

Six years in the State senate, 4 years as a judge, 4 years in the military, where he piloted a glider behind enemy lines on D-day, 4 years as Governor of South Carolina, and 40 years in the U.S. Senate, add up to nearly 60 years of service.

The hallmark of Senator THURMOND's career is much more than just longevity. It is also effectiveness. As the *Almanac of American Politics* states, Senator THURMOND decides where he wants to go, figures out how to get there, and then does it.

As chairman or ranking member of the Judiciary Committee for a dozen years, Senator THURMOND saw the need for a war against crime and drugs long before other politicians jumped on board.

And as the new chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator THURMOND will continue his lifelong commitment to keeping America strong.

On behalf of all Republican Senators, I want to express to Senator THURMOND our admiration and respect, and tell him how delighted we are to have him once again serving as President pro tempore.

SALUTE TO SHIRLEY FELIX

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, as Members of this Chamber know, the Senate lost a devoted employee and many of us lost a cherished friend when Shirley Felix passed away on December 13, 1994.

As banquet manager for the U.S. Senate for the last 20 years, Shirley worked closely with the leadership offices, and with the offices of almost every Senator.

Once you began working with Shirley, it did not take you long to realize that she was a true professional. She knew how to get the job done right, and she did it with a friendly and caring attitude.

Shirley's hours were often long, and the pressures of organizing important events were often great, but Shirley somehow never seemed to lose her good humor.

Just as Shirley was loved on Capitol Hill, she was also loved by her family. I know I speak for all Members of the Senate in extending our sympathies to her husband, James; her mother, Mrs. Rebecca Plummer; her 6 sons, her 12 grandchildren, and her many other family members and friends.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

TO AMEND SENATE RESOLUTION 338

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I send a resolution to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 21) to amend Senate Resolution 338 (which establishes the Select Committee on Ethics) to change the membership of the select committee from members of the Senate to private citizens.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is objection.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. HELMS. I now ask unanimous consent that it be in order for me to send seven bills to the desk and that they be deemed to have been read the first time, and that my request for the second reading be deemed to have been objected to.

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

Mr. HELMS. I send the documents to the desk as stated.

One final thing, Mr. President. I send to the desk statements to accompany all eight pieces of legislation and ask that they appear in the RECORD in the appropriate place.

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

(The remarks of Mr. HELMS pertaining to the introduction of legislation are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair. I thank the distinguished majority leader. I am happy to call him that.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Will the Senator withhold?

Mr. HELMS. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

CONGRATULATIONS TO SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE GINGRICH AND OTHERS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me say first of all that having served in the House for 8 years, in the other body for 8 years, a long time ago, I have just come from the House floor where I have had the privilege of seeing something that I did not think might ever happen, where we have a Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives.

I say to my Democratic friends as well that I think after 40 years, everybody would be fairly happy. We waited a long, long time. So I wish to congratulate Speaker GINGRICH and Minority Leader GEPHARDT and the others on the House side who have tremendous responsibilities as we begin the 104th Congress.

But I must say that as I sat there and thought about the days I was there in the sixties, in 1961 through 1968, and thought about all that has happened

since and all that happened during those 8 years, even the fact that, in the Senate, it probably does not create the excitement—even within this Senator—that we feel for the House after all of those years.

So I salute my colleagues in the House and I wish them every success.

CONGRATULATIONS TO SENATOR DASCHLE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I also wish to congratulate Senator DASCHLE, the Democratic leader. I have said many times if we are going to make this place work, as the American people expect us to make this place work, knowing that sometimes there will be differences, sometimes politics will creep in—politics is highly competitive and should be—but it should be based on ideas and what may be best for the country.

But for the Senate to operate, leaders have to work together. I look forward to working with Senator DASCHLE. We have known each other for a long time. We are from the same part of the country, I from Kansas and he from South Dakota. And we have many things in common. Our relationship has to be based on trust. There cannot be any surprises. The majority leader has the advantage because he has priority of recognition. I will not permit any surprises, and Senator DASCHLE has indicated the same.

I had such relationships with Senator MITCHELL and Senator BYRD. In fact, I talked to Senator MITCHELL this morning about 11:10 a.m. I said: "George, you have 50 minutes left. Is there anything you want me to do?" We were good friends and we worked well together, as I did with Senator BYRD.

