precedent established by the Congress. As a matter of fact, it was established in my State of Alaska when, by action of the Forest Service and the Department of Agriculture, existing programs for road construction and for timber utilization were canceled and there was, in fact, passed by the Congress a substantial bill to replace those funds for a period of time because the schools in these counties where the timber activity takes place relied to a great extent on the revenue-sharing provisions of Federal law to maintain the schools.

We have taken action in the past to replace funds under similar circumstances, and this section of this bill is to continue that precedent, also.

I am pleased to try and answer any other question the Senator has. To deal with a bill of this type, you have to come back to the concept of the eye of the beholder. I honor and respect the Senator from Arizona as chairman of the authorizing committee that looks very carefully at all of the funds that are authorized in the normal process. This type of bill—a supplemental appropriations bill, disaster appropriations bill, and a defense emergency appropriations bill—relies to a great extent on items that have not been authorized. They are authorized by virtue of the very nature of the occurrence as disaster or emergency or defense matters, and, as such, these matters that the Senator from Arizona has raised have not been reviewed by the legislative committees and they should be fully examined by all Members of the Senate. I invite all Members of the Senate to examine these matters. We tried to go into these in depth in the Appropriations Committee and, because of the time circumstance, we may not have gone into each one to the extent we should, but I was convinced as chairman, and I know that other members of the committee were convinced through their own listening of the presentations, that these items do merit the approval of the Senate as legitimate disaster expenses or as legitimate funds to replace funds already spent by the Department of Defense.

This defense money is to replace the money that has been spent and is necessary to be spent in terms of the deployment to Southwest Asia and in Bosnia, and they are declared emergencies. I believe they should be so classified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. If the Senator would yield, I will speak in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. STEVENS. I am pleased to yield briefly. May I inquire how much time the Senator desires?

Ms. COLLINS. If I could have 3 minutes.

Mr. STEVENS. I yield 3 minutes. I do not wish to look constrained, but we tried and notified Members we will vote at 5:30.

Mr. GRAMS. If I could speak for 5 minutes in support of the amendment following the Senator from Maine.

Mr. STEVENS. I will yield each Senator 5 minutes.

I ask unanimous consent the vote on this measure take place at 5:35. That is a vote on or in relation to this. I shall make a motion to table this amendment.

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

The Senator from Maine.

Ms. COLLINS. I thank the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee for his courtesy.

Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona, Senator MCCAIN. I cannot speak to the value of some of the projects which he has singled out in this amendment, but I can speak to the necessity of providing assistance to the maple sugar producers in northern New England.

Maine and other northern New England States recently endured the ice storm of the century. Part of the result of that ice storm was extensive damage to the forests in Maine. Our maple sugar producers have been severely hurt by the ice storm. Their trees may well take a very long time to recover. These maple sugar producers in northern New England have fallen through the cracks of our traditional disaster assistance programs. They need our assistance. This bill would provide a modest amount of money, \$4.48 million in funds, that are desperately needed for these small maple sugar producers to recover from the impact of this devastating storm.

The amendment of the Senator from Arizona also raises important public policy issues. We have more than one branch of government in this country. The idea that the President and the President alone should solely dictate what is in an urgent supplemental bill should give us all cause for alarm. It is inconsistent with the traditions of this noble body and it is contrary to the public interests.

I urge my colleagues in the Senate to vote to table the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I am pleased to join the distinguished Senator from Arizona today to offer this amendment striking some add-on, non-emergency items from the supplemental appropriations.

This amendment represents sound and responsible fiscal policy.

I want to take this opportunity to commend Senator MCCAIN for his consistent leadership and persistent efforts to ensure Congress exercises fiscal responsibility.

Supplemental appropriations legislation has routinely become a Christmas tree. Every year it is loaded with all kinds of unauthorized, non-emergency projects, stuck here and there, until it reaches the point where it has grown out of control.

Supplemental appropriations, by definition, are supposed to be enacted when the need for additional funds is too urgent to be postponed until the next regular appropriation is considered.

Today, this legislation has become a major vehicle for lawmakers to bring home the bacon. In fact, not one of the items listed in this amendment is too urgent to wait for consideration under the proper procedures.

Many of us come down to the floor each year demanding this irresponsible

practice come to an end. Unfortunately, it has been a fight to persuade Congress that this is the only sensible course lately.

Taxpayer dollars are too often considered "free money" here in Washington, and the thought of more "free money" is creating a feeding frenzy on Capitol Hill, particularly when there might be "budget surplus" in sight.

As I've said before in this Chamber, the rush to spend reminds me of the free-for-all that results when you toss a piece of raw meat to a pack of hungry dogs.

Washington will pounce on a stack of tax dollars and spend, spend, spend until it's all gone—until the bones have been stripped of every last morsel of meat.

This is nothing new, of course. But just because it has become habit on Capital Hill doesn't mean it's right.

The greatest concern I have about these add-on, non-emergency items and the supplemental appropriations bill is that this spending will consume a possible budget surplus that should rightfully be returned to the taxpayers in the form of tax relief, national debt reduction, or Social Security reform.

The President is maintaining that not one penny of a potential surplus would be used for spending increases or tax cuts, and every penny should go to save Social Security. But in his fiscal year 1999 budget, he has already proposed to spend some \$43 billion of the surplus.

Now the President has proposed a supplemental appropriation that will spend another \$2.5 billion of this surplus.

I believe strongly that Congress owes it to the taxpayers not to spend any surplus for government programs.

After all, the Government has no claim on any surplus, because the Government didn't generate it—the sweat and hard work of the American people created it, and it therefore should be returned to the people first.

Washington should not be first in line for this surplus. If we are serious about saving Social Security, we should first stop looting the Social Security surplus by cutting government spending, returning the borrowed surplus to the trust funds, and beginning real reform now.

Congress has done very little to shrink the size of the Government by eliminating wasteful and unnecessary Federal programs. It instead continues to increase the size of the Government.

As I've said before, it this is a race to prove who can be the most "compassionate" with taxpayers' dollars, it's a race nobody will win, and one the taxpayers most certainly will lose. The truth is simple: You can't buy compassion.

A big, expensive Federal Government is a bad deal for Americans. If Congress could roll back government domestic spending back to 1969 levels, a family of four would keep \$9,000 a year more of its earnings than it does today. Millions of families would pay no income tax at all.

Unfortunately, tax-and-spend—not tax relief and streamlining—is the policy Washington is now pursuing.

Since the 1970's, Congress has passed a number of bills to make it difficult to use supplementals to bypass spending controls. But they don't appear to be working. In fact, Congress has provided \$5 billion each year in emergency spending since the establishment of spending caps. All of the supplementals are offset.

Breaching the spending caps would be fiscally irresponsible at a time in which domestic discretionary spending continues to grow and large numbers of wasteful programs are allowed to continue.

Although our short-term fiscal condition has improved in recent years, we still have a long way to go to address our long-term fiscal imbalances which pose a serious threat to our future.

We must exercise fiscal discipline to ensure the Federal budget will be balanced—and stay balanced—without new taxes and without new spending.

In conclusion, there might be merits for some of these add-on, non-emergency programs. But they should undergo the normal authorizing process. Non-emergency add-ons destroy the purpose of supplemental appropriations and weaken our fiscal discipline.

Again, supplemental appropriations, by definition, are supposed to be enacted when the need for additional funds is too urgent to be postponed until the next regular appropriation is considered. Again, today, this legislation has become a major vehicle for lawmakers to bring home the bacon, and, in fact, not one of the items listed in this amendment is too urgent to wait for consideration under proper procedures. So they should be stricken out of this legislation.

I urge my colleagues to support the amendment.

I yield the floor.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, all time is expired now, is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. STEVENS. I move to table the amendment of the Senator from Arizona, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table amendment No. 2063. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from New York (Mr. D'AMATO), the Senator from Oklahoma, (Mr. INHOFE), and the Senator from Missouri (Mr. BOND), are necessarily absent.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Delaware (Mr. BIDEN), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. KERREY), the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU), the Senator from Maryland (Ms. MIKULSKI), and the Senator from

Oregon (Mr. WYDEN) are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 61, nays 31, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 39 Leg.]

