

spending when necessary to ensure a balanced budget. The Johnston amendment would ensure that this power could be exercised only if explicitly authorized by the Congress.

Frankly, Mr. President, I do not even think that Congress should be allowed to give courts the power to increase taxes as a means of enforcing this constitutional amendment. Decisions about taxing and spending should be made by elected officials, and those officials should not be allowed to avoid accountability for those decisions by delegating that power to the judiciary.

So, Mr. President, I seriously considered voting to table the Johnston amendment because it does not go far enough to limit judicial power, and I suspect that some of my colleagues will vote to table the Johnston amendment on that basis. However, I have decided to vote against the motion to table since, although the Johnston amendment does not go far enough, it at least would put some limits on the judiciary's taxing and spending powers under the proposed constitutional amendment.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I believe I am prepared to summarize in 1 minute and I will yield back the balance. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. President, this amendment as worked out with the distinguished Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON] and the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. BROWN] deprives the courts of judicial power to raise taxes, to cut budgets, to be involved in fiscal affairs of this Congress except to the extent that the Congress specifically authorizes that in authorizing legislation.

It is the duty of Congress to implement and enforce this article by authorizing legislation. Section 6 so states, and there is also an exemption made for section 2. That is, the judicial power of the courts can extend to the enforcement of section 2 which in return requires 60 votes to raise the debt of the United States.

Mr. President, this is exactly what the sponsors of this constitutional amendment have said the amendment does. They have stated that the courts may not enforce this amendment. This makes it clear that the courts may not enforce the amendment except in the case of section 2 or unless the Congress specifically authorizes them to do so.

Mr. President, it is unthinkable to have the kind of ambiguity in the Constitution of the United States that is inherent in this amendment unless the Johnston amendment is agreed to.

I urge my colleagues to adopt this amendment.

I believe we are ready to yield back the balance of our time.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield back the balance of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to table the Johnston amendment, and 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.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 272), as modified, of the Senator from Louisiana.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. LOTT. I announce that the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMPSON). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 71 Leg.]

YEAS—52

Abraham	Grams	Murkowski
Ashcroft	Grassley	Nickles
Bennett	Gregg	Packwood
Burns	Harkin	Pressler
Campbell	Hatch	Reid
Chafee	Hatfield	Robb
Coats	Heflin	Santorum
Cochran	Helms	Shelby
Cohen	Inhofe	Simon
Coverdell	Kempthorne	Simpson
Craig	Kohl	Smith
D'Amato	Kyl	Snowe
Dole	Lott	Thomas
Domenici	Lugar	Thompson
Faircloth	Mack	Thurmond
Frist	McCain	Warner
Graham	McConnell	
Gramm	Moseley-Braun	

NAYS—47

Akaka	Dorgan	Leahy
Baucus	Exon	Levin
Biden	Feingold	Lieberman
Bingaman	Feinstein	Mikulski
Bond	Ford	Moynihan
Boxer	Glenn	Murray
Bradley	Gorton	Nunn
Breaux	Hollings	Pell
Brown	Hutchison	Pryor
Bryan	Inouye	Rockefeller
Bumpers	Jeffords	Roth
Byrd	Johnston	Sarbanes
Conrad	Kennedy	Specter
Daschle	Kerrey	Stevens
DeWine	Kerry	Wellstone
Dodd	Lautenberg	

NOT VOTING—1

Kassebaum

So the motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 272), as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. HATCH. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

IWO JIMA

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, could we have order?

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed for 5 minutes to deliver a eulogy honoring those men who died and who were wounded and who participated in the battle of Iwo Jima, 50 years ago.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mrs. BOXER. The Senate is not in order, Mr. President.

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

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, 50 years ago, I was stationed at Marine Corps Air Station, Cherry Point, NC, while serving as a radio operator having achieved the rank of sergeant. That was on February 19, 1945. I listened with rapt attention, along with my fellow marines, to radio reports of a massive marine assault on an obscure Pacific island called Iwo Jima. Though at that time, I doubt whether any one of us could pinpoint that island on a map—

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator may proceed.

