

that we find offensive. That is our right as citizens.

I believe that corporate executives need to pay attention to what their dollars are sponsoring, and I believe they need to rethink whether or not they want their firms associated with many of these shows. Indeed, the point is not whether such shows can be shown on television. They can be. We know that. The question is whether such shows should be on television. For too long, this second question has been ignored.

It appears that this question may finally be getting the attention it deserves. In recent days, the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Times, and NBC News have reported that companies, including Procter & Gamble, the Nation's largest television advertiser, are withdrawing their advertising support from some daytime talk shows because they do not meet company standards of quality and decency.

Mr. President, this is precisely the kind of corporate effort that can have a significant impact on the content of television programming. All of this is run by money, and if the money starts shifting, believe me, there will be a response. I applaud Procter & Gamble officials, and those in other companies, who are beginning to realize—too slowly in my view, but finally—that they have an obligation beyond getting rating points. They have a responsibility as citizens for the kind of America we live in and how we raise our children.

As a final note, the heavy sexual content in soap operas, the excessive gratuitous violence, profanity, and sex in prime time shows and, most importantly, the lack of parental supervision should not escape this debate over television. We all have our responsibilities. These are aspects of television that are just as important as the content of the daytime talk shows.

Mr. President, I have spoken out before against these negative aspects and I will have more to say in the months ahead.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, we are in morning business now and we can for a specific length of time, is that the way we are proceeding?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 10 minutes.

THE BALANCED BUDGET

Mr. CHAFEE. I thank the Chair. I want to return to the balanced budget amendment discussions that we have had here previously. I listened to some of the discourse that took place here. I thought there was a lot of common sense here on the floor.

The Senator from Georgia spoke, the Senator from Nevada, the two Senators from Nebraska and others. I thought what was said here gives us ground for arriving at a very reasonable compromise in the days ahead.

Clearly, the President will veto the balanced budget amendment. We all accept that. The question is, where do we

go from here? Mr. President, I want to continue on the discussion that took place here previously.

First of all, it seems to me to ask for the balanced budget in 7 years is a reasonable request. I think the Republicans and indeed all of us have a sound basis for saying, "Look, 7 years is not too early to balance this budget." So, I think it is quite proper for the Republicans to hang firm on that particular position. I heard the Senator from Georgia say that 7 years is reasonable.

What about the other side? I heard discussion on the tax cut. I think it is perfectly reasonable for others to say we have to back off that tax cut. Now, should we back off to zero tax cut? Perhaps that is going too far. Perhaps we could settle on something in the neighborhood of what the President himself has discussed. As I recall, that was something in the area of \$107 billion, if I am not mistaken.

I am not in favor of the tax cut, period, never have been. Nonetheless, there are those, particularly in the other body, who feel very, very strongly about having a tax cut. So, perhaps a suitable compromise would be to back off to the area of the vicinity where the President himself discussed a tax cut.

What about some of the other areas? I certainly hope that those who have discussed Medicare here will recognize that the 31.5 percent premium that we are now requiring for part B is a fair requirement, and it seems to me those who are talking about going down to 25 percent must recognize that that has to be picked up by the general treasury. That is where the money comes from.

All of us have to use some common sense and reasonableness here, but I have great difficulty understanding those who would want to take the premium, in effect, have it dropped—have those who are receiving the benefits of Medicare, an entitlement that goes right across the board to everybody, rich or poor—to say that they are going to pay less for their part B premium. So I hope that we would agree on the 31.5 percent.

Now, I have not heard a dissenting voice that we should not go to the affluence testing. We can argue about that—whether it should be \$50,000 for the individual and \$100,000 for the married couple and phasing out—we can argue over that. Clearly, going to affluence testing makes a lot of sense.

Now, the CPI. I hope we will do the recomputation of the CPI. That is perfectly fair. If we are paying too much, we ought to recognize it.

Another area that I think the Republicans should give ground on is on the Medicaid and the reductions that are provided in that—reductions from rate of growth, yes; but I have grave concerns over whether in the Medicaid we are keeping a suitable safety net for those lower income individuals in our society.

