

while we have not been able to get this amendment to the floor for consideration by our colleagues today, or this year, I am quite optimistic we will be able to do that early in the next session of the Senate. I think the additional time we take to allow everyone to have their say, to ask the questions they need to ask, that will allow this to come at a time when we can have a full debate, that that will permit us to adopt this amendment next session and send it to the States for ratification.

Again, I thank Senator FEINSTEIN for her wonderful cooperation and inspiration on this amendment.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. If the Senator will yield on one point, I would like to add to those thanks, and thank him for being so generous. I would like to add Roberta Roper of the National Victims Constitutional Amendment Network, who worked with Steve Twist so actively; David Beatty of the National Victims Center; and John Stein and Marlene Young of the National Organization for Victim Assistance.

If I might say this: Some people have pooh-poohed—maybe pooh-poohed is not a good senatorial word—let me say denigrated this concept. As one who sat on 5,000 cases, sentencing them, setting sentences and granting paroles for 6 years of my life, I can tell you that I believe this constitutional amendment will make more of a difference in the criminal justice system than virtually anything else that could be done. I think it is extraordinarily important. I know the Senator joins me in this, and I hope we will be able to have that full debate early on in the next Congress.

Mr. KYL. Madam President, it seems like there is always one more thing we want to say on this important subject. Again, we cannot possibly thank everyone here today, but one of the organizations—now that Senator FEINSTEIN mentions a couple of other people—Mothers Against Drunk Driving have been enormously helpful at the grassroots, working with our colleagues gaining cosponsorships. I would be remiss if I did not mention them.

Again, we will have many more opportunities to discuss this. I urge anyone who has questions about it to be in touch with us. But it is certainly an effort that I am going to be pleased to work on in the next session.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BUMPERS. What is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are in morning business.

Mr. BUMPERS. Is there any particular order, Madam President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has the right to speak.

TAX CUT AND THE BUDGET

Mr. BUMPERS. Madam President, I want to speak for just a few minutes on what the House did last Saturday in

announcing that they had passed an \$80 billion tax cut. To tell you the truth, I take a lot of ribbing around here about the length of this cord. And to really say everything I need to say and want to say about what the House did Saturday would take another 10 feet on this cord, because I really think it is one of the most irresponsible acts—knowingly irresponsible acts—I have ever seen since I have been in the Senate. To add insult to injury, I heard a young Congressman Saturday evening on the news saying, "After all, the Republicans created this surplus. They ought to have some say so about how it is going to be used."

I have heard hyperbole in my day, but I think that exceeds anything I have ever heard in my life, because it was in 1993, on the floor of the U.S. Senate, where we had to bring the Vice President of the United States over to pass a bill that President Clinton had submitted to us under which he promised would result in balanced budget. When he ran for President in 1992, he didn't promise a balanced budget. What he promised was that he would reduce the annual deficit by 50 percent during his first 4 years in office.

Bear in mind that the 2 years before President Clinton took office, under President Bush—and you can go back as far as 1981—the deficits started running totally out of control, as every economist in the Nation said they would, after we cut taxes and increased spending in 1981 as a part of the Reagan revolution.

By the time George Bush finished his term, if I am not mistaken, the last two deficits for 1991 and 1992 were about \$250 billion to \$300 billion a year. It was frightening. I am just 1 of 100 Senators here, but I can tell you, I had decided that the place was utterly out of control.

So when the President promised the American people he would cut the annual deficits in half and submitted what was called OBRA 93, the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1993, it did, in fact, raise taxes and it cut spending by an equal amount. We were supposed to raise taxes by \$250 billion and cut spending by \$250 billion for an impact over the ensuing 5 years of a reduction of the deficit by \$500 billion.

The people of the country, shortly thereafter, became rather excited about it. The bond daddies in New York City, who pretty much determine economic policy in this country, were excited, too. After all, they said, maybe these clowns really are serious for a change.

I will tell you how serious it was. As I said, when we tallied up the vote, it was 50 ayes and 50 nays. Vice President GORE sat in the Chair of the Presiding Officer, which is his constitutional duty, and untied the vote. So the Clinton bill, OBRA 93, passed 51 to 50 without one single Republican vote. Not one. It had come from the House of Representatives to us where it had passed the House of Representatives

without one—without one—single Republican vote. The bill passed the entire Congress, House and Senate, without one Republican vote on either side, and this young House Member stood up on the floor of the House on Saturday and announced to the world, "After all, the Republicans created this surplus."

