

pattern, one with significant entitlement reform which continues to protect our most vulnerable citizens, and one which makes a justified modification of the consumer price index. This plan, offered as a substitute during the consideration of the current budget resolution, was the only proposal to receive significant bipartisan support this year, garnering 24 Democratic votes and 22 Republican votes.

While I certainly understand the inability to move this proposal this year given election year politics, I am hopeful that it will provide the seeds for an effective compromise early in the next Congress since the budget resolution before us does not move us any closer toward long-term balanced budgets than we are today.

Mr. President, I am very frustrated by the process that we are engaged in at the moment. We have an opportunity, if we can work on a bipartisan basis, to advance the cause of a balanced budget and fiscal responsibility, and we are missing that opportunity.

I, for one, am prepared to make substantial reductions in spending in the entitlement areas—in Medicaid, in Medicare and in Social Security. I am also prepared to address the very politically sensitive area of adjustments to the Consumer Price Index to more accurately reflect inflation. But at this point, we are not going to do that.

The current resolution is designed to split the reconciliation process into three different pieces. The most objectionable part, from my point of view, is we put tax cuts right up at the front so that we undermine any public confidence that we are really serious about deficit reduction.

We are making bigger reductions in the projected spending in some of the entitlements than we need to because we are planning to put that money into a tax cut before we have actually locked in the tough, principled choices that are going to be necessary if we are going to achieve the stated objective of a balanced budget.

This resolution also substantially reduces the chance of ever getting any meaningful welfare reform in this Congress by linking Welfare reform with a Medicaid reform package that the President is committed to vetoing.

It seems to me that we ought to be able to get together; indeed, 24 Democrats and 22 Republicans found common cause with respect to a budget resolution that was submitted earlier. If we are serious about solving this particular problem, the Resolution before us is not the way to do it.

So, Mr. President, I regret very much that I am going to have to vote against the pending measure, notwithstanding my long-term commitment to deficit reduction and a balanced budget.

For the opportunity to express my views, I thank the Presiding Officer and I thank the ranking member of the Budget Committee for suggesting this approach for getting my views on the record.

With that, Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time is controlled by the Senator from Nebraska, and under the previous unanimous consent agreement, he is to be recognized now for 5 minutes.

Mrs. BOXER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be allowed to speak as in morning business for 6 minutes.

I make a unanimous-consent request I be allowed to speak as in morning business for 4 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I spoke yesterday on the budget, and I will not reiterate that. I wanted to make a very brief statement about two issues.

#### BURNING OF CHURCHES

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, we have seen in recent weeks a series of attacks on black churches in the south. At least 33 churches have been set ablaze in a campaign of terror.

Mr. President, every one of us has to make his or her voice heard in opposition to this wave of terror. These churches have been sources of stability, of kindness, of moral and spiritual guidance for their congregations.

These fires are a chilling reminder of a period that we all thought had passed. A period marked by some of the most shameful, hateful acts ever perpetrated by Americans against Americans. A period in which bombings, fires, beatings, and shootings were tools to prevent African-Americans from realizing equal status in our society. A "dark era in our Nation's history," the President recently called it.

I want to praise President Clinton for his leadership in mobilizing Federal investigators while at the same time offering solace to the people whose churches have been burned. It is the business of the president to offer moral leadership, to console the victims of racists attacks, to call the cowards out for what they have done.

I also praise Ross Perot for his leadership in calling on his Reform Party members to guard the churches.

I also wish to praise Senator MOSELEY-BRAUN for offering a resolution, of which I am a cosponsor, condemning the church fires and urging the administration to mobilize all appropriate resources to put the people who set these fires behind bars.

Finally, Mr. President, I want to state that this is a problem not just for African-Americans, but for all Americans. We should speak with one voice and pass the Moseley-Braun resolution unanimously, so that our message is clear.

Mrs. BOXER. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mrs. BOXER pertaining to the introduction of S. Res. 262 are located in today's RECORD under "Submissions of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

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

The Senate continued with the consideration of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, as I understand the situation now, under the previous unanimous-consent request, we have 10 minutes equally divided on each side remaining before the vote. We have about 16 minutes, 17 minutes before noon, according to my clock. I ask unanimous consent that the scheduled vote at noon be extended to 3 minutes past noon so that the previous unanimous consent request can be abided with regard to time allotted by each side.

