

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

Mr. BINGAMAN addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I thank my colleague for the courtesy. I did want to make a brief statement. I do not think I will take a full 8 minutes.

#### REVENUE LOST FROM REPEAL OF GAS TAX

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, there was an item in the morning paper that caused me to come to the Senate floor to speak briefly and alert my colleagues to a serious concern which I have. The article was entitled "Armey: Cheap Fuel Via Education Cuts." "House Leader Suggests Way To Offset Cost of Gasoline Tax Repeal."

The first three short paragraphs say:

House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey, Republican from Texas, yesterday suggested that the revenue lost from a repeal of the 1993 gasoline tax could be offset by cutting spending on education. "Maybe we ought to take another look at the amount of money we are spending on education," Armey said on the NBC's "Meet the Press." "There is a place where we are getting a declining value for an increased dollar. It's in education. If in fact we can get some discipline in the use of our education dollar, I think we can make up the difference," Armey said.

Mr. President, my reaction to this article when I read it was, "Here they go again."

We spent much of last year in this Congress trying to hold off proposed cuts in the education budget. The budget resolution as first presented here called for \$18.6 billion being cut from student aid over a 7-year period, and \$26 billion being cut from K through 12 levels of education over that 7-year period.

There was a proposal to zero out funding for direct student loans, and proposals to zero out funding for School to Work, for Goals 2000, and for national service.

Mr. President, those fights are now behind us. But unfortunately, even today, we see that to some extent the efforts to cut back on education have succeeded. In the final appropriations bill that was signed into law 10 days ago by the President, there are still cuts in education.

There is a 6-percent cut in the Goals 2000 funding. There is a 9-percent cut in telecommunications for math funding. There is an 8-percent cut in library construction funding. There is a 15-percent cut in the funds for magnet schools, a 27-percent cut in technical assistance center funding, a 7-percent cut in adult education budgets. In Perkins loans there is a 41-percent cut, and in State student incentive grants there is a 50-percent cut.

Mr. President, my own view is that this is a very, very mistaken set of priorities that this Congress and that the majority leader in the House, RICHARD

ARMEY, are talking about when the first place they look to try to make up revenue is to further cut education.

I think in the long term our country is only as strong as the next generation, and we are only as smart as the next generation. If we cut out the funds needed to educate that next generation, I am persuaded that we are going against the will of the American people, we are going against our own best interests, and we are showing very serious shortsightedness, which I think we will come to regret.

Mr. President, I contrast this article, which, as I say, was in this morning's paper here in Washington, with an article that came out a little over a week ago, on April 27, also in the Washington Post. It was entitled, "Latinos Want D.C. School To Stay Open."

Let me just read a little bit of that article for my colleagues. It said:

About 400 people picketed the District of Columbia Board of Education offices yesterday, protesting a recommendation by School Superintendent Franklin L. Smith to close the Carlos Rosario Adult Education Center.

The demonstrators circled the block in front of the Presidential building . . . chanting "We want to learn English!" Some held bullhorns, others carried signs asking drivers to honk in support of the program.

"We see it as an issue of discrimination against Latin immigrants," said Arnoldo Ramos, Director of the Council of Latino Agencies. "This is the only adult education center serving Latinos. By closing this program, they are sending a message that Latinos don't matter and that we should continue serving tables, continue picking up garbage and having the lowest positions in society."

Several students said that without Rosario, it would be difficult to continue to learn English, which they say is their only ticket to a better life.

Mr. President, this article should bring home to us the importance that education has for the average people of this country. Education is not only their only ticket to a better life; it is the ticket that our children have to a better life as well.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to reject the recommendation of the House majority leader in looking first at education as a place to further cut the Federal budget.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia is recognized.

#### TAX FREEDOM DAY

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I was glad I had an opportunity to be here for at least the last portion of the presentation by my good colleague and friend from Virginia where he was admonishing us to be courageous and to avoid the proposal to repeal the gas tax.

It is my intention to support the repeal of the gas tax, and, frankly, I believe America is looking for a very different kind of courage today.

I do not think they are looking for courage to keep adding another burden,

another tax burden, another regulatory burden on the backs of the working families.

Most Americans—in fact, in survey data every social strata of our country—feel that the appropriate tax burden should be 25 percent. It does not matter whether you ask the very wealthy family or the poorest family. It is fascinating; they all come to the same number, that the burden of government, their willingness to contribute, is about 25 percent.

Tomorrow is May 7. It is an important day in America, because May 7, believe it or not—I would never have believed I would be in the Senate talking about this kind of crisis, but May 7 is the first day for which an American family can earn money and resources for its own dreams. Every other day from January 1 through March 15, April, you name it, all of those wages that were earned on all of those working days are taken from the family. They are taken by the Federal Government at about 25 percent, some much higher, they are taken by the State and local government 10 to 12 percent, and I might add May 7 does not include the regulatory costs to every American family, which is now about \$6,800 a year.

I think of that fellow who gets up, his wife who gets up, and they get the kids; they take them to school; they get to their two jobs, which are necessary now primarily because of the new tax burden on the American family; they go day after day like that working through the struggles of life, and until May 7 not a dime is available to house that family, to buy the home, to transport the family, to feed the family, to educate the family—all the things we ask the American family to do for America: Raise the country. Raise the country. But until May 7, they do not have a dime for their own dreams. They are sending all of those wages between January 1 and May 7 to some policy wonk somewhere with the task of reredicating where that money ought to go and what its priorities ought to be.

We just heard a presentation by my colleague on the other side of the aisle that it would be the opposite of courageous if we were to repeal this tax. We have a long way to go to get tax freedom day back from May 7 to where it appropriately ought to be. Every opportunity we have to lower that burden, in my judgment, is appropriate. That gas tax costs the average family of four about \$100—\$100 a year.

