

It seems to me that although we may have succeeded in balancing the budget, we still have two very different visions of where we should be headed in this country. Is it a balanced budget that is the paramount goal, even if it comes with substantially higher taxes and more spending? Or is the real goal of a balanced budget to be more responsible with people's hard-earned tax dollars—to limit Government's size and give the people more choices and more control over their lives? Before we try to answer those questions, let us give them a little context.

As I mentioned, the Federal Government has grown 25 percent larger in just the last 5 years. It spends the equivalent of \$6,700 for every man, woman, and child in the country every year. And that is the equivalent of nearly \$27,000 for the average family of four. But all of that spending comes at a tremendous cost to hard-working taxpayers.

The Tax Foundation estimates that the median income family in America saw its combined Federal, State, and local tax bill climb to 38.2 percent of income last year—up from 37.3 percent the year before. That is more than the average family spends on food, clothing, and shelter combined. Put another way, in too many families one parent is working to put food on the table while the other is working almost full time just to pay the bill for the Government bureaucracy.

Perhaps a different measure of how heavy a tax burden the Federal Government is imposing would help shed some light here. Consider that Federal revenues this year will claim about 19.9 percent of the Nation's income, its gross domestic product. Next year, the tax take will climb to 20.9 percent, according to the administration's projections. That would be higher than any year since 1945. It would be only the third year in our Nation's entire history that revenues have exceeded 20 percent of the national income.

As if taxes were not high enough, President Clinton is proposing to raise them again. He is proposing a tax increase of \$98 billion, which would more than offset the modest amount of tax relief that we approved just 7 months ago. It is worth noting that the new taxes the President proposes are not needed to balance the budget. We have more than enough revenue to do that given the economy's performance in the last year. The tax increases are intended to finance dozens of new spending programs—\$125 billion worth of new spending over the next 5 years.

More taxes, more spending, and more Government. That is just the opposite of where I believe we ought to be headed. For me, there is no great achievement in balancing the budget if it means that hard-working families continue to be overtaxed. There is no great achievement in a balanced budget if the Government continues to grow, seemingly without limits, taking choice and freedom away from the people in the process.

Mr. President, this is the point that I think Milton Friedman was making. A balanced budget is not the only goal, or even the highest goal. A balanced budget is merely the means of right-sizing the Government so that it is more respectful of hard-working taxpayers' earnings and their desire to do right by their own families. That is where our paramount concern should be—with families.

To those who are suggesting we abandon plans for another tax relief bill this year, I say this: Let us not lose sight of our true objective. Families are overtaxed. The Government is still too big. We were sent here to help hard-working families, not to keep them saddled with high taxes or to add to that burden with more spending and more taxes. We will do the right thing by limiting the size of Government so that families have more freedom and more income left in their pockets.

Mr. President, thank you. And I thank the Senator from West Virginia for being patient.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. May I assure the distinguished Senator that this Senator is always patient, never in too big a hurry. I thank the Senator.

#### TRIBUTE TO ABRAHAM RIBICOFF

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, as I grow older I am obliged to bid farewell to some friend almost every day, and thus does the circle gradually and all too rapidly diminish. That great New England poet James Russell Lowell said it well:

As life runs on,  
The road grows strange  
With faces new,  
And near the end  
The milestones into headstones change,  
'Neath everyone a friend

Mr. President, it is with sadness that I take the Floor today to pay tribute to the memory of a departed former colleague, Abraham Alexander Ribicoff, with whom I served from January 3, 1963, to January 3, 1981. Senator Ribicoff was a man of many talents. And he was a man who had been honored by the people of his State and country many times and in many ways. After graduating from the University of Chicago Law School in 1933, he was admitted to the bar the same year. He became a hearing examiner, under the Connecticut Fair Employment Practices Act in 1937, and he became a member of the Connecticut legislature in 1938, a judge of the Hartford Police Court in 1941, Chairman of the Assembly of Municipal Court Judges for the State of Connecticut in 1941, and he was elected to the 81st and 82nd Congresses, a service which extended from January 3, 1949 to January 3, 1953. He was Governor of Connecticut during the years 1955–1961, and he was sworn in as Secretary of the Department of

Health, Education, and Welfare in the cabinet of the late President John Kennedy.

Abraham Ribicoff was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1962, reelected in 1968 and again in 1974, and served until January 3, 1981, not being a candidate for reelection in 1980. During this period of Senator Ribicoff's service in the Senate, I served in the Senate leadership as Secretary to the Democratic Conference, Democratic Whip, and Senate Majority Leader, during which time Abe Ribicoff was my close friend and valued advisor.

Abraham Ribicoff was a man of high character, great character, sterling integrity, excellent judgment, with an unusual sense of history and with excellent political instincts, and with uncommon ability.

His advice was widely sought by other Senators, and it was always kindly given. He was a popular Senator, and could easily have won reelection to a fourth Senate term. His career of public service spanned 42 years.

Abe Ribicoff had a very rare sense of timing and political judgement. He was among the first to endorse Senator John F. Kennedy for President. He nominated John F. Kennedy for Vice President in 1956, and was his convention Floor Manager for the, now legendary, successful presidential nomination in 1960.

Abe Ribicoff had the air and dignity of a Senator in a classic sense. He always dressed impeccably, he possessed faultless manners, and he was a gentleman in every sense of the word. Yet, he spoke forcefully, and he was unafraid of advocating politically difficult positions—unafraid. He was among the first to break with the strong-armed tactics of certain Israeli lobby groups, and he willingly paid a political price for his courage. In 1978, he conducted the first major Senate investigation, and produced the first Senate report on the difficult problem of global warming. His report on the subject could well have been written today, some 20 years later, when global warming has now become fashionable as an issue. He was also an expert on international trade.

