

The BOB DOLE America saw earlier today is a person we all in the Senate know: A man of character, a man of integrity and a man of utter devotion to the future of this country.

It is strange in politics, it is really an oddity in politics that a person's public image sometimes differs from his or her true qualities. That sometimes is the case with BOB DOLE.

I have watched some of his press conferences earlier in the campaign and particularly read some of the earlier stories and newspaper articles about him. When I did that, I realized there was something missing, that this really was not the BOB DOLE that I have seen for the last 18 months.

The BOB DOLE that I have seen was the real Bob DOLE, the individual, the leader, the war hero, the consensus builder and a man of enormous compassion. In listening to his speech earlier today on this floor, I did see those qualities clearly on public display, as did the American people. This is BOB DOLE, many times a man of few words, but a man who shows tremendous character and leadership in his actions.

Upon joining the Senate a little over a year ago, I became a BOB DOLE watcher. I had the opportunity as a Member of the House for 8 years to watch him from afar, but I have had the opportunity now for a little over a year to see him up close and watch how he operates and watch how he gets things done. I have seen him, as we all have, preside over four different meetings at once, moving from room to room to room and never lose track of what is going on.

BOB DOLE is someone who keeps in mind the big picture. I think the majority leader of the U.S. Senate always has to keep the big picture in mind. Yes, he has to understand details, he has to understand the nuances of legislation, how you get bills passed, but he also has to keep in mind the big picture: That you have to ultimately get the job done, that you ultimately have to get the bill passed, that you ultimately have to get things to happen.

This is the BOB DOLE I saw earlier today. Earlier today, BOB DOLE told how he and Senator MOYNIHAN and others made the last, brave attempt to reform Social Security in 1983, with the result that Social Security is safe for another generation.

That leadership ability is still there. I had the opportunity to see that many, many times in the last year, year and a half, but my favorite example that I use to illustrate BOB DOLE's leadership is the welfare reform bill that we passed. Unfortunately, the President ultimately vetoed the welfare bill, but the bill we passed in the Senate, BOB DOLE was able to get 87 votes for.

I do not think anyone in this Chamber, anyone in this country, none of the political experts a year ago, a year and a half ago, if we had been talking about welfare reform, would have thought BOB DOLE could have brought a welfare

reform bill to this Senate and could have gotten 87 votes. What an achievement—what an achievement.

BOB DOLE was able to deal with the Governors, trying to put that together, certainly no easy task, and the Senate, equally difficult. And he put together a fair and balanced welfare reform measure. He was able to accomplish this amazing feat, because he never lost sight of the need to ultimately reform a system that has long failed the people it was intended to help.

Mr. President, here is a man who is capable of making tough decisions and right decisions. As he pointed out in his speech earlier today, the Senate is not like the House of Representatives. The Senate leader has fewer tools to control the Senate than the House Speaker possesses in the House. The Senate leader rules—not rules—really leads by consensus. He cannot dictate, he must lead, and I have seen, as we all have in this Chamber, BOB DOLE lead.

I have been to more than one meeting with Senators, and Senators only, where a Senator complained that he or she had not been consulted on an issue or had some other complaint to the leader, Senator DOLE, about how things were going, what he had done, not done. I had seen BOB DOLE look at them, as only BOB DOLE can, and say, "Well, if you want someone else to lead, if you want someone else to be a leader, that's fine, but you elected me to lead. As long as I am the leader, I intend to do just that." And that was the end of the conversation. That is BOB DOLE. That is leadership.

But, Mr. President, my admiration for BOB DOLE goes far beyond his ability as a majority leader. It is personal as well. BOB DOLE has the insight born of someone who suffered an enormous and unexpected tragedy. He was a star athlete who went off to war and came back with crippling injuries. This is not campaign hype of anything. Senator DOLE would rather downplay, and always has throughout his life, the struggles that he encountered when he came back and what he had to go through when he came back from World War II. He would rather downplay what he struggles with every day, since he was literally blown apart in World War II.

We all expect in life to lose our parents, even a spouse. Certain things you expect to happen, but there are other defining tragedies that go beyond the normal course of events, that go beyond what we are taught to expect. I have thought about this often since suffering the loss of our daughter, Becky. I, too, am also very reticent to talk about such a deep and personal tragedy, but I cannot help but admire the way BOB DOLE has worked through his own suffering. He understands daily pain, and I take great comfort from seeing this in him. He understands that life is not fair. Through dealing with pain, he has learned to understand himself, and these, Mr. President, are not bad qualities to have in a leader or in a President.

