

these efforts are either a failure or, at least, ineffective, and we have some further evidence that this view is shared by the administration.

In the last several months of an election year, the administration has changed its course very dramatically on drug policy. The President has named a new high-profile drug czar. He has agreed to restore the personnel, that 80 percent cut I spoke about that came in 1993 in the drug office, to restore that personnel. We have given the money to do that. He has agreed to beef up spending on interdiction and enforcement, and he has made himself more visible on the drug issue.

These changes may smack of an election-year conversion, but they correspond exactly to the problems in the policies that I noted earlier. They seem to indicate an awareness of a problem. I leave it to others to determine whether this shift is too little, too late. I leave it to others to decide whether the shift is as a result of political convenience in an election year. But what we all need to know and remember is that when it comes to drugs, we find ourselves back in a familiar and dangerous neighborhood. We took a wrong turn and have ended up on a dead-end street. We have been here before, and we cannot afford to stick around a dead-end street.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Madam President, if I understand the parliamentary situation, we went, temporarily, off the budget resolution so the Senator could speak as in morning business. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. EXON. I have cleared this on both sides of the aisle. Following the remarks by the Senator from New Hampshire, I ask unanimous consent that we return to the budget resolution, and I yield 15 minutes at that juncture to the Senator from New Jersey.

Following the completion of the 15 minutes of the Senator from New Jersey, I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of time on both sides on the budget resolution be retained and set over until tomorrow, and that there be no further action following the remarks to be offered by the Senator from New Jersey.

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

Mr. EXON. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

#### TRIBUTE TO MY FRIEND, SENATOR BOB DOLE

Mr. SMITH. Madam President, today I rise to join so many of my colleagues in a tribute to my friend and my lead-

er, Senator Bob DOLE, who, as we all know, is leaving the Senate today, June 11, 1996.

As a former history teacher, I could not help but sense the historical significance of this day. It really was a flashback to the old days of the great oratory that took place on the Senate floor, with the likes of Calhoun and Clay and others, when Bob DOLE took the podium that he so many times has stood at and addressed the U.S. Senate. You could hear a pin drop in the Chamber and in the gallery, not always the case here on the Senate floor, with a lot of hustling and bustling and talking and people not paying attention.

That was not the case today. Senator BOB DOLE took that podium, addressed the country, the Chair, his colleagues and friends, many, many staff in the galleries, and the Chamber was hushed and quiet and everybody was listening—as well they should, Madam President, because when the history books are written, they will write about the great Senators who have occupied this Chamber: Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Bob La Follette, Robert Taft and, yes, Daniel Webster. Daniel Webster used this very desk, Madam President, that I now have the privilege of speaking from.

It reminds me that we are just a brief blip on the radar screen of time; here for only an instant. But BOB DOLE is one of the great ones, and he will be remembered as one of the great ones.

As a history student, I tried to catch a sense of what was happening. I looked at faces, watched people in this Chamber, as I watched, at the same time, Senator DOLE. Without singling anybody out by name, I could not help but notice one page, a young lady, standing here on the floor of the Chamber during that speech and after the speech with tears running down her cheeks. It really was a very moving tribute to the kind of person BOB DOLE is, because he commands the respect of not only his colleagues but every single man, woman, youngster, page. He could talk to a page as easily as he could talk to a President or world leader. That is what makes him such a great man.

Today, he left the Senate to move on to other things. I remember many emotional private goodbyes that he shared with his colleagues. I remember when we had the meeting when he told us he was leaving. Most of us did not expect him to do it. If we were honest, we would say we did not expect him to say that. We thought he might leave the leadership post but not the Senate. But when he did it, and the way he told us, we knew it was the right thing. We knew it was right, because he needed to be out there debating, not other Senators on the floor of the Senate, but the President of the United States for the Presidency. We all knew that.

Today, I think you saw with the type of speech that BOB DOLE gave the kind of person he is: humble, gracious, and humorous, that great sense of humor.

In all the tough battles we have here, he still finds that humor, which has always been a remarkable characteristic.

So he is leaving the Senate. But he left today after that speech with the longest applause that I have ever seen given anyone in this Chamber or in the House Chamber. I have seen Presidents when we have gone to the State of the Union—great Presidents—receive a lot of ovations. I have never seen anybody receive a longer ovation than BOB DOLE received here today, and that is a tribute to this great man who was elected to the House of Representatives where, Madam President, you and I both served together. He was elected in 1960 and served four terms in the House before he was elected to the U.S. Senate, which really has come to be, the past 27 years, his home.