More importantly, the lowest 20 percent of taxpayers pay over 7 percent of their income on gasoline. If we are concerned about those who are disadvantaged, we ought to be concerned about lowering the burden on them, letting them keep those resources to do the things they need to do. The wealthy only pay 1.6 percent of their income on gasoline. This repeal of that gas tax

primarily helps the more disadvantaged in our society. It has some auxiliary effect on those who have more resources. But we have such a long way to go, Mr. President, to get this economic burden down. It is already double what it ought to be when you add in the reg reforms.

A family should not be working until May 7 or June or July—officially it is May 7—for the Government. So I take exception to the suggestion that you lack some courage if you come to the floor and fight for lowering the economic pressure on American families, American communities, and American businesses. That is exactly what America is asking us to do, to have the courage to shrink up this Federal Government.

With that, Mr. President, I should like to yield up to 10 minutes to my colleague from Washington.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Washington for up to 10 minutes.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, as my distinguished friend from Georgia has said, tomorrow, May 7, 1996, is tax freedom day.

What is tax freedom day? Stated simply, it is the day on which the average American taxpayer stops working for the Government and begins working for himself or herself. It is a dramatic way of pointing out that if we divide the share of the income of each one of us as an average American into parts, the share that goes to Government will take us from January 1 to May 7 to earn and to pay to those governments and that only after May 7 are we working for ourselves.

Again, this is an average. For some, tax freedom day comes a little earlier; for others it comes a little later. I regret to say for the citizens of Washington State whom I represent, it comes a little later. It comes on May 10. Why? Because, of course, we are talking about the burden imposed on the people of this country by all levels of our Government, here in Washington, DC, and our State and local governments as well.

Mr. President, does it not boggle the mind to think that governments take this much of what we earn by our hard work for its own purposes?

It is vitally important that people learn we are already well through the spring of 1996 before we have earned that portion of our income which goes to our governments.

As my distinguished friend from Georgia also said, if we add the very real burdens caused by higher interest rates, which are themselves the result in part of our huge national debt and all the interest we must pay on that national debt, and the cost of regulation, we go into early July before we have discharged the real burden imposed on us by Government and begin to work for ourselves.

This is a burden that is too great, even if we ignore interest and regulation. The average citizen of the United

States does not believe he or she is getting his or her money's worth out of the money earned until May 7 and turned over to Government.

That citizen is correct. Our citizens are not getting their money's worth from this investment in Government, and the great struggle here in the Congress of the United States and with this administration is over whether or not those burdens, both from the perspective of taxes and regulation, should be increased or decreased. This administration, for all of its rhetoric about smaller Government, is a liberal administration which believes that its judgments as to how we should spend our money are better than our own; that Government bureaucrats can set priorities for spending better than can individual citizens of the United States. And I am convinced that that thought is perhaps the single most important reason that people resent Government and do not trust those whom they elect to govern them. People do not believe that Washington, DC, bureaucrats are smarter than they are and know more than they do about how their money ought to be spent. And the people are right. The people are right. They do not.

There are, of course, many appropriate functions of Government. There are a few functions, especially the closer Government gets to the people, the more it is localized, that in fact are run effectively. But the people do not believe that Washington, DC, is run efficiently and effectively, and the people are right.

So, as we did last year, in spite of the frustrations of vetoes from the President of the United States—we on this side of the aisle and thinking Members on the other side of the aisle this year will attempt to lower that burden of taxation on the American people. Whether through a lowered gas tax or a family income tax credit or better treatment of investments which create new jobs, we will attempt to lower that burden. We will act on the philosophy that, by and large, people as individuals know better how their money should be spent than do the bureaucrats here in Washington, DC.

If we are able to come back to this floor next year, even to say that tax freedom day is on the 3d of May rather than the 7th of May, or the 4th of May rather than the 7th of May, we will have done what the American people want. We will have acted correctly. We will, not at all incidentally, have overcome the objections of the President of the United States, and we will at least be on the road toward an appropriate balance between the impact of government on our pocketbooks and on our day-to-day lives, in exactly the fashion that we were meant to be when the people of the United States elected us to these offices.

May 7 is tax freedom day. May 7 is far too late a date in the year for that notable event to take place.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I compliment my colleague from Washington for his remarks. I particularly agree with his context that it had been the theory of this administration—and we saw this all too clearly when they tried to federalize or create Government-run medicine—that they believe that they know better how to manage the relationship between an employer and employee; they know better how to set the priorities for the local mayor or county commissioner. Now it has gotten to the point that they know better how to manage the financial resources of the American family. It is a very elitist point of view, in my judgment. This country was founded on the belief in the individual and the entrepreneurial spirit that comes from a free individual. That is what made this country.

Look at countries around the world that have had central or statist governments, like we have been working our way to here, and it is never a pretty picture. I was Director of the U.S. Peace Corps for a considerable period of time, during the Bush administration, and was one of the first Americans over the wall. It was not a pretty picture. It was a classic example of what central and statist governments do for people.

I remember one night in particular I was in Sophia, Bulgaria. The Ambassador asked if we wanted to go to a local opera, and I passed and decided to walk through the city. They had been operating under this central government for, I guess, nearly half a century. It is such a vivid memory. First of all, when I went through the department store I saw they had a shelf and it would have one glass on it, on the entire shelf. And then I would move to the next display and it would have one item on the entire shelf. They had no goods.

I walked probably 5 miles, and this is the key, I never saw a single adult smile—not one. There was not a smile on the face of a single person. They had a flea market, or a food market, and they had three vegetables; and they had a line that was 4 blocks long so you could line up and get the same piece of meat when you got to the window.

A planned government planned for everything. They planned for all their businesses, all their communities, and they had gotten to the point where they literally ran everybody's family. It was not a pretty picture.

The American people are the most entrepreneurial, flexible, energetic of any in the world. But we have lost some of our edge, because we have been piling up one burden after another, to the point that we are now asking these families that work from January 1 to May 7—it is actually July 3, if you add in the regulatory costs they have to pay. Again, I thank the Senator from Washington. It is actually July 3, but we take deep note of May 7 because that is the actual day that you start earning resources for your own family

and not the government, which takes me back to the snapshot of a Georgia family.

