

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas.

There was no objection.

PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT
OF 1995

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 117 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 4.

□ 1604

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4) to restore the American family, reduce illegitimacy, control welfare spending, and reduce welfare dependence, with Mr. LINDER in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER] and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] will each be recognized for 1 hour; the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLAY], the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS], and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA] will each be recognized for 45 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER].

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the Republican welfare revolution is at hand. Today begins the demise of the failed welfare state that has entrapped the Nation's needy for too long. Today we begin to replace that disaster in social engineering with a reform plan that brings hope to the poor of this Nation and relief to the Nation's taxpayers. Working Americans who carry the load will get relief.

Government has spent \$5.3 trillion on welfare since the war on poverty began, the most expensive war in the history of this country, and the Census Bureau tells us we have lost the war. The bill we bring to the floor today constitutes the broadest overhaul of welfare ever proposed. The status quo welfare state is unacceptable.

Today we have the chance to move beyond the rhetoric of previous years of endless campaign promises to end welfare as we know it. Today there must be no doubt. The rhetoric is stopping, the solution is beginning.

Our bill is constructed on three principles which strike at the very foundations of the Nation's failed welfare state. The three principles are personal responsibility, work, and returning power over welfare to our States and communities where the needy can be helped the most in the most efficient way.

The first and most fundamental principle captured by the title of our bill is

personal responsibility, the character trait that build this country.

The current welfare system destroys families and undermines the work ethic. It traps people in a hopeless cycle of dependency. Our bill replaces this destructive welfare system with a new system based on work and strong families.

Virtually every section of the bill requires more personal responsibility. Recipients are required to work for their benefits. Drug addicts and alcoholics are no longer rewarded with cash payments that are often spent on their habit. Aliens who were allowed into the country because they promised to be self-supporting are held to their promise; fathers who do not live with their children are expected to pay child support or suffer severe consequences; and welfare can no longer be a way of life. After 5 years no more cash benefits will be provided.

This bill will reverse the decades-long Federal policy of rewarding unacceptable and self-destructive behavior. We will no longer reward for doing the wrong thing.

The second underlying principle of our bill flows naturally from the first. Able-bodied adults on welfare must work for their benefits. Here it appears that the Democrats have surrendered completely to Republican philosophy. On work we are all Republicans now, but it was not always so.

During the welfare debate of 1987 and 1988, Democrats perpetuated a system in which able-bodied adults could stay on welfare year after year after year without doing anything. Now the Clinton administration and Democrats in the House are finally claiming they want mandatory work too, but the substitutes they will offer later do not require serious work.

That is not surprising. Conflict among Democrats on the basic issue of work was one of the reasons they did nothing on welfare reform in the last Congress. Another was the fact that it took the President almost 2 years to write a welfare bill, which he then let die without so much as a minute of debate in the House or the Senate.

If the Democrats were serious about welfare reform, they would have taken action last year when they had the chance. To the Democrats, welfare reform is not a policy objective, it is a political platform. It is an empty promise, it is a campaign device that is put on hold once they get elected.

House Republicans signed a Contract With America that promised we would provide a vote on the House floor on true welfare reform, and we are now fulfilling that promise within less than 80 days. We are proud to move forward to change America's failed welfare system.

The third principle which forms the foundation of our bill is our commitment to shrink the Federal Government by returning power and flexibility to the States and communities where the needy can be helped the

most. My own mayor in Houston, TX, a Democrat, talked to me several weeks ago and said you can cut the amount of Federal money coming to Houston by 25 percent, but give me the flexibility without the Federal regulations and I will do more with 25 percent less.

Some say, however, that only those in their ivory towers in Washington care enough to help the needy and aid the poor; the only caring people in all of government throughout the United States are only here right in Washington. That is what they say. They say you cannot trust the States. These people seem to think that the Governors are still standing in the schoolhouse doors not letting people in. But rather it is the Democrats in Washington who are standing in the doors of our Nation's ghettos and not letting people out.

The current regulatory morass is shown on the chart standing next to me. It shows that the welfare system Republicans inherited consists of at least 336 programs in 8 domains of welfare policy. The Federal Government expects to spend \$125 billion on these programs this year. Here it is, proof of the ridiculous tangle of overlapping bureaucratic programs that have been thrust upon the Nation since the beginning of the war on poverty, and the worst part is that the American taxpayers, working Americans are paying the bill.

But these 336 programs are only the tip of the iceberg. Imagine how many regulations had to be written to implement these 336 programs. Just let me show you. These are the regulations from just 2 of the 336 programs. They are standing right next to me here on the desk. They weigh 62.4 pounds. I guess I could probably lift them, but it would be easier with a fork truck.

I can think of no more fitting symbol of the failed welfare state than these pounds of Federal regulations. It is time to remove the Federal middleman from the welfare system. We can cut these unnecessary regulations, eliminate Federal bureaucrats and give our States and communities the freedom they need to help their fellow citizens. Our bill will end 40 of the biggest and fastest growing programs and replace them with 5 block grants. By ending counterproductive overlapping and redundant programs, we will win half of the battle. We are proud, though, that we have hit upon a much better approach to helping the poor than this top-heavy Federal system.

Our new approach recognizes that the action on welfare reform today is in the States already. While Washington twiddled its thumbs for the last several years, States all over the country were engaging in actual welfare reform.

The laboratories of democracy are in the States, not Washington, DC. Block grants will bring the decisions closer to the people affected by them, they will give Governors more responsibility and

resources to design and run their own programs.

□ 1615

And once we have given the State this flexibility and eliminated the need for them to beg Washington for permission to operate outside the stack of rules in that pile on the desk, the reforms they have implemented thus far will be dramatically expanded and spread to every State.

Mr. Chairman, welfare today has left a sad mark on the American success story. It has created a world in which children have no dreams for tomorrow and grownups have abandoned their hopes for today.

The time has come to replace this failed system with a new system that uplifts our Nation's poor, a new system that turns the social safety net from a trap into a trampoline, a new system that rewards work, personal responsibility in families, a new system that lifts a load off of working, tax-paying Americans. It represents a historic shift long overdue.

Mr. Chairman, I submit the following correspondence for the RECORD.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, March 21, 1995.

Hon. WILLIAM F. GOODLING,
Chairman, Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, Rayburn House Office Building, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN GOODLING: I am writing to congratulate you for your leadership in bringing H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, to the floor for a historic vote this week. This achievement could not have occurred without the close working relationships developed between the Members and staffs of our two committees. Thank you for the outstanding cooperation we have enjoyed in developing this landmark legislation.

I would also like to clarify certain jurisdictional issues surrounding this unprecedented effort, and to acknowledge your recent correspondence. On March 8, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported H.R. 1157 as its portion of welfare reform legislation. The Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities favorably reported H.R. 999 on February 23. A leadership working group then combined these provisions, along with those of the Committee on Agriculture and others interested in welfare reform, into H.R. 1214. The text of H.R. 1214 will be considered as the base text for floor consideration of H.R. 4.

As you know, Republicans have been working diligently to combine social programs with similar or identical purposes into block grants. The procedure has been to identify all the programs with a similar purpose, end the spending authority for all but one of the programs with a similar purpose, and fund the resulting block grant at roughly the level of funding for all the constituent programs combined. Unfortunately, this common sense approach is not easily accomplished within the existing committee structure.

I want to thank you for agreeing to have the Committee on Ways and Means consolidate certain child protection provisions into a Child Protection Block Grant in Title II of H.R. 1157. In addition, H.R. 1157 contains provisions authorizing the transfer of funds from the temporary assistance block grant to food and nutrition programs and the child care block grant. It also contains a technical correction to ERISA Title I, concerning

child support enforcement. Thank you for not objecting to the inclusion of this provision, and for bringing an additional technical correction to my attention. I understand that in order to expedite Floor consideration of this legislation, your Committee will not be marking up H.R. 1157.

Similarly, H.R. 999, as reported by the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, contains provisions that fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means. Specifically, H.R. 999 ends the at-risk child care and the AFDC and Transitional child care programs for consolidation into a Child Care Block Grant. H.R. 999 includes mandatory work requirements relating to the JOBS program. These provisions were later harmonized with similar provisions from H.R. 1157 in the leadership bill, H.R. 1214. H.R. 999 also includes provisions authorizing the transfer of child care and family and school nutrition block grant funds to the temporary assistance, child protection, and Title XX block grants.

Because of our prior consultations and to expedite consideration of this legislation on the Floor, the Committee on Ways and Means will not mark up H.R. 999. However, the forbearance in this case should not be considered as a permanent waiver of this Committee's jurisdiction over these provisions, and it should not preclude the Committee from legislating in this area in the future should the need arise.

Thank you again for your leadership and cooperation on this landmark legislation. With warm regards,

Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC
AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES,
Washington, DC, March 17, 1995.

Hon. BILL ARCHER,
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means, Longworth House Office Building, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is to alert you to a provision in H.R. 1214, the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means which is in need of correction and involves an amendment to Title I of ERISA.

As contained in section 711 of the bill, subtitle H—Medical Support, the provision in question amends section 609 of Title I of ERISA to add a judgement, decree, or order issued by an "administrative adjudication" to the criteria required for such an order to be considered a "qualified medical child support order."

The term "administrative adjudication" is not defined in the bill or under current law. However, the intent appears to be to expand the definition to encompass orders issued through an administrative process established under state law.

Although our committee has no objection at this time to the inclusion in H.R. 1214 of this amendment to ERISA Title I, over which the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities has exclusive jurisdiction, it is our opinion that the technical flaw should be corrected before the bill is considered in the House. In this regard, I have referred the following technical correction to the House Legislative Counsel for inclusion in the final bill—ERISA section 609 (a)(2)(B)(ii)(II), as added by section 771(q)(3) of H.R. 1214, should be amended to read "(II) is issued through an administrative process established under state law and has the force and effect of law under applicable state law."

This is also to inform you that the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities will request that its members be appointed as the exclusive conferees on section 771, inasmuch as there are other technical

changes to ERISA section 609 that will be necessary to remove current ambiguities to this section of ERISA Title I over which our Committee's exclusive jurisdiction has never been disputed.

Sincerely,

BILL GOODLING,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, March 21, 1995.

Hon. FLOYD D. SPENCE,
Chairman, Committee on National Security, Rayburn House Office Building, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN SPENCE: Thank you for writing me regarding committee consideration of H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act. In response to your letter, I would like to clarify certain jurisdictional issues surrounding this unprecedented effort.

On March 8, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported H.R. 1157 as its portion of welfare reform legislation. The Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities favorably reported H.R. 999 on February 23. A leadership working group then combined these provisions, along with those of the Committee on Agriculture and others interested in welfare reform, into H.R. 1214. The text of H.R. 1214 will be considered as the base text for floor consideration of H.R. 4.

As you noted, during its consideration of the child support enforcement title of H.R. 1157, the Committee on Ways and Means included a provision dealing with enforcement of the child support obligations of members of the Armed Forces falling within the jurisdiction of the Committee on National Security. I want to thank you for waiving your committee's jurisdictional prerogatives in this instance to expedite Floor consideration of this legislation, and I understand that you are reserving your Committee's jurisdictional prerogatives for future consideration of this provision.

Thank you again for your leadership and cooperation on this landmark legislation. With warm regards,

Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY,
Washington, DC, March 13, 1995.

Hon. BILL ARCHER,
Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Ways and Means has recently ordered reported H.R. 4, a bill that would reform the welfare system. During markup of the legislation, the committee adopted a provision dealing with the enforcement of child support obligations of members of the armed forces. This provision falls within the legislative jurisdiction of the Committee on National Security pursuant to House Rule X(k).

In recognition of your committee's desire to bring this legislation expeditiously before the House of Representatives, and with the understanding that a clause in the above described provision to which this committee objects has been removed from the bill, the Committee on National Security will not seek a sequential referral of H.R. 4. This forbearance should not, of course, be construed as a waiver of this committee's jurisdiction over the provision in question. This committee will seek the appointment of conferees with respect to this provision during any House-Senate conference.

I would appreciate your including this letter as a part of the report on H.R. 4 and as part of the record during consideration of the bill by the House.

With warm personal regards, I am
Sincerely,

FLOYD D. SPENCE,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, March 21, 1995.

Hon. THOMAS J. BLILEY, Jr.,
*Chairman, Committee on Commerce, Rayburn
House Office Building, U.S. House of Rep-
resentatives, Washington, DC.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN BLILEY: Thank you for sharing with me your recent correspondence with the Speaker regarding committee consideration of H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act. In response to your letter, I would like to clarify certain jurisdictional issues surrounding this unprecedented effort.

On March 8, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported H.R. 1157 as its portion of welfare reform legislation. The Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities favorably reported H.R. 999 on February 23. A leadership working group then combined these provisions, along with those of the Committee on Agriculture and others interested in welfare reform, into H.R. 1214. The text of H.R. 1214 will be considered as the base text for floor consideration of H.R. 4.

As you noted, during its consideration of H.R. 1157, the Committee on Ways and Means included provisions dealing with the Medicaid program. I want to thank you for waiving your Committee's jurisdictional prerogatives in this instance to expedite Floor consideration of this legislation, and I understand you are reserving your Committee's jurisdictional prerogatives for future consideration of these provisions.

Thank you again for your leadership and cooperation on this landmark legislation. With warm regards,
Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE,
Washington, DC, March 15, 1995.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH,
*Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, The
Capitol, Washington, DC.*

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I am writing for two purposes: first, to indicate that, in order to expedite Floor consideration, the Committee on Commerce will waive its right to mark up both H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, and H.R. 1214, the Personal Responsibility Act; and second, to indicate the Committee's interest in preserving its jurisdictional prerogatives with respect to a House-Senate conference on either of these two bills and any Senate amendments thereto.

H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995, was introduced on January 4, 1995, and referred, by title, to the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Agriculture, and the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, as well as to other Committees. The Committee on Commerce received an additional referral on two of the eight titles: Title IV, Restricting Welfare to Aliens, and Title VIII, Effective Date. Within the Committee, the bill was referred to the Subcommittee on Health and Environment and the Subcommittee on Energy and Power for those provisions which fell within their respective jurisdictions.

H.R. 1214 was introduced in the House on March 13, 1995, and represents a consensus bill developed by the three Committees with primary jurisdiction for consideration on the House Floor in lieu of H.R. 4. In addition to the three primary Committees, H.R. 1214 was also referred to the Committees on Commerce, the Judiciary, National Security, and Government Reform and Oversight, in each case for consideration of those provisions as

fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee concerned.

Staff of the Commerce Committee has carefully reviewed both the text of H.R. 4 and H.R. 1214 and has worked with the staff of the Committee on Ways and Means in drafting language contained in H.R. 1214 as it relates to provisions within this Committee's jurisdiction. Specifically, the following provisions of H.R. 1214 have been identified as falling squarely within the Commerce Committee's jurisdiction:

TITLE I

Section 106: Continued Application of Current Standards under Medicaid Program

TITLE II

Section 203: Continued Application of Current Standards under Medicaid Program

TITLE IV

Section 401: Ineligibility of Illegal Aliens for Certain Public Benefits Programs

Section 401(a): In general: Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any alien who is not lawfully present in the U.S. shall not be eligible for any Federal means-tested public benefits program.

Section 401(b): Exception for Emergency Assistance

Section 402: Ineligibility of Nonimmigrants for Certain Public Benefits Programs

Section 402(a): Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any alien who is lawfully present in the United States as a non-immigrant shall not be eligible for any Federal means-tested public benefits program.

Section 402(b): Emergency Assistance—emergency medical care

Section 403: Limited Eligibility of Immigrants of 5 Specified Federal Public Benefits Programs

Section 403(a)(4): Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any alien who is legally present in the U.S. shall not be eligible for Medicaid.

Section 403(b)(4): Exceptions (Emergency Assistance, including emergency medical care)

Section 403(b)(5): Transition for Current Beneficiaries

Section 431: Definitions

TITLE VI

Section 601(d): Funding of Certain Programs for Drug Addicts and Alcoholics

Section 602(b): Establishment of Program of Block Grants Regarding Children With Disabilities

Section 1645(b)(2): Medicaid Program: For purposes of title XIX, each qualifying child shall be considered to be a recipient of supplemental security income benefits under this title

Section 602(c): Provisions Relating to SSI Cash Benefits and SSI Service Benefits
"Treatment of Certain Assets and Trusts in Eligibility Determinations for Children"

Section 602(e): Temporary Eligibility For Cash Benefits For Poor Disabled Children Residing in States Applying Alternative Income Eligibility Standards Under Medicaid

TITLE VII

Section 701(a)(1): State Obligation to Provide Child Support Enforcement Services

Section 702(b): Definition of Federal Medical Assistance Percentage

H.R. 4 and H.R. 1214 are an essential component of the House Republican Contract with America. The Members of the Commerce Committee have no desire to delay the House's consideration of this important measure. Therefore, at this time, I am waiving this Committee's right to take up both H.R. 4 and H.R. 1214. I wish to make clear that by waiving its opportunity to mark up these bills, the Committee does not in any way prejudice the Commerce Committee's jurisdiction with respect to H.R. 4 or

H.R. 1214 or to any of the legislative issues addressed therein in the future. In addition, the Committee respectfully requests that if H.R. 4 or H.R. 1214 or any amendments thereto should be the subject of a House-Senate conference, the Commerce Committee shall receive an equal number of conferees as those appointed for any other House Committee with respect to the provisions contained in H.R. 4 or H.R. 1214, and any Senate amendments thereto, which fall within this Committee's jurisdiction.

Sincerely,

THOMAS J. BLILEY, JR.,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, March 21, 1995.

Hon. HENRY J. HYDE,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, Rayburn House Office Building, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN HYDE: I am writing to congratulate you for your leadership in bringing H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, to the floor for a historic vote this week. I would also like to clarify certain jurisdictional issues surrounding this unprecedented effort.

On March 8, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported H.R. 1157 as its portion of welfare reform legislation. The Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities favorably reported H.R. 999 on February 23. A leadership working group then combined these provisions, along with those of the Committee on Agriculture and others interested in welfare reform, into H.R. 1214. The text of H.R. 1214 will be considered as the base text for floor consideration of H.R. 4.

As you know, Republicans have been working diligently to combine social programs with similar or identical purposes into block grants. The procedure has been to identify all the programs with a similar purpose, end the spending authority for all but one of the programs, and fund the resulting block grant at roughly the level of funding for all the constituent programs combined. Unfortunately, this common sense approach is not easily accomplished within the existing committee structure.

I want to thank you for agreeing to have the Committee on Ways and Means to consolidate certain child protection programs under your Committee's jurisdiction into the Child Protection Block Grant in Title III of H.R. 1157. I understand that in order to expedite Floor consideration of this legislation, your Committee will not be marking up this legislation. Specifically, H.R. 1157 consolidates the missing and exploited children program, grants to improve the investigation and prosecution of child abuse cases, and the children's advocacy centers program. In addition, you requested that the Committee include in H.R. 1157 provisions concerning welfare and immigration, and the treatment of aliens.

Thank you again for your leadership and cooperation on this landmark legislation. With warm regards,

Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, March 21, 1995.

Hon. JAMES A. LEACH,
Chairman, Committee on Banking, Rayburn House Office Building, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN LEACH: I am writing to congratulate you for your leadership in bringing H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, to the floor for a historic vote this

week. I would also like to clarify certain jurisdictional issues surrounding this unprecedented effort.

On March 8, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported H.R. 1157 as its portion of welfare reform legislation. The Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities favorably reported H.R. 999 on February 23. A leadership working group then combined these provisions, along with those of the Agriculture Committee and others interested in welfare reform, into H.R. 1214. The text of H.R. 1214 will be considered as the base text for floor consideration of H.R. 4.

As you know, Republicans have been working diligently to combine social programs with similar or identical purposes into block grants. The procedure has been to identify all the programs with a similar purpose, end the spending authority for all but one of the programs, and fund the resulting block grant at roughly the level of funding for all the constituent programs combined. Unfortunately, this common sense approach is not easily accomplished within the existing committee structure.

I want to thank you for agreeing to have the Committee on Ways and Means consolidate the Family Unification Program under your Committee's jurisdiction into the Child Protection Block Grant in Title II of H.R. 1157. I understand that in order to expedite Floor consideration of this legislation, your Committee will not be marking up this legislation.

Thank you again for your leadership and cooperation on this landmark legislation. With warm regards,

Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, March 21, 1995.

Hon. WILLIAM F. CLINGER, JR.,
Chairman, Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, Rayburn House Office Building, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN CLINGER: I am writing to thank you for your assistance in bringing H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, to the floor for a historic vote this week. I would also like to clarify certain jurisdictional issues surrounding this unprecedented effort.

On March 8, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported H.R. 1157 as its portion of welfare reform legislation. The Committee on Economics and Educational Opportunities favorably reported H.R. 999 on February 23. A leadership working group then combined these provisions, along with those of the Committee on Agriculture and others interested in welfare reform, into H.R. 1214. The text of H.R. 1214 will be considered as the base text for floor consideration of H.R. 4.

During its consideration of the child support enforcement title of H.R. 1157, the Committee on Ways and Means included a provision dealing with enforcement of the child support obligations of members of federal employees falling within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. I understand that in order to expedite Floor consideration of this legislation, your Committee will not be marking up this legislation.

Thank you again for your leadership and cooperation on this landmark legislation. With warm regards,

Sincerely,

BILL ARCHER,
Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FORD], the ranking Democrat on the Welfare Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means.

(Mr. FORD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, we have now brought the welfare reform bill to the House floor, which is the Personal Responsibility Act.

Mr. Chairman, as we go through this bill over the next 5 hours tonight and as we take amendments on this bill tomorrow and maybe Thursday, we, as Democrats want to point out to the American people that what the Republicans have brought to this House floor is a bill that is weak on work requirements. The Republican bill does not put work first, and the Democrats, we have said all along, if we are going to reform the welfare system in this Nation, is that we must make sure that those who are able to work should go to work and that the State and the Federal Government should participate in making sure that we link welfare to work.

When we look at the Republican bill, there is no requirement that any AFDC recipient actually go to work. States can fulfill their work requirements by cutting people off the welfare rolls. They can meet that 50-percent requirement by the year 2003, yes, you just roll them off, no work requirements for the first 2 years.

Democrats are saying what we want is a self-sufficiency plan. The day that you enter the welfare office is that you will have to sign up in a self-sufficiency plan which means that the States would have a responsibility. We would also fund the States to make sure that they would have the moneys necessary to do just that. For the first 2 years, as I have said, under the Republican bill recipients need not work. There is no work requirement that would say to the States, "You must place someone in the work force," and after 2 years under the Republican plan, the State only has to obtain 4-percent work participation; after the 2 years, only a 4-percent work participation.

The Democrats think that Republicans ought to come together and let us pass a bill that would say to the able-bodied men and women on welfare that, "You must work, and we are going to assist you in placing you in the work force."

And when you look at the Republicans, they have no commitment to move people from welfare to work. They only move you off of welfare, and they will place the problem and the burden on the cities and counties and neighborhoods throughout America. No resources are provided under the Republican plan to help States provide education, training, and there is no child care under this bill.

Democrats offered amendments in the subcommittee and the full commit-

tee to say to those mothers who want to go to work that we guarantee a minimum child care component in the welfare reform package. Democrats, once again, we put people first through a self-sufficiency plan that will place them in the work force.

The self-sufficiency plan would put people to work immediately, and those recipients would be able to go to work, and if they needed education, training, and child care, the Democrats wanted to provide that. Democrats put work first, because we do not use caseload reduction to fulfill the work requirement.

And like I said earlier, Democrats want to include the private sector, to make sure that the private sector can help us create some of the jobs that will be needed in order to put people to work.

And let us go on a little further than that. Child support enforcement, it was the Democrats who insisted upon the Republicans bringing this provision of this title to the bill to the House floor. We are proud of the fact that you did included 90 percent of what the Democrats wanted, but the other 10 percent is what the children of this Nation are in need of.

Why not put the drivers's license, attach them to make it possible to hold up those licenses or to make sure that when you get a ticket, in one State and you do not pay it, is that your license will be revoked until that ticket is paid? We are saying the professional license, why not, in the child support enforcement bill.

I commend you, I say to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SHAW] and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARCHER], for bringing the title to this bill that will address child support enforcement, but, you know, and we know as Democrats, that you did not go far enough.

Or when we look at how you want to punish children. I mean, why take infant kids, why should we take innocent kids, infant kids to say that because of the behavior of your parents you will be penalized? Why would we say to kids who are born to welfare families in America that we are going to penalize kids?

The rhetoric that the Republicans have given us in saying that we need to change welfare, we would agree with that, but there is no need of us saying that we will not link welfare to work and make work first in priority in a welfare package. Democrats want a welfare reform bill, but we want a bill that will send people to work, hopefully in the private sector.

We want to make sure that the day you enter into the welfare office that you sign up with a plan, and that will be a self-sufficiency plan that will put you to work, keep you in the work force, and for you to provide for your children and not be mean to children, I mean, just plain mean to children, like

this Personal Responsibility Act that is before this House today.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, today we begin taking the final steps to revolutionize welfare. We are keeping our pledge to the American people to replace the current failed system with one that encourages personal responsibility, family unity, and work.

Under our proposal dozens of programs are merged into block grants to provide States flexibility in meeting the cash welfare, child protection, child care, and nutrition needs of their residents. Overnight, States would have real incentives to get welfare recipients into work. States that are successful can save for recessions, expand child care, or invest in more job training. Individuals would have to work to keep cash welfare, food stamps and other benefits.

Working families will stop seeing Federal tax dollars subsidize behavior they know is destructive: Unmarried children will not receive welfare checks and an apartment if they have a baby; families already on welfare will not get added payments for having more children they cannot support; and aliens will no longer be eligible for several welfare benefits. Welfare will be transformed into temporary help, not a way of life.

Supplemental Security Income benefits are reformed to protect taxpayers and target help to the truly disabled. Drug addicts and alcoholics will no longer receive monthly disability checks because of their addiction. And by refocusing SSI children's benefits, we provide more help to severely disabled children while protecting taxpayers against fraud and abuse.

Child support enforcement is strengthened to achieve better coordination between States, surer tracking of delinquent parents, and more efficient collection of support. All agree that holding absent fathers accountable is critical to any real welfare reform, and our proposal does just that.

Under our proposal families on welfare are expected to work, just as tax-paying families must work to support themselves. So after a maximum of 2 years on welfare, and less if States choose, families must work or lose their welfare checks. After 5 years of cash welfare, families must become free of government dependence, period.

Despite these unprecedented changes, Democrats, who won the White House pledging to reform welfare and then did nothing for 2 years, are charging that Republicans are soft on work. This charge is simply incorrect, for numerous reasons.

Under the Democrat substitute offered by Congressman DEAL, States are required to provide 2 years of education and training, not work, for all recipients. So States like Massachusetts that want to get welfare recipients into work after 2 months, not 2 years, would

be barred from doing so. As a result, the Deal substitute would prolong, not shorten, families time on welfare.

Further, under the Deal substitute, simply searching for a job satisfies the supposed requirement that people on welfare work first.

Finally, because the Deal substitute allows States to count everyone who leaves welfare as meeting the work requirement, the number of people required to work by the bill is actually lowered by 500,000 per month. Even if a State somehow found a way to fail to meet this so-called requirement, no penalty would result.

Whether these and other flaws in the Deal substitute are due to drafting errors, oversights, or intentional omissions, the effect is the same: the Deal substitute offers too little, too late on requiring work for those on welfare. This debate will bring that into focus for many of my colleagues who I know want to support real welfare reforms. Unfortunately, especially on work, the Deal substitute is right on rhetoric but wrong on substance.

It's not hard to see which bill provides real welfare reform—the Personal Responsibility Act. Our plan is nothing short of a revolution in social policy that replaces the current failed welfare system with one that will better meet the needs of the poor and get millions into work and off welfare. That is the only way to solve the welfare mess, and we are here to deliver on our promise to do just that.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN], a member of the welfare subcommittee, the Human Resources Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means.

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, you know, as I listened to the majority, this is, I think, very clear, Americans, the American people, want firmness. They do not want harshness. And you come across as harsh, harshly partisan, and also harsh on people and soft on work.

And let me explain why you are soft on work. It is very simple. The structure of this bill and other bills requires States to meet participation rights. It is a certain percent the first year, a certain percent the second year, et cetera into the next century.

Under the Republican bill, the States do not have to put a single person to work to meet participation requirements, not a single person. That is just the truth.

On page 22 of the bill it says that in plain English. And why does it say that? Because the majority bill does not provide any money to the States to help them put people on welfare to work. It was in your bill of a year ago. What happened to it?

You want to save money, I guess, for tax cuts for a privileged few instead of helping people get off of welfare into

work. That is why you come across as soft on work, because you are, and that is why you come across as harsh, because you are. Firmness, yes; harshness, no.

And a rainy day fund? The Republican Governors themselves said \$1 billion over 5 years is not enough to provide in cases of recession, in cases of inflation, and you just look the other way.

Now, why tough on kids? Look, we have done a lot of work on SSI. There is abuse in this program for kids. Some families are gaming the system, but most of these families are handicapped kids, parents struggling to provide a decent life for their handicapped children, and SSI says what you do to them; 21 percent would still qualify under the present program.

□ 1630

And the rest of them would be at the mercy of a State bureaucracy or off the rolls altogether. Those are the facts. You are going to eliminate from the rolls 700,000 kids by the year 2000.

Now, look, there is abuse, let us make that clear; but you are abusive in getting at abuse, you are harsh. You use a meat ax against handicapped children and their parents. And they say they do not want a bureaucracy, State or Federal, telling them what to do. They will account for the money, but they know best for their kids.

You turn your back on kids, you are soft on work, and that is why your bill is not worthy of passage.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to a member of the committee, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CAMP].

(Mr. CAMP asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, we stand here today at the threshold of righting a wrong. We have the opportunity to reverse an injustice that has plagued this country for decades. We can, and will, fix a broken welfare system that has literally trapped generations of Americans in a cycle of dependency from which there is little chance of escape.

We must not let this opportunity pass.

The Committee on Ways and Means took testimony from 170 witnesses. No one defended the status quo.

So we know the current system is broken, but what's wrong with it?

First, it discourages work. Second, it fosters out-of-wedlock births. Third, it is anti-family. And fourth, by the Federal Government deciding on a one size fits all welfare system for everyone from Los Angeles to Boston, it is anticommunity.

In our welfare reform package, we not only encourage work. We demand it from able-bodied people. Those who can work will work.

Unlike the Democrats whose answer to work is temporary subsidized employment we give people the dignity of work.

Our package fights illegitimacy by not giving cash benefits to children having children. And let me preempt those who try to paint us as cruel or mean: Noncash benefits such as Medicare, Food Stamps and child care will continue, to ensure the child is cared for. But giving 15-year-olds cash payments so they can move out of their parents' home and into Government apartments or trailers, is the cruelest thing you could do to that young parent and their baby.

By encouraging independence and concentrating on keeping families together, we provide recipients dignity, opportunity, and hope. Three characteristics missing from the current system.

The other side of the aisle hold tight to their belief that Federal bureaucrats based here in Washington are somehow more compassionate, and more capable of caring for the needy. To hear them tell it, our communities, local governments, and Governors will starve the children and give the money to the rich. Drop the heated and false rhetoric and let go of the status quo.

Let us bring Government closer to home. The welfare needs in the Fourth District of Michigan are different from those in Detroit. Just as the needs in New York are different from those in Dallas. Let us give these communities the freedom and flexibility to create innovative new programs based on their specific needs. By cutting out the Federal middle-man, we can save 10 to 15 percent of administrative costs right off the bat.

We're not cutting welfare benefits; and in some cases we are increasing them. What we are cutting is bureaucracy and that is driving the defenders of big Government and redtape crazy.

By giving hope and opportunity, we again make welfare a safety net and a helping hand, not a life sentence to poverty.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MATSUI], a member of the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. MATSUI. I thank the ranking member for this time.

You know, it is very interesting. I heard during the debate on the rule the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. CASTLE] say there is really not much difference between the different bills we have before us. Second, he also said that this is just the first step of the legislative process so that any imperfections or flaws could be changed as we move along.

I might just have to make a couple of observations. First of all, there is a big difference between what the Democrats are proposing and what the Republicans are proposing.

For example, on the issue of work, the Republican proposal, all they do is

provide the same amount of resources currently existing in the system, they block grant it, send it to the States with very few restrictions or very few standards.

Well, how are you going to get people to work? We all know that in order to create jobs, in order to create people in the work force, you have to provide job training, you have to provide education, you have to provide day care and even transportation, because most of these people on welfare do not have cars. So you have to provide them bus tokens.

The Republican bill does not provide any of that.

Nevertheless they expect within 7 years to get 50 percent of the American people on welfare off of welfare to jobs. We know that is not going to happen. In fact, the reason the Republicans are making that proposal without any additional resources is because in 2 or 3 weeks on the floor of the House of Representatives we are going to be debating a tax bill. That tax bill will cut taxes by \$188 billion over 5 years, or \$640 billion over 10 years.

Bear in mind this is not going to go to the middle class. In fact, the top 1 percent of the taxpayers in America will get 20 percent of that tax cut, and those that make over \$100,000 a year will get 58 percent of that \$640 billion tax cut.

So this is not a program to move people from dependency to independence, from welfare to work.; this is a program basically to give tax cuts to the very wealthy. We knew they were going to do that when they took power on November 8, and they are doing it now. The American public should begin to realize that.

I might just conclude by making one final observation. We have a safety net in America. When a child is in an abused family, we put him either in foster care or provide adoption services to him. The Republicans are going to eliminate that program and block grant it. Those standards to the States—and you know the reason we had to do this in the first place was, in 1980, 1980, the States were doing such a terrible job with these children that we had to take over and set forth national standards. In fact, standards—little things, what they would call additional paperwork, things like providing medical records for the child when the child moves from one foster care family to another, or maybe the child's educational records.

That is what we are really talking about here. That is why this bill is mean-spirited and that is why this bill should not pass.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. MCCRERY], a member of the committee.

(Mr. MCCRERY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MCCRERY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Personal Responsibility Act, H.R. 4, but I rise particularly, Mr. Chairman, to discuss the portion of the bill dealing with SSI disability for children.

This program has experienced explosive growth over the past few years. Since 1989, both the costs of the program and the number of children qualifying for the program have tripled. Why? Two things: First, this is the most sought after welfare program in America. The average monthly cash benefit of about \$450 per child per month is the most generous cash payment in our welfare system. Second, a Supreme Court decision in 1989, the Zebley decision, radically liberalized the criteria under which children qualify for the program.

