

which shows budget deficits, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

# BUDGET DEFICITS

[In billions of dollars]

|  | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Current law baseline .....             | 146  | 156  | 160  | 147  | 136  | 111  | 105  |
| Conference agreement .....             | 146  | 153  | 147  | 117  | 89   | 42   | -5   |
| President's Budget: <sup>a</sup>       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| With trigger .....                     | 146  | 155  | 152  | 123  | 105  | 54   | -3   |
| Without trigger .....                  | 146  | 156  | 153  | 125  | 108  | 87   | 81   |
| Chaffee-Breaux Moderate .....          | 146  | 147  | 154  | 134  | 114  | 77   | 49   |
| Balanced Budget Act <sup>b</sup> ..... | 151  | 159  | 127  | 97   | 73   | 34   | -3   |

<sup>a</sup> CBO reestimate.

<sup>b</sup> CBO reestimate from December baseline.

Prepared by SBC Majority Staff, June 13, 1996.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, this chart shows that every year—every year—the President's proposals would have the deficits that our package has over these 6 years. As a matter of fact, there has been this reference to the spike we have in the next fiscal year. Yes, there is a spike in our budget in the next fiscal year, but there is also one in the President's budget, and it is \$2 billion higher than our proposal.

So if you want to compare the proposals, I invite you to do so. This chart will be in the RECORD.

I am proud to support this package. It is fair. It is what we need to do.

I urge my colleagues today to stand up, do the right thing, and vote for this budget resolution. Let us move the process forward. Let us do what is right for our children and for our country.

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. President, I understand the yeas and nays have not been requested. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report. On this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BUMPERS] is necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BUMPERS] would vote "no."

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHCROFT). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 53, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 159 Leg.]

# YEAS—53

|          |           |            |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Abraham  | Coverdell | Grassley   |
| Ashcroft | Craig     | Gregg      |
| Bennett  | D'Amato   | Hatch      |
| Bond     | DeWine    | Hatfield   |
| Brown    | Domenici  | Helms      |
| Burns    | Faircloth | Hutchison  |
| Campbell | Frahm     | Inhofe     |
| Chafee   | Frist     | Jeffords   |
| Coats    | Gorton    | Kassebaum  |
| Cochran  | Gramm     | Kempthorne |
| Cohen    | Grams     | Kyl        |

Lott  
Lugar  
Mack  
McCain  
McConnell  
Murkowski  
Nickles

Pressler  
Roth  
Santorum  
Shelby  
Simpson  
Smith  
Snowe

Specter  
Stevens  
Thomas  
Thompson  
Thurmond  
Warner

# NAYS—46

Akaka  
Baucus  
Biden  
Bingaman  
Boxer  
Bradley  
Breaux  
Bryan  
Byrd  
Conrad  
Daschle  
Dodd  
Dorgan  
Exon  
Feingold  
Feinstein

Ford  
Glenn  
Graham  
Harkin  
Heflin  
Hollings  
Inouye  
Johnston  
Kennedy  
Kerrey  
Kerry  
Kohl  
Lautenberg  
Leahy  
Levin  
Lieberman

Mikulski  
Moseley-Braun  
Moynihan  
Murray  
Nunn  
Pell  
Pryor  
Reid  
Robb  
Rockefeller  
Sarbanes  
Simon  
Wellstone  
Wyden

# NOT VOTING—1

Bumpers

The conference report was agreed to.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the concurrent resolution was agreed to, and I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I am disappointed and disillusioned by this conference report on the budget resolution for the 1997 fiscal year.

I am disappointed that the conference report lowered next year's discretionary spending by \$1.3 billion from the Senate-passed budget resolution. I applaud Senate Budget Committee Chairman PETE DOMENICI and ranking member JAMES EXON for their strong support of adequate funding for programs that invest in our country. Unfortunately, the House of Representatives refused to accept the Senate's more responsible discretionary spending levels.

