

Federal Government will supposedly collect a lot more money. Well, we have seen that sort of dynamic scoring in the past. This theory held sway in 1980 and 1981, and the result—\$3½ trillion later—was massive hemorrhaging of red ink in our Government. That is the result of dynamic scoring.

Well, that is the kind of refereeing I do not want to see happening at CBO. I want scoring to be professional and to be nonpartisan. There is a question about the Consumer Price Index—do we put somebody at the head of CBO who believes the CPI radically overestimates inflation, as Alan Greenspan said? The consequence would be to reduce the deficit, if you can say the CPI is overstated. And you can cut Social Security payments and increase taxes, as well.

I am concerned about this appointment, and I hope it will be held at this point until other Members of the Senate can review the records and determine whether they think this candidate has the credentials and capability and the nonpartisan approach we would expect for somebody to head the Congressional Budget Office.

Mr. President, I yield to my friend, Senator CONRAD from North Dakota, for further comments on this issue.

CONCERN ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE APPOINTMENT

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair and I thank my colleague, Senator DORGAN, as well. I think this is a very serious matter. The appointment of the head of the Congressional Budget Office is supposed to be nonpartisan. This is supposed to be done with both sides working together.

For the first time since I have been in the U.S. Senate, that is not what is occurring. Instead, the majority has decided they are going to put in the scorekeeper, the person who makes the forecast for the Federal Government, for the Government of the United States, and they are doing so on what appears to be partisan basis. That is a break from the past; that is a break from tradition; that is a break from what the law provides.

Mr. President, I think this is a very serious matter. If we are going to work collegially, if we are going to cooperate, if we are going to work together, then there has to be a basis of trust. Always in the past, part of that basis of trust is the person who is made the head of the Congressional Budget Office is somebody of very high professional standards, someone who is above being considered partisan.

I can say, in terms of the Democrats, since I have been here, they have had Bob Reischauer, Rudy Penner, Alice Rivlin, all of them broadly respected, all of them above partisanship. As a matter of fact, I cannot remember a concern that has been raised by the majority side while I have been in the Senate about CBO scoring on partisan basis.

But now, Mr. President, the majority has decided to impose on the Congress their choice, without the kind of agreement, without the kind of consultation, without the kind of, I think, nonpartisan working together that this position requires. And so, Mr. President, what is at stake? I can say that I am on the Budget Committee and the Finance Committee, and we are very dependent on what the Congressional Budget Office says the results of policies will be.

We now have before us someone, frankly, who does not have a national reputation, someone who is not of the stature that one would expect of someone appointed to be the head of CBO. And even more disturbing than that is that this is someone who has indicated they are willing to consider so-called dynamic scoring.

Well, what is dynamic scoring? It is largely make-believe. It is make-believe. It says if you cut taxes, you get more money. We tried that back in the 1980's in this country, and it was an absolute unmitigated disaster for this country. We saw people saying we could cut taxes, we can increase spending, and somehow it would all add up. It did not add up. It did not come close to adding up.

Instead of adding up, we got an explosion of the national debt; we got an explosion of deficits that have put this country in a deep hole that we have yet to climb out of and now it appears we are about to repeat the exercise.

I understand that this is a matter that should be handled in a different way. The appointment of the head of the Congressional Budget Office ought to be done together, both sides putting someone in place who is of the highest professional reputation, of the highest professional standards, and someone who both sides recognize will not do forecasts in a partisan, political manner. Unfortunately, Mr. President, that is not the suggestion for an appointment that we have before us.

I have joined my colleague from North Dakota in asking the President pro tempore that he not go forward with this appointment until and unless there is broad bipartisan agreement with respect to the appointment.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is their objection to the unanimous consent request?

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I do not object to the Senator's additional 2 minutes—let me amend that to add 3 minutes for the Senator from Montana and that this additional 5 minutes does not come off from the total time agreed upon for the Boxer amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mrs. BOXER. Reserving the right to object, I just want to make sure that the vote would now be 5 minutes later,

or at 3:35. If that is part of the agreement, that is fine.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would observe that would be 3:37.