I was curious, in all this debate we have, with regard to the economic pressures on an average family, just what was the situation in my own State. I have alluded to this several times. It is certainly appropriate to talk about that family here today, when we are talking about tax freedom day being May 7. That Georgia family earns about \$45,000—\$45,093. Both parents work and they have a couple of children. Their total Federal tax on that income, direct and indirect, is \$9,511. The total State and local taxes are \$5,234, or \$14,745 right off the top of the \$45,000 they are paying out in taxes.

The estimated cost of Federal regulation on that family is \$6,615; over \$500 a month. That is more than a car payment or a student loan. You are paying for your share of the growing regulatory apparatus.

This family in Georgia is paying excess family interest payments, which are caused by excessive Federal borrowing. We have just lifted the Federal debt ceiling to \$5.5 trillion, so that pushes interest rates up on everyone—the interest on their home, the interest on their car, the student loan: \$2,011.

So the net effect is, of the \$45,000, \$23,371 has been removed from that family, taken by government or government action, leaving them about 50 percent of the gross income to do all the things, as I said, we ask them to do. It is no wonder that American families all across our land, therefore, are saying this government spending and government debt and government management has gotten out of hand. Indeed, it has.

I am going to yield to my colleague from Oklahoma in 1 second. I would just say what is particularly important about this is this administration has added about \$200 to \$225 a month in additional economic burden on this Georgia family, and families all across the country, which is why I find it very difficult to understand the presentation that says you are courageous if you reinforce this burden on the American family, as my colleague from Virginia said a moment ago.

With that, Mr. President, I yield up to 10 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORTON). The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I compliment my friend from Georgia for his leadership on this and many other issues.

Today, we are announcing to the American people that tomorrow, May 7, is tax freedom day. That means that the average American worker had to work from January 1 through May 7 for government—for the Federal Government, State government, and local government. May 7 is the latest tax freedom day ever.

For the average American worker, 34.8 percent of their income goes to

government. I do not make this point to say that all government is evil. Not all government is evil, but if workers are working for government, they are not working for themselves. As government power grows and increases, that means their freedom is diminished. If you have individuals working a third of the time for government, then they are not working for their families, and they are not able to take care of their families.

It is a very important and, in my opinion, kind of a sad fact that as government power continues to increase, people's freedom continues to decrease. We need to reverse that.

Unfortunately, this President has made it worse. This President has made tax freedom day later and later in the year because he vetoed a tax reduction effort that Congress passed. But even more important than that, he signed the largest tax increase in history. In 1993, President Clinton signed a tax bill that increased taxes and user fees \$265 billion over 5 years, the largest tax increase in history.

Keep in mind, President Clinton as a candidate said he was going to cut taxes. I remember when he was campaigning in New Hampshire. He said something like, "Yes, we're going to have a tax reduction for families; we're going to have a per-child tax credit." He did not deliver.

He never said anything on the campaign trail in 1992 about increasing gasoline taxes, but that is exactly what he did. As a matter of fact, during his first year in office, not only did he pass the largest tax increase in history, but passed a tax increase that hit all American families. At the time they were playing class warfare and saying this was just going to hit the rich—and it did, they hit the rich pretty hard, but they also raised taxes on all Americans.

But also there is a gasoline tax. A gasoline tax is not just for the wealthy; that is for anybody who drives a car. I have four kids, all of whom are driving and paying that 4.3 cents a gallon. It is not inexpensive. It makes a difference.

My point being, President Clinton's tax increase hit all American families. He increased taxes on couples who receive Social Security. Their Social Security used to be taxed at 50 percent. He increased it to 85 percent, a big hit for individuals who had incomes above \$34,000. A big tax increase.

I remember listening to my father-in-law, who was adversely affected by this. It cost him well over \$1,000 a year. Thank you very much, President Clinton. He did not ask for that with his vote, and he was not told during the campaign that he was going to have a big tax increase, and certainly he was middle-income America.

My point being, President Clinton, instead of reducing the tax burden on American families, has increased the tax burden. Now today total tax receipts will hit a record 19.4 percent of the gross domestic product, the highest

level of taxation since 1982. Ronald Reagan brought it down. His tax cuts did not go into effect really until 1983. So now we have taxes going up because of President Clinton, because of his tax increase.

A lot of us believe President Clinton was right in Houston when he said, "You know, I think I raised taxes too much," or "You might be surprised to find I agree with you, I think I raised taxes too much." A lot of us agreed with him, and so we wanted to help correct that.

Last year, we did pass a balanced budget package that not only balanced the budget but offered modest tax relief for American families. We delivered on our promise. We said, "We're going to give tax relief to children. We're going to give a \$500 tax credit for families with children under the age of 18."

President Clinton said he was going to do the same thing in 1992, but he did not deliver. In his proposal before Congress, he said, "I have a children's tax credit too," but what he does not tell people is the children only get the tax credit if they are up to age 12, not if they are 13, 14, 15, 16. I hate to tell the President this, but they cost a lot of money at those ages, too. As a matter of fact, it is at those ages that you may start getting ready for college.

The Republican budget allowed individuals, if they have kids, to save \$500 per child, and the families get to keep it. So the families get to make decisions on education. If the families want to, they can take the \$500 and put it into a savings account to save for that child's education. President Clinton vetoed it.

President Clinton vetoed a tax bill that would have helped the economy. We would have reduced the tax on capital gains, because we know that not only will that raise more money for the Federal Government, but it will help stimulate the economy. The capital gains tax is really a tax on a capital transaction. If it is reduced—and the United States has one of the highest taxes on capital gains of any of the industrialized countries—if we reduce it, we are going to have more transactions, more capital moving throughout the economy, more capital going where it can be used most efficiently, most effectively and it will help stimulate the economy.

President Kennedy did that in the early sixties, and it helped. It raised more money. President Kennedy was right when he said a rising tide will lift all boats, and the Republican majority wanted to do that. But President Clinton vetoed it, and he was wrong in vetoing it.