YEAS—61

Akaka	Dorgan	McConnell
Baucus	Durbin	Moynihan
Bennett	Enzi	Murkowski
Bingaman	Ford	Murray
Boxer	Frist	Reed
Breaux	Gorton	Reid
Bumpers	Grassley	Roberts
Burns	Hagel	Rockefeller
Byrd	Harkin	Sarbanes
Campbell	Hatch	Sessions
Chafee	Helms	Shelby
Cleland	Hollings	Smith (OR)
Cochran	Hutchison	Snowe
Collins	Inouye	Specter
Conrad	Jeffords	Stevens
Coverdell	Kennedy	Thurmond
Craig	Lautenberg	Torricelli
Daschle	Leahy	Warner
DeWine	Lieberman	Wellstone
Dodd	Lott	
Domenici	Mack	

NAYS—31

Abraham	Gramm	McCain
Allard	Grams	Moseley-Braun
Ashcroft	Gregg	Nickles
Brownback	Hutchinson	Robb
Bryan	Johnson	Roth
Coats	Kempthorne	Santorum
Faircloth	Kerry	Smith (NH)
Feingold	Kohl	Thomas
Feinstein	Kyl	Thompson
Glenn	Levin	
Graham	Lugar	

NOT VOTING—8

Biden	Inhofe	Mikulski
Bond	Kerrey	Wyden
D'Amato	Landrieu	

The motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 2063) was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. NICKLES. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, if the Senate can be in order, the distinguished President pro tempore wishes to make remarks about this bill at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will please be in order.

Mr. STEVENS. I yield to the Senator from South Carolina and ask unanimous consent I reclaim the floor when he is finished with his statement so I may deal with some amendments that we have agreed to on both sides. As has been noted, there will be no more votes tonight, but we will try our best to have a vote early in the morning.

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

The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise today to support this supplemental request, and urge my colleagues to speed its passage. I want to commend Senator STEVENS, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and Senator INOUE, the ranking member, on this supplemental. It is needed, and the Senate should act on it quickly.

The Chiefs of our Military Services have testified that without swift approval of this defense supplemental request, they are concerned there will be significant impacts to the readiness

and quality of life of our armed forces. The Defense Department has already paid \$9 billion for operations in Bosnia and the Persian Gulf over the past three years and is currently paying the bills for these unbudgeted operations this year, while attempting to maintain already constrained programs for readiness, modernization, and quality of life programs in this year's defense budget.

I agree with Senator STEVENS, chairman of the Appropriations Committee that the defense budget should not be offset to pay for these operations. I understand that the chairman of the Budget Committee, Senator DOMENICI also agrees that the defense budget should not be offset to pay for these unbudgeted operations. The defense budget has been steadily reduced over the last fifteen years and is at its lowest point since 1956, while at the same time our military forces are being called on to respond to an unprecedented number of deployments. Contingency and ongoing operations are draining needed resources for current readiness and the future modernization of our military forces. The cost of these operations in fiscal year 1998 alone is expected to reach more than \$4.3 billion. We must not allow the costs of these unbudgeted operations to adversely affect the future modernization, current readiness, or quality of life of our military forces.

Mr. President, I know that there are Senators who do not support the open-end commitment of our troops in Bosnia, which the President has requested. I have some concerns about that commitment myself. However, I suggest to those Senators who are absolutely opposed to our continuing commitment in Bosnia to consider legislation limiting or terminating our role there—and insist on a vote on such legislation. This approach, it seems to me is far more appropriate than proposing that we continue to pay for Bosnia—and the Persian Gulf operations as well—from already scarce resources in the defense budget—which further weakens the readiness of our forces and delays or terminates critically needed modernization and quality of life programs.

I urge my colleagues to support the quick passage of this much needed defense supplemental request and not require offsets from the defense budget. Continuing the practice of requiring offsets will undermine the capability of our armed forces, many of whom are forward deployed now protecting our national security interests.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. I thank the Senator for those remarks. He is absolutely correct. We do need this bill. We need it for the men and women in the armed services who have already been deployed. I, too, have trouble with some of these deployments, but I never have any trouble voting and asking people to vote for money to keep and support

our men and women who have been sent in harm's way because of command decisions.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 2069 THROUGH 2076, EN BLOC

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, we have a series of amendments that have been agreed to on both sides. I would like to just review them and make sure the Democratic members of the committee and their staffs concur that these are the ones that have been cleared.

Let me read them. Then I will send them all to the desk at one time.

First, I propose an amendment to make technical corrections to section 405 to the bill that pertains to the Forest Service transportation system moratorium. That has been cleared on both sides. I offer it on behalf of Senator CRAIG. It has been also cleared by the chairman of the subcommittee involved.

I have a second amendment. This is offered on behalf of the distinguished minority leader, Senator DASCHLE. It deals with emergency river and shoreline repairs along the Missouri River. That has been cleared on both sides.

I have another amendment on behalf of Senator COCHRAN, Senator BUMPERS, Senator D'AMATO and Senator BOXER. It deals with assistance to replace and rehabilitate trees and vineyards damaged by natural disasters.

I have an amendment on behalf of Senator BOXER that deals with emergency levee repairs at Suisun Marsh in California. That has been cleared on both sides.

Mr. President, I have another amendment on behalf of the Senator from Hawaii, Mr. INOUE. It deals with Apra Harbor in Guam. That is another emergency amendment and has been cleared.

Another amendment on behalf of Senator COCHRAN and Senator BUMPERS, that deals with additional boll weevil eradication loans. It is for the amount of \$222,000. This is to the natural disaster bill and emergency defense bill, but it is to correct a shortfall in the fiscal year 1998 appropriation due to an interest rate subsidy miscalculation. So it is to correct an error in the previous law.

I have another amendment that has been cleared on both sides. It is on behalf of Senator BOXER. It deals with not applying changes in a prior act of Congress to the projects that are resulting from fall and winter flooding.

Mr. President, there is another amendment here that I offer on behalf of the majority leader and Senators LIEBERMAN, GREGG, HOLLINGS, KYL, myself, MCCONNELL, HELMS, SHELBY, BROWBACK and KERREY. It deals with the availability of funds for the activities in connection with the Iraqi Democratic opposition; the second portion of this deals with the establishment of Radio Free Iraq. That has been cleared on both sides.

To my knowledge, those are all the amendments that we have cleared. I now send these to the desk. I ask unan-

imous consent they be reported and the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendments en bloc.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS] proposes amendments numbered 2069 through 2076 en bloc.

Mr. STEVENS. Due to the fact that I read the intent and purposes, I ask the amendments not be read any further and they be considered en bloc at this time.

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

The amendments are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 2069

(Purpose: To make technical corrections to Sec. 405 of the bill regarding a Forest Service transportation system moratorium)

On page 36, strike lines 6 through 10 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(b)(1) For any previously scheduled projects that are referred to in, but not authorized pursuant to, subsection (a)(1), the Chief may, to the maximum extent practicable, prepare and authorize substitute projects within the same state to be offered or initiated in fiscal year 1998 or fiscal year 1999. Such projects shall be subject to the requirements of subsection (a)(2).

AMENDMENT NO. 2070

On page 18, following line 5, insert the following:

An additional amount for emergency river and shoreline repairs along the Missouri River in South Dakota to be conducted at full Federal expenses, \$2,500,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Army is authorized and directed to obligate and expend the funds appropriated for South Dakota emergency river and shoreline repair if the Secretary of the Army certifies that such work is necessary to provide flood related benefits: *Provided further*, That the Corps of Engineers shall not be responsible for the future costs of operation, repair, replacement or rehabilitation of the project: *Provided further*, That the entire amount shall be available only to the extent an official budget request of \$2,500,000, that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further*, That the entire amount is designated by the Congress as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of such Act.

