

and it is exciting for me to know that BEN is going to become one of us. I feel very privileged that he has made that choice.

I have asked for a special order this morning to do an analysis following the vote yesterday of the balanced budget amendment and where we stand as a Senate now on the threshold of making a decision as it relates to how we will deal with this issue.

At this time I will yield to the Senator from Oklahoma—whom I know needs to preside in the chair and will in just a few moments—for his comments on this issue. Clearly, while in the House and now here in the Senate, he has been a leader on the issue of the balanced budget amendment, and I yield to the Senator for what time he may use.

Mr. INHOFE. I thank the Senator for yielding. This will be very brief, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

#### A PROFILE OF BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT SUPPORTERS

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, before we hear the analysis from the distinguished Senator from Idaho, I want to give you my own analysis. Yesterday on the floor, yesterday afternoon, I reminded the President, I reminded our fellow Members, and hopefully many in America who might be watching that those individuals who were fighting the balanced budget amendment have a very interesting profile, some things in common. I pointed out and documented that all of those 41 individuals who were the cosponsors of the right-to-know amendment to the budget balancing amendment had a very liberal background. Each one of the 41 had either a D or an F rating by the National Taxpayers Union. Each one of the individuals had voted for the very large spending program called President Clinton's tax stimulus program. And each one had voted for the 1993 tax increase which has been characterized as the largest single tax increase in the history of public finance in America or anywhere in the world.

I announced that I suspected that the 33 Democrats who managed to keep from allowing us to have that one more vote to pass a balanced budget amendment yesterday would fit this same profile. I have analyzed this. I did this personally last night and I will give you the results of that.

Of the 33 Democrats—and it only took one to come over to our side and to free the future generations from the shackles they are going to be bound with—all 33 voted on the cloture vote in favor of the tax stimulus program, which was the big spending program. All 33 have a D or an F rating by the National Taxpayers Union. And 31 of the 33—all but 2 of them—voted for the largest single tax increase in the his-

tory of public finance in America or any place in the world.

The bottom line is this. All this talk about Social Security, all this talk about the right to know is bogus. The fact is those individuals did not want to balance the budget. They are big spenders.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield to the distinguished Senator from Idaho.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished Senator from Idaho is recognized.

#### BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Oklahoma for that analysis. Of course, that was the issue yesterday as we debated and finally voted on House Joint Resolution 1. For over 5 weeks we had debated the issue of a balanced budget and why this Government and why the Congress of the United States ought to be held to the constraints of a constitutional amendment requiring us to balance the Federal budget. While there were many arguments from a variety of perspectives, there was one overriding influence that could not be ignored nor could it be denied, and that was, had this issue passed the Senate yesterday, it would have been sent to our 50 States to begin a ratification process that I believe would have moved very rapidly to gain the necessary 38 States to bring about ratification.

In doing that, of course, the Congress knew that would begin a long and very difficult process to move us to a balanced budget by the year 2002, but one the American people now demand and expect from us, and one we know we can accomplish, if we can bring about the discipline but, more importantly, the pressure and the kind of control that a balanced budget amendment to our Constitution would result in.

There are so many who wrung their hands in the argument that this could never be done. But I argue that those who argue that are the many of the past. They are the ones who still are stuck in the idea or the concept that the Federal Government and its programs must manage and control people and direct an economy of a country outside the marketplace. That, of course, is exactly what the Congress of the United States has done for over 30 years, and we have seen results. We have seen the results of a \$34.8 trillion debt that remains totally out of control. We have seen the results of how interest on that debt eroded any ability to spend both in discretionary and entitlement programs and locks us into a straitjacket of program and time and spending.

But something else that is also, I think, reflective of that debate is that those who argue it argue the status quo. They argue government as if it were something static, that it will never change, or that the Senators and the Members of the House who are in-

volved in governing this country will always vote to have exactly the same programs, that we will not eliminate an agency, that we will not reduce or change a priority, and that we will not shift the intent of the governing of this country from one area to another.