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

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a table showing how the deficit in this budget increases because of its tax breaks be printed in the RECORD.

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

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2001	2002	1996
CBO Baseline Deficits (April) <sup>1</sup> .....	130	165	175	182	192	194	210
Republican deficits with tax cut .....	130	153	147	117	89	42	5
Republican deficits w/o tax cut .....	130	135	129	97	63	11	-39
Addendum:							
Republican tax cut .....	0	18	16	18	23	26	28
Interest on tax cut .....	0	1	1	2	3	5	6
Total .....	0	19	17	20	26	31	34

<sup>1</sup> The 1996 deficit estimate is a preliminary revision from CBO based on current Treasury data. The 1996 estimate included in their official April forecast was \$144 billion.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, as we wrap up the debate on the budget conference report, I would like to make a few final observations, if I might.

If last year was the Republicans' winter of discontent, this is their spring of missed opportunities. I know the Republicans wanted to hit one out of the ballpark with this budget, but what they did reminds me more of the Red Sox's Bill Buckner in the infamous 6th game of the 1986 World Series. That is when he let Mookie Wilson's grounder roll through his legs. The Mets rallied and eventually won the series. That was a missed opportunity on a grand scale; so is this budget.

There was a chance—granted a small one—to craft a compromise on a balanced budget this year. To his credit, the President has repeatedly offered to come back to the bargaining table. As he has pointed out, at the very least, we could have agreed on the common

savings in both the Republican and the Democratic plans. But the Republicans rebuffed the President, and now we are saddled with this GOP budget retreat.

It still has too many reductions in Medicare—reductions that are not necessary to maintain the solvency of the trust fund. As much as the Republicans bridle at the suggestion, the size of the tax breaks always has and still does determine the size of the Medicare reductions. The Medicaid provisions still jeopardize the guarantees to health for our most vulnerable citizens. The cuts to education and the environment are still too severe, and they got worse in this conference report.

So much time has passed since we first saw this Republican budget 18 months ago, and so little has really changed. We can see from this same tired budget that the majority's cupboard is bare; they are bereft of new ideas. This conference report is just a sorry addendum to last year's budget fiasco. I think we all know it, and I urge my colleagues to vote against it.

In closing, Mr. President, let me thank all of the members of the Budget Committee on both sides, of which the distinguished president of the Chair is one. On my side of the aisle, I have had nothing but cooperation from all the Democrats on the Budget Committee, and I particularly thank all of them for all of their efforts.

I want to take just a moment, if I can, to thank Bill Dauster, who heads up our great staff on this side of the committee. We worked well with the other side and staff as well.

I simply say, while we do not agree on this budget, there has been a lot of good-faith effort and good intentions to try to work this out the best we could. I am sorry that we do not have a better product.

I reserve any balance of my time that I have.

May I inquire of the Chair, do I have any time left of my 5 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 1 minute, 30 seconds.

Mr. EXON. How much?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. One and a half minutes.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, although we have had very great difficulty this morning in coming to an agreement in breaking it, that those who are scheduled to make speeches at this time, to call to their attention time is running out. I will suggest at this time the absence of a quorum, and that the first 3 minutes of the quorum would be charged equally to the time remaining on both sides. I withdraw my request. The chairman of the committee has arrived on the floor.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. I am sorry I was late. I apologize to the Senate. How much time does the Senator from New Mexico have?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Four minutes, 50 seconds.

Mr. DOMENICI. Thank you very much.

Mr. President, as I have said frequently, if I were a king I would not write this budget. But we do not have any kings in the United States. We have a U.S. Congress. That means we have Senators from very different States. That is the way our Founding Fathers decided to run this Republic. And there are very differing views, even among Republicans and certainly among Democrats and Democrats and Republicans.

I believe, however, that other than having some kind of mandate from on high on how to do it, I believe this is as good as we can do this year. And to tell you the truth, I have been at budgeting for a long time. For those who would call this a budget that perhaps does not reduce spending enough, or counts on too many things happening next year and the year after that, let me suggest, it would be beyond the comprehension of the Senate 10 years ago to think they could vote up or down and pass a budget resolution with this much savings in it.

We have never come to grips with the real problems. And this budget resolution at least says, "We know the problems. We know we can't continue this deficit spending. And let's try it this way."

