

Mr. LAUTENBERG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I thank you, Madam President, for recognizing me for some comments on the budget reconciliation.

TRIBUTE TO BOB DOLE

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, I will take just a couple of minutes beyond that which was allocated to me by the Senator from Nebraska to say that I, too, listened very intently to Senator DOLE's remarks today. I was touched and moved by them.

I will not go into his record, and I will not go to any length, but I want to say that BOB DOLE is someone whom I have admired over the years, with whom I have worked very smoothly. When he said it, he meant it. When he meant it, he said it. That is the way he operated.

He is part of a generation, of which I also am, and that is the generation of World War II veterans, a dwindling group, I regret to say. This year we will see several leave because, in addition to Senator BOB DOLE, Senator HATFIELD, and Senator HEFLIN will leave, and the group tightens and shrinks. It is not a very pleasant prospect to contemplate. But, nevertheless, it is a decided loss to take away the experience, the knowledge, the reflection of those who served in World War II at a time when America was a much different place, at a time when the values were established by tightly knit families, by those who worried about the loss of a loved one or the injury of a family member in the war. It was a huge war with somewhere around 14, 15 million people from our country in uniform. It touched every family in America. There was not a family that did not have close contact with that war.

We were also the generation that benefited enormously—enormously—from an educational program called the GI bill that was afforded to people like me and many others who serve here, where it changed our lives. The military experience was one thing. I served in World War II, not under the same level of danger that Senator DOLE or Senator INOUE served, but people in my unit were killed. It changed our lives because of the experience of the war, the fear, the danger, the detachment from family. When I enlisted in World War II, my father was already on his death bed, a man of just 43 years of age. And a family of four became a family of two virtually overnight.

But the experience of serving my country, the opportunity to do so, the opportunity to get an education, is something that ought to be firmly implanted in everybody's mind in this place and in this country, where an education can change one's life, as it did, I know for so many of my colleagues. Certainly, it did for me.

Without giving a personal biography, that is not my intent, just to say that

we will miss BOB DOLE. We will miss his experience and we will miss his wisdom. I wish him well—not quite as well as the Senator from New Hampshire, but that is in terms of the upcoming Presidential election—I wish him, personally, well and I wish him and his family many good years of enjoyment and good health.

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

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Madam President, if I may now take the time allotted to me by the Senator from Nebraska, I want to talk about the conference report on the budget resolution, this budget that makes such deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. My view is we ought to reject it and start over.

Before I make specific comments about the budget, I want to frame it in terms of the historical perspective. The Federal budget over the last 15 years, what has happened with it? The fiscal records of Presidents Clinton, Bush, and Reagan could not be more different. Over a 12-year-period, the Reagan and Bush administrations incurred \$2.3 trillion of debt. In fact, if we did not have to pay the interest on the debt racked up in these 12 years, the budget would be in balance this year. Not once did President Reagan or President Bush propose a balanced budget.

Fortunately, President Clinton's 4-year record is much different. President Clinton promised change in 1992 and he has produced it. Consider the following: The deficit has gone down for 4 straight years. The revised deficit figure for the fiscal 1996 year is now \$130 billion—by no means a modest figure, but substantially down from where it was 4 years ago. It is 1.8 percent of our gross domestic product. That is the lowest percentage of any industrialized country. For example, Japan's deficit is more than 3 percent of its GDP; Britain, the U.K., is 7 percent of its GDP; Italy's percentage of debt is 9 percent of GDP.

Finally, President Clinton is the first President to put forward a balanced budget proposal in a full generation. Madam President, budgets are more than just numbers. A budget is a statement of values. We are not accountants sent to Washington to only crunch numbers. We are here to respond to our people's needs for health security, for seniors on Medicare, and Medicaid for those who have only that program to provide for their health needs.

We are here to encourage educational opportunities for our young people. We are here to be stewards of the environment so that the next generation can enjoy clean water, clean air, my grandchildren will know about fish in the water, and not be afraid to go to a tap to take a drink of water, or will not have to be told to stay out of the air when playing games or exercising.

