

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

there are those who do, a legitimate point of view. I do not happen to share it. But you can argue that, "Yes, there are more things Government can do. Yes, we ought to take more money from folks because we can spend it better in the Government." That is a legitimate point of view; not one I share. But we at least ought to decide where we are on those things so that what we say and what we do are the same.

Welfare reform is one that comes, of course, to mind. We provided the President an opportunity to reform the Nation's welfare system, not just once, but twice. On both occasions the President said no; first, as part of the Balanced Budget Act in November and then a bill that stood on its own in January.

Just last month the President issued an Executive order requiring States to end welfare payments to teenaged parents who quit school or refuse to live with a responsible adult, language in part that was part of the proposal. Now the "Me, too" politics will say, "Yeah, I'm for that. I agree with that. Look what I've done," which is about one-hundredth of the total package. We see more and more of that.

Another flip-flop occurred on, of course, announcing support for Wisconsin's historic welfare reform plan to put able-bodied recipients to work, something the Republican welfare program that was vetoed would have accomplished. Now the administration is backing off of that, flip-flopping again, saying there are some details in the Wisconsin plan that need to be negotiated.

Let me tell you, the people in Wisconsin have a better idea of what needs to be done to deliver services in their State than bureaucrats here do.

I come from a State that is small. We need a different system than you need in a large State. The States are the only place to do that. So you cannot talk one way and walk another. Balancing the budget clearly has been the most significant issue over the last year and a half, not simply because of the numbers, not simply because of the arithmetic, but because the budget reflects the kind of approach we take to govern, whether we are fiscally responsible, whether we say, "Yes, we will spend more than we take in," whether we say it is morally correct if you want services, those people who receive them ought to pay for them, rather than putting it on the credit card for the kids. Those are basic issues.

We cannot balance the budget unless we are willing to adjust and make fundamental changes in Government. Budgets are vital to where we are going. The first 2½ years the administration never submitted a balanced budget to the Congress despite all of the talk, and opposed a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, arguing we do not need to do this. "Just balance the budget," the same argument that has been going on 25 years right here in this place, and we have

not balanced it. Of course we need the discipline of a constitutional amendment.

Finally, under the pressure to produce a balanced budget, but not basically making the changes that have to be made to do it. You have to deal with entitlements. Two-thirds of the expenditures are in entitlements. If you do not deal with entitlements, several things happen. One is that you never balance the budget. The other is that programs we want to strengthen and save, like Medicare, cannot exist unless you make some fundamental changes in them.

Tax cuts, promises to cut taxes—instead, what do we get? The largest tax increase in the history of this country. Last year, we came forward with plans to reduce taxes—vetoed, of course.

Mr. President, I have great confidence in the American people. I have great confidence in voters that they will make decisions based on fundamental direction. I certainly hope so. That is our job as voters, to decide where we want to go and then, of course, have to decide who the candidates are that are going in the same direction we are, not that any party or any politician is going to represent every detail of our point of view, but in general this party, this party, this candidate or that candidate comes closer to representing my view than the other. That is the choice we have.

Mr. President, I hope we all understand this business of "Me, too, politics" is not leadership. It is not decisiveness. It is a matter of avoiding taking strong positions. It is a matter of saying, "Yes, this is a good idea. I am for it, I want to balance the budget, but I just cannot vote for it the way it is," and never will.

I appreciate the opportunity to discuss this. I see my associates have come forward. I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. I thank the Senator. On the issue of the President, which is a discussion that many of us are scratching our head about with respect to the rhetoric we are hearing from the White House on issues—very, very important issues—that face this country, where Republicans here in the Congress and in many places, on a bipartisan basis, are trying to move forward with programs we believe will move this country forward. We have been met with very stiff resistance from the White House.

Yet when the campaign that has now commenced—the speeches; the President is out, making the campaign speeches—you would think from the speeches that he gives that all of the things that we are pursuing, that the American public is in general agreement with, like balancing the budget, like cutting taxes, like having smaller Government, like giving more power back to State and local governments, like welfare reform, all of those things that are very much supported by the American public and have been

stopped, clearly been stopped by this White House, because we have passed all of those things, and they have been vetoed down at the Oval Office, the President is now campaigning in his speeches that he is for all of this. In fact, he is the one who is trying to make these things happen.

