

single-handedly destroyed a Japanese blockhouse while braving the deadly assault of enemy heavy caliber fire. For his exploits he was posthumously awarded the Navy cross.

The battle for Iwo Jima raged for 36 long days, and on many days the advances of the American forces could be measured in yards. Though I was not there because I was recovering from a wound I received during the battle of Guam, my outfit, the 3rd Division, served as the floating reserve for this battle.

Entering the fray on February 21, when the fighting was at its worst, the soldiers of the 3rd Marine Division were tasked with clearing the central plateau of the island. This area held many prepared enemy defensive positions, but very little cover for the advancing Marines. By the time the plateau was taken, the regimental casualties exceeded 50 percent. Some companies suffered casualty rates in excess of 200 percent, including my old company, A Company, of the 9th Regiment.

Considering the magnitude of these casualties, one may wonder what drove these men to carry on. From my own experience, I would say these men drew their strength from the support of their fellow marines, an esprit de corps that is unique in military history, and the knowledge that taking this island was important to the war effort. Most important, however, they fought because they knew they had to fight. They had to take that hill, that they had to take that island. The Commander in Chief had said it, and these men knew it in their hearts, victory was the only way home.

On March 26, 1945, finally, the Japanese were defeated and the island was ours.

On Sunday, the 50th anniversary of the landing on Iwo Jima, approximately 5,000 survivors of the battle will gather at the Iwo Jima Memorial here in Washington to remember and to pay reverence to those who gave their lives.

Mount Suribachi, and the flag raising on that mount, stands as a symbol of the courage of the U.S. Marine Corps. Mount Suribachi was 556 feet high. It bristled with over 200 guns, and 21 blockhouses. It had to be taken, because it was delivering devastating fire on the beaches and to the marines that were below. The marines assigned were willing to risk their lives for the sake of their comrades and their country. So, through personal courage and esprit de corps, on February 23 the Japanese defending Mount Suribachi were overcome and the Stars and Stripes were raised.

And as the flag was raised on that mount, it gave additional strength to the marines below to move forward, on to victory. We salute the survivors of Iwo Jima and wish them well as they commemorate that very important battle of World War II.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). The Democratic leader.

#### THE CLOTURE VOTE

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, at 10:30, in less than 25 minutes, there will be a vote on the majority leader's cloture motion. I want to take a couple of minutes to comment on that prior to the time we vote.

I regret we have to take a vote at this time. I believe, frankly, as I said the other day, it is unnecessary. I am concerned that it sends the wrong message to the American people about how seriously we consider the process of amending the U.S. Constitution.

The implicit suggestion behind the motion is that shutting off debate on this very serious and complicated issue is necessary because Democratic Senators are filibustering the balanced budget amendment and obstructing the debate, when the truth is just the opposite. There is no filibuster here. There have been very few quorum calls over the last several days. The Senate floor has been busy, virtually every minute. Senators have been on the floor. They have been here offering amendments, debating the issues. They have been busy doing exactly what we are all elected to do, to consider carefully some of the most far-reaching issues that they and the American people face.

Democratic Senators have not employed dilatory tactics. To the contrary, we have offered legitimate and very serious amendments that ought to be given serious consideration by all Senators—several amendments that, in my view, as I said just a moment ago, would have made this particular balanced budget amendment much stronger. Unfortunately, the obstruction has come from the other side. Every Democratic amendment has been tabled—virtually along party lines. Anyone who has been on or watched this debate over the last several days knows very well that the substance of these amendments has been seemingly of little concern. They have been tabled, not because of their content, but simply because they were offered.

This issue is far too serious to simply step aside and avoid the stampede. Amending the Constitution is just about the most serious step the Congress and States can take. It should not be taken lightly. And it should reflect the most thoughtful and inclusive debate that we have to offer. It should reflect the best ideas we have to offer. A vote to cut off this debate artificially is a vote to obstruct that thoughtful and inclusive process. It is premature, it is unnecessary, and, under these circumstances, I view it as a disservice to the American people.

It is also a direct threat to the rights of all Democratic Senators, each of whom have a right to offer amendments. As I said, there have been virtually no quorum calls; virtually every amendment has been relevant. In recent days nearly every Democratic Senator has agreed to a time limit on the debate on his or her amendment. And these have been important amendments.

We debated, as we again talked this morning, about the right to know, and spelling out to the American people how we are going to accomplish a balanced Federal budget—what kind of blueprint we are going to use, what kind of tools we will acquire and utilize to accomplish a balanced budget in just 7 years.