Besides the wasteful drain of taxpayer dollars, consider the harm this Federal program does to too many children. In testimony before a Federal commission studying this program, Dr. Bill Payne, a physician who oversees disability decisions in Arkansas, said, "There is no doubt in my mind that there are a lot of children that receive disability checks who are not really disabled at all."

Willie Lee Bell, principal of an elementary school in Lake Providence, LA, said students were refusing to perform academically so that they could qualify for disability checks. Mr. Bell told of a Lake Providence child who, prompted by a mother seeking SSI checks, fabricated a story of bizarre behavior so convincing that doctors committed him to a mental hospital, fearing that he was a threat to his family. A psychologist in another Louisiana Parish, Ray Owens, also said that parents were coaching children to do poorly, saying "The children are being doomed to failure."

Mr. Chairman, this is an abused program which begs for reform. Thankfully, some Democrats have also recognized the need for reform. I want to thank Mr. KLECZKA and Mrs. LINCOLN, particularly, for their assistance in researching the problems in this program and in helping to craft a thoughtful response to those problems.

The solution to the explosion in the growth of this program, Mr. Chairman, and to the harm it is doing to otherwise healthy children, is to overturn the Zebley decision, and to offer cash payments to only the most severely disabled children who, absent the cash assistance, would have to be institutionalized. For other, less severely disabled children, we will provide medical and nonmedical services designed to cope with the child's disability. These changes in SSI disability for children will restore integrity to this out of control Federal program, while providing even more helpful resources to the most severely disabled children in need.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. CARDIN], a member of the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. CARDIN. I thank the ranking member for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, both Democrats and Republicans want to end the welfare system as we know it today. Both Democrats and Republicans understand the need to enact new legislation.

But there is a major difference on how the Democrats and Republicans want to proceed on ending our current welfare system. The Democrats want to require work, to get people off of welfare, to work. The Republicans reward States for doing nothing.

The requirements on the States under the Republican bill states that they are successful if they get a person off welfare even if that person does not become employed, even if that person becomes a ward of local government. The Republican bill rewards the States.

The Republican bill is weak on work. The Democrat bill is tough on work.

Both Democrats and Republicans establish national standards the States must meet in order to participate. Make no mistake about it. It may be a block grant, but the States still have requirements they must meet. The Republican bill micromanages the plans of the States by requiring the States to meet certain tests as they relate to teenage moms, how the States handle family caps.

The Democrats establish national standards on work. It requires the individual able-bodied person to work. It requires the States to have programs so that people can work.

The Republican bill does not provide the resources to the local governments. Even though H.R. 5 did, there was a change made. The Republicans all of a sudden needed some money for a tax cut. So they cut the program even though they know it is needed. The Democratic bill provides the resources so the States can provide the programs to get people back to work. That is, day care, health care benefits so that welfare people can work. The Republican bill dumps the problems on local governments.

We have a clear choice. The Republican bill gets people off of welfare, the Democratic bill gets people off of welfare. The Republican bill gets the people off welfare to nowhere; the Democratic bill gets people off welfare to work.

We are going to have a chance to come together, Democrats and Republicans, during this debate. It is called the Deal substitute, sponsored by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DEAL]. It is an opportunity for us all to come together on a bill that is tough on work, gets people off of welfare but gets them to work, rather than becoming a ward of our local governments. I urge my colleagues to support the bill that will be offered by the gentleman from Georgia, Congressman DEAL.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. ZIMMER], a member of the committee.

(Mr. ZIMMER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ZIMMER. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, as we debate the Personal Responsibility Act, I hope we do not lose sight, in all of the rhetoric, of why we are here in the first place. We are not here because restructuring welfare will save Federal dollars, even though a bankrupt Nation cannot feed its children or protect its needy. We are here because welfare as we know it is an unmitigated failure and, if we do not uproot it, we will condemn literally millions of children to a life without hope and without access to the American dream.

□ 1645

The Personal Responsibility Act is not a perfect document. But it reflects the determination and courage of a new majority to address a critical problem that, until now, has simply not been a priority for Congress.

What it proposes is very straightforward:

It asks that people assume ownership of their own lives and not always expect others to pay for their mistakes.

It asks that parents be parents and that both mothers and fathers take responsibility for the children they have brought into the world.

And it asks that we, as a society, reestablish certain values that we agree must guide us—including both compassion and individual responsibility.

What the Personal Responsibility Act does not do is perpetuate three mistakes that have made the current system such a disaster: First, it does not assume that simply pumping more money into a failed system will make it work.

Second, it does not assume that patchwork efforts such as demonstration projects and pilot programs, which have taken the place of reform in the past, will add up to real reform. It proposes systemic reform instead.

Third, it does not assume that Washington knows what is best for everyone. Rather it restores to the States the power to make decisions about the needs of their own people.

No one can guarantee that welfare programs run by States will outperform those run by Federal bureaucrats, and that unknown is what has caused much of the apprehension about this bill, I think. But one thing I do know is that no State can mess up welfare as badly as the Federal Government has done. It is time to let innovation by the States take hold and give it a chance, and it has begun to succeed in many States, including my own State of New Jersey.

There are millions of men, women, and children now receiving welfare in our country. Among them are countless families who are now trapped in a

system that was supposed to help free them and countless individuals who have been forced to trade self-reliance and self-respect for dependency as the price for receiving help.

Mr. Chairman, we can do better, a lot better. We must do better, and that is why the Personal Responsibility Act is before us today.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS], a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to this mean-spirited Republican bill. It is cruel. It is wrong. It is down right low down.

The Republican welfare proposal destroys the safety net that protects our Nation's children, elderly, and disabled. It is an angry proposal, a proposal devoid of compassion, and feeling.

Hubert Humphrey once said that "the moral test of government is how that government treats those who are in the dawn of life—the children; those who are in twilight of life—the elderly, and those who are in the shadow of life—the sick, the needy, and the handicapped."

Mr. Chairman, this welfare proposal attacks each and every one of these groups. It takes money out of the pockets of the disabled. It takes heat from the homes of the poor. It takes food out of the mouths of the children.

I am reminded of a quote by the great theologian, Martin Niemoller, during World War II:

In Germany, they came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up.

Mr. Chairman, this Republican proposal certainly isn't the Holocaust. But I am concerned, and I must speak up.

I urge my colleagues, open your eyes. Read the proposal. Read the small print. Read the Republican contract.

They are coming for the children. They are coming for the poor. They are coming for the sick, the elderly, and the disabled. This is the Contract With America.

I say to my colleagues—you have the ability, the capacity, the power—to stop this onslaught. Your voice is your vote. Vote against this mean-spirited proposal; raise your voice for the children, the poor, and the disabled.

A famous rabbi, Rabbi Hillel, once asked, "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? But if I am only for myself, what am I?"

What am I, Mr. Chairman?

I am for those in the dawn of life, the children. I am for those in the twilight of life, the elderly. I am for those in the shadow of life, the sick, the needy and the handicapped.

Yes, I am proud to be a liberal Democrat. I stand with the people and not for corporate interests.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 seconds.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say to the gentleman on the floor, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LEWIS]. There is no one in this House that I have had more respect for than you. But for you to come on this floor and compare the Republicans to the reign of the Nazis is an absolute outrage, and I'm surprised that anybody with your distinguished background would dare to do such a horrible thing.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would tell the visitors in the gallery that, while we welcome you to enjoy these proceedings, you are not supposed to be involved in them, and, any more applause, and we will have to empty the galleries.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 seconds.

Mr. Chairman, I can only repeat the old truth: "Sometimes the truth hurts."

Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. CLEMENT].

(Mr. CLEMENT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Chairman, I believe restoring American's trust in government is the single greatest challenge facing this Congress. The American people are perilously close to losing their faith in this institution and its Members' ability to effectively govern.

The American people feel we have been too consumed with preserving and promoting government rather than the will and liberties of the governed. Many have come to feel that the Washington Beltway which encircles this capital city has become a physical barrier to real change.

One need look no further than our welfare system to find an illustration of the disconnect between the people and their government. Reforming welfare is not a revolutionary idea. Reform has been kicked around for more than a decade.

I would say, Mr. Chairman, that one would be hard pressed to find anyone who does not support the idea of welfare reform. In fact, one could almost be so bold as to assert that there is unanimous support for welfare reform.

Thus, the need for welfare reform is not in dispute. The issue which this House must resolve over the next few days is which direction do we head, how far do we go, and which is the best way to get there.

Some look at welfare and see a system which penalizes marriage and robs individuals of their initiative, motivation, and self-esteem. They contend that recipients are not opposed to work and would love to work but the current

system is too bureaucratic, too oppressive, and prevents recipients from working. They feel that welfare can be transformed and recipients can be given new life if the Federal, State, and local governments will only remove the obstacles to work, empower the people, and provide the means and tools by which recipients can become self-sufficient.

But, there are an equal number who feel that the current system is built on the notion of getting something for nothing, that the system is plagued with fraud and abuse, and leaves them wondering why their hard-earned dollars continue to support this bureaucratic nightmare. They support tough measures that require recipients to do something to get benefits. They feel that the solution lies in turning the welfare programs over to the States with little or no influence by the Federal Government.

The States, cities, localities, and counties which administer welfare programs argue that they are faced with the prospect of providing to a growing population while dealing with inflexible rules and regulations and a chronically insufficient supply of funds.

And what do I see?—I see all these things.

Government has failed! Something must be done.

I believe that neither argument is entirely right or wrong and that on the whole these arguments all have merit. That is why I joined five of my colleagues in drafting a bill of our own. We sought the middle ground, a truly centrist position, a compromise between these diverse schools of thought. I believe that we have achieved our goal.

We will bring a substitute, known as the Deal substitute, which will not simply reform the current system but replace it with a partnership of mutual responsibility.

Our proposal is based on three fundamental principles: Work, individual responsibility, and State flexibility.

The cornerstone of our plan is work. Our substitute places an emphasis on moving recipients into the private sector as soon as possible, includes real work requirements, and fulfills the pledge that recipients must be working. We require recipients to complete a minimum number of hours of work or work-related activity each week to receive benefits. We deny benefits to any recipient who refuses a job or refuses to look for a job. And in exchange, we remove all incentives which make welfare more attractive than work and remove the biggest barriers to work—health care and child care. In short, we guarantee recipients that if they will go to work we will provide the money and take all the necessary steps to ensure that recipients have a real opportunity to become self-sufficient.

Our second principle, individual responsibility, is based on the notion of tough love. I have two beautiful daughters. Elizabeth who is 13 and Rachel

who is 11. My wife and I love our daughters dearly and have tried to instill good values in them. We have taught them the difference between right and wrong and trust they will make the right decisions. And we make every effort to nurture them and see that each receives the attention and encouragement they need. But, as every parent knows, no matter what you do, there comes a time when your children must be disciplined. Elizabeth and Rachel know that we have rules which must be followed, and that my wife and I have certain expectations of them. They also know that they will be held accountable if these guidelines are not adhered to.

Our bill takes this same approach. We make every effort possible to ensure that each recipient has a real opportunity to return to the work force permanently. In return, we ensure that they are aware that there are specific expectations of them and that they will be held accountable for their actions and disciplined when necessary.

Specifically, every recipient must sign an individualized contract designed to move them into the work force. Each recipient must complete 30 hours of work and 5 hours in job search during the Work First Program and 35 hours of work and 5 hours of job search during Workfare. Minor parents will be denied public housing and must live at home with a parent or responsible guardian. And, States would have the option of implementing a family cap. If recipients fail to meet any of these requirements, they will have violated the agreement and the partnership will be terminated. We don't just stop with recipients—we also include strong child support enforcement provision which will require noncustodial parents to live up to their responsibilities.

Our third principle reaffirms our belief that it is not the Federal Government but the frontline administrators of these programs which best know the needs in their respective States and localities. For this reason we give the program back to the States. But, unlike other proposals, we do not simply shift the burden to the States and run away. We believe that as it is a federally mandated program, the Federal Government has a responsibility to ensure that the States have someone to turn to for support and assistance. Our bill includes general criteria to guide the States in developing their work programs; however, beyond the broad criteria, States are given a tremendous amount of flexibility.

For example, under our substitute, States would have the flexibility to develop programs to move individuals into work, flexibility in funding, the freedom to pursue innovative approaches and we consolidate and coordinate programs to give States more latitude.

But we do not stop there. In addition to work, responsibility and State flexibility, we also eliminate the fraud and abuse in the Food Stamps Program,

make work pay, consolidate and strengthen existing child care and health care, making these services available to more individuals. We streamline and reduce the bureaucracy by allowing States to circumvent the burdensome waiver process. We eliminate SSI for drug addicts and alcoholics. We reform and revise SSI for children in a fair and equitable manner which eliminates the fraud and abuse, controls growth, and ensures due process for each and every child currently on the rolls, ensuring that no qualifying child loses benefits.

We have a wonderful opportunity to make a real difference in the lives of thousands of individuals. The President, the Congress, and the person on the street all agree that the current system is not working.

Mr. Chairman, in short, our substitute is a responsible, workable approach which maintains the Federal responsibility without simply shifting the burden to the States. Recipients will be required to work for benefits, but there is an absolute time limit for receipt of these benefits. Our plan provides the best opportunity for welfare recipients to become productive members of the work force. We provide States with the resources necessary to provide this opportunity without incurring an additional fiscal burden.

I would remind my colleagues that the American people are watching. They are skeptical. Welfare reform provides a real opportunity to make meaningful changes and demonstrate to them that we can still govern effectively. We must not allow this golden opportunity to pass us by—to do so would be a tragedy.

I for one intend to support the only responsible welfare reform bill and urge my colleagues to do the same—support the Deal substitute.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Washington State [Mr. McDERMOTT], a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Chairman, three times in the Gospel the story is told about our Lord, the children being brought to him, and the story is, of course, that the parents are trying to bring the kids to Christ, and Christ said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me as long as your mother is over 18 and she's married."

Now, Mr. Chairman, my colleagues know that is not true, and this bill is the most cruel and shortsighted view in public policy I have seen in 25 years. The first 2 years of life are the years when children develop what they are going to be for the rest of their life. I say,

If you don't take care of them with Medicaid, if you don't take care of them with health care and food supplements during that period of time, you doom them to a life of difficulties in this society.

Mr. Chairman, many of our Republican colleagues would like us to believe that most welfare recipients get on welfare because they do not want to

work, and they stay on because welfare recipients are just being lazy. I think it is just the opposite. I think most people get on welfare due to unforeseen circumstances, and those that remain do so not because they are lazy, but because they are not smart enough to know—they are smart enough to know it is not the best option for them. Welfare recipients know their option. They know if they work, even with the earned income tax credit, that just does not make it.

Let me lay out the example:

A young woman with three kids goes out and gets a job at a gas station making the minimum wage, \$4.25 an hour. She works all year. She makes \$8,500. With the earned income tax credit on top of that, of \$3,000, she makes about \$11,500. The poverty line in this country established by the government and accepted by all for a family of four in 1995 is \$15,000. Now that is \$3,500 more than she makes. If she works the whole year, she will have 75 percent of the poverty line. She will not have health care benefits. She will not have day care.

Mr. Chairman, to say to her, "Leave your kids at home, lady; go on out, and get a job, and don't have a chance to take your kids to the doctor," simply is not a reasonable thing to expect of anybody.

Now this situation is not unusual. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Mr. Chairman, 4.2 million people in this country, paid by the hour, earn at below the minimum wage. Furthermore, the percentage of working families that are poor has risen. In 1976 the percentage of families with children that had a parent working that was below the poverty line was 8 percent. In 1993, Mr. Chairman, it is up to 11 percent.

Now the Republican response in this bill? This bill is a bad bill as it sits here, responds to that situation to make welfare look so mean and so severe that makes working full time at 75 percent of poverty look like a good deal. I think that instead of making welfare tougher we should make welfare or work pay. That means we have to raise the minimum wage.

Mr. Chairman, I would oppose the bill as it stands.

□ 1700

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. SAM JOHNSON, a member of the committee.

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 4 because I think after 30 years and \$5 trillion, the taxpayers and welfare recipients deserve better. We need fundamental changes. We need a system that does not trap welfare recipients in an endless cycle of dependency.

I cannot believe that Members can come to this floor and say this bill is cruel or mean-spirited. It is those who protect the current system that are cruel. They believe that bureaucrats administering a one-size program that

fits all know how to run a system better than State and local communities.

The bill is tough, but it is fair, and we ask those on welfare to work in return for benefits. We insist fathers live up to their responsibilities, and we quit giving cash to those who continue to have children while on welfare. We ask families and people to be more responsible, be responsible Americans. That is not cruel, that is true compassion.

I also want to set the record straight on funding. Under this bill we increase funding, we increase funding, I want to repeat, we increase funding. Look at this chart. CBO baseline spending goes up over the next 5 years. We are increasing spending, according to CBO estimates, \$1.2 trillion over the next 5 years, helping people escape the welfare trap.

You know the difference in those two lines? Earlier estimates said we were going to raise spending 53 percent. You know what? We are doing what the American people wanted us to do, and that is reduce spending. We are cutting the increase to 42 percent. Goodness gracious. If you cannot stand a 42-percent increase in spending, if your own budget could stand that, I defy you to say there is something wrong with that. We are not taking money away from anybody. We are increasing as the need requires.

This bill targets money to the most needy, gives the States the ability to create their own solution. This bill is fair. It is real reform. Talk is cheap. The Democrats have proven that.

It is time to act. It is time to repeal and reform the welfare program. Vote against big government, and let us help Americans help themselves to have a better future.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 20 seconds.

Mr. Chairman, please do not take the chart away. Let me point out what is wrong with it. It does not take into consideration inflation that is endemic in the American economic system. It does not take into consideration growth in population. That chart is just useless.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. COYNE], a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. COYNE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to the welfare reform package brought to the floor today by the Republican majority.

This mean-spirited attack on children and poor families in America fails every test of true welfare reform.

The Republican bill is tough on children and weak on work. This plan will punish children who happen to be born into poverty. At the same time, this plan cuts child care funding and other programs that are essential if an adult on welfare is to get a job and leave the welfare rolls.

Instead of fixing welfare and moving Americans from welfare to work, the

Republican bill is simply an exercise in cutting programs that serve children, the disabled, and families living in poverty.

What can possibly be the motive for launching such a cruel attack on the children of America? The answer is the Republican majority will cut programs for the poor to provide tax cuts for the wealthy. Cuts in child care, school lunches, and programs for the poor will be used to finance tax breaks like the capital gains tax cut. We are literally short-changing America's children to give tax breaks to individuals with incomes over \$100,000 a year.

The Republican bill will punish over 15 million innocent American children. It would punish children who are born out-of-wedlock to a mother under the age of 18. It punishes any child who happens to be born to a family already on welfare. This bill does not guarantee that a child will have safe child care when their parents work. It cuts SSI benefits to over 680,000 disabled children. Under this bill, State accountability for the death of a child is limited simply to reporting the child's death. Finally, this bill adds to the injuries of abused and neglected children by cutting \$2 billion from Federal programs to care for these children.

Americans must ask what will happen to these children? The result, without a question will be an increase in the number of children who go to bed hungry.

The Republican bill will increase the risk of a child in poverty suffering from abuse and neglect. And yes, the result will be that some mothers who want to give birth to a child will be pushed to consider ending their pregnancy.

The Republican bill is a cruel attack on America's children but it also fails to provide the essential tools needed by parents who want to move from welfare to work. A mother who takes a minimum wage job can only do so if she has access to safe child care. Unfortunately, this bill will cut Federal funds for child care by 25 percent in the year 2000. This means that over 400,000 fewer children will receive Federal child care assistance. Pennsylvania alone will lose \$25.7 million in Federal child care assistance funding by the year 2000. That means that over 15,000 children in Pennsylvania will be denied Federal assistance for safe child care.

The legislation will result in America's poor children being left home alone. Mothers who are required by the State to work will no longer be guaranteed child care. States that seek to provide child-care assistance will have to make up for Federal child care cuts by raiding other State programs or increasing State taxes.

Again, the Republican bill is tough on children and weak on work. It allows States to push a person off the welfare rolls and then count that person toward meeting the Republican's so-called work requirement. There is no requirement for education, training, and support services for individuals who need help moving from welfare to a job. In fact, nearly \$10 billion for job training programs have been cut from the first Republican welfare plan. Apparently these funds were needed more to pay for tax cuts for upper income Americans.

Mr. Chairman, the Republican plan is not welfare reform. It is a cruel attack on children that fails to solve the welfare mess. I urge that the House reject the Republican plan.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Washington [Ms. DUNN], a member of the committee.

Ms. DUNN of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, today we have a great opportunity, an opportunity to overhaul a welfare system that is currently failing millions of Americans, an opportunity to restructure the welfare program to work effectively, and, I believe, with lots of thoughtfulness, to work compassionately.

Over the last few months, members of the Committee on Ways and Means have heard from hundreds of witnesses from President Clinton's Secretary of Health and Human Services to many of the mothers who live on welfare. Every witness, Republican, Democrat, liberal, conservative, every single one of them has told us that the current welfare system is an unmitigated disaster.

Yet during these days as we work hard to redesign this system, I continue to be disappointed by the tone of the opposition's rhetoric. Opponents of this bill assert that the reform-minded Republicans want to change the welfare bill only to save money, regardless of how it would affect the poor.

Make no mistake, Mr. Chairman, our changes save money, nearly \$67 billion over 5 years. But to my friends who say that these savings will help the poor, I ask, how much good has the \$5 trillion that we have spent in the last 30 years on the welfare program done to solve or even lessen America's poverty?

Could it be that it is not the amount of money that we are spending that is wrong, but rather the way in which we spend it? To the liberals in Congress, I salute your intentions. You, too, want to help the poor, those people who truly do need our help. But the welfare system you built is a failure.

The welfare mothers whom I met with last weekend in my district at a Head Start meeting told me that the welfare system, or AFDC, is a negative system that pulls people down and robs them of their self-esteem, and too often devalues them and their ability to be productive members of our community.

Today we begin the process of lifting the weight of the old welfare system from the backs of America's poor, the reevolution of America's welfare systems. We are removing the perverse incentives that encourage people to go on to welfare and, once they are on there, that capture them and keep them on an endless cycle of dependency of government.

The status quo fosters government dependency while our proposal fosters personal responsibility. And it provides the hope of work and the promise of self-respect. We want to give people self-respect. We want to restore their self-esteem through the dignity of

holding a job. We want to provide them with day-care and medical benefits that can help them again become productive citizens of our society.

Mr. Chairman, we are a nation of great wealth and compassion, but we are neither compassionate nor wise when we spend \$5 trillion over 30 years and still allow so many Americans to remain trapped in this endless and hopeless cycle of poverty. It is lunacy to continue with the liberal welfare system that promises only the likelihood of a life with more crime, less education, and lifelong government dependency.

Mr. Chairman, I have no doubt by the end of this week we will pass a bill that offers people a hand up and out. And to my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, this week we have the opportunity to truly end welfare as we know it.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. KENNELLY] a member of the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mrs. KENNELLY. Mr. Chairman, whatever we do in welfare reform, there are some things we should not do. And one thing we should not do is dismantle the nutrition programs that are working so well around the country.

H.R. 4 would eliminate the School Lunch Program and other nutrition programs, replacing them with block grants. Proponents keep saying this will not make a difference.

But if they are right, then why do the child care and child nutrition block grants have a 5-year change that picks up \$11.8 billion? Something has to change, and I am afraid that it will be the whole point of the program—its nutritional value.

The same goes for food stamps. This country has been blessed with abundant farm land. It has been said we could feed the world. With the suggested changes in welfare and other budget changes such as the elimination of more than \$7 billion in fuel assistance program and more than \$2 billion in low-income housing, food stamps become more important.

Yes, we should get rid of waste and fraud. Yes, we should prosecute those who traffic in food stamps. But do not take food stamps away from those who need them.

Changes such as eliminating benefits for children born out of wedlock and their mothers make food stamps more important for a healthy child. If people lose benefits and can't find a job, food stamps are important.

Let's not risk our children's health and education by enacting a cut-and-run nutritional block grant to replace a successful Federal nutritional program.

Also, let us not get rid of national standards. In the School Lunch Program, the elimination of standards put

at risk the whole point of the program—providing nutritional meals.

And I am very worried about the elimination of minimal standards in child welfare programs, which will be even more underfunded and overburdened if these block grants happen and could mean increased numbers of abused children.

Minimal Federal standards have been adopted in the past because we believe there is a national interest in protecting children. Let us not forget that important point in the rush to pass welfare reform.

I strongly suspect H.R. 4 started off in the right direction when it was first conceived. I am sure that there were substantive conversations about the need for child care, training, and work.

But it is no surprise that those deliberations changed when it was realized that real welfare reform is very hard to do. It is certainly much easier just to send the entire problem back to the States and take the \$64 billion in savings and use them off the top to pay for tax cuts.

I am also worried about taking children off disability. Yes, there has been abuse, particularly in Arkansas and Louisiana, but fix the abuse. When I read the bill, it takes 250,000 off the rolls. There were not 250,000 abusers. God help the family that has a truly disabled child.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH], a member of the committee.

Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 4, the Family Responsibility Act, and I urge my colleagues to support it. I urge them to vote in supporting it, to reduce dependency, to slash bureaucracy, to promote personal responsibility, and to strengthen families.

Our legislation maintains the safety net for the poor, but in reforming the welfare system, it will sound the death knell for the failed liberal welfare state.

Our bill is a mainstream approach, and I urge Members not to be deluded by the harsh, partisan, intemperate rhetoric they have heard here today. Our bill is tough on bureaucracy, not on kids. Our bill is cruel to the status quo, not the under class.

I heard my colleague from Michigan characterize this bill as extreme. Perhaps in Washington it is considered extreme to give power to the States instead of elevating the HHS bureaucracy. But this I believe is a mainstream proposal. It is also a compassionate proposal.

□ 1715

The current welfare system is not compassionate and we need to stop measuring compassion by how many checks we cut, by how many bureaucrats we employ, by the size of our appropriations. Instead, we need to start measuring compassion by how few people are on AFDC and on welfare and on food stamps and by the access every

child has to hope, to independence, and to opportunity.

We have offered here, in my view, a tough love approach to welfare reform. It is a sound one. Our reform plan has a tough work requirement that will reintroduce many families to the dignity of work. Our bill stops subsidizing out-of-wedlock births. Our bill establishes real time limits to welfare, 2 years, and then up to 5 years, if someone stays in a work program. And talking to people in my district, they feel those time limits are fair.

Our bill cracks down on deadbeat dads with tough new child support enforcement. Our bill links welfare rights to community responsibilities and cuts bureaucracy, consolidating a Byzantine maze of Federal welfare programs into four flexible block grants.

Our legislation bars cash to unwed parents but it provides other services to those parents. And our bill guarantees funding to the States so that they will be able to provide those services.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 seconds to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FORD].

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania talked about the Republican bill, H.R. 4, having these tough work requirements. I just want to know, what page are these tough work requirements on in this bill? We need to see them.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. PAYNE], a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. PAYNE of Virginia. Mr. Chairman, Republicans and Democrats alike agree that the current welfare system does not work. Instead of requiring work, it punishes those who go to work. And instead of instilling personal responsibility, it encourages dependence on the Government; instead of encouraging marriage and family stability, it penalizes two-parent families and rewards teenage pregnancies. We all agree that welfare must be drastically changed and that welfare should only offer transitional assistance leading to work and not a way of life.

That is why I wish to speak on behalf of the Deal substitute to the Republican bill, because we, the cosponsors of the Deal substitute, are committed to making major changes in our Nation's welfare system.

We support welfare reform that emphasizes work, personal responsibility, and family stability. The Deal substitute imposes tough work requirements while providing opportunities for education, training, child care, and health care to support working people.

It provides States with the resources necessary for welfare reform to succeed without shifting costs to local governments or requiring unfunded mandates. And it gives States the flexibility to design and administer the welfare programs they need without sacrificing accountability to the Nation's taxpayers.

Real welfare reform must be about replacing the welfare check with a paycheck. The Deal substitute's time-limited work first program is designed to get people into the work force as quickly as possible, requiring all recipients to enter into a self-sufficiency plan within 30 days of receiving benefits.

The Republican welfare reform bill allows recipients to receive cash benefits for up to 2 years before they are required to work or even to look for work.

The Deal substitute provides the necessary resources for welfare recipients to become self-sufficient, but it also requires recipients to be responsible for their own actions by setting clear time limits on benefits. And no benefit will be paid to anyone who refuses to work, who refuses to look for work, or who turns down a job.

In addition to making individuals responsible for their own welfare, we demand that both parents must be responsible for their children. The sponsors of the Deal substitute recognize that in order to reform welfare, States must have the flexibility to design and administer welfare programs tailored to their unique needs and their own circumstances.

We believe that the States should not have to go through a cumbersome Federal waiver process in order to implement innovative ideas in their welfare programs. So the Deal substitute establishes the Federal model for the work first program.

I believe the Deal substitute is the only welfare bill which gives the American people what they really want, and I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. ENSIGN], a member of the committee.

(Mr. ENSIGN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. Chairman, one of the most difficult tasks to perform in the Federal Government is to propose fundamental change to a Federal program. The most difficult task is actually to go about making this change law. A Federal program is like a huge cargo ship. As long as the ship is slowly laboring ahead on a set course, it may operate relatively well. When the time comes to change course, however, the size and speed of the vessel create tremendous momentum making the change of course difficult.

Of course, the longer that change is delayed, the more off course the ship gets, requiring more significant and more difficult and painful changes.

The other night on CBS, there was a welfare documentary. Dan Rather, who is not exactly known for his conservative thoughts, was the host of that documentary. And I found it very interesting.

There was a single mom. She was in a wheelchair, making \$15,000 a year.

They interviewed her. And she questioned why someone should be receiving welfare when she worked. She was in a wheelchair. She worked making \$15,000 a year. Her health care was not provided for her, and she resented her tax dollars going for somebody else to be on welfare.

The interviewed another young woman who had gotten off of welfare into work. And the pride that she now took of having her young children see her go every day into work.

I grew up with a single mom. There were three of us at home. My father provided no child support when I was young. And I watched my mom get up every day and go to work. That is what we need in this country is to have children watching their parents go to work on a daily basis.

This welfare reform bill will help ensure that people go to work.

During that same program that Dan Rather hosted, they had two welfare moms on that program. And they asked them, if you knew that your welfare payments were going to stop in a couple years, what would you do? The response was immediate, both of them said, well, I would go out and get a job.

We had testimony in front of the human resources subcommittee from a woman who counsels welfare recipients. She asks every one of her classes, what would you do if you knew that your welfare payments would end tomorrow? Every single one of them in her classes respond by saying, I would go get a job.

People say that the work requirements are not tough in this bill. Well, I am sorry, but I think that they are. If after 5 years you can no longer get any kind of welfare benefits, I think that that is a pretty tough work requirement, because work is a lot better than going hungry.

I rise in support and urge my colleagues to support H.R. 4.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BREWSTER], who until this last election was a member of the Committee on Ways and Means but has to withdraw because of the ratio.

(Mr. BREWSTER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, and ask my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support the Deal substitute.

I want to commend my colleagues for developing a comprehensive welfare reform proposal which I believe is the only real alternative for replacing the welfare check with a paycheck. I am a strong advocate for welfare reform. Unfortunately, our current system rewards beneficiaries for staying on welfare.

Welfare recipients are often penalized when they get a job because they often have less money than they had while on welfare.

The Deal substitute guarantees that those who can work will work. The substitute ensures that a welfare recipient is better off economically by taking a job than by remaining on welfare.

The substitute provides transitional assistance in health care and child care, and it also improves outreach efforts to ensure that both recipients and employers make use of the earned income tax credit.

I would urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support the Deal substitute.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS], a most important and valuable member of the majority in putting together this bill and one of the first advocates for the block grant approach.

Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I am so pleased to be able to support this welfare reforms bill, the Personal Responsibility Act. I believe that welfare reform is simply the most important issue facing our country today. Welfare reform must be done. We all know this. And I would like to talk today for just a minute about the incentive nature of the current program.

Within the next 5 years, if we do nothing and continue our growth rate as it has been, over 80 percent of minority children and 40 percent of all children in this country will be born out of wedlock. Unmarried women who bear children out of wedlock before finishing high school are far more likely to go on welfare and stay there for at least 8 years. That is why more than 2 years ago, I began pushing to end cash benefits to teenagers who have a child out of wedlock because what had started as a helping program had become an incentive.

For the past 30 years our welfare system has sent a message to young women that the Federal Government will make it okay. If you have a child out of wedlock, the Government will give you \$500 a month AFDC, \$300 a month food stamps, pay all your medical bills. In many cases, find you a place to live and pay for it. In many cases, send you to a job training program or even a college, pay for your child care and your transportation.

This bill is not cruel and mean spirited. What is really cruel is the current incentive that pulls young women into the system and holds them forever in this cruel trap. That is mean spirited. That is cruel to both young women and their children.

We should continue our commitment to the vulnerable and the needy, but it is high time our Federal welfare policies reflected that goal.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER].

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, the current welfare system is at odds with the care values Americans share: work, opportunity, family, and responsibility.

Too many people who hate being on welfare are trying to escape it—with too little success.

It is time for a fundamental change.

Instead of strengthening families and instilling personal responsibility, the system penalizes two parent families, and lets too many absent parents who owe child support off the hook.

Our society can not—and should not—afford a social welfare system without obligations.

It is long past time to “end welfare as we know it.”

We need to move beyond political rhetoric, and offer a simple compact that provides people more opportunity in return for more responsibility.

I have a few commonsense criteria which any welfare plan must meet to get my vote.

It must require all able-bodied recipients to work for their benefits.

It must require teenage mothers to live at home or other supervised setting.

It must create a child support enforcement system with teeth so that deadbeat parents support their children.

It must establish a time limit so that welfare benefits are only a temporary means of support.

It must be tough on those who have defrauded the system—but not on innocent children.

And it must give States flexibility to shape their welfare system to their needs, while upholding the important national objectives I have just listed.

The Republican bill fails to meet these criteria.

The Republican bill is weak on work.

It only requires 4 percent participation in fiscal year 1996, far below the current rate established under the 1988 Family Support Act.

It is outrageous that any new work requirement would fall below current law.

