

to all Senators and of seeking solutions that do not abandon principle. I want my children, Heather and Jeff, to learn from BOB DOLE that they can overcome any adversity—any adversity that comes their way. I cannot think of a more honorable man that I would entrust the future of my children to.

Finally, a word to Elizabeth and BOB DOLE. I hope you leave the Senate with a deep and abiding satisfaction of mission accomplished, job well done. My wife Patricia and I will keep you in our prayers in the coming months, and we will ask for God's peace and protection for your family. We look forward to working with you—you, who I believe will be the next President and First Lady of this great country.

With that, Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. HATFIELD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in wishing our majority leader a senatorial farewell. His contributions are well known, his integrity is unquestioned, and his service has been an example for each one of us on both sides of the aisle.

I want to just comment about the service factor in his life and how we are all drawn to those who serve—whether it is a Boy Scout who walks a hobbling grandmother across the street, or a community clothing drive, raising money for charity, or a PTA member spending hours at local meetings. Service we admire, service we respect, and service from our elected officials we always expect.

Majority Leader DOLE is no exception. Kansans expect him to represent their interests. Republicans expect him to lead the party, and Senators—well, we expect him to guide us through the joys and trials of partisan politics. So, as a U.S. Senator, I have often expected him to serve me as well. Long before leaving this Senate, BOB DOLE had my admiration. Long before he led this Senate, he had my respect, and I am led to believe that long before he was decorated as a war hero, I would have wanted Bob DOLE as my friend.

The issues we debate during the 104th Congress we have debated before. Like a pendulum, important issues swing away from us, and eventually they swing back. Every so often, we see a leader who is able to stop the pendulum, who is able to lead us into a solution that gives the pendulum a bit of a rest. For the causes of the disadvantaged and disabled Americans, Senator DOLE has proven to be such a leader. And for the need to reduce our deficit, he has few equals.

As chairman of the Appropriations Committee, I have seen the work that he has done. I have seen the money come in and, with greater detail, I have seen the money go out. Senator DOLE's legacy is his willingness to fight for the welfare of today while just as eagerly vying for the welfare of our children and our grandchildren for the future.

So, in 1968, he joined the ranks of this body, and in 1996 he leaves. I shall not wish him a happy retirement, for no matter what lies ahead, he will not retire. I expect his service will always continue. I wish him well. Antoinette and I both pray that BOB and Elizabeth's future will be strewn with God's blessing.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, not far from the Capitol, on Constitution, across from the Navy Memorial, is a building that houses the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and other major artifacts of our beginning. On the outside of the building, it says, "The Past is Prolog."

As I have heard the eloquent statements throughout the day and throughout the past several weeks about our majority leader, this has come to mind, because the future is always guided and shaped by the past.

BOB DOLE is a man of this century. BOB DOLE's life experience is that of a giant figure in American history. The experiences of his life are immeasurable. The knowledge that has been accomplished by it would be hard to calculate. The capacity that it represents has a far and long reach. So when the Senator from Kansas came at midday and gave us his farewell address, you could measure some of the energy and reach and capacity of this world figure, of this American figure, by the response that he received on both sides of the aisle, and throughout America, I am sure.

I have always said that whenever I think of BOB DOLE, I think of the heart and soul of America. I think we saw that expressed over these last several days. He truly is the embodiment of everything that we have come to think of as America—the fortitude to overcome adversity, perseverance, patience, strength, agility, entrepreneurship, problem solving, getting things done. He leaves with the love of his family of colleagues, all who have wished him a safe and secure journey. He characterizes what is yet before him as "one more mission." I think that statement properly casts what lies before him, but it also reminds us of what he has endured. He is a man who has endured and built the American mission. He brings to his task, as I have said, immeasurable resources.

I believe, as Senator SIMPSON alluded, that as Americans come to know him as his colleagues do, they will readily embrace this man and his mission and his love for America. I loved it when he gave that famous address as he announced that he would retire from the Senate. He said, with no disrespect to the Congress, that his life had not been about the Congress. He said, "My life has been about America." Gratefully, it still is. So I join

those in wishing him a safe journey and Godspeed.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask that the time be charged equally. Senator EXON will be right along. He is going to speak next.

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

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. EXON. 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. EXON. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may need off of our 5 hours. I believe it is the first time charged to us. We are now proceeding as I understand it with debate on the conference report on the budget.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, we are on the final leg of this Republican budget's journey, and it is a fruitless one. It does not lead our Nation to any new horizons. It blazes no new paths. It offers no compromise to break the budget deadlock. This Republican budget makes a beeline, it pains me to say, to another dead end.