Yes, we are protecting children up through the age of 12 at 100 percent of

poverty or less. But is that enough? As you know, now it goes up every year so that we cover those at the age of 13, 14, and so forth up to the age of 18 by the year 2002.

I, personally, would hope we would go higher than the current category, which as I said is up to the age of 13 at 100 percent of poverty or less.

Mr. President, I think we have the ground here, from the discussions I have heard on the floor, for arriving at a reasonable compromise. To get any compromise, people have got to go in with a certain amount of flexibility.

If the Republicans say "Not a nickel reduction in the tax cut that we have provided," or if the Democrats say "Nothing doing on the year 2002; nothing doing there," if each of us get dug in, we will not get anywhere.

I think we have the basis here for a reasonable compromise. I hope the administration and the negotiators from the House and the Senate would pay attention to the suggestions made here on the floor today.

Mr. KERRY. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. CHAFEE. I am happy to yield to the Senator.

Mr. KERRY. I am delighted to hear our friend on the other side of the aisle talk common sense, which seems to have been lacking here in much of the dialog over the last days. Many of us over here feel very strongly that the issue of a tax cut in the face of this deficit is a morality question, but I think the Senator from Rhode Island has appropriately suggested, we all need some flexibility.

I ask the Senator, then, does he not think, if there ought to be some tax cut, if that is part of the gospel here, does the Senator not agree that at least that tax cut ought to be targeted toward those Americans who can most benefit from it and also most need it?

Mr. CHAFEE. There is no question that that is right.

I must say as we start on this, if I could use a word of caution, I hope that we would avoid the word "morality" here, that one side is moral and the other side is immoral. I do not want to pursue this too far, but I think all of us have to watch our rhetoric—me, us on this side, all of us in this Chamber—if we are going to arrive at a satisfactory resolution of these very difficult problems.

The answer to the question, have a tax cut to help those who most need it—sure. Of course, we recognize those who most need it are not paying much of a tax to start with, so how much a reduction would be of assistance to those individuals, I do not know.

I think we also have to recognize—as I said before, I am not for the tax cut. But there are those who feel very, very deeply about it, particularly in the other body. That does not mean that we cannot back off from the size of the tax cut that was proposed.

If the Senator from Massachusetts has some suggestions on how we could reduce the tax cut and make it directed

more toward the group he was suggesting. I think that sounds sensible to me.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I believe there was an effort on the floor to try to suggest that the tax cut ought to go to people—and I understand the Senator is absolutely correct, if you are talking about the folks under \$30,000 with the earned-income tax credit, you are obviously talking about a group of people who also need an additional amount of money that comes in the form of a check at the lower end of that scale in order to make it meaningful.

That is not what we are talking about. There was a suggestion on the floor of the Senate that the tax cut ought to be limited to those people earning \$100,000 or less, and that can certainly be framed in a combination of payroll credit-family credit or any combination thereof, but at least in terms of keeping faith with the notion of fairness there is a clear juxtaposition, is there not, between those earning \$100,000 or less, a broad-based capital gains tax that might go to old investments versus new investments?

Or, for instance, an estate tax break that goes to people only with \$600,000 or \$700,000 of estate value. It seems those are difficult fairness issues to try to suggest to the American people that we are approaching this seriously.

Mr. CHAFEE. I agree with the Senator from Massachusetts that we want to look at these. We want to be careful we are not giving tax breaks to the very wealthy when we are trying to balance this budget.

One of the suggestions that has come up here as I understand is that we really concentrate more on rewarding those who save. How can we do it? Should the interest on savings accounts be tax-exempt? Or reinstate the IRA's for those who previously have been eclipsed because they had pension plans of some kind?

All of those I think are fruitful ideas. All I am saying is, I think we have the basis here for a resolution to this problem. Again, it will require all of us to back off from entrenched positions.

I hope that the Democrats would agree to the 7-year time schedule. I think that is a reasonable request. If we cannot do this by the year 2002, then we have real problems in this country.

We have no war. We are in peacetime. The country is relatively prosperous. Clearly, we ought to be able to pay our bills and have outgo match income in the year 2002.

Mr. KERRY. Will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will advise the Senator from Rhode Island his time has expired.