I have spoken of his service during the time I was Majority Leader. He was then the Chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, as well as second ranking Democrat under Senator Russell Long on the Finance Committee. I relied heavily on Abe Ribicoff's advice on a broad range of issues, from the creation of the cabinet level Department of Education to the fashioning of major energy legislation during the energy crisis of the late 1970's.

Abe Ribicoff was a persuasive speaker, and always gave as well as he got in Senate debates, during the days when the Senate really did debate issues. Yet, his strength was as much in his ability to sense the appropriate compromise, and he knew how to build consensus, and to craft sound solutions to

highly contentious issues in Committee and on the Senate Floor.

His passing, at a ripe old age, is another chapter, rounding out a history of remarkable men who have graced this chamber, and who have made their individual marks on the minds and memories and hearts of their colleagues and they have done it on the basis of their character, their instincts, and their talents. Senators would do well to read the story of Abraham Ribicoff's life. He came from humble beginnings and he made a success from his own resources, his own grit, and his own instincts. His life was one which can be used as a model by others on both sides of the aisle. He stood his ground when it really counted, and consequently he claimed the high road in his political life. I have missed Abe Ribicoff's counsel since his retirement, and I wish he had remained longer in this body. I wish he were here today.

Abe Ribicoff waged many political battles in life. The battle with death he finally lost, as we must all finally succumb to the onslaught of that grim and unrelenting enemy: death. But though that grim reaper may lay claim to ending the battle of this life, the claim of victory has always and will always elude death, even though it stalks each of our lives from the cradle to the grave. How sweet the words of thy great Apostle Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians:

O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

Mr. President, man was not created an animal, as we are taught in our universities and our high schools. Man was not created an animal, but as a living soul within which there is embedded a spark of the Divinity, a nexus with the Creator. It is that spark that lives on, a soul that an animal does not have, a soul that goes back, when one departs this earthly life, to the presence of his Maker. And we all have that journey to travel. Great Grecian and Roman philosophers, by pure reason and logic, arrived at the conclusion that there is indeed a creating, directing, and controlling Divine power, and an immortality of the soul. Throughout the ages, all races and all peoples have instinctively so believed. It is the basis of all religions, be they heathen, Mohammedan, Hebrew, or Christian. It is believed by savage tribes and by semicivilized and civilized nations, by those who believe in many gods and by those who believe in the one God. Atheists are and always have been few in number. But beyond all credulity is the credulousness of atheists, who believe that chance can make the world, when it cannot build a house!

So, Mr. President, as Longfellow said:

There is no death! What seems so is transition;  
This life of mortal breath  
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,  
whose portal we call death.

Mr. President, we have heard the story of an old king in the Middle Ages

who had his barons at a great banquet. They were quaffing their bumpers of ale. It was a bitter night outside. The storm raged. The snow was falling furiously. Suddenly, into the rude chamber in which they were gathered there flew through some crack or crevice in the roof a little bird. Blinded by the light and perplexed, it flew wildly here and there and beat itself against the rude beams. Finally, it found another crevice and out it went into the night again. The old king, advanced in years, spoke to his barons and said:

That bird is like a life: it comes from out of the night, it flits and flies around a little while, blinded by the light, and then it goes back out into the night again.

So, Mr. President, my friend Abraham Ribicoff has gone to what Hamlet said was "the undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns," but I have no doubt that the Creator, who stoops to give to the rose bush whose withered blossoms float upon the autumn breeze the sweet assurance of another springtime, has received into His bosom a man who was my friend, who loved his country, and who loved his fellow man—rich and poor, high and low, who neither looked up to the rich nor down on the poor—Abraham Alexander Ribicoff.

To his dear wife Casey, a graceful, charming, and noble woman, my wife, Erma, and I extend our sympathy and our love.

Let fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,  
Bright dreams of the past that she cannot destroy.

That come in the night-time of sorrow and care,  
And bring back the features that joy used to wear.

Long, long be my heart with such memories filled,

Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled,

You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will,

But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.

I yield the floor and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative 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.

#### SENATE VOTES

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, as I suggested this morning and had been predicting for the last couple of weeks, we are going to start having Monday votes—not before 5, usually, unless there is plenty of notice. But we need to make some progress on the highway transportation bill and also to further clear the Executive Calendar.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—NOMINATION OF RICHARD YOUNG, OF INDIANA, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, as in executive session, I now ask unanimous consent that at 5:20 today, the Senate lay aside the pending business and turn to executive session to consider the nomination of Richard Young, of Indiana, to be U.S. District Judge for Indiana, that the time be equally divided between the chairman and ranking member, and the Senate proceed to an immediate vote on the nomination, without further debate, at 5:30.

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

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order for me to order the yeas and nays on the nomination.

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

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

#### SENATE SCHEDULE IN MARCH

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, a rollcall vote will occur at 5:30 this evening with respect to the nomination of Richard Young of Indiana. I repeat, Senators can now expect votes every Monday and more than likely on every Friday throughout the month of March, so that we can complete the highway infrastructure bill, have debate and votes on the NATO enlargement issue, so that we can take up the budget resolution, the Internal Revenue Service reform, and possibly even a supplemental that could include funds for Bosnia, Iraq, and IMF. We need to do those issues, plus the COVERDELL A-plus education issue. There is no way we can do all of those in March without a much more aggressive schedule than we have had so far. So it is my intent to do that, and I believe I have the cooperation of the Democratic leader in that effort.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COATS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

#### LOSING OUR WAY

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, there is an old saying that reminds us that