That is a very false and phony argument. Certainly it is to the American people because, if there is anything sure about our country, it is change, and it occurs on a constant and daily basis. It is the Government that finds itself incapable of changing. So simply to say we cannot balance the budget because we cannot get there is to clearly argue that it is going to be the same Government and the same kind of budget, and we are going to ramp it up to 3, 4, 5, to 6 percent a year on the average and heading as far as the eye can see in that direction.

Why do I say that? Because that is exactly what President Clinton's budget demonstrated when he presented it here but a few weeks ago. Here is a President who came to town arguing that he must have the largest tax increase in history, and, if we gave it to him, that he would then begin a very progressive approach toward a budget that would bring us to a balanced budget and continue to bring it down. That is what he campaigned on. That is what he promised the American people. That is what he, the President of the United States, promised this Senate and this Congress less than 2 years ago as he argued for and his party gave him the largest tax increase in history. Then in a most cavalier way, as he presented the budget just this year, he not only showed that he would not control the deficit, he said let the Republicans make the cuts. Let us see what they want to do. Let them make the cuts.

Mr. President, that is why we need a balanced budget amendment so that the Executive of this country can be as responsible as the legislative branch of this country, that budgeting becomes a partnership of cooperation where the President, the executive branch, brings about a balanced budget just as much and just as responsibly as the legislative branch of Government must do.

That is, of course, exactly what the constitutional amendment required as we looked at it the other day. That is why five of our colleagues from the other side who had once voted with us turned tail and ran away from their commitment and their pledge to their constituents. I am frustrated by that because they are honorable people. All of us in our pledge to our constituency attempt to honor it, and yet that did not happen yesterday on five very distinct votes. That is too bad.

We hope as we work this issue and continue to work this issue that we can regain the support of those Senators who left us yesterday and left their constituency.

We have several others who want to speak this morning. Before I yield, let me make one other point that I think

is so fundamentally important as we debate a balanced budget amendment and as we continue to work on this issue and as we continue to assure the American people that we will do all within our power to bring down the deficits and to control our debt structure for now and for future generations.

Article V of our Constitution—that is the article that speaks to how we amend the organic document—speaks very clearly about how it gets done. It says that the Congress shall propose an amendment. That is in the first part of article V.

The second part of article V allows the States to petition for the formation of a constitutional convention. Many of us are concerned that a convention is not the right way to go and that the most responsible way is for the Congress of the United States to craft and propose an amendment.

Yesterday, the vote that we cast here was not to pass a balanced budget amendment; it was to propose a balanced budget amendment to our Constitution. And in so doing that, it then would allow the citizens of our country, the State legislatures, or, if they chose, the forming of a convention to debate and ratify the amendment. That action to propose was denied yesterday—not to pass but to propose—to send out to the States, to conform with article V of the Constitution.

In essence, what Senators who opposed that process yesterday did was to say to their citizens, "We will not give you the right to choose, we will not give you the right to look at this issue, to debate it, to understand the process, and to decide whether you want your Government to live under a constitutional requirement for a federally balanced budget." I find that an amazing testimony.

I really would like those Senators to go home and hold a press conference and tell their electorate, "We did not think you were responsible, we did not think you ought to have the right under the Constitution to decide," because that is exactly what they did. That in itself is a tragedy. But more importantly, what this is is a reaffirmation of something with which the American people have known for a long while, and they spoke so clearly about it last November. That was the arrogance of power that resides here on Capitol Hill, this all-knowing knowledge that somehow, if the wisdom does not emanate from Capitol Hill, it is unwise; that somehow the States and those who reside in the States cannot think for themselves, cannot make those judgments. That is absolutely the reverse philosophy from those who founded our country and who wrote the Constitution and who got it ratified. In fact, House Joint Resolution 1 that we voted on yesterday was very much a part of the style and the type of constitutional amendment that a Tom Jefferson would have put in the Constitution because it reflected that attitude

of the power and the right of the individual citizen and the power to the States and the ability of the States to control their central government.