Congress passed a reduction in the inheritance tax for farmers and family business owners, and others, so they could keep more of their hard-earned money, so they would not have to sell their estate to pay an inheritance tax, a very positive provision, supported overwhelmingly by this Congress.

President Clinton vetoed it, and he was wrong in doing so.

Congress passed enhanced IRA's, individual retirement accounts, so we could encourage people to save. We would use the Tax Code to help people start saving for their retirement: "Don't depend solely on Social Security; don't depend solely on a company retirement account; save for your retirement." We enhanced that.

We doubled, basically, the income at which people would be eligible to receive a tax deduction for their IRA contribution. This was really a family benefit, and it was really a family benefit for middle-income workers. The benefit right now applies to people with incomes of about some \$20,000. We doubled that amount. It would not help the very wealthy, but it certainly would have helped the hard-working wage earner who wanted to start saving more, and we do not save near enough in this country.

Congress passed medical savings accounts, because we recognized that a lot of people do not get benefits from the Tax Code to encourage health care, and medical savings accounts would have allowed individuals the opportunity to put in some before-tax dollars to help pay for health care costs.

If you work for a big corporation, you do not need it because maybe the big corporation pays for all your health care and the individual gets it tax free.

Congress helped the self-employed. We increased the self-employed deduction from 30 to 50 percent. Recently, we just passed legislation to increase that to 80 percent.

But under our bill, we had medical savings accounts that also would have helped the individual who does not work. They need some help too. This would have helped them pay for their health care. It was good policy. Unfortunately, the President vetoed it.

Congress passed a provision that would have phased out and eliminated the so-called marriage penalty, where right now it is financially to a couple's detriment, if you have two wage earners, to file a joint return, to file as a married couple. It makes no sense. It is wrong. It is inequitable. The Tax Code should not be encouraging divorce or separate filings. Congress phased the penalty out. Unfortunately, the President vetoed it.

Congress passed spousal IRA's, recognizing that spouses work, whether it is at a job or at home—we know that they are working. So we had spousal IRA's so the spouse could also accumulate some money and savings in their own name, a very positive provision that would have helped a lot of people all across the country. Unfortunately, President Clinton vetoed it. Well, he was wrong in vetoing that.

Mr. President, taxes are too high. Government does spend too much money. People should not have to work 34.8 percent of their time for government. So we do need tax relief. We need to balance the budget.

Some people say, those are in contrary positions to each other. I do not think so. Certainly not. If you take a position that we have to balance the budget before we have any tax cuts you will never pass any tax cuts because people in this Congress will keep spending more money. There is no limit to the appetite of some people in Congress and this administration for spending money. You are a lot more popular spending money than you are taking it away.

So I do not agree with that philosophy—and I am probably as frugal or as fiscally conservative as anybody—but I think we should give tax relief and balance the budget and do it simultaneously. Let us balance the budget. Let us limit the revenue of the Government. Let us pass a constitutional amendment that says you cannot spend any more than you take in. That makes sense. That is what most Americans do.

The House passed a balanced budget constitutional amendment last year. The Senate came one vote short. I hope that soon, maybe this week, we will again be considering a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. I hope some of my colleagues who voted against that balanced budget amendment will reconsider. Some of our colleagues on the Democrat side of the aisle said, "Well, I'm not going to vote for the balanced budget amendment until I see a real balanced budget plan." I think we ought to do it anyway. We did it anyway in Congress, but unfortunately the President vetoed it. I hope now they realize it can be done.

I have heard President Clinton now say that he supports a balanced budget. I hope that my colleagues on the Democrat side, most all of whom voted against a balanced budget amendment, will reconsider. I want to compliment Senator SIMON, and others, who are working to try and make that happen. It has to be a bipartisan vote to make it happen. We have to have 67 votes. I hope my colleagues realize the gravity of the situation. We cannot continue to pile up debt after debt.

We passed entitlement reform last year, but the President vetoed it. I think he was wrong in doing so. I am afraid it is going to take a constitutional mandate to tell us we cannot spend any more than we take in and that we have sound fiscal policies in this country. I think at the same time, we need to be cognizant of the fact that taxpayers are taking it on the chin.

Taxpayers need relief. Taxpayers are kind of bothered by the fact that they have to work over a third of the time, an average American family has to work over a third of the year for Government; not for themselves, not for their family and not for their family's future, but for Uncle Sam and for State government and for local government. We need to reverse that.

Mr. President, I am going to put a couple of tables into the RECORD because I think a lot of times people are

not aware of how fast Government spending and taxation is growing. One of them that I am going to allude to maybe surprises people, but it deals with payroll taxes. Payroll taxes have been skyrocketing.

I heard some people say maybe it should be exempt from the constitutional amendment or maybe we should not count Social Security or Medicare because those are trust funds. Mr. President, those programs are funded by payroll taxes. If you work, and you get your W-2, you find Uncle Sam takes out individual income taxes, and he also takes out payroll taxes for Social Security and for Medicare's hospital fund.

Mr. President, I ask for an additional 2 minutes.

Mr. COVERDELL. I yield another 2 minutes to the Senator from Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. I urge my colleagues to just look at the growth in these taxes. The payroll taxes alone have just exploded. If I put in the maximum total contribution under payroll taxes, in 1960 that total for Social Security—this includes hospital or Medicare taxes—the maximum tax that anybody put in 1960 was \$144. Keep in mind, the system started quite a bit earlier, but the maximum tax was \$144.

In 1970, the maximum tax was \$374. This is just for the employee. The employer has to match this. In 1980, it really increased substantially and went from \$374 in 1970 to \$1,588 in 1980. Wow, it went up about four, five times. Between 1980 and 1990 it went from \$1,588 to almost \$4,000—\$3,924. Keep in mind, your employer is matching that. So for an individual—that is maximum; in that case somebody was making \$135,000, I think—they were paying almost \$4,000 and the employer was paying almost \$4,000. That is \$8,000, a big increase.

