

an excuse for off-budget spending on favorite programs.

Again, said. Out amendment does not change the budget deal. It strengthens it. It guarantees that the balanced budget becomes a reality. And it will assure the American people that we are serious about reaching balance by 2002.

It is important that we make that assurance. This budget is open to criticism because it increases the deficit from \$67 to \$90 billion in 1998 and 1999 before bringing it to 0 in 2002. All of the deficit reduction in this agreement occurs after the turn of the century.

We simply are not credible if we promise to cut the deficit a couple of years down the road. People have heard that from Congress for too long. I urge my colleagues to support this budget—and more. I urge them to commit to it by agreeing on strong enforcement procedures that will guarantee the deficit reduction we promise. I urge my colleagues to support the Brownback-Kohl amendment.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I ask that this amendment be agreed to by unanimous consent. It has been worked out between the parties.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENZI). Is there further debate on the amendment? If there is no objection, amendment No. 329 is agreed to.

The amendment (No. 329) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia, under the previous order, is recognized.

Mr. DOMENICI. Would the Senator permit me one thing?

Mr. BYRD. Yes.

Mr. DOMENICI. I gather Senator BYRD is going to speak and then Senator THURMOND is going to speak. Then I would ask unanimous consent two amendments be in order and in the following sequence: Senator MOSELEY-BRAUN—and how much time did the Senator want to take on her amendment?

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. It was my understanding that I would be allowed an hour tonight and then some time in the morning to vote on it.

Mr. DOMENICI. Do you want the whole hour? That is all I am asking.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Yes, the whole hour.

Mr. DOMENICI. OK. Following the debate on her amendment, at the conclusion of the time, that Senator MACK be recognized to offer a sense-of-the-Senate resolution regarding the National Institutes of Health.

Mr. MACK. That is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Does the Senator want to reserve the statutory time of an hour?

Mr. MACK. I have already received requests of at least an hour.

Mr. DOMENICI. All right. That means then we will not resume voting until 9 o'clock or slightly thereafter when these matters have been finished. We will vote in sequence, first on Senator MOSELEY-BRAUN's and then on Senator MACK's. And we are reserving

the right to table either one if we so desire or if anyone desires to do that.

I ask unanimous consent that that request be granted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. CONRAD. Reserving the right to object. If I could get the—

Mr. DOMENICI. I get instructions, I am so sorry, that I am unaware of. I understand Senator MOSELEY-BRAUN will agree to have her vote be the first vote up in the morning.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Yes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Tonight at 9 o'clock, we will vote on Senator MACK's proposal that I just described.

Would the Senator like to vote this evening?

Mr. MACK. I would like to have a recorded vote. This evening would be fine. My only question would be, are we really fixing a time at 9 o'clock or—

Mr. DOMENICI. We will not have a vote until 9 o'clock.

Mr. MACK. Sometime after that?

Mr. DOMENICI. At 9 or thereafter.

Mr. MACK. Very good.

Mr. DOMENICI. Any other Senators that might have an amendment they would like to call up tonight?

Mr. CONRAD. Yes, Mr. Chairman, if I might.

Mr. DOMENICI. You are in.

Mr. CONRAD. I would like to get included in this train. I would like to get in on this one.

Mr. DOMENICI. Do you want to follow whatever we have just indicated the sequence is? You will follow thereafter with a speech here on the floor. I ask unanimous consent for that to be added to the request.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. DOMENICI. We will not agree to any other amendments at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection to the request? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank Senator BYRD.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Senator.

SENATOR THURMOND'S MILESTONE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, we are told in the Holy Bible that Abraham lived to be 175 years old, that Isaac lived to be 180 years old, that Jacob lived to be 147 years old, and that Joseph lived to be 110 years old. I have consulted Scripture to see if there is any account of record with respect to the Senator who is the senior Senator of this body, STROM THURMOND, and I found that nothing had yet been entered in regard to that venerable gentleman.

I rise today to call attention to a very historic and significant happening that will occur on this coming Sunday, May 25, when the senior Senator from South Carolina becomes the longest serving Senator in the history of the U.S. Senate. On that day, Senator

STROM THURMOND, whose service began on December 24, 1954, will surpass the record set by Arizona Senator Carl Hayden, who served 41 years and 10 months between 1927 and 1969. In the entire 208-year history of the U.S. Senate, only three Senators—STROM THURMOND, Carl Hayden, and John Stennis of Mississippi—served for more than 40 years.

I should point out that Senator Hayden had previously spent 15 years in the House of Representatives, giving him a combined 56 years in Congress, a record matched by no one else in either the House or Senate.