AMENDMENT NO. 2071

(Purpose: To provide funds for assistance to replace or rehabilitate trees and vineyards damaged by natural disasters)

On page 5, after line 3, insert the following:

"TREE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

"An amount of \$8,700,000 is provided for assistance to replace or rehabilitate trees and vineyards damaged by natural disasters: *Provided*, That the entire amount is available only to the extent that an official budget request for \$8,700,000, that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further*, That the entire amount is designated by the Congress as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of such Act."

quirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of such Act."

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, this amendment provides \$8.7 million in assistance to farmers whose trees and vineyards were lost or damaged as a result of natural disasters. The Tree Assistance Program (TAP) provides assistance for the cost of replanting, re-seeding, or repairing damage to trees, including commercial trees, orchards, and vineyards.

This assistance has been extended to producers in past years. Funding for this program was not included in the Administration's disaster funding request. However, based on discussions with Members from the affected States and the Department, there is an apparent need for this program. This program is not intended to duplicate assistance for tree losses covered by programs of the United States Forest Service.

AMENDMENT NO. 2072

On page 18, following line 5, insert the following:

An additional amount for emergency levee repairs at Suisun Marsh, California to be conducted at full Federal expense, \$1,100,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Army is authorized and directed to obligate and expend the funds appropriated for the Suisun Marsh, California levee repair to proceed with engineering and design and reconstruction if the Secretary of the Army certifies that such work is necessary to provide flood control benefits in the vicinity of Suisun Marsh, California: *Provided further*, That the Corps of Engineers shall not be responsible for the future costs of operation, repair, replacement or rehabilitation of the project: *Provided further*, That the entire amount shall be available only to the extent an official budget request of \$1,100,000, that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further*, That the entire amount is designated by the Congress as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of such Act.

AMENDMENT NO. 2073

On page 18, following line 5, insert the following:

An additional amount for emergency maintenance dredging at Apra Harbor, Guam to be conducted at full Federal expense, \$1,400,000, to remain available until expended: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Army is authorized and directed to obligate and expend the funds appropriated for the Apra Harbor, Guam emergency maintenance dredging if the Secretary of the Army certifies that such work is in the national interest: *Provided further*, That the Corps of Engineers shall not be responsible for the future costs of operation, repair, replacement or rehabilitation of the project: *Provided further*, That the entire amount shall be available only to the extent an official budget request of \$1,400,000, that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further*, That the entire amount is designated by the Congress as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of such Act.

AMENDMENT NO. 2074

(Purpose: To subsidize the cost of additional boll weevil eradication loans)

On page 3, line 3, strike "and".

On page 3, line 4, before the period, add "and for boll weevil eradication program loans as authorized by 7 U.S.C. 1989, \$222,000".

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, this amendment provides \$222,000 to cover the cost of additional boll weevil eradication loans. This will correct a shortfall in the fiscal year 1998 appropriation due to an interest rate subsidy miscalculation. The additional amount provided by this amendment will maintain the fiscal year 1997 \$40 million loan level in fiscal year 1998.

These loans are used to enhance the funding of the Boll Weevil Eradication Program and are made to the participating States' individual Boll Weevil Eradication Foundations. The applications for the loans are not made until April when the need for the actual money during the planting season can be determined by farmers. This procedure is in response to the Farm Services Agency's concerns that the funds be utilized when received rather than deposited for future use. At a recent Mid-South Boll Weevil Action Committee meeting, the committee agreed that applications will be made for the use of approximately \$40 million and this money will be needed in fiscal year 1998.

Again, I wish to reiterate that this amendment is only for a small amount and is necessary to maintain this program at its current level.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I am pleased to join my colleague Senator COCHRAN, Chairman of the Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies Subcommittee, in offering an amendment to S. 1768 relating to the boll weevil eradication loan program. Our amendment will provide an additional \$222,000 in budget authority to support an increased program level of nearly \$19,000,000. This amendment will return the program to the fiscal year 1997 level of approximately \$40,000,000 which is consistent with the program's identified need.

This loan program is an important component of USDA's overall boll weevil eradication strategy. Already, regions of this country are benefitting from complete boll weevil eradication. The benefits of this program include reduced chemical applications, higher net farm income, increased land values, and other attributes important to the vitality of rural America. This program benefits not only farmers, but everyone interested in a clean environment and economic prosperity.

There are still large regions of the country where the boll weevil eradication program is either in the very early stages or has not yet begun. In my state of Arkansas, referendums have been recently concluded in which farmers are agreeing to assessments to pay their share of the boll weevil grant program that is administered through

the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service. The loan program that we seek to increase, administered by the Farm Service Agency, helps farmers accelerate the timetable for complete eradication of this pest.

It is very important that we move these areas forward as quickly as possible to help protect the environment and to help sustain rural economies. The program level made possible by this amendment will return the program to last year's level which is the very least we should do at this time.

Again, I want to thank Senator COCHRAN for his leadership on this issue and to Senators STEVENS and BYRD for seeing it included in the text of S. 1768.

AMENDMENT NO. 2075

(Purpose: Waive the requirements of 23 U.S.C. 125(b)(1) with respect to emergency disaster highway assistance necessitated by the 1997/1998 storms from El Nino)

On page 45, line 13, after the words, "highway program made available by this Act", insert the following: "Provided further, That 23 U.S.C. 125(b)(1) shall not apply to projects resulting from the Fall 1997 and Winter 1998 flooding in the western States".

AMENDMENT NO. 2076

At the appropriate place in title II of the bill insert the following new general provisions:

SEC. . SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION IN IRAQ.

In addition to the amounts appropriated to the President under Public Law 105-118, there is hereby appropriated \$5,000,000 for the "Economic Support Fund," to remain available until September 30, 1999, for assistance to the Iraqi democratic opposition for such activities as organization, training, disseminating information, developing and implementing agreements among opposition groups, and for related purposes: Provided further, That within 30 days of enactment into law of this Act the Secretary of State shall submit a detailed report to the appropriate committees of Congress on plans to establish a program to support the democratic opposition in Iraq: Provided further, That such amount is designated by Congress as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended: Provided further, That the entire amount shall be available only to the extent that an official budget request for a specific dollar amount, that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to Congress.

SEC. . ESTABLISHMENT OF RADIO FREE IRAQ.

In addition to the amounts appropriated to the United States Information Agency under Public Law 105-119, there is hereby appropriated \$5,000,000 for "International Broadcasting Operations," to remain available until September 30, 1999, for a grant to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty for surrogate radio broadcasting to the Iraqi people: Provided, That such broadcasting shall be designated "Radio Free Iraq": Provided further, That within 30 days of enactment into law of this Act the Broadcasting Board of Governors shall submit a detailed report to the appropriate committees of Congress on plans to establish a surrogate broadcasting service to Iraq: Provided further, That such amount is designated by Congress as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251 (b)(2)(A)

of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended: Provided further, That the entire amount shall be available only to the extent that an official budget request for a specific dollar amount, that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to Congress.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I am pleased to offer this amendment providing \$5 million for overt political support and \$5 million for the establishment of "Radio Free Iraq."

This is a bipartisan amendment. I am joined by Senators LIEBERMAN, GREGG, HOLLINGS, KYL, STEVENS, HELMS, and BROWNBACK in support for this start to a political approach to changing the regime in Iraq.

This emergency appropriations bill contains over \$1.3 billion for U.S. military operations in Southwest Asia. Our military deployments to the Persian Gulf are very expensive. They are necessary to keep pressure on Iraq.

But I believe that a new policy goal is necessary as well. I have publicly advocated an approach that has an explicit goal for the removal of Saddam Hussein from power. I expect to continue to examine how such a policy can be developed and implemented. I will continue to work with the Administration to explore ways we can develop a Iraq policy that is more effective and more sustainable.

The amendment today is intended to be a first step in a policy reappraisal. It is drawn from a provision in the State Department Authorization Conference Report. Section 1814 authorizes \$38 million for a number of purposes, including political support and creating "Radio Free Iraq."

The amendment today would appropriate the money. It would be non-off-set—designated as an emergency. It seems reasonable to me to put a modest \$10 million for political efforts when the underlying bill has more than \$1.3 billion for military efforts.

