

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMS). The Chair, in his capacity as a Senator from Minnesota, asks unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate stands in recess until 3 p.m.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 2:11 p.m., recessed until 3:01 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. FRIST).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair in his capacity as a Senator from Tennessee suggests the absence of a quorum.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

KEEP THE TAX CUT PROMISE

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, a major purpose of government is to provide an environment for economic growth—one in which jobs and opportunity bring security to our families and communities. History has shown us the blueprint for such an environment: low taxes. Treasury Secretary, Andrew Mellon slashed taxes 25 percent, ushering America into the roaring '20s. John Kennedy's tax cuts in the '60s created the longest peacetime economic expansion in history—that is up until President Reagan embraced Kemp-Roth in the 1980's.

The result of Kemp-Roth, as my friend, Jack Kemp, recalls, was "18 million new jobs and more than 4 million new businesses, an entrepreneurial boom unmatched in the 20th century."

This is what history teaches. But as they say, that was then, and this is now. One after another, Americans have suffered tax increases—each with the promise that it would eliminate the deficit. President Bush broke his pledge of "no new taxes," cooperated in a budget summit, signed the largest tax increase in history at that time, and lost his reelection because of it.

Then President Clinton, two years ago yesterday, signed his tax increase, which still earns the distinction as the largest in history. And now there is renewed talk of renegeing on the \$245 billion tax cut promised in the budget resolution that passed this spring.

The irony, Mr. President, is that the tax cuts—whether they were the Mellon cuts, the Kennedy cuts, or Kemp-Roth—always produced windfalls for the Federal Treasury. As one well-respected economist pointed out, "the Federal Government received hundreds

of billions more tax dollars annually during the Reagan administration than ever before.

That is because the gross national product grew by nearly 80 percent over the 8 years when Ronald Reagan was President. Uncle Sam's cut was a slightly lower percentage, but the pie itself was much bigger. That was the whole point of supply-side economics. Then why is the national debt now at an all-time high, measured in trillions of dollars, instead of mere billions as before? Because Congress spent even more hundreds of billions than the massive new tax receipts pouring into Washington. Without spending restraints, no amount of new taxes will ever balance the budget."

And for those who believe cutting taxes only benefited the wealthy. Let the facts speak for themselves: In 1990, following Kemp-Roth, the wealthiest 5 percent of tax payers paid 43 percent of all taxes. In 1981, before the tax cuts, the wealthiest 5 percent was paying 36.4 percent.

You see, Mr. President, there is nothing inconsistent with our objective to cut taxes and to balance the budget. Americans want a balanced budget. The United States has not had a balanced budget since 1969. And Americans know that you cannot go year to year spending more than you take in.

They cannot do it with their checkbooks. And they believe Congress should not be able to do it, either. In fact, they feel so strongly about this issue that virtually every poll showed 70 percent to 80 percent of the country wanted the Balanced Budget Amendment approved and ratified by the States. Unfortunately, that was prevented from happening by roughly the same group of Senators who are now taking aim against our proposed \$245 billion tax cut.

These are—give or take a few—the same men and women who, 2 years ago, supported President Clinton in a historic tax increase. And where has that increase gotten us? The President said his increase would keep interest rates low. Today the prime rate is 2.75 percent higher than it was last year at this time. Treasury Bills, 30-year bonds and mortgage rates * * * they are all up. Beyond this, average wages and salaries for U.S. workers have fallen 2.3 percent from 1994 to 1995, the largest decline in 8 years. Fewer jobs are being created, economic growth has come to a standstill, and the dollar is down.

This is where we are, Mr. President, and now the same people who brought you these statistics—the same people who voted against the American people on the balanced budget—are trying to kill a tax cut for the middle class—a tax cut that will offset President Clinton's record setting increase.

The tax proposal they are trying to kill is positive and important for economic growth. Thirty-five million families, raising 52 million children, will pay lower taxes. Seventy-four percent of these families have incomes below \$75,000.

Families with children and incomes of less than \$25,000 will pay no income tax at all. And the fact is, that 70 percent of all taxpayers who will benefit from the capital gains tax cut in our plan have incomes of less than \$50,000.