I stand fourth on the overall list of seniority in the Senate, with 38 years and 5 months of service to date, which does not count the 6 years that I spent in the House of Representatives, beginning in January 1953, before I came to the Senate. The rest of the "top 10" include Senators Richard Russell, Russell Long, Francis Warren, James Eastland, Warren Magnuson, and Claiborne Pell. It is worthy of note that while there have been Senators throughout our history—1,843 Senators in our 208-year history—at the time that Senator Hayden retired in 1969, 9 of these top 10 Senators were then serving together in the Senate. That is quite a remarkable thing, I think. Longevity of Senate service is clearly a modern phenomenon.

Longevity records have been set on three prior occasions in the 20th century. In 1905, William Allison, an Iowa Republican, broke the previous record of 31 years and 11 months. In 1928, Senator Francis Warren, a Wyoming Republican, broke Allison's record. And in 1964, Senator Carl Hayden, an Arizona Democrat, surpassed Warren's tenure. Now Senator THURMOND, a Republican from the State of South Carolina, will move past Senator Hayden's record.

It is fitting for those of us in the Senate to pay tribute to Senator THURMOND on this occasion. I note that on February 19, 1962, the Senate honored Senator Hayden when he became the first person to have served in Congress 50 years. On June 19, 1970, we commemorated Senator Mike Mansfield's becoming the longest-serving Democratic leader of the Senate. And on December 22, 1995, we similarly celebrated Senator Bob Dole's breaking of his party's leadership record.

It is also fitting for us to recall the great sweep of American history represented in Senator THURMOND's long political career. And it is indeed a remarkable political career. If one will just take the time to look at the Congressional Directory, he will view with astonishment and amazement the political record of Senator THURMOND. He won his first election as Edgefield County superintendent of schools in 1928, when he was 26 years old. Calvin Coolidge then occupied the White House, soon to be replaced by Herbert Hoover, who was elected President that year. The boom times of the Roaring

Twenties were soon shattered by the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression that followed. STROM THURMOND and I remember all about those things.

During the 1930's, while President Franklin D. Roosevelt promoted a New Deal in America, STROM THURMOND served as city and county attorney, a member of the South Carolina State Senate, and as a circuit judge. The United States entered the Second World War in 1941. And in 1942, STROM THURMOND volunteered for service in the Army. He was a paratrooper at Normandy Beach on June 6, 1944, 53 years ago. Returning to civilian life, he was elected Governor of South Carolina in 1946, 51 years ago. Two years later, he ran as the "Dixiecrat" candidate for President of the United States against the incumbent Democrat, Harry S. Truman.

In 1954, during the Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower, STROM THURMOND became the first and only person ever to be elected to the U.S. Senate on a write-in vote. Senator THURMOND took the oath of office on December 24, 1954. Fulfilling a pledge he had made during that first campaign, Senator THURMOND resigned from the Senate on April 4, 1956, and ran again for his Senate seat in the Democratic primary. He won both the primary and the general election and returned to the Senate on November 7, 1956.

During his first 10 years in the Senate, STROM THURMOND was a Democrat. When I came to the Senate, STROM THURMOND was a Democrat. I can remember looking up into the galleries and seeing the late wife of STROM THURMOND, who died early in her life, relatively speaking. I can remember coming into the Chamber that day, and seeing STROM on the back row of the Senate, I walked up to him and expressed my sorrow for the loss of his wife.

In 1964, during the Presidential campaign between President Lyndon Johnson and Senator Barry Goldwater, Senator THURMOND changed his party affiliation to become a Republican. And he has been credited with devising the "Southern Strategy" that has so significantly reshaped the Republican Party.

In 1981, when Ronald Reagan became President and the Republican Party gained the majority in the Senate, after 26 years in the minority, Senator THURMOND became President pro tempore and chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Today with Bill Clinton in the White House, Senator THURMOND is again President pro tempore of the Senate and chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Now, to that record of endurance we should add one further statistic. In 1957 Senator THURMOND set the record, as yet unbroken, and I imagine it will be unbroken for a long, long time, for the longest individual speech delivered in the Senate, for 24 hours and 18 minutes. From August 28 to August 29, 1957, Sen-

ator THURMOND held the floor, speaking against the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

As a Senator who once held the floor for 14 hours and 13 minutes, and I could have held it much longer and probably would have held it much longer had I not honored a promise that I made to the then majority leader Mike Mansfield that I would give up the floor in order to let a vote occur, I held the floor for 14 hours and 13 minutes, I can attest that Senator THURMOND's exceptional stamina is quite remarkable.

Finally, I shall not allow the occasion to pass without calling attention to a historical milestone that would be set on December 31, 1997, by Senator THURMOND's colleague from South Carolina ERNEST HOLLINGS—we all know him as FRITZ—who has now served 30 years and 5 months as the junior Senator from his State. Senator HOLLINGS will then surpass the "juniority" record of 31 years and 52 days previously held by Senator John Stennis of Mississippi.

