

The question then is, will we let the people decide or will we slam the door of self-governance in the face of the American people again? We must let the people decide.

It is time for us to acknowledge again the principle of self-governance. Let the people decide.

It is time that we trust our people, the people of America, as our forefathers did. Let the people decide.

Let us demolish the misleading myth that Congress exists to protect people from themselves. We must instead respect the reality that there is wisdom in the people. We must acknowledge the reality that self-governance is not simply a politically expedient idea, it is, in fact, governmentally beneficial.

The people are eager to participate in shaping the tomorrows in which they live and in which all of us work. They are demanding the opportunity to decide whether or not to limit the terms of Members of this body and of the U.S. House of Representatives.

As servants of the people, we must pass a resolution on term limits that recognizes that term limits cannot be in the exclusive province of the House or Senate, but this is a decision to be reached by the American people. This is an opportunity for self-governance.

They have spoken with clarity and intensity this year, saying they want us to reopen the door of opportunity to decisionmaking and let them decide. I submit that we must respond to their call; that we must pass a resolution on term limits and thereby let the people decide to enact or reject term limits as they would apply to the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, my colleague from Missouri comes to the floor for his first floor statement on an issue that will not surprise any of his fellow Missourians, and that is a message of change.

Change is what JOHN ASHCROFT talked about so clearly during his campaign, and now he is doing exactly what he told the people of Missouri he would do if they sent him here—to be a leader for change.

I take great pleasure in cosponsoring this legislation for term limits, because I think this is a very important first step toward doing actually what the people so clearly indicated they wanted done last November 8. It is no surprise to me that JOHN ASHCROFT is leading the way.

JOHN is an old and very dear friend. I have come to know him as an American patriot. He believes in this country and its people. He is able to cut through the fog of confusion that so often surrounds public policy issues. Missourians know him as a plain speaker in the finest Missouri tradition. He knows what he believes and how to say it so everyone knows just exactly what he believes. We once had a President with the same reputation from Missouri. What JOHN ASHCROFT believes is shaped by an upbringing

that reflects the essence of middle-American values, its traditions and beliefs.

JOHN is one of three boys raised in Springfield, MO. His family was modest of means, but rich in respect for their community, for each other, and for their God.

Earlier this month, JOHN's father, Dr. J. Robert Ashcroft a highly respected educational and religious leader, passed away after returning home to Missouri from witnessing JOHN's swearing-in as a U.S. Senator in this Chamber. Dr. Ashcroft's passing was a great loss to Missouri, but his contribution, his memory, and his commitment will live on. We have suffered the loss along with JOHN and his family, but we know that he knew his son would continue his efforts to serve, and to serve his fellow man. We all give thanks for Dr. Ashcroft's life and the many lives which he touched while he was with us.

JOHN ASHCROFT has served as Missouri's State auditor—he followed me in that job—and then he served as attorney general, following John Danforth. He followed me as Governor. He understands State government and its relationship with the Federal Government. He also knows something about cleaning up the problems that have been left behind.

At a time when Congress will reexamine the relationship and hopefully return much of the decisionmaking back to the States, Americans will have no better leader than JOHN ASHCROFT.

So we hear today from a plain-spoken Missourian what will undoubtedly be the first of many clearly reasoned, morally grounded floor speeches from our good friend, JOHN ASHCROFT.

I would say that our fellow Senators will understand very well his contributions. We value JOHN ASHCROFT's friendship. We welcome him and his wife, Janet, to Washington. I am confident that all my colleagues will come to know and respect him as I have. It will be a great and very meaningful friendship for all Members.

By Mr. GRAMS (for himself, Mr. LOTT, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. GRAMS, and Mr. MACK): Senate Joint Resolution 22. A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to require a balanced budget; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

THE TAXPAYER PROTECTION BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

• Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I am today introducing legislation calling for a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. I am pleased to be joined by the distinguished majority whip, Senator LOTT, and my colleagues, Senate INHOFE, and THOMAS.

This legislation is what the American people are calling for. It balances the budget, but ensures that it is not

balanced on the backs of the American taxpayers.

There is no question that Congress must pass a balanced budget amendment and send it to the States for ratification. For years, Washington has been racking up deficits. In the process, we've racked up \$4½ trillion national debt. And sadly, we've got very little to show for it.