Moreover, I am disillusioned that the House budget conferees have resorted to a new budget gimmick. Instead of showing leadership to produce a more moderate budget resolution, they have added a new smoke and mirror—the Government shutdown prevention allowance. This section of the conference report will free up \$1.3 billion more in spending only if Congress decides to pass a continuing resolution to fund the Government. This is a billion-dollar incentive for Members to pass a continuing resolution.

After two unnecessary and expensive Government shutdowns and more than a dozen continuing resolutions last year, I have had enough of this piecemeal approach to budgeting. Budgeting by continuing resolutions is a true failure in leadership. Instead of passing the buck by passing continuing resolutions, we should make the tough budget decisions and then vote on them in appropriations bills. Unlike short-term continuing resolutions, year-long appropriations bills allow Federal, State, and local agencies to plan their budgets and make Government more effective.

This conference report also makes harmful short-term cuts in important

programs that will have devastating consequences over the long-term. It cuts Medicare and Medicaid more than is necessary to achieve a balanced budget. These cuts would reduce Medicare spending growth per-beneficiary far below projected private sector growth rates. I am disappointed that the majority persists in cutting a program that is vital to 83,000 Vermonters, 12 percent of whom live below the poverty level.

And it cuts environment funding while increasing defense spending by \$11 billion for 1997—which is unacceptable in today's post-cold-war world. The people of the United States never voted to gut environmental spending in the last election. They overwhelmingly want to make sure Government provides basic safeguards for a clean environment. This is a job that Government can do and needs to do.

Mr. President, this budget resolution is better than last year's extreme budget, but it still cuts programs for elderly, young and low-income Vermonters more than is necessary to balance the budget. And it hurts the environment while resorting to budget gimmicks.

We can do better than this disappointing and disillusioning budget.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, we hope to have some announcement about proceeding for the remainder of the day and week momentarily. We are working on that right now. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

# EXECUTIVE SESSION

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM NOMINATION OF ALAN GREENSPAN TO BE CHAIRMAN OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to executive session to consider the nomination of Alan Greenspan, to be the Chairman of the Federal Reserve System, and it be considered under the following time agreement: The time beginning at 2 p.m., today, for the remainder of today's session, and all debate time during Friday's session be equally divided between Senators D'AMATO and HARKIN or their designees; at 9:30 a.m., on Thursday, June 20, there be 3 hours remaining on the nomination, to be equally divided between Senators D'AMATO and HARKIN; and that the vote occur on confirmation of Alan Greenspan at 2 p.m., on Thursday, June 20, 1996.

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

#### UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that immediately following the confirmation of Alan Greenspan, the Senate proceed to the vote on the nomination of Laurence Meyer to be a member of the Federal Reserve System, to be followed immediately by a vote on the confirmation of Alice Rivlin to be a member and Vice Chairman of the Federal Reserve System.

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

Mr. LOTT. Finally, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the confirmation vote of Alice Rivlin, the President be immediately notified that the Senate has given its consent to these nominations and the Senate then resume legislative session.

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

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for morning business, with Senators allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes each; and, further, that Senator THOMAS be in control of the first 30 minutes, and Senator DASCHLE or his designee be in control of up to 30 minutes.

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

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, to update all Senators, following morning business, the Senate will then move to the consideration of the Federal Reserve nominations that are on the Executive Calendar. The agreement reached, therefore, will provide that no further votes will be called for today or during tomorrow's session of the Senate. We have discussed this with the Democratic leader and worked it out very carefully.

This matter has been delayed far too long already, and we need to take up these very serious nominations. So we now have reached a process that allows us to do that. I assume there will be 3 hours or so of debate today, and then debate again on Friday on these nominations, and then, of course, the vote for them would occur on Thursday, at 2 p.m., of next week. That is at the request of the Democratic leader.

We will be looking at what issues will be taken up on Monday and/or Tuesday, and we will notify the Members once an agreement has been reached on that. I yield the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. THOMAS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

#### "ME, TOO" POLITICS

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, we appreciate the opportunity to take some

time this afternoon. This is a continuation of our effort among the freshmen to have a freshman focus and to bring what is often a unique perception of Senate Members, those of us who just came less than 2 years ago, on the topics of today. So we appreciate that. Some of my colleagues will join in.