I learned a lot from Senator BYRD. I decided a long time ago never to argue about the rules with Senator BYRD, because you will lose. He wrote most of them, and he defined others; he has modified others. In fact, I asked him a question this morning. I said, "Robert, it is not necessary when you send an amendment to the desk to ask for its immediate consideration, is it?" He said, "No, you just send an amendment to the desk." I thought I knew that. But I wanted to make certain that I understood it. Again, Senator BYRD provided that information. I am certain Senator DASCHLE will continue that tradition.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE NEW REPUBLICAN SENATORS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I also want to congratulate the 11 new Republican Senators who were elected in November. I thank them and all my Republican colleagues for their support in electing me as Senate majority leader.

But even more importantly, on behalf of all of us elected to serve, I thank the American people for their trust and their calling us to task.

America has reconnected us with the hopes for a nation made more free by demanding a Government that is more limited. Reining in our Government will be my mandate, and I hope it will be the purpose and principal accomplishment of the 104th Congress.

It was nearly 206 years ago when the First Congress met in New York City. Much of their work was devoted to writing the Bill of Rights—the first 10 amendments to our Constitution.

The 10th of those amendments reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people."

I might say I think we need to focus on the 10th amendment. So I intend to place it in the RECORD at least once a week with a brief statement so that anybody who reads the RECORD, anybody watching C-SPAN, or my colleagues, may understand the importance of the 10th amendment and how far we have strayed from it.

Federalism is an idea that power should be kept close to the people. It is the idea on which our Nation was founded. But there are some in Washington—perhaps fewer this year than last—who believe that neither our States nor our people can be trusted with power. Federalism has given way to paternalism—with disastrous results.

If I have one goal for the 104th Congress, it is this: That we will dust off the 10th amendment and restore it to its rightful place in the Constitution.

Senate bill No. 1 will be step number 1: Legislation to end unasked for and unfunded Federal mandates on States and cities and communities across America. And I am honored the Presiding Officer at this moment is Senator KEMPTHORNE from Idaho and former mayor of Boise, ID, who has been leading the effort since day one, since his first day on the Senate floor, working with Governors, our colleagues on both sides of the aisle, our colleagues in the House, mayors, and county commissioners all across America, because we know what Federal mandates—and he knows better than most, coming here as a mayor—have cost our cities and how they have bankrupted our cities and States.

So, along with many other Senators, Senator KEMPTHORNE has done yeoman's work in preparing this legislation.

We are going to have hearings tomorrow. We are serious about this. We promised the American people if they gave us the majority we will do certain things, and we are about to do certain things that we think are right—not necessarily partisan, but right. We hope to bring these things to the floor very soon.

I spoke this morning with the Senator from Idaho, and he will be prepared, I hope, early next week.

We wish to demonstrate quickly, whatever the message may have been

on November 8, 1994—and there were a lot of messages—I think one message was to take a look at the 10th amendment. Maybe people did not think about it when they voted. But give America back to the people, give it back to the States, give it back to the local communities. What is wrong with that?

We do not have all of the answers in Washington, DC. Why should we tell Idaho, or the State of Kansas, or the State of South Dakota, or the State of Oregon, or any other State, that we are going to pass this Federal law and we are going to require that you do certain things, but we are not going to send you any money. So you raise the taxes in the local communities or in the States. You tax the people, and when they complain about it, say, well, we cannot help it because the Federal Government passed this mandate. So we are going to continue our drive to return power to our States and our people throughout the 104th Congress.

We will roll back Federal programs, laws, and regulations from A to Z, from Amtrak to zoological studies, working our way through the alphabet soup of Government. What will be our guide? Our guide is going to be simply this: Is this program a basic function of a limited Government? Or is it another example of how Government has lost faith in the judgments of our people and the potential of our markets? That is the test.

I believe that more often than not the answer will justify less Federal involvement, fewer Federal rules and regulations, a reduction in Federal spending, and more freedom and opportunity for our States and our citizens—again getting back to the 10th amendment.