Mr. BUMPERS. The name Iwo Jima would soon take its place along such hallowed names as Bunker Hill, Gettysburg, Belleau Wood, Normandy, and Tarawa Atoll. As a vast naval armada moved closer to the shores of Iwo Jima, the commanders who would soon send their young marines into battle prepared messages to be read shortly before H-hour on board all ships of the invasion fleet. Maj. Gen. Clifton B. Cates, commanding the 4th Marine Division, reminded his marines of their recent victory on Tinian in the Mariana Islands, where the division's "perfectly executed amphibious operation" resulted in the capture of the island in 9 days, "with a minimum of casualties to our unit, and with heavy losses to the enemy." Similarly, Maj. Gen. Keller E. Rockey, commanding the 5th Marine Division, searched for the proper words to exhort his men. Unable to draw upon past glories, as his division would fight together as a unit for the first time on Iwo Jima, Rockey reminded his men that the "time has now come for us to take our place in the battle line." Noting that "the hopes and prayers of our people go with us," he assured his marines that "we will not fail." The upcoming 36-day battle on Iwo Jima would fully justify the confidence which Generals Cates and Rockey placed in their marines.

One of the most visible and poignant memorials in this city commemorates the flag raising on Mt. Suribachi, the Iwo Jima Memorial, 4 days after the landing, but the battle would rage for 32 more days.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, the Senate is not in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from Arkansas may proceed.

Mr. BUMPERS. The Iwo Jima Memorial is a fitting tribute to the 5,391 men killed, 17,370 men wounded, and the 60,000 men in that total force. But it is a tragedy that there cannot be a statue

for every single brave marine who participated in that bloody battle.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I be permitted to proceed for an additional 5 minutes.

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

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I cannot tell you how contemptuous I am of the fact that we could not get order in the Senate to deliver this tribute. Some of our own colleagues were heroes during World War II. Senator JOHN GLENN, a brave marine, is on the Senate floor now. Nobody in this body fought longer and harder than he. And in one of the bloodiest battles of all, the battle of Guadalcanal, was Senator JOHN CHAFEE of Rhode Island.

I was asked by the Marine Corps to deliver this memorial, and I was happy to do it. I was not at Iwo Jima. I was just a young marine getting ready to be shipped out to invade Japan.

Mr. President, many people in this body remember very little about World War II and nothing about Iwo Jima. We wanted that island so we could bomb Japan from the islands of Tinian, Guam, and Saipan. We needed Iwo Jima so that disabled planes that could not make it back to Tinian from Japan would have a relatively safe haven on which to land. It is estimated that the landing strip at Iwo Jima saved the lives of 25,000 airmen who would have had to ditch at sea and probably would have been lost if it had not been for those brave, almost 6,000, men who gave their lives there.

I do not intend to criticize my colleagues, but it is tragic that sometimes people do not show more respect for those who provided the liberties for this Nation so we could stand here and debate these issues as free men and women. It is disappointing.

Last night I went to bed, turned on the television set because that is a good way to go to sleep, and just happened to turn to PBS, the station so many people want to get rid of. I started watching a documentary on Iwo Jima, one of the most gut-wrenching documentaries I have ever witnessed. Men who had never talked about that battle, even to their wives and children, poured out their souls and their hearts to those interviewers. One man said that he killed a Japanese and when he went over to him—I do not know whether he killed him or whether he came upon him—and he said he had a wallet sticking out of his top pocket. He reached over and took it out. He was going to take it. He opened it up, and there was a picture of this young Japanese soldier's mother and father and of his wife and child. And he put it back. He said, "I knew that that man was doing exactly what he had been forced to do, what he had been told to do—try to kill me. And I had" been programmed to try to kill him. And he said, "What a terrible way to resolve our differences."