Mr. President, we want to talk a little today about me, too politics. I think it is a timely topic. It is one that has been very prominent here in this body over the last several months or even, in fact, year.

It sounds kind of good—me, too. It sound like that ought to give us an opportunity to agree. We will order something and there will be a resounding, me, too.

Unfortunately, that is not the way it works. Unfortunately, me, too politics means when there is an idea that comes up, I say, me, too, and then find lots of reasons why you cannot do it, so that there is a very difficult problem in determining—walking one way and talking another, saying, "I'm for it," but making sure that it never happens. That is what we increasingly are seeing with this administration, President Clinton, and with the minority here in the Senate.

There are, of course, real choices to be made. There is nothing wrong with choices. That is what politics is about. It gives you and me, as voters, a chance to choose because various candidates are for various things. That is how the system works. When those choices are made indistinguishable, then it is very difficult. It is very difficult to have politicians who say one thing and do another, and continuously do that.

So there are basic decisions that have to be made. Are we going to have more Government, more Federal Government or less? Are we going to move in the direction of having more taxes, or are we going to move in the direction of having American families spend more of their money themselves? Those are basic decisions. Are we going to spend more? Are we going to borrow to spend more so that the credit card can go to our kids, or are we going to reduce spending?

These are tough decisions, but they are fairly clear decisions. What is happening is they are being blurred by this me, too politics. The technique, of course, is that whatever is suggested as fundamental change, then the others say, "Well, I'm for that as well," and then go about making sure it never happens.

The technique, of course, is to speak for it, and then decide, "Well, but it goes a little too far," or, "There are some details here that we can't do. I want a balanced budget, but this isn't the right way." So it is a way of saying, "I'm for it," but making sure you never have to vote for it.

Mr. President, I think that is troublesome. I think that is troublesome in terms of the system. It is troublesome certainly in terms of elections where,

at least in my view, the purpose of elections is to give some direction to our Government.

We have to generally do it in fairly broad areas. Certainly no one talks about 800 different votes that you take in a year, but they do talk about your philosophy. Are you for less Government or for more? More spending or less? A balanced budget or not? Term limits or not?

Unfortunately, the President has become a me, too President. There are countless examples of echoing the fundamental changes that have been brought about by the Republican Party, or by Bob Dole, almost like a shadow. Every time the Republicans come out with a plan to make fundamental change, to bring about the reforms that people have asked for, why, we see the President standing up and saying he agrees; but when the chips are down, he goes the other way. It is no longer "Me, too." It is more like the old Frank Sinatra song, the old tune of "My way." "Do it my way."

So it is easy to say, "Well, I'm for that, but, you know, it's not the right way to do it," or, "I'm for that, but it goes too far," or, "I'm for that, but there are the details." So it confuses where we really are.

Balancing the budget and cutting taxes and reforming welfare, ending the days of big Government, why, the President continues to sound in tune with fundamental change, but when the reform comes around, then his position shifts and it does not happen. That has happened so many times this year.

For example, he vetoed the balanced budget after saying he was for a balanced budget. After running on a balanced budget, after saying, we can do it in 5 years, in 8 years, in 10 years, in 7 years, he vetoes a balanced budget.

He vetoed welfare reform after pledging to change welfare as we know it. He vetoed legislation that would have kept Medicare solvent for the next generation after promising to save the program. These are the issues that we are seeing too much of "Me, too" instead of reform.

We need to really bear down on the idea of people saying one thing and doing another. I am pretty proud of this body and of the majority in this body who came here a year and a half ago and said we believe that voters want some fundamental change in terms of the direction of this country, a balanced budget being one of them.

Of course, the idea of moving welfare and many of the programs closer to people by moving them to the States, these are fundamental changes that people talk about. We have done many of those things, but unfortunately, the "Me, too" politics has kept them from being completed. We have sent the first balanced budget in 25 years to the White House—the first time. Vetoed.

So we need to really take a look at what we are for. If people disagree, if people want more government—and