When President Clinton became President and we passed that bill, OBRA 93, in August of 1993, we made it retroactive. Not fair. It really wasn't fair. I didn't like it myself, but I voted for it. A lot of fairly wealthy people—and I have a few wealthy friends, my brother one of them, and he practically threatened to cut me out of his will because we made it retroactive.

What happened as a result of making it retroactive? I will tell you precisely what happened. Instead of the projected \$290 billion deficit for 1994, it turned out to be \$254 billion, \$36 billion less than had been anticipated, \$36 billion less than each of the 2 preceding years of the Bush administration. The projections for 1994 had been \$290 billion to \$300 billion. That year, it turned out to be \$207 billion, and people began to get excited about the deficit suddenly going down for a change. People's confidence level rose. The unemployment rate began to go down. When people have confidence, they spend money. The economy began to really soar, and the more it soared, the more taxes people paid.

When 1995 rolled around, it went from—it wasn't \$290 billion, as had been predicted the preceding 4 years. It was down to \$154 billion in 1995. People were really getting excited. These are sort of round figures. I am not sure of the precise figures, but they are close enough.

In 1996, the deficit went to \$107 billion, and in 1997, \$22 billion. By this time, the whole country is absolutely incredulous. They cannot believe that a country that had shown every sign of taking leave of its senses had suddenly come to its senses, and the deficit, which was \$300 billion a year as far as the eye could see the day Bill Clinton was inaugurated, was suddenly \$22 billion last year.

Right now, 3 days from now, on Thursday of this week we feel—OMB and the Congressional Budget Office feel—that the surplus could run between \$50 billion and \$63 billion. It is the first time in 30 years, and the only reason we did it 30 years ago was because Lyndon Johnson dumped the Social Security trust fund into the budget, and the Social Security trust fund caused us to have a surplus in 1969. We haven't had one since until this year, which hopefully will materialize on Thursday. And this young House Member says the Republicans created this surplus, that they have some rights about what to do with it. They have some rights, of course, but I cannot tell you how offended I am by that when the 1993 bill is the very thing that cost the Democrats control of Congress.

Two of the finest Senators I have ever known in my life, good friends,

lost their seats because they voted for that bill. The House Members were swept out totally because of that bill. I have said on the floor before and I will repeat it, if that is what it took—no matter how traumatic it is to me that the Democrats lost control and still don't have control of Congress—that it was not too big a price to pay to get our fiscal house in order. And here are the Republicans, again, at the same old stand with the same old economic policy saying, "We've got to cut taxes."

What is the tax cut? It is the same old tax cut: 53 percent of it goes to the wealthiest 15 percent of the people in America. If I were rich, I would be a Republican, too. No, I wouldn't. My father would be whirling in his grave if I did a thing like that.

Well, let me give you the bad news. The bad news is, the surplus is not real. It is not a certifiable surplus. Do you know why? Because we still use Social Security in the budget. If we had truth in budgeting around here, where all the trust funds—the Social Security trust fund, the highway trust fund, the airport trust fund, the pension funds—if all of those funds were taken out of the budget, not only would we not be looking at a surplus, we would be looking at a very healthy deficit.

And so as rhapsodic and euphoric as most people are about what we call a surplus for the first time in 30 years, it is not a surplus. There is \$100 billion in the budget this year that is money right out of the Social Security trust fund. You take the \$100 billion Social Security trust fund out, and you have a healthy \$40- to—I don't know what the figure is—somewhere \$40-plus billion deficit.

This is no time—we know that Social Security under the present system is going to be totally bankrupt in about the year 2029; and by the year 2013, we are going to be paying out more every year than we take in, which is a far cry from a \$100 billion surplus we are getting a year now. I think the Social Security trust fund in about the year 2013 will have over \$3 trillion in it—\$3 trillion. You think about all that money, but by the year 2029 it will be dead broke, it will be on a pay-as-you-go basis. We will be taking in money one day and paying it out the next. There will be no trust fund.

So when the President said, "Social Security first," he meant that.

What does "Social Security first" mean? It means that you do not pay for tax cuts with Social Security trust funds. Right now, if we raid the surplus, we are raiding the Social Security trust fund.