As I said, it is not perfect, but it takes the main problems with deficit spending, the big ones that everybody knows about, and it begins to say, "Let's try to spend less. Let's try to send some of them closer to home where more efficiencies can be adopted."

It says to Medicaid, which is burgeoning beyond what the States will be able to pay, "Let's ratchet it down. Let it increase, but not as much as it would. Let the States make some decisions to see if they can't save significant amounts of money and still cover our poor people with health care."

On welfare reform it is not only saying we are spending too much, it is saying the program is broken. Let us do a new one, give the States more authority, and build it around the premise of 5 years instead of a lifetime on welfare; and those who are on welfare have to get educated and work at preparing to get a job, and then get jobs. That is doing what the American people want.

Ten years ago if that were all the reform we had in the budget we would have been heralding it as something great for America. In addition, we try to make Medicare solvent for 10 years without hurting senior citizens.

Our budget also recognizes that in addition to a deficit up here, there is a deficit in the checkbook of working Americans. Especially those with children. Their taxes are too high and their credits for having to raise children are too low. So we say, let us fix one other deficit. Let us fix the deficit in the checkbooks of working men and women who have children under 18. Let us give them a \$500 tax break for each child

that they are raising. This is a deficit that is going to destroy family life unless we work at trying to solve it.

We have left only 122 billion dollars' worth of tax relief in this budget. Most of it will go to that cause. I think when you add it all up—and one salient point, that for all of the discretionary spending, we are at a freeze. We have asked the Congressional Budget Office, how much should we spend in 1997 if we want to spend at a freeze level? They gave us the dollar numbers, and that is what we settled with the U.S. House in conference.

So hopefully we will get appropriations done and we can tell Americans we have frozen it. We have not increased it, and we have not cut it. That is a pretty good approach to a year when you really say you are trying to balance the budget. When you add that all up, it seems to me this budget resolution not only deserves a majority vote, but I am very hopeful that the President will sign much of the legislation that comes from it because I think we have the right message. We are delivering in a way that is good for Americans, be they young or old or those who are out there working to make sure their children and their seniors are taken care of. It is a good budget. I yield the floor.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me begin by complimenting the distinguished ranking member of the Budget Committee, Senator EXON. This will be the last budget he works on in his capacity as ranking member of the Senate Budget Committee. I must say no one has put more effort, more work, and more real leadership into this whole process than has he over the last many years. He is an extraordinary member of the caucus. It has been my good fortune to work with him very closely and, fortunately, with great effectiveness as a result of his participation. I thank him, not only for his work in this Congress, but for all the years that he has worked so diligently as a very key member of the Budget Committee.

Let me also commend his excellent staff, led by Staff Director Bill Dauster, for the outstanding work they have done in presenting our case on this budget and throughout the many difficult budget battles in this Congress. They do exemplary staff work, and they have served this Senator, and indeed our entire caucus and the American people, with distinction and intelligence.

Let me also thank the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee. He works diligently and with passion and conviction. I oftentimes remark about the real contribution he makes. I may find myself in disagreement with him on many occasions, but not with him personally. He carries out his duties admirably. I commend him for his work.

In this case, Mr. President, in spite of his leadership, the fact is that he proposes to move this process in the wrong direction. He and his colleagues have produced a budget that is designed to appear more moderate, but it contains the same failed policies that the President was forced to veto last winter.

In fact, this budget, in spite of all of the good work and rhetoric of the distinguished chairman, contains the same extreme proposals relating to Medicare, Medicaid, education, the environment, and the other issues we debated so vociferously last winter. It is just as extreme if you follow it out to take into account the 7-year budget timeframe that we had to work with last year. The numbers are hardly different. So no one should be misled. This is almost identical to what we were presented last year. Because of the extreme and harmful policies it contains, the President had to veto it last year.

The President has offered a plan that balances the budget without resorting to such extremism. The deficit as a result of his efforts and our efforts over the last 4 years has been cut by more than half. The deficit was \$290 billion in 1992. The deficit this year is \$130 billion. For 4 years in a row, the first time since the 1940's, we have cut the deficit dramatically. This resulted from real leadership, and because we did what we said we were going to do.

This deficit will actually go back up under the Republican budget plan for the next 2 years. So instead of this hyperbole and instead of all of the partisan rhetoric, we ought to be negotiating downtown with the White House, sitting down with the President and the bipartisan congressional leadership, and finding an agreement that will balance the budget by 2002.