I would also like to note what the statement of managers on the State Department Authorization Conference Report says about the Iraqi opposition: "The Committee further notes that disparate Kurdish, Shiite and Sunni groups have in the past been willing to set aside their differences and unite under the umbrella of the Iraqi National Congress (INC) to challenge Saddam Hussein."

This amendment requires the Administration to submit their proposal to spend these funds within 30 days. Congress will review their proposal very carefully—especially what groups the Administration plans to work with.

I understand there is some division within the Administration about the INC. I know you can always find reasons for not undertaking a difficult policy. In my view, the Iraqi National Congress should be front and center in any efforts to develop a strategy for a democratic Iraq. There may be other

opposition groups deserving of support but I do not know of any that have been as effective as the INC was until the fall of 1996.

Along with the other sponsors, I intend to keep pressing on various elements of this strategy during legislative action on fiscal year 1999 bills.

I thank the co-sponsors for their support and look forward to the unanimous adoption of this amendment.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendments.

The amendments (Nos. 2069 through 2076) were agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider that action and I move to lay my motion on the table.

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

The motion to lay on this table was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan has an amendment that we have previously discussed. I encourage him to raise it at this time.

Mr. LEVIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

AMENDMENT NO. 2077

(Purpose: To urge the President to formalize certain benchmarks by agreement with NATO and to provide for NATO review of any failures timely to achieve such benchmarks, and to impose related reporting requirements)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] proposes an amendment numbered 2077.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 15, after line 21, insert the following:

SEC. 205. (a) Congress urges the President to enter into an agreement with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that sets forth—

(1) the benchmarks that are detailed in the report accompanying the certification that was made by the President to Congress on March 3, 1998;

(2) a schedule for achieving the benchmarks; and

(3) a process for NATO to carry out a formal review of each failure, if any, to achieve any such benchmark on schedule.

(b) The President shall submit to Congress—

(1) not later than June 30, 1998, a report on the results of the efforts to obtain an agreement described in subsection (a)(1); and

(2) semiannually after that report, a report on the progress made toward achieving the benchmarks referred to in subsection (a)(1), including a discussion of each achievement of a benchmark referred to in that subsection, each failure to achieve a benchmark on schedule, and the results of NATO's formal review of each such failure.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, this amendment seeks to build on the President's March 3, 1998, report to Congress that sets forth a series of benchmarks for the implementation of the Dayton accords in Bosnia. That report was submitted by the President pursuant to identical provisions contained in the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1998 and the National Defense Appropriations Act for fiscal year 1998.

The benchmarks, which are described in the report as "concrete and achievable," however, were established unilaterally by the administration and were not shared with or agreed upon by our NATO allies.

My amendment would call for the President to seek agreement by NATO to those benchmarks to an estimated timetable for their accomplishment and to a process to review the accomplishment of those benchmarks.

The amendment would thus attempt to ensure that all NATO members are using the same objectives and estimated time lines for their achievement and are committed to reviewing the situation if those time lines are not met.

I want to stress, Mr. President, that the time lines are not deadlines, they are not rigid or inflexible; they are estimates. But I do believe that establishing benchmarks without an estimated timeframe within which you hope to accomplish those benchmarks is only doing half the job. This is particularly true when, as here, the benchmarks, with one exception, are largely beyond the control of the NATO-led stabilization force.

That force, SFOR, can create the secure environment within which the civil implementation of the Dayton accords can take place and SFOR can provide support to the Office of the High Representative, the International Police Task Force, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia, but SFOR cannot and should not seek to directly carry out those civil implementation functions.

Thus, since the accomplishments of these benchmarks are generally beyond SFOR's control, it is important for NATO to agree on the benchmarks and the estimated time lines for their accomplishment so the Bosnian entities and the several international organizations are aware of what is expected of them.

The amendment also calls for NATO to periodically review the accomplishments of the benchmarks within the estimated time lines that they establish and calls on the President to submit semiannual reports to Congress on the results of NATO's review.

I am not here, Mr. President, criticizing the Bosnian entities or the international organizations involved in the implementation of the civil aspects of the Dayton accords. As a matter of fact, I am pleased with the progress

that has been made over the last 6 months, particularly with the installation of a new government in the Republika Srpska.

Finally, Mr. President, I believe, as I have expressed many times on this floor, that U.S. ground combat forces should remain in Bosnia only for a reasonable period of time beyond June of this year. I do not believe our commitment should be open-ended. This amendment, by seeking to ensure that everybody agrees on the same benchmarks and the same estimated time lines for their achievement, will, I believe, provide a framework by which to judge the movement forward to the time that U.S. ground combat forces can be withdrawn from Bosnia.

Mr. President, I understand that the Senator from Alaska has a second-degree amendment that he wishes to offer which is acceptable to me. I yield the floor.

Mr. STEVENS addressed the Chair.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. I offer my apologies to the Senator from Michigan. I have discussed this matter, Mr. President, and I would like to make certain that the amendment of the Senator from Michigan does not reflect approval or disapproval of the benchmarks concept in the President's certification transmitted to Congress.

AMENDMENT NO. 2078 TO AMENDMENT NO. 2077

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I have an amendment in the second degree which I send to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS] proposes an amendment numbered 2078 to amendment No. 2077.

At the end of the amendment, add the following: (c) The enactment of this section does not reflect approval or disapproval of the benchmarks submitted by the President in the certification to Congress transmitted on March 3, 1998.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, this amendment is necessary because of the problems we had with the Bosnian money in this bill already. Many people oppose Bosnian deployment, as the Senator from South Carolina has just stated. I want to make certain we are not going to get into a debate over the benchmarks when we get to conference, and I am grateful to the Senator from Michigan. I believe he will agree to this amendment.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I do welcome the amendment. I think it is a clarification that is important, and I support it.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no further debate, the question is on agreeing to amendment No. 2078.

The amendment (No. 2078) was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LEVIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the underlying amendment No. 2077, as amended?

Mr. STEVENS. We are prepared to accept the amendment as amended.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank my friend from Alaska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment No. 2077, as amended.

The amendment (No. 2077), as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 2079

(Purpose: To provide contingent emergency funds for the enhancement of a number of theater missile defense programs)

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on behalf of the Senator from Arizona, Mr. KYL.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows: The Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS], for Mr. KYL, proposes an amendment numbered 2079.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 15, after line 21, add the following: SEC. 205. In addition to the amounts provided in Public Law 105-56, \$151,000,000 is appropriated under the heading "Research Development, Test and Evaluation, Defense-Wide": *Provided*, That the additional amount shall be made available for enhancements to selected theater missile defense programs to counter enhanced ballistic missile threats: *Provided further*, That of the additional amount appropriated, \$45,000,000 shall be made available only for the procurement of items and equipment required for a third Arrow missile defense battery: *Provided further*, That the entire amount shall be available only to the extent that an official budget request for \$151,000,000, that includes designation of the entire amount of the request as an emergency requirement as defined in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, is transmitted by the President to the Congress: *Provided further*, That the entire amount is designated by the Congress as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A) of such Act.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I have asked this be presented at this time so that other Members may see it and have a chance to discuss it with me or with Senator KYL before the time tomorrow when we will seek to have it either adopted or voted on.

I ask now that that amendment be set aside in order that Senator ASHCROFT may offer his amendment at this time.

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

Mr. ASHCROFT addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

AMENDMENT NO. 2080

(Purpose: To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to provide to private sector employees the same opportunities for time-and-a-half compensatory time off and biweekly work programs as Federal employees currently enjoy to help balance the demands and needs of work and family, to clarify the provisions relating to exemptions of certain professionals from the minimum wage and overtime requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938)

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, thank you very much. I am pleased to have this opportunity today. We are speaking about a supplemental appropriations measure that relates to emergencies, about the needs that individuals in Government have. I would like to talk about emergencies that relate to the needs of America's families. Frankly, I want to talk about how we value women in our culture.

Over the last 2 months, our sensibilities have been assaulted with the national debate on the President's behavior toward women in the workplace. I am worried that this preoccupation with the President's alleged sexual advances in the workplace is taking the focus off the real concerns of working women everywhere.