The Republican bill denies benefits to children of mothers under 18.

We must make parents—all parents—responsible for taking care of their own children.

But denying children support is not the best way to do that.

Instead, teenagers should be required to demonstrate responsibility by living at home and staying in school in order to receive assistance.

The Republican bill is tougher on children than it is on the deadbeat dads who leave them behind.

The Republicans waited until the last moment to put child support enforcement provisions in their bill—and then removed the teeth that can bring in more than \$2.5 billion (over 10 years) for kids.

Instead of attacking deadbeats, the Republican bill attacks children.

It eliminates the guarantee that every child in this country has at least one good meal a day.

Despite rhetoric to the contrary, the Republican bill cuts spending for child nutrition programs \$7 billion below the

funding that would be provided by current law.

Instead, kids' food money will be used for tax cuts for the rich.

Funding for the Women, Infants and Children Program is also reduced—and provisions requiring competitive bidding on baby formula have been removed.

That decision alone will take \$1 billion of food out of the mouths of children each year, and put the money in the pockets of big business.

This simply defies common sense.

No one in America could possibly argue that this is reform.

At a time when the need for foster care, group homes, and adoption is likely to rise dramatically, the Republican welfare plan would cut Federal support for foster care and adoption by \$4 billion over 5 years.

We can do better.

We must do better.

This week, Democrats will offer NATHAN DEAL's bill as a substitute, which reinforces the family values all Americans share.

It gives people access to the skills they need, and expects work in return.

It does not wage war on America's children.

Most importantly, it is a common-sense approach, which gives back the dignity that comes with work, personal responsibility, and independence.

□ 1730

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. TALENT], who has been very active in the preparation of H.R. 4.

Mr. TALENT. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, today we enter on an historic debate about a bill that will replace a failed welfare system with a system that is based on marriage, on family, on responsibility, and on work. I want to address in my remarks now, and I am sure it will come up later as well, the whole issue of work.

There have been past welfare reform bills which have purported to be workfare bills. The 1988 bill, which was a bipartisan bill, purported to be a workfare bill. Everybody was going to work under the bill. Six years later we have less than 1 percent of the case load working.

People need to understand what work has meant in the past to people who have really been defending the status quo. It has been an excuse for vast new expansions of the welfare state, constructing vast new bureaucracies, and nobody ends up working, but they will tell you that *x* percent of the case load is working.

What they do not tell you is that they exempt up front a huge percentage of the case loads from the workfare requirements, so if they say 50 percent of the people who are working, they have already exempted 80 percent or 90 percent of the people from the beginning.

The key to an honest workfare requirement, and our bill has that, is that it talks about percentages of the total case load. When we say 50 percent of the welfare case load is going to be working by the beginning of the next century, it means 50 percent of the people are going to be working by the beginning of the next century, and it means they are going to be working. They are not going to be looking for a job an hour a week, they are not going to be sitting in a class that somebody calls education, they are going to be working. That is the standard that we need to measure work everywhere throughout this debate.

Mr. Chairman, the substitute offered by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DEAL], and I appreciate his efforts in this regard, is flawed in several important respects. For one thing, he defines work as job search, so people can be classified as working under his bill, even though they are not working, they are searching for a job.

The States will presumably be given the authority to define that. That is part of the problem that we had in the past. He counts toward meeting the work participation requirements, people who normally move off of welfare anyway. In any given year there is like half a million people who will move off welfare, at least temporarily.

My understanding of the gentleman's substitute is that it permits those people to be counted by the States toward meeting the participation requirements. They would get off welfare anyway, at least temporarily. If you are going to do that, you need to count the net increase of people who are getting off welfare because of work.

We are going to go into this in a lot more detail in the days to come, Mr. Chairman. The point I want to make about work is that it has to be an honest work requirement, people working, people actually working, not looking for a job, not consuming an enormous amount of the taxpayers' money to be trained for some kind of vice president's job, but working.

There are a number of States that are already doing that. It is very effective in introducing the dignity of work into those families. It is effective in moving those people who are almost employable off of the welfare rolls and into work. That is how we ought to measure the success of the program.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FORD].

Mr. FORD. Mr. Chairman, on page 26 of the Personal Responsibility Act, the work activities under the Republican bill, one of the things the gentleman has talked about, the Deal bill, the job search, is a part of that bill as well.

Members on the gentleman's side roll people off the welfare rolls but they go out with no job. There are absolutely no jobs at all. I need to just find out where it is in H.R. 4 that all these jobs will take place.

Mr. TALENT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. TALENT. Mr. Chairman, that is why our bill, and as the gentleman will recall, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON], and I wrote this language in the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, that is why our bill focuses the work requirements on people on welfare who are closest to employability. Two-parent AFDC families, parents with school age children or above, those people can go to work.

Mr. FORD. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Chairman, the vast majority of people on welfare are single mothers on welfare. The two-parent family component is something that the gentleman addresses, but the participation level at 50 percent by the year 2002 will not send anyone into the work force.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. NEAL], a member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I have served as chairman, co-chairman of a task force here in the House, on the Democratic side, in support of reforming the current welfare system. I think we can all agree today that the current system ill serves the taxpayer and ill serves the beneficiary.

My experience in coming to this House is different than most of the Members because I served as mayor of a major city. We have all concluded, as ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON has said, that the current welfare system is decadent. Senator MOYNIHAN warned us 30 years ago that the system had to be changed. President Clinton 2 years ago suggested that we should end welfare as we know it, and he ought to get some credit for that suggestion.

Mr. Chairman, 1 out of 3 children in America is currently born out of wedlock. One of my constituents, Barbara Defoe Whitehead, has done remarkable research in drafting those conclusions. In 1976, at the Democratic State convention in Massachusetts, I spoke in support of a workfare requirement. However, I want to say today in the well of this House, that it is that sage and principled conservative on the Republican side, the gentleman from Illinois, HENRY HYDE, who said "there is no such thing as illegitimate children. There may well be some illegitimate parents." We should acknowledge today on the Democratic side that we are the ones that pushed for a strong child support component.

The Republican alternative did not even speak to the issue of child support, and they called their bill the Personal Responsibility Act. What indicates more personal responsibility than supporting the children we bring into this world?

Mr. Chairman, I offered in committee a series of amendments that stated emphatically that those amendments had the support of Bill Weld and Bill Clinton. Not one of those amendments was passed at the Committee on Ways and Means level.

Mr. Chairman, I am astounded today that there is no work requirement in the Republican bill, but there is a work requirement in the Democratic bill. We suggest that you have to be enrolled in a program of self-sufficiency from day one. Work is the ultimate personal responsibility.

If we want to reverse the decadent system of welfare, we have an opportunity to offer a hand up and not a handout. That is what the Democratic proposals suggest.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say today that the Democratic legislation offered by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DEAL], is a piece of legislation that all of us in this House ought to be able to rally around. Just as importantly, it seems to me at the end of the day that if we really want to honor personal responsibility, that we do that through a strong and sound work requirement. That is what our bill has done.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 seconds to tell the gentleman that was just in the well praising the Deal deal that the Deal substitute would wipe out the work requirements in the Massachusetts law. It is a law that the gentleman should be very proud of and that he should protect.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MARTINI].

Mr. MARTINI. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, 30 years of ever-expanding and growing anti-poverty programs have not erased poverty from our midst. We have spent \$5 trillion trying to address this problem, yet the percentage of children living in poverty is unchanged from what it was in 1965.

Worse, we have seen illegitimate births more than quadruple, and have subsidized the rise of the single-parent family in our country.

Today nearly 30 percent of all births in our Nation are illegitimate. In 1992, the Federal Government alone spent \$305 billion on 79 overlapping means-tested social welfare programs, but our problems still persist.

Congress and the bureaucracy in Washington continue to insist that they know what the poor in our communities need. For years they have been beholden to the ill-conceived notion that we can only consider ourselves a compassionate Nation if Washington prescribes solutions to societal problems.

Mr. Chairman, this system has done worse than fail us. It has betrayed us. Something needs to change, but for years this body has been unwilling to address welfare reform. Finally, today, we are debating a genuine attempt at a

significant overhaul of our societal safety net.

Go home and listen to your constituents; these reforms represent the will of the people. No longer will the Government reward children for having children. No longer will we reward families for having a second baby when they cannot afford the first. No longer will the taxpayers pay to support addiction. No longer will Washington impose top-down solutions to problems they do not understand.

We will put an end to the big Government attempt to address these problems and return to a sense of responsibility, a sense of right and wrong, to the American safety net.

Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the three chairmen in the three committees on the fine work they have done, and this body for finally bringing this issue before the American people, and urge support of this bill.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Mexico [Mr. RICHARDSON].

(Mr. RICHARDSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, welfare is the biggest hot button issue of the year. Let us reform welfare, not try to see who is the meanest or the toughest.

Welfare has not worked. The American people want us to move individuals from dependency to work, they want us to cut Federal bureaucracy, and they want us to fight fraud in the current system. The Republican plan does not accomplish any of these goals, because they do not have the same goals most Americans have. They have washed their hands on the real welfare problem, and moved on to finance for the tax cut, finance on the backs of legal immigrants who pay taxes, abide by the laws, and enrich our culture.

The Republican bill does not even try to solve the root problem of poverty, education, jobs, training, nutrition for kids. In fact, their plan does not contain strict work requirements and actually creates disincentives to work. It destroys temporary child care and transportation for people who want to work. The Democratic plan is strong on work, actually requiring proposals that enable recipients preparing for and engaging in work, providing resources for the assistance needed to become self-sufficient, such as education, training, child care, and transportation.

The Democratic plan supports children, maintaining the national commitment of providing a safety net for kids, while requiring their parents to become self-sufficient, guaranteeing child care to families while the parents are preparing for work or working, and maintain the national commitment to protecting children from abuse and abandonment.

□ 1745

Mr. Chairman, this is a historic bill and a historic debate. We have a

chance to be bipartisan on this issue. The Senate will move, also. The President wants welfare reform. Let us do it right instead of trying to be the toughest or the meanest.

Mr. Chairman, I include the following for the RECORD:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, DC, March 20, 1995.

DEAR MR. LEADER: This week, the historic national debate we have begun on welfare reform will move to the floor of the House of Representatives. Welfare reform is a top priority for my Administration and for Americans without regard to party. I look forward to working with Republicans and Democrats in both houses of Congress to enact real reform that promotes work and responsibility and makes welfare what it was meant to be: a second chance, not a way of life.

In the last two years, we have put the country on the road to ending welfare as we know it. In 1993, when Congress passed our economic plan, we cut taxes for 15 million working Americans and rewarded work over welfare. We collected a record level of child support in 1993—\$9 billion—and last month I signed an executive order to crack down on federal employees who owe child support. In two years, we have granted waivers from federal rules to 25 states, so that half the country is now carrying out significant welfare reform experiments that promote work and responsibility instead of undermining it.

I have always sought to make welfare reform a bipartisan issue. I still believe it can and must be. Unfortunately, the House Republican bill in its current form does not appear to offer the kind of real welfare reform that Americans in both parties expect. It is too weak on moving people from welfare to work, not as tough as it should be on deadbeat parents, and too tough on innocent children.

Last year, I sent Congress the most sweeping welfare reform plan any administration has ever presented. It did not pass, but I believe the principles and values at its core will be the basis of what ultimately does pass:

First, the central goal of welfare reform must be moving people from welfare to work, where they will earn a paycheck, not a welfare check. I believe we should demand and reward work, not punish those who go to work. If people need child care or job skills in order to go to work, we should help them get it. But within two years, anyone who can work must go to work.

This is not a partisan issue: Last year, 162 of 175 House Republicans co-sponsored a bill, H.R. 3500, that promoted work in much the same way as our plan. But the current House Republican bill you will consider this week fails to promote work, and would actually make it harder for many recipients to make it in the workplace. It cuts child care for people trying to leave welfare and for working people trying to stay off welfare, removes any real responsibility for states to provide job placement and skills, and gives states a perverse incentive to cut people off whether or not they have moved into a job. When people just get cut off without going to work, that's not welfare reform. I urge you to pass a welfare reform bill that ends welfare as we know it by moving people from welfare to work.

Second, welfare reform must make responsibility a way of life. We should demand responsibility from parents who bring children into the world, not let them off the hook and expect taxpayers to pick up the tab for their

neglect. Last year, my Administration proposed the toughest child support enforcement measures ever put forward. If we collected all the money that deadbeat parents should pay, we could move 800,000 women and children off welfare immediately.

I am grateful to members in both parties for already agreeing to include most of the tough child support measures from our welfare reform plan. This week, I hope you will go further, and require states to deny drivers and professional licenses to parents who refuse to pay child support. We have to send a clear signal: No parent in America has a right to walk away from the responsibility to raise their children.

Third, welfare reform should discourage teen pregnancy and promote responsible parenting. We must discourage irresponsible behavior that lands people on welfare in the first place, with a national campaign against teen pregnancy that lets young people know it is wrong to have a child outside marriage. Nobody should get pregnant or father a child who isn't prepared to raise the child, love the child, and take responsibility for the child's future.

I know members of Congress in both parties care about this issue. But many aspects of the current House plan would do more harm than good. Instead of refusing to help teen mothers and their children, we should require them to turn their lives around—to live at home with their parents, stay in school, and identify the child's father. We should demand responsible behavior from people on welfare, but it is wrong to make small children pay the price for their parents' mistakes.

Finally, welfare reform should give states more flexibility in return for more accountability. I believe we must give states far more flexibility so they can do the things they want to today without seeking waivers. But in its current form, the House Republican bill may impede rather than promote reform and flexibility. The proposal leaves states vulnerable to economic recession and demographic change, putting working families at risk. States will have less money for child care, training, and other efforts to move people from welfare to work. And there will not be any accountability at the federal level for reducing fraud or protecting children. We will not achieve real reform or state flexibility if Congress just gives the states more burdens and less money, and fails to make work and responsibility the law of the land.

While the current House plan is weak on work, it is very tough on children. Cutting school lunches and getting tough on disabled children and children in foster care is not my idea of welfare reform. We all have a national interest in promoting the well-being of our children and in putting government back in line with our national line.

I appreciate all the work that you have done on this issue, and I am pleased that the country is finally engaging in this important debate. In the end, I believe we can work it out together, as long as we remember the values this debate is really about. The dignity of work, the bond of family, and the virtue of responsibility are not Republican values or Democratic values. They are American values—and no child in America should ever have to grow up without them.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON.

Republican plan doesn't attack fraud—in fact it will dismantle many programs where fraud has been nonexistent—such as the Nutrition and School Lunch Programs.

These programs have undisputed health and education benefits, and nutritious meals are served to children, who may not get an-

other meal each day, at a cost of only \$1 per student.

In the last few days Republicans have been claiming they are not really cutting the School Lunch Program—apparently they realize how ludicrous their plan is and are running for cover—but this is a false claim: Their supposed spending “increases” don't take into account rising food costs, inflation, or increases in number of kids who need the program; in fact, many of the increases were written on committee worksheets, not in the proposed legislation.

New State allocation formulas are flawed—they are based on number of meals served in a State, without regard to whether meals are served free to poor children.

Also, States may divert 20 percent of its nutrition funding to other programs under the Republican proposal. Flexibility is a popular theme right now, but the Republican plan simply abandons any Federal safety net for innocent, hungry kids.

Can Republicans truly say they are not dismantling the school program? No, but they can say they've saved billions of dollars to help their wealthy friends at tax time.

For the food programs alone, 175,000 New Mexicans will become ineligible for assistance; State estimated to lose \$5 million for School Lunch Program, \$21 million for child and adult care food programs, and \$45 million for food stamps.

New Mexico also slated to lose \$21 million for assistance for needy families, \$21 million for blind and disabled children, and \$5 million for child care costs.

Can the Republicans truly say they have not devised a cold-hearted, ineffective program?

Can Republicans deny that they are creating a long list of unfunded mandates? States have asked for flexibility. But clearly they have not asked for the additional burdens the Republican welfare plan imposes.

Finally, lost in much of the debate over welfare reform is the fact that the Republican plan is financed almost entirely on the backs of legal immigrants.

That's right—not undocumented workers, but legal immigrants.

Their plan denies nearly all benefits to people who pay taxes, abide by the laws, enrich our culture and our economy.

Studies show that immigrants actually create a net benefit of \$28 billion to the American economy.

But Republicans haven't studied the real facts to know what their cost and block grants will create—because that's never been their goal.

Don't be deceived—this entire plan is about tax relief for rich people, it has nothing to do with reason or ending welfare as we know it.

Democrats are strong on work: Democratic proposals actually require that recipients prepare for and engage in work; provide resources for the assistance needed to become self-sufficient, such as education, training, child care, and transportation.

Democrats support children: Democrats maintain the national commitment to providing a safety net for kids, while requiring their parents to become self-sufficient; guarantee child care to families while the parents are preparing for work or working; maintain the national commitment to protecting children from abuse and abandonment.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. COLLINS], a member of the committee.

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. I appreciate the gentleman yielding me the time.

Mr. Chairman, the President during his campaign ran on the platform of changing welfare. In fact he said, “We're going to end welfare as we know it today.”

Well, to end it does not mean you reform it. It means you change it. Because to reform it only just changes the shape of it and leaves the same substance. Is change necessary? It is long overdue and the answer is yes, it is.

Why? It is because 26 percent of the families in this country are in some way, some shape, some form or fashion drawing some type of government benefit that comes under the entitlement of welfare. Twenty-six percent of the families.

What is the real problem with welfare, the real root of the problem? It is called cash. The old saying cash is the root of all evil. Cash has been the real problem and is the real problem in welfare.

What is the history of cash in welfare? It goes back to the mid 1930's. In fact it was called Aid to Dependent Children, later called AFDC. It was actually created in 1935 as a cash grant to enable States now, I want to repeat that, to enable States to aid needy children, children who did not have fathers at home.

Was the AFDC program intended to be an indefinite program? No, it was not to last forever. The priority of it was to help children whose fathers were either deceased or disabled or unable to work. The program was supposed to sunset after the Social Security laws were changed but they never were sunsetted. When AFDC was created, no one ever imagined that a father's desertion and out-of-wedlock births would replace the father's death or disability as the most prevalent reason for triggering the need for assistance. No one ever dreamed that fathers would abandon children as they have.

In order to facilitate the sunset of the AFDC program, in 1939 the Federal Government expanded Social Security benefits by adding survivors benefits. This was to help wives and children of workers who died at an early age.

In 1956 the Federal Government added disability benefits to Social Security to try to cover those children whose fathers were unable to work because of some severe disability. But rather than sunset AFDC, the program continued to grow and has ballooned in recent years, because the very nature of the program has encouraged illegitimacy and irresponsible behavior.

Let me give Members a few statistics. In 1940, 41 percent of children on AFDC, their father had died. The fathers had abandoned 30 percent of the children. The fathers were disabled to work for 27 percent. In 1992, listen to

these figures: 1.6 percent of the children's fathers have died; 86 percent of children on AFDC, their fathers have abandoned them; and only 4.1 percent, the fathers are disabled to work.

Mr. Chairman, the AFDC system has created a problem, a real problem. It has encouraged irresponsible behavior by embracing a philosophy that says the government will take care of a child if a father won't. H.R. 4 stops this problem. It stops cash benefits in certain years, requires personal responsibility and it gives the States the flexibility, the very same thing that was supposed to happen in 1935 to handle the situation.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BROWDER].

Mr. BROWDER. I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Deal substitute to the Personal Responsibility Act.

This substitute bill reforms welfare by helping those who want to help themselves. It does not punish the poor. It will not cut school lunches. It will not force children off SSI without due process.

The goals of work and responsibility are achieved by combining work first with time limits and requirements that recipients follow an individual responsibility plan. In addition, the substitute's estimated \$10 billion in savings will be earmarked for deficit reduction.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that after the last speech is given and the final vote is cast, that the Deal substitute will prevail. This plan will really help our fellow Americans move from welfare to work.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. HOLDEN].

Mr. HOLDEN. I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of the Deal substitute and its provisions for greater child support enforcement.

Members of this core group of moderates have worked hard to expand upon last year's mainstream forum proposal and build a consensus among those wishing to make meaningful and long-lasting changes to our current welfare system.

As the former sheriff of Schuylkill County in my home State of Pennsylvania, I have firsthand knowledge of how difficult it can be to collect unpaid child support.

Under the Deal substitute, all parents would be accountable to their children through:

First, increased paternity establishment;

Second, central registries of child support orders in each State;

Third, uniform interstate enforcement procedures; and

Fourth, punitive measures for deadbeat parents such as direct income withholding and State option to revoke

occupation, professional, and driver's licenses

We owe it to our children to have the financial support of both parents and to the taxpayers who fund the irresponsible behavior of deadbeat parents.

I urge my colleagues to lend their support to the Deal substitute and real welfare reform.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FATTAH].

(Mr. FATTAH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FATTAH. I thank the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] the distinguished ranking member for his gracious decision to allow me some time.

Mr. Chairman, we begin now a debate on one part of the process of reforming welfare in the United States of America. I would like to point to two reports, one by the Progressive Policy Institute, and the other by the Cato Institute which refer to corporate welfare in this country, and they talk about the direct subsidies of Federal taxpayer money, some \$86 billion in direct subsidies to corporations, and another \$100 billion or so in tax breaks to aid to dependent corporations in our country.

I find it interesting that this Congress and the new majority would want to begin its assault on welfare by attacking children and families who are in the greatest need rather than attempting to address a more fair approach in terms of this issue that could have been followed if one would have taken the time to look at these reports. The \$84 billion that would be affected by the actions relative to aid to families with dependent children and the child nutrition programs and school lunches, those savings could have easily occurred by scaling back some of the outrageous benefits that we provide as a Nation supposedly in fiscal crisis to corporations, multi-billion-dollar corporations each and every year.

I would just ask that as we begin this debate that the Members of this House be mindful of the contradictions of this process today.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FOLEY].

Mr. FOLEY. I thank the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SHAW], the chairman, for his work on this very, very important issue.

When I go home and I read the papers over the weekend, I wonder what we are all doing up here because the reports are very draconian.

The Republicans are taking food out of the children's mouths. That we are really just throwing people out in the streets.

The President suggests deadbeat dads, we take their driver's license. They must be quaking in their boots that we are going to take their driver's license.

These are people who are not paying for their children's welfare and they

are going to be frightened about losing their driver's license? Take their professional license. That is a good idea, too. Now they will not be able to work. That is another person on welfare.

Let's garnish their wages to the IRS. We will find ways to get after their money.

Food stamps—\$1.8 billion wasted on food stamps through fraud and abuse and we are on this floor talking about we can't reform it, we can't fix it. We are going to fix it. We are going to reform it.

What is wrong with work? I can't believe what people are saying here. Not enough job training.

I worked as a dishwasher. I cleaned toilets. My grandmother came from Poland. She made 28 beds a day in a Travel Lodge Motel. She cleaned 28 toilets a day to be an American citizen. She learned to speak English. She was proud to be an American and proud to be in this country.

But today, no, jobs aren't good enough. Can't take that job. Don't have enough training.

I was a wrecker, an auto mechanic. I worked at a golf course. Now I am a proud Member of the United States Congress. No job is beneath me.

But we are talking like unless we given them an appropriate level of training to seek the job that they have always dreamed of, then they are going to stay on welfare and we are going to spend billions and billions of dollars of our tax dollars on deadbeats, on people that don't want to work.

I have got to tell you, this Congress has got to be serious about reform, not about just throwing out threats, having lunches with children in schools in our district, saying that the Republicans are going to end feeding children at school lunches, the Republicans are going to starve children.

Don't believe it for a minute, America. We are not going to starve our children. A 4.5-percent increase per year in the Republican bill for school lunches increased. We are not going to starve people. We are going to take care of America. We are going to make it work again.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes and 40 seconds to the gentleman from Utah [Mr. ORTON].

(Mr. ORTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ORTON. I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Chairman, there are few things that more people agree upon than the fact that our welfare system is a failure. Today, our welfare system often provides people who choose not to work with a better deal than those who choose to take a job. I am pleased that Congress has committed to reform this failed system.

However, it is not enough to say we have reformed the welfare system. We must reform the system so that it works. By that, I mean we must create

a system that meets what the American people consider the premise of welfare reform: a system based on work, that provides transitional assistance to those in need, and that does not harm innocent children.

Many of the things I am hearing about the Personal Responsibility Act today sound right on target. For instance, I support State flexibility and allowing programs to better meet the needs of unique communities.

In addition, I agree that we should discourage out-of-wedlock births and promote marriage. Finally, I wholeheartedly agree that we should end the cycle of dependency.

In fact, I think the majority of the Nation would join me in commending these laudable goals. The unfortunate thing about the Personal Responsibility Act is that it does not achieve these goals.

Instead of allowing State flexibility, the bill limits the people who can be served with block grant funding. These limitations directly contradict the stated purpose of enhancing State flexibility. I would like to illustrate the negative impact that restrictions in this bill will have on successful reform efforts currently being implemented at the State level.

In Utah, we have a demonstration program that is enjoying great success in assisting people into the labor market. The AFDC caseload in one area has decreased by 33 percent in just 2 years—the best part of this statistic is that it represents people who are working in private sector jobs.

The premise underlying the Utah program is universal participation: everyone works toward self-sufficiency. This program has enjoyed national and local support, and is exactly the kind of program you would expect welfare reform to be based upon. Certainly, you would expect that the Utah program would be allowed to continue down the same successful path under a reformed system.

Yet the Utah State Department of Human Services is concerned because restrictive work participation definitions in the Personal Responsibility Act pose a threat to the program. A restrictive definition of participation means that a person faithfully following a self-sufficiency plan specifically designed to best assist them in entering the labor market could be considered a nonparticipant by the Federal Government. The Federal Government should not be creating a definition that prevents States, who are dealing directly with individuals, from determining what would best assist a person getting a job.

Ironically, while the bill would not allow states to count many active participants toward meeting mandatory rates, people who have been forced to leave the system because of reaching a time limit could be counted toward meeting work participation rates even if they have never received any work-related services.

I find it astounding that a bill can simultaneously restrict successful state reform efforts and offer no protection to people on welfare who are willing to work—it is the worst of both worlds. The bill guarantees that people will get kicked off the system if they meet a certain time limit, but it ties the States' hands in designing a program that would avoid this outcome for people who are willing to work.

We are back to the old one-size-fits-all Federal solution, only this time we are prohibiting certain actions rather than mandating them. Congress is on one hand saying that it trusts States to make sensible fair choices about block grant monies and on the other than saying States must adhere to federal restrictions.

I am also concerned that there is no method provided under the Personal Responsibility Act that allows states to contest the restrictions defined by the block grant if they hinder the State's ability to meet the purposes outlined in section 401 of the bill.

The Utah program required 46 Federal Government waivers. I think it would be a tragedy if Utah had not had an opportunity to address some of the incredible perverse incentives in the current system. In the same light, I do not want to see a new Federal system created under which States like Utah have no means to address problems with Federal dictates. Conservative mandates are no better than liberal mandates.

One thing is clear about the bill before us: a successful program in my district would not be able to function in the same way. This bill would force a State like Utah to create a parallel State bureaucracy to serve people that do not meet Federal definitions.

Proponents of this bill claim that they trust states with more flexibility, but instead of creating a bill that allows States to operate varied versions of welfare reform, they have created a restrictive, uniform approach to welfare reform based on Federal assumptions. I cannot support such a restrictive and narrow view of reform.

□ 1800

I want to say I am concerned that the bill that we are looking at will not in fact allow State flexibility. I have proposed an amendment which would grant flexibility to States. Unfortunately that amendment will not be allowed to this bill.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GEKAS].

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, did you hear what I heard here today? Members of the loyal opposition, the new minority one after another acknowledged that it is time to reform welfare. That is an astonishing acknowledgment on the part of the minority, the loyal opposition.

And then they proceed on top of that to attack the bold and fearless effort that is being made by the new majority to do something about it. And, in the words of many of the people on the new minority, they want to offer a substitute, some new refinement of wel-

fare reform, which is another acknowledgment that indeed welfare systems in our country have to be changed.

Their attack ours as saying why denationalize welfare and allow 50 new bureaucracies to crop up in the 50 States. The answer is a question: Has the national program worked? The answer is no. They acknowledge that it has not worked or else they would not be offering substitutes or calling for a bipartisan effort now after 40 years, after 40 years to try to reform the system.

The question is: Shall we do something about it now, move ahead boldly and fearlessly to try to change the system? The answer is yes, and it is agreed to by every American who thinks about the subject. And it is acknowledged, I repeat, by the new minority, the now new seekers of welfare reform whom we asked to join with us in passing meaningful new majority-type of welfare reform.

I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania is a clever debater, but his facts are wrong. I introduced a welfare reform bill last year, had hearings on it, ran into a filibuster of great magnitude and we could not make progress on it.

We reformed the welfare program in 1988. We reformed it in the 1960's. No one here, no one here I say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GEKAS] defends the current system. We have all been trying to change it.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN].

(Mr. BROWN of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I have followed the debate over the withdrawal of Federal support of poverty programs which has passed for a debate on welfare reform over the past few weeks with considerable interest. It seems to me that we have been avoiding a broader discussion of the deep structural problems in our society which the growth of welfare expenditures represents. I do not want this debate to end without some discussion of the real scope of these problems.

The conservative Republicans seem to be proceeding from the assumption that the welfare system has created poverty in this country, and that the welfare system is the problem. If so, then it follows that by excluding people from the welfare system, the problem will be solved. Do any of us really believe this?

The ultimate absurdity in all of this is that we all seem to be under the impression that by cutting the expenditures on these programs, we will save taxpayer dollars. This is not at all obvious to me. We are offering our constituents a false choice: pay for poverty programs, or save money and use it more productively on something else. The other things

most commonly acknowledged are: deficit reduction, tax cuts, and increases in defense spending.

The real choice that we face is not whether to pay or not pay to deal with the problems of poverty. It is whether we will pay for positive programs that will move people permanently off of welfare and out of poverty, or whether we will pay for programs that deal only with the negative consequences of poverty such as crime, homelessness, and poorly educated children, to name a few. We are about to choose the latter.

And Mr. Chairman, make no mistake, the programs to deal with the negative consequences of poverty already cost our taxpayers dearly and, I strongly believe, will cost our taxpayers even more under the Republican welfare reform plan. For example, if we simply throw people off of welfare and provide no job or safety net income, which is what the Republican plan would do after two years, then I think we can be assured that crime will rise. To deal with this we will need more police, more judges, more prisons, and more correctional officers.

We will also need increased expenditures on public health to control dangerous communicable diseases which are associated with poverty such as tuberculosis (which is already on the rise in some of our cities) and AIDS. Non-communicable diseases such as drug addiction, alcoholism, and malnutrition which already cost us too much, are all likely to increase. In short, Mr. Chairman if you think that the crime and public health problems are bad now in our country, wait until we see the full effects of the Republican welfare reform bill.

The current welfare system is not working, we all know that. It has not alleviated poverty in our country. Although there are people who are temporary recipients of this assistance, there are many who are permanently trapped below the poverty level, and who merely survive by making these programs a way of life. I do not know why we are expressing any sense of outrage over this. The old adage, "You get what you pay for" certainly applies here. We have not designed or been willing to pay for a suite of programs aimed at moving people from poverty to prosperity. We have essentially paid for maintenance, and that's what we have. The situation of inherited poverty that Michael Harrington and Robert Lampman warned of back in the early 1960s has been realized.

The nation is therefore beginning the sixties with a most dangerous problem: an enormous concentration of young people who, if they do not receive immediate help, may well be the source of a kind of hereditary poverty new to American society. If this analysis is correct then the vicious circle of the culture of poverty is, if anything, becoming more intense, more crippling, and problematic because it is increasingly associating itself with the accident or birth. (Michael Harrington; p. 183: *The Other America* 1962)

We cannot hope to correct this situation by falsely diagnosing the problem. And we cannot diminish Federal, State, or local poverty-related expenditures until we make a commitment as a nation to have full employment as an economic goal and recognize its imperative as a social goal. It is our failure to deal with this problem that has resulted in the rapid growth of welfare expenditures that have occurred over the past decade.

The real problem is unemployment, and the culture of despondency and poverty that it creates. We seem to be proceeding under the assumption that there are enough jobs in our economy to accommodate those who are now on the welfare rolls, and that those now receiving benefits will be equipped to accept the jobs that do exist. I doubt it. I would draw your attention to an example of the type of portrait that we have been presented with by the media of the "True Faces of Welfare."

An article by this title appeared in this month's Readers Digest. We have all seen many like it recently. The people described in this article are not the type of people that engender sympathy among our hard-working, taxpaying constituents. In fact, I suspect that these descriptions of unmotivated individuals who are irresponsible parents and frequent participants in criminal activities make it easy for us to vote to cut the system that subsidizes their antisocial behavior. But I would like us to think carefully about these portraits from the perspective of an employer. We are being led to believe that by cutting them off, these people will enter the labor force. But would you hire such a person? Would this person, who we are judging to be an unacceptable recipient of public assistance, be a desirable job candidate? Absolutely not. Serious intervention would be required to convert these people from destructive to productive members of this society. It is far more likely that without intervention these people will turn to criminal means of survival rather than to jobs in the legitimate economy.

These articles are also doing a serious injustice to the many poor in our country who continue to struggle to be productive, responsible citizens in the face of insurmountable odds. There are many on public assistance who work hard every day for wages that are simply too low to allow them to rise above the poverty level. We should not forget these people or lump them together with the unsympathetic persons described above. They need our help, and they should get it.

Even if the current welfare recipients were ready and qualified to work are there enough jobs to accommodate them? Unfortunately, the Department of Labor does not collect data on the number of available jobs that exist. However, I decided to investigate the job availability in my region of California by examining as much data as are available. I believe that what I found for my region will mirror what exists throughout the country. In San Bernardino County, CA there are 64,000 AFDC welfare families, which means that at least one adult in that family is unemployed or employed at such a low income level that they still receive some AFDC benefits. Thus, if we want to fully employ at least one adult from each of these families, we need to have 64,000 vacant jobs.

Mr. Chairman, that is a lot of jobs. Now, how many vacant jobs are there in San Bernardino County? The two daily newspapers in the county listed a combined total of 1,363 jobs in recent Sunday classified ads. Clearly, not all jobs openings are listed in newspapers, but the classified ads listed enough jobs to accommodate only 2 percent of our region's welfare recipients. A more precise figure comes from the State of California employment office, which currently has listings for 1,056 jobs in San Bernardino County. A rule of thumb is that State employment offices have listings for about 20 percent of available jobs. That

means that there might actually be 5,280 public and private sector jobs available in the County right now. And yet, we have a need for 64,000 jobs if we are going to employ at least one adult from each welfare family.