Without the balanced budget amendment, Congress will continue its deficit-digging, debt-building ways. That's bad news for the taxpayers and worse news for our children.

If you look at every so-called deficit reduction package Congress has passed in the last decade, you'll find that each one follows a consistent formula. Raise taxes now. Cut spending later.

Tragically, however, once Congress raised in taxes, it always forgot about the spending cuts. So, year after year, taxes would go up, spending would go up, and the deficit would go up, too. It's time to put an end to this madness.

That's why I am today introducing a taxpayer protection balanced budget amendment in the Senate. My amendment would require a three-fifths super majority vote in both houses of Congress to raise taxes.

A supermajority requirement is the best way to show the American taxpayers that Congress is serious about balancing the budget through spending cuts, and not through higher taxes.

That's what I promised the taxpayers of Minnesota during my campaign for the U.S. Senate. That's what they elected me to do. That's what my bill delivers.

Is there enough support in Congress to pass it? If we listen to the folks back home there sure ought to be.

A poll released today by the American Conservative Union that shows that the American people overwhelmingly support the supermajority requirement.

In fact, two thirds of those who already support a balanced budget amendment say that without a supermajority provision, the bill would be a sham.

The people have spoken. A balanced budget must be achieved through cuts in Government spending. Americans are willing to do that, but they aren't willing to be patsies for a big-spending government that just hasn't learned when to say "no."

The supermajority requirement is simply good government, and Americans support it just as they support the \$500 per-child tax credit. They're tired of watching their paychecks grow smaller while Washington grows bigger.

They voted for change last November, and it's our job to see that they get it.

That's what's best for the taxpayers, that's what's best for our children, that's what's best for Minnesota, that's what's best for America. •

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 4

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the name of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 4, a bill to grant the power to the President to reduce budget authority.

S. 11

At the request of Mr. KYL, the names of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. BROWN], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] were added as cosponsors of S. 11, a bill to award grants to States to promote the development of alternative dispute resolution systems for medical malpractice claims, to generate knowledge about such systems through expert data gathering and assessment activities, to promote uniformity and to curb excesses in State liability systems through federally-mandated liability reforms, and for other purposes.

S. 22

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the names of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER] were added as cosponsors of S. 22, a bill to require Federal agencies to prepare private property taking impact analyses.

S. 45

At the request of Mr. FEINGOLD, the name of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID] was added as a cosponsor of S. 45, a bill to amend the Helium Act to require the Secretary of the Interior to sell Federal real and personal property held in connection with activities carried out under the Helium Act, and for other purposes.

S. 194

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the names of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. KYL] and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUE] were added as cosponsors of S. 194, a bill to repeal the Medicare and Medicaid Coverage Data Bank, and for other purposes.

S. 218

At the request of Mr. MCCONNELL, the names of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS] were added as cosponsors of S. 218, a bill to repeal the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, and for other purposes.

S. 228

At the request of Mr. BRYAN, the name of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER] was added as a cosponsor of S. 228, a bill to amend certain provisions of title 5, United States Code, relating to the treatment of Members of Congress and Congressional employees for retirement purposes.

S. 230

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the names of the Senator from California [Mrs. BOXER] and the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN] were added as cosponsors of S. 230, a bill to prohibit United States assistance to countries that prohibit or restrict the transport or delivery of United States humanitarian assistance.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 18

At the request of Mr. HOLLINGS, the name of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. DASCHLE] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 18, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution relative to contributions and expenditures intended to affect elections for Federal, State, and local office.

AMENDMENT NO. 144

At the request of Mr. BUMPERS, the names of the Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DORGAN], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD], and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HARKIN] were added as cosponsors of Amendment No. 144 proposed to S. 1, a bill to curb the practice of imposing unfunded Federal mandates on States and local governments; to strengthen the partnership between the Federal Government and State, local and tribal governments; to end the imposition, in the absence of full consideration by Congress, of Federal mandates on State, local, and tribal governments without adequate funding, in a manner that may displace other essential government priorities; and to ensure that the Federal Government pays the costs incurred by those governments in complying with certain requirements under Federal statutes and regulations; and for other purposes.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 2—RELATIVE TO THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Mr. DORGAN submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

S. CON. RES. 2

Whereas the trade surplus of the People's Republic of China with the United States has exploded in recent years, increasing from \$3,500,000,000 in 1988 to about \$30,000,000,000 in 1994;