It is particularly difficult for me, as someone who has worked extensively in the area of welfare reform, to hear the President of the United States not only giving speeches on the issue about how he is in support of the welfare system, but we have a President of the United States running ads on television talking about his welfare plan. Let me remind the President and my colleagues that the President of the United States has introduced one welfare reform proposal. It was introduced in June 1994, some 18 months into the President's term.

As you may recall, in 1992 when he ran for election, he promised to end welfare as we know it and made it a centerpiece of the campaign—he was a new Democrat, someone who understood that big Government policies of the Great Society were, in fact, hurting the very people they intended to help, and that we had to do something different. We had to do something dramatically different. As a Governor from Arkansas, he saw the need for decentralizing welfare back to the States, into the communities, where anti-poverty programs have been more effective and more tailored to the needs of the people in those communities.

So he said he wanted to end welfare as we know it. I think that was a very significant component of putting together the Clinton majority that earned him the electoral votes necessary to win the Presidency. Mr. President, 18 months later, he introduced in that interim period of time massive health reform, tax increases, further spending increases, new entitlement programs, a whole lot of other things were introduced in the first 18 months. He tried to do the gays in the military and other things that were obviously higher in priority because they certainly came before any initiative on welfare. He took no initiative.

The 103d Congress, from 1993 and 1994, introduced no legislation, the Democratic majority in both Houses introduced no legislation to move the welfare debate forward. In June 1994, it was introduced. It was a pathetic bill by everyone's estimate. It was panned by both sides as being no significant reform at all. In fact, they had trouble finding Democratic cosponsors of the bill. Someone even introduced the legislation for the President because it was considered such a minimal, incremental, insignificant reform of a system that was in terrible need of reform.

This is the plan—I assume this is the plan—that the President now is going around the country suggesting ends to welfare as we know it. No one from the left or the right, whether you are for

welfare as it is or would like to see substantial changes, would indicate that the President's plan of 1994 ended welfare as we know it. Yet, we have the President of the United States out on television, out in speeches, suggesting that he is trying to end welfare as we know it.

He had an opportunity to end welfare as we know it. Last year, we worked on a bipartisan basis here in the U.S. Senate and passed, I think, a very strong bill, one that attacked the significant problems in the welfare system, began to attack them. I do not see this as the final solution, by any stretch. But, in fact, it began to take us into a new course, where we focus more on allowing individual communities and States to fashion their own welfare programs with more flexibility. We put some work requirements in there, because we believe that is absolutely essential to transition people off of welfare. If you are going to transition people off of welfare, you have to give them work experience and teach them the skills necessary to work, and you have to put in time limits. If you do not put time limits in, you have a system that perpetuates nonwork, perpetuates a whole lot of values which I do not believe make for successful Americans.

We worked together on a bipartisan basis here in the Senate and came up with a bill that got 87 votes on the floor of the U.S. Senate—87 out of 99 votes; there were 12 who voted against it. That is an enormous bipartisan effort. In a year or two, now, where you have seen claims and disgust from the public about the intense partisanship, about the serious issues that face the country, here in the U.S. Senate, the issue that I think is one of the most pressing and important issues to this country and to our culture, to helping those who are in need, we were able to get 87 votes for a bipartisan bill.

The President of the United States, who originally said, "This is a great bill and I like it," as time went by, as we were working on this bill in conference, the President said he would veto, in fact, the Senate bill, that he would not support the Senate bill, even though it got 87 votes here in the U.S. Senate. So the President again very clearly signaled to the other side that he was not for anything that looked like the Senate bill or certainly not the House bill, and sent the signal to block whatever came out of conference as unacceptable welfare reform, even though there were 87 votes here.

Now, this is the President who is running ads saying he wants to end welfare as we know it, having torpedoed a bill that got 87 votes here in the U.S. Senate, having not offered any substantive proposal in this session of Congress, having offered a weak proposal in 1994 that, again, was panned by both left and right as insignificant.