One other man said the Japanese were famous for having gold teeth.

"So," he said, "I went around taking gold teeth out of Japanese soldiers' mouths. Got a bag full." He said, "I can hardly stand to tell you that, it is so barbaric. But war is barbaric. It was just young. It is a terrible, shameful thing to admit that today. At the time I thought it was OK."

Another man said there was a man in his company who said he went around cutting off the ears of Japanese soldiers—barbaric. Somebody told the company commander. This man, who had gathered a whole sack full of ears, was required by his company commander to dig a hole 6 feet deep and bury them and cover them.

But of all those men of my age and a little older who spoke last night, virtually every one of them said, "I did not hate the Japanese. I knew they were doing what they had to do, just as I was doing what I had to do."

I am honored to have been a Marine, honored to have served in the same war, in the same service, with men like JOHN GLENN, HOWELL HEFLIN and JOHN CHAFEE, and especially honored to be asked by the Marine Corps to deliver this short eulogy to those 6,000 men who died and the 17,000 who were wounded and all of the 60,000 who participated.

One man said last night that he felt almost guilty, after seeing what he had seen, coming home alive. I can sort of relate to that.

Mr. President, I know everybody in this body joins me in paying tribute to these very brave men.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I just want to personally express my regard for the senior Senator from Arkansas, for the eloquent way he has paid tribute to those who died for us, to those who were wounded for us, and to those who fought for us, including himself and others in this body. As someone who lost his only brother in the Second World War after his 10th commission, I have to say that I was really moved by what the distinguished Senator had to say.

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I served after the opening of World War II, but I can remember Iwo Jima vividly. My political mentor was Paul Douglas, who served in this body, was a great U.S. Senator, was a marine, and proud to be a marine in spirit. I wish I could hear Paul Douglas give a talk today. He was 50 years old when he volunteered to be a marine, went over and was wounded in Okinawa and Iwo Jima.

But I think of people like DALE BUMPERS and JOHN GLENN when we talk about courage. You look about, and HOWELL HEFLIN, he was in the Marines, too. We can be very, very proud of those who served our country. But I think of JOHN GLENN and that little thing that he got into when he was shot into space. It was incredible. I see

our colleague, CHUCK ROBB, who was in the Marines, and JOHN CHAFEE, and probably some others here who were in the Marines.

As one who was not in the Marines, who was not in the service during that period—I was in from 1951 to 1953—I just want to say we are very proud of those who served in the Marines, those who served in that Pacific war. It was a war where we were fighting people who were forced, as Senator BUMPERS said, to do the things that we were forced to do. It was a war where there was clear aggression, where we stood up for what we should stand for.

I am proud, as an American who was too young to fight in World War II, of those who did.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to the senior Senator from Arkansas for the very eloquent remarks he made—and it is so fitting that he did so for this body and for all of us—about what took place in Iwo Jima. I was not at Iwo Jima. I do not know if anybody in this Chamber was in the Battle of Iwo Jima. There is no question that there were fierce battles in the Pacific in World War II.

I think Senator BUMPERS has portrayed it so eloquently—the values, why the whole thing took place. It took place exactly as he said—so that those bombers which were going from Tinian, from Guam, to Japan would have a place, if they were shot up, as they were, to seek a harbor of refuge, as it were.

I can remember. I was a young marine at the time on Guam. For the bombers on Guam, they built two parallel strips for those B-29's to take off. And they would take off on the minute on one runway and on the half minute on the other runway. They assembled some 500 of them on these trips to Japan. It was between a 16- and 18-hour round trip for those bombers. Then, of course, when they completed their mission over Japan, after flying up there, a 7- to 8-hour trip up there with those great loads, then they would start back, many of them badly shot up, and their goal was to get to Iwo Jima.