But he gave nearly 36 years of service to the State of Kansas and to the people of the United States of America. When you think about that many years of public service and reflect on the fact there is not one word or taint of scandal in any way, shape, or form, an unblemished, perfect political record, it is remarkable.

He served his country and the Senate and the people with humor, with humility, and we will never forget him.

His wife, Elizabeth, who has been by his side for so many years, is such a gracious woman and such an asset to BOB DOLE. Those who serve here know how important the support of your family is as you put in the long, long hours that we have to endure in the Senate.

BOB DOLE said today in his remarks, "My word is my bond." That is what it is all about. It is character. It is integrity and character. If you leave here, the legacy you leave, if no one says anything about you other than when he gave his word he kept it, you cannot do any better than that.

I tried to think about what I might say here as my tribute in my own way, because so many people have so many wonderful things to say about this great man. I just want to share a couple of personal things, because they are important to me and I think it captures my feeling about BOB DOLE.

I come from a military family. My father served in World War II as a naval aviator and was killed at the end of the war, leaving my mother as a widow to raise my brother and me. She did that alone. I lost my dad, as I say, in World War II, and BOB DOLE nearly lost his life in that same war. Severely injured, he had to fight his way back, not only from the brink of death but after that, paralysis, and became a U.S. Senator.

But we, the sons and daughters of that generation, those of us who had parents who were in that war, World War II, we know, we are grateful. Perhaps we know and are a little bit more grateful than others for what they did and the sacrifices they made and how important they were to save the world from tyranny. It took heroes like BOB

DOLE—and he was a hero, he is a hero—it took heroes like BOB DOLE to make that happen. We owe him, and thousands of others like him, a huge debt of gratitude for their service and their sacrifice to our country, because when the call came, they stepped up and they stopped tyranny.

So BOB DOLE did not get here the easy way. We hear a lot of stories about how everybody in the Senate is rich and everybody gets here the easy way and you live this great life, but BOB DOLE made it the hard way. You cannot help but admire and respect a man like that.

I turned to him in 1993 to be a part of one of the most personal and meaningful experiences of my entire life, and I want to share that with my colleagues and with the American people.

When my father died in 1945, it was 2 days before my fourth birthday, so I only have two memories of my dad. My brother has no memories of our dad, because he was less than a year old. I had always wanted to have my father buried at Arlington, but I never wanted to bring that subject up with my mother because he was not buried at Arlington and I did not want to put my mother through that experience of having his remains moved from where he was buried in New Jersey to come here to Arlington where I believe he would have liked to have been laid to rest. So I put it off.

Then in May 1993, my mother passed away. She used to say she was a one-man woman, and she was. She never remarried after she lost my dad. But she always would go by the cemetery and she would say, "Put me there with him so that we can be together forever."

When I made the decision to bury my parents—both of them—at Arlington National Cemetery in May 1993, I asked Senator DOLE if he would have the time to come and give a few remarks at that service. Within a matter of minutes, the response came back: "Of course."

I asked BOB DOLE to say just a few words. I listened as this man made connections to my parents that I just could not believe anyone could do so spontaneously. He did not know my mother. He did not know my father. But I listened to BOB DOLE say very movingly of how my father had stood guard in the night and how he had made the ultimate sacrifice. I listened as he spoke of how my mother had stood guard here at home when my father went away to war. I listened, Madam President, and I knew how proud my father and mother were, looking down from Heaven to see this American hero, BOB DOLE, speaking at their memorial service in Arlington National Cemetery.

He even made the connection my dad served on the U.S.S. *Wichita*. He said, "Any man who would serve on the U.S.S. *Wichita*, named after a city in Kansas, had to be a great man." He made that ceremony so personal that many of my relatives came up to me

afterwards and said, "Did Senator DOLE know your parents?" I said, "I think he did. I really think he did."

So holding BOB DOLE in the esteem I do, I was honored that only 8 months into my first term in the Senate, Senator DOLE selected me to be vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs. It was a great honor for me to serve in that capacity. I shall always be grateful to BOB DOLE for giving me that opportunity. Of course, he also selected me for the Ethics Committee, and I may hold that against him for a little while.