Is there objection? Hearing none, the Senator from North Dakota is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me simply underscore, in my 2 minutes remaining, the point that Senator CONRAD just made. We are asking the President pro tempore of the Senate to withhold action on this appointment, to withhold action on this appointment to give the Senate and other Senators time to get some answers about this candidate.

We are not talking about just any appointment or a run-of-the-mill appointment or some general candidate being appointed to some office or another. The CBO Director is the referee who will score every economic decision, every financial judgment that will be made on legislation. And when they pick a referee—when I say "they," those who have effected this, the congressional majority—when they pick a referee who gives me the impression that this referee is on the home team, then I say, "Wait a second. That is not the kind of game we play."

We have very aggressive games around here that are played for real and for big stakes. We need to have referees who are fair and impartial and who do not owe their allegiance to either side.

This appointment is not—it is not—in the genre of an appointment of Mr. Reischauer or Mr. Rudy Penner, as an example, both of whom would be considered to have been generally nonpartisan and very well qualified. This appointment falls short on that.

And my interest is not in tarnishing this person. I do not know the person. But, based on what I have read, I certainly want to find out more about the person before this Senate would decide that this person shall become our referee.

That is the purpose of our making this request to the President pro tempore. I hope he and the majority would honor that request so that we can understand more about this candidate. And if this candidate does not meet the test of fairness, does not meet the qualifications test, then I think we ought to find someone who does and who would be acceptable on a bipartisan basis to this body. That I think is the fair way for us to proceed. I hope the President pro tempore will agree.

Mr. President, with that I yield the floor.

Mr. BURNS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

IWO JIMA

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, on this date 50 years ago, a formidable American armada moved even closer to another objective in the Pacific. While that was going on, long-range bombers

were in the air and continued to bombard an 8-mile square chunk of volcanic rock and ash known as Iwo Jima. The Japanese high command was acutely aware of the island's strategic and psychological importance and their forces on Iwo Jima constructed elaborate defenses that would be the toughest encountered by forces of the United States, in particular the United States Marine Corps, during the war of the Pacific.

Our Army, Navy, and air forces subjected Iwo Jima to the longest and most intensive preparation given any objective in the Pacific during World War II. Beginning June 15, 1944, American air attacks continued steadily through the summer and the fall, culminating in a 74-day round of continuous strikes by Saipan-based bombers. These air attacks, plus heavy naval gunfire 3 days before the assault, destroyed everything, or almost everything, above ground on Iwo Jima. But most of the Japanese underground guns and defenses were relatively untouched.

Against Iwo's rocky terrain and caves, naval gunfire could do only so much and victory or defeat would rest with the fighting spirit of 70,000 men of the 5th Air and Amphibious Corps, under the command of Maj. Gen. Harry Schmidt. This force included the 3d, 4th, and 5th Marine Divisions, many of whose members were battle-hardened veterans of earlier Pacific assaults.

Facing them on Iwo was a force of around 20,000 dedicated Japanese soldiers, every one of whom was under orders to make it his duty to take 10 of the enemy before dying. In a matter of days, the opposing forces would clash in a struggle that would prove decisive in the war in the Pacific. It was here on this island atop Mt. Suribachi, where the most famous of all photos was taken from the Pacific—the raising of the flag. It has been a symbol of American gallantry, the symbol of pride and dedication of the U.S. Marine Corps, and all of those who shared in that pride with that uniform. And I, not being one of those that went on Iwo, have I shared that uniform.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mrs. BOXER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The Senate continued with the consideration of the joint resolution.

AMENDMENT NO. 240

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, thank you very much. And I thank my colleagues for working with me to get a time agreement, which I hope will enable all of our colleagues who have various views on the amendment I shall offer an opportunity to express them today before we have a vote.

Mr. President, my amendment, which has been coauthored by Senator LEAHY of Vermont, will enable the Congress to

respond to a federally declared disaster should the balanced budget amendment become part of the Constitution.

I am proud that we have a number of cosponsors. They include Senator FEINSTEIN, my colleague from California; Senator BUMPERS from Arkansas; Senators INOUE and AKAKA from Hawaii; Senator MURRAY from Washington, and there are others.