Obviously, if we are going to tell adults in welfare families to just go and get jobs, which is what the Republican welfare proposal would do, then we are setting up these families—and ourselves as public policy creators—for a real disappointment. The bottom line: without some kind of public commitment to create large numbers of entry-level jobs, we cannot have a solution to the problem of welfare dependency which we seek to solve.

If we consider the bigger picture, the macro-economic trends are even less comforting. The current trend in both the public and private sector is downsizing, and economists spend a good deal of time monitoring labor productivity, hoping to see it increase. What does this mean in human terms? Downsizing means fewer people doing more work (or the same amount of work). What is an increase in labor productivity? More units of product output for fewer units of labor input. This is fine if overall output rises, but if it does not, this simply means that fewer people are doing more work. Our population is not downsizing. It continues to upsize and probably will for the foreseeable future. Therefore, we need more jobs, not fewer.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly believe a successful welfare reform package would have work as its central focus. It would cost more money in the short run, but save money as people move into permanent jobs. We should not be afraid to spend money to combat the compelling suite of social problems that stem from the existence of poverty. We took an oath to defend this nation against enemies foreign and domestic. At this time, I can think of no greater domestic enemy than the persistent poverty in our urban and rural areas.

If there are not enough jobs in the private sector then we should create them in the public sector. This is not as radical as many of my colleagues will suggest. We justify many Federal expenditures on the basis that they will create jobs. There is much work to be done in this society. If the private sector cannot or will not pay for it, it is the role of Government to do so. Through programs that are focused on creating jobs that pay a living wage and training people to fill them we can transform taxtakers into taxpayers, welfare recipients into workers, and slums into communities.

We must also stop pretending that the problem of illegitimate births is strictly a women's problem. We are going to have to stop trying to legislate morality and acknowledge that there are many female-headed households with children, and child care and health care are necessary support services to enable these women to work. What will we have accomplished if the standard of living for families actually declines when parents leave welfare and go back to work? Ironically, obtaining employment and losing public

child care assistance and health benefits often forces many working poor families back onto the welfare rolls. If our goal is to achieve short term Federal savings, then we will have succeeded in our efforts through this legislation. But if we are sincere about lifting families out of poverty, then let's do something that will move parents to work and support parents in work through real reform.

We cannot have more people working without doing much more in the area of job training and education. Many of those who have become permanent welfare recipients are illiterate and lack the basic skills necessary to qualify for a decent paying job. Until they acquire these skills, they will remain permanently unemployed, especially since our economy has changed to require higher skill-levels of workers. If we are to finally recognize child-rearing as the important and complex job that it is then we can acknowledge its importance by paying women to do this job. However, many will require job training in this area as well, since many, as teenage mothers, have not acquired the necessary parenting skills that they need to raise children to be productive citizens.

If you want to end the Federal Welfare Program, and pass this national problem and all of its related social ills onto the States, vote for this legislation. But if we want to end poverty, empower all of our citizens, and diminish the expenditure of funds on welfare programs and social damage control, we had better start over again. Until we are ready to acknowledge the true dimension of this problem and have the political will to allocate the resources to solve it, we will be doing nothing more than passing this problem on to future generations.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BALLENGER].

Mr. BALLENGER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I would like to take this opportunity to address and explain two provisions contained in the Republican welfare reform bill, a bill which I fully support because it fixes our broken welfare system.

As we are all aware, the Personal Responsibility Act rightfully prohibits illegal aliens from receiving aid under all federal and state means tested public benefits programs. The bill also bars legal nonimmigrants like students, tourists and businessmen from receiving the same benefits, with a few exceptions. One of these exceptions allows temporary agricultural workers to remain eligible for medical services provided through migrant health centers and a few other means tested programs. We are *not* explaining the eligibility of these workers for other benefit programs, merely allowing them to remain in the programs for which they are currently eligible. It is important to note that employers request these workers be brought into the United States, and the request is only granted after the employer demonstrates that all measures have been used to employ U.S. citizens for the vacant positions.

The alien workers enter the country legally and are paid the same rate as a U.S. citizen would be employed in the same position.

These workers are, again, legally here for a specific time and for a specific reason. It seems appropriate that these invited workers should be able to receive limited assistance like medical attention at a migrant health center.

Let me now address the school meal provisions included in the bill. Although liberals consider me something of a pinch-penny, even most severe critics had never accused me of scheming to take food from the mouths of impoverished children. At least, not until recently.

What inspired a harsh reassessment of my character, and the character of other House Republicans, is the proposed overhaul of food and nutrition programs that provide nourishment for the nation's needy school children.

As a Member of the Opportunities Committee, the committee which worked diligently to craft the school meal reforms contained in this welfare reform bill, I support efforts to simplify regulations, cut red tape and grant States greater flexibility in operating school food and nutrition programs.

Essentially, here is what these changes would mean:

Current separate State and Federal applications, rules on eligibility and regulations would be replaced with a single system.

States could allow school districts greater latitude in meeting their specific needs.

Funding would be made in block grants to the States, which would establish their own spending and program priorities.

The net results of these changes would be to increase—not reduce—funding for nutrition and food programs, and to simplify (not further complicate) their administration.

That, in a nutshell, is what all the fuss is about. Does that sound like cruel indifference?

I do not deny—or apologize for—being frugal with the taxpayer's money. At the same time, I do not begrudge even one of the billions of dollars spent on food for hungry children. Indeed, if we are to err in our estimate of how much should be spent on this vital program, I would prefer come down on the side of generosity.

However, much of the money we are now earmarking for nutrition is being consumed by a Federal supply and regulatory system that is needlessly complex and wasteful.

President Clinton, among other critics, has attempted to portray this proposal as Republican indifference disguised as reform. That is pure poppycock.

What we are attempting to do here is introduce administrative efficiency and fiscal sanity to a program that will nurture children rather than continue to feed an insatiable Federal bureaucracy. If that makes me a tightwad, so be it.

Mr. GIBBONS. As we come to the close of this debate, Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. FORD], the ranking minority member, the ranking Democrat on the Human Resources Committee and a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. FORD of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I thank my colleague for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SHAW] and the Republicans on the Committee on Ways and Means have talked about this welfare reform bill as being tough love. I would have the gentleman from Florida know today that this is tough luck for the children of this country. When you look at what this bill does, it punishes the child until the mother is 18 years old for being born out of wedlock. And we must do something about children being born out of wedlock, but this is not an answer.

This is what we are trying to do today to give to the wealthiest of this Nation, at the cost of those who cannot pay those lobbyists to represent them here in the halls of Congress.

You punish children. You are weak on work and you are mean to children in this country for the purpose of a \$600 to \$700 billion tax cut, with 80 percent of those revenues going to the rich and wealthy of this Nation.

I do not know how, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SHAW] and the Republicans, would have the heart to come here to say that we are going to be weak on work, not offer a work program that we can put people who are on welfare to work to make an income to provide and take care of their children. But instead, it is like you roll them on a conveyor belt and they roll off after 5 years and that is the end of it. People are off of welfare, they are in our cities, they will be in our counties, they will be in our neighborhoods, and they will be on our doorsteps.

Do not be so cruel. We as Democrats want a bill. That is why we have embraced the Deal bill, and we think the Deal bill makes plenty of sense, and the Deal bill should pass this House, and we should reject the Republican bill that is before the House today.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. BARTLETT].

(Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, there is an old saying that "if it ain't broke, don't fix it." Well, the American people know that our welfare system is broke, and they are demanding that we do something about it.

In the roughly 30 years since Lyndon Johnson declared war on poverty, we have spent nearly \$58 trillion, that is trillion with a "T," on the war on poverty, a war we are clearly losing.

In 1965 we had a 7-percent illegitimacy rate. In 1990 it increased nearly fivefold to 32 percent and it is still climbing. Only 11 percent of families on AFDC spent any time on a monthly basis getting more education, or looking for work. And fully 65 percent of all of the families on AFDC will be on that program for 8 years or longer.

The people hurt worst with this debacle are not the taxpayers who are saddled with this unconscionable cost, it is the people trapped by the system, people who are denied the American dream of getting a better education, of owning a home, of having a job and the self respect and dignity that comes with having that job. The American people know that the present system is broken and they are demanding that we do something about it. This bill makes a good start. It deserves our support.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as remains.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Chairman, this is an important day and an important piece of legislation, but this is a cruel hoax. The Republican bill is weak on work. It will allow the States to take a block grant, put the money in their pocket and pass regulations that will just drop all of the potential welfare recipients from their rolls. And the money that they save here at the Federal level will be used for a tax cut. Not a tax cut for people who are in need. In fact the tax cut that they offer, the child credit, a person working full-time, with 4 children, will get no tax credit if that person has \$20,000 worth of income, will not get a penny. But if the person has \$200,000 worth of income, they will get \$2,000 in tax credit.

This is a cruel, cruel hoax. It is not welfare reform, it is welfare perpetuation. It will pass the burden from those of us in Washington who are responsible for these things down to States who will slough off the responsibility to the local communities and nothing will get done.

There will be hungry children on the streets. There will be ignorant children on the streets. There will be homeless families on the streets. And all of this in the name of welfare reform.

Let us vote down the Republican bill, and let us adopt the Democratic substitute.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I yield my remaining time to myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. SHAW] is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, we have heard now for over 2 hours many speakers from the minority side to come before this body in a desperate attempt to rewrite, not only rewrite history, but to rewrite the Republican bill. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] said there was a filibuster last year. I do not know of anyplace you can have a filibuster in the House

of Representatives. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] filed the President's bill, that is true.

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In the subcommittee we had one or two hearings, that is true. The bill never came to a markup. It was never presented to the full committee. We never had a hearing in the full committee. This simply did not happen.

And where the filibuster occurred, I have no earthly idea. But I do know that the minority side has chosen not to introduce the President's bill this year, for some reason unknown to me. Now, the President does not have any bill that is before the House of Representatives, and I feel that the President should, because the President did advance this debate 2 years ago in his campaign. In fact, last summer in Florida the President asked me if I thought we could get welfare done last year, and I said, "Only if you tell the people on the Committee on Ways and Means that that is exactly what you want."

But instead, all we found was that the whole process was stonewalled. We never got a bill to the full committee. We never got a bill out of the subcommittee, and we never got a bill to the floor. Nothing happened. Nothing happened the year before, the year before, the year before, the year before. For the last 40 years, nothing has happened. The Democrats have blocked and blocked and blocked anything to be done to change welfare as we know it today, to genuinely reform welfare.

Now, we have heard speakers come down. One speaker compared the Republican bill to the Holocaust. Read the bill. You want to know where the work provision is? It starts on about 23 and goes on. You want to know where it is in the Deal bill? The Deal bill says if you are looking for a job, you have to get cash benefits. You know, there are some States that will require work in the first 2 years. You talk about State flexibility. The Deal bill will destroy that.

Massachusetts has a plan where they try to put people to work during the first 2 years. I think Michigan either does or is working on such a plan, and the States should have that flexibility. The Deal bill said, huh uh, huh uh, you cannot do that, you cannot require them as long as they are looking for a job. That is making out a resume, that you have to give them their benefits.

These are just some of the things that have been misstated.

Talk about mean to children, this bill has a 40-some-percent increase in the funding, a 40-percent-something increase in the funding, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS] said something about well, what about inflation. Forty percent? My goodness, that is over 5 years. That is way above the level of inflation, the anticipation of inflation.

I would ask the committee, read the bills. Do not listen to just the rhetoric, because the rhetoric is just simply

wrong. Support the Responsibility Act. Support the Republican bill.

The CHAIRMAN. All time which is dedicated to the Committee on Ways and Means has expired.

Under the rule, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING] will be recognized for 45 minutes, and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLAY] will be recognized for 45 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING].

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 6 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, today we begin debate over one of the most important issues that will face this Congress, the debate over the future of the welfare system—or what might better be called our country's "despair" system. For although the current welfare system was built, I believe, on compassionate intentions, it has in fact helped to create a system of despair for far too many people. It has become a system that fosters dependence on Government and rewards behaviors destructive to individuals, to families, and to our society. We must change if we are to move from a system of despair to one of hope. A former chairman on several occasions said "Bill, these programs are not working the way we intended." To change we must first make the admission they are not working.

A survey of the public conducted last year showed that 71 percent of the public believe that the current welfare system "does more harm than good." An overwhelming majority of the public believes the system could be improved or has some aspects that need to be fixed. The public understands, and with good reason, that a system for which it is paying billions of dollars each year actually does more harm than good. That is not a matter of "not getting your money's worth." That is paying for the wrong thing.

And when we are talking about the welfare system, then "paying for the wrong thing" is promoting tragedy for people. Those of us who talk about changing the system are accused of being uncaring, of lacking compassion. But what is caring, what is compassionate about a system that fails to demand personal responsibility? And how is it that a "caring" system is by definition one run by "one size fits all" regulations and programs issued by distant bureaucrats in Washington?

I said at the very first hearing which the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities held on welfare reform this year, I do not believe that there will be any quick fixes or easy answers, but neither can we nor should we continue down the same path of simply adding programs and spending more money. We need to change the direction. Today's welfare system destroys families and the work ethic and traps people in a cycle of Government dependency. We need to replace a failed system of despair with reforms based on the dignity of work and the strength

of families, that move solutions closer to home and offer hope for the future.

During most of the past 30 years, the answer to every problem and the meaning of every reform provided by Congress had been to create another Federal program. Today we have literally hundreds of Federal programs intended to "help" people of limited incomes. Of course, each one requires separate regulations, separate applications, separate eligibility rules, separate reporting. Each one requires additional personnel—in Washington, at the State level, and by the people actually providing the services—to administer the program, to check the paperwork, to write and interpret the regulations. There are good intentions behind these programs, but much of the good intentions is lost in the maze of red tape and one-size-fits-all regulations. That is part of what we are trying to change in H.R. 4.

Mr. Chairman, title III of H.R. 4 contains most of the legislation reported by the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities. Title III consolidates programs in three areas: child care, school based nutrition programs and family nutrition programs.

With regard to child care, the bill consolidates the Federal Child Care Programs into the existing child care development block grant. The present system of separate entitlement programs based upon the parent is on AFDC, has just left AFDC, or is determined to be at-risk of going on AFDC, has resulted in an administrative nightmare for states and administrators, and a maze of child care programs and eligibility rules for parents and children. Among others, the National Governors Association has urged the Congress to consolidate the Child Care Programs into the child care development block grant, and we have done so in H.R. 4.

Under H.R. 4 the child care development block grant would be funded at the level that the four major child care programs received in fiscal year 1994. However, the bill increases by about \$200 million the money available for actual child care services, by eliminating mandatory State planning set asides and limiting administrative costs.

The school based nutrition block grant will allow States to create a single school food program for their schools, and allow schools to operate food programs under a single contract with the State. The school based nutrition block grant would be increased by more than 4 percent per year, and the school lunch portion would be increased by exactly 4.5 percent per year.

We have heard a lot of false information from the other side over the past few weeks about the School Lunch Program, and I'm afraid we will hear some more during this debate. Let me simply say it as clearly as I can: H.R. 4 does not eliminate the School Lunch Program. H.R. 4 does not cut spending on the School Lunch Program. It in-

creases spending by 4.5 percent per year.

Every State and every area receives more money in 1996 than they get in 1995. Every State but five receive more money under our program in 1996 than they do under the existing program.

Let me give you some indications here. California gets \$5 million more. I just pick certain States, of course. Michigan gets \$3 million more. Missouri gets \$2 million more. Indiana gets \$2 million more. Montana, sparsely populated, gets \$650,000 more. New Jersey gets \$2 million more. New York gets \$5 million more. Ohio gets \$2 million more. Rhode Island gets \$250,000 more. Texas \$2 million more, Illinois, \$2.5 million more. That is more than they would receive if the existing program were in effect in 1996. So every State gets more than they got in 1995, but the States I am mentioning, in most of the States, receive more than they would under the existing program. It is also above, well above, President Clinton's budget. I want to take a moment to point that out on this chart. When the President makes a show of going out and having lunch with some school kids, and says that somebody is trying to cut the School Lunch Program, well maybe he needs to check his own budget. H.R. 4 funds the School Lunch Program above the President's own budget.

Mr. Chairman I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 4 minutes.

(Mr. CLAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this bill.

We must reject the cynicism, the greed and the brutality that inspired it, that permeates it, that drives it.

No one would argue that the current welfare system does not need reform. However, in reforming the system, our actions must reflect our sense of fairness and our concern for those who, through no fault of their own, need Government assistance.

The process for consideration of this bill in committee was deeply flawed. After three hurriedly called hearings with limited participation by expert witnesses, the committee marked up its bill just one day after it was introduced. No subcommittee markup was ever held.

In their haste to carry out this part of the Contract With America within the first 100 days, the majority insults this great institution. In their haste to shred 60 years of social safety nets, the majority places millions of children and their mothers at risk.

This bill is not about welfare reform. It is a giant money laundering scheme designed to write blank checks to governors while imposing no standards or accountability. Block grants constitute a political conduit for transferring Federal dollars to curry favor with State executives.

The Republican welfare reform proposal promotes an extremist agenda that does little to ensure meaningful jobs at livable wages for those on welfare. An agenda that abdicates the Federal responsibility to protect poor children from the ravages of hunger and homelessness. An agenda that prescribes a reduced Federal role against abuse, neglect, and abandonment.

At a time when studies tell us that more and better child care is critically needed, this bill would cut resources for child care programs already seriously underfunded. It would allow governors to transfer already precious child care funds to other programs.

Mr. Chairman, there is no guarantee that the Appropriations Committee will fully fund the child care block grant. The appropriators are already decimating domestic programs to finance tax cuts for the rich.

Mr. Chairman, the nutrition provisions in this bill violate all sense of human decency. The Republican assault on the school lunch and breakfast programs, which successfully promote the health and educational performance of more than 25 million children, is frightening.

The Republican proposal to eliminate WIC and allow the State to develop WIC-type programs is an appalling gamble with the lives of the 7 million women, infants, and children served by the program.

The WIC Program is one of the most effective national social programs ever instituted. WIC has reduced the rate of very-low birth weight infants by almost 50 percent and has nearly eradicated iron-deficiency anemia among participants. WIC participation greatly decreases the incidence of premature births. WIC also saves money for the Federal Government.

Mr. Chairman, the Contract with America should have made it illegal to utter the words welfare and reform in the same sentence. In most cases, politicians who use the phrase neither believe in the fundamental concept of welfare nor the meaning of reform. What is happening in the name of welfare reform borders on criminality.

Welfare dependency can only be reduced by providing education, training, adequate child care services, and most importantly, by providing stable jobs that pay a living wage.

Mr. Chairman, today's minimum wage is not a living wage. Later in the proceedings, I will offer an amendment to increase the minimum wage to \$5.15 an hour. My amendment will restore the purchasing power of millions of working families. If we really want to end welfare as we know it, we should keep working families out of poverty by paying an adequate wage.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, in recent days our Republican colleagues have admitted that they expect savings from this bill to finance tax cuts for the rich. The goal of welfare reform should be about one thing, and one thing only; and that is to have the most humane

and effective welfare system possible. Let us begin today with an honest debate, not rhetoric. Let us show compassion, not vengeance. Let efficiency be our means, not our end.

This bill is a bad bill and should be defeated.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. WELDON].

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman for yielding time to me.

It is, to me, a tremendous opportunity to be able to be here to take part in what I think will prove to be a very historic event in the history of our Nation. For 40 years we have had more and more spending on these programs, and what we have been getting is more poverty, more illegitimacy, and more social problems in our Nation.

Bill Clinton ran on a lot of promises in 1992, and one of them was that he was going to end welfare as we know it, and he did not. It has just continued.

Indeed, in 1993, the Census Bureau reported that poverty in America had reached an all-time high under Bill Clinton. Indeed, at the end of the first year of the Clinton administration there were 39.9 million poor persons, the highest since 1962. The number had been going up ever since Ronald Reagan left office. Indeed, it was only during the Reagan years that those numbers came down.

And now, for the first time in 40 years, the Republican Party is in control of this Congress and implementing policies that will, indeed, attempt to end welfare as we know it.

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And the reason why we need to implement these changes, particularly the changes in this particular welfare bill, is because it is more compassionate. Indeed, the American people have been very compassionate and very patient, but they want change and they want real change that will end the cycle of poverty and despair.

The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. J.C. WATTS], a member of our class, was quoted as saying,

We can no longer measure compassion by how many people are on welfare. We need to measure compassion by how many people are not on welfare, because we have helped them climb the ladder to success.

Today in this Congress we are beginning that change, and I thank the gentleman again.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Puerto Rico [Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ].

Mr. ROMERO-BARCELÓ. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, today the majority in this House is ravaging a series of sensible programs that have served well the needs of the Nation. Programs that have assisted many in need, particularly disadvantaged children and mothers at risk, are under attack.

In an effort to score political points with the very popular notion of welfare reform, Republicans have refused to discuss sensible approaches to real reform. Of course we need to reform many areas of the existing welfare system; but there is no need to wage war against current programs that work well, such as school nutrition programs and the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children [WIC]. These two programs have a proven positive track record.

To compound the unnecessary assault on these programs, the majority has lashed out against two constituencies that have no political clout in Washington because they do not vote: that is, poor children and legal immigrants.

Republicans, touting the banner of savings, are slashing programs and directing large amounts of the so called savings not for deficit reduction, but for special tax breaks for wealthy individuals and corporations.

You want savings? You want to reduce the deficit? Then have some courage and take aim at the greatest of all welfare programs—corporate welfare.

Various Washington think tanks, both liberal and conservatives ones, as well as the media have identified billions and billions of dollars in tax giveaways and special provisions for rich corporations and special interests. Why has this Congress opted to protect these interests instead of investing in people, in education, in health, in affordable housing, in decent meals for low income students?

Why are the regular folks in America, our middle class, taking a back seat to the interests of a very select powerful group that defends corporate welfare at all cost?

In my own district, Congress condones giving over \$3 billion per year in special tax breaks to multinationals while at the same time it deprives millions of U.S. citizens from participating in programs that can assist in improving their quality of life. I call this the Reverse Robin Hood policy, whereby the Federal Government takes away from the elderly, the children, the handicapped and the middle class, in order to give to the rich. There are plenty of Federal policies that illustrate this point. Take a look at section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code, look at some agricultural and mining subsidies.

In section 936 you will find a program that has cost taxpayers over \$40 billion in 20 years, the primary beneficiary being foreign and American pharmaceutical firms with hundreds of millions of dollars in annual net profits while low wage working families are denied the earned income tax credit; while children, handicapped and other citizens in need are deprived of adequate medical and hospital care and needy children are denied a first class education.

The President genuinely wants to work with this Congress to end welfare

as we know it. But Republicans insist in targeting just about every conceivable Federal program notwithstanding the merits that they may have. Take aim at corporate welfare and stop blaming the poor and legal immigrant communities for the fiscal mess. We need to balance the budget and everyone needs to share the burden, but with this bill, children, the elderly, the handicapped and middle income families are financing the special tax giveaways for the rich.

Start with corporate welfare, then bring all the other programs to the table, so that Congress can craft, in a bipartisan way, sensible restructuring moves which will prove to be true reforms that will benefit the Nation, not hurt it.

I urge our colleagues to defeat this bill. Put people first! Consider the substitute bill that our colleague from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] has put forth.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BARRETT].

Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, Nearly 30 years ago, President Johnson initiated the war on poverty. Today, after decades of losing the war, we begin Operation Restore Trust—trust in our State and local leaders and communities to care for their own.

H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, would eliminate many Federal regulations and policies that have hamstrung States and local governments for decades. Under H.R. 4, Washington will not be telling State's what is best for their citizens. The States will get the credit, or the blame, for enacting policies and programs that will take people off welfare, into jobs, and out of dependency.

For the last few weeks we've seen many of the opponents of H.R. 4 go through all kinds of statistical contortions on what H.R. 4 will do to our children and families.

Case in point are the changes we seek to make to the School Lunch Program. Basically, we offer two changes while maintaining the Federal commitment to providing meals for needy children.

First, by maintaining a 4.5-percent annual increase, eliminating Federal paperwork, and better targeting of Federal dollars, H.R. 4 will allow States to feed more children.

Second, we given State and local communities, which know best the needs of their States and towns, the ability to tailor-make programs that can serve the nutritional needs of children.

H.R. 4 would also continue to provide support for the Food Stamp Program. This program, which has been racked with abuse, is significantly reformed while allowing for \$131 billion in additional funding over the next 5 years.

By having the Food Stamp Program as a Federal safety net, people will be

able to supply their families with food and keep their dignity in the process.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot say that H.R. 4 isn't risky. But the risk of maintaining the status quo, by far, greatly jeopardizes our children and our future. H.R. 4 begins the battle of Operation Restore Trust—trust in our States and communities to do what is best.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. KILDEE].

Mr. KILDEE. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, for nearly 50 years Congress has shown a bipartisan commitment to alleviate the worst of human suffering in our Nation, especially hunger. Today we begin debating a proposal that would end this commitment.

The Nation's nutrition programs are cost-effective and target the truly needy.

Study after study shows that children who get a school meal perform better academically.

I am puzzled as to why we would want to fix a program that works so well.

The National School Lunch Program came into being for a strong national purpose in 1946. Many recruits failed physical examinations for the draft because they were found to have been malnourished during their formative years.

Republicans claim that they are increasing funding. But everyone recognizes that compared to current law there will be less money for each child who receives a school lunch. The bottom line is either less money for each child or fewer children eating.

Why are we putting this program into a block grant? To save money? To reduce the deficit? No; it appears that the savings will be used to pay for tax cuts for those who are not as needy as our children.

If the motive of this bill is to save money—why does it remove the requirement in the WIC Program for competitive bidding for infant formula?

Most States were not using competitive bidding before Congress required them to do so in 1989. When we enacted this law we found that it saved over \$1 billion a year.

What can the savings be used for? That billion dollars can be used to serve 1½ million more women and children per month in the WIC Program.

It bewilders me, in this time of budget crunching, why we would want to give the three infant formula companies \$1 billion if our purpose is to better serve women and children.

For the richest nation on Earth to deny food to its own children is a shortsighted betrayal of our values and our future. It is also unnecessary.

In the name of our Nation and its children, we call upon reason to prevail in Congress. The 104th Congress should not be remembered as the Congress

that abandoned our Nation's most vulnerable—our children.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. ROUKEMA].

(Mrs. ROUKEMA asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. ROUKEMA. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995.

Mr. Chairman, the American people are convinced that the welfare system is out of control. As one prominent citizen of New Jersey, a Democrat at that, said to me last week: "No other civilized nation in the world pays young girls to have babies. But that's what our welfare system does."

You know, he is not far from wrong. And that is the perception among many other good, generous, caring people who are deeply concerned about this country.

They worry that we are wasting billions upon billions in hard-earned taxpayer dollars to support a system that promotes unhealthy, unproductive, dysfunctional families that sentence children to a lifetime of economic, social, and emotional deprivation.

In a system like this, it is the children who are the first victims. But the taxpayers are not far behind.

We must act now. We need welfare reform based on the notion of individual responsibility. Reform must restore public assistance to its original purpose: a temporary safety net for those in need—not a permanent way of life for generations of families.

H.R. 4 makes a number of important changes.

First, this plan requires that 50 percent of welfare recipients must be working.

There is no good reason why able-bodied welfare recipients cannot, and should not, be required to work for their benefits.

Second, this bill allows States the flexibility to terminate a family's welfare benefits after 2 years, and it requires States to terminate a family's welfare benefits after 5 years.

It is clear. Some people take advantage of the current welfare program's lax bureaucracy and simply live off welfare—generation after generation—by skillfully gaming the system.

We all saw the article last month in the Boston Globe about four generations of one family—one mother, 17 children, 74 grandchildren, and an unknown number of great-grandchildren—living in Massachusetts on welfare of some kind or another.

Is it any wonder that the American taxpayers are enraged?

Also, H.R. 4 clearly denies welfare benefits to illegal aliens and legal immigrants, thereby limiting welfare eligibility to only citizens of the United States.

While the exclusion for legal aliens has received quite a bit of criticism, I

want to make sure that everyone realizes an often-overlooked, but essential component of our immigration laws—for decades, our immigration laws have required immigrants to stipulate that they will be self-sufficient once they arrive in America, as a condition of their being allowed to immigrate in the first place. Consequently, receiving welfare has been grounds for deportation for these very same immigrants for generations.

H.R. 4 only makes explicit what has been implicit for so long. The United States of America welcomes immigrants of all kinds to our Nation. However, an important prerequisite has always been that immigrants will not become wards of the State, but rather self-supporting members of our society.

Mr. Chairman, I serve on the Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee and I support the committee-reported package of welfare reforms.

I am a strong believer in the block grant approach and feel that this is the most effective means for administering the array of services available to those who are eligible. Block granting nutrition program funds will give States the necessary flexibility to target programs which demand the greatest amount of services as a result of increased eligibility and participation.

However, I do have some concerns about certain aspects of this bill's impact on nutrition programs. Members of the committee have heard me say this before and I will say it again: Children will not go hungry and homeless. Not on my watch.

Our committee adopted my amendment prohibiting the States from transferring money from the nutrition block grants unless the State guarantees it has enough money to meet food needs.

But this is not enough.

However, I do have concerns about our responsibility to monitor maintenance of effort by the States and the need to maintain accountability standards. In these respects, I do have some concerns about certain aspects of this bill's impact on nutrition programs.

We must be certain that we are not just writing the States a blank check. We have a fiduciary responsibility to assure the taxpayers that the programs are being honestly administered.

During committee markup, concerns were raised over questions of establishing minimum nutrition standards and allowing for a 22 percent transfer provision. I believe that it is critical for this country to have uniform minimum nutrition standards because children across the country, whether they are participating in school lunch or WIC, should all be provided with foods comparable in nutritional content.

To me, this seems like a practical and straightforward approach—providing equally nutritious meals to all low-income children who are eligible. However, many oppose maintaining minimum nutrition standards established

by the USDA because they believe that keeping such requirements would be a mandate on the States. I find this charge perplexing since there are numerous mandates in this bill already.

I would also argue that, if this is considered a mandate, then it is a necessary one. We all agreed that there should be some set of standards established by the Federal Government, no matter how broadly defined. What do we accomplish by allowing 50 States to devise 50 different sets of nutrition standards? Children participating in the various nutrition programs available should have access to meals that are equal in nutritional value because all children need the same essential nutrients to develop both physically and mentally during the critical years of early childhood.

The amendment I offered which passed and is included in the bill requires the National Academy of Sciences to establish voluntary model nutrition standards for the States to follow is a small step forward in reinstating minimum national nutrition standards. However, I would like to see H.R. 4 go much further and maintain the standards already in place. Indeed, I believe it will not be too far in the future when we will evolve back to updated standards based on the academy research.

The 20-percent transfer provision clause is a second area of concern that I feel needs to be addressed. My fear, both during committee markup and presently, is that, if up to 20 percent of block grant funds can be transferred to other titles in H.R. 4, then certain programs, particularly those under the school-based nutrition block grant and the family nutrition block grant, would not be able to carry out services to those low-income children participating. Moving funds from one program to another is not a solution. Instead, it only creates problems permitting political decisions to take precedence over the nutritional needs of children.

For this reason, I offered an amendment during markup which prohibits the transfer of funds from either of the food assistance block grants unless the appropriate State agency administering this money makes a determination that sufficient amounts will remain available to carry out the services under the two nutrition block grants. While this establishes an important safeguard against depriving children of free and low-cost meals, I believe that we must do more.

Therefore, I submitted to the Rules Committee an amendment to H.R. 4 that prohibits the transfer of funds outside of these nutrition block grants when States experience unemployment above 6 percent.

Those who support the 20-percent transfer provision claim that it gives States additional flexibility during times of recession to address increases/decreases in demand for different programs. However, I would argue that this does not happen. Instead, as I have

already mentioned, a decision to transfer funds only shifts existing problems to new programs, creates entirely new problems, and makes no sense.

During economic downturns, participation in various nutrition programs, such as school lunch and WIC, increases. It is critical to ensure that during such periods, these vital nutrition services continue to be provided both to those who become eligible and to those who already qualify. The argument that not less than 80 percent of the family nutrition block grant funds must be used to carry out WIC services holds no water during times of recession. Therefore, we must make sure that all low-income people participating in the numerous nutrition programs receive healthy and nutritious meals despite fluctuations in the economy.

The second of three amendments I submitted to the Rules Committee also deals with unemployment as it affects changes—in particular, increases—in nutrition program participation. This amendment would establish a trigger to increase a States funding for both the school-based and family nutrition block grants when that State experiences an economic downturn. More specifically, it would allow up to a 1.5 percent increase in funding of both block grants for each fiscal year through fiscal year 2000 to address this problem.

Under the Opportunities Committee bill, now folded into H.R. 4, block grant money under the two aforementioned block grants is distributed quarterly. My amendment says that for every two-tenths of 1 percent that a State's quarterly unemployment level rises above 6 percent, that State will receive an additional 1 percent of the total block grant money that it received for that quarter. And, because of the funding difference between the two food assistance block grants, the additional money is authorized for the family nutrition block grant, and it is appropriated for the school-based nutrition block grant.

Many Governors, including Governor Whitman from New Jersey, have strongly endorsed a trigger-based safety net as a necessary mechanism for ensuring that States can meet participation increases.

Common sense and experience show that the needs for free and low-cost lunches, breakfasts, WIC and other nutrition services increase during times of unemployment. This additional money will help to make sure that States have the ability to administer current levels of service during such a time period while also being able to accommodate those who currently qualify. Moreover, this funding helps to prevent children from losing their eligibility to school meals and reduces the possible reduction in quality, portions, and frequency of meals being served.

Those who argue that we can always vote for supplemental appropriations are ignoring the needs of children and

the added stress to State treasuries. States will end up tapping into their own treasuries and subsequently draining State resources during the many months that it takes Congress to draft, approve, and enact supplemental appropriations bills.

My last area of concern was also brought up during the Opportunities Committee markup, and it deals with the issue of cost containment.