But, Madam President, in 1994, I had another moving experience. I attended the 50th anniversary commemoration of D-day at Normandy. I saw there a sight that I will never ever forget. My wife Mary Jo and I went, and BOB DOLE went as well. He retraced his steps in Italy. To see him there back with those people who helped to save his life, and to walk those hills where he was wounded, and then to go to Normandy after he left Italy, to the beaches of Normandy with those rows and rows and rows of crosses, and to think of the sacrifices, and men in wheelchairs, men with lost limbs, hugging, saluting this man—it was a great honor just to be there for the celebration of Normandy, but to be there in the company of BOB DOLE, I shall always be grateful to Senator DOLE for giving me that opportunity. I have never seen such admiration, gratitude, respect, and love as there was for that man. They loved him. They absolutely loved him.

Another just little thing, but last summer I had two young interns, just college kids, Jennifer Kilgus and Greg Annis. They were walking down the corridor of the Capitol, just taking a walk. They decided to stop in to the majority leader's office just to say they went in there, hoping maybe they might have the chance to meet BOB DOLE.

Not only did he agree to see them with no appointment, but in the midst of a very busy schedule he spent 15 minutes talking to them, two young interns in his office, giving them the thrill of their lives. That is the kind of man BOB DOLE is. That is why there were tears in the eyes of that page when BOB DOLE said he was leaving.

Finally, Madam President, as the senior Senator from New Hampshire, I cannot help but note that somehow BOB DOLE has managed to spend quite a bit of time in New Hampshire over the past few years. He lost a tough primary in New Hampshire but went across the Nation with a stunning series of smashing primary victories as he won the Republican nomination for President. Gracious in defeat and gracious in victory.

He has been to New Hampshire just to enjoy its beautiful lakes and mountains and countrysides. Perhaps, Madam President, you never know, there might even be a summer White House in New Hampshire someplace.

Final anecdote. I remember Senator DOLE, I believe 2 years ago, saying to

me, "You know, my Elizabeth would really like to go water-skiing. But we would really not like to have a crowd around. Could you arrange that so that we didn't have to have a bunch of people with cameras so she could relax and enjoy herself?" And we did. She is a great water-skier, too.

So, Madam President, I join my colleagues in saying farewell, but not goodbye, to BOB DOLE. The last thing I said to Senator BOB DOLE on the floor of the Senate, as I shook his hand after his remarks, was, "I'll see you at your swearing in for President on the West Front of the Capitol on January 20, 1997." He said, "I'll be there." I said, "I know you will, Mr. President." I have been proud to serve with BOB DOLE in the U.S. Senate. I will be prouder still next year to fight as a Senator to help President BOB DOLE pass the agenda that he dreams about for America.

Thank you, Madam President.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter that Senator DOLE read at my parents' funeral be printed in the RECORD.

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

A TRIBUTE TO LT. COMMANDER DONALD SMITH AND MARGARET ELDRIDGE SMITH, ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, BY SENATOR BOB DOLE, MAY 24, 1993

Members and friends of the Smith family; I never knew Lt. Commander Donald Smith, but we shared a great deal in common.

We were of the same generation. We served together in World War II—he flew the skies of the Pacific, and I walked the hills of Italy. And since I'm from Kansas, I note with pride that Lt. Commander Smith served aboard the U.S.S. *Wichita*.

The author Herman Wouk wrote that "If America is still the great beacon in dense gloom—then we still need heroes to stand guard in the night."

Like so many others before and after him, Lt. Commander Donald Smith stood guard in the night. And like so many others, he made the ultimate sacrifice.

He was and he is an American hero, and it is very fitting that he has been brought here, this final resting place of American heroes.

There is another name we add today to the list of heroes at Arlington. The name of Margaret Eldridge Smith.

Throughout our history, as American soldiers have "stood guard in the night," their family members have "stood guard" here at home, supporting their country and their military in countless ways.

When Margaret Eldridge married Donald Smith, she did so knowing there would be times when they would be separated by miles of land and ocean.

She also knew that the time might come, as it did in 1945, when they would be separated by more than just territorial limits.

And for the past half century, Margaret Smith honored her husband and her country by continuing to stand guard.

She raised a family on her own, bringing up two fine sons who would both serve their country in the military and in government.

She, too, is an American hero.

I am very honored to be here this afternoon, as these two heroes are reunited forever, and the best way we can honor them is to continue to love freedom, to love our country, and to always "stand guard through the night."

Mr. LAUTENBERG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

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

#### TRIBUTE TO BOB DOLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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