Instead, as is often the case in this Congress, Democrats have been locked out: locked out of the budget negotiations, locked out of the budget process almost entirely, and locked out of any real effort to try to resolve these matters in a bipartisan way.

There are many problems with this budget. But I want to cite very briefly just six.

First of all, this budget reveals again what is really at the heart of the Republican priority list: more tax breaks for those who do not need them. The conference agreement drops any pretense of balancing the budget before it provides for the opportunity to propose tax cuts. At least in the Senate bill the tax cuts were contingent on the passage of two other bills which actually cut the deficit and achieved balance.

The reconciliation prescription in this budget conference report does not even do that. The conference agreement drops all contingencies. It proposes that major tax reduction proposals for those at the very highest income levels be dealt with in the very first reconciliation package that comes before the Senate.

The first bill could be a \$122 billion net tax cut in addition to the deep cuts

in Medicaid and welfare. The actual tax breaks, Mr. President, will actually add up to \$180 billion in that bill, according to the Chairman of the Budget Committee in the other body.

This arrangement will force a veto. It is designed to include devastating Medicaid cuts that will act as a poison pill. There is no doubt in my view that the tax cuts that we are going to be confronted with are the same kind that created the deficit. Just after we have been able to deal so effectively with the deficit over the last 4 years is no time to turn back the clock and propose budget-busting tax breaks before any serious effort to cut the deficit.

So that is problem No. 1: approving tax cuts before we actually make room for them; tax cuts in many cases that are not necessary; tax cuts that are going to drive up the deficit all over again in the not-too-distant future.

The second problem is the excessive Medicare cuts that we all know are incorporated in this plan. The tax cuts, in large measure, to the extent they are paid for at all, are paid for out of Medicare cuts, \$168 billion in Medicare cuts. We know these deep cuts will lower quality of health care provided to millions of seniors and individuals with disabilities. We know they threaten the solvency of many rural hospitals, who may be forced close their doors. We know they will undercut the ability of many beneficiaries to gain access to care, and we know they will create real problems for many who obtain their health only through the Medicare system today.

Mr. President, these issues will go away. They must be addressed in a comprehensive way. We know we have to deal with solvency. The President's budget proposal maintains the solvency of Medicare for the next 10 years. Yet, the pending budget resolution contains \$50 billion more in Medicare reductions than the President's plan. The only purpose of such unnecessary reductions in Medicare is to finance the excessive tax breaks proposed in this resolution. We simply cannot accept a willingness on the part of some to use deep Medicare cuts to pay for the tax cuts in this budget plan.

The third problem is that this bill virtually destroys Medicaid—it proposes \$72 billion in Medicaid cuts. We are also concerned about the way in which these cuts are provided. It proposes to turn the Medicaid Program into block grants. This approach does not reflect the bipartisan plan proposed by the National Governors Association. It has been opposed by Democratic Governors. Block grants would create a tremendous inconsistency in the availability of benefits under Medicaid, regardless of what other assurances were being given by the Republican majority. These cuts are not just \$72 billion as they relate directly to the budget. Because of the ability for States to dramatically reduce the availability of funding, the cuts could actually reach \$250 billion if the States maximize

their ability to reduce the commitment to health care.

This will undercut the availability, and in some cases completely eliminate the availability for millions of children, and for persons with disabilities. It threatens seniors in nursing homes and the financial well-being of their spouses. All this devastation and sacrifice is being asked for in order to provide for tax breaks in many cases for those who do not need them at all. The fourth problem is this budget proposal dramatically shortchanges education. It reduces education and training by a full 20 percent in real dollars, or \$25 billion by the year 2002. When we vote on this resolution, keep in mind that it incorporates the largest education cuts in history. Over the same time period, in spite of the fact this represents the most dramatic reduction in the availability of funding for education in our history, school enrollments are going to rise to historic highs. Every school is going to be faced with the prospect of increasing enrollment, and greater demands for real budgets, at the same time the Federal Government is reducing its commitment to the very schools it claims to support. The President's budget, on the other hand, invests \$57 billion more than what this budget resolution provides.