Dead ends are becoming an all-too-familiar haunt for my Republican colleagues if they want to move ahead to something that is workable. Thanks to their intransigence and their extremist budget, that is where we spent most of last year. And it looks as though we will waste another session of Congress trying to back out of yet another dead end.

The majority has held the Senate hostage for almost 2 years with basically the same budget. Perhaps they are hoping that the Stockholm syndrome will set in and Democrats will start identifying with their captors. They are wrong. Our will and our vision are strong.

The chairman of the Senate Budget Committee did his best to repair the damage from last year's budget debacle. I compliment him for the fine job he did. In the hopes of attracting some unsuspecting buyers, the 1997 Republican budget has been spruced up in places. But if this budget were a house, it would still be condemned as unfit. It is still out of touch with mainstream America and I suggest that it should be rejected.

All of the efforts of the Republican majority to portray their budget as a moderate one are in vain. The Republican majority have done a superb job to airbrush their budget, but the American people can see the real thing—warts and all.

It retains the same unflattering profile as its predecessor: unnecessary reductions in Medicare and Medicaid

paying for tax breaks for the wealthy. This is in fact the Newt Gingrich Budget.

The agenda has included a \$50-billion-plus rehash of star wars that not even the Pentagon wants. And we have frittered away precious time reconsidering the balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. I have consistently voted for the balanced budget amendment, but could not cast my vote for it this time because the Republicans fouled the fiscal nest with senseless and in my opinion, irresponsible tax cuts if we are going to balance the budget fairly.

I am baffled by the inconsistency. It is enough to give a prudent man pause. One moment the Republicans bring back to the floor the balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, the next he resurrects discredited supply-side economics with tax breaks that could turn into the hundreds of billions of dollars.

Mr. President, all of this is a great concern to this Senator who has been trying to be bipartisan in my approach to the concerns that all of us have.

I had hoped that we could have used the good will engendered by the majority leader's departure to pass something meaningful for the American people. I ask with all sincerity, "What has happened to the priorities that matter most to American families?" What happened to the minimum wage? What happened to the modest health insurance reform package that passed the Senate 100 to zero? What happened to welfare reform? And the big question, we should be asking today, what happened to a balanced budget that all Americans could support?

One bill after another has been shackled to failed Republican dogma.

This rehashed budget is a prime example. It is part and parcel of the Republican strategy of no-work and all-political-play. Like ancient Gaul, the Republicans divided their budget reconciliation bill into three parts. They wanted to ram through—I emphasize ram through—their failed and stale political agenda and confront the President at every turn of this crooked legislative road. Worst of all, two of these baby reconciliation bills will be devoted largely to cutting taxes—an act that will worsen the deficit without any sense of being responsible or reasonable.

We are already seeing the House voodoo work its way in this conference report. At least the Senate language required that all the entitlement spending reductions be enacted into law before—I emphasize before—we considered the tax breaks. The House, not surprisingly, shamelessly tossed that requirement out the window and the Senate concurred in conference. What a fiscal sham all of this is.

The first reconciliation bill contains Medicaid, welfare, and tax breaks. Yes, Mr. President and tax breaks. So much for performing deficit reduction before doling out the tax breaks. So much for

fiscal conservatism. The first reconciliation bill will reduce the deficit by just \$2 billion, if it reduces the deficit at all. This is as plain as the light of day. The majority now want to eliminate the Medicaid guarantee of meaningful health care benefits for 18 million children, 6 million disabled Americans, millions of nursing home residents, 36 million people in all, to fund their tax breaks.

The conferees assume a net tax cut of \$122 billion, yet Chairman KASICH maintains that the cuts will be as large as \$180 billion. You can look but you will not find a single specific mention of closing tax loopholes or of ending corporate tax giveaways. The same budget that eagerly reduces funding for our Medicare and Medicaid Programs cannot find the courage to call upon the special interests to assume any of the burden of balancing the budget. By contrast, President Clinton has proposed that \$40 billion be raised from corporate reform and loophole-closers, money that keeps the President's tax cut within reason. This Senator would prefer no tax cut at all until we truly balance the budget.