Part of what has allowed Government to become so cavalier with power has been its ability to exclude itself from the dictates we impose on the American people—we, the Congress. So what are we going to do? This is going to be bill No. 2. This will end with the passage of Senate bill No. 2, an effort led by Senator GRASSLEY, a Republican, and Senator LIEBERMAN, a Democrat. We have a counterpart led by Republicans and Democrats in the House, particularly Congressman SHAYS from Connecticut. I can think of no better protection for the private citizens and private enterprise than the constant prospect for Members of Congress that we will have to live under the rules we inflict on everyone else. So if a law is going to apply to some small businessman in Idaho, Oregon, Kansas, North Carolina, wherever, it is also going to apply to Congress. Maybe when it applies to Congress, we will understand why so many people write and complain to us about this law or that law. Do not misunderstand me, some laws we pass are certainly beneficial. The Government does a lot of good things, so do not misunderstand me. But why should we not live under the same laws you live under? That is bill No. 2.

In the same spirit, we are also going to propose and pass legislation to protect the rights of private property owners, and to cut the tangle of red tape forced upon our small businessmen and women. Property rights. Again, it was initiated by the Senator from Idaho, Senator Symms, who served here with distinction for years; it was his idea. When Steve Symms left the Senate voluntarily, he passed it on to me, and I have worked with my colleagues, Senator GRAMM and others, on this side of the aisle and, again, the Presiding Officer, the Senator from Idaho, and a number of others, and we believe in it. It is important in urban and rural areas all across America.

Incidentally, it was said by someone who should know better last year that America's small businessmen and women were getting a free ride from American society. That statement was not made by a politician, so do not read anything into it. It was somebody that should have known better. Let me set the record straight. The engine of American society is America's small business. Small business provides the jobs, the competition, and the spark for progress that is the very essence of democratic capitalism. It is small business that carries America—not the other way around.

Mr. President, Republicans also believe that our country's increasingly desperate fight against crime is an area where more freedom is needed at the State level.

Today we will introduce, under Senator HATCH's leadership, Senate bill 3, a crime bill that will free States and cities to decide for themselves how to spend much of the \$8 billion in law enforcement funds appropriated last year. It will eliminate the wasteful social spending programs included in last year's so-called crime bill.

Perhaps most important, the crime bill we introduce today will begin our effort to restore the freedom from fear we knew in the America of our youth. In my hometown of Russell, KS, when I was growing up, we did not lock our doors at night. Nobody did. You left your keys in your car. Even in towns the size of mine in this day and age you do not do that anymore. So somehow that has been lost to the children growing up in America today. We will, without apology, remove from society those who are tearing it apart with casual violence and a new chilling disregard for human life. Our crime bill will impose mandatory minimum sentences on those who use guns in the commission of a crime and make certain there are jails there to lock them up.

And in the next session we will cut taxes. Under Senator PACKWOOD's leadership, the Finance Committee will produce, as a top priority, a tax cut that will let families keep more of their own money to invest in their own children and in their own future, instead of siphoning it up, giving it to Washington, and sending it back in

some program that may or may not work.

There seems to be a growing bipartisan consensus that taxes must be cut, which Republicans welcome, and which encourages me to believe the Senate can act quickly. The President's recent comments indicate he is ready to sign such a bill. But I strongly object to the President's insistence on labeling America by "class." I do not think we ought to divide Americans into economic groups competing one against the other for the favors of the Government. Rather, we must lead by instilling hope and restoring freedom and opportunity for all of our people. No more of the class warfare. It does not work.

By cutting people's taxes we will reduce the Government's take of their wages—worthy unto itself. But if tax cuts are to have the effect of limiting Government and providing for long-term prosperity, then they also must be matched by real cuts, real cuts in Government spending.

This, Republicans are committed to do.

No one in this Chamber has spoken more eloquently about the need to deal more forthrightly with our national deficit than Senator DOMENICI, who today assumes the chair of the Budget Committee.

Let me be clear. Something like a family that examines its budget after a Christmas that was too rich, we will make hard decisions and endure sacrifices to make ends meet. With the one exception of Social Security, every bureaucracy and bureaucrat, every Government program and Federal expense is ripe for reduction and/or elimination.

