

To Paul Hill, the murder was a justifiable homicide.

Mr. President, this syllogism lies at the heart of one of the most corrosive dangers that we face in an ever increasingly violent world and a violent America.

There are religious teachings that offer justifiable excuses for killing, but the mainstream religions, all of them, have always promoted tolerance over intolerance. The only people who use religion to justify cold-blooded murder are religious fanatics, and they must be recognized as such.

But what happened in Brookline and what happened to Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nicols and the tragedy of their deaths tells us that we can no longer dismiss these fringe elements of our society, we can no longer let good people fall victim to intolerance and fanaticism.

Yes, John Salvi read from the same Bible that Shannon and Lee Ann did. The teachings and the words were the same, but their lives could not have been more different.

It is our task to remember that commitment and dedication can be manifest in kindness and concern, or they can take the hideous form of fanaticism and hatred that motivated John Salvi to play God.

Mr. President, it is incumbent on all of us, and particularly as we begin this term in the Senate, to understand the increasing danger that can be wrought by those who interpret religious teachings as a crusade against others and as a justification for cold-blooded murder or for violent acts.

It is our task to understand that we live in dangerous times and that the easy availability of weapons in society makes it even more dangerous. People like John Salvi and Paul Hill have increased the danger and increased the threat to those who choose to show their commitment and their faith by helping others build a better life for themselves and their families.

So I believe, Mr. President, it is time for both sides on the abortion issue to exert leadership and to show that we can find a way to express our views without increasing the rhetorical violence or the physical violence.

It is our task to sit down and to talk to each other, and I commend my friend and constituent and his eminence, Cardinal Bernard Law of the Archdiocese of Boston, for his personal efforts to bring both sides together. He has shown courage in this regard. Even though he is strongly pro-life, he has called for an end, temporarily at least, to antiabortion protests in Boston. He is trying to bring everyone together in an unprecedented sense of negotiation.

Cardinal Law has shown leadership and tolerance, and his deep faith serves as an example to all of us who want to bring an end to the senseless violence. What we achieve together can send a loud and clear message to those who would use their beliefs as justification for murder that, though we may not

agree, we are still one people bound together not only by our faith and our commitments to our beliefs but by the expression of our common interest through tolerance for our differences and a mutual respect and understanding for each other.

Mr. President, Shannon Lowney, obviously, did not deserve her fate. She was a good and decent woman, though some might disagree with what she chose to do. They certainly could not wish on her the death she found. She was the personification of the principles of freedom, freedom of choice and equality and the justice that unites us as a people, and she was working to help others because she cared about other human beings.

Make no mistake, the wrong response to these shootings would be to turn clinics into armed fortresses on the fringes of our medical delivery system, further from those who have a constitutional right to seek the procedure.

We must learn from this and, indeed, in tribute to those who died, make certain that this constitutional right is protected at the Federal, State, and local level by providing the resources necessary to maintain peace in our country.

When those shots rang out in Brookline last Friday, Mr. President, John Salvi did not just take life, he took something very precious from all of us. He took our freedom to believe and to express our beliefs as we choose and he took our freedom to act on our beliefs without fear of violence. We cannot permit that to happen in this country.

For many days, there will be many who will continue to mourn the deaths of Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nicols. The people of my State will remain shocked and outraged at this senseless act of violence that took them from us. And I know I speak for every Member of the Senate in extending our deepest condolences to their families and friends and to all the victims of this tragedy.

The lesson, Mr. President, is tolerance, and it is a lesson we would do well to learn and to think about as we witness other divisions in the United States of America, particularly the division of race. If we do not learn it, then we will dishonor the memory of these two young women from Massachusetts who lost their lives through intolerance in the name of God.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BREAU addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

PROPER AND LEGITIMATE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. BREAU. Mr. President, I say to my colleagues, we have all just undergone an election process, a great debate that has occurred in this country, culminating in the elections on November 8, which saw those of us who are Democrats lose the majority both

in this body as well as in the other body.

I think a great part of that debate was over the proper and legitimate role of Government as it affects the individual lives of the citizens of this country.

Many traditional Democrats—not all, but many—have taken the view that the proper role of Government is to try to solve everybody's problem all of the time, and that necessarily meant that many of those suggestions were coming from Washington as to what those solutions should be. Many, not all, Republicans took the view that the role of Government was to get out of the way and that Government really had no role in helping people solve their problems, but that it was more of a survival of the fittest type of attitude that should be the predominant one by which we govern ourselves.