It continues to explode. By the year 2000, for that person still making \$135,000 it goes up to \$6,496, almost \$6,500, with a total cost of \$13,000 put in for a person to pay these Social Security taxes. My point being, this is just a payroll tax. But this table shows, if you look at it on a curve, that Social Security taxes have gone up tremendously. The same thing for Medicare taxes, they just exploded. Yet, the Medicare fund is still going broke. Yet, Social Security still has a real funding problem. In the year 2013 it is estimated to pay out more than it takes in.

So my point is, Mr. President, some people want to ignore payroll taxes. I disagree. Ask any wage earner—ask my son; ask my daughter—who are paying these taxes. These taxes are high and they are getting higher. That means people have to work longer before they can take enough home to take care of their needs and their family and their future.

So, Mr. President, I think we have to be cognizant of the American working

family. I am very critical of President Clinton for vetoing our tax reduction effort and for pushing through the largest tax increase in history. He is responsible for the fact that a lot of people have to work a lot longer for Government instead of themselves. We need to reverse that. I hope that Congress this year, soon, will pass tax reduction for American families. I thank my colleague from Georgia and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Did the Senator ask unanimous consent to have material printed in the RECORD?

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have a couple of charts printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, follows:

## PAYROLL TAX DATA FOR EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS

	Maximum annual contribution—			
	Total	OASI	DI	HI
1950	30	30	n/a	n/a
1951	54	54	n/a	n/a
1952	54	54	n/a	n/a
1953	54	54	n/a	n/a
1954	72	72	n/a	n/a
1955	84	84	n/a	n/a
1956	84	84	n/a	n/a
1957	95	84	11	n/a
1958	95	84	11	n/a
1959	120	108	12	n/a
1960	144	132	12	n/a
1961	144	132	12	n/a
1962	150	138	12	n/a
1963	174	162	12	n/a
1964	174	162	12	n/a
1965	174	162	12	n/a
1966	277	231	23	23
1967	290	234	23	33
1968	343	259	37	47
1969	374	291	37	47
1970	374	285	43	47
1971	406	316	43	47
1972	468	365	50	54
1973	632	464	59	108
1974	772	578	76	119
1975	825	617	81	127
1976	895	669	88	138
1977	965	722	95	149
1978	1,071	757	137	177

PAYROLL TAX DATA FOR EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS—  
Continued

	Maximum annual contribution—			
	Total	OASI	DI	HI
1979	1,404	992	172	240
1980	1,588	1,171	145	272
1981	1,975	1,396	193	386
1982	2,171	1,482	267	421
1983	2,392	1,705	223	464
1984	2,646	1,966	189	491
1985	2,792	2,059	189	535
1986	3,003	2,184	210	609
1987	3,132	2,278	219	635
1988	3,380	2,489	239	653
1989	3,605	2,654	254	696
1990	3,924	2,873	308	744
1991	5,123	2,990	320	1,813
1992	5,329	3,108	333	1,888
1993	5,529	3,226	346	1,958
1994 <sup>1</sup>	5,715	3,394	364	1,958
1995 <sup>1</sup>	5,752	3,427	367	1,958
1996 <sup>1</sup>	5,864	3,528	378	1,958
1997 <sup>1</sup>	5,975	3,629	389	1,958
1998 <sup>1</sup>	6,143	3,780	405	1,958
1999 <sup>1</sup>	6,310	3,931	421	1,958
2000 <sup>1</sup>	6,496	4,019	520	1,958

<sup>1</sup> HI wage base cap was eliminated in 1993, but this table assumes it was continued at \$135,000.

Source: Social Security Administration.

## PAYROLL TAX DATA FOR EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS

	OASDI		HI		Tax rates (percent)—			
	Wage base		Wage base		Total	OASI	DI	HI
1950	3,000	n/a	1,000	1,000	n/a	n/a		
1951	3,600	n/a	1,500	1,500	n/a	n/a		
1952	3,600	n/a	1,500	1,500	n/a	n/a		
1953	3,600	n/a	1,500	1,500	n/a	n/a		
1954	3,600	n/a	2,000	2,000	n/a	n/a		
1955	4,200	n/a	2,000	2,000	n/a	n/a		
1956	4,200	n/a	2,000	2,000	n/a	n/a		
1957	4,200	n/a	2,250	2,000	n/a	n/a		
1958	4,200	n/a	2,250	2,000	250	n/a		
1959	4,800	n/a	2,500	2,250	250	n/a		
1960	4,800	n/a	3,000	2,750	250	n/a		
1961	4,800	n/a	3,000	2,750	250	n/a		
1962	4,800	n/a	3,125	2,875	250	n/a		
1963	4,800	n/a	3,625	3,375	250	n/a		
1964	4,800	n/a	3,625	3,375	250	n/a		
1965	4,800	n/a	3,625	3,375	250	n/a		
1966	6,600	6,600	4,200	3,500	350	0.350		
1967	6,600	6,600	4,400	3,550	350	.500		
1968	7,800	7,800	4,400	3,325	475	.600		
1969	7,800	7,800	4,800	3,725	475	.600		
1970	7,800	7,800	4,800	3,650	550	.600		
1971	7,800	7,800	5,200	4,050	550	.600		
1972	9,000	9,000	5,200	4,050	550	.600		
1973	10,800	10,800	5,850	4,300	550	1,000		
1974	13,200	13,200	5,850	4,375	575	.900		
1975	14,100	14,100	5,850	4,375	575	.900		
1976	15,300	15,300	5,850	4,375	575	.900		
1977	16,500	16,500	5,850	4,375	575	.900		
1978	17,700	17,700	6,050	4,275	775	1,000		
1979	22,900	22,900	6,130	4,330	750	1,050		
1980	25,900	25,900	6,130	4,520	560	1,050		
1981	29,700	29,700	6,650	4,700	650	1,300		
1982	32,400	32,400	6,700	4,575	825	1,300		
1983	35,700	35,700	6,700	4,775	625	1,300		
1984	37,800	37,800	7,000	5,200	500	1,300		
1985	39,600	39,600	7,050	5,200	500	1,350		
1986	42,000	42,000	7,150	5,200	500	1,450		
1987	43,800	43,800	7,150	5,200	500	1,450		
1988	45,000	45,000	7,510	5,530	530	1,450		
1989	48,000	48,000	7,510	5,530	530	1,450		
1990	51,300	51,300	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1991	53,400	125,000	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1992	55,500	130,200	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1993	57,600	135,000	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1994	60,600	no limit	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1995	61,200	no limit	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1996	63,000	no limit	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1997	64,800	no limit	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1998	67,500	no limit	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
1999	70,200	no limit	7,650	5,600	600	1,450		
2000	73,200	no limit	7,650	5,490	.710	1,450		

Source: Social Security Administration.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Oklahoma for his remarks and his expertise on this subject. He made a very, very eloquent statement on the burden of taxation.