The fifth problem, Mr. President, is this resolution dramatically harms the environment. It cuts \$3.8 billion from environmental protection and natural resources. That is 17 percent below the President's commitment to the environment into the year 2002. We cannot all talk about how much of an advocate we are to the environment if we are not willing to commit the resources to ensure that environmental protection can become a reality. Mr. President, we have to address environmental funding in a way that ensures the ability to implement comprehensive environmental protection.

Finally, the sixth problem, is that it raises taxes on working families. It proposes an \$18.5 billion in increase in taxes on working families through the cutting back on the earned-income tax credit. It raises taxes on 7 million working families in the next 7 years. As the President's budget makes clear, we can balance the budget without raising taxes on working people.

Mr. President, we can do a lot better than this. This is an extreme budget. This budget takes money from health, education, the environment, and working families. Those priorities, we have said from the beginning, are our priorities. This budget attacks those priorities in ways that we do not believe are wise for this country or for the people affected. Obviously, this budget continues the great debate about where we ought to be taking this country. Do we really want to make the dramatic and draconian cuts in health and in education, in Medicare and in Medicaid, in the EITC, to provide for the tax breaks for many people who simply do not

need them today? I do not think the American people want that. I know members of our caucus do not want it, either.

This budget resolution represents an abandonment of any pretense of balancing the budget before cutting taxes. As a result of this fiscal irresponsibility and the cruelty of its priorities, this budget is dead. The reconciliation process that will be carried out as a result of this budget resolution is going nowhere.

The only way that we can resolve this matter is to do what we talked about doing yesterday, to work together, to resolve our differences, and in a bipartisan way to come up with an agreement on a plan that details ways with which to balance the budget. We should build on the record of the last 4 years, and guarantee the kind of economic growth and the protection of priorities that we all know are so critical to the long-term best interests of this Nation.

I urge all of our colleagues to look at this resolution very carefully and to join us in opposition when we have that opportunity a few moments from now. I yield the floor.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I have 1 minute remaining. I will stay within that 1 minute. I thank my Democratic leader, my good friend from the neighboring State of South Dakota for his kind remarks. I thank the chairman of my committee for all that he has done over the years.

This is my last part in managing a budget resolution. I simply say in leaving, while I am not satisfied with what we have done and while I will be involved, I am sure, in the months to come this year in trying to bring some resolution to the remaining differences, I want to say it has been a thrill and an honor to work with so many outstanding people on both sides of the aisle. I only wish my friends on the Republican side could have been a little bit more understanding. But I simply say we have, in the last 3 years, cut the deficit from about \$300 billion to about \$140 billion. We are on the road to the right course. We should not give up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I know the hour of the vote has arrived. I believe we have 5 minutes' time remaining. I will use leader time if that is necessary.

Mr. President, I am proud to be here today to endorse this budget resolution conference report. It is obviously the thing we need to do. It is the first critical step in the process this year. After we pass this budget resolution conference report, we can then quickly move to the reconciliation bills that, in fact, enforce the things that we say we are going to do in this bill, and we can begin passing the appropriations bills because the Appropriations Committees will then have the numbers they need to mark to, and we can move

this process forward as we need to in a cooperative way. But first, we must pass this conference report.

I begin by again recognizing the outstanding work of the distinguished chairman, the chairman of the Budget Committee. I daresay there is no Senator that knows more about the budget rules and the budget itself than Senator PETE DOMENICI of New Mexico. He does outstanding work, here in this body, on that committee, and working with Members across the aisle and with the other body. I congratulate him for the fine job he has done, once again, this year.

I also want to extend my congratulations and best wishes to our good friend, the Senator from Nebraska, Senator EXON. He certainly epitomizes the old saying, "you can disagree without being disagreeable," and particularly this year we have found that while he made his points and offered some amendments he has worked with us to move the process along. I know the Senator from New Mexico has already pointed that out. We appreciate the very fine work of Senator EXON.

Also, I might note today, Mr. President, that this the last budget resolution other Senators who are members of the Budget Committee will work on, too. Senator BENNETT JOHNSTON of Louisiana has been an excellent member of the Budget Committee since the 95th Congress, January 1977, I believe under the chairmanship of Senator Muskie. Mr. President, 19 years on the committee is almost a sentence, but he has done excellent work as a member of the Budget Committee. He also has been a pleasure to work with and has been helpful on many occasions.