So we have two Senators from South Carolina who are breaking records these days. I salute both of these distinguished Senators.

I am proud to serve on the Armed Services Committee now chaired by Senator STROM THURMOND, and I am proud to sit on the Appropriations Committee, where for these many years I have worked at the side of Senator HOLLINGS, a very fine Senator, a very active and able Senator. Both of these Senators have contributed greatly to the service of their country. I salute these distinguished Senators and their historical records, and I commend STROM THURMOND for his lifetime of public service to his State, to his Nation and to the U.S. Senate.

The hours are like a string of pearls,
The days like diamonds rare,
The moments are the threads of gold,
That bind them for our wear,
So may the years that come to you, Strom,
Such health and good contain,
That every moment, hour, and day,
Be like a golden chain.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the junior Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I understand the agreement has been made.

Mr. BYRD. I may have some time and I will be happy to yield to Senator HOLLINGS.

Mr. HOLLINGS. I thank the distinguished Senator from West Virginia and the distinguished Chair.

No one is more qualified to comment upon the distinguished service of the senior Senator from South Carolina than ROBERT BYRD of West Virginia, and certainly no one is more eloquent in this U.S. Senate. I thank him for his very generous remarks relative to me, but more particularly the comments relative to Senator THURMOND, because he deserves them.

I like work, Mr. President, and no one works harder than STROM THURMOND. I love the State of South Carolina, and no one loves South Carolina

more than STROM THURMOND. I love this country, and of course no one loves the United States more than STROM THURMOND.

My senior Senator is the epitome of Robert E. Lee's comment that the most sublime word in the English language is duty. He is the living example of that particular admonition. The fact is that he has done his duty here for the people of the State of South Carolina and this country over the many, many years because he is the greatest disciplinarian I have ever met. He is totally disciplined with respect, not just to his physical being, which has gotten him 94 years, but more particularly his disciplined service and loyalty to his State and country.

I, too, want to recognize on Sunday he will have most deservedly broken the all-time record for length of service in this U.S. Senate. It will not be the first time the Senator has broken an all time Senate record. We all know he holds the record for the longest extended debate.

I know others are waiting. They have very generously yielded to me, so I will not attempt to break that record now. However, I will have more to say about Senator THURMOND's record at another time, but I know everyone is interested in hearing from our senior Senator. Let me just say, the greatest privilege for this junior Senator has been to serve under this senior Senator for 30-some years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order the Senator from South Carolina has the time.

Mr. SPECTER. I ask unanimous consent I might speak for up to 5 minutes.

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

The Chair recognizes the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. I wish to add my voice and tribute to our distinguished President pro tempore on his magnificent record, and comment about how much I have admired his work as chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

When I joined this body after the 1980 elections, a few days after the November election, in 1980, I was sitting in my bed in Philadelphia and the telephone rang and that distinguished southern voice said, "This is STROM THURMOND calling. I wonder if you would be willing to vote for me for President pro tempore." I was really amazed since Senator THURMOND did not need my vote that he would call and ask for my vote.

While I served with him on the Judiciary Committee I found him to be very wise. One of the comments he made soon after I joined the committee, when a judge was up for confirmation, was asking the nominee if the nominee promised to be courteous. I thought that was sort of a meaningless question until Senator THURMOND followed up after the nominee said yes by saying, "The more power a person has the more courteous that person should be." There is a lot of wisdom in that

short statement. Whenever Senator THURMOND is not present and I am, I make that statement to the nominees.

During the first 4 years of my term here, Senator Howard Baker, the majority leader, used to keep us all night, and on many occasions I would join STROM for a bowl of soup for about an hour, and I have listened to some of the most fabulous stories because Senator THURMOND is a legend, having been here when John Kennedy was a Senator, when Lyndon Johnson was a Senator.

I shall tell one very brief story. After Senator THURMOND ran on the Dixiecrat ticket in 1948, in the Presidential motorcade Inauguration Day in 1949 Senator THURMOND rode in an open car with his wife. Senator THURMOND tells a story of when he passed by the reviewing stand of President Truman and Vice President Barkley. Senator THURMOND stood up, took his hat off and bowed. And Vice President Barkley started to wave to Governor THURMOND. And I shall not tell the whole story, but President Truman pulled down Vice President Barkley's hand with a comment, which is a remarkable story.

I asked STROM on a number of occasions if I could be his biographer. He should have a biographer, if he does not take the time to write his own. It is too bad, on this very busy occasion of the Senate, that there are not more Senators on the floor to hear the remarkable accolades presented by our noted historian and conscience of the Senate, Senator BYRD, and by the senior junior Senator, Senator HOLLINGS, but I wanted to have my words of admiration for Senator THURMOND on this very auspicious occasion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order the Chair recognizes the distinguished Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. I planned to speak about 10 minutes on defense, but I did not know that these wonderful accolades were going to come up at this time. I wish to express my deep appreciation to the able Senator from West Virginia, who has been minority leader, majority leader, and every position the Senate had to offer. I guess no man in the history of this country has filled more important positions in the U.S. Senate than Senator BYRD of West Virginia, and he has filled them well. Everything he has undertaken he has done it well. I deeply appreciate the kind words he said today.