We are here to provide help and vision for our people in the next century. Simply, we are here to protect our citizens' life quality, to protect our economy, to protect our Nation, to protect our society. This budget does not accomplish those objectives. It will hurt those aspirations.

Madam President, unfortunately, some in the other party believe Government is evil. I say this because a very distinguished Republican, a Republican House Member told a very distinguished Congressman, Congressman HENRY HYDE, as I read from the report, "I trust Hamas," this person said, "more than I trust my own Government." Hamas—a terrorist organization with programs designed to kill innocent people, men, women, and children. What an odious comparison. Madam President, what government is this person talking about? Could it be the American Government? Our democratically elected Government?

Excluding net interest, two-thirds of the Federal Government is Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, veterans benefits, and national defense. These are the major programs of our Federal Government. I repeat, Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, veterans, national defense. Are these evil programs? Are they equivalent to Hamas terrorist attacks? I do not get the connection, but I resent, terribly, the words that are used. Whatever one thinks about mistakes or poor performance of our Government, this Government and this country can never be compared to a terrorist organization.

Madam President, the question is no longer whether we will balance the budget. The question is, how? Who will win in programs that are in place? Who will lose if programs are canceled? Finally, whose side is Government on?

President Clinton has laid out the right way to balance the budget. His budget reaches balance within 6 years, as documented by CBO, but unlike the Republican version the President's budget, protects Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment, and it does not increase taxes on working families. The President's budget not only protects 37 million senior citizens from deep Medicare cuts contained in this budget, but it will also, despite reports to the contrary in recent days, it will also make the Medicare trust fund solvent until the year 2005. It preserves the guarantee of Medicaid for 36 million seniors and disabled persons who rely on those programs. It protects our Nation's environment by ensuring full funding for the implementation of the major environmental programs like clean air, clean water, and toxic waste cleanups. It makes critical investments in education and training, it provides increased funding for programs like Head Start, title I, and safe and drug-free schools.

Finally, the President's budget maintains the earned-income tax credit, which provides tax relief for working families who earn less than \$28,000 a

year. It allows them to maintain their family needs for basic essentials, for sustenance.

The Republican budget is much different. It is punitive to working families and senior citizens. In reality, this budget resolution ought to be entitled "Extremist Budget, Part II." The huge Medicare cuts in this budget, combined with the proposed structural changes will truly make Medicare wither on the vine. If the Republican budget is enacted, Medicare will become a second-class health care system. The Republican budget also eliminates the guarantees of Medicaid coverage for seniors, disabled, children, and pregnant women.

This budget contains a Republican assault on education. Over 7 years this budget cuts \$60 billion in education and training, compared to the President's budget. This budget continues the Republican tragedy of the environment. The budget will cut environmental programs by 19 percent in the year 2002 and it will slow down toxic waste cleanups.

Finally, this budget continues the Republican war on working families. At the same time the GOP leadership is opposing an increase in the minimum wage, they are proposing to increase taxes on working families who earn under \$28,000 a year—harsh and unfair. That is why this budget resolution ought to be called the extremist budget part II.

Last year, the President vetoed the Republican budget because it contained huge cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. This budget does very much the same, and President Clinton will veto this budget as well.

So as soon as our Republican friends show that they can put forth a balanced budget like the President's, one that protects our priorities, we will have a balanced budget—but not until then.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

(By unanimous consent, the remarks of Mr. SPECTER are printed at an earlier point in today's RECORD.)

TRIBUTE TO PAUL F. EATON, SR.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Madam President, if I may ask the Senate's indulgence. On the 16th of this month, my friend and sometime counselor, Paul F. Eaton, Sr., of Walton, NY, will celebrate his 87th birthday. This is, of course, a happy occasion for Paul, his family and many friends, in our upstate Delaware County.

Both Paul Eaton and I came to reside in the foothills of the Catskills as adults. Paul came to practice law in the early 1930's. And Liz and I bought our farm in the early 1960's. And we have all stayed. The beauty of the place and the welcoming nature of its people have kept us there.