Under current law, States are required to participate in competitive bidding for infant formula provided to WIC-like programs, or some other system of cost containment that yields equal to or greater savings than under competitive bidding. As a result, States achieve considerable savings, which is reliably estimated to be \$1 billion annually, which in turn is used to provide additional services to WIC participants. However, under our block grant proposal, while States are encouraged to continue these systems, they are not required to.

Therefore, my third and final amendment under review by the Rules Committee would require that States implement cost-containment measures for infant formula included in food packages under the family nutrition block grant. In addition, it would require that a State use all savings achieved under this system for the purposes of carrying out services for all programs under this block grant. And, the amendment also has the State report annually on the system it is using as well as how current savings compare to that of the previous fiscal year.

Cost containment is a fair way for infant formula producers to compete for the WIC recipient market which accounts for roughly 40 percent of the entire infant formula market. The objective of this type of cost containment is to provide the maximum savings for the State so that it can in turn use this savings to provide additional WIC services for those who are eligible. Infant formula producers still have free access to 60 percent of the market. If we increase that to 100 percent, then we jeopardize the ability of a State to provide the necessary WIC nutrition services to those who qualify.

It is also important to point out that this amendment would allow a State's cost-containment savings to go toward providing services under the other programs within this block grant: Child & Adult Care Food, Summer Food, and Homeless Children Nutrition. As a result, the State is given the flexibility to use savings where it sees the greatest need.

I support the Opportunities Committee block grant approach, but the program will be greatly enhanced with my amendments. They will make the States accountable for their administration and maintenance of effort. And, most importantly, we will maintain the safety net to assure that in this land of plenty—no children will go hungry.

And finally, I want to conclude my statement with some remarks about the Child Support Enforcement title of H.R. 4.

Let me make clear one unequivocal fact: effective child support enforcement reforms must be an essential component of any true welfare reform plan. In fact, nonsupport of children by their parents is one of the primary reasons so many families end up on the welfare rolls to begin with.

Research conducted by Columbia University and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services has found that anywhere between 25 and 40 percent of mothers on public assistance would not be on welfare if they were receiving the child support they are legally and morally entitled to.

It's a national disgrace that our child support enforcement system continues to allow so many parents who can afford to pay for their children's support to shirk these obligations. The so-called enforcement gap—the difference between how much child support could be collected and how much child support is collected—has been estimated at \$34 billion.

Remember, we are addressing the problems of deadbeats who are willfully avoiding their legal obligations under the divorce edicts of their individual States. They are avoiding both their legal and moral obligations.

Failure to pay court-ordered child support is not a victimless crime. The children going without these payments are the first victims. But, the taxpayers who have to pick up the tab for deadbeat parents evading their obligations are the ultimate victims.

Strong, effective child support enforcement is welfare prevention. The single best method to reduce welfare spending is to ensure that custodial parents with children get their child support payments on time, every month.

I've been a leading voice in this debate for 10 years now, having helped draft both the Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984 and the Family Support Act of 1988. In addition, I served as a member of the U.S. Commission on Interstate Child Support Enforcement, which issued a comprehensive report, and recommendations for change, of our interstate child support system in August 1992.

I am very pleased to see that the Ways and Means Committee included many of my legislation's provisions in its child support enforcement title. In 1993, I authored legislation, H.R. 1600, that sought to enact the Commission recommendations, and I reintroduced that bill as H.R. 195 on the first day of the 104th Congress earlier this year.

Perhaps the most salient fact we must keep in mind as we seek to improve our child support enforcement system is: Our interstate child support system is only as good as its weakest link. States that have made enforcing and collecting child support payments a priority are penalized by those States which have failed to reciprocate. In

other words, the deadbeat under the existing loopholes can slip over the State line or just across the Delaware River and escape his legal obligations to his kids.

That is precisely what we need—comprehensive Federal reform of our child support system—to ensure that all States come up to the highest common denominator, not sink to the lowest common denominator as has happened all too frequently in the past.

There are, however, two important and effective get tough reforms which I have long endorsed and supported, which the Ways and Means Committee has chosen not to include in its bill. Consequently, I have asked the Rules Committee for permission to offer them as floor amendments to H.R. 4.

The first amendment, which has been cosponsored by Congresswoman CONNIE MORELLA of Maryland and Congressman MAC COLLINS of Georgia, requires that States adopt a program that revokes or restricts driver's licenses, professional/occupational licenses, and recreational licenses of deadbeat parents.

The second amendment would require that States enact criminal penalties, of their own design and choosing, for those parents who willfully fail to pay child support.

In both cases, I expect that once deadbeat parents realize exactly how serious we are about ensuring that they pay their child support, the overwhelming majority will do so, rather than lose a driver's license, a professional license, or face the prospect of a jail sentence.

It's funny how, when the sheriff knocks on their front door, how many delinquent parents who previously claimed they had no money, miraculously find some money and begin making child support payments.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I believe that H.R. 4 contains the kind of reforms to our long-broken welfare system that the American people have been expecting. In general, this bill has earned my support, and I look forward to the amendment process where I believe that this important measure will only be improved upon, prior to House passage. I urge all of my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MARTINEZ].

Mr. MARTINEZ. I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Democratic substitute, what they will offer as reform, and in opposition to the bill before us now.

Mr. Chairman, there are none of us, I think this has been said before by several people, that we are all for welfare reform, and we are. But this bill is misnomered. I think it should be called the Lack of Responsibility by the Congress Act. Sure, there are a lot of welfare abuses, and we all know it. But this begins with a society that breeds several generations of welfare recipients. There are a lot of social problems

that contribute to these factors. In no way is this bill addressing any of those problems.

To put people into productive employment I thought was the goal of this bill rather than destructive dependence. But I do not see it in this bill. I am afraid this bill under consideration presently does not achieve any of the things it should try to achieve to eliminate the abuse of welfare.

There are some States doing a tremendous job in this area. Maryland is a good example of cutting out the abuse from the sale of food stamps, et cetera, et cetera, by going to a system with a nonforgery identification card in terms of goods and supplies that families might need.

If you go back to the original reason why we created welfare, it was for the children, not the parents, not the abusive parents. It was to protect the children. It was at the time only for widows because we understood that widows of the men who had died would be terribly into poverty because the times were tough. That was back during the Depression. There are a lot of us here who are recipients of the programs that were established then, and we did not turn out so bad. But there are a lot of other factors in our society that exist today which did not exist then that we have to deal with. The fact is that right now conditions are very much like the Depression-type conditions with regard to the availability of work in many areas and neighborhoods. That is something that we have to realize if we are going to focus on making sure that we take care of the children.

This misnamed bill, as I have said, does not contain, as far as I am concerned, a job creation in it, which is terribly important if we are going to take these people off welfare and put them to work. It does not contain any provisions that make sure that the people we put here, especially in a single-parent home where the mother is the single parent and that parent needs child care for these children, where they can leave them at home, where they can be relatively sure these children are going to be safe.

You know, the bill as it is constructed, they do away with the child protections that are in the law now. They say they do this by a provision in the bill that says it will allow the States to certify.

□ 1845

Let me tell my colleagues what is wrong with that. The States will only be certifying those that are licensed. Over 40 percent of the people that provide day care are not licensed, and so that leaves a whole group of people.

There are so many things that, as we get into the rest of the bill, we will debate, but I really want to tell my colleagues this, to those on the other side, those of my colleagues who have, I think, no less compassion than those of us on this side. I wish they really

would rethink what they are doing here because together we can form a welfare reform package that deals with the abuses that are out there and make sure that we provide opportunities to succeed to people that are on welfare. That is what happened during the Depression, and that is why a lot of us that are of the Depression age are here today in this House, because there were programs that did in a bipartisan way address the societal problems that we have.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GREENWOOD].

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, the American people widely support maintaining a strong social service system which provides for children, the handicapped, the elderly and those who truly cannot find employment. At the same time, Americans have come to believe that the system now in place, not only fails to foster self-reliance, but may actually promote out-of-wedlock births.

While we must maintain a compassionate social safety net, I am convinced that we can do a better job of instilling self-reliance and discouraging irresponsible behavior within our welfare system.

H.R. 4 offers the first comprehensive package of welfare reform measures in nearly half a century. Its fundamental tenets are: (1) those welfare recipients who are able-bodied must work in exchange for benefits; (2) programs must be designed to discourage—not facilitate out-of-wedlock births; and (3) the States, which already operate their own welfare programs, will receive blocks of Federal money to provide additional social services within Federal guidelines.

The media has done a less than complete job of informing the general public about the nutrition and child care portions of H.R. 4. It is time that they know all of the facts.

First, we are not reducing funds for school lunch. The truth is this measure increases funding for school lunch by \$1.1 billion over 5 years.

Second, we are not reducing funds for women, infants, and children. The truth is the bill increases WIC funding by \$776 million over 5 years.

Third, we are not reducing funds for child care. The truth is the bill makes \$200 million more available for direct child care services.

I care about the future of our Nation's children. However, if the Federal Government continues to add hundreds of billions of dollars to the national debt each year, our children won't have a future. Establishing flexible, State-based programs that promote personal responsibility and self-reliance is a necessary step toward developing a sound fiscal policy.

As a former social worker and the father of four, I know the importance of ensuring the safety and health of all children. H.R. 4 offers compassionate, fiscally sound solutions which allow us

to effectively help those in greatest need. As a former State Legislator, I am confident that the States and localities can effectively administer welfare programs without the Federal Government micro-managing their efforts.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from California [Ms. WOOLSEY].

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Chairman, I thank my ranking member for yielding me this time.

As the only Member of Congress who has actually been a single, working mother on welfare, my ideas about welfare do not come from theory or books. I know it, I lived it.

Make no mistake, I know the welfare system is broken. It does not work for recipients or for taxpayers, and it needs fundamental change.

But I also know that H.R. 4 will gut the welfare system and shred the safety net that enabled my family to get back on our feet 27 years ago.

I will never forget what it was like to lie awake at night worried that one of my children would get sick, or trying to decide what was more important: new shoes for my children or next week's groceries.

Even though I was working the entire time I was on AFDC, I needed welfare in order to provide my family with health care, child care and the food we needed in order to survive. So my colleagues see I know about the importance of a safety net, and I also know about the importance of work.

That is why, as cochair of the House Democratic Task Force on Welfare Reform, I can tell my colleagues that the Democrats are committed to getting families off welfare and into work. We do this by helping them with education, with training, by providing the child care they need so that they can go to work.

Mr. Chairman, the choice comes down to this. We could punish poor families by voting for H.R. 4, or we can invest in our children and their families so they can lead strong, productive lives. I beg my colleagues to vote against H.R. 4 that would put people on the streets and vote for putting people to work.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FUNDERBURK].

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Mr. Chairman, this is the most important week of the 104th Congress. It is more important to the future of America than all the weeks we will spend on term limits, the line item veto, and the balanced budget. This week we decide if we will continue down the morally bankrupt path the liberal/left has led millions of Americans or will we blaze a new path for hope, responsibility, and freedom.

This debate is also about two visions. The first is offered by the same people who created the welfare nightmare. Their view of the world begins and ends with big government. In their world, government regulates and dominates every walk of life, it replaces the fam-

ily, the church and the neighborhood. They promise you happiness in exchange for a check and the loss of your liberty. The second view—our view—begins and ends with the individual. Our view of society is one in which people have the right and the opportunity to work, invest, and raise their children as they see fit. We have faith in the American spirit; the liberal Democrats have faith in Washington, DC.

I have had enough of the Democrats' big lie about welfare reform. Day after day they come to the floor and repeat the lie that Republicans are waging war on children. It is offensive because it comes from those who have trapped millions of American children in a never ending cycle of despair and dependence. Who are they to lecture to anyone about taking care of our children after they spent decades destroying the American dream for the poor.

Mr. Chairman, for the last thirty years we watched them create a national tragedy. Since 1965 we spent \$5 trillion on welfare. What do we have to show for it; disintegrating families, children having children, burned out cities, a thirty percent illegitimacy rate, and three generations of Americans who do nothing but wait at home for the next government check.

Bill Clinton promised to "end welfare as we know it." What happened? His first "reform" expanded welfare spending by \$110 billion and gutted what was left of workfare. It was business as usual; more government, more taxes, more bureaucrats. But, the American people said, "enough is enough." They understood that the liberal/left's "reform" is to spend more of other peoples' money. They know the left is happy with the "poverty" industry and those churning out more of the perverse regulations and programs which have turned so many of our people into a mass of "favor seekers."

Mr. Chairman, we came to Washington to put people to work and get government's hands out of the peoples' pockets. Let me tell you where we will be if we do not stop the runaway welfare train. Today federal welfare spending stands at \$387 billion, by 2000 we will spend \$537 billion on welfare entitlements. The madness has to stop.

Our bill eliminates the federal middleman and cuts the heart out of the Washington bureaucracy. It says the real innovators are in the states and the counties.

Mr. Chairman, the best welfare program is a job. By cutting government, taxes, regulations, and bureaucrats we can create a new era of opportunity that will make it easier for poor Americans to get back on their feet and share America's promise. Mr. Clinton is right about one thing, it really is past time to end welfare as we know it. We had better get on with it because time is running out.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SAWYER].

Mr. SAWYER. Mr. Chairman, I listened carefully to the last speaker, and I have to agree that the debate this week over welfare reform does come down to one thing, the well-being of the American family. But I would just simply have to disagree that this is not about replacing the American family. We have known for a long time that parents who finished school and who work at real and meaningful jobs are more likely to have kids who do well in school themselves and who go on to become productive citizens and raise families that are strong in their own right.

Families that function well must have access to a network of affordable support services to help them balance the demands of work and parenting. That is probably truer of families and young people today than it has ever been before. For many parents, the lack of affordable, safe child care prevents them from pursuing additional education or taking a worthwhile job; that very pathway toward solving the problem, nurturing the family, is cut off.

Now, we hear that we want to cut federal funding for child care by 20% over 5 years, providing no provision for additional funding when demand increases during difficult economic times.

We know that too many children are receiving inadequate care while their parents work, and yet this bill eliminates current health and safety standards for child care. It eliminates the requirement that states use funds to improve the quality of child care.

Mr. Chairman, we cannot have it both ways.

If we want people to move from dependence on welfare to long-term, gainful employment, we have to provide the options that make that possible.

There is nothing more important than making sure that children are in safe and healthy settings while their parents work.

We would not want anything less for our own children. We should provide nothing less for all children.

So, I would urge my colleagues to keep this in mind as they vote against H.R. 4 in its current form.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GUNDERSON].

(Mr. GUNDERSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Chairman and Members, I think it is important we understand exactly what this debate has become all about.

This debate is about whether my colleagues want to defend the Washington bureaucracy or whether they want to be advocates of real reform and change. It used to be that we were all for a bipartisan commitment to children, but now our defense of the bureaucracy has taken precedence over that. I do not know of any area wherein child nutri-

tion is part of the school lunch debate which has been more intentionally misrepresented and where children have been used as pawns for political purposes than they have in this particular area.

Let me give my colleagues some facts:

For all of those who say that the school lunch program is a wonderful program without any problems I would point out that according to the General Accounting Office in the last 4 years that they have kept records, over 302 schools have developed out of the Federal school lunch program, and their No. 1 reason for doing so was the rules, regulations and paperwork required by Washington. Second, I would point out that 46 percent of all non-poor or full-priced students voluntarily choose not to participate in America's school lunch programs today. Finally as a part of the administration's attempt last year to increase the regulations on the school lunch program through their nutrient standards, even Washington, even USDA in their budget request, say they will have to ask for at least 25 million plus to assist schools in meeting the computer requirement of this particular provision just in fiscal year 1996.

So, we have come forth with a proposal for change, a proposal that increases funding, that increases flexibility and that decreases Federal rules, regulations and paperwork. Our proposal recognizes that there is a need for increased funding. So we provide a 4.5-percent increase through fiscal year 2000.

□ 1900

We cap State administrative expenses each year at 2 percent, so 98 percent of that money goes not to States to balance their State budgets, but right to that local school to provide school nutrition. And we eliminate the Federal bureaucracy at a projection of over \$300 million in savings over the next 5 years.

In addition to that, second, we provide flexibility at the State and local levels, so they can take our resources and combine them with their own State innovation and create something new and different, a creative and interesting and appetizing and appealing school lunch program.

Third, we do establish minimum Federal safeguards. We establish voluntary national nutrition guidelines available for every State established by the National Academy of Science in concert with the school dieticians.

Second, as I said earlier, we require that 98 percent of that money go to the schools and 80 percent of that money go to the low-income students.

Now, there is something that has been missing in this discussion. I would like to challenge my Democratic friends, if they believe that in an era of deficit reduction we ought to continue providing the 11.3 million students, the sons and daughters of the bankers and rich people in this country, whether we

ought to provide them with a school subsidy for every meal they take at a cost to the Federal Government of \$556 million a year. There is not a Member in this Congress who believes that that \$556 million would survive our efforts to balance the budget, and there is not a person who understands the school lunch program who knows that if you eliminate that \$556 million, that you can continue the school nutrition programs or the school lunch program as it exists today.

So there has to be reform. We are the leaders in advocating that reform. But we are not cutting school lunch by \$556 million. What we are doing is increasing it 4.5 percent for every year for the next 5 years.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4½ minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER].

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, the legislation that we will be debating this week in the House that will be offered to us by our Republican colleagues is the most comprehensive and the most focused assault on poor children in this country that we have witnessed in the past 30 years. It is not that the press has got it wrong, it is that the press has started to explain it to the American people, and as the American people have started to understand it and started to see its components, they are starting to reject it. Because, while all of us agree about welfare reform, and every Member has said that on the floor and clearly the public agrees with welfare reform, the public is starting to ask what is it about welfare reform that requires you to take severely disabled children who suffer from cerebral palsy and other disabling diseases, what is it that requires you to take them off of the rolls so that their parents, many of whom are single parents, who are struggling to work and to keep their children at home and out of an institution, what is it about welfare reform that requires you to abandon these children?

What is it about welfare reform that requires you to repeal the child welfare protection for abused children, who need protective foster care so that they can be rescued from families that are dysfunctional and disabled in terms of their ability to take care, and many times lash out and injure these children and in some circumstances kill these children? What is it about welfare reform that required the Republicans to do that?

What is it about welfare reform that required the Republicans to rip away from working poor parents who have struggled to get off of welfare but now need child care to stay off of welfare so they can contribute to the well-being of their family, and with a little bit of

assistance and child care and maybe some food stamps lighten the load on the Government and retain their dignity? What is it about welfare reform that told the Republicans to rip that away from those working parents?

What is it about welfare reform that asks them to rip away \$7 billion from the child nutrition programs; in our child care programs; in our school lunch programs; in our women, infants and children's programs? I appreciate that they say that all of these programs are there, but none of them are mandated. None of them are provided to these children who need these programs, who are enabled to have these programs, because of circumstances beyond these children's control.

What is it about welfare reform that says that if a child happens to live in a State that suffers from an economic downturn, that they may not get their school lunch because there will be no entitlement for that child, a child who finds himself in a family that is now, because of an economic downturn, unemployed, and yet the family seeks to hold itself together?

What is it about welfare reform that demanded these kinds of harsh actions? What is it about welfare reform that no longer provides an entitlement to a pregnant woman at nutritional risk to protect her pregnancy for the healthy birth of her newborn infant and to care for that infant when they have been medically certified at nutritional risk and the likelihood of giving birth to a low-birth-weight baby, babies that have a 30 or 40 percent greater frequency of coming back and needing help later with special education, with remedial education, because of the brain development they suffered? What is it about welfare reform that demanded that?

You talk about people who spend generations on welfare, and yet you are creating the very children who are going to be candidates for welfare because of your inhumanity, because of your callous nature, and because of the war you wage on the poor children of this Nation.

What is it about welfare reform that requires you to treat the children, to punish the child of a young woman who has a child out of wedlock under the age of 18, to punish that child and to rip away the resources? Sixty percent of all of the pregnancies in this country, no matter what your class, your status, no matter what your financial well-being, 60 percent of all of the pregnancies in this country are unintended. Half of them are resolved by abortion. Half of them are resolved by abortion. So what do we do? We tell individuals if you have an unintended pregnancy, we are going to make your life more desperate, more complicated, more hostile to bringing that child into this world.

That is not welfare reform, that is a war on America's children, on the poorest of America's children.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. WELDON].

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Chairman, that was a very impassioned speech that we heard, but one thing needs to be kept in mind when we hear these kinds of comments that all of the terrible problems that this gentleman spoke of have actually increased over the past 30 years with all of these programs that we have seen emanating from Washington. They have not decreased. What we are trying to do here with our welfare reform program, Mr. Chairman, is reinvigorate the family, reinvigorate personal responsibility, do something about the terrible problem of illegitimacy.

I as a physician worked in inner-city obstetrics clinics and I saw 15-year-olds coming into the clinic pregnant. I would ask them why they are doing this? And they would tell me they want to get out of their unit, they want to get out from under their mother, they want to get their own place in the project, and they want to get their own welfare check.

This system that has been created over the past 30 years is broken. We need to strengthen families. We need to deal with this problem of illegitimacy.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS].

(Mr. OWENS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, there is almost 100 percent agreement that welfare as we know it should be reformed. We all want to reform welfare, make the necessary adjustments to allow it to accomplish what it is supposed to accomplish in terms of helping victims.

We help victims of earthquakes, we help victims of floods, we help victims of hurricanes. We should help victims of a mismanaged economy which produces a situation where there are no jobs for men and families as a result are forced to go on welfare.

All big government programs should be reviewed occasionally. We should certainly look at all programs and look at ways to reform them. We should try to reform programs like the farmers home loan mortgages, which were so badly repaid that the Department of Agriculture decided to just forgive \$11.5 billion in loans over a 5-year period. We gave away \$11.5 billion in loans for the farm welfare program.

We also have welfare for electric power users out in the West and Midwest, where they are using Federal power at within half the rate that we have to pay in the big cities. So that is a welfare giveaway we ought to take a look at and see if we can reform it. We have enormous amounts of welfare for the farmers, and we ought to take a look at that. We are spoiling America's farmers by smothering them with socialism, and we ought to take a look at rich farmers as well as poor farmers receiving welfare.

Aid for dependent children is a welfare program for poor children that costs \$16 billion. Aid to rich farmers through the farm price subsidy program is not means tested. Rich farmers can get that as well as poor, and there are very few poor farmers left. Less than 2 percent of the American population lives on farms, so most of the \$16 billion goes to the welfare program for farmers just as \$16 billion goes to needy children.

That \$16 billion that goes to farmers, we need to look at how to reform that. We need to be serious about that. We should not demonize poor children and poor families suffering as a result of economic dislocations that are perpetrated by people making decisions far beyond their control. Welfare for farmers is not means tested. Millions receive government checks.

Two recent articles, one in the Washington Post and one in the New York Times, said that city dwellers, they listed the names of people who are city dwellers who never set foot on a farm, who are receiving welfare farm checks. So I hope we are going to reform that as well, because in order to make the budget balance and in order to do things that need to be done, we need to reform that.

We need to go back and take a hard look at the savings and loans debacle and the unfortunate steps we took there which did not reform that system. Two hundred billion dollars of the taxpayers' money went down the drain as a result of our not paying attention to reform. Reform is very much needed.

The Republican welfare reform program, unfortunately, shows contempt for work. At every level, it refuses to deal with job training, it refuses to make some kind of pledge to provide work for people, it refuses to deal with minimum wages that are necessary in order for people to get off welfare, to make enough money to live on. They have a great contempt for work. It is a big lie that they are interested in having people get off welfare and go to work. They have abandoned the goal of work.

It is the Democrats who now carry the goal of work, as we did in 1988. This is not the first time we have tried to make adjustments to the welfare program. In 1988 we attempted to make an adjustment in terms of job training and jobs for people on welfare.

The Republican welfare program swindles poor children through the block grant mechanism. It swindles poor children in two ways. When you take away the entitlement for aid to dependent children, it means you are swindling them, because they do not have a right if they are poor, they do not have the Federal Government standing behind them. They do not have the power of the Federal Treasury, which guarantees that no matter how bad the economic conditions may be and how many people may be forced on welfare the money will be made available to meet their needs. They are

swindling poor children through the school lunch program. You are taking away an entitlement, so as the numbers increase, we expect 20,000 more youngsters to enroll in New York City schools next year. Enrollment is skyrocketing. Just enrollment alone produces a greater need, so that the block grant will not take care of that increasing need by enrollment.

But when economic conditions get worse, the number of people goes up who are eligible. Block grants place the poor at the mercy of State and local governments, and the history of State and local governments is they have been very mean-spirited and very cruel and some of the worst and most corrupt government in the country has been at State and local government levels. We are not helping people by placing them at the mercy of State and local governments. School lunches were created in the first place because State and local governments refused their needs.

Mr. Chairman, now we are saying to the children of America, Children of America, there is a fiscal crunch; this great Nation now needs your lunch.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GREENWOOD].

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I rise to respond to some of the remarks made by my colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER], who talked about the inhumane and callous nature of those of us on this side of the aisle. I have to tell you I take a little bit of umbrage at that.

I am a former child welfare worker. I have spent a number of years of my life in the homes of some of the most abused and neglected children in my community. I met my wife while she was a child protective worker there and she is still a social worker. I am the founder of the Pennsylvania Children's Coalition, a caucus that we formed in the Pennsylvania legislature, and I have been a child advocate for 20 years.

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When I was a social worker trying to spend all of my time protecting children, I had to take away from my time at least a day and a half each week to fill out the Federal forms so the bean counters in the bureaucracy in Washington could account for my time. I was not able during that time to go out and protect the children in my community.

What we are doing is simply taking this program of child protective services, giving it to the States who have been operating it for years, increasing the funding from \$4.4 billion to \$5.6 billion over the next 5 years. And I will tell you from my personal experience, that is a smart and that is a compassionate thing to do.

The gentleman also made reference to the notion of punishing teenage girls who have babies. What punishes teenage girls who have babies who are 14

and 15 years of age is to say to them, you and your little baby live in a tenement somewhere. We will send you this meager allowance and pretend that you can survive, and we know that they do not survive and we know that they are the most likely young people to abuse their own children. And what we are simply trying to say is, you do not become an adult by having a baby. If you are 14 or you are 15 and you are 16 and you have a baby, you still need more than ever the care of responsible adults, and we want to make sure that those teenage girls and their babies are cared for in proper settings where there are rules and there are limits and there is safety and they can be taught to raise their children properly and help to become successful as adults.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 10 seconds.

Mr. Chairman, I want to refute what was just said by the previous speaker. I think he ought to know, even though he worked in this kind of a position, that most of the teenage pregnancies under 15 years of age take place in the home where that kid comes from. It is a violation of that kid's personal self-esteem.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. WATT].

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Missouri for yielding time to me.

I am not a member of a committee which has had under consideration this welfare reform bill so, when I got the bill finally on Friday of last week and it was finalized, I went rushing through that bill, looked and spent an awful lot of time reviewing the provisions of that bill. And two things jumped out at me.

No. 1, I had heard my Republican colleagues talk about how they were going to get people off the public dole and make sure they went to work. And I looked and I looked and I looked, and I did not find anything in this bill that would provide jobs for people who want to work at the end of their welfare stay or any time during their welfare stay. So that is the first bogus promise that I found.

No. 2, I went looking and I found that this bill punishes children for the conduct of their parents. If your parent is poor, the children get punished. If the parent has a child out of wedlock, the child gets punished. No Federal benefits for children or mothers under age 18, if they are unwed.

If the parent is on welfare, has another child, the child gets punished. No benefits for that child because he or she was born to a mother who was on welfare.

If the parent will not work, the child gets punished. After 2 years, whether they can find work or want work or will work, if they do not have a job, the child will be punished and the child will be off of welfare. If the parent cannot find a job, who, the child gets pun-

ished. Cut off the parent and the innocent child.

This is a mean, mean, mean bill. We should be nurturing, encouraging, supporting our children, not punishing them for their parents' shortcomings. We should be providing jobs for those who want to work, not calling a cutoff after 2 years welfare reform.

Mr. Chairman, this bill is a hoax. It does not provide any jobs. After we heard so much about jobs to get people off the public dole, no jobs. And it is mean spirited and mean to children.

They did not do anything to deserve this. Why would we punish children in the name of welfare reform?

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

We have heard all this about whether there is workfare, whether there is not. H.R. 4 eliminates the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Jobs Program. Why? Because it failed. Success in this program is an exception to the rule. Although it is billed as a welfare to work program, after 7 years in operation, Jobs boasts a mere 26,000 recipients in work. The GOP bill in the first year alone will ensure 180,000 welfare recipients will be in work. By 2003, 2.25 million welfare recipients will be working a minimum of 35 hours per week in exchange for the benefit; 90 percent of the American people support this.

The Clinton proposal would not have placed any recipients in work for the first 2 years. At its peak, it would have moved only 394,000 recipients into work.

So it is very, very clear that there are strong work requirements in the bill that will really make the difference.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. TANNER].

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TANNER. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. WATT of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I just simply want to find out where in this bill those jobs are. It is not in this bill. You can protest all you want. There is nothing in this bill that provides any jobs. If you can tell me where that is, I would be happy to hear it.

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Chairman, in this general debate, I am going to remain general, but I know that over the next 2 days there will be a lot of specifics.

I have been in the Congress for 6 years. I have been aware and working on welfare reform for that time, particularly the last 3 years. And I want to thank the Members who have brought this bill to the floor because I think Republicans and Democrats can both agree that the time for welfare reform is now.

I come to speak tonight as one of the original cosponsors of the so-called Nathan Deal bill. I believe that we have the best approach, the Contract With America notwithstanding.

The Deal approach, and our approach, is for a stronger work requirement to bring the dignity of work to the American people. We also, unlike any other proposal, make sure that the value of a welfare dollar is no more than a dollar earned by the sweat of the brow. And our final bottom line in our approach is simply this, if you want something from the Government, then you must be willing to do something for yourself.

Let me talk just a minute generally about the Deal substitute to the Contract With America. All of us any many Members have said tonight and this afternoon that the present welfare system, Federal welfare system is broken. Its evolution has trapped many in broken families and generational dependence with little, if any, hope. That is wrong and we know that.

In the present system all too often the emphasis is on how to receive a welfare check rather than how to return to work. The present system has built in disincentives against two-parent families. It has a powerful incentive, actually, for young unwed motherhood. That is also wrong.

There is nothing in the present system really requiring personal responsibility for one's own future. This is our fault. This is the fault of the American people and the policymakers.

The Federal system is broken. We all know that. We must fix it, in my opinion, here, before we take the Republican approach and block grant it and dump it in the hands of the States and their Governors and their legislatures. That is not the way we need to fulfill our obligation as Federal legislators. We abdicate it by just saying we will block grant it and our hands are clean.

The Nathan Deal bill has a way, I think, to address this problem and give the States the flexibility they need to address the problem. In our bill, the Deal substitute, is work in exchange for assistance with a 2-year time limit. If you are offered a job and do not take it, benefits end. And if you find a job and refuse to accept it, the same is true.

We encourage families by ending the disincentives in the present system to favor marriage. We end the incentives that lead to unwed teenage motherhood by demanding liability from parents and requiring minor mothers to live with a parent or guardian and remain in school. Personal responsibility is demanded in our bill and, unlike any other proposal here, we make benefits from AFDC and food stamps subject to taxable income, ensuring, as I said at the outset, that a welfare dollar is not worth more than a dollar earned by work.

John Kennedy once said,

Our privileges can be no greater than our obligations. The protection of our rights can endure no longer than the performance of our responsibilities.

Let us exercise our responsibilities as Federal legislators and fix the Federal system before we dump it on the

States. I think that is the responsible thing to do. I think the Deal substitute will do that, and I would encourage all of my colleagues, as this debate continues, to give it great consideration, great weight and put aside partisan differences and consider voting for it.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas, [Mr. SAM JOHNSON].

Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, Democrats are scared of losing 40 years of tight-fisted control over the States. This scares them so much they have embarked on a big lie campaign to defeat a bill that gives the States and individuals the power to create solutions. They still believe Washington knows best.

This example is best illustrated by the Republican proposal to improve the school lunch program. This bill does not cut lunches. It does not cut funding. We increase funding for the program by 4.5 percent per year. Let me repeat, 4.5 percent every year. We are not taking away food from anyone.

Republicans believe in change, and this bill represents it. The Democrats continue to believe in the status quo. This was shown by their event last Sunday. And would you believe they used children as props to help their special interest friends raise money, big labor unions, welfare state bureaucrats and extremist organizations?

Mr. Chairman, I ask my colleagues to vote for the real change. Vote against big government. Vote for this bill.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. STENHOLM].

(Mr. STENHOLM asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STENHOLM. Mr. Chairman, I rise tonight in strong support of Mr. DEAL's alternative welfare reform proposal. Like most Americans, I feel that the time has come to seriously evaluate the structure of our system and provide constructive solutions to problems within it. Our current system is broken. It must be fixed.

I come before you today in strong support of a plan that transforms our current system into the type of program that it should be—a temporary helping hand for those who need a chance to get back on their feet again. I think we all agree that the focus of welfare reform should be getting people off of the welfare rolls and into work. It has become very obvious, however, that while we may agree on the goal, it is not as easy to agree on how to get there. Having said that, I feel that the welfare reform proposal we have developed provides a centrist approach to intelligently reforming our welfare system, without hurting those who need a helping hand. We must not take the more limited view that welfare reform simply means cutting the cost of welfare. Welfare reform is not simply cutting services and denying benefits in order to find a budgetary fix. Welfare reform involves real people with real

needs, which do not just disappear once the funds are cut. Their needs will continue, the same as before, unless we provide some of the necessary assistance to move them off of welfare into jobs.

The welfare reform proposal that we have developed addresses these basic problems by, first, emphasizing work over welfare. One of the basic tenets of the proposal is the establishment of the Work First Program, which fundamentally reforms the JOBS Program of our current welfare system. The new Work First Program requires participants to begin job activities as soon as they enter the program, providing individuals with the opportunity to immediately begin working their way toward self-sufficiency.

Second, we change the focus of welfare from a seemingly endless hand-out to a temporary hand up. The perception of our welfare system as a permanent way of life has evolved through years of providing benefits to recipients without a sensible plan for moving them off of the welfare system. Therefore, we propose a time limited assistance program that would empower individuals to move from welfare to work. As an incentive to work, the plan would provide transitional assistance to make work pay more than welfare. We extend the transitional medical assistance from 1 year to 2 years so that individuals do not have to fear losing health coverage if they take a job. We also provide child care assistance for moms so that they are able to take a job and begin working toward self-sufficiency. After 2 years in a work program, States also would be allowed to deny AFDC benefits to recipients who do not have jobs.