Working men and women face a unique challenge in the workplace. Not only must they navigate the choppy waters of sexual politics in their own jobs, but at the end of the work day, they head home to their second full-time jobs as moms and dads.

Working moms wake up each morning, hustle to ensure that the toddler is bathed, changed, fed and dressed, all the while keeping track of the 7-year-old or 4-year-old or a 3-year-old, doublechecking homework, packing lunch. With all these balls in the air, working moms must then get dressed and head off to the workplace, stopping to drop off the youngest at grandma's or at preschool. Then it begins again after 8 hours on the job.

These are monumental challenges that America's supermoms meet and beat every day. Yet, we in Congress have been unable to extend to working moms and dads an invaluable option for the workplace. For 2 years, the Senate has debated and declined to pass flexible work arrangements that would grant these working moms and dads and all workers the freedom to adjust their work schedules to meet the needs of their families. Flexible working arrangements could allow a mom to leave work early on a Friday when the nurse at the first grader's school calls to ask that the child be taken home. That mom could take that afternoon off and make up the missed hours the following Monday, or any day that next week, without suffering a loss of pay.

This is currently illegal under today's outdated labor laws, and we find that America's families are in a state of real need. And while we are looking

to meet the needs of Government, I think it is appropriate that we work as well to meet the needs of America's families. I think it is time that we fix this absurd result in the law.

I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. ASHCROFT] proposes an amendment numbered 2080.

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, in today's fast-paced, information-based society, the rigid and inflexible provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act have paralyzed those whom it was meant to help. It is interesting to note what Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words were: "Those who toil in factory and on farm to obtain a fair day's work" were to be the focal point of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

That Fair Labor Standards Act now deprives employees of the right to structure their daily lives on and off the job to meet the responsibilities they have both at work and at home. It is not the employer who holds the employee in this Catch-22. It is, however, the Government. Inside-the-beltway elitists who think they know best continue to deprive America's working families of the right to make decisions which employees think meet their circumstances best.

The charge to America's lawmakers now and into the next century is to restructure the rules regulating the workplace to help increase long-term productivity. How do we build a workplace for the next century rather than try to recreate the workplace of the last century? How do we reflect the needs of the American family as it currently exists, rather than try to impose upon the American family, as it currently exists, the laws which were shaped 70 years ago to deal with families as they then existed?

The days are past when the Federal Government can treat employment policy and employee productivity as if they were wholly unrelated. Our ability to compete in an international marketplace of intense competition is going to be largely dependent on our ability to provide for workers an accommodating, comfortable work environment where they can both meet the demands of the workplace and the marketplace and also meet the very compelling demands of their families.

I just might add that not only is this an issue of economic productivity, in terms of this ability to sort of boost production and boost moral and boost the sense in which individuals are able to work effectively; this is a matter that relates to whether or not the most

fundamental unit of American culture, the family, can be successful, or whether we are going to make it impossible, whether our Government will be at war with the values of American families.

I don't think there are very many people anywhere in this culture who wouldn't underscore the fact that when moms and dads can spend time with their kids that those kids do better, that we build a strong future. And yet we have to make sure that our culture does not have rules and regulations which make it impossible for moms and dads to accommodate the needs of the youngsters.

As Washington's establishment clings to the workplace policies of the 1930s, which assume employer-employee relationships that are always adversarial, we have to make sure that Government itself does not become adversarial to the fundamental values of American culture and American life. Prime among those values is the value we place on families. And essential to that value on families is the ability of moms and dads to find time to spend with their children.

The law has assumed for too long that if something is good for the employer, it is bad for the employee. And if it is good for the employee, it must be bad for the employer. That cannot be so. We will not succeed in the marketplace of the next century assuming that we must always fight, that we must always be antagonistic or we cannot be successful. As a matter of fact, we know that the real key to success is teamwork, employers and employees working together, accommodating each other's needs, making sure that what is good for one is good for the other. We have a great opportunity to do that by giving employers and employees the opportunity to have adjustable work schedules and to allow for moms and dads not only to meet the demands of the workplace, but allow them to accommodate the needs of their families.

America's employers have found that this adversarial basis for writing the employment law, which happened to have characterized the way it was written in the 1930s, is counterproductive and it hurts our competitiveness. However, our companies are managing within the narrow constraints of the Federal law to establish progressive employment practices in cooperation with their employees.

Employees are becoming owners of their companies through employee stock option plans, and profit-sharing incentives are on the rise. The benefit of giving employees greater input in their decisionmaking processes is making command and control style situations far less acceptable. So what we have to do really is to find a way to accommodate these competing demands of the home place and the workplace if we are going to be successful.

Let me just stop for a moment to give some data about the difference between the family as it was and family as it is.

First of all, back in the 1930s, when we originally crafted our Fair Labor Standards Act, about one out of every six or seven—about 16 percent—of the moms of school-aged children were in the work force. That means that five out of six—or six out of seven—were in the home place. And so the need for flexible working arrangements was not the same as it is now.

There has been a virtual sea change in the work dynamic in America in the way in which the work force is configured. Very frankly, now, instead of one out of six or one out of seven being moms of school-aged children who are in the workplace, now four out of five moms of school-aged children are in the workplace. So that the vast majority of moms of school-aged children are working as opposed to the vast majority in the 1930s not working. And this means that our needs are different. It means that it is impossible for us to get the same kind of return on a legal system which no longer provides a basis for meeting the needs of the culture since the culture's needs are vastly different.

There are some companies that are going to very significant ends to try to help their employees, companies like TRW, Eastman Kodak, Computer Sciences Corporation, the insurance company Mass Mutual. They are finding ways to make their employees' lives better by offering what they can in terms of flexible working arrangements.

However, the Federal law limits the extent to which they can offer these benefits. I might just add that these companies are trying—they are trying—to match what is available in the Federal system for Federal employees. They are trying in many ways to match what is available at the State system for State employees. But they cannot because they are prevented by the law.

They have sought to provide flexible working arrangements, but if you are trying to have flexible working hours, it has to be within a week. There can be no change that goes over from one week to another in the employment week. That means generally that if you need to make up an hour that you want to miss on Friday afternoon, you cannot make it up on the next Monday unless you are a Federal Government employee.

Oddly enough, the Federal workers have had that privilege since 1978. And what is interesting about it is that Federal workers have had it not only since 1978, but it has been vastly successful. When the General Accounting Office, for example, decided to inventory the extent to which individuals in the Federal system respond constructively to flexible working times, they found that 9 out of 10 Federal workers who had an opinion on flextime said that it was good—it was very good—9 out of 10. It is very hard to find 9 out of 10 Federal workers who will agree on virtually anything. So the Federal

Government workers find that it is a very good way to try to meet the competing demands of the home place and the workplace.

And secondly, not only is flextime highly regarded in the Federal system, but comptime is the ability to say, look, I have worked a little overtime, instead of paying me time and a half for that overtime, will you give me time and a half off at another time so I can spend time with my family? That is a very popular program with Federal workers. So popular was that with workers at the Federal level that it has been extended, that capacity to be involved in that kind of operation has been extended to other Government workers, particularly at the State and local level.

So we have a real interesting situation where the universe of workers is not treated fairly or equally. Governmental workers had the opportunity for flextime and comptime. Both at the State level they have comptime, and at the Federal level they have comptime. They have flexible working arrangements at the Federal level. They simply do not in the private sector. No comptime in the private sector. It is against the law to have comptime in the private sector, and when it goes from one week to the next.

These kinds of privileges, these kinds of opportunities really would make it a lot easier on our families. They would give parents the ability to go and attend to a sick child. They would give parents the ability to attend events where children are being honored or children are performing. They would frequently give the opportunity to individuals who had built up some comptime to take some time off, perhaps extend a vacation or provide for a 3-day weekend without sacrificing their salaries.

This benefit, which is available to Government workers in virtually every level, is not available to workers in the private sector who are paid by the hour. But interestingly enough, salaried workers have pretty much had the ability to have flexible working arrangements for quite some time.