We talked about Social Security and the need to protect it, to take it off the table to ensure that we are not going to mask the size of the debt with the size of the Social Security trust fund.

We talked about enforcement. Simply saying we are going to balance the budget with no legal mechanism in place to ensure that we are going to enforce what we say we are going to do makes anyone wonder just how serious we are about doing it in the first place.

We talked about the need to separate operating capital from investments in the future—how we do that in business, how we do that in State governments, how we need to compare apples and apples when we compare the Federal Government to the State government and how a capital budget would allow us to do that.

We talked about circumstances relating to natural disasters. The Senator from California raised a very difficult issue. How do we address serious problems relating to the disasters that occur in every part of the country all too frequently once we have a balanced Federal budget?

It is very disconcerting that virtually every amendment was defeated on a near party-line vote. Regardless of the vote, there are many more very important, relevant amendments that deserve our careful consideration. Not all amendments that are pending will be offered. I know that mention was made yesterday about how many amendments are still pending. Some of those amendments were offered just to protect Democratic Senators in case there is a cloture vote and it passes. We know what happens when cloture votes are filed. Amendments are also filed simply to ensure that every Senator has a right to protect himself or herself. That is really what has gone on in the last couple of days. Senators want to know that they have the opportunity to be involved in this debate and to commit to a process by which these issues can be raised. That is what filing amendments is all about in situations as we have this morning.

We may be able to come to some agreement. In fact, I would almost ensure, to our colleagues on the other side, that we will come to some agreement with regard to a finite list of amendments and some way with which to work through them as we have done in several of our bills already this year.

The point is no one is trying to delay a final vote. We know that the final vote will come in the not too distant future. But it is absolutely critical, especially on an issue of this importance, that all Members have a right to be heard.

So this cloture vote is not necessarily reflective of how one will ultimately vote on the balanced budget amendment. This vote is about whether Democratic Senators have a right to raise legitimate issues that they believe would improve the amendment before us.

So I certainly urge my colleagues to reject the motion to invoke cloture at this time.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HATCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I have a great deal of affection for the minority leader, both as a person and as a leader. I think he is doing a very good job for his side of the floor. I understand that this is an important vote and that it is more of a procedural vote this morning. We all know how it is going to turn out. But I will just say this. As someone who has conducted a few filibusters in my 18 years, some of which have been successful and some of which have not, I know a filibuster when I see one. I am sure the distinguished minority leader does not feel that his side is filibustering or the opposition to the amendment is filibustering. But last evening, for instance, we wanted to go to one more amendment before the evening was up. We could not find one person to offer an amendment that we could vote on that evening.

Be that as it may, I am not going to criticize what the distinguished minority leader has said, and we will have more days of debate. That is only fair. This is a very, very important amendment. And it involves the future of our country. It involves the future of our children and our grandchildren. It is going to make a difference, if we pass it, whether our children and grandchildren have a future. If we do not pass it, I just say, "Katie, bar the door."

Just to make that point a little bit better, we are now in our 18th day on this amendment. There are very few things in the history of the Senate that take 18 days. We are now in our 18th day on our balanced budget amendment debt tracker, the increase as we debate. There is a \$4.8 trillion national debt that we start with, and we are now in our 18th day. I will put up the information indicating the additional debt that is going to accumulate by the end of this day for the taxpayers to pay and pay interest on it. It is almost \$15 billion, just the amount of debt that has accumulated since we started 18 days ago.

Mr. President, what about the vote to bring this debate to a close? I think we need to stop talking and start working on getting our fiscal house in order by passing the balanced budget amendment and working together to balance the budget. The American people want and need us to do this.

Mr. President, our large national debt and the yearly deficits that help it grow hurt real people, average working

people all across our country. And continuing down the path we are on will only make matters worse for all of us and our children.

Last week there was an article in the Washington Post by James Glassman, a person I have a great deal of regard for, who I believe did an excellent job of stating in an understandable way how and why the deficit hurts the average working American. He called this discussion "The Plain English Guide to the Federal Budget," and it began with the sage assertion that "Big deficits can make you poor. They tend to retard the growth of the private sector, raise interest rates, and weaken our economy."

We are talking about \$15 billion just in the 18 days that we have debated here. We are fiddling while the country is burning. That is really what is happening.

He says, "They tend to retard the growth of the private sector, raise interest rates, and weaken our economy."

This is exactly why we need the balanced budget constitutional amendment—because Congress' fiscal madness is destroying the ability of the working American to make enough money to survive.