Third, we propose changing the perception that Government bears all of the responsibility for those in need. Individuals also must accept their share of responsibility in providing for their families. In order to do this, we require recipients to develop an individual plan for self-sufficiency, which would include the tools needed to get the individual off of welfare and into work. We also strengthen child support enforcement and hold the parents of minor mothers and fathers liable for financial support of their children. The proposal allows States to deny increases in AFDC funding to mothers who have additional children while receiving these benefits and requires minor mothers to live with a parent or a responsible adult.

Finally, we realize that a one-size-fits-all approach to welfare reform is impractical, if not impossible, because it does not take into account the wide range of needs and programs that exist. Therefore, we have provided States with the flexibility necessary to develop effective programs that meet their own specific needs. While the Federal Government has a role to play in setting broad guidelines in order to maintain a level playing field, State

flexibility is the key to reforming our welfare system.

In addition, I believe it is very important to include local communities in the process, as well. To that end, we have provided Federal grant assistance to community-based organizations for coordination of services. The one-stop shop idea is already being explored in many communities and many others could streamline services with some additional assistance.

As a participant in the current welfare reform discussion, I have heard many times that we should get rid of fraud and abuse in our welfare system and I agree. As the former chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Department Operations and Nutrition, I have worked tirelessly to correct deficiencies in the Food Stamp Program and I am well aware of the need for continued improvement. That is why I am pleased to say that we have incorporated a very tough food stamp fraud and abuse provision in our proposal. We have also made additional improvements to the current Food Stamp Program while maintaining the basic food safety net for people in need.

Finally, I strongly believe that we should not fund tax cuts with welfare reform, particularly considering the enormous deficit problem we are currently facing. Our substitute, therefore, specifically designates any additional savings from the welfare system for deficit reduction purposes. We are already threatening the future of our children with the unbelievable responsibility of financing our current spending behavior. I cannot justify adding additional responsibility to our children by requiring them to finance a tax cut before we control our deficit.

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Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. CUNNINGHAM], one of the leaders in helping to put this bill together as far as our committee is concerned.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I have a book for my colleagues on the other side. I have gone to town hall meetings. They understand the lie about whether we are adding or cutting nutrition programs. That book is called basic mathematics, or the DICK ARMEY syndrome that says "If you add more money the following year than you have this year, that is an add. If you have less, that is a cut."

I have also prepared a book in here and it is called "How to tell the truth." I think our colleagues need to take a look at both of those books.

The real reason for why are we doing welfare reform, Mr. Chairman, why would we tackle this after the other side of the aisle has the rhetoric that they want to reform the system, they want to reform it, and they have done nothing for 40 years but create the system that we are under today.

The current welfare system, Mr. Chairman, is not compassionate. Look at the problems that we have across

the country. Nothing could be more cruel to welfare recipients and children than the system we have today. We as a policy have created that system. That is an effort to change that particular system.

Look at the children's nutrition program. Who are we trying to feed with those programs? We are trying to make sure that our poorest children are fed, but yet we continue the policies that would create those poverty children living in poverty.

Mr. Chairman, I have the utmost respect for my colleagues, and many of them on the other side in the Black Caucus; the gentleman from Georgia, JOHN LEWIS, who walked in Alabama. However, the Members are wrong in this.

When we look at the welfare systems in the communities with Federal housing that persist, with crime-ridden, with drug-ridden, with black children, two out of three, being single parents, and to perpetuate that system, when they talk about cruel and unusual punishment, to foster that kind of a program, Mr. Chairman, is more than comprehension.

The real reason why my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, the socialists, the Clinton liberals, we have added money in the nutrition programs, but the real reason they are fighting this, and I went to great efforts, and the one thing that we cut is the big Federal bureaucracies. They cannot stand it. That is what they are fighting, over and over and over again.

Mr. Chairman, the system traps recipients in an unending cycle. It hurts those, the children, and those that we are really trying to help. This brings deadbeat dads for responsibility, a system that encourages fathers that have run away from their responsibility to get back together with the family.

The gentleman says there is no creation of jobs. If I can bring a family together by not penalizing the father that comes with that welfare recipient mother and child, and have one of them work, that is better. That is compassionate. What is incompassionate is the current system, where we have disincentives to bring those families together. We have disincentives to break out of the Federal housing programs.

The personal responsibility, illegitimacy, we have to attack it, because it also ties in with child abuse and it ties in with the nutrition programs. We have increased the nutrition programs by 4.5 percent. President Clinton in his first budget increased it by 3.1 percent. In this budget just a few weeks ago, the President stood up here and only allowed for a 3.6-percent increase in the nutrition program. We increased it by 4.5 percent. Why?

There was a movement on our side to cut it, not to zero, but to cut it 5 percent, to actually go in and cut the program. I went to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING] and said "If you do that, I will resign my chairmanship of the committee," because at

that point we will hurt those nutrition programs.

Let me read what is really wrong with the system: "Cash benefits going for drugs, generations of dependency, children having children, killing children." Nothing could be more cruel to the kids that exists than the welfare systems that we have today.

I look in Chicago, and police found 19 children living in squalor in a cold, dark apartment. Two children in diapers were sharing a bone with the family dog. Why? Because the parents were living on cocaine and drugs.

Child abuse services need to be brought in, and yes, we need to provide services for those kids, but we also need to eliminate the systems in which those people are not held accountable.

Karen Henderson of Bakersfield, CA, was charged for murder after breastfeeding her baby while she was on crack cocaine.

In August 1994, a couple was sentenced to 6 years in prison for neglecting their 4-month-old son. He bled to death after being bitten 100 times by rats because they took the money and stuck it up their noses in cocaine. That was in a Federal housing project, which breeds that kind of contempt.

While an 8-year-old brother screamed in vain for help, 5-year-old Eric Morris was dropped to his death from a 14-story public housing project by two older boys, aged 10 and 11. That is what is cruel, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I ask my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, let us embrace personal responsibility. Let us embrace where we take deadbeat dads. I applaud the President for what he has done in following suit. I embrace you, to take care and make sure that we have the responsibility of parents, so that we can draw less and less for those programs, because we have less people that need it because their economics are better. We can do that by encouraging families and increasing the nutrition program for those children that need it. That is what we have done, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MCKEON].

Mr. MCKEON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I want to express my support for the mandatory work requirements contained in H.R. 4. Consistent with 90 percent American voters, H.R. 4 requires that recipients of welfare work in exchange for their benefits.

Under H.R. 4, every welfare recipients is required to participate in some form of work activity within a minimum of 2 years. After 5 years, recipients face the ultimate work requirement, the end of all cash welfare, period.

In addition, we require States to have a minimum of 50 percent of adults in one-parent welfare families working by the year 2003 and require that 70

percent of two-parent families work by 1998.

Under this bill, with limited exceptions, all work participants must be in real private-sector jobs, paying real wages, and they must work for a minimum of 20 hours per week, rising to 35 hours per week by 2003.

Under the GOP proposal, 2.25 million welfare recipients will be participating in work by the year 2003. In the first year alone, 180,000 recipients will be working. How do other welfare-to-work proposals fare under these guidelines? The current program, the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Act, while boasting a 20-percent participation rate, has a mere 26,000 recipients working. The Clinton proposal would have had zero recipients working in the first 2 years, and at its peak would have had just 394,000 participants in a real job. Mr. Chairman I beg the question, who's serious about work?

Mr. Chairman, in closing, I just want to add that work provides more than a wage, it provides a sense of being, increases self-esteem, and provides a role model for the societal value of self-sufficiency, reducing the pattern of dependence which currently is passed from one generation to another.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 seconds to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I just want ask the gentleman, at what wage rate would people get work under this bill? Would they be paid less than minimum wage? Would they go back to slavery?

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS].

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to this legislation. The issue is, first of all, distorted. The issue is not about the irresponsible mother in America. The issue is what is in the best interests of the child, what is in the best interests of our children in America.

We talk about in 2 years a mother will be off of welfare and will not receive the benefits. First of all, the benefits we send to these so-called mothers is not money for the mother. This money is for the child. The reason we send it to the mother is because the last time I checked, an infant cannot wake up in the morning, grab a check out of a mailbox, and go to the bank and cash it, so that is why we send the money to the mother. It is for the child. It is in the best interests of the child.

Mr. Chairman, we talk about "Two years and you are off." That sounds real good, but who is going to suffer? Children are going to suffer. In 2 years, children are going to be dying of malnutrition in this country, because they will not have milk to drink.

We say they have to work. If they do not work in 2 years, that parent is off.

Why not mandate that the States provide job training? Mothers cannot get up and work in the morning if they do not have day care. If Members will take some time and think about this proposal, they will know that in order for a mother to go to work and learn a skill, she has to have somebody to take care of that baby. We have to talk about what is in the best interests of the children in this country.

Lastly, child nutrition. The gentleman from California said we did not cut money in child nutrition. That is absolutely incorrect. The proposal was 5.2 percent. This proposal is 4.5 percent. Anybody who is not even a mathematical wizard knows that is a cut.

Not only that, under this block grant proposal, 20 percent of the money could be used for other purposes and not child nutrition.

□ 1945

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 seconds, just to say that Louisiana gets \$1.5 million more under our proposal.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS].

Mr. RIGGS. I thank the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the distinguished chairman, for yielding me the time.

I would like really to point out to my colleagues and fellow Americans that this is one of the most consequential debates not only of the first 100 days or even of this Congress but one of the most consequential debates that this House will hold in decades. Very few Americans would disagree that our welfare system no matter how well-intentioned at its inception is a complete failure today. However, there are many people in this town who have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and they will argue stridently as we have heard tonight and as we will continue to hear over the next few days, and often misleadingly against our efforts. So it is important that every Member of this Chamber understand the bill that we are bringing to the floor, why it is important, and why defenders of the status quo are wrong.

Toward that end, I want to talk about just some of the myths that have already been suggested regarding our welfare reform efforts and provide a little reality check for each one of those myths.

Myth 1. Your pro-family provisions are cruel to children. Reality. It is the current system that is hurting children by encouraging self-destructive behavior, dependency, and out-of-wedlock births. Our bill does not end assistance to children, only cash assistance. No responsible parent would reward an irresponsible child with cash payment for an apartment. No responsible employer would give workers a raise simply because they have additional children. Taxpayers should not do those things, either.

Another myth. Your bill is weak on work. Reality. Our work requirements

are tough on work. We require that States make cash welfare recipients go to work after 2 years or less at the option of the States. After 5 years, recipients face the ultimate work requirement, the end of all cash welfare.

We require States to have 50 percent of adults in one-parent welfare families today, working by the year 2003. We require States to have 90 percent of two-parent families working by the year 1998. And we define work as real private sector work for pay. States that do not meet these standards lose part of their block grant, and that is tough on work.

Mr. Chairman and my fellow Americans, we are embarked on a tremendous debate on historic significance. We are going to replace a failed system of despair with more compassionate solutions that encourage work and families and offer hope for the future.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. GENE GREEN.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman, the ranking member of the committee, for yielding me the time.

Mr. Chairman, we are considering the Personal Responsibility Act and it is an easy bumper sticker name and people will hear for the next few days some of the easy names, that this bill was going to solve out-of-marriage births. I would hope that we have some reality checks on the other side of the aisle, also, because what this bill does, it is a transfer of power to the Governors of the country. This bill allows Governors to deny legal immigrants State-funded assistance. The bill allows governors to remove 20 percent in the 3 block grants for child care, family, and school nutrition. That is where we would see the cuts on the State level. The Governors could do that. Congress should provide a great deal of latitude for State governments, but we also need to make sure that the food actually gets to those children instead of saying, well, we're guaranteeing it to a Governor but we're not guaranteeing it to that child.

I wish to make it clear that that is what we are doing. We are guaranteeing funding to that Governor but not to that child. Welfare reform is requiring for work, requiring transitional assistance, requiring going to job training. We can reform food stamps. Those are all goals that we should have and I think we should have on this side of the aisle but I am on the committee that this bill was considered and we did not have a bipartisan bill. This was laid out and literally rolled over in two days' time. That is why a lot of us are opposing it, because it will cut children's nutrition, because the only guarantee it is to the Governors of the States and not to the children of our country.

The House of Representatives is debating the Personal Responsibility Act.

A bumper sticker name for a bill which will place sweeping powers in the hands of Governors to reform welfare.

What are some of powers that Governors will be given?

The bill before us will allow Governors to deny legal immigrants and State funded assistance based on economic needs.

The bill also allows Governors to move 20 percent of funds from the three block grants for child care, family and school nutrition programs.

Congress should provide a great deal of latitude to State governments to be innovative and imaginative, but Congress must also ensure Federal assistance is used by the people who most need that help.

This bill provides a guarantee to Governors for the funds included in the block grants.

I wish to be very clear on this point: A Governor is guaranteed funding but not a child.

Welfare reform is called for, requiring work requiring transitional assistance, reforming food stamps are all goals which must be obtained but not at the cost of school children, and nutrition.

The fatal flaw in the school breakfast and lunch block grant is it does not guarantee a child a meal but just as important it does not take into affect that foods costs increase along with school population.

Without increasing the funds as a result of food cost inflation and increased population, a local school district will be forced to increase local tax rates to make up the short-fall.

We will hear on one side that funding is increased and on the other side there are cuts.

The simple fact is we are all guessing because this bill has been rushed through the Congress like a runaway train.

Mistakes have been made. At one point 57,000 military children were left out.

We must be diligent in reforming welfare but when we are forced to take up legislation which has been run through with little discussion, mistakes are made.

Earlier, A fellow Texas colleague states that we should not take away someone's dream, and I agree but we should also not take away a helping hand.

Reform is needed, but informed reform is real reform.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK].

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). The gentleman from Hawaii [Mrs. MINK] is recognized for 4 minutes.

(Mrs. MINK of Hawaii asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. MINK of Hawaii. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman my ranking member for yielding me time.

I rise today to decry the punitive measures contained in the Republican bill which would desert the most impoverished and youngest citizens in our country during their time of great need.

The drastic changes proposed by the Republican bill would devastate communities in every State by eliminating vital programs as you have heard discussed this afternoon that these communities have relied on for many, many decades.

This shortsighted and intolerant legislation does not put forth the constructive agenda to reform. It is to punish people merely because they are poor.

Although most welfare mothers try hard to support their families and try to find a decent job that pays a living wage, the Republican bill makes no effort to help them. Instead, the Republican bill gives every recipient family a ticking time bomb by putting time limits on the amount of time that they can receive benefits and cutting them off even if they have tried hard and cannot find a job and they do not even provide child care while the woman goes out to hunt for work. This bill turns a cold shoulder also on legal immigrants that have been lawfully admitted into the country by denying them many of the programs, and they came to America in search of opportunity and they are being cut off arbitrarily, in my view unconstitutionally.

There are 9 million children in a total of 14 million people who are receiving welfare benefits today. The Republican bill would arbitrarily cut these children off from cash benefits because of what their parents did or would not do. If their parents are unable to find work, if their mother is teenaged, if they cannot locate their fathers, they would be cut off arbitrarily. It would destroy the frail chances these children would have to survive by relegating them and their families to the status of second-class citizens in this country just because they are poor, because their mothers were teenagers or because they were born out of wedlock.

Republicans say that the answer is that welfare parents must go to work. We agree. I believe that the working potential of welfare recipients is very high. I have studied this issue for years. The average recipient already has 4½ years of work experience when they come on to welfare. They want to work. Their problem is some personal problems have affected their ability to hold down a job. Perhaps someone is ill or they do not have adequate child care. 56 percent come into welfare with a high school diploma or more. Most of the recipients stay on only for 11 months. The problem with the current system is it has not offered a helping hand to the women. If they had the help they probably would have gone off welfare much sooner.

So the help that the Democratic substitutes provide is the help of finding a job, giving them adequate education, and providing the essential child care which cannot be left out of the program. This is what the Republicans do not seem to understand. You cannot simply block-grant money to the States without mandating the essentials, which is education, training and a good child care support program.

What the Republicans have done in their bill is to repeal the jobs program. Yet they say their bill is for work? How can you provide a work ethic or incen-

tive if you do not have a jobs program which can do the training and education with the supportive child care?

The Republicans completely ignore the child care aspects of it. The current law today requires and guarantees that every welfare recipient who finds work must be provided with child care. That has been repealed.

The AFDC families are willing to work, want to work, need the help, and the Democratic substitute is the bill that must pass this Congress.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California [Mr. RIGGS]. Then I will close the debate.

Mr. RIGGS. I thank the gentleman again for yielding me the time.

I just wanted to respond since the question of immigrants came up and make clear again, reality check, we are not bashing immigrants, we are giving strength to the longstanding Federal policy that welfare should not be a magnet for immigrants, legal or illegal.

To accomplish this, we do 4 things: We prohibit legal aliens from the big 5 magnet programs, cash welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, title 20, and SSI which has been an especially egregious source of abuse by legal aliens. We make the alien sponsor's affidavit legally binding and enforceable. We apply the existing deeming rule to all Federal means-tested programs so that in these programs the income of an alien sponsor is deemed to be the alien's.

Lastly, we authorize Federal and State authorities for the first time to go after deadbeat sponsors. We are strengthening current immigration policy, not bashing anyone.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of the time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING] is recognized for 5½ minutes.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, at least I am glad to hear as I have heard all evening that everyone now has a welfare reform program. I am also happy to hear that everyone now believes that the system is broken and needs fixing. We have come a long, long way. If nothing else, we have gotten that far.

It was interesting to hear a good friend of mine say, at least on two occasions on the other side this evening, he had this welfare program but they filibustered it to death. I did not know we had such an opportunity. I thought 5 minutes and you object and that is the end of anybody speaking, and I am sure he was talking about the House of Representatives.

What we are trying to do is take these people out of slavery, not put them into slavery. That is where they are at the present time, because we have denied them the opportunity to ever get a piece of the American dream. For 30 or 40 years, the situation keeps getting worse and worse, and we

deny more and more an opportunity for a piece of that American dream. We have to admit the failure, which we are doing this evening on both sides of the aisle, and now do something to change it.

Let me talk just a few minutes about the provisions from our committee. I am sure everyone knows that the Personal Responsibility Act which was part of the contract included a proposal for a single food and nutrition block grant. To that I said, "No way, Jose," which is the same thing that I said in the early 1980's. The leadership then said, and I think using good judgment, "Okay, then you, as the majority members of the committee, come up with your program." And we did.

We have also heard many times this evening how wonderful the program is working when you talk about school lunch and child nutrition. No one has defended it more than I have. But there are problems, folks. It can be a much better program. If you only have 50 percent of the free and reduced-price people who are eligible participating, there is something wrong with the program. And you can look at the statistics and that is exactly what it tell you. If only 46 percent of the paying customers who are eligible are participating in the program, something is wrong with the program.

Secondly, the American school food service people have told us over and over again, the rules and the regulations and the red tape are killing them. They are taking money out of the children's mouths to do all of the paperwork that is required by the Federal Government. So we can change that.

And then there is some fraud, because we encourage some of it the way it is set up, because it is much more advantageous to count as many as you can possibly get away with as free, because the reimbursement is far greater if you do that.

So as I indicated, we are trying to set up programs that will meet the local areas' needs. What might work in Flint, Michigan may not work in Kansas, or in York, Pennsylvania. We have to allow some flexibility so that we can get more people participating in these programs. We know you cannot educate a hungry child. So what is happening to that 50 percent that are not participating? They are probably not doing too well in school. We get reports from parents who say, "We're not going to send that money to school, or sign up for them to participate if they are going to not participate or they're going to throw the food away."

Again, I say over and over again, we positively owe it to the millions that we have enslaved in this welfare system that has been created well-meaningly over a 40-year period, we owe it to those people to have an opportunity, like I have had and everyone in this Congress has had, to get a part of the American dream.

They are not getting it at the present time. We must make change and

change I realize upsets everyone. But change is necessary. It is also inevitable.

I would hope when we come back and begin the amendment process, and there are a couple of amendments that will deal with a couple of issues that I heard mentioned tonight, which I have concerns about, and they will be taken care of in that process, but I hope when we finish, we will no longer go on saying, "Well, the system doesn't work and we ought to do something about it." We will take the bold step to make the necessary changes to free the millions who are now enslaved with the existing system.

□ 2000

Mr. Chairman, I would encourage all to support those changes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. All time has expired.

To control debate from the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS] and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA] will each be recognized for 45 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS].

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995. We all know the hour is late, but we also know that the debate in regards to welfare reform, if it is a late-burner topic, it is also a front-burner topic in this town, and all throughout the Nation.

Last November, the American public spoke very decisively on wanting change, and welfare reform was a central theme in the election, was a central theme 2 years ago in the President's election. The component in regards to food stamp reform that comes under the jurisdiction of the House Agriculture Committee is in reference to food stamps.

I would inform my colleagues that food stamp spending has increased almost every year since 1979. We are all familiar about the good work that the food stamp program has done in terms of workers who have been unemployed or of families that have had real tragedy.

The food stamp program provides that needed bridge during a time of hardship and when the economy slipped into recession. We must maintain that bridge, and H.R. 4 does just that. It provides a Federal safety net, but it eliminates food stamps as a way of life.

However, I would point out that during the last 15 years the economy has not always been in a recession, and we have had record growth in regards to the economy. But food stamp spending kept increasing.

Now common sense would suggest that food stamp spending should go down when the economy is strong, but that has not been the case. Why? Because our Congress kept expanding the benefits, and the American taxpayer, who really foots the bill for the pro-

gram, has said enough, and that is why welfare reform strikes a chord with the American public.

The food stamp program provides benefits to an average of 27 million citizens in this country, upward of maybe 28 million each month at an annual cost of more than \$25 billion on an annual basis. For the most part, these benefits really go to families in need of help and are used to buy food to feed these families, and there is no question in my mind that the food stamp program helps poor people and those who have temporarily fallen on hard times. However, there is also no question in my mind that it is in need of reform.

Recently, I reviewed a September 22, 1981, subcommittee hearing. Let me repeat that, 1981. And the hearing was on fraud in the food stamp program. I reviewed that 14-year-old record with some degree of concern and dismay.

In both hearings, and we just held a hearing in the Committee on Agriculture as of this year on February 1, and in both hearings the reports were almost identical, the one in 1995 and the one in regards to 1981. There were reference to food stamps as a second currency, food stamps being used to buy guns, drugs and cars. It is discouraging that these events have not changed.

On September 3, 1981, the TV investigators and the news reports talked about the great food stamp scandal. In January of 1995 and again in March of 1995 various news teams did similar stories and picked up on the film, the tape we have from the new Inspector General from the Department of Agriculture. As I said, it is very discouraging.

The good news is we have a very strong fraud provision, anti-fraud provision. It is bipartisan. It is backed by the administration and by the minority and the majority.

However, the situation is much worse today in 1995 than it was in 1981. Abuses in the food stamp program involve selling food stamps at discount grocery stores. They are not grocery stores. It is a sham. They are set up to launder food stamps, even abuse of the Electronic Benefit Transfer system.

Also, the Department of Agriculture reports that for the most recent year \$1.8 billion in food stamps was issued in error, meaning that the eligible families receive too much in food stamps or people who are not eligible receive these benefits. That is \$1.8 billion. That is a combination of errors, some on the part of States that administer the food stamp program, some on the part of the participants receiving food stamps and some, unfortunately, willful and intentional violations of the act. That is \$1.8 billion of taxpayer money lost to fraud and error.

It is also lost to the recipients, the true recipients of the food stamp program. Unfortunately, the food stamp program does not always really deliver the benefits to eligible people, and

those who are eligible do not always use their benefits for food, and so others really participate in this activity including grocery store personnel, middlemen and criminals involved in illicit behavior.

Let me quote from one report. "In September, 1994, the U.S. Justice Department indicted a couple on charges they used their restaurant supply business to illegally acquire and redeem \$3.5 million in food stamps." \$3.5 million, one couple. "Undercover agents say they watched family members carting shopping bags of cash to the banks in \$2,000 bundles of \$20 bills. Once deposited, the money was almost immediately transferred to accounts in Hong Kong," Mr. Chairman, "where it was withdrawn, usually by relatives within 24 hours."

Or another report, "a USDA undercover officer got a taste of how complacent the big-time traffickers can get when he investigated an Orange, NJ, family that used their little store to fence stolen goods and traffic in food stamps. And the undercover officer used the food stamps to buy cars, TV sets, children's toys, cocaine, microwave ovens, and a video camcorder from the family. Then he used the video camera, one to test it, then filmed the roomful of stolen goods and the agreeable family of crooks."

This bad reputation has undermined the public support for the Federal food stamp program and for welfare. It is unfortunate. It is wrong. Polls indicate that half of the American public support cuts in the food stamp program, and I believe this is due to the flagrant abuses that are seen on the street almost any day. We don't want this.

As I indicated before, the food stamp program is a bridge. It is a needed program. It has helped the poor. And so the commitment in regards to the anti-fraud provision is a good one, and it is bipartisan.

After careful deliberation, the Committee on Agriculture determined that the food stamp program for the present should remain a Federal program for the following reasons: First, States will be undergoing a transition to State-designed welfare programs. During this period, the food stamp program will remain the safety net program and able to provide food as a basic need while this transition is taking place. The food stamp program will be reformed, costs will be controlled, and we will ensure that every American in need will have access to food.

Now, given the hearing record, the lack of public support and the dollars involved, the committee could not continue the program without significant reforms. Our five hearings held between the 1st of February and February 14 of this year dictated the course of the changes needed in the food stamp program. The food stamp program is taken off automatic pilot, and control of spending for this program is returned to the Congress.

We are going to hear a lot of rhetoric, have heard a lot of rhetoric. It has been said in the press over and over again and by certain critics of reform that, for goodness sakes, there might be a problem with food stamps down the road because we only allow for a 2 percent increase. Used to be before we had it as an entitlement program and before 1990 when we had a spending cap that the Congress had that responsibility, we would come back every year and determine whether or not additional funds were needed. That is the responsibility of the Congress.

The food stamp deductions are kept at 1995 levels instead of being adjusted automatically. Again, it is off of the automatic pilot for increases in the Consumer Price Index. Food stamp benefits will increase, increase, not a cut, increase, increase up, not down, not a cut, at the rate of 2 percent per year to reflect increases in the cost of food. Food stamp spending will no longer grow out of control.

Oversight from the committee is essential so that reforms are needed or the committee will act. And, yes, if we would have a recession and, yes, if food prices would go up and, yes, if in fact it were needed I am sure the Congress would support a supplemental appropriation.

States are provided the option of harmonizing their new AFDC programs with the food stamp program for those people receiving assistance from both programs. Since 1981, the committee has authorized demonstration projects aimed at simplifying the rules and regs for those receiving assistance from AFDC and food stamps. States have complained, recipients have complained for years about the disparity between AFDC and food stamp rules.

We need one-stop shopping, one-stop service. This bill provides them the opportunity to reconcile these differences. It is now time to provide all States, all recipients with this option.

H.R. 4 contains a tough work program. We have heard a lot about that. Able-bodied persons between the age of 18 and 50, with no dependents, no dependents, will be able to receive food stamps for three months. Eligibility, however, would cease at the end of the 3-month period if they are not working at least 20 hours per week in a regular job.

This rule will not apply to those who are in employment or training programs, such as those approved by a governor of a State. A State may request a waiver of these rules.

Let me repeat that. A State, a governor, may request a waiver of the rules if the unemployment rates are high or if there are a lack of jobs in the area. We have that waiver. We just expect able-bodied people between 18 and 50 years who have no one relying upon them to work at least half time if they want to continue to receive the food stamps. It is essential to begin to restore integrity to the program.

Abuse of the program occurs in three ways: fraudulent receipt of benefits by recipients, street trafficking in food stamps by recipients and trafficking offenses made by retail and wholesale grocers.

H.R. 4 doubles the disqualification periods for food stamp participants who intentionally defraud the program. For the first offense the period is changed to 1 year. For the second offense the disqualification period is changed to 2 years. Food stamp recipients who are convicted of trafficking in food stamps with a value over \$500, they are permanently, permanently disqualified.

Also, H.R. 4 requires States to use the Federal tax refund offset program to collect outstanding overpayments of food stamp benefits. The trafficking by unethical wholesale and retail food stores is a serious problem. Benefits we appropriate for needy families are going to others who are making money illegally from the program. That is wrong.

Therefore, H.R. 4 limits the authorization period for stores and provides the Secretary of Agriculture with other means to ensure that only those stores abiding by the rules are authorized to accept the food stamps.

Finally, H.R. 4 includes a provision that all property used to traffic in food stamps and the proceeds traceable to any property used to traffic in food stamps will be subject to criminal forfeiture. Big step in preventing fraud.

The Electronic Benefit Transfer systems have proven to be helpful in reducing the street trafficking in food stamps and to provide better administration of the program. They have provided law enforcement officers a trail through which they can find and really prosecute. The EBT systems do not end the fraudulent activity, but they are instrumental in curbing the problem.

Additionally, the EBT is a more efficient method to issue food benefits for participants, States, food stores and banks.

For all of these reasons, H.R. 4 has included changes in the law to encourage States to go forward with the EBT systems.

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Mr. Chairman, this bill and the contribution of the Committee on Agriculture to the bill, I think, represent a good policy decision. We have kept the Food Stamp Program as a safety net for families in need of food. We have taken the program off of automatic pilot and placed a ceiling on spending. We save approximately \$20 billion over 5 years.

Congress is back in control of spending on food stamps on a periodic basis. If additional funding is needed, as I have said before, Congress will act to reform the program so that it operates within the amount of funding allowed, or it will provide the additional funding as necessary. States are provided with an option to really harmonize

food stamps with the new welfare reform programs, the AFDC programs.

We take steps to restore integrity to the Food Stamp Program by giving law enforcement and the Department of Agriculture additional means to curtail fraud and abuse. We encourage and facilitate the EPT systems. We begin a tough work program so able-bodied people with dependents who are between the ages of 18 and 50 can receive food stamps for a limited amount of time without working.

I think this represents good food stamp policy. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman and my colleagues, I would like to first express to all of my colleagues the fact that I do not consider this entire legislation in any part welfare reform, although we have a strong section on fraud and abuse. Otherwise, it is merely a reduction in funding over \$21 billion, and it will cause hungry people to no longer be able to attain a nutritionally adequate diet.

I know there is great controversy about the Food Stamp Program in the abuses, in the fraud, but the fact is that the average, or more than 40 percent of the recipient households have income below 50 percent of the poverty guideline and only 20 percent have significant earnings.

The program has always been responsive to the needs, and in this year of our lord, 1995, in the United States of America, the most powerful country in the world, we should not have to admit that there is hunger in the countryside, that there is hunger in the cities. I know that there is great policy debate and disagreement, but the fact that you cannot deny is that there are hungry people. There are children who go to bed hungry at night. That cannot be denied. That cannot be covered by policy. That cannot be covered by saying Democrat or Republican. That is a fact. That is a fact that cannot be denied.

And my concern here this evening is that we go solely on cutting. We should not have to do that, because this committee, and the distinguished chairman has worked on this effort, has reduced by over \$65 billion in the past 12 years, more than our share of responsibility in the budget. Had every committee in this House done what the Committee on Agriculture has done, you would not have to worry about a deficit. You would not have to worry about deficit reduction if everyone had done what we have done.

So our concern here is that each year the size of a household food stamp allotment is adjusted to reflect any changes in the cost of food. This goes back to the old policies for 40 years. We have not had the Food Stamp Program for 40 years, but nonetheless, the old

policies, the old policies took care to see that this was accommodated for.

Under the present bill, it cannot be. It cuts 2 percent annually of increase, but if the food prices go beyond that, then it does not cover. Then you will have a problem, and there are those who would say, well, you can always come back and ask for more.

Under the Budget Act and the atmosphere around here today, you cannot come back for more. What this bill does, it places a cap on annual food stamp expenditures, and that gets into some, and I have never seen it before, and I feel maybe that we may be yielding to outside factors, but the way that the dollar levels would be arranged in that will be the CBO projects low unemployment, assumes no recession in the next 5 years. But if that assumption is not correct, then we have a problem that we have here somehow that we will act according to what the CBO projects, and that figure, that CBO gives, will be the figure used, and I do not know how that works. That has never been tried before.

That does not mean that you do not do something that has never been tried before. That would not be right to say that. But in this case, we know how it has worked, and it would be virtually impossible under the Budget Act since to get an added expenditure you would have to have offsetting tax increase or offsetting cuts someplace.

So the fact is that you have to go take from the poor to help the poor. And those that would lose jobs during a recession will not have food benefits adequate for their families to have a healthy diet. We do not accept the majority's assumption that there are plenty of jobs available, and if hungry people are denied food benefits, they will get a job.

The fact is that there is little welfare reform in this bill. There are no job-training requirements in the bill. It only says that States will provide employment and training to food stamp families. That is deleted, and funding for this activity is eliminated, and so we have to look at what it is that we are doing, and if given adequate job training and employment counseling, I know people will work. I know that they will work.

There are those that say, "Well, they don't want to work. I can't find anyone to cut my lawn." There are people who would like to work even if it is cutting a lawn, but if you only have one of those in a month, what would you do? And in my area, I see a lot of people doing that with this help.

In other areas, also, AFDC, the WIC, school lunch, we are making radical reforms that, when coupled with changes in the food stamp provision in H.R. 7, greatly compromise our Federal food safety net. Reason argues for leaving one program as a backstop in case reforms in other programs falter or fail.

We have now learned that the CBO estimates that the reduction in food stamps, as I have said before, will equal

over \$21 billion over 5 years. If this savings was the result of people moving from welfare into jobs, this bill would have the support of every Member of this House, I am sure. However, 4 saves money simply by reducing benefits and kicking people off the program who cannot find jobs on their own.

And let me tell you, I can categorically state to you, because I hear this at home, I mean, these moneys that we use are hard-earned dollars paid to the U.S. Government in taxes, and we have a moral responsibility, we have a sacred responsibility to see that these funds are used adequately, and there is no way to reform a program that is designed to keep our children from going hungry.

How do you reform that? Make more people go hungry?

But we are responsible. We have been responsible. But you do not do your responsibility, as we have done, to the tune of \$65 billion for 12 years, a little over 12 years. We have done it, but not by reducing benefits and kicking people off programs where they get food or in some other areas attention for their needs.