The salaried worker takes a 2-hour lunch break to take care of personal business or leaves early to go to a child's soccer game. The hourly worker who sits beside the salaried worker is tied to his or her desk and has to deprive his or her family of that same kind of attention. Now, this result is not due to their employers being unwilling to help. This result is due to the Federal Government's policy—our law under the Fair Labor Standards Act—which makes flexible working arrangements and comptime for private-sector workers illegal.

Some of these hourly workers have come to Washington to tell their stories about how Federal policies impact their everyday lives.

One of those individuals I remember who came was Arlyce Robinson. She was a worker who had a great story to

tell about working on an hourly basis, and the snow storm that hit the town, hit Washington, DC, as a matter of fact. They had to send workers home, and said, you can't work—well, they closed the offices for a day. The workers wanted to make up that day in the next week. But in order to make up that day in the next week, those 8 hours which they missed, those hours would have had to have been paid as overtime.

The employer could not afford to have a 50 percent increase in his labor costs for that time, so those workers simply were unable to make that time up the next week. That is a serious problem for individuals who are on that kind of a schedule and who are not on salary but are on an hourly wage.

Leslie Langford is a secretary at Mass Mutual in Springfield, MA. Her husband is a printer. They have a son who has just had his first birthday and a daughter about 6 years old. She put it this way:

I've been an hourly employee with Mass Mutual for 14 years. As a full-time employee and mother of two young children, including a child just over a year old, it is one of the most valuable commodities in my life. And I can't afford to waste any of my time, like many of you.

She says:

I find it a challenge to juggle the needs of my employer and my family.

She wants to have the ability to have comptime and flextime in the private sector. She put it this way:

Family-friendly legislation such as this is not only desperately needed but long overdue in this country to benefit working parents and their children.

So you have situations where individuals who work by the hour simply are not allowed by the law to cooperate with their employers to develop work schedules which will accommodate the competing needs of the home place and the workplace. As a result, families suffer.

Now, as I mentioned, salaried workers frequently get flexible schedules because salaried workers do not punch the clock. The boardroom and the managers have flexible schedules in that respect. Government employees have flexible schedules because they have the authority under the Federal Government. In 1978, Congress recognized the benefit of flexible working arrangements and passed the Federal Employees Flexible and Compressed Work Schedules Act. And the Senator from Alaska, Senator STEVENS, was the Senator who helped shepherd that act into existence.

That act allowed the Federal Government employees to experiment with flexible work schedules, which are still illegal in the private sector. The program allows hourly workers to work an extra hour one week in order to work an hour less the next week. As a matter of fact, it goes beyond that. Sometimes people work 45 hours one week, so they only have to work 35 hours the next week. By doing so, they can ar-

range their time so they have every other Friday off. There are lots of parents who would like to have the capacity to take every other Friday off or a weekday off every other week.

These authorities, which make it possible for Federal employees to have flexible work schedules, are specific in the law to Government employees alone. And the law forbids private workers to have the same kind of situation. I know of one family in my home State of Missouri, a family in the St. Louis area where there is a Federal worker—one of the spouses is a Federal worker—the other is a private sector worker. One has the privilege of flexible working arrangements, the other does not. The disparity is stark. And the burden inordinately falls on the worker who has the flexible work capacity because of the ability of that worker to get flexibility in the area of governmental work. But I do not think you should have to work for the Government or should have to be a salaried worker in the management pool in order to be able to be a good mom or dad. You should be able to do it because our Government should not be at war with the values of this culture.

Our Government should be reinforcing the values of the American culture and strengthening our families—not attacking them. And a failure on the part of Government to allow for flexible working arrangements, a failure on the part of Government to allow people to work with their employees to have family-friendly working arrangements, is simply a way for Government to attack our values rather than to underscore our values.

As a matter of fact, it was as far back as 1945 that Congress recognized that when an employee paid by the hour works overtime hours, that monetary compensation does not always make up for the time that the worker misses with his or her family.

Now, flexible work arrangements, which I have mentioned, the ability to assign work from one week to next week, to take fewer hours of work in one week and take more hours in the next week, that is a very popular program in the Federal Government. That is flextime.

The compensatory time is simply when you are being asked to work overtime, you have the right to request that some of what you do by way of overtime be reflected not in additional salary but you can take some time off.

The overtime rules in our culture generally are, when you are asked to work overtime, you get time and a half. But some people realize no matter how much time and a half they get paid, that doesn't help them get more time with their families. So occasionally they say, "Instead of paying time and a half, will you give me time and a half off instead of the payment, so instead of me working the full week next week, I could take time and a half off in those hours; I would still be paid as if I worked a full week, but I get the time off to be with my family."

Now, that became a possibility in the Federal Government system back in 1945. In that recognition, Congress amended the Federal Employee Pay Act to allow the Federal Government employees the choice of being compensated for overtime work with either money or time. Of course, in 1985—it took 40 years—the Congress gave this same choice to State and local employees, the ability of an employee to say, "I would like to have some time off; instead of being paid time and a half, how about time and a half off in the next pay period or at some time down the road."

Time can be more valuable than money, and certainly when it relates to our families that can be true. That has never been more true than it is today. Yet some Members of Congress continue to fight giving the same rights to private-sector employees. A Family Friendly Workplace Act would give hourly workers this same choice.

President Clinton recognized the benefits of flexible work schedules when he directed the use of flexible working arrangements for executive branch employees. On July 11 of 1994, the President of the United States, President Clinton, said, "Broad use of flexible work arrangements to enable Federal employees to better balance their work and family responsibilities can increase employee effectiveness and job satisfaction, while decreasing turnover rates and absenteeism." The President has clearly recognized the value of flexible working arrangements with an Executive order. He states that the broad use—broad use, not narrow use—of these arrangements to allow workers to come to agreement with their employers is where we can find win-win situations—better for the worker, better for the employer.

What does he say is the consequence? Better balance of their work and family responsibilities—I underscore that; thank goodness the President believes in that and cares about it—and he says increased employee effectiveness and job satisfaction. Wait a second, here is job satisfaction and effectiveness, boosting productivity, and on the other hand we have a win-win situation for the employees, with better service for their family.

This is not the old antagonism of, "It can't be good for the employer unless it is bad for the employee," or saying, "It can't be good for the employee unless it is bad for the employer." No; this is an opportunity to move forward in labor policy as saying yes, let's make it good for the employee and also make it good for the employer; let's authorize people to cooperate and authorize them to act as a team and to improve their performance.

Unfortunately, though, private-sector employees are denied this same right. As I indicated before, salaried people have it; Government people have it, at the State and local level; the boardroom has it. But individuals working by the hour are a minority,

frankly, of individuals working in America now. When you consider Government workers and salaried workers, you get individuals working by the hour. Our labor law of the 1930s prevents them from having this benefit. It makes illegal the opportunity of these individuals to collaborate, to confer with, to cooperate with their employers to be able to serve their families more effectively.

If everyone agrees that flexibility is good for Federal Government employees, for salaried workers, everybody appears to say it works for salaried people, for America's boardrooms, why is the group of hard-working Americans, the hourly-paid individuals, why are they being discriminated against? Why can't they have this? The laborers of this Nation—stock clerks, mechanics, factory workers, clerical workers, store clerks, baggage handlers, gas station attendants—the list goes on and on—people who actually serve America, who build America, who make it possible for this country to run, why is it that they are discriminated against by having a law prohibiting flexible working arrangements and prohibiting compensatory time arrangements?

Because Congress has decided that they cannot make these decisions for themselves; is that it? Is it that the Congress feels the backbone of the Nation doesn't have the requisite intellect to figure out whether they would be better served by time and a half off instead of time-and-a-half pay? That somehow these private sector workers who work by the hour are not as bright as the Government workers who work by the hour and therefore don't have the capacity to make these judgments? Surely that can't be the case. I know that it is not the case.

Frequently during my opportunity to return to my home State, I spend time working in jobs in a variety of settings. I have sacked groceries, I have sacked seed corn, I have worked to manufacture windows, I have worked in a whole variety of settings, and I have learned one thing—that the American people are bright people. They know whether they need time off. They know whether they would rather have time with their families or overtime pay, and they would, by far, appreciate the opportunity to be able to cooperate so that they could make that choice. The poll data on this issue bears that out. The American people do not believe that Government should prohibit them from making these kinds of decisions and choices. As a matter of fact, they think that big Government, which would prohibit that kind of awareness and activity, is sad and that it deprives them of their ability to serve their family.