Mr. GLENN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

BOSNIA

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, earlier today Bosnia was discussed on the floor

here. I wish to make a few remarks in that regard in the time allotted in morning business, because I think there is a great deal that is misunderstood about the peace process and our involvement in it and what our relationship is to the talks going on in Dayton.

When we talk about the House, they had a lot of discussion in the House, and, of course, they had their vote over there, against any involvement in this or against going in militarily. But what has to be agreed to before we even get involved in any way, what has to be agreed to, is a complete peace agreement. It has to be agreed to, and not only agreed to but the firing has to have stopped before we move in.

There are those who, apparently, assume we are going to have to fight our way in to establish peace and establish a peace as Tito did during the only period in modern history where there has been peace in Yugoslavia. That was a militarily imposed peace on the whole country.

That is not the kind of peace we are talking about. There have to be two conditions met. First, there has to be an agreement. It has to be airtight. It has to be extremely detailed. It has to define exactly what the borders are. It has to define exactly which town is in what sector and what they have agreed to and signed up and said will be the new formation of those cities, those newly emerging countries in that area. So that agreement they are trying to work out in Dayton right now has to be in that fine a detail. It cannot be just a peace agreement that says we will move in and we hope we can establish peace. "Yes, United States and NATO, you come and we know this will all work out." It is not that kind of agreement they are working toward. If I thought it was that kind of agreement, I would not be supporting this process whatsoever.

What they are talking about is a very, very detailed agreement—specific borders. Will this orchard be on this side? Whose territory will it be in? Will the next farm be in somebody else's territory? Will the road junction be in whose territory? That is the kind of detail they are trying to work out on huge maps out there in Dayton. I would say, it will be uphill at best that there will be any agreement coming out of that. I am still of the opinion that it is probably 60-40 against our ever being involved over there, because I doubt the parties will be able to come to that kind of definitive outline on a map as to who has what in their territory. It has to be that way or we should not get involved.

Second, the firing has to have stopped. The firing has to have ceased. Obviously, the next question is, then, if they have that kind of commitment to peace, which they say they have, and that is the reason they are in Dayton talking, and they have come to a definitive peace agreement and firing has

stopped, why does anybody need to go in?

We were over there recently, just 1 month ago this weekend. Four weeks ago this weekend I was part of the Senator STEVENS' Codel over there. We were briefed by our military leadership and by our people and U.N. people in Zagreb and Croatia. We flew into Sarajevo for a period of time, along with 21,000 pounds of peas on a C-130, and out again. We spent about half a day, which does not make us experts in that area, but it was interesting to see it, anyway. Then we came back through Brussels and talked to our Ambassadors there.

But, when we were there, what we were so impressed with was there is a desire for peace. That is what has started this whole thing. The parties themselves say they are tired of war. The parties themselves say they want peace but are unable to get it. If we have the agreement and we have the cease-fire, why do we need to go? Here are the facts we were told while we were over there.

It is estimated that about 20 to 50 percent of the people involved in the fighting there are what they call the irregulars. They are not people who are part of a regular, organized military militia that accepts commands from above or from Belgrade or anywhere else. They are people who are the irregulars. They are the farmers who are out cutting hay one day. They go up to the lines, up to the next village where there is a battle going on, they take a rifle from someone, they are in the lines for 3 or 4 days while someone else goes back to cut their hay. They are the people who, in the 30-some cease-fires that there have been over there so far, they are the ones who have violated the cease-fire because they basically do not take orders from anyone in particular. So the firing starts again, it spreads, and we have had 30-some cease-fires that have not worked. The fighting starts again.

What is contemplated, and what our role would be over there—if we go in, if there is the airtight agreement, if the firing has stopped—then there would be zones set up between the parties along these borders, well-defined borders, where there would be 2- to 4-kilometer width areas in this that would be patrolled or would be monitored by the NATO forces, of which we would be about one-third of the total NATO force. I do not see that as being bad in that situation.

Now, if there is firing by these irregulars or anyone else, we would put it down immediately. We would hope, because of the massive show of force we are putting in there, there would be no firing. If there is, it would be put down and put down immediately. It would be by NATO rules of engagement, not the U.N. rules of engagement. They are more of a debating society than anything else. But NATO rules of engagement say if you are fired on, you can obliterate that source. I asked General