This is the President who now wants you to believe that he is for us; he is for the same things that we are for and that you are for in welfare reform. The

fact is on this "me, too" he is not "me." He is not "us." He is "them." He is the status quo. He is for perpetuating a system that while well meaning in its inception—and certainly the people who put these programs together did not put these programs together because they thought they were going to hurt the poor, or because they thought they were going to hurt the children, or they thought were going to destroy communities, or thought they were going to create a culture of despair, or thought that they were going to really begin to tear apart families, or thought they were going to see fathers becoming less and less responsible for their children. None of those things were intended consequences of the Great Society programs and the other welfare programs we passed. But they surely have contributed to all of those things.

What we are saying is that it is time to do things differently that we know work in rebuilding those institutions. The institutions of family, of parental responsibility to children, of community organization that builds values in the communities like churches and nonprofit organizations, and civic associations that build a sense of community and set standards and values for this community so people can relate to—in fact, not only do they relate to but they participate in establishing.

We believe that sending welfare back down is not just substituting a State bureaucrat for a Federal bureaucrat, but substituting the neighbor down the street who works at the local community center, or the pastor of the church, or the social worker at the nonprofit mission helping the poor. That is what we are talking about in the welfare reform that is envisioned in the bills. I am hopeful that we can see that kind of progress in this area.

I am also hopeful that the President will own up to the fact that he is not for welfare reform as that envisioned that I have just given you. That is not his vision of welfare reform. His vision of welfare reform is ensuring Federal control over these programs, guaranteeing that you will hear very much, "Well the Republican plan didn't guarantee this; it cannot guarantee that." I can tell you what all of these Federal guarantees have gotten us over the past 30 years: Guaranteed failure, Federal guarantees failures of families and communities and culture. We want to get rid of the Federal guarantees. Yes, because we believe it is much more important that instead of having the bureaucrat guarantee that someone gets a check passed out by someone who sits behind bulletproof glass and you receive the check because the number that you have on your card is the number that matches that computer. Who you are does not matter. What your concerns are, does not matter. What your needs are, does not matter. You are a number in a computer and you get processed like it. That is not the kind of guarantee that I think the poor

want in this country. What they want is the guarantee that someone loves them, cares for them, who sees them as a neighbor, who sees them as part of what they are in a community, and has the resources available to them to help them. That is the guarantee that we want to provide. That is the kind of program envisioned that we see for helping the poor in this country, and it is not about the Federal Government taking care of people. It is about neighbors taking care of each other which is about the goodness of America and the culture that we so much want to rebuild in this country.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GRAMS. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

I just wanted to add a few words to what my colleagues have been talking about here this afternoon—about leadership that I believe the American people have been calling for, leadership in areas such as a balanced budget, leadership of Federal spending reforming our welfare system, and, yet, leadership in providing tax relief to America's hard working families. That is what people think about leadership on these type of issues. They usually first think of the President because he naturally, after all, is our chief executive officer of the country; the person who delivers the State of the Union Address every year; the one required by law to begin the budget process by submitting that proposal to Congress. The President is elected to lead. But that is not what President Clinton has done over the last 3½ years. Instead of leading the Nation he has been more of one that is following in the footsteps of Congress. Whatever we do the President now especially in this campaign year is saying "me, too" as we have noted in other things. But his proposals in comparison with ours are really just pale examples of what needs to be done.

We talk about welfare reform. He says "me, too." But he does not provide adequate reform that we need to save and provide for that system of Medicare. We say we need to save Medicare. He says "me, too" but does not provide the basic reform and changes in the Medicare system to ensure that it is going to be here for the seniors who rely on it today and for the generations to come.

Few issues symbolize the me-too response better than what has happened to tax relief. This President in 1992 as candidate Bill Clinton for President campaigned on the issue of tax relief for American families. In fact, then even called for tax relief as high as \$1,000 per child tax credit. He said American families need tax relief. But what did the President do after the election? Did he come to Congress? Did he come with a budget that said, "Now I am going to do what I promised to do, and that is to provide tax relief in some form to America's families?" No.