I think both of those roles are not what the American people were talking about when they went to the polls on November 8. Many self-styled new Democrats take the view that the legitimate and proper role of Government is to help equip people to solve their own problems. Government's role is not to solve their problems, nor is Government's role to get out of the way and let the survival of the fittest be the rule of the day. But, rather, the proper role of Government is to try to help and equip people to be able to solve their own problems. That is a viewpoint that I think is proper and one that I share.

In keeping with that perspective of what Government's role is, I have joined with Democratic leader DASCHLE and Senator KENNEDY, of Massachusetts, in introducing legislation, which is S. 6, which is entitled the Working Americans Opportunity Act.

I think it is legislation which all Members should carefully consider because it takes as its premise that the role of Government is to help people solve their own problems, to help them equip themselves to meet the needs and the problems they are facing.

We all know that in today's society the average American worker has to change jobs several times in a lifetime. We all know that a great deal of the insecurity that Americans have in their daily lives is because they do not know whether the job they are in today will be there tomorrow. They do not know whether they will have the training and the skills to go out and seek a new job, perhaps in a new area, perhaps in a new profession, because they have not been properly trained.

S. 6, the Working Americans Opportunity Act, provides the types of training, the types of opportunities that American workers need in order to equip themselves to meet the challenges of the future. President Clinton has in his proposal for a middle-class bill of rights a similar proposal. The President has said many times that what you earn is tied to what you learn in this country, and that is a very true statement.

Our legislation will try to help Americans learn more so that in their lives they can earn more. What we do with this legislation is to build on the old GI bill with which so many Americans are familiar, where returning servicemen after World War II were given an opportunity to select a college, an institution they would like to attend, and the Government helped them equip themselves by giving them the money which allowed them to select where they wanted to go to college, and also to select what courses they would take.

The Government did not make that decision. The Government in Washington, after World War II, did not tell young Americans where they had to go to college. It did not tell them, when they got there, what courses they had to take. It did not tell them in what they had to major. The Government at that time had faith in the individual American citizen to make that decision on their own because Government at that time felt the individual would make the right decision; they would take the courses they felt they were best able to do well in; they would go to the college they felt best suited their particular need.

There was no bureaucracy or no Government in Washington that made that decision. That is one of the reasons why the GI bill was such a good piece of legislation and why thousands and thousands of Americans today have lived a better life, because someone had the intelligence back in the 1940's to offer legislation which made that type of career education possible for hundreds of millions of Americans.

What we have offered today is building on that concept. It will give to Americans who have been dislocated because of a plant closing or because they have been fired, they have been laid off, vouchers to allow individuals to select the type of training they want, at the place they want, the type of program they want, they feel best suited they can handle, and then enroll and better themselves so they can earn more in later life.

Mr. President and my colleagues, we have hundreds of programs in the Federal bureaucracy. We have agencies all over the place that have job training programs where bureaucrats in Washington are deciding for an individual in my State of Louisiana what is the best course they can take or where they should go to school. This legislation says the individual should have the ability to make that decision; that our role in Government is to give that person a voucher and let them decide where they want to go and what courses they want to take. I think this concept is one of which the President is supportive, one of which I think many of our Republican colleagues will be supportive because it eliminates the bureaucratic, governmental decision maker in Washington and allows the decision to be made back at the local level by the person who is going to benefit from that decision in the first

place—the individual who is going to benefit from these vouchers.

I would point out that this concept of putting the workers in charge of their own fate rather than having their fate decided in Washington is going to accomplish a couple of things. No. 1, it would really I think for the first time allow the workers to take charge of their career, let them decide what they want to do instead of having that decision made in Washington.

Second, I think allowing that individual to decide where they want to go and what school they would like to attend for the training they are seeking is going to provide competition among private and public institutions for that individual's interest, to compete for that individual's business. I think that competition will provide better services. Right now there is not a great deal of competition among training institutions because the Government makes the decision where these individuals have to go. There is no competition. This legislation would create competition among these schools to compete for those individuals coming to their institutions, and I think they would provide a better product.

Third, competition would provide accountability for performance. Dissatisfied customers could vote with their feet, taking their business to more effective providers.

