

what do we have to show for it for the American people? We got off, I thought, to a pretty fast start, although it took longer than it should have. On the congressional coverage, we did say, oh, we are going to make the laws apply to us, and the vote was 98 to 1—98 to 1. We got that one passed, and it went to the President.

That is the only bill—I believe this is correct—the only major bill, and maybe the only bill, that we have sent to the President for his signature this year, in 2 months.

Now, we went then to unfunded mandates, a process to try to stop the cavalcade of unfunded Federal mandates we are putting on States—overwhelming support for it, but here in the Senate we spent 58 hours and 34 minutes discussing this legislation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the Senator from Mississippi he has exhausted his 7 minutes.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I may proceed for 2 more minutes.

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

Mr. LOTT. For 58 hours and 34 minutes we talked about unfunded mandates. You would have thought this was really a controversial issue. Now, we needed time to look at the bill and, yes, to look at the report to make sure we fully understood it, but 58 hours and 34 minutes? And then we got to a vote on final passage and it passed 86 to 10—86 to 10. That is good. You would think, great, now we are on the move.

The bill has not gone to the President yet. It is still languishing in conference.

And then, of course, there was the balanced budget amendment—116 hours of debate. We covered a lot of territory in that debate. It ranged far and wide, quite often far from the subject at hand—116 hours. And then we voted, and the vote was, in the final analysis, really 66 to 34, although the majority leader changed his vote in order to offer the motion to reconsider—65 to 35.

I do not think the American people want the Senate to just react or act on what the House has done. But I think they have a right to expect that the Senate would get the message of the election in 1994 as well as the House. I think the American people want us to act in an affirmative way. And sometimes they want us to act to stop and reverse some of the policies of the past 20 to 40 years that have gotten us into the difficulty we are in with our Federal debt. We do not seem to be doing a very good job of moving forward that agenda, or any agenda. And when I say it that way I am assuming some of the blame on this side of the aisle, too.

So I guess my conclusion here today, as we run out of time, is yes, I hope we can run in a bipartisan way. There have been ruptures. I had looked forward to working with the new leadership on the other side of the aisle. I have known Senator DASCHLE, Senator

DORGAN, Senator BREAUX and Senator KERREY for years and have a lot of respect for them. I thought we could cut out some of the acrimony and some of the partisanship, that we could talk and communicate and understand each other and have a schedule that the Members could rely on that would make sense. I hope we can still do that. But we lost a little bit of that opportunity in the past few days in my opinion.

I think the Senate needs to take stock of itself. Maybe this is the way it has always been done. I do not believe that. I have gone back and looked at history and I do not think necessarily what we have done in the last 2 months is the way it has always been done. But I have an answer to that. If it has, so what? If it needs to be changed, if we can do a better job, let us do it. Yes, I am a former House Member. No, I do not want to make the Senate a replica of the House. But can we make the Senate a better legislative body, if we make some changes or we work together in a way that provides—yes, more efficiency? I think it is worthy of effort. And I hope we will begin it next week.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Florida.

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the regular order, Senator.

#### THE DEFEAT OF THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT, HYPOCRISY ON THE RECORD

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, during the past several weeks there has been significant debate on one of the most fundamental issues facing America today. One which, frankly, divides the two parties in this country. At times the debate was heated. At times the debate appeared to indicate the balanced budget amendment would pass. But, in the last days, it became clear that would not be the case and the balanced budget amendment was defeated.

This morning, while Republicans were trying to recover from that defeat, we were buoyed by the announcement that Senator BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL was switching parties, changing from Democrat to Republican.

During the press conference this morning making that announcement, a question was raised by one of the reporters regarding a comment attributed to the minority leader of the Senate, suggesting of Senator CAMPBELL, "perhaps he should resign and run for reelection. \* \* \*

I assume the minority leader made that statement because Senator CAMPBELL had changed parties. I would like to suggest that perhaps the minority leader, Senator DASCHLE, should resign and run for reelection himself, because

clearly he changed his position on an incredibly fundamental issue which he not only voted for in the past, but made as a central theme of his campaign in 1986.

Let me quote from one of his commercials:

The national debt. America is awash in red ink. But in 1979, Tom Daschle saw the damage these deficits could do to our country. His first official act was to sponsor a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. For seven years, Tom Daschle battled party leaders and special interests to cut waste and close loopholes.

Mr. President, using the same line of reasoning and logic that was employed this morning by the Senate minority leader, Senator DASCHLE, perhaps he should follow his own advice. Perhaps he should resign and run for reelection.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Minnesota.

#### THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise today to remind my colleagues of the words of Benjamin Franklin, when he urged, "Never leave that till tomorrow which you can do today."

Good advice. But when is this Congress going to listen?

For too long, Congress has used the word "tomorrow" to repeatedly avoid the responsibilities and obligations of today.

We will stop spending more than we take in—tomorrow.

We will safeguard our children's future by paying our own bills—tomorrow.

We will make the tough choices to get our fiscal house in order—tomorrow.

We will balance the budget—tomorrow.

The problem with tomorrow, of course, is that it never, ever gets here—there is always another one waiting in the wings. Responsibilities are never met. Obligations are never fulfilled.

And yesterday's vote on the balanced budget amendment demonstrates once again that—despite all the talk on Capitol Hill about change—Congress still operates under the notion that you should never do today what you can put off until tomorrow.

Mr. President, I am deeply disappointed that this body put politics ahead of promises in rejecting the balanced budget amendment.

Passage hinged on the votes of six Democrats who, just 1 year ago—March 1, 1994—voted for the balanced budget amendment. Yesterday, those same six Senators voted "no" on a bill that was virtually identical to the one they supported last year.