The President who comes to mind who reminds me the most of BOB DOLE in some ways is Franklin Roosevelt, who also faced physical disability with silent courage. Like Roosevelt, BOB DOLE's identity and his understanding of life were forged by pain. When Senator DOLE made the historic announcement last month that he would leave the Senate, the room was very crowded. It was so crowded that where I was, I could not see the expression on his face as he made the speech, but I could hear the emotion in his voice. BOB DOLE has the two seemingly opposite qualities of toughness and compassion. He had to be tough to leave the Senate. Most people do not leave voluntarily after spending a lifetime to get here. But he showed his more emotional side, too, when he made his announcement. His voice quivered during his announcement, not an easy public display for him, and he was even more emotional when he broke up during an earlier private meeting with us.

But as difficult as this decision was for him, I believe he will find it liberating to have left the Senate. I recall my own decision to make a second run for the Senate after losing the first time. I realized at that point that if I lost the second bid that my political career was over. If I lose this race, what happens? The same is now true for BOB DOLE who said he has "nowhere to go but the White House or home."

BOB DOLE had fixed in his own mind that his time as majority leader had passed and that the time had come for another challenge. Once he made the mental leap from the Senate Chamber, it was time to act.

This is the real BOB DOLE. And as he said goodbye to us then and again today, his friends and coworkers, BOB DOLE looked like a leader. He looked like a President.

Mr. President, I, like the rest of my colleagues, will always remember the demeanor and courage of this great statesman as he said farewell to the U.S. Senate.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

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

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

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1997—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I believe we have now reached an agreement with reference to how we will handle this conference report in terms of timing and the vote. I will proceed with a unanimous-consent request. I ask unanimous consent that debate now begin on the conference report 104-612 to accompany the concurrent budget resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 178, and once the Senate receives

the conference report, it be considered as having been read.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. I further ask if the Senate has received the papers by 3:30 p.m. on Wednesday, June 12, then the Senate proceed to vote on adoption of the conference report at that time. I further ask if the Senate has not received the papers by that time, then the vote occur on Thursday, June 13, at a time to be determined by the majority leader after consultation with the Democratic leader.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. For the information of all Senators, the Senate will now begin debate on the budget. All Senators interested in debating the budget conference report are urged to speak this afternoon.

It is the intention of the leadership to adjourn the Senate at approximately 7:30 p.m. this evening or earlier if no further Senators are seeking floor for debate. Therefore, no rollcall votes will occur during the remainder of today's session. The next rollcall vote will occur at 3:30 p.m., on Wednesday, June 12.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I just want to clarify, I understood you said we would vote by 3:30 tomorrow if it is here; is that right?

Mr. DOMENICI. Yes.

Mr. EXON. That would be Wednesday. If we do not vote then, we vote when?

Mr. DOMENICI. I said if the papers are not here, we cannot vote tomorrow by 3:30; then we will vote on the following day, which is Thursday, at a time to be determined by the majority leader in consultation with the minority.

Mr. EXON. We have no objection.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, there is a unanimous-consent request I want to make that has been cleared with the other side. There is an error in section 103(b) of House Concurrent Resolution 178 with respect to the levels of outlays in the Social Security Program. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the correct levels be printed in the RECORD at this point and they be deemed the appropriate levels for the purposes of enforcement of this budget resolution and the Congressional Budget Act.

I send a copy of the appropriate levels to the desk and ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Corrections to section 103(b) of H. Con. Res. 178:

Outlays

Fiscal year:

1997	\$310,400,000,000
1998	323,000,000,000
1999	335,900,000,000
2000	349,300,000,000
2001	363,900,000,000
2002	378,800,000,000

Mr. DOMENICI. Now, Mr. President, Senator EXON has cleared this, too. There are a number of errors contained in the statement of managers which accompany House Concurrent Resolution 178 with respect to the tables displaying the budget authority and the outlay allocations to the committees of the Senate for purposes of section 302(a) of the Budget Act. I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that the correct tables be printed in the RECORD at this point. These tables will be considered to be the allocations to the committees for the purposes of enforcement of this budget resolution and the Congressional Budget Act.