At this time I yield up to 10 minutes to the Senator from Utah.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. BENNETT. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, tomorrow is tax freedom day. It is an artificial calculation,

but it serves to focus our attention on how much of the time we spend working as a Nation to pay our taxes, because on the 7th of May, finally, if we had paid everything we had earned to the Federal Government, we could begin taking something home.

As I say, that is an artificial calculation. We do it because it focuses our attention on one question. This is the fundamental question when you address the whole issue of taxes. Whom

do you trust to spend your money? Do you trust the people in Washington? Do you trust the Federal Government to spend your money more wisely than you can or do you decide in a free society that you want to hang on to more of it to spend for yourself?

Obviously, we have to trust the Federal Government to spend some of our

money. There are some things the Federal Government does that we cannot do for ourselves.

The most obvious example that I can think of is the Interstate Highway System. We could not go out as individuals and contract to build the roads, to make the plans, to lay out the routes. All of those things are appropriate activity of the Federal Government.

When the Interstate Highway System was first proposed back in Dwight Eisenhower's time it was a Member of this body, Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, who made the decision that we would not pay for the interstate highway system with debt. He said, we will pay as we go, and that was the beginning of Federal gasoline taxes going into the national highway trust fund to pay for the Interstate Highway System. And it worked.

We trusted the Federal Government to spend our money more wisely on highways than if we had spent it ourselves. We gave the Federal Government that money, and the Interstate Highway System was created. I find it interesting, Mr. President, to know that now the tax increase that was pushed through by President Clinton 2½ years ago is a tax on gasoline that does not get spent on our roads or on the interstate highways. President Clinton is spending that money for something else.

I am supporting the repeal of the increase in the gas tax because I think in this area I trust myself more than I trust the Government to spend those extra few cents on gas. If I could be sure the Government was going to spend it on roads, I would not be so anxious to be for repeal of the gas tax. But we have broken away from that concept that was established here in this Chamber by a Member of this body that said the money that gets paid for gasoline taxes, gets spent on roads and highways and bridges.

President Clinton has broken that link and said, "No. Let's tax gasoline, but let's trust the Federal Government more than we trust the individuals on the issue of how that should be spent."

Now, we have heard in this debate the whole discussion of tax rates going up. The justification for tax rates going up is that we need more tax revenue in order to pay down the deficit. That sounds fine, Mr. President, but as Members of this body know—I come from a business background and was a businessman until I ran for the Senate, and I discovered very quickly what every businessman knows—raising prices does not mean increased sales. Raising tax rates does not mean increased tax revenue.

We have all seen the example where Ford Motor has brought out a new version of its best-selling automobile, the Ford Taurus. The Ford designers were so enthusiastic about how beautiful the Taurus was that they raised the price on the Taurus. It stayed at that higher level for something like 3 weeks when they discovered that peo-

ple were not willing to pay the higher price. What did they do to get sales moving? They lowered the price. Lo and behold, when they lowered the price, sales started going up. That is exactly the same principle that applies to the Federal Government. If you lower the tax, we can see revenues begin to go up.

Let me be personal about this, Mr. President. During the 1980's, I was CEO of a company that started out literally in a basement in a suburban town in Utah. It had four employees. Today that company is listed on the New York Stock Exchange and has a market value approaching three quarters of a billion dollars. It has 2,700 employees. We built that business at a time when our effective tax rate was 28 percent. That meant we were able to make our choices as to how the money would be spent in buying inventory, building buildings, hiring new people, instead of having the Federal Government make the choices as to how that money would be spent.

Today if we were to start that business again, the effective rate on the money we would earn would not be 28 percent as it was in the 1980's, it would be 42 percent—a 50-percent increase. I say, Mr. President, we would not have created those 2,700 jobs if we had been facing a 42-percent effective tax rate.

Now, a study has been done on the impact of the tax increase that President Clinton gave us in 1993. President Clinton talks about all the new jobs that have been created since he has been President. According to the study by the Heritage Foundation, that number would be 1.2 million higher than it is if President Clinton had not given us that tax increase. Yes, we have had some increased jobs because we were coming out of a recession. We would have 1.2 million more. From my personal experience, the difference between paying 26 percent and 42 percent can account for that.

What it boils down to is this, Mr. President: Americans all want to earn more, and they want to keep more of what they earn so that they can do more with that money they are allowed to keep. In my own personal experience, I saw that happen. We earned more as our business was successful. We were able to keep more because we had a lower tax rate, and we were able to do more, reflected in those 2,700 jobs that we created.

Every one of the people that holds one of those jobs, Mr. President, pays taxes. Every one of them is adding to the revenue of the Federal Government by virtue of what we did creating that business. The Federal Government was a winner all across the board when they allowed us to earn more and then keep more that we earned so we could go out and do more in creating those additional jobs.

It comes down, again, Mr. President, to the fundamental question that I asked at the beginning. When you address the question of tax freedom day,

you are asking this fundamental issue: Whom do you trust to spend your money? Do you trust the bureaucrats? Do you trust the regulators? Do you trust the planners in Washington? Or do you trust individual Americans all over this country, taking their money and making the decisions as to where it will be invested, where it will be channeled, where it will be spent, in a way to build the economy?