At the top of that list is a price tag for Congress itself. We have to set an example before we have somebody else make the sacrifice. We must be the example, not the problem. We hope to pass a resolution today calling upon the Rules Committee to reduce committee budgets by approximately \$34 million. That is a lot of money. That was objected to, but we will get to it in another way. The House is also taking cost-cutting action today. We will work together throughout the next 2 years to save more money across Government.

We will also work together to pass the line-item veto legislation which we introduce today as Senate bill 4, and to send a balanced budget amendment to the States for ratification. These measures which have had the overwhelming support of the American people for some time have been ignored in Washington for far too long.

These measures go to the heart of the question with which we began: Should Government elites rule society? Should they be able to spend the people's money without check, cloaked by impenetrable rules and omnibus appropriations bills too massive for anybody to read? Or should we trust the people?

Paternalism or Federalism? That is the choice. The 104th Congress must answer that question by bowing to the will of the people and putting its trust in them.

Finally, let me make it clear that Republicans are acutely aware that the United States has only one Commander in Chief. Our Commander in Chief is President Clinton. We will support him on foreign policy whenever possible, as we did with NAFTA and GATT legislation, and in revising outdated provisions of law on South Africa, Russia, and the Middle East.

During the last few years, however, there have been some important areas of disagreement between Congress and the President in the area of foreign policy. One of these has been the President's apparent willingness to place the agenda of the United Nations before the interests of the United States.

Therefore, we will introduce today the Peace Powers Act of 1995, which is designated as Senate bill No. 5. This legislation repeals the War Powers Resolution of 1973 and places some restrictions on U.S. participation in U.N. peacekeeping activities. The effect of the bill would be this: We would untie the President's hands in using American forces to defend American interests, but we would restrict the use of American forces and funds in U.N. peacekeeping.

We do not want American soldiers under U.N. command, and the costs to America of U.N. peacekeeping must be known before—not after, but before—it will be approved by Congress.

In a manner consistent with our constitutional role to appropriate funds and to advise and consent on matters of foreign policy, the Senate will also take a close look at a number of other foreign policy issues in this session; including the costs of the Haiti operation, and the legality and wisdom of aiding North Korea.

Mr. President, it has been said that we have become a nation of competing factions, held together less by our hopes than by our wants. The implication is that we are no longer a great people, but merely a continent of categories, and special interests. Well, I do not believe this. I have been here for some time, but I do not believe this.

It has been said that Government is uncontrollable because of the uncontrollable appetites of our people. Last November was proof that this is not true. If the recent election proved anything—and some would question, some have doubts, and some have different views—it proved these ideas to be the self-justification of a Government grown too cynical, too fat, and too far removed from the people it is supposed to serve.

Mr. President, Americans have been voting in congressional elections for more than 200 years. Some of these elections—most of these elections—made very little difference. But others

have been turning points in history. The last one was a turning point.

The elections in November provided clear instruction from the American people. The ideas on which we will conduct the business of Government were laid out in unprecedented detail during the last election campaign. This was derided as a strategy by political pundits and attacked as heresy by the established powers. But the ideas prevailed. And therefore, I believe the ideas will prevail in this body and in the House and across the sprawling expanse of Government.

Mr. President, Republicans welcome the support of like-thinking Democrats as we work to put a leash on our Government by restoring the 10th amendment, cutting taxes, balancing the budget, enacting term limits, and taking whatever other measures are necessary to make the Government accountable to the voters.

Together, we hope to establish once again America's trust in her people and faith in the unmatched power of freedom to build a world of hope and opportunity for all.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senate bills 1 through 5 be printed in the RECORD, along with written statements which further detail these bills.

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

(The text of the bills and statements are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. DOLE, Mr. LIEBERMAN, and Mr. FEINGOLD, pertaining to the introduction of S. 21 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HATCH). The minority leader.

COMMENDING THE MAJORITY LEADER

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me commend the majority leader on his statement and on many of the points that he raised in the last few minutes.

Let me also personally thank him for his cooperation and the manner with which he has worked with the Members in our caucus over the last several weeks.

Needless to say, this transition has not been easy, but, to the extent possible, the majority leader has made it so. I thank him for his cordiality, for his friendship, and for the manner in which he has conducted his office in the last several weeks. It means a good deal to me. I look forward to working with him in the many months and years ahead.