Experience also shows that once the tax-break game begins, the bidding keeps increasing with no thought to the consequences. Chairman DOMENICI says that the Finance Committee can use tax increases to offset additional tax breaks, and he is well aware that \$35 billion is readily available simply by extending three excise taxes. But that won't be enough to satisfy their tax cut appetite and I predict that, like last year, the Republicans will soon be proposing to raid pension funds for working families to pay for the tax breaks that primarily benefit those earning above \$100,000 a year. Fiscal insanity is galloping through this Chamber, and we do not have enough votes, unfortunately, to rein it in.

One thing that has not changed in the conference report are the deep reductions in Medicare and Medicaid. The Republican budget would reduce Medicare spending growth per-beneficiary far below projected private-sector growth rates. It would diminish quality and access to health care for millions of middle-class Americans. Doctors and hospitals will be able to charge seniors for the entire balance of the charges above the Medicare payment. The Republican majority may assert that premiums are not going up, but they cannot make the same claim about seniors' out-of-pocket expenses, and that is where, primarily, the seniors are going to be hit.

The \$123 billion reduction of Medicare hospital insurance spending will devastate rural and some urban hospitals as well. The Republicans assert that it is necessary to preserve the solvency of the trust fund through 2006. That is bending the truth to fit their agenda. Funny, is it not, if that is humor, that the net tax breaks—at \$122 billion—are almost exactly equal to the cuts in Medicare part A—at \$123 billion?

President Clinton's budget proposal extends the life of the trust fund without such deep reductions. The Republican-appointed CBO Director has certified that the administration's proposals would extend the life of the Medicare hospital insurance trust fund until 2005.

And if the recent alarm over the date of insolvency tells us anything, it is not that we should reduce Medicare more to pay for tax breaks for the wealthy. That is truly Medi-Scare. The trustees' report is a call for the majority to come back to the bargaining table to work with the President on an acceptable compromise plan that is within reach with just a little effort.

And what about Medicaid? Instead of attempting to reform Medicaid in a manner that would be acceptable to mainstream America, the Republican majority put a hard edge to their proposal.

I believe you would take a whole nation by surprise if you told them that Republican Medicaid reform might mean that middle-class, working American families might have to pay thousands of dollars out of their own pockets for nursing home care for a loved one. Or that millions of low-income children might have their health care jeopardized.

In other words, reform means conform to their way of thinking, even if it means taking out a second mortgage on your home to pay for nursing home care for a sick or elderly parent. With a \$72 billion reduction in Medicaid from projected spending, combined with a block grant approach, that may well be the scenario.

I would like to conclude my remarks with an observation on this and the previous Republican budgets. I am reminded of an old print I once saw. It showed a man on a horse-drawn sleigh being chased by a pack of wolves. With the horses galloping as fast as they can, the driver is tossing out everything that is in the sleigh. If he does not lighten the load, the wolves will catch him. A pack of hungry wolves focuses the mind wonderfully on what is truly important. So should this debate on balancing the budget.

The problem with Republican budget after Republican budget is that they will not give up on what is not important. What is important to the American people—and they have said it time after time, is balancing the budget and balancing it fairly. They would far rather jettison the tax breaks but maintain a first-rate health care system, and balance the budget than run the risk of deficits in the years ahead, eating into the future of their children.

But my Republican colleagues cling to the tax breaks—the tax breaks that fuel the reductions in Medicare and Medicaid and divide our great Nation. That is why they and this budget will ultimately fail. And that is not only a tragedy for the departing majority leader but for the American people as well.

It is sad to have to conclude on this note, but this is clearly a failed budget. Once it passes, as it will, we will be starting over again on what we went through last year—meeting after meeting, crisis after crisis, and not a workable budget that can be supported by the President, by the minority in both the House and the Senate, and certainly not by the American people. When, oh, when, will they learn?

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. I wonder, since nobody else is seeking recognition, if I might ask the Senate if they would mind my yielding up to 5 minutes to Senator ABRAHAM for comments on Senator DOLE, to be taken off my time.

Mr. EXON. We have no objection.

Mr. DOMENICI. I so request and so yield.

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

The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise at this time to speak in concert with so many others who have spoken today about the career of Senator BOB DOLE who today moved on to a new role and new responsibilities and left behind a legacy that is virtually unsurpassed in the history of the Senate. Obviously, the accomplishments that BOB DOLE achieved, both as a leader in the Senate as well, in his earlier career, as a Member of the House of Representatives, have been chronicled pretty thoroughly both by the media as well as by Senator DOLE himself today. It is a legislative record that any of us would be, I think, immensely proud to have at the end of our careers here in this institution.