I, for one, Mr. President, think that government does many good things. I think I can trust the Federal Government with a good chunk of my money to do things like build roads and bridges, defend the country, and take care of the other challenges that we have as a nation. But when it comes to making the fundamental economic decisions as to what will make this country grow, I trust individual Americans more than I trust the planners in Washington.

For that reason, I am hoping that we can move the date back toward the 1st of January when Americans can say, "I have stopped working for the government and now I am working for the growth of this country as a whole."

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Utah for his remarks from a business perspective on these economic issues. I yield up to 10 minutes to my good colleague from Texas.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I am pleased to be able to talk about the tax burden on American families, especially because tomorrow is a red-letter day. Tomorrow we call national tax freedom day because tomorrow is the day that Americans stop working for the government and start working for their families. They will pay their taxes tomorrow, and all of the work they have done between January 1 and May 7 will be money that goes to the Federal, State, or local government. That is about 40 cents of every dollar earned by the American family. To put it another way, 3 hours of every working day goes to pay Federal, State, and local taxes.

For most American families, making ends meet is getting harder and harder. After paying the basics—food, clothing, shelter, and taxes—there is not much left. With ever-higher costs for education, for health insurance, and for retirement, most people have to work today. Many families would like to have mom or dad at home taking care of children, being home when they get home from school, but they cannot afford it because they have to do the extra things to get the extras beyond the taxes, the food, and the shelter.

President Clinton has not eased the burden on working families. He raised taxes on seniors who depend on Social Security, on the self-employed, and on everyone who drives a car. His tax increases in 1993 and the resulting slower economic growth has cost Americans \$227 a month in earnings.

Last year, the Republican Congress tried to do something unusual for families. We tried to let them keep their

own money. We believe that with lower taxes, Americans will earn more and they will most certainly keep the money they worked so hard to earn.

The Republican Congress did the following things. We cut taxes for families with children by providing a \$500-per-child tax credit to help parents raise their children and to offset the erosion of personal exemption from inflation. With this tax cut, 28 million families would pay fewer taxes. In my home State of Texas, 2 million families would pay fewer taxes under the bill we passed last year.

We encouraged families in that bill to save for retirement, with my homemaker IRA proposal that I have been working for 2 years to get put forward, and other expanded individual retirement accounts. This Congress believes in the expansion of IRA's because that is people taking responsibility for their own retirement. It is our encouragement for them to do so.

I want the homemakers of this country, Mr. President, to also have the ability for their retirement security because I believe the work done inside the home is every bit as important, and probably more so, than the work done outside the home. We should not penalize the hard-working family that has the ability for the mother to stay home and raise the children or the family, if that is the choice. Many people stretch to make that happen. The current Tax Code prevents married couples who rely on the one income from equitably providing for their retirement security by limiting homemaker deductions to \$250.

I think it is an outrage in this country. In fact, here is what the numbers show. If you work outside the home, you can set aside \$2,000 a year. If you work inside the home, you set aside \$250 a year.

What this means is that under current law, a single-income married couple saving \$2,250 a year for 30 years will have \$188,000 for their retirement nest egg. With the bill we passed in Congress so that both spouses are able to set aside \$2,000 a year, after 30 years they would have a nest egg of \$335,000—\$335,000, an increase in \$150,000 for that working family.

We also helped families by permitting tax-deferred savings in an IRA for education costs, for medical expenses, for first-time home purchases, and allowing penalty-free withdrawals during times of unemployment. That encourages savings, and it also helps people with emergency needs that they may have so that they know, if they do set aside for their retirement security but they need a little bit extra to educate their children, or if they become unemployed, or if they have a bigger medical expense than they can afford, or to buy their first home, they can take from that tax-free income that has built up without the huge penalty that discourages them from providing for their retirement.

That is what we do in the bill that we passed. And we stopped penalizing

young couples for getting married. We increased the standard deduction for married couples filing jointly. In other words, by the year 2005, under the bill we passed, the marriage penalty would be eliminated for couples that do not itemize their deductions.

So we encouraged marriage and family rather than discouraging it by saying you are going to pay more if you get married than you would have to pay if you stay single.

We cut capital gains taxes to encourage and reward investment. We wanted to create new businesses that create new jobs because we understand that the small businesses create the jobs in this country. It is not the giant corporations; it is the small businesses. A capital gains tax reduction helps them to be able to buy that piece of equipment or make that capital investment that will create the jobs that will get this economy going again.

We cut estate taxes. We cut estate taxes so that years of hard work would not be wiped out in a generation so that a family that inherits a small family business or a small family farm will not have to sell these unready salable assets in order to pay taxes to the Government.

Our tax cuts would reduce the tax burden on the people who actually pay taxes, Mr. President. More than three-quarters of the cuts in the first year in the bill we passed go to the middle class making under \$75,000 a year.

Who are those people? They are mothers and fathers who will get help raising their children with a \$500 child tax credit.

They are homemakers who will get the opportunity to contribute the maximum amount to an IRA for retirement security so that, if the homemaker loses her spouse, she will be able to have something that is her own, that will help her in her retirement years.

They are married couples who will have the Tax Code's marriage penalty reduced.

They are savers who are trying to buy a first home or pay for college for their kids.

They are small business owners who have spent their lives building a business and want to pass it to their children without the huge taxes that sometimes require the sale of that small business by the heirs because they do not have the cash to pay taxes.

They are investors who provide the capital to start businesses and create jobs.

Our tax cuts helped all Americans. It would put more money in people's pockets, and it would increase jobs. Together with a balanced budget, it would lower interest rates and increase the standard of living for millions of Americans.

So why do I keep talking about what the proposals would have done? I talk about it as if it did not happen because it did not happen. Congress passed everything I have talked about, and President Clinton vetoed it. That is why I am still talking about it.

After running for President in 1992 on a middle-class tax cut, in 1993 President Clinton raised taxes on middle-class Americans while he claimed to only hit the rich. His taxes took what could have been a robust recovery and made it a weak, lackluster recovery.