The distinguished Senator from Illinois with the bow tie, Senator SIMON, has always worked as a really good member of the Budget Committee, and the distinguished Senator from Colorado, Senator BROWN, has worked on budgets many times in the past and has been a great member of the Budget Committee. I commend them all for their fine work and what they have done.

It has not been easy to reach this budget conference report, to get to this point. We have had disagreements along the way. In the Budget Committee and on the floor of the Senate efforts were made to amend it, substitute alternatives were offered, and the Senate passed an amendment that added some additional funds for non-defense discretionary spending. When the conference work was going on, that was not received with a great deal of pleasure in some circles, but we worked it out and we came up with a reasonable agreement that will allow us to do what we need to do for our country and continue to move us toward our ultimate important goal of a balanced budget by the year 2002.

We do have a budget resolution conference report here before the Senate that continues to represent dramatic changes in the way we govern. If you

want to continue to build a monument to status quo, the way things have been done around here for years, that basically always seems to lead to more spending, then you do not want to be for this budget resolution. This budget resolution continues the good work that was started last year, that moves us in a different direction, that moves toward giving some relief to the American people that work and pay taxes, and moves toward some real reform in the entitlement areas, where we need it so badly.

It does continue to restrain spending. It does allow enough funds for a strong national defense, but it will continue a pattern overall, in that period of years, of less spending for defense. We have worked on that very carefully, and I think this conference report does an adequate job there.

This conference report reflects our beliefs in a balanced budget and lower taxes for families with children. When I hear these accusations about tax relief for those that do not need it, I wonder first of all, whose taxes are they, anyway? Whose money is it? It is the people's money. We are talking about allowing families with children to have just a little help in raising their children with their own money, a \$500 tax credit—which, by the way, is limited to people under a certain income level.

So I do not apologize at all for wanting to help families with children, for wanting to help children with some tax relief instead of it coming to Washington and letting Washington decide, "Oh, yes, we will send it back the way that we determine is best for your children." We say, "How about letting the families make that determination?"

With regard to the Medicare issue, we have seen recently that the decline in the Medicare Trust Fund is greater than we had anticipated, greater than even a year ago. We can stand here and ignore this problem. But what we are threatening is our parents', our grandparents', and our children's future, and their ability to depend on this program.

The bipartisan substitute that was offered, as a matter of fact, had proposed Medicare reforms that would lead to a savings over the 6-year period of \$154 billion. In this conference report, the proposed savings are \$158 billion. As you can see, the numbers on Medicare are very close. Over a 7-year period, I think the difference between the administration's proposal and ours is around 2 percent. Yet, we are still all talking about an increase every year—every year for this important program.

So I think that we are doing the right thing here. It provides for reduced Government spending and less Government intervention. It lays out a blueprint for what we need to do, but it continues the path we started with last year. By the year 2002, we will have the first balanced budget since 1969.

With regard to what the President has proposed, Mr. President, I would like to submit for the RECORD a chart

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

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

**BUDGET DEFICITS**  
(In billions of dollars)

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

<sup>a</sup> CBO reestimate.  
<sup>b</sup> CBO reestimate from December baseline.  
Prepared by SBC Majority Staff, June 13, 1996.

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

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

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

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

I yield the floor, Mr. President.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

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

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

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

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

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

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

[Rollcall Vote No. 159 Leg.]

**YEAS—53**

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

Lott	Pressler	Specter
Lugar	Roth	Stevens
Mack	Santorum	Thomas
McCain	Shelby	Thompson
McConnell	Simpson	Thurmond
Murkowski	Smith	Warner
Nickles	Snowe	

**NAYS—46**

Akaka	Ford	Mikulski
Baucus	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Biden	Graham	Moynihan
Bingaman	Harkin	Murray
Boxer	Heflin	Nunn
Bradley	Hollings	Pell
Breaux	Inouye	Pryor
Bryan	Johnston	Reid
Byrd	Kennedy	Robb
Conrad	Kerrey	Rockefeller
Daschle	Kerry	Sarbanes
Dodd	Kohl	Simon
Dorgan	Lautenberg	Wellstone
Exon	Leahy	Wyden
Feingold	Levin	
Feinstein	Lieberman	

**NOT VOTING—1**

Bumpers

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We can do better than this disappointing and disillusioning budget.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

**EXECUTIVE SESSION**

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

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