Yesterday, the Senators who opposed this said very clearly under all of the smokescreen and all of the excuses that they gave for not voting for it—there were two fundamental things. They did not believe in the rights of the States to control their central government, and they would not give the citizens of those States the right to choose that option. I think that is profound, and it is sad. But that is the reality of what happened yesterday.

It is very important that the American people understand that message in the coming days and weeks as we work to revisit this issue to gain the necessary 67 votes or the two-thirds votes of this body to propose it and to send it to the States for ratification.

At this time, let me yield to my colleague from Georgia, Senator COVERDELL, who has worked so closely with us on this issue, has worked on a team of Senators who met daily over the course of the last 5 weeks to develop the issue and work with Senator ORRIN HATCH here on the floor, to build the debate. I think it was a remarkable task. I say that because for well over 100 hours and for 5 long weeks we debated this issue, and there was very little dead time, as we call it, or quorum calls because there truly was a message that came through loud and clear from this side of the aisle as to the purpose of a balanced budget amendment, and part of that message was crafted by the Senator from Georgia. I am pleased to yield to him at this time for such time as he might consume.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). The Senator from Georgia is recognized.

#### THE PRESIDENT IS NOT LISTENING TO THE PEOPLE

Mr. COVERDELL. Thank you, Mr. President. I commend my colleague from Idaho and the Senator from Utah, Senator HATCH, and also Senator SIMON, who is not present this morning, for the effort over the past 5 weeks they have lent to the effort to create a historical change in the governance and the financial discipline of our country. I was talking with my wife last evening, and I wish Senator SIMON from Illinois was here because she had a chance to watch his address to the Nation immediately following the vote. She said it was most eloquent and even recommended that I get a video of it so that I might see it. I missed it as I was in a press conference.

I was so saddened yesterday about the outcome, the narrow defeat of the opportunity to move forward with the debate in the Nation about constructing an amendment to the Constitution requiring a balanced budget. It reminded me a little of when I was a youngster and the battle in Korea had just begun. Each day I would pick up

the paper and the perimeter would shrink for U.S. forces trying to hold on against the surge of the enemy. Every day was a little more sad, because that perimeter shrunk and shrunk and shrunk until finally it was a very small piece of that Korean Peninsula surrounding the city of Pusan. Lo and behold, the will of the country, the will of the alliance to put back an evil force that would do great damage to the future of the free world ultimately prevailed. I think the analogy will be so here.

I think over these past 30 to 40 years, the Nation has awakened each morning a little more worried about the state of the Union, a union that has pushed away every evil aggressor across and away from our shores but is perilously close to losing the standing of this great democracy because of a lack of domestic will, a lack of a will to take care of our own affairs and pay attention to our own financial health.

Maybe the beginning is in the press conference that will occur in about 8 minutes. Senator BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL came to this Senate on the same day I did but 2 years ago. Both of us saw the revolution coming. The Presiding Officer is a product of that revolution. I think his decision—I have not spoken to him, but it has to be some way affected by the realization of what the American people are asking of policymakers in their Capital City and the entrenched view to stand in the way of the change that America is asking for.

I go back to the President's State of the Union Address. In the President's State of the Union, after the election—and no one has received a greater thrashing than the President in that election—it caused great reflection, supposedly, in the White House, an analysis of what happened here. The President went back and read his speeches from 1992, the new Democrat theory. He wanted to revisit. What went wrong? In that speech, he said, "The American people are not just singing to us, they are shouting at us." How right he was. But he has not heard the shouts. Senator CAMPBELL has heard the shouting, and he is doing something about it. The President has not heard the shouting, and he is standing in the way of what America is seeking.

Yesterday was one of the most important votes ever to be cast in the history of the Senate. We were dealing with the core governance of America, the core document by which we live. We were saying that to secure the future of the Nation, we must have sound financial policy. We must live within our means. We must stop spending money we do not have because we impose a debt on future generations. Every child born today will get either a pink or blue wristband and attached to it will be a \$22,000 mortgage. Unbelievable. Unbelievable that we would consume everything we have—\$5 trillion we do not have, 30 percent of the tax base of the property taxes of the