And fourth, bureaucracies that run the current program would certainly be reduced. I am told by I think the General Accounting Office that we have literally hundreds of departments and agencies in Washington that run job training programs. We already spend literally billions of dollars in Washington on job training programs right now. Our legislation says we should not be spending any more money. It is a question of spending it more wisely.

Our legislation takes money from existing bureaucratic programs in Washington and uses the dollars to create vouchers to give to individuals to let them make the decision as to where they can best get their best education and the best retraining to compete in today's modern world. The global economy that we are now talking about creates a lot of opportunities for Americans, but it also has created a lot of problems for Americans because many jobs people are involved in today are not going to be here tomorrow because of the changing global competition and environment.

This Congress just in the last year passed a North American Free Trade Agreement. We passed a GATT agreement. That is going to make global competition more and more and create more opportunities for American workers and for American businesses. But we cannot do it if our workers are not trained. We cannot do it if our workers are still educated to work in jobs that are not the jobs of the future, that are not the jobs in a global environment with global competition.

I think this legislation for the first time will say that we are going to recognize that individuals, citizens back home have the ability to make the decisions for themselves. But Government does have a role. It is not survival of the fittest. It is not just throwing everybody out there and saying some will survive and some will perish, but it is saying Government's role will be to help people make the best decisions for their lives.

So I would suggest the legislation we have introduced today, the Working Americans Opportunity Act, is in keeping with that theory, that there is a legitimate role for Government to help equip our citizens to make their own decisions and to help them solve their problems.

That is the role of Government I think most Americans share. I think it was one of the clear messages of the last election. I think all of us have to take heed of those results, Republicans and Democrats alike. This legislation is a major step in that direction, and I urge my colleagues to consider joining with us in supporting this legislation as it has been introduced.

Mr. President, I now yield the floor.

Mr. EXON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I rise today to lend enthusiastic support to S. 9, which I think is probably one of the most important, if not far-reaching, measures that have been introduced today, along with very many other important measures.

S. 9 addresses the matter of the constitutional amendment to balance the budget. I have long been a supporter of that, and my name has been mentioned by my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. I was very pleased to join as a cosponsor of the bill of the Democratic leader to focus attention on this matter.

I also happen to be the ranking Democrat on the Budget Committee, and the Budget Committee, with all of its other very important responsibilities, is going to play a very key, a very decisive role in the constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

I rise today though to say while I voted for it before and I am going to vote for it again, I am going to be plowing a straight furrow down the road on this whole matter to explain to the Senate and to the House and to the people at large that passing a constitutional amendment to balance the budget is the easy part.

There has been no legislation introduced today, and I daresay there will be no legislation introduced in this Congress, that has such far-reaching implications. This is where the rubber meets the road. Passing a constitutional amendment—which I believe will be passed—is the easy part. In doing so, we have to have a thorough understanding by every Member of the Senate, every Member of the House of Representatives, every Governor, every

legislator in every State and the people at large, as to the awesome task that we take upon ourselves when we pass this measure. It is not going to be easy. It is probably one of the most difficult tasks that the Congress of the United States all during our history has ever saddled itself with. But saddle it we must if we are going to stop runaway deficits, skyrocketing national debts.

I think the first thing we have to have a full understanding with the people on, if they do not understand it now, is that there is a difference between the annual deficit and the national debt. I am afraid the people hear about the \$150 to \$350 billion annual deficit and then they hear about the skyrocketing national debt that was addressed earlier in the day by Senator DASCHLE, under \$1 trillion in 1980 and now it is \$4.7 trillion. They hear often that the fastest growing part of our budget is interest on the national debt.

I simply say that if we are going to balance the Federal budget by the year 2002, as is outlined in most of the measures that have been introduced thus far, we are going to have to cut \$1 trillion or more, depending on how much money we expend for tax decreases—worthy or unworthy, justified or unjustified. The political climate, it seems to me, is to make everybody happy we have to have a tax cut. Add that tax cut, if you will, to the \$1 trillion that I have already outlined and you see the monumental problem that we have on our hands.

Meanwhile back at the ranch we have all kinds of people, well-intentioned people, who are saying, "This has to be off limits. Of course that has to be off limits. We cannot touch this, we cannot touch that." I hope those of us who vote for a constitutional amendment to balance the budget recognize, as we must, that not all of us, maybe not a majority of us, will be here serving in the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives in the year 2002. Yet we are mandating what people will do then. We, therefore, in my view, have the responsibility to plow a straight furrow, to tell the people exactly what the situation is, to put the pain and suffering that is going to take place in making these cuts so they are clearly understood—to recognize that, of all things, we may even have to raise taxes sometime before 2002 to accomplish the ends we are about to vote for. When you mention the tax word around here, though, that is a no-no.