Mr. President, balancing the Federal budget is a goal we should attain. You know, I saw this national debt go from \$1 trillion to \$4 trillion in the decade of the eighties and there was a very clear reason why this happened—huge increases in the military, huge tax cuts to the wealthy. And I will tell you, it does not add up to a balanced budget. It led to a terrible situation which finally, under President Clinton, we were able to get our arms around when, unfortunately on straight party lines, we did have a vote to reduce that deficit, and the deficit is now about half of where it would have been. So we are making progress.

There are those who believe we must have this amendment in the Constitution in order to continue progress. I think the facts belie that. I just want to make sure that if we do have this amendment, it is in fact a flexible one. We should be able to act to meet the needs of our people. Why else are we here if we cannot do so?

The only exception in this amendment that would enable Congress to take the budget out of balance with a simple majority vote rather than a supermajority vote is a declaration of war. Of course, that makes sense. But there are other times that it should take a simple majority.

For every other emergency right now in this amendment to the Constitution, we would have to have 60 votes in the Senate out of 100 Senators and 261 out of 435 votes in the House of Representatives to respond.

In other words, Mr. President, we would need a supermajority to take the budget out of balance for the particular year in which a disaster struck. We are not just talking about a small problem here. We are talking about a federally declared disaster. We would take a supermajority to take us out of balance to fund that disaster emergency.

Now, Mr. President, I believe that creates a dangerous situation that flies in the face of reason. It flies in the face of reason. It is dangerous. I believe it is reckless, because I believe responding to disasters and emergencies is one of the most honorable and dutiful obligations of this U.S. Senate.

Many Members have felt the pain of seeing our States damaged very badly. Our people dislocated, families mourning the dead and the injured because of a natural disaster. Floods, tornadoes, hurricanes, earthquakes, severe storms, volcanoes.

Many have gone to the shelters. I think the most haunting memories of all those trips that I have made, unfortunately, on too many occasions in my

State in the north and the south and everywhere, the most haunting memories to me are the faces of the elderly and the children who were so disoriented when something like this happens. They are rooted out of their homes and they are afraid. We need to respond in those kinds of desperate circumstances.

Now, I think a reasonable question to ask me is, Senator, how big a problem is this in the Nation? Are you just talking about your State of California? Some might say we could understand why you would feel this way, but what about the rest of the United States?

I think the chart I have up here will explain that there truly is not a State that is immune from the possibility of disaster, and as a matter of fact, the likelihood. Before I point out what this chart means, I want to say that today there is not a State in the Union that is not vulnerable to flooding.

This report from the National Research Council states, "Floods occur more frequently in the United States than any other natural hazard. All 50 states have communities at risk from flooding which occurs primarily as flash floods caused by thunderstorms, rapid melting of ice and snow and storm surges." It talks about the great Midwest floods.

The point I am making is that this chart does not even show the flooding possibilities, because basically the chart would be covered, because every single State has the possibility of disastrous floods.

Looking at the chart, here are the earthquakes in this teal color. The light teal color shows the low risk of earthquake, and we see it is all over the country. If we point to the various teal colors here, all through the country. We are not talking about merely in California. Now, the medium risk, we can see where that lies, pretty much through the country. There is actually a high risk here in the Midwest for earthquakes.

Now, looking at tornadoes we see the whole midsection of the country over to the east and the extreme risk of tornado here in the midsection of the country.

The blue and yellow shows the hurricane, some risk for hurricane, and the dark blue is extreme risk for hurricane, which we see on the coastal areas and of course over in Hawaii.

There is also volcano risk, which many can never forget Mount St. Helens, that is in the West. And tsunami risk, the entire west coast of the Nation, including the islands as well.

As we look on this chart we can see that this country is magnificent. It is also quite vulnerable to disasters if we look at this risk profile.

While many of my colleagues here truly believe that responding to the needs of his or her people is not a requirement to ensuring domestic tranquility. I always go back to the preamble of the Constitution. We read it