

First, I think the publicity about this case has served as an understandable impetus for all of us to speak our minds on this issue. That is, I think, useful, in that relations among the sexes in the military obviously need a thorough, independent review in light of the scandals that have emerged in recent months.

It is imperative though, that as we review the rules regarding gender relations in the military, we keep our eye on the ball. The ball is that the goal should always be the most effective, combat-ready, disciplined, tough fighting force that the Nation can field. Effectiveness, discipline, unit cohesion and morale cannot ever take a second place to any other value, since the premier responsibility of the military is the national security of our Nation. If gender relations must take a back seat to that goal, that is as it should be.

In the case of Lieutenant Flinn, the military justice system has tried to do its work, in spite of all the comment and publicity attendant to this case. There is a question about whether the Secretary of the Air Force should have granted Lieutenant Flinn a general discharge in lieu of a court-martial. We all, I am sure, have opinions about that. I personally feel that the charges of lying and disobeying the order of a superior officer, never mind the charge of adultery, which, of course, no one condones, merit a disciplinary decision, and that the Secretary should not have granted her a general discharge in light of those charges. That is my opinion. Other Senators may have other views. However, I believe that the larger issue and perhaps the root of the problem in this much publicized case may lie in the military rules of fraternization. When it is permissible for members of the opposite sex to socialize, live together, or otherwise fraternize, varies considerably among the different services. The standards are seriously inconsistent. I have indicated that I intend to offer an amendment to the upcoming fiscal year 1998 Defense authorization measure which would, if enacted, establish an independent outside review commission to review the question of the appropriateness of gender integrated recruit training in the services. I think such a commission could review, as well, the rules of fraternization with the goal of recommending a single consistent fraternization standard for conduct among enlisted people, between enlisted people and officers, and among officers, which spans all the services. What is appropriate for a soldier in the Army should also be appropriate for a sailor or an airman or a marine.

Mr. President, clearly we are in the middle of a national debate on gender relations and on general conduct in the services, and the work of an independent commission to review the many issues which have arisen seems urgent, needed and very useful. In the meantime, I believe that we politicians should refrain from urging particular

decisions in specific cases, and let the system work in the best way that it can until an opportunity has been had to systematically review the rules regarding gender relations and conduct in all of the services.

#### FALLEN HEROS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, as the traditional start of the summer outdoor season approaches, advertisers are busily reminding us that we have only three days to ready our big yards for summer, or that hooray, we have an extra day to spend on outdoor chores—using their newest tools, gadgets, and products, of course. Well, Mr. President, most of us will enjoy an extra day this weekend. That is cause for celebration. However, the purpose is to celebrate our fallen heros, not to celebrate another opportunity to spend money.

Memorial Day is set aside to remember the final sacrifice made by many brave men and women in the defense of our Nation and our ideals of liberty and justice. Though in many cases, years have passed since they laid down their lives for us, the memory of these fallen heros should not fade from our hearts, drowned out by the din of advertising or buried beneath a tide of sales circulars. I urge my colleagues, and the American public, to pause for a moment this weekend, that they fly their flags, pause to set aside their dirt-covered gloves, to brush the grass clippings from their pants legs, and to sit for a moment in the sun-dappled shade of an ancient tree, and thank these men and women who have—to paraphrase the preamble to our mighty Constitution—provided for the common defense, promoted the general welfare, and secured the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

In the United States, our fallen soldiers have been honored and remembered on Memorial Day since the time of the Civil War. That tragic conflict spawned so many spontaneous gestures of remembrance in our country that the location and the date of the first Memorial Day or Decoration Day—Decoration Day, as it was called—Ceremony is disputed.

One of the most moving and famous of the early Memorial Day tributes occurred in Columbus, Mississippi. On April 26, 1866, the women of Columbus gathered to decorate the graves of their husbands, brothers, lovers and friends who had been buried four years earlier after the Battle of Shiloh in a plot now known as Friendship Cemetery. The plot contained the remains of 1500 confederate soldiers, but it also was the final resting place for 100 fallen federal troops.

The time was reconstruction. In 1866, much of the South was under military occupation and was impoverished. Resentment and hatred still ran high on both sides of the Mason Dixon line.