I simply say in tackling this proposition this Senator, and I expect two-thirds of the Senate, are strongly in support of and will pass a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. We have the responsibility, not only to vote but we have the responsibility

to fully understand what we are tackling and what we are taking on. Therefore, I want to make the point that this S. 9 is a far-reaching measure. It has to be passed, I believe, to bring some sanity to the Federal Government, to begin to balance income with out-go. Therefore it is a necessity. It is a very, very painful one and the people of the United States who send us here to do their bidding should understand when we do what they want us to do—the vast majority want a constitutional amendment to balanced the budget. I say to the people of the United States of America, it is not going to be easy. I am afraid too many believe if we just eliminate the \$1,200 toilet seats and the \$500 hammer, and if we cut the salaries of the Members of the House and Senate and their staffs in half, we could do those things and everything would take care of itself. It would be balanced.

I heard a big debate on television last night about \$300 million for public radio and public television. That is what television shows are made of. The \$300 million that we spend on public broadcasting maybe should be cut. But it is a drop in the bucket. And we continue to focus on the little things, making believe if we do that, the problem is solved. It is a monumental problem of major proportions that all should understand, as we proceed down this dangerous course that in my view we must proceed on if we are ever going to bring outlays in line with expenditures.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. I make inquiry to the Chair on a matter, a parliamentary inquiry as to what the proceedings are before the Senate now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator may speak for up to 10 minutes.

SENATOR DASCHLE'S IMPORTANT MESSAGES TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

Mr. REID. Mr. President, at the beginning of every session of Congress the Senate, both the minority and the majority, introduce five bills. These are deemed to be the most important bills of the two parties during a Congress. I would like to congratulate and applaud the minority leader, Senator DASCHLE of South Dakota, for the choice he made in the bills that are part of the legislation that will be addressed by this Congress. The bills he has introduced are important messages to the American public.

I first want to talk about S. 6. This is a bill dealing with the American work-

ing class. It is called the Working Americans Opportunity Act. We have made great strides, these past couple of years, in creating new jobs. Over 5 million new jobs have been created. We have the lowest inflation rate since John Kennedy was President. Three years in a row we have had a deficit reduction. We will have a reduction in our annual deficit this year, the third year in a row. This is the first time in 50 years this has happened.

Industrial production is the highest since the days of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. Real business investment is the highest since World War II.

Mr. President, we have 100,000 fewer Federal employees than we had years ago. Corporate profits soared 45 percent in the last quarter. Productivity as I indicated is skyrocketing.

What then is the problem? The problem is that the American public generally is not benefiting from the gains that are being made.

Let me read from a speech that was given by the Secretary of Labor very recently. He said among other things, and I quote:

The old middle class has become an anxious class—worried not only about sustaining their incomes but also about keeping their jobs and their health insurance. Our large corporations continue to improve productivity by investing in technology and cutting payrolls. In a recent survey three out of four employers say their own employees fear losing their jobs. Meanwhile, 1994 is on track to become history's second-biggest year for mergers and acquisitions. But who wins in this \$300 billion deal? Certainly not the average American worker. When two industry giants merge, the advantages of the deal often come from layoffs. Across America, I hear the same refrain: "I've given this company the best years of my life, and now they dispose of me like a piece of rusted machinery." What has happened to the men and women who have lost their jobs? Some have navigated their way to new and better opportunities. But nearly one out of five who lost a full-time job since 1991 is still without work. And among those Americans who have landed new jobs, almost half—47 percent—are now earning less than they did before.

In sum, tens of millions of middle-class Americans continue to experience what they began to face in the late 1970's—downward mobility. They know that recoveries are cyclical, but fear that the underlying trend is permanent. They voted for change in '94 just as they voted for change in '92, and they will do it again and again until they feel that downward slide is reversing. But what so many Americans find shocking about today's economy is the seeming randomness of their fates.

On a recent poll, 55 percent of American adults said they no longer believe that you can build a better life for yourself and your family by working hard and playing by the rules. Of those without college degrees, 68 percent no longer believe it. Because they