Mr. President, this is how we bring America back. And it should be a bipartisan effort. Mellon, Kennedy, Reagan—no one party has a monopoly on the key to economic growth. I believe we can work together. For this reason, I have been active in my efforts to restore the power of the individual retirement account.

Toward this end, I have worked with former Senator Lloyd Bentsen and am now working with Senator JOHN BREAUX. In my efforts to reduce the threat of estate taxes on family-owned farms and businesses, Senator PRYOR and others have joined with Senator DOLE, me and Members on this side of the aisle.

The magnitude and importance of the objective before us requires no less than our willing and cooperative effort. The American people deserve no less. They have paid too much in taxes. Promises to reduce the deficit have not been kept.

Spending has continued to soar and government has grown overbearing and inefficient. We have proposed the first balanced budget in 26 years. The \$245 billion tax cuts are completely paid for. Let us now work together to see these initiatives passed. In the strong economies and Treasury windfalls that came about from tax cuts in years gone by, we see our future. And working together, I believe we can achieve it.

Mr. President, I 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. DOLE. I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

HORROR IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, too often today, when we read and hear about the unspeakable violence that occurs on the streets of our country, we simply shrug it off as the price we pay for living in a free society. In a very real sense, we have begun to tolerate the intolerable.

This past weekend, however, a crime occurred just several city blocks from this building that, I believe, would send shivers down the spine of even the most jaded observer.

Three employees of a nearby McDonald's restaurant—18-year-old Marvin Peay, Jr.; 23-year-old Kevin Workman; and a 49-year-old grandmother named Lilian Jackson—were all shot dead while working the late shift. One of

their co-workers was fortunately spared.

Here is how the Washington Post described this brutal crime:

Because Kenneth Joel Marshall was a trusted co-worker, the four men and women working the closing shift at the McDonald's on the eastern edge of Capitol Hill opened the door for him when he showed up shortly before 2 a.m. * * * Minutes later, police said, Marshall pulled a gun, forced the manager to open a safe, herded his co-workers into a basement freezer and pumped bullets into the heads of three of them, a woman and two men. Bent on leaving no witnesses, police said, he turned to the fourth worker, a woman. Twice, he allegedly aimed his gun at her head and squeezed the trigger. Twice, the gun clicked but did not fire.

Apparently, the person who committed this unspeakably evil act fled the crime scene. He was subsequently arrested by the D.C. police department. According to newspaper accounts, the killer also had a prior criminal record, having been arrested by the D.C. police at least seven times since 1987 on both drug and weapons charges.

Mr. President, it is, of course, impossible to make any sense out of such senselessness.

I simply want to take this opportunity to express my own outrage at what has befallen three of our citizens—citizens of the Nation's Capital—and I know I speak for all my colleagues in the Senate when I extend our prayers and heartfelt sympathies to the families of the victims.

Mr. DOLE, Mr. President, all too often in our political discourse, we concentrate on the differences separating the two parties, rather than emphasizing those areas on which there is agreement or at least the potential for agreement.

Last week, the Democratic leadership council—through its think tank, the progressive policy institute—issued an important paper outlining its views on affirmative action. Although I do not agree with every point made in this paper, it does suggest that there is ample room for Republicans and open-minded Democrats to forge a new consensus on the meaning of equal opportunity.

I have three observations about the DLC paper that I would like to share now with my Senate colleagues.

One. The paper calls for the "phase-out" of mandatory preferences in contract set-asides, public jobs, and hiring by private firms that do business with the Government on the grounds that these preferences "put Government in the business of institutionalizing racial distinctions." The DLC says that these distinctions are "hardly a good idea for a democracy held together by common civic deals that transcend group identity."

This position is very similar, if not identical, to the principle underlying the Equal Opportunity Act of 1995, which I introduced late last month with Congressman CHARLES CANADY of Florida and more than 80 other Congressional Republicans. The Equal Op-

portunity Act would prohibit the Federal Government from granting preferences to anyone on the basis of race or gender in three key areas: Federal employment, Federal contracting, and federally conducted programs.