The time I am talking about was some months after we had secured Iwo Jima. I had a friend in one of those B-29's. He was the pilot. He radioed ahead to Iwo Jima that he was in a condition 3. As I recall, that was a term for the really desperate to land, and that gave him priority. You set your own conditions based upon the number of engines out and the amount of gas you had left. They said to him, "How much fuel do you have? How long can you circle?" He said for 4 minutes. They said, "Circle for 3 minutes. Your priority is set." So he made it safely. But that shows you the congestion that was at Iwo Jima and the value of that.

So, as Senator BUMPERS so eloquently pointed out, 6,000 men were lost, and it was a terrible thing. It was a case where they gave their lives for

somebody else. I did not know the figures. But Senator BUMPERS indicated some 25,000—I can well believe that figure—airmen were saved. So it was a dramatic period, when the very best came out in our country and those who were there.

I am so glad Senator BUMPERS called our attention to it.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I am in the process of preparing remarks, and have worked on them today, dealing with the Battle of Iwo Jima. I have some remarks that were prepared to deliver tomorrow, probably in morning business.

But I am moved by the eloquence of Senator BUMPERS. It brought back to me a lot of personal feelings that were heightened by his remarks. My division, the 3rd division, was in reserve in the landing on Iwo Jima. The 4th and the 5th Marine Divisions landed on D-Day, and they moved inland basically uncontested for awhile. But then the Japanese guns came forth from their pill boxes and from their fortifications that they had worked on for months and months, and complete devastation took place on the beaches of Iwo Jima.

It was decided that the 3rd Marine Division, which was being held in reserve, would be committed, and the 3rd division was committed. I had been a member of A company, 1st battalion, 9th Marines. That is 9th regiment in Bougainville and Guam. I was wounded in Guam and came back to the United States, and was in a hospital on the day of D-Day that they landed.

I later talked to the survivors of A company. They told me that A company, 1st battalion, 9th Marines, 3d Marine Division, suffered more than 200 percent casualties on Iwo Jima. They sent in replacements at various stages before the island was finally captured. I lost many a friend in that battle. The raising of the flag on Mount Suribachi is symbolic of the battle in the Pacific, where we really, by great military strategy, went through a campaign of island hopping, by which they would select an island that was in a very strategic position and bypass most of the well-fortified islands that the Japanese thought we would be attacking first. This island-hopping strategy reduced the casualties tremendously. But Iwo Jima lay in a position 660 miles off of the coast of Japan. The Japanese had built two airstrips and were in the process of building a third airstrip, primarily to place on that island. Most of their fighter pilot planes were left with the idea of intercepting our bombers as they came through from Guam, or Tinian, or Saipan to Japan. As Senator BUMPERS and Senator CHAFEE have pointed out, the planes that came back, many of them damaged by anti-aircraft and fighter pilots of the Japanese, landed in an emergency on land. But it also was very important in our victory against the Japanese in that it destroyed a potential fighter pilot baseline that could have caused tremendous problems relative to that.

But I look back in memory of my friends that I lost, and I would have been on Iwo Jima with my outfit if I had not been back in the United States at that particular time. The words that stick in my mind are the words of Admiral Nimitz following the Battle of Iwo Jima when he said: "Uncommon valor was a common virtue." The marines that participated in that, and the Navy that was involved, and the Air Force, everybody concerned, really were great heroes, and we will be honoring the 50th commemoration of that battle in the near future. I believe Sunday there is a ceremony at the Iwo Jima monument. So I pay tribute to those that lost their lives, to those that were wounded, and to those that helped in that very important battle to bring about V-J Day.

IWO JIMA

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I associate myself with the remarks of Senator BUMPERS and the others that have spoken so eloquently about Iwo here today. I was in World War II and in the Pacific but not in the Battle of Iwo Jima. After the war, we were assigned to China. I was stationed for 6 months in Beijing; it was called Peking then. Our squadron flew out later on and landed at Iwo, and this was after the war. We had a chance to walk those same black sand beaches that they came in on during the battle of Iwo.