But, to these war-weary women, the time for hostilities was over. After

scattering flowers on the graves of their own men, they decorated the graves of the union men with magnolia blossoms.

But, like so many of our religious and secular days of remembrance, the origin and purpose of Memorial Day have become at least partially obscured by the more immediate pleasures of a day off, the flash and danger of a car race or the anticipation of good food at a picnic.

Let me quote from a book, *The Good War*, an oral history of World War II by Studs Terkel. In 1982, a woman of thirty told Terkel: "I can't relate to World War II. It's in schoolbook texts, that's all. Battles that were won, battles that were lost. Or costume dramas you see on TV. It's just a story in the past. It's so distant, so abstract. I don't get myself up in a bunch about it."

Without a continued awareness of the real significance of this national day of remembrance, we may eventually also largely forget the difficult and invaluable lessons of the human cost and the ultimate tragedy of all warfare. Particularly today, when armed conflicts such as Desert Storm may seem glamorous, even entertaining and almost antiseptic in their efficiency, we must not forget as a nation that war always means death, destruction, broken homes, broken families, twisted and maimed bodies and devastation.

While this Nation must never shrink from armed conflict if that is the course we must take to protect our freedoms, we must also never forget nor minimize the horror of war, else we may someday risk its grisly consequences too easily.

So it is my hope, that on this coming Memorial Day, all Americans will take a few moments to remember the brave men and women who have fought and died to preserve this great nation and its principles of liberty and freedom. The personal suffering and sacrifice endured by our fallen soldiers and their families for the sake of our country must not go without a measure of recognition by each of us on this most solemn of days. These were real people, not just statistics in a history book or names chiseled on stone. These were young men and women with sisters, brothers, mothers, fathers, hopes, dreams, aspirations and fears just like the rest of us. At some future time, God forbid, the names of our own sons, daughters and grandchildren could very well be among those that are read at a ceremony honoring our fallen soldiers.

Nothing confronts us with our common humanity—with our shared responsibilities as citizens and with a renewed appreciation for the worth of our sacred and fragile freedoms like a contemplation of our national conflicts, and the sorrow, heroism, death and sacrifice that has accompanied each of them.

This weekend thousands of American families will visit cemeteries around the nation to remember husbands,

wives, sons, daughters, grandfathers, great grandfathers and friends who paid the ultimate price in this nation's conflict. All of us need to take time to show our solidarity with their grief and their sacrifice; to fly the flags at our homes, schools, cemeteries and public places; to walk the eerie quiet of Antietam or Bull Run; visit the local veterans' cemeteries; lay some flowers on the tomb of a fallen soldier; spend a quiet moment at the monuments to our honored war dead; take our children in tow and teach them about all the brave young men and women who have paid so dearly in the past so that future generations can be free; and through that conscious effort and those small individual acts put a very human face on Memorial Day. Remember, spontaneous acts of remembrance such as these were what spawned Memorial Day in the first place. And they will always be the most meaningful tributes of all.

In Flanders fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.  
We are the Dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.  
Take up our quarrel with the foe:  
To you from failing hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.

#### FISCAL YEAR 1998 BUDGET RESOLUTION

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I should like to talk a little bit about today's budget vote and some reasons why I had to anguish over it and vote no on this budget, a budget that I hoped we could all be proud of and we could go home and really tell our constituents we had done the best job we could and we were providing an honest budget that was going to provide the things we had talked about—smaller Government, less taxes, et cetera.

But, Mr. President, there is an old saying that if something seems too good to be true, then it probably is. In Washington, that scene can be taken one step further. If something seems too good to be true, then it probably is and the taxpayers are somehow going to get stuck paying for it.

Such is the case with the budget resolution passed by the Senate earlier today. On paper, the plan purports to eliminate the deficit by the year 2002 by reining in Federal spending while providing significant tax relief for America's working families.

I appreciate all the efforts that were made to try to reach a good budget agreement I hoped I could support, and I know how hard Senators DOMENICI and LAUTENBERG and the leadership on both sides of the aisle worked to bang out this budget. But in reality, this budget will ultimately create bigger

Government, a budget that is going to demand more dollars from the taxpayers rather than giving them most of the tax relief they have been promised.