The DLC apparently supports this proposition, but wants a gradual phase-in of any ban on group preferences, not their immediate elimination.

In other words, our difference is one of timing, not one of principle.

It is my hope, however, that the DLC will come to understand that if discrimination is wrong, it is wrong today as well as tomorrow, and ought to be ended immediately.

In fact, the DLC goes much further than the Equal Opportunity Act by calling for the outright repeal of "Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Executive order requiring Federal contractors to adopt minority hiring goals and timetables." In its paper, the DLC argues that these guidelines "encourage employers to hire women and minorities on a rigidly proportional basis," a statement that is directly at odds with President Clinton's own affirmative action review.

In my view, it is appropriate for the Federal Government to require Federal contractors not to discriminate in employment. That was the original purpose of Executive Order 11246. Unfortunately, bureaucratic implementation of the Executive order has converted it from a program aimed at eliminating discrimination to one that relies on it in the form of preferences.

Our first priority should be to restore the original meaning and purpose of the Executive order, not to repeal it, as the DLC has suggested.

Second, the DLC argues that we need to replace Government preferences for groups with new public policies that empower individuals to get ahead regardless of race, gender, or ethnicity. The DLC argues that an empowerment agenda is critical to "striking a new bargain on racial equality and opportunity."

I happen to agree that we need to forge a new civil rights agenda for the 1990's, one rooted in policies that are relevant to the needs and challenges of our time. I do so, however, not as part of a bargain, as if one should be defensive about opposing discrimination in the form of preferences.

I support a new civil rights agenda simply because making Government policy by race is not only wrong, but a diversion from reality, an easy excuse to ignore the very serious problems that affect all Americans, whatever their race, or heritage, or gender may be.

Nearly 30 percent of our children are born out of wedlock. Only one-third of our high school graduates are proficient readers. And children routinely kill other children.

These are the realities of our time, and this is where our focus should be.

That is why Congressman J.C. WATTS and I recently took the step of offering a blueprint for a new civil rights agen-

da. This agenda includes: strengthening the family by reforming a corrupt welfare system that has substituted Government dependence for personal independence; investing crime-fighting resources in our inner-city communities and ensuring that those who commit violent crimes stay behind bars where they belong; giving low-income parents the opportunity to choose the school, public or private, that they consider most desirable for their children; removing regulatory barriers to opportunity; and, of course, enforcing the anti-discrimination laws that are already on the books.

Finally, the DLC has joined me and other Republicans in taking issue with the Clinton administration's position in the Piscataway case. In this case, the Justice Department has turned the principle of equal opportunity on its head by arguing that a school district may legally fire a teacher, solely because of her race, in order to maintain workforce diversity. The DLC is correct to point out that the Justice Department's position, taken to its logical extreme, would "sever the increasingly tenuous link between race-conscious remedies and specific acts of discrimination and wipe out the distinction between preferences and quotas."

Mr. President, I welcome the DLC's contribution to this debate. We may not agree on every point and on every issue, but we both agree that the group-preference status quo is no longer tenable.

Race should not be a wedge issue. If we keep our voices low and our intentions good, I am convinced that this long-overdue debate can, in fact, serve as a catalyst to unite the American people, not divide us.

1995 FARM BILL

Mr. DOLE, Mr. President, when Congress reconvenes in September, the race to write the 1995 farm bill will hit full stride. This year marks the ninth farm bill that I have been involved in.

Historically, agriculture stands at a crossroads every 5 years when Congress decides what direction it should go. This year, I believe there is agreement in this Chamber about which path to take. However, I would be remiss if I did not mention that there is significant disagreement about how best to get there.

When Senators return home over the next few weeks, they will hear from their rural constituents the need for an aggressive farm policy. No doubt, the American people will provide their Senators with practical suggestions regarding the farm policy choices now before Congress.

When we return in September, we will face several choices on farm policy. Three that come to mind are stay the course, reduction in support, and freedom to farm. Each choice has advantages; each choice has disadvantages.