He did not. In fact, in 1993 the President proposed and this Congress passed—again without one Republican vote because we did not want to add to the tax burden of the American families—a \$265 billion tax increase; not tax relief for families, but tax increases. Of course, we are going to hear the rhetoric all the time that it was targeted for the rich so they can pay their fair share. If that is true, why is the average tax burden on Americans today at all levels higher than it was just 3 years ago? Why is tax freedom day now on May 7 and not May 1 as it was 3 years ago? It is because the average American in this country is paying more taxes today than at any time in history.

Our tax levels are higher today than at any time in history for average Americans—not just for a few but for all Americans. This flies in the face of what President Clinton said just 3½ years ago in 1992 that he was going to provide tax relief.

In 1993 while a Member of the House I introduced a budget called families first, and among the budget proposals included was tax relief, and specifically \$500 per child in that tax relief package, half of what the President had talked about but as much as we can get a consensus on. We thought that was important. But when it reached the White House as part of our budget plan last year what did the President do? The President vetoed that. The President did not carry through on his promise of providing tax relief as I said, in fact he added more taxes to the average American family's debt.

In doing so, I was hoping that we could win the President back over by providing for and including this tax cut in our budget. For nearly 3 years we have been fighting that. As I said, the President has vetoed every attempt that we have made.

So the President keeps saying—and we will hear it on the floor here as well, again as I mentioned—that this is just tax relief for the rich. I do not know where that comes from. When average American families in this country—in my State of Minnesota alone \$500 million a year for average families could stay in their pockets rather than being sent to Washington. You will hear a lot of those—“Well, Washington speaks, and we can't afford here in Washington to give this type of tax relief.” Well, the question is: Whose money is it? It is not Washington being able to afford to give tax relief. The question should be: Should American families be able to keep more of the money that they worked hard for every day? How much can we allow them to keep? That should be the question rather than saying, “How much is this going to cost Washington?”

The President though in his me-too efforts says, “Well, I do want to give tax relief now.” This is an election year. But now he is saying in his latest budget, “Yes, I want to give tax relief. Me, too. I want to give a family tax

credit, \$500 per child. Me, too.” But what is the President's proposal? It is not \$500, and it is not for all children. It starts out as a \$300 tax break for children, and it is phased in over 5 years. But at the end of 5 years it dies again. So he gives it and takes it away.

Is it for all children? No. It is for children up to the age of and including the age of 12. So it is not for the same type of a tax relief that we have offered across the board of \$500 per child tax credit.

So, in other words, when it comes to \$500 and the tax credit, the President has said “me, too” but only for a few years, not for children over the age of 13, and I guess not for real.

So today, still 4 years after that promise was made, 3 years after we began the fight of offering tax credit and tax relief for American families, taxpayers still find themselves now caught between the rhetoric and reality. We have tried. We have included tax relief in our budgets. The President has vetoed it.

So when Bill Clinton took office in 1993 we said then the taxes were too high, we believed Government was too big, and that spending was out of control. Nearly 3½ half years into the Clinton Presidency, and despite all the efforts that we have made, taxes are still higher than they were 3 years ago, Government is bigger than it was 3 years ago, and spending. Well, I think you get the message. Spending has increased over the last 3 years.

The bottom line is this cannot continue. We cannot give up on our efforts to return to the American people their hard-earned tax dollars. If the President is not willing to exercise the responsibilities of leadership handed to him by the voters, then we must. We are going to continue our efforts when it comes to carrying out the taxpayers' agenda. Their demand for a balanced budget, less Government spending, and tax relief is what we are going to continue to work for. We cannot afford to simply sit back and say, “Me, too,” like the President has done. We have to say we can and we will do this.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I want to continue this same theme of discussing ideas that have been put forth by Republicans in the Congress and which the President has claimed he also supports, though in some cases the record would suggest otherwise.

Former Congressman and HUD Secretary Jack Kemp has said something that I always thought was very wise. He said that campaigns are not so much about defeating an opponent as they are about providing leadership and new ideas.