So, what I thought I might do instead was to just spend a minute or two talking about the personal side of BOB DOLE, the side that many of us here in the Senate know but which is maybe not as well known to the American people.

I have certainly come to know BOB DOLE as a friend. He is somebody who, from the very day that I arrived in the Senate, had a door that was open to me, and I know it was open to others in the freshman class that makes up this 104th Congress. He is a man who did not view himself as a senior Member and we as, somehow, junior Members not to be on the same playing field, but somebody who viewed us all as Members of this institution, as equals, who treated us that way, as he treats everybody.

He is a man of great compassion, a person who, through his own life's experiences, I think, probably cares about and sympathizes and understands the problems that his fellow citizens have more than virtually any-

body else in national leadership. He is a person who, I think, personifies the words trust and honesty and integrity more than anybody I have ever worked with in the political process or in the private sector. I have never known anybody who has served with BOB DOLE who has not said that his word was good, that his word was always one that you could count on. That is clearly a reason why he is held in such high esteem on both sides of the political aisle.

These qualities, his capacity to be a good friend, his compassion for his fellow citizens, the honesty, the trust and the integrity that he brought to his service here in the Congress of the United States, make him a giant, in my opinion, a giant who will be remembered far beyond the balcony which today was named after him. But he will be remembered along with the names of Webster and Clay, Johnson, Mansfield, and others who have served and who are remembered as the important ingredients in the formation of our democracy and its continuation.

I would just say this. Although my tenure in the Senate has lasted only a year and a half, I am extraordinarily proud that I had the chance for that year and a half to serve with BOB DOLE. I happen to be one of those who believes that his career in public service is not coming to an end today but that in just a few months he will be back in a different role, working together with us. But I am proud that I had the chance to serve as a fellow Member of the U.S. Senate with him.

Some people come to this Chamber and perhaps never are given the opportunity to work closely with one of the giants of our Nation's history and of the Senate's history. I feel very lucky and fortunate to have had that chance, even if it was only for a year and a half.

I wish him and his family great good fortune as they move on to a new challenge in this political campaign, and the best of luck and best wishes for the future.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, just for purposes of some kind of accounting, how much time has Senator EXON used and how much have I used, with all of that which I asked that I yield and asked be credited to me even though the speeches were on Senator DOLE?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico has used 28 minutes; the Senator from Nebraska has used 17 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask Senator EXON if he has any other Senators coming down this afternoon.

Mr. EXON. I advise my friend, I am expecting Senator KENNEDY momentar-

ily. I have no certainty beyond Senator KENNEDY, but I am certain Senator KENNEDY will be here very shortly, and I will yield to him such time as he needs when he comes. Other than that, I know of no Senator on this side who will be speaking tonight, but we have had surprises before, as you know.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I will just ask again if there are any Republican Senators desiring to speak on this budget resolution or ask any questions regarding it. While there will be some time tomorrow—I am not at all sure how much time there will be—to speak on the resolution. I think we are going to be here—

Mr. EXON. I might advise my colleague that Senator KENNEDY will be using approximately 30 minutes when he arrives, and I have just been advised Senator SIMON, a member of the Budget Committee, wishes 15 minutes. So that is about 45 minutes that I know of for Senators at this juncture.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I repeat for Senators on this side, if they would like to speak this evening—I know it is somewhat of an imposition since we have already announced there are no votes for the remainder of the day—there will be some time this evening and there will be some time tomorrow. Clearly, there will be some Members who would like to be heard.

Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABRAHAM). The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I did not get to hear all the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, but I believe I know generally what his criticism is, and I would like to address my views and my beliefs with reference to this budget.

First, Medicare, the trust fund for the senior citizens' hospital protection—and I do not say this with any joy in my voice—is going broke. I do not know how else to say it. This is not partisanship that determines that the trust fund is going bankrupt. It is not Republicans predicting it, it is not Democrats predicting it, in the sense of elected Members of Congress.

The trustees who are in charge of telling the American people the truth about the trust fund and making recommendations have, once again, reported—I do not say this to frighten anyone; it is just true—we are now spending more money out of the trust fund for senior citizens than is coming into the trust fund. In fact, we started doing that last year by a small amount. It is growing this year, that is, the amount that is spent in excess of what is coming in, and the next year after that it is more, and the trustees say in 5 years—in 5 years, not 30, not 20; 5 years—there will not be any money in the trust fund to pay the hospital bills for senior citizens.

No one has violated the trust fund. Congress has not taken money out of the Medicare fund. All of the money in