So the reduction in spending resulting from implementation of this bill, also, we insist if it is to be done, it should go for deficit reduction. That is what people are speaking on throughout the countryside, "Reduce the deficit." I just heard it before I boarded the plane this morning, "Reduce the deficit." This we must do, that the reduction be used to address the deficit.

And I urge my colleagues to commit themselves to true welfare reform. Welfare reform does not mean saying it. Welfare reform does not mean 30-second sound bites. Welfare reform does not mean saying there are no-account, lazy people out there. Welfare reform is what we have been doing, what we have done before there was a contract, before there were many of the new Members that are here. We have done that. We have been doing that. We did it in 1977, we did it in 1981, we did it in 1985.

We have addressed these issues, not necessarily only in the Food Stamp Program. But we have. We have had chairmen of the subcommittee that have worked diligently and throughout that process. The distinguished chairman, our colleague, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON], has been a part of this.

So no one can say that we did not address the issue. Not one can say that we were not responsible. No one can say that in any way we reduced simply for the sake of reduction. We reduced because it was the right thing to do. We went to areas where the program needed change. We have made those changes.

So what we do today is for other reasons besides welfare reform. It is for other reasons besides doing the right thing. It is for other reasons, and you, all of my friends, know what the other

reasons are, and this is no way to legislate.

Mr. Chairman, the food stamp provisions of H.R. 4 cause me great concern. Although I am relieved that the Food Stamp Program, unlike the National School Lunch Program and other child nutrition programs, including the WIC program, will not be immediately turned into a block grant by this bill, the enormous reductions in funding, over \$21 billion, will cause hungry people to no longer be able to attain a nutritionally adequate diet. As we strive to find the most effective ways to help poor parents achieve self-sufficiency, there is no excuse for limiting their ability to adequately feed their children.

The Food Stamp Program is the country's largest provider of food aid and one of its most extensive welfare programs. In fiscal year 1994, it helped feed more than 1 in 10 people in this country. Half of the beneficiaries are children, and over 15 percent are elderly or disabled. More than 40 percent of the recipient households have monthly income below 50 percent of the poverty guideline, and only 20 percent have significant earnings.

The program has always been very responsive to changes in the economy in two major ways. In the first instance, each year, the size of a household's food stamp allotment is adjusted to reflect any changes in the cost of food. Here is how that works: Maximum monthly food stamp allotments are tied to the cost of purchasing a nutritionally adequate low cost diet, as measured by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, plus 3 percent. Food stamp benefits are based on 103 percent of the Thrifty Food Plan to acknowledge the fact that food prices usually have increased between the time that the cost of the TFP is determined and the time that benefits are adjusted and distributed. (The cost of the TFP is determined in June, and benefits adjusted beginning the following October. Those adjusted benefits are not adjusted again until the next October, 15 months after the TFP adjustment.) This formula helps assure that families receive benefits reflective of the cost of food at the time they are purchasing the food. This diet is called the Thrifty Food Plan [TFP], and it is the cheapest of four food plans designed by USDA. USDA determines the cost of a market basket of low cost food items necessary to maintain a nutritious diet. The TFP is priced monthly, and food stamp allotments are adjusted, up or down, each October to reflect the cost of the TFP in the previous June. The October adjustment in 1995 is expected to be an increase of approximately 3.5%, reflecting the percent of increase in the cost of food. This mechanism assures that no family will get less than what it needs to maintain its ability to purchase a nutritionally adequate, albeit low cost, diet.

H.R. 4 will limit any increases in the food stamp allotments to 2 percent annually, even if food prices increase nationally more than 2 percent. While the majority can argue that nominal benefits will not be reduced under their bill, benefits will no longer keep pace with the cost of food. Given current estimates of what will happen to food prices in the future, it is expected that in 2 years food stamp families will no longer receive benefits adequate to purchase a nutritionally adequate diet. Allotments will have fallen below 100 percent of the Thrifty Food Plan. Each year thereafter, under the majority's bill, benefits will be further

eroded. We cannot stress enough the importance of maintaining a nutritionally adequate diet. It is the linchpin upon which this program is based and upon which all changes to the program must be measured. This bill completely abandons the principle that poor and hungry families deserve, at minimum, a nutritionally adequate diet. I am submitting for the record a chart showing that in two years H.R. 4 will begin to deny hungry families the chance to purchase a healthy diet.

In the second instance, the bill becomes even more unresponsive to economic fluctuations by making it extremely difficult for the program to respond to increases in need during recessions. H.R. 4 places a cap on annual food stamp expenditures at the exact dollar levels that the Congressional Budget Office estimates the program will cost given implementation of the provisions in the bill. The CBO projects low unemployment and assumes no recession in the next five years. We hope that this assumption is correct, but if it is wrong and the Nation faces a recession, benefits to poor and hungry families will be reduced. There is no provision for an upward adjustment of the cap if the number of beneficiaries rises during a recession. Any effort under those circumstances to raise the cap, under the 1990 Budget Enforcement Act, would be virtually impossible, since it would require an offsetting tax increase, a cut in another entitlement, or an emergency designation. At exactly the time when poor people need help most, they will receive less food assistance. The working poor, those most likely to lose jobs during a recession, will not have food benefits adequate to feed their families a healthy diet.

Everyone can agree that we need additional budgetary controls on our federal budget. However, this is a most inhumane way to achieve such control. Hunger cannot be capped. We must allow the one program that provides a minimal safety net to keep hunger at bay to respond to recessionary times.

We must conclude that the majority's bill is a cost savings bill, nothing more. There is little welfare reform in this bill. For example, there are no job training requirements in this bill. The current requirement that states provide employment and training to food stamp families is deleted, and funding for these activities is eliminated. Instead, the same level of funding is provided to states that choose to operate a program requiring that families work in public service jobs in return for their food stamp benefits; but, only 6 states operate such programs, and none of them are statewide. We do not accept the majority's assumptions that there are plenty of jobs available, and if hungry people are denied food benefits they will get a job. People do not prefer poverty over self-sufficiency. If given adequate job training and employment counseling, and if jobs are available, people will work. This bill provides no such incentives.

This process has not produced true welfare reform. Merely cutting the Food Stamp Program at some arbitrary level is not reform and no one should mistake it as such. This bill simply goes too far in undermining our federal food assistance safety net and leaves our poor families vulnerable to hunger. In other areas, AFDC, WIC, school lunch, we are making radical reforms that when coupled with the changes in the food stamp provisions of H.R. 4 greatly compromise our federal food safety

net. Reason argues for leaving one program as the backstop in case reforms in the other programs falter or fail.

For those who have worked on far-reaching and comprehensive legislation in the past, the process of reforming welfare in this Congress has been most disturbing. The frantic pace at which we are required to move has assured that very little thoughtful consideration and deliberation can take place. The Committee on Agriculture, over Democratic objections, marked-up this bill without a CBO estimate. It is impossible to know the full implication of the bill's benefit reductions on the poor and hungry of this country without the CBO estimate. The majority many times during mark-up stated that the bill they presented for approval was believed to save \$16.5 billion over 5 years. We have now learned that CBO estimates that the reductions in food stamp benefits that will result from the food stamp title of H.R. 4 will equal over \$21 billion over 5 years.

The concerns of the minority over \$16.5 billion in benefit reductions are magnified several times when the reductions exceed \$21 billion. If these savings were the result of people moving from welfare into jobs, this bill would have the support of every member of Congress. However, H.R. 4 saves money simply by reducing benefits and kicking people off the program who can't find jobs on their own. This is no way to reform a program that is designed to keep our children from going hungry.

Finally, the minority is pleased that the committee approved a Sense of the Committee provision that the reduction in spending resulting from implementation of this bill must go toward deficit reduction. This policy must now be adopted for H.R. 4. There should be only two reasons to seek reductions in the Food Stamp Program—(1) to reduce the deficit, and (2) to reallocate resources in such a manner that allows the participants to achieve self-sufficiency (such as employment and training). Any attempt to use the savings to finance tax cuts must be roundly denounced. We cannot stand by and allow an erosion of food benefits for the poor to provide tax breaks for those who are far better off.

I urge my colleagues to commit themselves to true welfare reform, not to this bill that does little more than deny and reduce benefits to hungry families in the name of welfare reform.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, there is one man in the Congress who probably knows more about food stamps and has contributed more of his time and effort to food stamp reform and the problem of hunger and malnutrition in America than any other, and that gentleman is the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON]. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON] has served with distinction on the Select Committee on Hunger and has served with distinction on the House Committee on Agriculture. He is the distinguished gentleman who has been the leader in food stamp reform and is the chairman of the appropriate subcommittee.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 11 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON].

(Mr. EMERSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 1214, the Personal Responsibility Act. For the past decade this topic of reforming welfare has been an abiding interest of mine and I am guided and motivated by the words of Abraham Lincoln "The dogmas * * * of the * * * past are inadequate to the present. We must think anew and act anew."

The present welfare system cannot be defended. It is a disgrace. The people who receive the assistance do not like it; the people who run the system do not like it, and the taxpayers will not stand for continuation of the present welfare maintenance system.

There are welfare programs that provide public assistance directly to individual families through cash benefits for food coupons; programs providing work or training to get able-bodied people to work; programs that provide meals in schools and other institutional settings; programs that provide distribution of commodities to hungry people, and programs linking health and food. The actual number of programs available to needy families is in excess of 125, with 80 of these programs considered major programs with a cost in excess of \$300 billion per year in Federal, State, and local tax dollars. There are more programs now for providing public assistance to poor families than any time in the past, serving more people and costing more money. There must be a better way to help low-income people become taxpayers. We currently have a welfare maintenance system, not one designed to provide temporary assistance and help people reclaim or gain a life.

Most needy families coming in to seek public assistance need help in at least three categories: cash and the accompanying medical assistance, food, and housing. The rules and regulations for these programs are different and in many cases conflicting. It does not make sense for the Federal Government to set up programs for poor families and then establish different rules for eligibility. We need one program that provides a basic level of assistance for poor families; sets conditions for receipt of that assistance, including work, and then limits the amount of time families can receive public assistance.

Over the past 12 years I have served either as ranking Republican on the Nutrition Subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee or the Select Committee on Hunger. I have looked at these welfare programs in depth; I have visited scores of welfare offices, soup kitchens, food banks; I have spoken to those administering the welfare programs and the people receiving the assistance.

I learned during my years serving on the Select Committee on Hunger that any one program does not comprehensively provide welfare for poor families; it takes two or more of the current programs to provide a basic level of help. When there are two or more

programs with different rules and regulations people fall through the cracks in the system and also take advantage of the system. This must stop. How anyone could defend the present structure and system is a puzzle to me; unless it is persons who benefit illicitly from the fractured welfare mess we find ourselves in today, be they welfare recipients who take advantage of the system or advocates who thrive on the power derived from establishing new programs. Advocates of the humane system, a cost-effective System, an efficient system, a system that helps people up, off and out could find little solace in the current system.

Over the past years I have come to the conclusion that an effective welfare system is one that encompasses what I refer to as one-stop-shopping. We need a lot of integration, consolidation, and automation and none of these "tools" is much a part of the system at this time. This concept takes the multiple welfare programs now in place and tries to bring some cohesion to them.

States have sought or are seeking waivers from the Federal rules and regulations to establish some type of reform of the present welfare system. Governors in particular recognize that the system is broken and needs to be fixed. Thirty States have sought or are seeking waivers from the Federal Government to reform all or a part of their respective State welfare systems.

It is amazing to me that this many States have sought to change the welfare system, thereby recognizing the failure of the present system, without any action on the part of Congress to change the system as well. There has also been a recalcitrant bureaucracy, and there is a turf program in the bureaucracy that probably exceeds the turf problem in Congress. How many more States might try to institute reforms but for the maze of bureaucracy they must go through to achieve waivers? What we have now is not a welfare system aimed at moving families off of welfare and onto the taxpayers rolls, but a maintenance system that thwarts State initiative and diversity and poorly helps poor families, exasperates the front line administrators running the programs, and is a frustration and burden to the people paying for this disastrous system.

I want to help reform the system; I want to change the way we deliver this help to poor families, and, I want to do it in an efficient, compassionate, and cost-effective manner, and I believe that with this legislation we are on that path.

The subcommittee that I chair held four hearings last month on the issue of reforming the present welfare system. We heard from the General Accounting Office on the multitude of programs that are now operating. We heard from a Governor who operates a welfare system that is dependent upon Federal bureaucrats for waivers; a former Governor who had to devise a

system to provide one-stop-shopping for participants, and State administrators who must deal with the day-to-day obstacles that are placed in their way by Federal rules and regulations. Witnesses traveled from all over the United States to tell the subcommittee of their experiences operating programs to help poor families. Two of the members of the welfare simplification and coordination advisory committee told us of the experiences deliberating the complexities of the present system. Others provided the subcommittee with their ideas on how to improve the system.

I believe the debate on reforming the welfare system has truly begun. In the past we were only dealing with reform at the margins. We have now started on the path to real reform.

This reform will not be accomplished in one sitting, with one bill. It is a process that will take from 3 to 5 years.

The Committee on Agriculture, with jurisdiction over the Food Stamp Program and Commodity Distribution Programs, is a part of that process. The committee, along with the Republican leadership, determined that the Food Stamp Program will remain a Federal program for the present time. It will serve as the safety net for needy people. Food is fundamental and we provide access to food for these families.

We consolidate four Food Distribution Programs into one and provide for a \$100 million annual increase in authorizations for the new program. Remember, food is fundamental. The food distribution programs, such as the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program or TEFAP, which I might add, at this juncture the administration would like to zero out, are the front line of defense against hunger for needy individuals and families. Food banks, soup kitchens, churches and community organizations are always there with food when it is needed. The Federal Government provides a portion of the food that is distributed through these programs. But it is an essential part and acts as seed money for food contributions from the private sector. If we did not have food distribution programs we would have to invent them. The committee bill consolidates these programs and increases the money to buy food so that these worthwhile organizations, most of which are made up of volunteers, can continue the fine work they now do.

We do reform the Food Stamp Program and it is in need of a lot of reform. The states are provided with an option to reconcile the differences between their new AFDC Programs with the Food Stamp Program for those people receiving help from both programs. This has been one of my goals and I believe that we are on the road to a one-stop-shopping welfare system. Complete welfare reform will come. This is the first step in the long road to reform.

States are encouraged to go forward with an electronic benefit transfer system. EBT is the preferred way to issue food stamp benefits. This bill provides States with the ability to implement the EBT system they deem appropriate and the problems with the notorious regulation E are eliminated. The committee views EBT as a means to effectively issue food stamp benefits and as a means to control and detect fraudulent activities in the program. I am especially gratified that EBT can become an integral part of the Food Stamp Program and other welfare programs.

The committee has taken steps to restore integrity to the Food Stamp Program by instituting criminal forfeiture authority so that criminals will pay a price for their illegal activities in food stamp trafficking. We double the penalties for recipient fraudulent activities and we give USDA the authority to better manage the food stores that are authorized to accept and redeem food stamps.

We include a tough work program. We say that if you are able-bodied and between 18 years and 50 years with no dependents, you can receive food stamps for 3 months. Following that you must be working in a regular job at least 20 hours a week—half-time work—or you will not receive food stamps. The American people cannot understand why people who can work do not do so. We say you will not receive food stamps forever if you do not work.

The committee determined that the unconstrained growth in the Food Stamp Program, due to the automatic increases built into the program and the changes made to the program over the past years, cannot continue. We restrain the growth in the program by limiting the indexing of food stamp income deductions and providing a 2-percent increase in food stamp benefits. We place a ceiling on the spending in the program. It will be up to Congress to determine whether increases above the limits placed on the program will take place. This is the appropriate way in which to manage this program. If a supplemental appropriation is needed, it will be Congress that decides whether to provide the additional money or institute reforms in the program to restrain the growth.

Mr. Chairman, this is a good bill, with sound policy decisions incorporated. Remember, we have not ended the process of reforming welfare with the action we take today. We are beginning the process of real reform. I urge my colleagues to support this bill and take this first step along with me. We cannot continue as we are today with a welfare system that is despised by all involved. The status quo is unacceptable. Let us think anew and act anew.

□ 2030

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON] and would point out to the Members and to all who are paying attention to this debate that the gentleman from Missouri has spent more time in regards to personally visiting feeding programs and soup kitchens. It is his amendment that consolidates many of the feeding programs and adds \$100 million to that effort.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. BALDACCI].

Mr. BALDACCI. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 from the Republican Contract With America.

Among the most troubling provisions of the bill are those dealing with food and nutrition, deep cuts in food stamps and block grants for the School Lunch Program, and Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children. To add insult to injury, the money saved will fund tax cuts, not address the debt or deficit.

While keeping the entitlement nature of food stamps, the majority have placed a cap on the program and cut spending by \$23 billion over 5 years. The food purchasing power of millions of recipients will diminish over time, and fall below the amount needed to purchase the bare-bones minimum.

In my home State of Maine, history shows us that during down swings in the economy, the number of people turning to food stamps increases. The rigid cap on food stamp expenditures would allow for no adjustments for economic changes.

The majority would mandate that certain recipients work for their benefits, yet they provide no funds for the State to create jobs or to provide training.

All told, Maine would lose \$88 million over the next 5 years, nearly 20 percent from the budget of a program that serves 160,000 people monthly.

I spent time talking to parents and students at a school in Bangor ME, yesterday. They could not believe that Congress was going to cut the School Lunch Program to pay for tax breaks. It raveled them to no end.

In Maine schools, more than 48,000 students a year gain a substantial share of their daily nutrition from free and reduced lunches. That is nearly a quarter of Maine's student population. In providing the School Lunch Program, Federal, State and local governments spent \$44 million in Maine last year.

This is not a welfare program this is an education program, a nutrition program. How many times have each of you heard, "A hungry child can't learn?"

Then there is WIC, a program that ensures adequate nutrition for pregnant women and nursing mothers. More than 70 studies have proven its effectiveness at preventing low-birth-weight babies and other complications. It saves money in the long run.

For \$17 million a year 44,000 women, infants, and children in Maine reap the benefits of the sustaining food provided by WIC funds.

Despite the obvious benefits of both programs, the Personal Responsibility Act creates block grants, rolls back nutritional standards, and generally fails

to give States enough money to do the job properly.

Titles 3 and 5 of the act, those covering WIC and school lunches, cap the block grants at less than the rate of inflation. Maine would lose \$37 million over the next 5 years.

Food programs are the ultimate safety net. The changes contained in the Contract With America would leave the net threadbare and unable to break the fall of those who most need it. I urge my colleagues to oppose H.R. 4.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GOODLATTE], who has authored many strengthening amendments to the antifraud provisions of the food stamp reform package.

Mr. GOODLATTE. I thank the chairman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS] for what I think is a very fine bill, a very fair bill, and a bill that I think is going to lead us in the right direction here. You know, I am one who strongly supports the idea that this is something that eventually should be turned over to the States to run. I think government closer to the people is a government that runs a better program. We have set up a mechanism to accomplish that in this legislation by setting up a method by which States that go to the electronic benefit transfer system can eventually qualify to have the program administered through a block grant system. I think that is the right direction to take.

In the meantime, measures need to be taken to tighten up this program, and I think this bill does just that.

Before I address those, I would like to first respond to those on the other side who claim that this bill lacks compassion. I think that is utter nonsense. Compassion is not measured by the size and complexity of the bureaucratic program that has been established over the years. Compassion is not measured by the billions upon billions of dollars that we keep throwing at this program without results, but instead, making more and more people dependent upon the program.

Compassion is measured by taking people by the hand and helping them where they need to be helped, but also setting them on their own and asking them to go ahead and take some responsibility for their own lives. That is what is ultimately the thing that will build back into peoples lives the dignity that is needed.

□ 2045

Mr. Chairman, those who suggest that the work requirements here are unfair I think are completely off track. We have a situation here where anyone who is between the ages of 18 and 50 is required to work 20 hours a week, not 40 hours a week, as many people strive to do, merely 20 hours a week. If they have a dependent child at home, and they are the primary care giver, they are not required to comply with that. I

think ultimately we are going to have to change that and require that.

Today most young American families, both members of the household work, and I think that ultimately we need to expect that everyone should contribute something for the benefits that they receive, and to suggest that we are the ones who are lacking in compassion when the President's plan would have gutted the ability of food programs, food banks all across this country, to assist people with basic needs, and this plan preserves that, again I think it is very misleading to suggest that somehow we are being lacking in our compassion.

The second problem we have with this program is that it has historically been beset by all manner of fraud. Food stamps are trafficked on the street, traded for drugs, used in a multitude of methods.

I point out that we have done that by requiring that State and local governments and the Department of Agriculture verify the existence of stores that are trading food stamps because we have had problems with them being traded through post office boxes and through the trunks of cars, and we have tightened up the requirements that, if somebody is found guilty of trafficking in food stamps, and it involves more than \$500, they can be barred from receiving food stamps.

Mr. Chairman, I urge support of this bill.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to our distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Missouri [Ms. MCCARTHY].

Ms. MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA] for yielding me time.

Mr. Chairman, the Republican welfare bill that we are debating has one clear result, save \$69 billion over 5 years by creating block grants to the States with fixed, capped funding.

The proposed legislation does little to assist individuals to become self-sufficient by helping them find work. It has no guarantees that it will reform the welfare system. Instead, this is a package geared toward reducing the deficit and guaranteeing that the affluent receive a capital gains cut, by cutting benefits and resources to our children.

On February 23, the National Governors' Association sent a letter to the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee signed by the Governor of my State, Mel Carnahan, and Republican Governors Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin and John Engler of Michigan. The letter states: "The Governors view any block grant proposal as an opportunity for Congress and the President to provide needed flexibility for States, not as a primary means to reduce the Federal budget deficit." They continue in this four-page letter to list other objections they have with the bill in its current form, including provisions that limit State flexibility or

shift Federal costs to States. With that, Mr. Chairman, I ask that the full text of the letter appear in the RECORD after my remarks.

I understand the need to reform the welfare system. I do not understand, however, why we need to forge ahead with legislation that is so poorly thought out that it simply abdicates our legislative responsibility to the Senate, whom we hope will take the time necessary to craft a bill that truly reforms the welfare system. Those of us who have extensive understanding of State welfare programs feel we have not been given adequate opportunity to help shape the welfare debate going on today.

Because of the way this legislation has been rushed through this body and in light of the fact that the bill does not meet the fundamental principle of moving people from welfare to work, I cannot support H.R. 1214 in its current form.

The letter referred to is as follows:

NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION,

Washington, DC, February 23, 1995.

Hon. BILL ARCHER,

Chairman, Committee on Ways and Means,

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: We are writing to express our views on the Personal Responsibility Act, as amended by the Subcommittee on Human Resources. The Governors appreciate the willingness of the subcommittee to grant states new flexibility in designing cash assistance and child welfare programs. We are concerned about a number of the bill's provisions, however, that limit state flexibility or shift federal costs to states.

The Governors believe Congress has at this moment an enormous opportunity to restructure the federal-state relationship. The Governors urge Congress to take advantage of this opportunity both to examine the allocation of responsibilities among the levels of government and to maximize state flexibility in areas of shared responsibility. We believe, however, that children must be protected throughout the structuring process. In addition, although federal budget cuts are needed, the Governors are concerned about the cumulative impact on the states of federal budgetary decisions. The Governors view any block grant proposal as an opportunity for Congress and the president to provide needed flexibility for states, not as a primary means to reduce the federal budget deficit.

The Governors have not yet reached consensus on whether cash and other entitlement assistance should remain available, as federal entitlements to needy families or whether it should be converted to state entitlement block grants. We do agree, however, that in either case states should have the flexibility to enact welfare reforms without having to request federal waivers.

FEDERAL STANDARDS FOR BLOCK GRANTS

If Congress chooses to pursue the block grant approach proposed by the Human Resources Subcommittee, the block grants should include a clear statement of purpose, including mutually agreed-upon goals for the block grant and the measures that will be used to judge the effectiveness of the block grant.

CASH ASSISTANCE BLOCK GRANT

The Governors believe that a cash assistance block grant for families must recognize the nation's interest in: Services to children; moving recipients from welfare to work; and reducing out-of-wedlock births.

Although the Governors recognize the legitimate interest of the federal government in setting broad program goals in cooperation with states and territories, they also believe that states should be free from prescriptive federal standards.

We appreciate the flexibility given to states in the bill to design programs, to carry forward program savings, and to transfer funding between block grants. We must oppose, however, Title I's prohibitions on transitional cash assistance to particular families now eligible for help and ask instead that states be given the authority to make these eligibility decisions themselves. Some states may want to be more restrictive than the bill—by conditioning aid on work, for example, sooner than two years—while other states may decide it is appropriate to be less restrictive.

The federal interest should be limited to ensuring the block grant is used to aid low-income children and families. In the past federal restrictions on eligibility have served to contain federal costs given the open-ended entitlement nature of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Such restrictions have no place, however, in a capped entitlement block grant where the federal government's costs are fixed, regardless of the eligibility and benefit choices made by each state.

Similarly, while Governors agree that there is a national interest in refocusing the welfare system on the transition to work, we will object strongly to any efforts to prescribe narrow federal work standards for the block grant. The Governors believe that all Americans should be productive members of their community. There are various ways to achieve this goal. The preferred means is through private, unsubsidized work in the business or nonprofit sectors. If the federal government imposes rigid work standards on state programs, such standards could prove self-defeating by foreclosing some possibilities, such as volunteering in the community, that can be stepping stones to full-time, private sector jobs. A rigid federal work standard would also inevitably raise difficult issues about the cost and feasibility of creating a large number of public jobs, and the cost of providing child care for parents required to work a set number of hours a week in a particular type of job.

CHILD PROTECTION BLOCK GRANT

Governors view the child protection block grant as overly prescriptive and urge Congress to refocus it on achieving broad goals, such as preserving families, encouraging adoption and protecting health and safety of children. We also oppose the mandated creation of local citizen review panels. We believe that it is inappropriate for the federal government to dictate the mechanism by which Governors consult the citizens of their state on state policies.

BLOCK GRANT FUNDING

We appreciate the subcommittee's willingness to create block grants whose funding level is guaranteed over five years rather than being subject to annual appropriations. It is essential, however, that block grants include appropriate budget adjustments that recognize agreed-upon national priorities, inflation, and demand for services. The cash assistance block grant does not include any such adjustments for structural growth in the target populations. While some growth is built into funding for the child protection block grant, it is not clear whether it will be adequate especially given that states are likely to be required by the courts to honor existing adoption assistance contracts. Governors will continue to protect abused and

neglected children by intervening on their behalf and we believe that federal funding must continue to be available for these services.

Governors also ask that any block grants include funding adjustments to provide for significant changes in the cyclical economy and for major natural disasters. An additional amount should be set aside each year for automatic and timely distribution to states that experience a major disaster, higher-than-average unemployment, or other indicators of distress. While the bill does include a federal rainy day loan fund, we are concerned that this loan fund will prove to be an inadequate means of addressing sudden changes in the need for assistance. States experiencing fiscal problems will not be able to risk taking out federal loans that they may not be able to repay. Furthermore, one billion dollars over five years may not be sufficient if many states experience economic downturns or natural disasters at the same time, as was the case with the last recession or with the midwestern floods. Finally, an unemployment rate in excess of 6.5% may not be a sufficient proxy for identifying increases in need and should not be the sole trigger for increased aid.

We also urge the committee to change the funding base year and formula for the two block grants. We believe that initial allotments to states for the cash assistance and child protection block grants should be the higher of a state's actual funding under the consolidated programs in fiscal 1994 or a state's average funding during fiscal years 1992 through 1994. This change would help protect states with recent caseload growth from receiving initial allotments far below actual need.

ACCOUNTABILITY IN BLOCK GRANT PROGRAMS

We believe that block grants should include a clear statement of purpose, including mutually agreed-upon goals for the block grant and the measures that will be used to judge the effectiveness of the block grant. We are concerned, however, that the reporting requirements in both the cash assistance and child protection block grant go far beyond what is necessary to monitor whether program goals are being achieved. We encourage the committee to restrict reporting requirements to outcome and performance data strictly related to the goals of the program, and hope that those reporting requirements can be mutually agreed upon by Congress, the administration, and ourselves.

We agree that states should be required to use the block grant funding to provide services for children and their families. We do have questions, though, about how broadly the bill's audit provisions would be applied. Would the audit process be used, for example, to determine whether the block grant goal of assisting needy children and families was being achieved? We would also suggest that rather than the federal government reclaiming audit exception funds, that these funds remain available to a state for allowable services to families and children.

IMPLEMENTATION

Governors also ask Congress to recognize that moving to a block grant structure raises many implementation issues. Almost every state is operating at least one welfare waiver project. We believe that states with waivers currently in effect should have express permission either to continue their waiver-based reforms, or to withdraw from the waivers, and be held harmless for any costs measured by waivers' cost neutrality provisions. Savings from individual state's waivers should be included in the state's base. Some states have negotiated a settlement to retain access, subject to state match, to an agreed upon dollar amount of

waiver savings. Legislative language converting AFDC to a block grant should not terminate these agreements and thereby preclude states from drawing down the balance of these previously negotiated amounts.

Implementation of block grants would also pose enormous difficulties for state information systems, and we are concerned that there may not be sufficient funding or lead time to allow states to update these systems as necessary to implement the legislation. While states that are ready should be able to implement any new block grants as soon as possible, other states should be allowed at least one year after enactment to implement the new programs. We also believe that a consultative process between Governors, Congress and the administration would be necessary to ensure that the transition to a block grant system is made in an orderly way and that children's needs continue to be met during the transition.

FEDERAL AID TO LEGAL NONCITIZENS AND FEDERAL DISABILITY BENEFITS

The Governors oppose the bill's elimination of most federal services to legal noncitizens. The elimination of federal benefits does not change any state's legal responsibilities to make services available to all legal immigrants. Policy adopted by the Governors clearly states that since the federal government has exclusive jurisdiction over our nation's immigration policy, all costs resulting from immigration policy should be paid by the federal government. This bill would move the federal government in the opposite direction, and would shift substantial costs to states.

The Governors also oppose the bill's changes to the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program. We recognize that the program is growing at an unacceptable rate, and that serious problems exist regarding the definition and diagnosis of disabilities. The changes in the bill go far beyond addressing those problems and represent a substantial and unacceptable cost shift to states. The Governors believe that Congress should wait for the report of the Commission on Childhood Disability before acting to change eligibility for disability to children. We also ask that Congress allow last year's amendments regarding the substance abuse population to be implemented before enacting new changes in that area. If changes in SSI are enacted that deny benefits to hundreds of thousands of families and children, the result may be a sharp increase in the need for aid from the new cash assistance block grant at a time when those funds would be capped.

Thank you for your consideration of our views on the first four titles of Chairman Shaw's bill. We are also reviewing the child support provisions and will be forwarding our comments on them to you separately.

Sincerely,

GOV. HOWARD DEAN,

Chair.

GOV. TOMMY G. THOMPSON,

Vice Chair.

GOV. TOM CARPER,

Co-Lead Governor on Welfare.

GOV. JOHN ENGLER,

Co-Lead Governor on Welfare.

GOV. MEL CARNAHAN,

Chair, Human Resources Committee.

GOV. ARNE H. CARLSON,

Vice Chair, Human Resources Committee.

There is one last point I would like to make. Last week my staff received an invitation to attend an all-expense-paid trip to visit Navy bases in the Pacific. Now Mr. Speaker, I do not know how many staffers are going to take this trip—I know mine isn't—and for all I know the Navy may need to have staff review their

operations in the Pacific. However, my question is this: If budgets are so tight that we have to cut school lunch programs for children and energy assistance programs for the elderly, then why do we continue to allow funding for these types of trips, which strike me as completely unnecessary? If we are going to cut the deficit, why don't we look to end these types of trips that are paid for by U.S. taxpayers.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. CLAYTON].

(Mrs. CLAYTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Chairman, discussion about welfare reform is not new. This issue has been debated over the years. We have come a long way.

But, as we stand, prepared to vote on welfare reform legislation, I am struck by the feeling that, as far as we have come, we seem to be going a long way back.

A minister in my district tells the story of what school breakfast was like, before we had a Federal school program.

Scolded by her teacher, an embarrassed little girl discarded her breakfast. She had been eating it during class. The noise when the item landed in the wastebasket was revealing and disturbing. That little girl's school breakfast was a raw sweet potato. Without it, she would not eat.

That, Mr. Chairman, is where we have come from. I am worried, however, that we may be going back to that same place in time.

The majority has offered a welfare reform bill that cuts eligibility without work program funding, reduces spending and gives wide flexibility to the States.

My party will offer two substitute bills that offer less radical reform but provides for funding for work. I rise to encourage my colleagues to think America. This issue is not about party and politics. It is about people.

It is about sound bodies, strong minds and sturdy spirits. This issue is about moving forward in the future. It is not about wallowing backward to the past. We should shape a bill that is neither Republican nor Democrat, that hurts neither the rich nor the poor—a bill that joins us, not one that divides us.

We are not 50 States. We are the United States. We do not need fifty standards for nutrition in this Nation. We need one standard.

Regionalization and sectionalism hurts us. We fought a Civil War to bring this Nation together. The place of one's birth should not determine the quality of one's life. Every child in America should have a hearty breakfast and a healthy lunch. At the end of the first 100 days of this Congress, the current debate on welfare reform will be finished. But, where will America be on the 101st day?

Will there be more people with jobs? Will we show improvement in education? Will there be less crime in the streets?

More specifically, will there be more or fewer hungry children? Will infant mortality rates rise or fall? Will our seniors be better off at that time than they are now? What, if anything, is a young school girl have for breakfast?

Children are not driving the deficit. Senior citizens are not the cause of our economic problems. Programs for poor people do not amount to pork.

In fact, AFDC constitutes just 2 percent of all entitlement spending and 1 percent of all federal spending.

The average American taxpayer spends only about \$26 on AFDC. Child nutrition programs represent only one-half of 1 percent of total federal outlays. And, the average food stamp benefit is 75 cents per person, per meal. Only 75 cents.

That is why I am deeply troubled by the proposed cuts. Cuts have occurred, and more are proposed in the WIC Program, for example. WIC works.

It is a program that services low-income and at-risk women, infants, and children.

Pregnant women, infants 12 months and younger, and children from 1 to 5 years old, are the beneficiaries of the WIC Program.

For every dollar this Nation spends on WIC prenatal care, we save up to \$4.21 cents.