The Republican Congress, particularly under the leadership of then Majority Leader Bob Dole and Speaker NEWT GINGRICH, have provided the leadership and the new ideas that have animated the agenda here in Washington

for the last year and a half. It began with the Contract With America, and it followed through with many of the ideas that have just been discussed by the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from Minnesota.

One of those was the idea of tax cuts that the Senator from Minnesota was just talking about. These were proposed, of course, by Republicans. The President said, “Me, too, but not as much.”

With regard to welfare reform, the Senator from Pennsylvania talked about that. I remember when President Clinton said, “Me, too” on that, and tried to steal the thunder, apparently, from Majority Leader Bob Dole, who was prepared to talk about welfare reform, when President Clinton said, “I like that Wisconsin State plan. That is the kind of real welfare reform we need,” in a Saturday morning radio address. Then, when it came time for following through and signing the waiver that would allow Wisconsin to follow through with its welfare reform, the White House said, “Well, we are not quite ready to do that, yet. We want to think about it a while.” So one is not even certain whether, when the President says, “Me, too,” he really means it.

In any event, taxes and welfare have been discussed. Let me mention quickly three other subjects that fall into the same category. One is the subject of defense and, in particular, ballistic missile defense. This is something that has concerned Republicans in the Congress, and some Democrats, for a long time. It was a particular challenge when, during the cold war, the Soviet Union had the capability of raining on the United States the ultimate in weapons of mass destruction, the ability to destroy, literally, the United States and, if we retaliated, eventually the world.

President Reagan decided that the best way to deal with this was through the development of a defense, so that no longer would the world be threatened with annihilation as a result of two superpowers killing each other and every other living thing on the face of the Earth; that we would provide a defense for ourselves so no nation would want to attack us because they would know they could not succeed and they would simply be wasting their money to try.

That work on star wars, as opponents called it—it was really called the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI]—is credited by many Russians as being one of the things which finally caused the Soviet Union to throw in the towel in the cold war, to acknowledge they could never compete with us, not only economically but also militarily in these sophisticated high-tech areas, and, therefore, they may as well decide to be our friend rather than our enemy.

Today's ballistic missile threat is a little different. It does not come from a country like Russia. It comes from a lot of so-called rogue nations around

the world who are acquiring the technology to deliver weapons of mass destruction by ballistic missiles, perhaps a little shorter range than the Russian missiles, but still with the capacity to rain harm on their neighbors, on neighboring states, on the capitals of our allies, capital cities, on troops deployed abroad.

The administration said, "We are for that, too. But we do not really want to spend as much money as it would take to develop the systems, at least as soon as you would like to see them developed." So it has been distressing to those of us who tried to support these programs to see the administration delay them and delay them and delay them, while all the time suggesting that nevertheless they do support them. Specifically, I have in mind two very important theater ballistic missile programs, the so-called THAAD Program and the Navy Upper Tier Program.

Both of these are designed to, when they are deployed, intercept missiles that would be delivered by an enemy in some theater around the world. One reason for the Navy program is that you could send the Aegis cruisers all over the world, literally, and defend against such a situation. For example, if the North Koreans decided to launch one of their new missiles against Japan or against South Korea, or even, as they will have the capability of doing after the turn of the century, against the United States—say Alaska or Hawaii—positioning those Aegis cruisers somewhere in the western Pacific would permit us to intercept such a missile.

The administration, however, has refused to comply with the law of the land in spending the money necessary to develop those programs within the timeframe called for by the legislation that was adopted by the Congress and signed by the President last year. Therefore, it is another example of an idea where the President has said, "I am for that, too," but he is not willing to back up the words with actions.

Quickly, Mr. President, two other examples I wanted to mention. One is one where I really hope we can have a bipartisan effort, because this should know no partisanship. It deals with the question of victims' rights. People who have been victimized by violent crime ought to have some constitutional rights in our criminal justice system. I say criminal justice system because that is what it has come to be called. But in a perverse way, it also expresses what has really happened to our system, where justice is provided to criminals—and we would have it no other way—but it is not provided to the victims of crime. We need to right that imbalance right now.