Whereas the United States share of the People's Republic of China's wheat imports has decreased from 52 percent in 1988 to between 30 and 40 percent in the past 5 years;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China has chosen to increase its purchases of wheat from other exporting nations despite the incentives the United States offers to the People's Republic of China to make United States wheat competitive in the world market; and

Whereas the People's Republic of China's reduction in purchases of United States wheat during a period of rapid growth in the People's Republic of China's trade surplus with the United States aggravates the serious trade imbalance between the 2 nations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President, acting under his authority in trade matters, should insist that the Government of the People's Republic of China purchase a majority of the wheat it imports from the United States as an indication that the People's Republic of China is concerned about the trade imbalance between the 2 nations and wants to restore a healthy, reciprocal trading partnership.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 3—RELATIVE TO TAIWAN AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. SIMON (for himself and Mr. BROWN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 3

Whereas, China has been a divided nation since 1949, and the governments of the Republic of China on Taiwan (hereinafter cited as "Taiwan") and the People's Republic of China on Mainland China (hereinafter cited as "Mainland China") have exercised exclusive jurisdiction over separate parts of China;

Whereas, Taiwan has the 19th largest gross national product in the world, a strong and vibrant economy, and one of the largest foreign exchange reserves of any nation;

Whereas, Taiwan has dramatically improved its record on human rights and routinely holds free and fair elections in a multiparty system, as evidenced most recently by the December 3, 1994 balloting for local and provincial officials;

Whereas, the 21 million people on Taiwan are not represented in the United Nations and their human rights as citizens of the world are therefore severely abridged;

Whereas, Taiwan has in recent years repeatedly expressed its strong desire to participate in the United Nations;

Whereas, Taiwan has much to contribute to the work and funding of the United Nations;

Whereas, Taiwan has demonstrated its commitment to the world community by responding to international disasters and crises such as environmental destruction in the Persian Gulf and famine in Rwanda by providing financial donations, medical assistance, and other forms of aid;

Whereas, the world community has reacted positively to Taiwan's desire for international participation, as shown by Taiwan's continued membership in the Asian Development Bank, the admission of Taiwan into the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group as a full member, and the accession of Taiwan as an observer at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as the first step toward becoming a contracting party to that organization;

Whereas, The United States has supported Taiwan's participation in these bodies and indicated, in its policy review of September 1994, a stronger and more active policy of support for Taiwan's participation in other international organizations;

Whereas, Taiwan has repeatedly stated that its participation in international organizations is that of a divided nation, with no intention to challenge the current international status of Mainland China;

Whereas, the United Nations and other international organizations have established precedents concerning the admission of separate parts of divided nations, such as Korea and Germany; and

Whereas, Taiwan's participation in international organizations would not prevent or imperil a future voluntary union between Taiwan and Mainland China any more than the recognition of separate governments in the former West Germany and the former East Germany prevented the voluntary reunification of Germany;

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) Taiwan deserves full participation, including a seat, in the United Nations; and

(2) the government of the United States should immediately encourage the United Nations to establish an ad hoc committee for the purpose of studying membership for Taiwan in that organization and its related agencies.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, there are more than 180 countries in the United Nations. They range from the world's largest countries in area, in population, in economic output, down to some very small countries indeed, countries that are smaller than some counties in my own State of Illinois. I have nothing against those small countries being members of the United Nations. On the contrary, I feel that any country capable of making a real contribution to the activities of the United Nations should have the opportunity to do so as a full member of that organization.

For that reason, it is all the more unfortunate that a country of 21 million people, a country that has made great strides in consolidating democratic institutions and practices, a country that has become a significant economic power and a major contributor to international assistance efforts—that such a country should find itself closed out of the United Nations.

I am speaking, of course, of Taiwan.

Together with my cosponsor, Senator BROWN, I am pleased to submit today a Senate Concurrent Resolution that reaffirms, as the sense of the Senate, what many of us in this Chamber have already concluded: That Taiwan deserves to participate fully in the United Nations as a full member, and that the U.S. Government should encourage the United Nations to begin studying means to bring this about. Congressman SOLOMON introduced an identical resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 8, earlier this month.