It is hard to see how anybody could ever make it up those beaches, which were the only landing areas on the island, because the cliffs above that area were all honeycombed with caves back in the rocks. Guns would come out and fire. Machine guns would go out and fire and go back into the hole again. Unless the naval gunfire that supported them there made a direct hit on the tiny openings, they kept coming out and mowing people down, down below them. We walked in those caves and looked down as the Japanese gunners were able to look down on the beach at that time, and how anybody ever got ashore there with that kind of withering fire looking right down their throats is something that is hard to fathom. It was so impressive that I remember it very, very vividly to this very day.

The reasons for the sacrifices have been spoken about here this afternoon. Senator HEFLIN has mentioned the motto that is on the Iwo statue at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue on the edge of Arlington Cemetery: "Uncommon valor was a common virtue." Indeed it was. It is hard to look at Iwo and to be there on Mount Suribachi, or to go down and be in those caves and look down on the black sand beaches and imagine how anyone could come across those beaches, where the soft rolling sand underfoot—literally, where we tried to walk you would take almost two steps forward and one back, that type of situation. That loose, pebbly type sand was so difficult to even get tracks on. It was hard for them to

move at that time. Uncommon valor was indeed a common virtue.

One of my most prized possessions at home is a statue of Iwo. It is a smaller version of the Iwo statue that is over on the edge of Arlington Cemetery. It is not just a curiosity stand type statue you would buy from one of the souvenir stands here in Washington. When I had been on a space flight many years later, Felix de Weldon, the sculptor who designed the Iwo statue—it was his concept—was doing a bust of me later on and we become friends. He had one of his first working models that he had, from which he designed the Iwo statue. It is a one-tenth scale model, exact. If you took a picture of it at the right angle, I doubt that you could tell the difference between that and the big Iwo statue. It is a one-tenth scale model. Because I had been in the Marine Corps, he wanted me to have that. I did not want to take it. I thought it should go to the Smithsonian or Marine Headquarters or someplace. He wanted me to have it, so I finally took it. It is one of my most prized possessions at home. I am sure 1 day it will wind up exactly there, in the Smithsonian or Marine Headquarters. Every time I see that statue at home, I am reminded of that visit to Iwo and what it must have been like to be there that day when uncommon valor was such a common virtue.

Mr. ROBB addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. ROBB. Mr. President, I had not planned to speak this afternoon at all. As a matter of fact, I was just about to part from this Chamber when the senior Senator from Arkansas asked for the floor. I knew he was going to recite a few words that had been prepared officially by the Marine Corps, and it was my privilege to deliver another as a part of that series earlier this week.

I would like to join with all of the colleagues here on the floor, and the many who have been fortunate to be in this Chamber at this particular moment, and say thank you, Marine DALE BUMPERS, for reminding us for a few minutes what is important in life.

I could not help but be drawn back into my own experience. I was, at the time of Iwo Jima, a young boy starting school. But I suspect, if I am honest, I would acknowledge that Iwo Jima probably had a lot to do with my decision to join the Marine Corps. I certainly, like many others, benefited from the heroism that was demonstrated in that particular battle along that tiny eight-square-mile island. And even DALE BUMPERS' description of having talked to those who had examined the photographs and other remains of the enemy that they had taken during the course of the battle rings very true to me in a different conflict later on. But it still happens and you still have that very personal gut-wrenching feeling that there are human beings on both sides of those

equations that are not necessarily involved in the political struggles that are involved.

I simply join in saying thank you to my fellow marines here and elsewhere for the legacy that they left to all of us who served later. Those immortal words ring through to all of us. As my friend, JOHN GLENN, talked about his statue, I have a much smaller and much less prestigious copy that sits on the front of my desk in my office to which I will return shortly, which but reminds me of a time when something very important in our history occurred, just 50 years ago.

And for those of you who were fortunate enough to be present in the Chamber today, something important in this Chamber occurred, and it is all too rare that we have a feeling where we have been truly moved by a few words. I would have to say that our distinguished friend from Arkansas has a disproportionate number of those moments to his credit.