I send a copy of the correct tables to the desk and ask unanimous consent they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATE COMMITTEE BUDGET AUTHORITY AND OUTLAY ALLOCATIONS PURSUANT TO SECTION 302 OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1997

[In millions of dollars]

Committee	Direct spending jurisdiction		Entitlements funded in annual appropriations	
	Budget authority	Outlays	Budget authority	Outlays
Appropriations	791,195	832,273	.....	.....
Appropriations (Violent Crime Trust Fund)	4,683	3,073	.....	.....
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry	6,017	2,990	10,068	8,492
Armed Services	40,058	39,929	.....	.....
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	5,881	-9,017	.....	.....
Commerce, Science, and Transportation	7,429	4,799	605	602
Energy and Natural Resources	143	222	52	54
Environment and Public Works	23,969	3,201	.....	.....
Finance	627,429	624,564	130,818	130,886
Foreign Relations	11,429	12,859	.....	.....
Governmental Affairs	54,093	53,017	.....	.....
Judiciary	2,429	2,373	239	238
Labor and Human Resources	5,534	5,009	1,412	1,412
Rules and Administration	95	25	.....	.....
Veterans' Affairs	1,309	1,456	19,688	19,731
Small Business	3	-296	.....	.....
Select Indian Affairs	392	362	.....	.....
Select Intelligence .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Not allocated to committees	-267,328	-265,828	.....	.....
Total	1,314,760	1,311,011	162,882	161,415

SENATE COMMITTEE BUDGET AUTHORITY AND OUTLAY ALLOCATIONS PURSUANT TO SECTION 302 OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET ACT FIVE-YEAR TOTAL: 1997-2001

[In millions of dollars]

Committee	Direct spending jurisdiction		Entitlements funded in annual appropriations	
	Budget authority	Outlays	Budget authority	Outlays
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry	17,361	2,652	81,443	48,025
Armed Services	223,276	222,626	.....	.....
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs	35,375	-18,628	.....	.....
Commerce, Science, and Transportation	31,876	18,051	3,352	3,334
Energy and Natural Resources	5,219	5,067	252	276
Environment and Public Works	128,545	10,883	.....	.....
Finance	3,282,774	3,268,828	776,267	776,549
Foreign Relations	50,945	56,772	.....	.....
Governmental Affairs	294,435	288,737	.....	.....
Judiciary	19,705	19,386	1,257	1,254
Labor and Human Resources	30,605	28,251	7,499	7,499
Rules and Administration	486	402	.....	.....
Veterans' Affairs	2,552	3,908	103,415	103,285
Small Business	9	-1,264	.....	.....
Select Indian Affairs	1,965	1,832	.....	.....
Select Intelligence	2	.....	.....	.....

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, there are some additional errors within the narrative of the statement of managers. I therefore ask unanimous con-

sent that the following corrections to the statement of managers be printed in the RECORD at this point. I send an attachment, along with a table, to the

desk in compliance with that request and ask unanimous consent they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Corrections to the text of the joint explanatory statement in H. Rpt. 104-612:

(1) On page 58, for function 150, International Affairs, the 1997 budget authority figure should be \$131 million.

(2) On page 59, for function 370, Commerce and Housing Credit, the 1997 budget authority figure should be \$3,092 million; the 1997 outlay figure should be \$2,990 million; the size-year budget authority total should be \$17,789 million; the six-year outlay total should be \$16,879 million.

(3) On page 88, the table includes the incorrect levels for nondefense discretionary budget authority and outlays because it fails

to include the levels from the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. Section 301 of the budget resolution establishes a cap on non-defense discretionary spending, which includes spending from the Crime Fund. The following table includes funding from the Crime Fund and provides the correct levels for nondefense and total discretionary spending.

DEFENSE/NONDEFENSE LIMITS

[In millions of dollars]

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Defense:						
Budget authority	266,362	268,971	271,500	274,024	276,672	279,459
Outlays	264,968	263,862	267,048	270,657	269,744	269,608
General Purpose Nondefense:						
Budget authority	226,305	219,646	213,718	218,515	214,445	221,133
Outlays	270,571	258,492	252,981	248,847	246,479	244,611
Violent Crime Reduction Trust fund:						
Budget authority	4,683	5,100	6,050	6,050	.....	.....
Outlays	3,073	4,664	5,456	5,747	.....	.....
Subtotal Nondefense:						
Budget authority	230,988	224,746	219,768	224,565	214,445	221,133
Outlays	273,644	263,093	258,437	254,594	246,479	244,611
Total Discretionary:						
Budget authority	497,350	493,717	491,268	498,589	491,117	500,592
Outlays	538,612	526,955	525,485	525,251	516,223	514,219

Mr. DOMENICI. There are some Senators who want to be heard on the Dole departure, but I believe I have used enough time.