The balanced budget amendment is a beautifully simple piece of legislation that makes so much sense to the voters

that 8 out of 10 of them asked us to make it law. What do we go back home and tell them this weekend—sorry? Try again tomorrow?

No. Beginning today, with or without a balanced budget amendment, we need to start laying out the glidepath that will lead us to a balanced budget by the year 2002.

To my colleagues who said we can straighten out the fiscal mess in Washington without meddling with the Constitution, it is time to stop making promises and start delivering on them.

The only way we will ever clean up the Federal books is to start today, not tomorrow, not next month, not next year, but today.

We have said again and again that balancing the budget will not be easy. But those who elected us do not care if we have a tough job. They expect us to do that job.

Unlike the ancient plunderers who would pillage a town, then set it afire as they headed off toward their next conquest, we are not going to slash and burn the budget and leave it in shambles behind us.

The needs of this country will continue to be met. But if we are serious about bringing the budget into balance, the wants of this country will have to be closely scrutinized. Some will have to be put on hold.

We need a balanced budget for another reason as well, Mr. President—so that we can begin to pay back our massive national debt.

We didn't accumulate this \$4.8 trillion burden overnight, and we will not pay it off overnight, either. But whether it takes 20 years or 40 years, we have to start now.

The debt we are piling up and passing along to the next generation of Americans is not just fiscally wrong—it is morally wrong.

George Washington could not have known the problems we would face in 1995, but he cautioned us—198 years ago—about amassing a national debt.

It was expected, he wrote in his Farewell Address, that in times of crisis, the Federal Government would occasionally be required to spend beyond its means. But in times of peace and prosperity the Government must repay its debt, and not push its burdens onto the next generation.

We have been at peace and enjoying prosperity for 40 years. With the recklessness of the past behind us, the burden that Congress bears today is ensuring the strength of this Nation tomorrow.

In conclusion, a balanced budget can be achieved by the year 2002 if we begin laying out the path today. We will have to do it without a balanced budget amendment, but make no mistake—this Congress must do it.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, is leader time reserved?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has been reserved.

#### THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me indicate that round one of the balanced budget effort has been disposed of. But there will be other rounds. Our new Republican colleague, Senator CAMPBELL, when he was talking to some of the reporters, was saying the thing that really made the decision for him was the balanced budget amendment and the games that are being played with the balanced budget amendment and those who one year vote one way and the next year vote another way on the balanced budget amendment.

As I said in my remarks yesterday, it seems to me that this issue should not and will not go away. We will proceed on the basis that the balanced budget amendment will be passed. We will see how many are willing to make the tough votes—we hope a majority on both sides of the aisle—and we will see about Social Security and some of the other smokescreens that were talked about during the debate.

But I would just assure my colleagues that this issue—and it is an issue and will continue to be an issue because 80 percent of the American people have told us that they want a balanced budget amendment. We have told them we do not care what you want, we know what is best. A minority of 34 knows what is best, even though a majority of 80 percent have a different view.

So I am excited about the prospects of taking this case to the American people for the next 3 months, 4 months, 6 months, 8 months, 10 months, a year, 16 months, whatever it takes because it is that important. Again, it is not a matter of partisanship, because I congratulate the 14 Democrats who withstood the pressure from the White House and the leadership on the other side to vote consistently and to vote their convictions. This was a bipartisan effort, as it should have been. And I read the obituaries in the morning's paper about what it means for A or X or Y or Z. It is what it means to the American people that makes the difference. And what it means to the American people is that the U.S. Senate by one vote, one vote, has said wait. You have to wait. We will make these judgments for you. You do not understand. We understand all these complex issues.

But I must say traveling around the country when you make speeches and you talk about unfunded mandates, people say "Well, I do not think I have had that." They do not really focus on

unfunded mandates. You talk about covering Congress like we cover everybody else. Most people say that is a good idea. But I find the thing that the American people understand without any further explanation is when you say "balanced budget." They are doing it in their business. They are doing it in their homes. They are doing it in their offices, and they understand the balanced budget. They also understand regulatory reform, which is another issue that will be on this floor very soon.

So I do not know when this reconsideration will take place, but hopefully very soon. But if not, there is time to take the case to the American people. I do not suggest that many of my colleagues were not properly motivated. But I think in some cases it was a lot of politics, and that is not without precedent on either side of the aisle either, I would say, because this is a political institution in a sense. But this issue is larger than any one Senator or larger than this institution. As I have said, we do not amend the Constitution lightly around here. We certainly had adequate debate.

I conclude by saying to all of my colleagues that we are going to have to change our operating rules in the Senate because we are now starting to report out some of the legislation.

So I just alert my colleagues to be prepared to be here almost every night until 10 or 11 o'clock. There will not be any recesses in the Senate this year that I can see after the Easter recess. We have tried to accommodate our colleagues who want to spend 10 days on this, 3 weeks on this, 3 or 4 weeks on this. And I do not know of any other way to finish our work. But I think every Senator will accept that because, if we want to have these extended debates and we want to have this full discussion, then certainly we understand that it is going to take more time. I do not have any objection to that except to say that we are going to try to complete our work this year. I do not see any other way unless there is some way that the Democratic leader and I could come together and figure out some way to do it. But if you look at what has happened so far this year, we have had about 2 months now on three pieces of legislation. And we have been in session almost every day. Maybe that is the way it is. On that basis, you would pass about 15 pieces of legislation.

I alert my colleagues that we are going to meet with the Democratic leader next week to try to outline a program for the next couple of months. I know that after legislation comes from the House it properly goes to committees here and we have hearings and markups. The line-item veto will be on this floor by the end of next week, and we will stay on the line-item veto and we will be here nights. We are not going to spend 30 days on the line-item veto. We will find out where the votes are when the President says he supports a line-item veto. We will see if