It is, in other words, a deal between politicians here in Washington, not between the taxpayers and the people they elected to represent them.

I have made the pursuit of a balanced budget my top priority here in the Congress, and I have always said I would support a budget plan which meets just three basic specific criteria. First, it must shrink the size and scope of Government and return money and the power that those dollars represent to the tax people. It must balance the budget by the year 2002 with steadily declining deficits each year and without the use of rosy economic scenarios. And it must provide meaningful and broadbased tax relief to working families.

Now, while I would like to join the bandwagon in supporting the budget resolution, this Washington budget does not meet those protaxpayer standards.

First, shrink Government and return power to the taxpayers. Balancing the budget by the year 2002 is a responsibility we must meet, but it is simply the beginning. If we intend to reduce the \$5.3 trillion national debt that will remain even after the deficit is eliminated, and take power from Washington and return it to the taxpayers, we must do more than simply balance the budget. We were not elected to serve as the Nation's accountants, simply trying to make sure the numbers all add up on paper. We were elected to be policymakers—and balancing the budget is just one of these policies.

We cannot lose sight of the overall goal of shrinking the size of the Washington bureaucracy and sending those dollars back to the taxpayers. Yet, this budget plan does just the opposite. It increases the size of Government by giving President Clinton even more money for pet projects than he originally requested—\$74 billion more than he requested in his budget just last year, and \$5 billion more than the budget he put forward in February of this year.

Mr. President, instead of eliminating wasteful programs to reduce the Federal deficit, this budget plan actually creates numerous new programs, including \$34 billion in new entitlement programs that will cost billions of the taxpayers hard-earned dollars.

Now, if some of these new programs have merit, they should be authorized and appropriated through open hearings and through normal committee process. Total spending in this budget plan for all programs is \$18 billion higher than President Clinton's budget request for the next 5 years. So where is that in shrinking the size of Government? It is increasing the size of Government. The discretionary spending for the next year alone will be \$6.3 billion more than even what the President had requested back in February.

Compared to the budget resolution we passed last year, this budget plan has significantly increased discretionary spending. In fiscal year 1998, discretionary spending will be \$26 billion higher, \$26 billion more than last year's budget, while the total discretionary spending for the next 5 years will be \$194 billion higher than last year's budget request.

I do not believe this is what the taxpayers had in mind when they heard the President declare that the era of big Government is over. During the last 5 years, Congress spent an additional \$240 billion raising the size of Government that much over the years, but over the next 5 years we are going to increase the size of the Government another \$270 billion. Again, plus the \$34 billion in new spending initiatives, not just fattening some of the old programs but actually creating, giving birth to \$34 billion in new programs that will have to be supported even more in the outyears.

By increasing discretionary spending and creating new entitlement programs, this budget plan would ensure that big Government is not only here to stay, but that it will grow even bigger, and it will ultimately mean higher taxes in the future. In the continuing struggle between taxpayers and big Government, this budget deal takes the wrong side, and I cannot be a part of it.

Second, the claim of balancing the budget with steadily declining deficits, not through rosy scenarios. One of the dirtiest little secrets in Washington is the economic hocus-pocus that goes on in the budgeting process. The Washington folks seem to believe that as long as they have a balanced budget on paper, however they can reshape the numbers to fit their goals, it does not matter how they got there because the end will justify the means. But, as everyone knows, you can't write a household budget with inflated numbers or unrealistic assumptions, and you should not be able to write a Federal budget that way as well.

Any honest budget plan must reach balance through steadily declining deficits every year. The deficit must be lower each year than the preceding one. But this year's 5-year budget agreement actually increases the deficits for the first 2 years, then projects enough of a reduction in the final 2 years to reach balance. So, in other words, let's spend more now and then we will cut later. In other words, this President will be out of office, this Congress will have many new faces, probably, but they are going to let the next President and the next Congresses make the tough decisions that this Congress has turned its back on making.

Mr. President, James Glassman wrote on this subject in Tuesday's Washington Post, and I found this observation to be most appropriate. He said:

The way to get to smaller government is by spending less money. In fact, federal