I wish to thank my able colleague, Senator HOLLINGS. Senator HOLLINGS and I are different parties but we have been here a long time together. We respect each other. And I have had the opportunity to work with him on many matters of various kinds and it has been a pleasure to do that. We have never had an argument that I recall. Although we do not always vote alike, we hold each other in respect. I wish to thank him for his kind remarks. He is, as someone stated, the longest-serving

junior Senator in the United States, but after this term, if he is still here, maybe he will get to be the senior Senator. Again, I wish to express to Senator HOLLINGS my appreciation for serving with him and working with him. It has been a pleasure to do so, FRITZ, and I thank you.

I wish to thank the able Senator from Pennsylvania, Senator SPECTER. When I came to the Senate I watched different Senators come and go. When Senator SPECTER came I soon recognized that here was a man of unusual talent, a man of great ability. It has been a pleasure to serve with him. He is a great historian. He can tell many stories about different people on different things and amuse you to the fullest. I deeply appreciate his fine friendship and thank him for his kind remarks here today.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET

The Senate continued with the consideration of the concurrent resolution.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, this budget resolution represents a historic endeavor by the Congress and the administration. For the first time in 28 years, we have agreed on a path designed to balance the Federal budget by the year 2002. The fiscal irresponsibility that drove us into a national debt of more than \$5 trillion, with interest payments amounting to 15 percent of our annual Federal budgets, was surely leading this Nation toward a day of economic reckoning with severe consequences. I am delighted that, aided by a strong economy, we seem to be moving toward setting our fiscal house in order.

Despite my enthusiastic support for a balanced budget, I must admit that I remain deeply concerned about the state of our national security and plans for funding our defense establishment in this post-cold-war era.

When the Clinton administration took office in 1993, it immediately began to cut defense spending. Within the context of the bottom-up review, they cut over \$120 billion out of the Future Years Defense Program. Despite this severe underfunding of our military forces, the administration has shown no reluctance to use them. Multilateral peacekeeping operations under the United Nations became the vogue during the early years of the Clinton administration. The debacle in Somalia, where 18 American soldiers were killed in the streets of Mogadishu, awakened the Congress and the American people to the folly of these policies. Despite this concern, less than 2 years later the administration was dispatching U.S. troops to Haiti and then to peacekeeping operations in Bosnia. During the first 4 years of the Clinton administration, our military forces were dispatched on more separate deployments than at any other time in our history.

The tempo of these operations has put tremendous strain on our dimin-

ished force structure and its aging equipment. Indeed, the administration's willingness to employ our military forces in peacekeeping operations without regard to the adverse effects of these deployments has further eroded our capability to execute two overlapping major regional contingencies. Defense funds authorized and appropriated for military readiness, personnel and equipment have been depleted to pay for unbudgeted operations that have exceeded \$15 billion since 1993. Furthermore, the unprecedented personnel tempo from these operations has dramatically stressed our military personnel and their families.

The administration's proposed budgets have neglected the necessary immediate investment in force modernization, and justified this by projecting significant funding increases in the outyears, when the administration promised to recapitalize our military forces. Unfortunately, these outyears never arrived. For 6 straight years, the administration's projected increases in the modernization accounts did not materialize. In fact, the amounts requested for the modernization accounts were lower each year than projected by the administration in the previous year.

In 1995, Republicans gain control of Congress and passed a budget resolution intended to alleviate at least some of the problems caused by the underfunding of the defense budget. Over \$18 billion was added to the defense budgets of the 104th Congress. Most of these funds were directed into the modernization accounts which had been so drastically neglected by this administration.

During negotiations on the recent budget agreement, I urged our budget negotiators to adopt the congressional budget resolution for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, since those numbers were above the administration's request. I also urged that we accept the administration's request for fiscal years 2000 through 2002, when the projected spending targets were above those in our congressional budget resolution. By agreeing to the administration's spending targets in the outyears, we would, in effect, capture in the budget agreement the elusive recapitalization funds for modernization.

This agreement before us today protects our military forces from unrealistic and unwise cuts in defense. I was encouraged that Secretary Cohen has also supported these more favorable, higher numbers for defense. We do not yet know the full impact on the defense budget resulting from the budget agreement and possible effects of outlay shortfalls in the later years of this agreement. However, I remain concerned that even the highest levels for defense considered in this agreement may not provide sufficient funds to adequately sustain over time the personnel, quality of life, readiness and modernization programs critical to our military services, especially if we continue to use funds from the defense