Now the Family Friendly Workplace Act is an act that is designed to correct the inequity. It recognizes that hourly workers, the people who build America, should have the opportunity to cooperate with their employers to work out arrangements, to help those hourly workers find time to balance

the demands of the family and the workplace. The legislation will drag the Fair Labor Standards Act into the realities of the working family of the 1990s instead of the 1930s.

The bill would permit the fair labor standards rigid 40-hour maximum workweek schedule to be modified only if consented to by the employee. This is important. There are those who say we can't really expect this to be a fair situation and this will be an abused situation. These provisions in the law that we are promoting in the Family Friendly Workplace Act will double the penalties that would normally come from overtime violations. They will strengthen the hands of the worker to be treated fairly. These will not provide a place where the worker is in jeopardy. They will provide an opportunity for the worker to make good decisions. I believe it is important for us to make sure that we have those protections.

Under the law as proposed, we have strengthened substantially any penalty for an abusive corporation, any penalty for an employer that says that the worker must work overtime and not be compensated. There are a number of safeguards. Let me say this, the law provides this is at the option of the worker. So if the worker says, "I would like to take time and a half off down the road, instead of having time-and-a-half pay, I would like to be able to do that," that gives the worker that option. But in order to protect the worker in that option, we have made it possible that any time after that decision is made the worker is eligible to change his or her mind. So immediately, the next week, 2 weeks later, or any time prior to taking the time and a half off, the worker is able to say, "Cash me out, I want the money." This is a little bit of a burden on the employer, because the employer can't count on not having to pay the money. The employer will have to maintain a readiness to cash it out if it is overtime that was worked for pay instead of work for compensatory time. But employers are willing to do this. Employers are also willing to provide this option because they want to help workers meet these needs.

So there is a safeguard in the bill that it gives the worker the right to cash it out at any time. It also provides that at the end of the year, if there is a great accumulation or if there is any accumulation of compensatory time, the time is cashed out so that the money is given. This is designed to make it so that there aren't inordinate opportunities or accumulations of compensatory time that are never paid off. As a matter of fact the company will have to pay at the end of every year, any unused compensatory time.

So you have the ability of the worker to cash in the compensatory time at any time. You have the requirement that the company pay off the compensatory time at the end of the year. You

have elevated penalties—basically, double the normal penalties—in the event there is any abuse here. And I think you get the message that the Family Friendly Workplace Act is designed to be friendly to families but it is not designed to force families into any kind of a situation that they would not otherwise be involved in. They don't have to take overtime as time off. They can take overtime as pay, and that option enures to them any time prior to taking it as time off. Of course, you couldn't take the time off and then demand to be paid for it. Obviously, that would be inappropriate.

The most successful corporations in America reflect the new realities of American life. They are decentralized, flexible, they are nonhierarchical. Meanwhile, our workplace laws for the private sector are, unfortunately, stuck in a time warp of centralized, hierarchal, one size, so-called, fits all, and we found out that one size fits none. America understands that there isn't any single way things are done for everyone. We need flexibility. We need to be able to accommodate different appeals, different needs, different styles of living, kinds of living.

I think we need to be able to accommodate individuals in this respect. Congress has ignored the realities faced in the workplace and families too long. American workers need the Government to get out of the way so that Americans can work in partnership with and in cooperation with their employers, not just against their employers. That is what will characterize America in the next century, if we are successful.

Now, I believe it is essential that we act on flextime and comptime this year. The American people, at about 80 percent of the people, believe this is something we ought to do. This has been delayed over and over again. The Democrats delayed this benefit on a number of occasions last year, and today there were individuals from the other side of the floor saying how they want to debate, want to be able to bring amendments to the floor.

In our last effort to bring this to the floor, we brought it to the floor and those on the other side of the aisle would not bring any amendments. They would not allow us to go to a vote. They would not bring amendments. They would just talk because they were not interested in amendments. They were not interested in negotiations. There were no serious negotiations. They were just interested in stalling. They were just interested in filibustering. They were just interested in prohibiting the American people from having these kinds of flexible, working arrangements at the salaried-worker level. Now we know they can't stop them from having them at the hourly level. They can't stop them at the salaried-worker level. They already have those arrangements. We know Government workers have these arrangements already, too.

Today we heard a lot of speeches about how we need to debate openly and bring amendments to the floor, how we need to make sure that there is lots of discussion and we get votes on a variety of things. I think that is an important concept that I would like to see honored as it relates to this agenda for the American people. We are going to debate and act on flextime this year. I can indicate with a relatively high degree of confidence that this is a Senator who is going to do everything possible to make sure that we get that done. I think it is important, because it is an agenda that is important to the American people.

There will be those who talk about other ways to try and help the American people. I know last year they said what we really need is a different plan for more medical and family leave. The family and medical leave provisions in the law now which allow a worker to say to the employer, "I've got a sickness in the family and I'm going to take time to leave for that sickness," that allows a person to leave the workplace, but a person that leaves under family and medical leave law, when they leave, their pay stops.

So in order to be a good parent under the Family and Medical Leave Act, you have to take a pay cut. Any time you leave under that particular law, your pay terminates.

Now, what we are looking for, I think what is very important, is in the area of flextime and comptime people don't have to take a pay cut in order to be a good parent. They can meet the needs of the home place and leave the working place, because they have built up some comptime or they have flexible working arrangements and they don't have to take a pay cut to do it.

Now, it seems to me that there is a real problem in saying that the solution to the country's distress is making people take pay cuts in order to be a good mom or dad. Most of the time when you have both people in the work force, it is because they need the money. If you just read the Washington Post, I believe from this past Sunday, there is a big feature that indicates people have both breadwinners in the workplace because they can't make ends meet without both of them working there. And to tell them, if you want to be a good parent, you can just take a pay cut and do so under an expanded Family and Medical Leave approach is foolhardy.

Look what happens to people when they are involved in the Family and Medical Leave Act. Leave-takers, according to a Government study here—and this was a study that was populated by Members of the Senate and overseen by a variety of Government individuals—people lose wages when they take medical leave. Here is how they have to make up for what they have done:

28.1 percent of the people had to borrow money to make up for the wages they lost in medical leave. Well, let's

not force them to do that. Let's give them the opportunity to have flexible working arrangements, to get some comptime built up, or to work flexible working hours.

10.4 percent of the people who took medical leave had to go on public assistance in order to make ends meet. I don't think that's the way we want to have people accommodate the needs of their families, by going on public assistance.

41.9 percent of the individuals who went on family and medical leave had to stop paying their bills because, in order to take leave, they had to stop getting their paychecks.

Now, it seems to me that we have a real choice here. Family and medical leave says if you want to serve your family, yes, you can take time off, but you have to lose your income, you have to take a pay cut when you take time off. But with the Family Friendly Workplace Act, with flexible and compensatory time available to individuals, you don't have to take a pay cut. You are able to build up some time by having compensatory time available, and when the time comes that you need to take some time off, you can do it without taking the pay cut. I think if it kept 28.1 percent of the people doing it from having to borrow money, or another 10.4 percent from going on welfare, or 41.9 percent from putting off bills, not paying their bills, when you put those numbers together, there is a tremendous group of individuals who find themselves severely stressed, borrowing money, going on welfare, not paying their bills. Those are the kinds of things we don't want to add, in terms of stress, to the American family.

If you said to people that in order to be a good mom or dad, you have to go on welfare, I think we would say that is an affront to the dignity of the American worker, that is an assault on the value of work, that is an assault on the character of what it means to be an American or to be productive. Or if we said that in order to be a good mom or dad and take some time off, you have to stiff your creditors 42 percent of the time, you have to stop paying your bills, the American people don't want to do that. They should not want to do that. Or that you have to go to a bank or a loan company to borrow money, run up your credit card debt, and pay outrageous interest in order to be able to accommodate a sick child or witness your child's participation in the school play.