The budget cutting efforts we are experiencing are aimed at reducing the deficit. The deficit is being driven by rising health care costs. When we put money into WIC, we save money in Medicaid. The equation is simple.

Those who have a genuine interest in deficit reduction can help achieve that goal by investing in WIC and the other nutrition programs now targeted for cuts.

Mr. Chairman, the story is told of a rich man, while dining at his table of plenty, he noticed a ragged, poor, old woman, outside his window, begging for food. "Go", he said to his servant, "It saddens me to see that poor, old woman," he lamented. "Get her away from my window. Tell her to go away," he said.

As this debate goes on, many charts and numbers will be displayed. Republicans and Democrats will claim that theirs is the truth. Let's not forget the people.

When we conclude this week, we must each look in the mirror and ask ourselves, what have we told the poor, old women and men, and the pregnant women, and the infants and children, and the little school girls and little school boys?

Have we told them to get from our windows? Have we told them to go away? Or have we told them to come inside and join us at America's table of plenty?

The issues are clear. The choices are plain. I ask my colleagues. Where do you stand? The Personal Responsibility Act, as currently written, is mindless and senseless and should be rejected.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BISHOP].

Mr. BISHOP. Mr. Chairman, I rise today with those who over the years have been, and continue to be, truly concerned about the citizens of America who need us the most.

Currently H.R. 4 will substitute block grant funding for Federal nutrition programs. This block grant procedure would probably eliminate federally sponsored nutrition programs such as; (WIC) and the School Lunch and Breakfast programs among others, and substitute a single Federal payment to the States.

Based on Congressional Budget Office data, funding for the school nutrition block grant would be \$170 million less than the levels that would be provided under current law. The proposed block grants would end the entitlement status of the school lunch and breakfast programs. Thus, during recessions, States and school districts with rising unemployment could be forced to choose between denying free meals to newly poor children and raising taxes, or reducing other programs to secure more resources in the middle of a recession.

We need a bill that maintains nutrition programs for children and the elderly, including WIC and school lunch program. These programs have produced significant and measurable outcomes among children who participate in them. The block grant structure proposed by H.R. 4 can't respond when the economy changes and place children at risk by eliminating nutrition standards responsible for improved children's health.

We need a bill that has strong anti-fraud and abuse provisions for the Food Stamp program. We need a bill that has work requirements for able-bodied food stamp recipients, that also helps States provide work placement and job training for food stamp recipients. We need a simplified food stamp program, revising administrative rules and simplified determination of eligibility. We need a program that retains the annual inflation adjustments for the cost of food, a program that provides a basic benefit level. We do not need a bill, such as H.R. 4, that underfunds real welfare reform by cutting spending while giving States block grants which do not increase even if the State is in recession, or has a drastic increase in its poor population.

The Republican welfare reform bill talks about work but does little to achieve it. It does not have meaningful work requirements for moving people from welfare to work. It does not provide the necessary education and training to prepare people for work.

We need a bill that provides tough, meaningful work requirements for welfare recipients. Real welfare reform must be about replacing a welfare check with a paycheck. The Deal substitute provides work requirements for welfare recipients, requiring states to place 16% of recipients in work in the first year and 20% in the second year.

HR 4 does not reach the same work participation rate.

I am interested in the positive health effects that these nutrition programs have on our poor children, needy elderly, and handicapped in our country. I have heard testimony which clearly outlined the negative impact of block granting to the states of commodity distribution programs in lieu of the current nutrition program funding mechanisms.

In addition, a discretionary block grant would eliminate the entitlement status of nutrition programs and subject each year's nutrition program funding to the Congressional appropriations process. There is talk that compromises were made in H.R. 4 which allowed the Food Stamp program to remain an entitlement program but at the same time placing a cap on benefits for the Program. The compromises also provided that all other nutrition programs could be block granted to the states. I want to commend the leadership of the Agriculture Committee for this effort, but I believe that the block granting with limited funding goes too far.

In the Mississippi delta, in the coal fields of Appalachia, in the red clay hills of Georgia, 25 years ago one could see large numbers of stunted, apathetic children with swollen stomachs and the dull eyes and poorly healing wounds characteristic of malnutrition. Such children are not to be seen in such numbers today.

The need for nutrition assistance has not diminished. We must not give up the accomplishments our nutrition programs achieved in the past decades. We must find ways to improve our programs. We must have flexibility at the State level, reducing excessive administrative requirements, and encourage innovation in the delivery of services to the needy. Mr. Chairman, I reject H.R. 4 and support the Deal substitute for commonsense welfare reform.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mrs. THURMAN].

Mrs. THURMAN. Mr. Chairman, the American people want a welfare system which provides a hand up, not a hand out. The deal plan provides individuals with the assistance necessary to break the cycle of poverty and to ensure that welfare recipients are better off by working than by remaining on welfare.

But they also believe that no one in America should go hungry. That has been the American tradition, a bipartisan commitment to ensuring adequate nutrition for our citizens—especially our children and the elderly. The Republican welfare plan chops away at this tradition. Americans who care about their neighbors should be concerned.

Let me just explain what is at stake so we all understand the magnitude of what the Republicans are proposing and who will be sacrificed for the sake of lowering the capital gains tax rate.

The program always has been a safety net for the working poor who—despite working 40 hours or more a week, do not earn enough to feed their families. Food stamps help families who lose their jobs during economic bad times and the elderly who cannot stretch their fixed incomes to meet all their needs and wind up choosing between food and medicine. Finally, food stamps help the millions of innocent children who, through no fault of their own, are growing up in poverty.

Last year, food stamps helped feed more than 1 in 10 people in this country. Families with children receive 82 percent of food stamp benefits. Elderly and disabled households receive 13 percent of food stamp benefits. In 1992, more than half of households receiving food stamps—56 percent in fact—earned less than half of the government-established poverty level. For a family of three, this is \$6,150.

The food stamp proposal in the Republicans bill would lead to sharp reductions in food purchasing power.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that 2.2 million food stamp participants would become ineligible under the bill.

The Congressional Budget Office says that the bill would reduce the food stamp program by \$21.4 billion over the next 5 years. The savings do not come from reducing fraud or administrative costs, they come from taking food out of the mouths of children who desperately need it.

The Republican plan reduces basic food purchasing power. In a few years, food stamp benefits will fall below the amount needed to purchase the Thrifty Food Plan, the bare bones food plan that was developed under the Nixon and Ford administrations and has served as the basis for the food stamp program since 1975.

Instead of keeping pace with food prices, as food stamp benefits always have in the past, benefits could rise by only 2 percent a year. Even if food prices jumped 8 percent in a year, food stamp benefits would increase just 2 percent. Fact—food prices have risen about 3.4 percent a year, even in these periods of low inflation.

Under the Deal substitute, which I helped write, savings are made. However, we guarantee that benefits never drop below the cost of the thrifty food plan.

These savings in food stamp benefits, and several other provisions of the Deal substitute, were painful cuts to make. But we made them, in order to pay for education and training programs and deficit reduction. Republicans, in contrast, reduce benefits for the sole purpose of paying for tax breaks for people making more than \$100,000 a year.

The Republican bill also ends benefits after 90 days to able-bodied persons without children, unless these individuals are working at least half-time or are in a workfare or other employment or training program regardless of

whether jobs are available. More than one million people will be kicked off food stamps because of this provision.

This provision does not reflect the reality of downsizing and loss of work without warning. These realities are all too familiar in America.

What about Americans, who live in small towns all over the country, who are laid off from factory jobs. These people know it takes time to find a new job. If these individuals use most or all of what little cash income they can scrape together for food, some may not be able to afford to pay rent. Homelessness and hunger would be a likely consequence.

Many members of this group have strong attachments to the work force and turn to food stamps for temporary periods when they are out of work. Most leave the program within 6 months.

The Deal substitute addresses the fact that most of these people re-enter the job market within 6 months instead of denying benefits after just 90 days. Under the Deal substitute, to continue to receive benefits a recipient must work at least half-time, participate in a public service program, or participate in an employment and training program in order to qualify.

The strength of our nation depends on how we raise our children today. We must commit as a Nation to raising strong, healthy children who will grow up to realize their full potential. To do this, we cannot abandon our commitment to successful nutrition programs. We know they work.

□ 2100

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. PETERSON].

Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I rise tonight to support H.R. 938, the Individual Responsibility Act of 1995. I am proud to be a cosponsor and want to commend the coalition, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DEAL], the gentlewoman from Arkansas [Mrs. LINCOLN], the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. TANNER], and others that worked so hard to put this legislation together.

We have a bill here that I think responsibly reforms the welfare system and, more importantly, coordinates the welfare system with food stamps and other aspects.

When it comes to welfare reform, I think we all agree that the system is broke and needs to be fixed. I think we all agree that in some respects we need to get tough. But we also need to reform the system with a package that makes sense. I think the Republican bill in some areas is too extreme and does not fix the problems. In fact, I think in some areas it actually probably causes some problems.

We have a bill that we have put together that makes work pay. The Deal substitute would ensure that welfare recipients will be better off economically by taking a job than by remaining on welfare. Our bill emphasizes work first. It has a definite end to benefits, time limits, and it gets tough on deadbeat dads and does a number of

things that we have been asking for for years.

I think one of the things that we are proud of in the coalition is that we have done a considerable amount of work in the food stamp area, and we want to commend the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON] and others for the work they have done in this area. But I think we have done some things that are going to make the bill somewhat better.

Mr. Chairman, I, along with the gentleman from California [Mr. CONDIT], the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BAESLER], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. STENHOLM], and the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. THURMAN], have done considerable work on this bill, trying to coordinate the food stamp program with the changes that we have made in the AFDC program in the Deal bill. In fact, this bill includes 19 specific provisions to bring the food stamps and the AFDC programs together on applications, deductions, eligibilities, income, resources, and certification.

I heard earlier the Honorable chairman talk about the fact that their bill is going to give the States the opportunity to coordinate in these areas. We have a bill here where we have done the work, we have already coordinated it, and I think it makes the Deal bill a stronger bill. In the end, I think the Deal substitute is going to be very close to what happens in this Congress.

Our bill in the food stamp area we believe is also tougher than the Republican bill on fraud and abuse. We think we have done a better job to get at those issues. We recognize that there is a lot of good provisions in the Republican bill as well.

Mr. Chairman, I again strongly support the Deal substitute, and look forward to having a vote on that in the near future.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. FOLEY], a valued member of the committee.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his leadership on this issue.

We continue to hear about the people of America that will suffer under Republican leadership. We have debated a food stamp bill for over 13 hours in committee, discussing what is right and what is wrong about it. The other side can vote against this bill. They can continue to support over \$3 billion of waste in the Food Stamp Program. People buying crack cocaine, trading food stamps for prostitution, exchanging it for cash, buying liquor, cigarettes.

I felt so bad for the woman I followed in the store the other day who brought 100 dollars' worth of food stamps and bought microwave popcorn, ice cream, soda pop, pork rinds. I grew up in a home where my mother was working at an eye doctor's and my father was a high school coach. She used to get the powdered milk and mix it with a full

gallon of milk and stretch it to 2 gallons. We did not buy sodas at home.

The Food Stamp Program needs reform. What we are doing in this Congress is providing reform for a very, very valuable program, but one that in 1979 spent \$6.9 billion, this year \$26.5 billion. Is that something to be proud of? Have times gotten that tough from 1979 to 1995, that the program should have grown by that amount of money?

They say what happens if there are no jobs in the State. Well, in our bill if the Governor or State certifies that unemployment exceeds 10 percent and there are not enough jobs, that 90-days-and-you-are-off provision is waived. There are provisions to protect in extreme unemployment times. There are safety nets. I keep hearing the "safety net" term. I have to call this program a trampoline. People are jumping on it and they do not want to get off. They do not want to change their behavior. They do not want to change their way. People do not want to work. I spoke about this earlier this evening, not enough job training in the programs.

The food stamp program is growing rapidly out of control. I have to suggest that when we talk about the real changes in this program and the real reforms, they are in fact in this bill. And they are tough. We are curbing trafficking in fraud with increased penalties. We are going after people that use these food stamps illicitly and illegally and profit by their use. We are promoting real jobs with new incentives. We want people to work. We want America to work. But we do not want people waking up and growing up and these children we talk about in the abstract who are sitting at home while their parents sit at home watching Opra Winfrey or Jenny Jones or some other talk show, when they could be out in fact working, and inspiring their children to participate in the American dream.

I appreciate the chairman's leadership on this vital issue, and I believe when the American public sees what is in this bill, they will urge people on both sides of the aisle to support it in its entirety.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. POMEROY].

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Chairman, I strongly support welfare reform, but one thing we must not do is rush through changes that hurt children. It is not the kids who have the responsibility for the flaws in our present system; it must not be the kids that pay the most painful and lasting price for the welfare reforms we debate tonight. Unfortunately, it is the kids who bear the brunt of the impact of the Republican welfare reform proposals because of the deep, in fact devastating cuts, they direct at programs which provide for the nutritional needs of these children.

The reform bill does serious harm to child nutrition in two critical areas.

First, the present programs are capable of dealing with future events that impact costs. These include increases in grocery costs, higher school enrollments, or an influx in the food stamp program brought about rescission, which like the last recession can throw literally millions out of work and into a situation where they critically need food stamps for that family.

Capping programs and not sufficiently allowing for growth in enrollment and costs means that by the end of the decade, children will not have the nutrition available that they have had or that they have today. When it comes to feeding our children, under their plan we will be going backwards instead of forward.

Second, eliminating minimum nutrition standards for our states is terribly troubling. Now, I am all for State flexibility, State discretion. But for goodness sake, nutritional needs do not vary State by State. A kid in your State has the same nutritional requirements as a kid in my State. By eliminating national requirements and cutting available funds, we are setting in motion the inevitable deterioration of the nutritional values in our school lunch and breakfast programs. Good-bye milk and hello Koolaid for our kids in the years ahead.

The Republicans cry foul over these charges. They adamantly deny they are cutting anything. But the numbers speak the truth. A total of \$26 billion is cut from WIC, child nutrition and food stamps over the next 5 years, more than a third of the cuts in the entire Republican welfare reform package.

You do not come up with \$26 billion, Mr. Chairman, by reducing paperwork, eliminating waste, fraud and abuse. You get this much money only if you come directly at the meals our kids are presently receiving and reducing them dramatically in the future.

There seems to me something terribly hypocritical about this, because you can bet your bottom dollar as Members of Congress our diets will not suffer in the years ahead. If groceries go up, we will pay it, because we have the financial resources to do so.

But there are kids all over the country who depend on these programs for their basic nourishment, and they will not be able to keep up with rising costs in the future. Kids like the little Will boy I heard about in Grand Forks, ND, Friday. The person responsible for the School Lunch Program told me lots of kids depend on the school lunch and breakfast programs for their basic nourishment, and that in one little grade school in Grand Forks, the poorest section of town, you will find on any given Monday more than 100 kids in line waiting for the school breakfast, perhaps their first balanced meal since the Friday school lunch.

She heard a little boy one day jumping up and down saying, "That smells so good, that smells so good." The breakfast that morning was cold cereal and toast. Even toast to this little fel-

low smelled that good and caused that excitement. Now, this school district is going to have eliminate the School Breakfast Program if the cuts proposed by the Republican majority are enacted, and that little boy will not lose his breakfast; he will also lose his ability to listen and learn in class. Maybe even his edge in being able to fight off childhood illness. As a dietician told me this week, child nutrition is not welfare; it is health care.

Mr. Chairman, I owe it to that little fellow to vote against this harsh and unfair legislation, and I urge all of my colleagues to join me in rejecting these cuts for kids.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield three minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BAESLER].

Mr. BAESLER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, I support the Deal and the coalition bill, the alternative to the Republican bill, for several reasons. First is because it does, as does the Republican bill, simplify the administration of all the programs. Second, it acknowledges that we want people to go to work, but to require them to go to work we have to have child care and in some cases case transportation. I think the Deal bill provides that, whereas I do not think the Republican bill does.

The third reason I support the Deal bill and the coalition bill is because it does acknowledge sometimes people need transition from welfare to work, and in that transition they might need a 2-year period until able to retain their Medicaid card, which I think is important.

The fourth reason is it specifically encourages local communities to get involved to complete the cycle of self-sufficiency. We talk about work, we talk about child care, we talk about other things, but very seldom do we talk about self-sufficiency, and I think that is what we need to be talking about, and the Deal bill provides for that very succinctly.

Regarding food stamps, the Deal bill and the coalition bill, thanks to the work of the gentleman from Texas, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. PETERSON, Mr. CONDIT, and others, provides very strict penalties for those who, much more strict than even the bill proposed by Mr. EMERSON and our honorable chairman, which was very good at the time I thought, but ours is much more strict, particularly on the recipients and also on the violators, much more strict even than the Republican proposal.

The final reason I support the Deal bill is we all know that two words that are sort of underlying this discussion are responsibility and accountability.

□ 2115

I think the Deal bill destroyed the responsibility and accountability, and it does so I think in keeping with the contract with our own conscience here in America and not just with the Contract With America.

Mr. ROBERTS. I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH], a valued member of the committee.

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I think the point needs to be made that welfare in this country is not working.

For 40 years, we have been trying to solve the problems of poverty. Politicians created many well-meaning programs designed to transfer wealth to the poor. Over this period the Government has borrowed \$5 trillion and spent \$5 trillion on welfare programs. And what has happened?

Illegitimate births have grown from 5 percent to 30 percent of births; single parent families have gone from 4 percent of all families to 29 percent; teenage pregnancy has doubled; and violent crime has arisen fivefold. We have shown that simply transferring taxpayers' money to poor people doesn't work.

H.R. 4 will reform traditional welfare programs that have robbed people of self-respect by giving them something for nothing. These handouts too often breed a complacency that prevents people from helping themselves. They create a culture of irresponsibility by subsidizing bad behavior.

The current welfare system pays unwed mothers to have babies. It tells women that if they bear an illegitimate child, the government will pay them a monthly allowance and give them a place to live. The resulting explosion in illegitimacy and the breakdown of the family shouldn't surprise us.

Let me read a few excerpts from the February 27th U.S. News and World Report to emphasize the importance of two-parent families:

More than virtually any other factor, a biological father's presence in the family will determine a child's success and happiness. Rich or poor, white or black, the children of divorce and those born outside marriage struggle through life at a measurable disadvantage. * * *

The absence of fathers is linked to most social nightmares—from boys with guns to girls with babies. No welfare reform plan can cut poverty as thoroughly as a two-parent family. * * *

Raising marriage rates will do far more to fight crime than building prisons or putting more cops on the streets. Studies show that most state prison inmates grew up in single-family households. A missing father is a better predictor of criminal activity than race or poverty.

H.R. 4 helps promote families. Too often, welfare discourages traditional families. Benefit formulas have discouraged marriage and encouraged women to have illegitimate children. Government can't create two-parent families, but we can stop encouraging one-parent families. I hope Congress has the determination to make needed changes by: (1) ending payments to teenage mothers who decide to have a baby without a husband; (2) requiring all welfare mothers to identify the fa-

ther; (3) making deadbeat parents live up to their child support obligations; and (4) in the next couple weeks, passing legislation to get rid of the marriage penalties in the tax code.

This bill H.R. 4 also makes needed changes in our food and nutrition programs. The food stamp program costs \$26.5 billion; the school lunch and other child nutrition programs cost \$7 billion; WIC costs about \$3.5 billion. H.R. 4 block grants the WIC and child nutrition programs to the states. The food stamp program, which is the most abused and wasteful program, is tentatively being kept at the federal level. We are making long-overdue changes to improve the program. We also need to stop food stamps from being used for candy, chewing gum, soda pop, and other junk food. If hard-working Americans are going to pay taxes for this program, it should be for nutritious food for individuals who might otherwise go hungry.

States should have the flexibility to modify the eligibility criteria for food stamps. Right now, national standards make a couple with four children eligible for food stamps if they earn less than \$26,692 a year. But \$26,000 goes a lot further in different areas of the country. We need to give states the authority to vary these eligibility requirements, making limited funds better serve their citizens.

H.R. 4 ends many welfare abuses. For too long, we have allowed alcoholics, drug addicts, and those with dubious "functional disabilities" to collect for disability payments. We need to end these abuses and this bill will help to do that.

H.R. 4 is not a perfect bill, but it is a good bill that starts to replace a failed system of despair with more compassionate solutions that encourage work, strengthen families, and offer hope for a brighter future.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Ms. DELAURO].

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote for real welfare reform that puts people to work. The Deal substitute does that—it demands more responsibility of welfare recipients by requiring that they go to work after 2 years, and it provides more opportunity by making sure that work pays more than welfare. The Deal substitute is real welfare reform.

But the bill before us, the Personal Responsibility Act, is not welfare reform at all. This bill is more intent on punishing our children than in putting welfare recipients to work. This bill would destroy the School Lunch program and other federal nutrition programs in order to pay for a tax cut for the wealthiest Americans. That is wrong, and we must defeat this bill.

The School Lunch program works to provide many of our children with the one balanced meal they eat all day. But this bill would cut \$2.3 billion from the School Lunch program over the next 5 years, according to the Congressional Budget Office. The Children's

Defense Fund estimates that 2 million children will be thrown out of this program—20,000 in my home state of Connecticut alone.

That is only the beginning of the assault on children. Altogether, this bill cuts \$7 billion from important federal child nutrition programs. And it immediately eliminates Social Security benefits for 250,000 low-income children who are severely disabled or blind.

Supporters of this bill have come up with all kinds of creative excuses to defend these cuts.

First, they claim they are cutting bureaucrats, not food for kids. But the entire administrative budget for all U.S. Department of Agriculture feeding programs is just \$106 million per year—just 1.5 percent of these programs' total budget. The Republican plan would cut eight times that amount—\$860 million—in child nutrition programs in 1996 alone. That's cutting kids, not bureaucrats.

Then supporters of this bill claim they are increasing funding for the School Lunch program by 4.5 percent annually. Even if that was true, this increase falls far short of keeping up with inflation, increased enrollment, or a downturn in the economy. This program grows 6.7 percent each year.

Therefore, we are 2 percent short, but the fact is, this promise of a 4.5-percent increase is just that—an empty promise. And the odds are, it is a promise that will never be kept. That is because this bill lumps the School Lunch program in a giant, underfunded block grant, with no guaranteed levels of funding for any specific program.

I intend to vote for real welfare reform that puts work first, but I cannot vote to punish children. I urge my colleagues to join me in opposing the Personal Responsibility Act. Our children are our future—let's not abandon them.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to a very valued member of the committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LAHOOD].

(Mr. LAHOOD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LAHOOD. Mr. Chairman, I first want to congratulate the chairman of the sometimes powerful Agriculture Committee, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS], who has done a magnificent job providing the leadership on this important bill and also to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON] for his leadership.

I have a very limited amount of time. I have not met one Democrat or one Republican in all of this House that wants to gut or cut the School Lunch Program. I do not know of anybody who wants to gut or cut the School Lunch Program. For anyone to stand here in the House and proclaim that is just simply not true.

Our proposal will reform the School Lunch Program, will feed hungry children, will provide the nutrition necessary for hungry young people, but it will not gut or cut the program. So I

want that message to go out around the country. It is simply not true.

Our proposal will also reform the Food Stamp Program. Americans know that we have a lousy welfare system. It is fraught with abuse and fraud, and Americans want a change.

And we are going to carry out one of President Clinton's campaign promises. We are going to reform welfare as we know it, and we are going to do it by giving back to the people in local communities and States the responsibility and the financial resources to really deal with the problems. We are going to give back to them not only the responsibility but the resources to carry out these programs. Who knows better than people in local communities who the most needy are? Local people do. I ask support for this important legislation.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. I yield 1½ minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. MALONEY].

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Chairman, the current welfare system has created a culture of dependency. It is not working and needs to be changed. The system offers several incentives for welfare clients to shun independence and stay on the dole.

You might ask what could possibly be worse. The answer is the Republican bill before us tonight. It is a harsh, heartless, extremist proposal. It would worsen poverty and hunger for innocent children by making deep cuts in benefits that provide food and shelter. It is weak on work and long on punishment of children. It would cut back the very child care funding that would allow welfare recipients to go to work.

Simply saying no more welfare is not welfare reform. It is a recipe for disaster. A real reform plan would get welfare recipients to go to work. A real reform plan would provide child care and skills, training to move people off the dole and on a payroll.

Reason and compassion demand a "no" vote on the extreme Republican plan. Let us pass a bill that rewards work and protects our children: the Democratic substitute, the Deal plan.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LATHAM], a valued member of the committee.

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Chairman, I thank the chairman of the Agriculture Committee for his leadership.

Mr. Chairman, I am holding in my hands a 700-page document just released by the Clinton administration that purports to contract Federal EBT services and equipment through a little-known procurement process called IEI or Invitation for Expression of Interest. It is my understanding that only financial institutions, large banks are able to apply. It totally eliminates current electronic transfer companies from bidding.

I am deeply concerned that this document would create a Federal EBT system that will inhibit the individual

States from setting up their own EBT systems. As I understand it, 6 States have already set up EBT systems for themselves, and over 20 States are currently moving to do the same.

With all the efforts we have made to give more flexibility to the States, I am deeply concerned that the Clinton administration is moving to develop a new Federal bureaucracy to deliver benefits to recipients, and I wish to commend the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Subcommittee on Department Operations and Nutrition, for including in the welfare reform package language that will prohibit the Federal Government from doing anything that would stand in the way of States creating and implementing their own EBT systems.

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Mr. COBURN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATHAM. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. COBURN. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman that this IEI raises some very disturbing questions. With all the attention and action we have had this last few weeks in terms of sending block grants and returning responsibilities and accountability to the States, I am concerned that that document could well throw out the efforts that we have had in trying to return this and allow Federal bureaucrats to block and restrain individual States. I am concerned this will block our ability to allow States to develop programs for their own eligible citizens.

Mr. Chairman, my understanding of the intent contained in the legislation that we are talking about now is that the Federal Government is prohibited from doing anything that would stand in the way of States creating and implementing their own EBT systems. Section 556 of this bill states:

(B) Subject to paragraph (2), a State is authorized to procure and implement an online electronic benefit transfer system under the terms, conditions, and design that the State deems appropriate.

Mr. LATHAM. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON], the chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Iowa for yielding to me.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has been an extremely constructive member of the subcommittee throughout these deliberations. I want to thank him for his participation, and for raising the subject, as he has.

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman from Oklahoma is correct in his understanding of the language and intent of section 556.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California [Mr. TUCKER].

Mr. TUCKER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, the bible says: "suffer the little children and forbid them

not." The word "suffer" here is used to mean to bear, to support, maintain, abide and sustain. This passage does not imply that we cause suffering on children, but that we are supposed to support them. Somehow, some way, too many of my Republican colleagues have got the real contract all wrong.

Yes, the system needs fixing, but what system? If this House passes this distorted and destructive legislation, it is not welfare that needs reforming, but Congress, and those who currently regard themselves as its leaders. This bill is flagrantly flawed and poignantly punitive. It falsely assumes that welfare recipients are some lazy, rip-off artists who don't want to work. The reality of course is that 70 percent of all recipients are children, our Nation's children, and the 30 percent adult population is largely made up of those who want to work. And yet, this bill does not guarantee work. No, this is no reform. This bill guarantees nothing, except that after 5 years of benefits, recipients must be cut off regardless of a lack of jobs. This bill does not guarantee job training and education resources. This bill only guarantees that there will be no guarantees. No more entitlements for AFDC, for foster care, for school lunches for WIC.

Twenty-five million of our children are recipients of school lunches. This program ain't broke and we don't need to fix it. The result of the Republicans block granting to the States is either that nutrition standards will suffer, or less children will be fed in times of economic downturn. This bill causes suffering to children of mothers under age 18. This bill does nothing to solve the problem of out of wedlock pregnancies. It does nothing to make welfare dependents whole and productive. This is the most mean-spirited, irresponsible attack on the poor and the youth that our house has ever seen. No matter how my colleagues try to move their contract forward and pay for a tax break for the rich on the backs of the children, there still remains a contract, a law of higher authority for which they will be held responsible. Remember suffer the little children, and forbid them not. I urge my colleagues to join me in opposing the Personal Responsibility Act, and support the Deal substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA] has 2½ minutes remaining.

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the remaining time.

Mr. Chairman, we heard many of our colleagues on both sides of the aisle expressing their views and their concerns about this legislation. I share the same concerns about cutting fraud and cutting abuse, seeing that our monies are used efficiently for the purpose intended.

Beyond the rhetoric and beyond the policy and beyond the sound bites, beyond everything that we have heard here tonight, I would ask for Members

to come with me to every home across America: a little shanty, a little ramshackle farmhouse. In my area, we have some cardboard and tin-roofed places where the poor live.

I can assure the Members, and I challenge anyone to deny, that in some of those houses Members will find a hungry child that had no supper tonight. Members will find an elderly person that had no supper tonight. I challenge anyone to deny that. They cannot, because that is the fact. That is the purpose for what we use the food stamps.

All the other areas we can address, and we have. It pains me to hear Members using the political "40 years, 40 years." For 28 of those years, those 40 years, we had a Republican President, that Republican President that tried to cut some of the programs. How ironic.

I quote:

I cannot lend my support to the concept of turning back to the States all responsibility for achieving child nutrition goals. In short, we have a continuing obligation to ensure that the nutrition needs of our truly needy youngsters, wherever they may reside, are adequately met. This is and must remain a national priority goal.

Quoting the Chairman, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], who chairs one of our committees at this time. That is a quote from the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS] has 2¾ minutes remaining.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, to end the colloquy that was previously discussed, I yield 17.5 seconds to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. EMERSON].

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I just want to say that the gentleman from Oklahoma is correct in his understanding of the language and intent of section 556.

Further, my colleague raises extremely important points in relation to the approach being taken by the administration's EBT IEI proposal. I look forward to digging deeper into this issue during the oversight hearings which we are going to hold on the subject.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, can we please end the class warfare argument or discussion or partisan exchange and get to food stamp reform? We have had a lot of discussion about school lunches, which is not even part of this debate, we are talking about food stamps. We have had a lot of talk about the food costs and how we cannot really match the food costs.

Only in Washington is a 2 percent increase considered a cut. If food prices go down, food stamps, benefits, will go up 2 percent. It happened in 1990. If the food costs go up, and nobody can predict that, other than the gentleman from Texas DICK ARMEY the self-declared Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in this body, but if food costs would go up we will appropriate the

money with a supplemental, so that deals with the problem of food costs.

Quality control, it is out of control. It is over 8.5 percent. The Panetta plan reduces it back in terms of quality control to 6 percent. That is in part how we control these costs.

Somebody mentioned the WIC program. We are not discussing WIC here. There is \$25 million sitting there in the account of WIC. It was cut \$25 million. We had \$50 million, it is down to \$25 million. They have to advertise on the radio to get more participants. It is a good program, by the way.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from North Dakota said that some school child in North Dakota was going to go hungry because of school lunches. The Chairman of the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities has informed this Member \$1 million more next year than last year. We will cut the paperwork and the administration and we will give the money to that very hungry child.

Let us really talk about food stamp reform. In 1985, 19.9 million people were on food stamps. It went up to 20 million in 1990, 22.6 in 1991, 25.4 in 1992, and in 1993, 27.3. When the economy goes down, the food stamps, that expenditure goes up. When the economy goes up, food stamp expenditures go up. We simply want to control the growth of the program. We will address the needs, if in fact they are needed.

The opportunity of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DEAL] is a deal but it is not the best deal. We should be supporting this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina) having assumed the chair, Mr. LINDER, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 4) to restore the American family, reduce illegitimacy, control welfare spending and reduce welfare dependence, had come to no resolution thereon.

LET US HOPE REPUBLICANS GET THE MESSAGE

(Mr. RICHARDSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, the other side is crowing about the success of the Contract With America. Well, here is a poll that came out today. Headlines: "Public Growing Wary of GOP. More Now Trust Clinton To Help the Middle Class."

Here are some results of this poll: Most Americans think Republicans are going too far in cutting Federal programs that benefit children, the elderly, the poor, and the middle class. Fifty-nine percent of Americans think Republicans will go too far in aiding

the wealthy. Fifty-two percent of Americans agree the more they hear about what Republicans do in Congress, the less they like it. Fifty-one percent of Americans think Republicans in Congress were trying to do too much in too short a time. Fifty-three percent of Americans trust the President more than Republicans in Congress in protecting Social Security. And 52 percent of Americans trust the President more than Republicans in Congress in helping the middle class.

Mr. Speaker, Americans are sending this message to the Republicans on the Contract With America: "Hold it. Be careful. Do not rush it. You are overdoing it. There are some essential programs, cutting the middle class, cutting children, that are going too far."

Mr. Speaker, I am including at this point in the RECORD that newspaper article, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 21, 1995]

PUBLIC GROWING WARY OF GOP CUTS

(By Richard Morin)

Most Americans believe that Republican lawmakers are going too far in cutting federal social programs that benefit children, the elderly, the poor and the middle class, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News survey.

As a result, the survey suggests, President Clinton may be slowly winning back some of the political ground he surrendered to Republicans immediately after the GOP landslide in last November's congressional elections.

Clinton also appears to be getting a sustained second look from many middle-class voters who deserted the Democratic Party last year. In a critical reversal of attitudes, people now say they trust Clinton more than Republicans in Congress to help middle-class Americans, the survey found. Barely a month ago, Republicans enjoyed a clear advantage over Clinton.

Yet these doubts about congressional Republicans have not yet appreciably helped Clinton's overall public standing. His personal job approval rating stood at 52 percent in the latest survey, essentially unchanged from last month. And Republicans remain more trusted than Clinton to deal with the "main problems the nation faces."

A total of 1,524 randomly selected adults were interviewed by telephone March 16-19. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The survey suggests that the honeymoon may be over for the House Republican "Contract With America." While a majority of those interviewed still give approval in concept to the contract, 52 percent also agreed with the statement "the more I hear about what Republicans do in Congress, the less I like it." Forty-four percent expressed the opposite view.

Among the public's biggest worries: the the Republican majority in Congress will cut too deeply and too quickly into social programs to finance tax cuts and other benefits to wealthy Americans.

Nearly six out of 10 persons—59 percent—agreed with the statement that Republicans "will go too far in helping the rich and cutting needed government services that benefit average Americans as well as the poor." That's a 14-point increase since January in public concern with Republican initiatives.

Pluralities specifically said Republicans in Congress were trying to make too many cuts