As I said in the beginning, I need about 10 more feet of cord on this thing to say everything I want to say. I just do not speak well unless I have an opportunity to walk up and down this aisle. All I want to say to my brethren on the other side—good friends, people whom I like—and I am not in the business of giving Republicans political advice; they have been doing reasonably

well without me. But I will say this: They should know—and they do know it, and I think they had a few defectors over in the House the other day who said, "I'm not about to go home and face people and tell them that I have just voted for a tax cut for the wealthiest people in America and I did it out of the Social Security trust fund." I would love to run against somebody who voted that way. I would do my very best to hammer them into the ground, because it is an honest accusation and it is pointing out to the American people what irresponsible conduct this Congress is capable of engaging in.

So I do not think it is any secret to the Speaker of the House or any of the House Republicans who voted for it. And, quite frankly, I do not think it is going anywhere in the U.S. Senate. And in the unlikely chance it should also pass the Senate, I do not think there is a chance in the world that President Clinton—I do not care how weak he is or how weak he is perceived to be, I can almost give you an ironclad promise he will veto that bill. And I promise you, the veto will not be over-ridden.

While President Clinton has been a friend of mine for 25 years—I guess longer than anybody in the Senate—he is a friend of mine, I do not deny that, has been; we come from the same State; we share the same political friends at home. I do not have any doubt about his absolute commitment on things like this. I am trusting him completely when he says he will veto the bill, and, as I say, I am going to do everything that I can to make sure it never reaches his desk.

Having said that, let me say one final thing. Madam President, in 1981, Ronald Reagan said he would balance the budget by 1984. Ray Thornton—a former Member of the House, told me his 81-year-old father-in-law said one day somebody told him, "Ronald Reagan is going to balance the budget by spending more money and cutting taxes"—take in less and spend more. He said, "What a dynamite idea. I wonder why nobody ever thought of that before."

The day Ronald Reagan held up his hand and was inaugurated, the national debt was \$1 trillion; and 8 years later when he left, it was \$3.2 trillion. He managed to triple it in 8 years. But you know something? I voted with the President in 1981, not quite the way he suggested, but I voted for the spending cuts that he proposed and against the tax cuts. FRITZ HOLLINGS and Bill Bradley and I were the only three Senators who voted that way, and we would have balanced the budget in 1984 if everybody had voted that way. But, as you know, everybody did not vote that way.

So what happened was, we wound up doubling defense spending within 4 years after Ronald Reagan was elected President—doubled it within 4 years. That was back when we found out, after throwing all that money at the

Pentagon, they were paying \$7,000 for toilet seats and \$7,000 for coffee makers—the same thing everybody does when you throw that much money at them.

Madam President, I have said about all I want to say except, I will be lying prostrate at the end of this cord in this aisleway the day that tax cut passes here. I plead with my colleagues, let's do something completely apart from politics. Let's not do something that is as irresponsible as that is. Nobody, I guess, ever lost an election by voting for a tax cut.

People here are getting pretty apprehensive about voting against a so-called marriage penalty. The one thing you never hear is that many married people already have a bonus. There is a marriage penalty for some, but many married people are a lot better off filing joint returns than they are filing as single persons.

I would not mind addressing the problem of what the House did the other day which, I think, amounts to an average of \$240 a year. That is about \$20 a month. Well, that is not beanbag for some people, but it is not enough to rape and pillage the Social Security trust fund for when those very people we are trying to help are also concerned about that Social Security trust fund being viable when they get to 65 years of age. And you ask them, "Would you rather be assured that the Social Security trust fund will be there for you when you retire or would you rather have a \$20-a-month tax cut?" Talk about no-brainers.

Madam President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BUMPERS. Madam President, as I understood the parliamentary situation, at the hour of 2 p.m. there will be 1½ hours to debate the motion to proceed to the Internet bill. Is my understanding of that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are in morning business until 3:30.

Mr. BUMPERS. Until 3:30.

MAIL-ORDER CATALOG SALES

Mr. BUMPERS. Madam President, I rise today to once again address an issue that I have addressed a number of times here in the U.S. Senate. It deals with mail-order catalog sales. Everybody within earshot of my voice knows what I am talking about because when they come home at night and pick their mail up, they will find mail-order catalogs. At my house, the average is about 6 to 10 mail-order catalogs on a daily basis. You can buy anything under the shining sun. If you save all of those catalogs, sooner or later you will