The American people don't think they ought to have to take these kinds of pay cuts, borrow money, go on public assistance, or put off paying their bills. That is why, at an amazing rate, they indicate their preference is not to have this kind of mandated pay cut, but to have family-friendly workplace arrangements that allow hourly workers to have the same kind of benefits that salaried workers already have, that allow hourly workers to enjoy the

same kind of benefits that are enjoyed by people in the boardroom, that allow hourly workers in the private sector to have the same kind of benefits that salaried workers in the private sector have and the same kind of benefits hourly workers have had in Government.

Comptime has been available at the Federal Government level since 1945. Comptime has been available for State and local governments since 1985. Flexible working arrangements have been available for individuals in the Federal Government since 1978. That is when we began the program. The President of the United States lauded the program officially and extended it by Executive order in the mid-1990s to Government workers, and it is time to say, wait a second, we really can't afford to have this second-class group of citizens that we will call hourly workers in America. They are not the Government workers, they are not salaried workers, and they are not boardroom workers; they are just hourly workers. We can't afford to give them a lower standard. We should not be saying to them: You can't have the same kind of benefit for a win-win situation. You can't cooperate with your employer. You can't make it possible for your family to endure some of the struggles you endure without going into debt, on welfare, or not paying your creditors. We don't want you to have that kind of potential.

I think we ought to extend the potential of family-friendly, flexible workplace opportunities, including comptime, to all the families of America. As I indicated earlier, this is not the first time this subject has been debated in the U.S. Congress. This subject has been debated on a couple of occasions. But in no circumstance have individuals on the other side of the aisle been willing to go to a vote in this matter. While earlier today there was quite a discussion about the need to go to a vote and to have amendments, when this issue was brought up previously, there was not a single individual who brought an amendment to the floor to add to this legislation. For days, we talked about this legislation, but no one would bring an amendment. It wasn't because there was an agreement with the legislation; it was merely a way to try to keep us from voting, which they were successful in doing, by stonewalling. Now, the American working people should not be stonewalled. The working arrangements of the 1930s simply do not fit the families of the 1990s. We have in many, many families both parents in the workplace, and we need the flexibility to get the job done well.

Here is a letter from a security guard who occasionally gets overtime:

The federal government should do everything it can to promote family life, particularly since both parents typically work in today's world.

Given the choice, which the Family Friendly Workplace Act allows, parents

would have the ability to be with their kids on occasions when current guidelines prohibit. In my case, my job as a security guard occasionally calls for overtime. Under this legislation, I would be allowed the choice to receive pay or to be more involved in coaching, attending school events and other general activities my kids are involved with.

Our government serves people in many ways, but there is no better way to serve than building strong families, which the Family Friendly Workplace Act obviously seeks to accomplish.

There is a security guard that I think feels capable of making judgments about whether or not he wants to be paid for all of his overtime, or whether he would like to be able to opt to have some time off. I am just delighted that there are moms and dads in America that would like to be more involved in coaching, attending school events, and other general activities with kids. Yet, our Government is keeping that from happening.

Here is a letter from a 29-year-old working mother:

I am a 29 year old working mother. I have a two-year-old daughter and am pregnant and due. . . .

I recently heard about your Family Friendly Workplace Act. Under the current law, the law firm in which I am employed does not allow me to have a flexible work schedule.

No wonder it doesn't; the law doesn't allow it.

In my current condition, I need to be able to take off for doctor appointments. Due to the fact that I have a complication in my pregnancy, I have more appointments than average. If I was able to take time in one week and work more the next, it would be very helpful to me and other mothers. . . .

My two-year-old daughter is healthy, but there are some days when she needs extra attention and some days that she is sick. Some days she is just two!

Those of us who are parents are familiar with kids that are "just two."

If I was able to take the time I needed for some mornings and make it up the next week, it would make my life much easier.

Well, these letters are just a few. As we debate these issues during this session and over the next few days or as we approach voting on this particular measure, I would just say that it is fundamentally important for us to recognize the need to provide America's working families with the same kind of advantage, with flexible time, which American families that work for Government workers, it is good enough for private workers. If Government workers are smart enough to know when they want comptime as compared to pay and are able to figure that out and when they would like to be able to rearrange their schedules to be involved with their children, I firmly believe that private workers have the same kind of intelligence and capacity. I think it is incumbent upon those of us in Government to make sure that we begin to legislate policy which is consistent with the principles of America and the principle of strong families, which is one we ought to be careful to understand and reinforce.

So I think we are going to have a great opportunity in this session. I expect that it will be a great opportunity as we legislate in this particular matter. We are going to have the opportunity to provide flextime and comptime to America's private-sector hourly workers. It is a privilege that is understood by the salaried workers in the private sector, understood by both the hourly and salaried workers in Government. Flextime is understood by people in the Federal Government system. Comptime is understood by, and enjoyed by, people in government systems everywhere, State, local and Federal.

We have delayed this benefit package for too many days. I say "we," and I have done that to label the U.S. Senate. But the delay has come from the other side of the aisle. No amendments were offered when we brought this up before, but no vote was allowed. It's time that we have serious amendments, serious negotiations, and that we seriously embark upon providing the people of this country with this opportunity to serve their families.

Today's speeches about how we need to debate openly and bring amendments on a family-friendly agenda could not be more on point. So let's have the debate, let's have the family-friendly agenda, let's have those amendments as it relates to the opportunity for hourly workers in the private sector to be able to spend time with their families as a result of voluntary agreements with their employers, to have flexible working arrangements and compensatory time arrangements similar to those of salaried workers and similar to those of Government workers.

We are going to debate and act on flextime and comptime this year. I look forward to the debate very much. I am grateful for the opportunity to submit this amendment in this respect.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGEL). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES— H.R. 2472

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to the order of February 12, 1998, the Chair appoints the following conferees to H.R. 2472.

The Chair appointed Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. BUMPERS, Mr. BINGAMAN, and Mr. AKAKA conferees on the part of the Senate.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a

period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business Friday, March 20, 1998, the federal debt stood at \$5,538,571,184,190.64 (Five trillion, five hundred thirty-eight billion, five hundred seventy-one million, one hundred eighty-four thousand, one hundred ninety dollars and sixty-four cents).

One year ago, March 20, 1997, the federal debt stood at \$5,369,250,000,000 (Five trillion, three hundred sixty-nine billion, two hundred fifty million).

Twenty-five years ago, March 20, 1973, the federal debt stood at \$456,695,000,000 (Four hundred fifty-six billion, six hundred ninety-five million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,081,876,184,190.64 (Five trillion, eighty-one billion, eight hundred seventy-six million, one hundred eighty-four thousand, one hundred ninety dollars and sixty-four cents) during the past 25 years.

MUHAMMAD ALI—ATHLETE OF THE CENTURY

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I am delighted that my dear friend Muhammad Ali has been named by Gentlemen's Quarterly as Athlete of the Century.

We have had many noteworthy athletes in this century—the century that has brought us modern sport. Excellence has been personified by such sports heroes as Lou Gehrig, Babe Didrickson Zaharias, Bobby Orr, Walter Payton, and Michael Jordan. But, to my mind, though this company is clearly outstanding, GQ made the obvious choice.

Muhammad Ali's road to sports immortality began on January 17, 1942, in Louisville, Kentucky. Introduced to boxing at the age of 12, Ali won National AAU and Golden Gloves titles. He brought home the Olympic gold medal from Rome in 1960.

After turning professional, he stunned the sports world by defeating the also great boxer Sonny Liston in 1964. His victories over such accomplished opponents as Liston, Floyd Patterson, Ernie Terrell, Joe Frazier, George Foreman, and Ken Norton make him, in my mind, the greatest boxer of all time.

But Ali's greatness goes beyond his physical strength and athleticism. In 1964, he converted to the religion of Islam, adopting a set of beliefs for which he would sacrifice a great deal. In 1967, at the height of his career, he was convicted of draft evasion and stripped of his heavyweight title. For a period of three years, Ali was shunned by the boxing world and vilified by many who had previously hailed him.

The conviction was eventually overturned by the United States Supreme