Paul made Walton his home; he was elected village police justice and later mayor; served in the Office of Price Administration during World War II; has spent over a half century as trustee of St. John the Baptist Church; married Frances Kellogg, raised a family; remained a loyal Democrat; played golf; and practiced law.

And if I may say, Madam President, he has practiced law, and continues to practice law, in a manner that brings nothing but honor to that profession. Paul Eaton is a general practitioner. He draws wills, handles real estate closings, tries cases, and counsels his clients. His reputation as a skillful lawyer is matched only by his reputation for honesty and integrity. He is still at it. For while we will celebrate his birthday on the 16th, he will be in his law office on the 17th. This is as it should be. We wish him well. Happy birthday Paul. Madam. President, I yield the floor.

DEBATE ON BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. FORD. Madam President, on Friday the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. INHOFE] and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DORGAN] and I had an exchange about the inaccuracy of certain statements made by the Senator from Oklahoma regarding the debate over the balanced budget amendment. During that exchange, the Senator from Oklahoma inserted into the RECORD copies of the original versions of Senate Joint Resolution 41 from the 103d Congress, and House Joint Resolution 1 from the 104th Congress. The Senator from Oklahoma represented that these were the two resolutions that we voted on—Senate Joint Resolution 41, in 1994, and House Joint Resolution 1, in 1996.

The distinguished Senator from North Dakota indicated that the two resolutions we voted on were not identical, since language known as the Nunn amendment was added to House Joint Resolution 1 regarding judicial review, and that this was new language from the resolution voted upon in 1994. The Senator from North Dakota asked unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the language which was actually voted on by the Senate. After the Senator from Oklahoma twice reserved the right to object, the Senator from North Dakota withdrew his request.

I have since had time to review the RECORD, and found that Both resolutions inserted into the RECORD by the Senator from Oklahoma were incorrect. In other words, neither of the resolutions which he put into the RECORD were actually voted upon by the Senate. The Senator from Oklahoma put

into the RECORD the balanced budget amendment proposals as introduced, in order to claim the Senate voted on identical proposals. However, both resolutions were subsequently amended in different ways. The 1994 resolution was modified to limit judicial remedies to declaratory judgments and other remedies authorized by Congress. This modification was dropped altogether in House Joint Resolution 1, as introduced in 1995. However, this resolution was then also amended by the Senate through the Nunn amendment, which prohibited judicial review entirely.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolutions which were actually voted upon by the Senate in 1994 and 1996—neither of which were inserted into the RECORD by the Senator from Oklahoma—be inserted at this point.

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

S.J. RES. 41, 103D CONGRESS—FINAL VERSION
ON WHICH SENATE VOTED

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein). That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after the date of its submission to the States for ratification:

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. Total outlays for any fiscal year shall not exceed total receipts for that fiscal year, unless three-fifths of the whole number of each House of Congress shall provide by law for a specific excess of outlays over receipts by a rollcall vote.

"SECTION 2. The limit on the debt of the United States held by the public shall not be increased, unless three-fifths of the whole number of each House shall provide by law for such an increase by a rollcall vote.

"SECTION 3. Prior to each fiscal year, the President shall transmit to the Congress a proposed budget for the United States Government for that fiscal year in which total outlays do not exceed total receipts.

"SECTION 4. No bill to increase revenue shall become law unless approved by a majority of the whole number of each House by a rollcall vote.

"SECTION 5. The Congress may waive the provisions of this article for any fiscal year in which a declaration of war is in effect. The provisions of this article may be waived for any fiscal year in which the United States is engaged in military conflict which causes an imminent and serious military threat to national security and is so declared by a joint resolution adopted by a majority of the whole number of each House, which becomes law.

"SECTION 6. The Congress shall enforce and implement this article by appropriate legislation, which may rely on estimates of outlays and receipts. The power of any court to order relief pursuant to any case or controversy arising under this Article shall not extend to ordering any remedies other than a declaratory judgment or such remedies as are specifically authorized in implementing legislation pursuant to this section.

"SECTION 7. Total receipts shall include all receipts of the United States Government except those derived from borrowing. Total outlays shall include all outlays of the United States Government except for those for repayment of debt principal.