Every year hard-working Americans pay the price for our profligacy. The Tax Foundation has calculated that in 1994 the average American worked from January 1 to May 5 just to pay his or her taxes—January 4 to May 5. They did not get to keep 1 cent of the money they earned until May 6. Is not that incredible? Put another way, in an 8-hour work day, the average American works the first 2 hours and 45 minutes just to pay taxes. So for 8 hours we are working almost 3 to pay taxes. This is bad enough. But it is not the end of the story.

The increasing Federal debt will force us to raise taxes to astronomical rates just to keep the country solvent. The National Taxpayers Union has estimated that a child born today, on average, will pay over \$100,000 in extra taxes over the course of his or her lifetime just to pay the interest on the national debt which accumulated in the first 18 years of that child's life. Just think, Mr. President. By the time the child becomes old enough to vote—I am talking about our children and our grandchildren—there will be a \$100,000 tax bill looming on his or her horizon. And that is only to pay the interest on the debt accumulated in that child's first 18 years. That is pathetic. That is the legacy we are leaving to our children and grandchildren.

The National Taxpayers Union has determined that for every year we endure another \$200 billion deficit—and the President's budget says we are going to endure them ad infinitum, \$200 billion budget deficits for 12 years—for every year that we endure that, it costs the average child over \$5,000 over his or her lifetime—every year we do that.

Mr. President, the budget submitted by President Clinton projects \$200 bil-

lion deficits for each of the next 5 years—actually, each of the next 12 years. By conceding defeat on deficit reduction, President Clinton is condemning every child in America to an additional \$25,000 in taxes racked up just over the next 5 years. There is no refuting that unless we do something about it. We are, too, as a Congress, unless we do something about it and change.

But the bad news about the debt does not end there either. The Competitiveness Policy Council has shown that rising budget deficits have led to a 15 percent decline in real wages in the last 15 years, and the National Taxpayers Union has further calculated that in the next 45 years, unless we get spending under control, after-tax incomes will rise over that 45 years, cumulatively rise, \$125—average incomes—unless we get the debt under control or our spending under control. Can you imagine? In 45 years the most you are going to get out of the whole 45 years is an additional \$125. That is not a year; that is over 45 years.

These deficits are strangling middle-class Americans throughout our country. How can people expect to bear the burden of stagnating wages and higher tax rates?

We simply cannot continue blindly down this road to economic oblivion. Look at those 18 days on the chart; 18 days, just going up like that. That is the debt that is accumulating while we fiddle here in Washington.

We must get the Government spending under control, and the only way to do that is to change the way Congress does business with a permanent unavoidable rule, and the only rule we can get is the balanced budget amendment. It will force Congress to consider the costs as well as the benefits of every program in the Federal Government. We will lower the unbelievable amount of Government spending and bring the deficit under control.

All other attempts to balance the budget have failed, and they have failed miserably. Over the full 19 years I have been here, we have had attempt after attempt, and they have all failed because they have been statutes and the minute somebody passes a 51-percent majority vote, they are changed. Every year the debt grows, relentlessly sapping the life of the American economy as it does. Under the President's latest plan, the debt is going to grow—under his best assertions, and these are assuming optimistic assertions—another \$1 trillion. By the end of the next 5 years we will be over \$6 trillion in debt, and we are complaining about \$4.8 trillion now. Because it is going up almost \$1 billion a day, we will be \$6 trillion in debt. His budget is not an attempt to reduce the deficit. It is a recognition that unless we change the budget process to eliminate Congress spending bias, it is going to be impossible to reduce the deficit.

Mr. President, we have the opportunity to make a historic change here.

We can pass the balanced budget amendment and preserve the future for our children, our grandchildren, and this country. We can stop this runaway Federal train of spending and taxing that is out of control right now. I urge my colleagues to support the balanced budget amendment today so that we and our children will have a prosperous tomorrow.

This morning will end our third full week of debate on this amendment. We started debate on the subject matter even before the bill was brought to the floor during the unfunded mandates debate. We have had 11 votes on amendments and spent 14 days on floor debate on this constitutional amendment so far, more than we have ever spent debating a balanced budget amendment before. Back in 1982, which was the next toughest debate, we debated 11 days before passing the balanced budget amendment by 69 votes. I hope that our longer debate this year will mean our margin of victory will be proportionately higher.

As we have said, every day while we talk, the debt we leave our children and grandchildren continues going up to a shocking point. This must end and must end soon. Mr. President, let us tell the American people in this cloture vote when we will stop talking and start acting to bring this country to fiscal sanity. Let us pass the balanced budget amendment to the States for ratification and get on with balancing the budget.