I would especially like to call my colleagues' attention to a particular element of this resolution: namely, that in seeking membership in the United Nations and other international institutions, Taipei does not intend to challenge the current international status of Beijing. Rather, Taiwan would seek admission as part of a divided nation. There are precedents for this; this has worked before. East and West Germany were admitted to the United Nations as separate parts of a divided nation; North and South Korea were admitted to the United Nations as separate parts of a divided nation.

I am pleased that, last June, the Senate agreed to by voice vote a similar resolution expressing the sense that Taiwan should be brought into the United Nations. There have been some changes in the political makeup of the Congress since then. I think that is all the more reason, then, that the Senate should go on record and affirm something that has not changed: Our support for Taiwan's integration into international institutions. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

UNFUNDED MANDATES ACT

GRAMM AMENDMENTS NOS. 149-150

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. GRAMM submitted two amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill S. 1 to curb the practice of imposing unfunded Federal mandates on States and local governments; to strengthen the partnership between the Federal Government and State, local and tribal governments; to end the imposition, in the absence of full consideration by Congress, of Federal mandates on State, local, and tribal governments without adequate funding, in a manner that may displace other essential governmental priorities and to ensure that the Federal Government pays the costs incurred by those Governments in complying with certain requirements under Federal statutes and regulations; and for other purposes; as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 149

At the end of the amendment, insert the following:

“() AMENDED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS: CONFERENCE REPORTS.—If a bill or joint resolution is passed in an amendment form (including if passed by one House as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the text of a bill or joint resolution from the other House) or is reported by a committee of conference in amended form, the committee of conference shall ensure, to the greatest extent practicable, that the Director shall prepare a statement as provided in paragraph (1) or a supplemental statement for the bill or joint resolution in that amended form.”

AMENDMENT NO. 150

At the end of the amendment, insert the following:

WAIVER.—Subsections (c) and (d) of section 904 of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 are amended by inserting “408(c),” after “313.”

LIEBERMAN (AND OTHERS)

AMENDMENT NO. 151

Mr. LIEBERMAN (for himself, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. BUMPERS, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. GLENN, Mr. KERREY, Mr. WELLSTONE, and Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN) proposed an amendment to amendment No. 31 proposed by Mr. GORTON to the bill S. supra; as follows:

At the end of the amendment, add the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(B), the term ‘Federal intergovernmental mandates’ shall not include a provision in any bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report that would apply in the same manner to the activities, facilities, or services of State, local, or tribal governments and the private sector.”

LIEBERMAN (AND OTHERS)

AMENDMENT NOS. 151-154

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. LIEBERMAN (for himself, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LAUTENBERG,

Mr. BUMPERS, and Mr. DORGAN) submitted four amendments intended to be proposed by them to the bill, S. 1, supra; as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 151

At the end of the amendment, add the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(B), the term ‘Federal intergovernmental mandates’ shall not include a provision in any bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report that would apply in the same manner to the activities, facilities, or services of State, local, or tribal governments and the private sector.”

AMENDMENT NO. 152

At the appropriate place, add the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(B), section 408(c), the term ‘Federal intergovernmental mandates’ shall not include a provision in any bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report that would apply in the same manner to the activities, facilities, or services of State, local, or tribal governments and the private sector.”

AMENDMENT NO. 153

At the appropriate place, add the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(B), section 408(c), the term ‘Federal intergovernmental mandates’ shall not include a provision in any bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report that would apply in the same manner to the activities, facilities, or services of State, local, or tribal governments and the private sector.”

AMENDMENT NO. 154

At the appropriate place, add the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(B), section 408(c), the term ‘Federal intergovernmental mandates’ shall not include a provision in any bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report that would apply in the same manner to the activities, facilities, or services of State, local, or tribal governments and the private sector.”

KOHL AMENDMENTS NOS. 155-157

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. KOHL submitted three amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill, S. 1, supra; as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 155

In lieu of the language proposed to be inserted on page 24, line 21, insert the following: “; and

“(v) the bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report provides that any State, local, or tribal government that already complies with the Federal intergovernmental mandates included in the bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report shall not be ineligible to receive funds for the cost of the mandate, including the costs the State, local, or tribal government is currently paying and any additional costs necessary to meet the new mandate.”

AMENDMENT NO. 156

In lieu of the language proposed to be inserted on page 24, line 21, insert the following: “; and

“(v) the bill, joint resolution, amendment, motion, or conference report provides that any State, local, or tribal government that