Our society believes in the rights of innocent people so strongly that we even say we would rather have nine guilty people go free than have one innocent person convicted of a crime. So we protect the rights of defendants,

people who are accused of crimes. But we do not provide similar protections to those people who are innocent and have already been victimized. Senator FEINSTEIN, a Democrat, and myself have introduced a constitutional amendment to protect victims of crime. We hope this will be a bipartisan effort.

Recently, we find that sounds coming from the White House suggest, again, the President is for this. I am hoping this time he will not only be for it in his expressions, but that he will support us in our effort to get this constitutional amendment adopted. The former majority leader, Bob Dole, is a cosponsor of our legislation. I would be very, very pleased if President Bill Clinton would join with us in supporting this constitutional amendment so Republicans and Democrats alike could provide real protection for the victims of crime. This should be a real test for the President. Will he not just say, "Me, too," but come aboard and achieve the goal.

Finally, I just wanted to mention the fifth item, and that is the balanced budget. The President has been very, very willing to say he, too, is for a balanced budget. The problem is that every effort that we have undertaken to try to achieve that balanced budget he has thwarted.

We tried to do it first through a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, because we knew it would be difficult to get the Congress to actually pass a balanced budget. He lobbied several Senators on the Democratic side who had previously supported the balanced budget amendment, urged them to oppose it, and it failed by one vote, as we all know. So we did not get a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, even though the President said he was for a balanced budget.

He said that ought to be the job of the House and Senate, so we took him up on his word. On November 17 of last year, the Senate of the United States passed a balanced budget, the first one in 20-some years, I think it is 28 years. The House did the same thing. We sent that balanced budget to the President. On December 6 last year, he vetoed it.

He is for a balanced budget, but when it came time to actually sign it, he was not ready to do that. So, once again, we have an example—this is the fifth one, as I said—where the President is very quick to say, "Me, too," but when it comes time to follow through, he is not there.

I will return to the beginning of my remarks. As Jack Kemp said, campaigns are about providing leadership and new ideas. The Republicans have provided this leadership. We have provided the new ideas. We have really won this campaign of ideas because it seems to me that the President and many of our Democratic friends are now agreeing with us that welfare reform, Medicaid reform, tax relief for American families, a strong national defense, a balanced budget, regulatory

reform—which I have not even talked about—all of these things are good ideas and they should be implemented.

The President says, "I agree." The problem is that we cannot get him to follow through with this. That is what this next election probably is going to be all about. Will we follow our leadership? Do you agree with our ideas? If you do, Mr. President, what we will be saying is elect the kind of people who will follow through on those ideas. If you do not agree with those ideas, of course, then you are going to want to support someone else. But I think politics is about providing leadership and new ideas. These are the right ideas, and it is time for us to get support, not just in the House and in the Senate of the United States, but from the President of the United States.

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

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

BUDGET RESOLUTION CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I cannot support the budget resolution which the majority has presented to us. First, it reduces funding for Medicare and Medicaid more than is necessary in order to provide dollars for tax cuts which are likely to benefit most of the wealthiest among us.

The budget also reduces discretionary funding for education from current levels—and I emphasize that—the funding for education is being reduced in this budget from current levels for 5 of the next 6 years. It does that at the same time that it increases the funding for defense each and every year during that period, including \$11 billion more for next year than the Pentagon requested.

Those are not the right priorities. Last year we fought long and hard before succeeding in restoring funding for education, such as Head Start, vocational education, the title I reading, writing and math skills program, Perkins loans and the State student incentive grants for college students. I believe it would be shortsighted to now retreat from a firm commitment to the best investment in our future, and that is education.

We have now reduced the deficit for three straight years, and we are on the verge of a fourth. We are doing that—reducing the deficit for three straight years—for the first time since World War II. During those same years, the deficit has been cut by more than half, from \$290 billion in 1992 to less than \$145 billion in 1996.

We should build on that progress, and we should continue that progress. That