We have had 11 votes, and every one we have won on a bipartisan vote. Democrats and Republicans have voted with us, every one. There is nothing partisan about this. Anybody who tries to say this is a partisan debate just has not watched it and has not looked at the voters and has not realized that this balanced budget amendment is a bipartisan consensus, a Democrat-Republican effort, to save our country, and to help our children and grandchildren have the futures that we all had when we were born.

I was born in poverty. We did not have indoor facilities. We lost our first home shortly after I was born. We did not have indoor facilities in the second home for years. I thought all homes were kind of brown and dark because my dad built our home out of a torn-down old burnt-out building. Frankly, I thought everyone had a Pillsbury flour sign on the side of their home. I thought that was a pretty unique thing, and it really was.

To make a long story short, I had a future even though I was born in the Depression, because Congresses had not run the country totally into the ground from a national debt standpoint. But we have done it now, and we have to change our way of doing things around here.

I emphasize again that the first vote was 56 to 44. There were a number of Democrats voting with us. The Dole amendment passed 87 to 10, a lot of Democrats. The Reid amendment was

defeated on a motion to table, 57 to 41, a lot of Democrats with us. The next was 70 to 28, a lot of Democrats. Then 66 to 32, 52 to 45, Senator HOLLINGS, that was a close vote. Still a number of Democrats helped to defeat that. Then 59 to 40, 59 to 40, and 52 to 47 last night; eight or nine Democrats voted with us on that. Then 51 to 38, 61 to 33, the last vote, and a lot of Democrats voted on that. This is a bipartisan effort. There is no reason for a filibuster or delay here. There is no reason not to get about business. There is no reason not to come up with amendments when the time comes.

I am willing to proceed and happy to proceed in any way our colleagues want to do this. But do not try to present this as partisan, a Democrat-Republican difference here. This is a bipartisan effort. We have made it that. I am proud of my Democratic colleagues that are standing up on this amendment. All we need are 15 to stand up and we will pass this, 15 out of 47. That is all we need. Gee, there ought to be 15 Democrats in the Senate out of 47 who will help us. I know of 13. I think I know of 14. Who is going to be that 15th vote, or the one that defeats this, if that is what happens? I do not believe it will.

I do not believe that our colleagues, when we put forth this kind of a bipartisan, heartfelt, eager effort, are going to shoot this down for the one time in history, after the House of Representatives had the guts to pass it, with the help of I believe 78 courageous Democrats in the House. We need 15 courageous Democrats here and I think we will get them. I believe we will get them, because this is the time in history when we can make a statement against what has been going on, this runaway train of Federal spending, this abdication of responsibility, this rejection of our children's and grandchildren's future. Let us do something about it and quit talking partisan politics, and let us work together to get it done.

To the extent that this delay and a final vote will continue after today, let us do the best we can to bring up as many amendments as we can and debate them, and we are happy to do that. I think the debate has been healthy. I commend Senators on both sides of the aisle for the excellent debate they have given to us, and I hope our colleagues will vote for cloture today so that we can end the delay and have the responsible amendments that are left brought up. And let us vote on them and then let us pass the balanced budget amendment for the benefit of everybody—Democrats, Republicans, all loyal Americans—but most of all, for our children and grandchildren.

#### BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will resume consideration of House Joint Resolution 1, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1) proposing a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The Senate resumed consideration of the joint resolution.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I rise today to oppose invoking cloture on the balance budget amendment. Mr. President, the Senate should not rush to finish this measure—we are amending the Constitution of the United States and there is still much we do not know. We still do not know the impact of the balanced budget amendment on Social Security, Medicare, and many other vital programs. I am voting to continue with robust and vigorous debate so the American people fully understand the ramifications of what we are doing and how it will affect their lives.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 10:30 a.m. having arrived, pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The bill clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We the undersigned Senators in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate do hereby move to bring to a close debate on House Joint Resolution 1, the constitutional balanced budget amendment:

Bob Dole, Orrin G. Hatch, Larry Craig, Trent Lott, Bill Frist, R.F. Bennett, Kay Bailey Hutchison, Alfonse D'Amato, Jon Kyl, Fred Thompson, Ted Stevens, Olympia J. Snowe, John Ashcroft, Craig Thomas, Conrad Burns, Mike DeWine, Judd Gregg, Rick Santorum, Rod Grams, Lauch Faircloth.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the quorum call has been waived.

#### VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on House Joint Resolution 1, the balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, shall be brought to a close? The yeas and nays are required.

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.