In any event, may I join colleagues who are here celebrating that uncommon valor that occurred some 50 years ago and ask others around the country to stop for just a minute or two to think about the consequence of the risks and the sacrifices they made in terms of the quality of life that remains today.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FORD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I have been sitting here and listening, and I think the distinguished Senator from Virginia has hit the same note that I have been feeling—a little bit emotional; rightly so; beautiful—because I could hear the “Star Spangled Banner” in every voice. I could hear the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag in every voice. I could hear and feel the tide, why this country is so great and what this institution is.

And I could hear the roll being called here in the Senate—Senator CHAFEE, Senator BUMPERS, Senator GLENN, Senator HEFLIN, Senator ROBB—you go on through. They may have different opinions about the issues on the Senate floor, but none—none—of those would take a step back from the defense of this country and the attempt to do what is right. And it goes across the aisle.

So I do not know. I hope there are a lot of people watching tonight so they could have heard my long and good friend from Arkansas, Senator BUMPERS, and listen to JOHN GLENN and to feel it, and listen to HOWELL HEFLIN.

Why was he back in the States? He was wounded.

And they said those who have experienced war, as some of us in this Chamber have, are those most opposed to it.

And so, I thank all of you. I hope I can get a tape of this. I want my grandkids to see it, because it has been now 50-some-odd years. I was 19. I guess you were about the same age. We were

all about the same age. And we were called on.

Oh, you may fuss and fume at me about my political stance. You may fuss and fume at the others about their political stance, but do not doubt their courage or their loyalty to this country.

So this occasion was very beautiful. I am pleased that Senator BUMPERS, my good and loyal friend, was able to get up tonight and remind us and shake us back to the very essence and roots of why we are in this Chamber and why we try our best to do what is good for the children.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, if nobody else wishes to speak, let me just follow up on what Senator FORD has said and perhaps we can get back on the matter we are supposed to be debating. This has nothing to do with the Marine Corps. It has to do with another point I want to make.

Several of us went to Europe on June 6. We went to Anzio in Italy before we went to Utah and Omaha Beaches. And I was really not prepared for the experience. Anzio, a battle I remembered well was memorialized by roughly 10,000 white crosses and Stars of David in the cemetery there. We were there on June 4.

We went then to Utah Beach and Omaha Beach on June 6th. And behind each beach there were roughly 10,000 graves, Stars of David and crosses. Each one of those represented a knock on the door. “We regret to inform you your son, your husband, your brother has been killed in action.” That was one of the most traumatic things I ever experienced.

President Clinton, in one of the cemeteries was talking to a man. The man said, “This man who lies under this cross saved my life. He went out on a patrol that I was supposed to go on. I had been doing it every night. He said, “No, you stay. I’m going tonight.”

“And I let him go.”

That same man asked the President, “Do you know Clayton Little?”

And President Clinton said, “Know him? I should say so. He served in the legislature, both when Senator BUMPERS was Governor of Arkansas and when I was Governor of Arkansas. He was one of the finest men I ever knew.”

The man said, “He was one of the best friends I ever had. He was by my side during the entire battle at Anzio.”

But like this moment, I say to the people of this body that we ought to do this more often—stop and reflect on what is really important in our lives and in this country.

I looked at all those graves, and I thought of the unbelievable trauma so many families had experienced as a result of each one of them. And I began to think about the things we say and talk about in this Chamber. And so much of it is not very important. And when you get caught up in the experience I had, you begin to get your prior-

ities a little straighter. It is like a cancer diagnosis. You begin to realize what is important and what is not.

But the point I want to close on, Mr. President, as Senator FORD has said very well, nobody should ever question the loyalty or the patriotism of anybody. I deplore that. We are all loyal Americans. We are here debating because we have serious policy disagreements, but we really agree on a lot more than we disagree on.