I will yield to you, Senator EXON, if you would like to open now, at your convenience.

Mr. EXON. I say to my friend and colleague from New Mexico, the Senator on this side has been trying to accommodate Democratic Senators who wanted to speak on the budget. I had a Senator scheduled for 4:30. I set him back to 5 o'clock. I thought we had agreed, and I used time in the 1 hour, for salutes to Senator DOLE.

All I am saying is it is very difficult for me to schedule speakers on the matter at hand if we keep setting these things back. I wish to accommodate all Senators. When you accommodate one Senator, you "disaccommodate" someone else.

How many speakers do we have that wish to speak on the Dole matter?

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, Senator HATFIELD has indicated he wants to speak for 3 minutes, 10 minutes for Senator KEMPTHORNE, and 5 minutes for Senator COVERDELL.

I will yield them my 18 minutes as if I were making an opening statement, and that will be the end of my opening statement. Then it will be your turn, and you can yield to some Democrat Senators after that.

Mr. President, I yield to Senator MARK HATFIELD 3 minutes, I yield 10 minutes to Senator KEMPTHORNE, and I yield 5 minutes to Senator COVERDELL. I yield in that order at this point. Then I will be gone from the floor. When they finish, we will return to Senator EXON.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I am happy to yield to the Senator from Idaho who was on the floor before me. I will follow the Senator from Idaho. I ask unanimous consent for that.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. I thank the Senator from Oregon for his courtesy.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, 15 months ago I told BOB DOLE I would enthusiastically support his quest for the Presidency of the United States. We see in his quest for the Presidency that he now has left the Senate of the United States. I think all of us have so many emotions that we are feeling today. I know the Nation, the Senate, and I would regret the day when the clerk would call the roll and the name of BOB DOLE would no longer be called. That day has now arrived.

It would be easy to dwell on the truth that the Senate will lose a man that history will hold in a place of great honor. Rather, I think it is more important that we celebrate BOB DOLE's victories, his leadership, his humor, and his ability to get things done.

Mr. President, I want to discuss for a moment, then, a personal experience that I had with Senator DOLE. It was with great pride and honor when Senator DOLE designated my legislation to stop unfunded Federal mandates, S. 1. As we all know, the significance, of course, is that this denotes a majority leader's stamp of approval in his priority on legislation. A majority leader does not want his bill that he has designated "No. 1" to fail.

Having said that, it is all the more remarkable that he chose my legislation because I had only been here 2 years. I had no track record. It would have been far safer for Senator DOLE to choose some of the seasoned veteran Senators, such as Senator DOMENICI, Senator ROTH, or Senator HATFIELD, to carry this type of legislation. Not only did he choose my legislation, but he then designated me to be the floor manager, a responsibility I had never, ever done before.

I say this not in any way to somehow bring attention to myself, because I say this with all humility, to make it clear that BOB DOLE was not taking the normal course of action. It was indicative of his leadership of reaching out to others who may not have had all of

the credentials, all of the experience, but who do have a passion to get something positive done.

He transfers his belief in a person so that that person will not ever want to let BOB DOLE down. I believe that is what he will do for all of America. He will tap that spirit in others and help them to reach new heights. It is one thing to have the ability to do something yourself, as BOB DOLE has that great ability, but it is a greater achievement to instill in others that same can-do spirit and then go and do it. But you must have someone who believes in you.

BOB DOLE believes in people. BOB DOLE believes in America. He instills in others that desire to reach within yourself and to do something great. It is a high honor to be elected by your fellow citizens to serve in the U.S. Senate. To then have been able to serve while BOB DOLE was here magnifies that honor.

When we had the debate on Senate bill 1, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD described the new majority leader, BOB DOLE, to his Democratic colleagues by saying, "The leader over there is tough. Wait and see. He will use the rules on me, and I respect that, and I admire that."

Well, yes, BOB DOLE is tough. He is tough, but he is also wise. When duty calls for him to be bipartisan, the man knows how to be bipartisan. But he also knows when it is time to be partisan, and he can be partisan. He is tireless. How many times have we been here on the floor of the U.S. Senate at midnight, and many of us are starting to find that our energies are sagging, and there is BOB DOLE, crisp, with his humor that props us up, keeps us going. There is BOB DOLE, who has a solution.

I am going to miss hearing BOB DOLE telling Senators to work it out, work it out, work it out. If it could not be worked out, he would always say, "Do you have the votes? Let us vote." For my part, BOB DOLE taught me the importance of working with and listening