Somebody came up to me and said, “You know, today’s generation would never bare their chest to those German machine guns on those beaches. They’d never get them out of those landing craft to walk up a beach, unprotected, baring their chest to German machine guns.”

And I said, “Of course they would.”

They thought the same thing about our generation. And I believe that today’s generation, if our liberties were at stake, would do the same thing we did.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, this is not a very propitious time for me to send an amendment to the desk.

Let me, while Senator BUMPERS is still here, say one thing to Senator BUMPERS.

I was with Senator BUMPERS and others on the 50th anniversary of D-Day on those beaches, including down in Italy in Anzio.

I was 2 years old when the people of DALE’s generation, although I do not feel like he is a different generation than me—and I mean that sincerely, and I do not—until I stood on those beaches.

I came home and said something to my father that I never said before. My father was not on any one of those beaches. As I stood there and watched Senator HEFLIN, Senator BUMPERS, Senator HOLLINGS and Senator GLENN and others with whom I was attending these ceremonies, and the thousands of veterans who were there, I marveled at one thing.

Being a U.S. Senator for 22 years, I have been to a lot of veterans’ events. I did not see one bit of revelry. I only saw reverence. I watched these men and their counterparts—civilians—walk out on those beaches—which seemed to be 20 miles wide—in solitude. There were 10,000 individuals there, all lost in their own memories.

It impressed me in a strange way, I say to my friend from Arkansas. Here is what I told my dad. I came back with such a sense of awe. As a student of history, thinking I was a pretty smart, well-educated guy, until you stand on those beaches. Now I understand why they all came in at midtide. I am assuming it was equally as bad or worse at Iwo Jima, and I have never been there.

I not only had a sense of awe and pride in my father’s generation and a renewed respect for that generation,

but I had an incredible sense of envy, almost a feeling of anger. JOHN KERRY is a veteran. John was a decorated veteran in Vietnam. My generation went to war in Vietnam without the benefit that your generation had.

When you stood there on the beaches of Iwo Jima, or deciding whether or not to get out of the landing craft on Omaha Beach, you knew, had you failed, all of humanity would have suffered. There was no question that the fate of mankind hung in the balance. Had you not prevailed, your wives, mothers, and children would have lived under an oppression unlike anything that had been seen in the previous two centuries.

When JOHN KERRY rode down some god-awful river in Vietnam, he did not know who the hell he was after, was not quite sure why he was there, did not have any idea anymore than my friend from Virginia had as to who might be shooting at him, and I suspect never had the absolute certainty that what they were doing, as difficult as it was, was something that, beyond question, had to be done.

I understand my dad's generation better, having been there, because now I understand why guys like my dad—and God, it seems ridiculous to talk to you as if you were my dad's age because I have worked with you all my professional life—why you have such an incredible sense of optimism. Why on either side of the aisle, whether it is you or JOHN CHAFEE or whomever it is, have this unabating notion that we can, in fact, get things done.

I look at my generation and those who are younger, and I am not nearly as surprised as to why they are as confused as they are about the ability, and not even thinking about it in your generation, why they wonder whether or not this institution makes any sense, whether or not the system works.

It seems to me you not only did something incredibly courageous—and I see DAN INOUE, and nobody in this whole body have I ever felt closer to than DAN INOUE, and he knows I am not just saying that. Here is a guy, he goes and loses his arm. He should have gotten the Medal of Honor, in my view, if you read about his exploits. And he acts like he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He acts like not a single thing ever happened to him in his life that was difficult. He acts like the world is just a cupcake, and we can make it great for everybody.

It is an incredible, incredible thing that your generation has passed on. I do not know how it gets renewed. But I know one thing: More people should hear you talk about it. More people should go and stand on Omaha Beach or go to Iwo Jima or go up into the hills in Italy where these guys—BOB DOLE and others—got stopped.

I know it sounds corny, but I defy anybody of any generation to have been there on D-Day and not walk away with a deeper understanding of why your generation has done so much for this country and why other genera-

tions have been so uncertain about what they can do. The biggest thing it does, it seems to me, is hopefully remind people in this era of bitter politics, of political invective, of the mindless things that are being said on the left and the right, of the personal characterization of political motivation of whatever anybody does, of the era of 30-second personal attacks on anybody that disagrees with you, you must be un-American or must be less dedicated than whomever it is they are arguing with.

I hope they understand that, as corny as it sounds, the women and men who served in this body—and I have been here for 22 years—I have not met a one, I have not met a one in either political party when they walk out of here and get in their car at night or go down to the train station like I do and look in the rear view mirror, they see that Capitol dome, do not still get a chill.

I noticed people when we were over there on D-Day, DALE, there was not anybody watching us. Everybody was the same. I watch people when they play the "Star Spangled Banner." There was not any hometown crowd. I watched peoples' eyes mist and people got goosebumps. I know it is not in vogue to say those things, and probably an editorial will say how corny we were today—or I know I was.

The best thing that can happen in this sick political atmosphere we find ourselves in, is for more people to understand, whether it is the Rush Limbaugh of the world or a left-wing version of Rush Limbaugh on the air who makes everything personal about what people do, there is so much more that we agree on in this Chamber than we disagree on. There is so much more that your generation did for this Nation than you understand and appreciate, if I can say so, so much more.

But you had something that I think we are all still searching for, and that is the absolute certainty that what we were undertaking needed to be done, was noble, was moral, was necessary, and was right. I think that is what everybody is searching for. You paid a horrible price for having found it in your generation, but having found it and survived it, you made this country something that it never had been, because of the growth and the optimism and the absolute enthusiasm you all brought back from having done what you did and literally saved the world for democracy.

I want to tell you I had not planned on speaking on it at all, but my respect for my father has always been great. My respect for his generation and my mother's, as well.

I end with one little story. I was with you, and we split up after the President spoke. I went up to the cemetery. I was walking around the cemetery, just kind of in a daze. My wife and I—my wife was not even born during any portion of World War II — were looking at the crosses, just wandering through, and this guy was being pushed in a wheelchair by his two sons. And I am

looking at a grave marker. I did not even see him. And he said, "Is that you, Senator BIDEN?" And I turned around. I did not know the fellow. He was from Indiana. I turned to him and I was like most of us were, somewhat emotional about what we just observed. And I said, "Thank you for what you did." And he said, "Don't thank me, thank my wife." And I turned around, and his wife was not with him. And I said, "Thank your wife?" I said, "Why, sir?"

He said, "My wife did as much to make sure I could get on that landing craft and get here because she made it. She made it at home. She produced the reason we were able to win, because of the industrial might of the people we left behind to produce and outproduce the Germans."

But it was typical. Here is a guy going through a graveyard where his friends are buried. I compliment him and he tells me to thank his deceased wife who made the landing craft.

I sure as heck hope there is some way we can rekindle that kind of notion of sense of duty, sense of responsibility, sense of shared glory that seems to be missing so much in this country today. And I hope in God's name we can do without another war. But I want to compliment you all.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The Senate continued with the consideration of the joint resolution.
(Ms. SNOWE assumed the chair.)

AMENDMENT NO. 278

(Purpose: To provide for a capital budget)

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], for himself, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. FEINGOLD, and Mr. KERRY, proposes an amendment numbered 278.

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 3, strike lines 4 through 8, and insert the following:

"SEC. 7. Total outlays shall include all outlays of the United States Government except for those for repayment of debt principal and those dedicated to a capital budget. The capital budget shall include only major public physical capital investments. For each fiscal year, outlays dedicated to the capital budget shall not exceed an amount equal to 10 percent of the total outlays for that year, which amount shall not be counted for purposes of section 2. Three-fifths of each House may provide by law for capital budget outlays in excess of 10 percent for a fiscal year.