The economic reports came out last week, and they said the economy is getting better. I cannot remember a time when the economic reports were coming out saying things were better when people do not feel it. If you ask someone what their major concern is, they say job security. That is what they say. I do not care what the numbers are showing. It is what is in somebody's gut. They do not feel secure because they sense more taxes, more regulation, and more encroachment on their freedom and independence. They know things are not the way they used to be.

So why, Mr. President, do people not feel so good when all the numbers say things are getting better? Big government. Big government. Big government is costing jobs for the American people.

A report from the Rochester Institute of Technology estimates the direct cost of complying with Federal regulations to be about \$668 billion in 1995.

The bottom line is, Mr. President, tomorrow Americans are going to stop working full time to pay taxes. But we have not even talked about the hidden cost of regulations. They are going to work until July 3 to finish their obligation for all of the cost of government—regulations, as well as taxes.

So, hopefully, on July 3, we can talk about the cost of government. But today we are just talking about the cost of taxes.

I do not think that Americans in general object to taxes. In fact, the Reader's Digest poll taken recently shows that Americans believe they should pay taxes to live in this great country for what this country gives them back in services and freedom. But, Mr. President, they believe about 25 percent for a family of four is the maximum that government should take from them. They believe they should be able to keep 75 percent of what they work every day to earn. In fact, however, they are paying about 40 percent.

We are working every day in Congress to bring that number down. If we could just get the President to work with us instead of just talking about it, we could make a difference for the American family. We could put government in the role that it should have, and we could give the people of this country their buying power back. They work for this country. They work for their families. We want them to keep what they earn.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Texas for her remarks on the economic aspect of taxes on the American family.

I now yield up to 10 minutes to my distinguished colleague from Iowa.



The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Texas just gave a very good explanation of what was in the bill that the President vetoed. I think it is a good exercise once in a while to remind ourselves and the public—because the public is cynical about whether or not we ever kept our commitments of the last 15 years to pass a balanced budget—that we passed a bill, a 1,800-page bill. This balanced budget legislation was the product of 8 months of work by 13 different committees in this body to balance the budget; not only balance the budget but to help lower mortgage interest rates down by \$2,300 a year, student loan interest rates by \$603 a year, and interest rates on a car loan by \$150 a year. You can go on and on about the benefits of balancing the budget by reducing the interest rates by 2 percent, according to Greenspan, but Congress also offered all of the things that the Senator from Texas referred to—IRA's for home-makers, expanding IRA's for everybody, a \$1,000 tax cut for a family of four, and estate tax reductions, and welfare reform that turns welfare over from the Federal bureaucracy to the States to administer because the States are doing a better job of it than we are in Washington, saving the taxpayers \$58 billion, and saving Medicare from bankruptcy in 6 years. Medicare is going to be bankrupt in 6 years. We knew that a year ago. That is why we addressed the issue in this bill. This is the bill that President Clinton vetoed. It has been referred to by Senator NICKLES and Senator HUTCHISON. I think we ought to think of this as a document that people do not think we passed because the President is on TV saying he is for balancing the budget and making some citizens ask: Where are the Republicans?

Well, where was the President last year when we were balancing the budget? Now, I will tell you that he was passing the buck. We do not want to pass the buck. We just want to get down and get the job done again.

Part of the issue that we are dealing with today, as everybody has been hearing, is that we are recognizing tomorrow as national tax freedom day. It is a sad commentary that we are to May 7 before people are done paying their taxes and can start working for themselves and their families. But also it is beneficial to remind people that this is a day when they can start working for themselves, if they are average Americans, because I think most people feel that Congress is so irresponsible that average Americans never get done paying taxes. But we have tax freedom day to bring people's attention to the fact that an annual point arrives where our people stop toiling away to fund big Government and begin toiling away to fund their families and their ways of life.

I am happy to say that in my State of Iowa, our citizens are slight winners

in this year's tax freedom day lottery. For the people of my State, tax freedom day was Saturday, May 4, instead of tomorrow, May 7. As you can imagine, the people in my State find this 3-day victory to be somewhat shallow in comparison to what others, including the Federal Government, expect of them. The fact that we have 3 days more of tax freedom than most people, I suppose, is a tribute to Iowa officials being more fiscally responsible on State and local spending than we are at the Federal level as opposed to other States. For Iowans, it took 125 days this year, including weekends, to make it to this mock Federal holiday. For the first 18 weeks of 1996, working Iowans gave up their hard-earned money to fund Federal, State and local coffers. Finally, on May 4, Iowans began to keep what they might earn for the remainder of 1996. They only now begin to work to pay for the things that they must do and what their families want to do and what they have a responsibility to do.

If you remember back to the 1992 Presidential campaign, Vice President GORE traveled the country giving his now famous economic speech in which he said:

Everything that should be up is down, and everything that should be down is up.

I think this theme can also be applied to President Clinton's budgetary policy.

Common sense tells us that when things go up, something else comes down. So when the Government's budget for spending grows, obviously, the family budget shrinks. Another way to describe this bloated economic policy is by means of the Washington tax-and-spend syndrome. Some folks in Washington fail to understand that most Americans are not satisfied with the way their tax dollars are spent. Again, I should like to remind my tax-and-spend colleagues that money does not grow on trees.

Unlike the retail and service sectors of our private economy, the dissatisfied taxpayer, in dealing with the Federal Government, cannot demand a Government refund for poor services rendered. Many Americans feel shortchanged for helping to support programs that they do not believe in or use. When it comes to spending money on families, the choice should belong to taxpayers, not to the Federal bureaucrats.

Washington deficit spending is the public's greatest outrage of all. Taxpayers want to know why the Federal Government has spent more money than it has collected for each of the last 27 years. Ending this trend of 27 years of spending more than we take in is what balancing the budget last year was all about—the budget that the President vetoed. Because unlike the Federal Government, working families live on limited budgets and balance a checkbook. Not the Federal Government. But those same working families expect the same of Uncle Sam, to balance the checkbook and to be in the

business of life and operating profitably.

Because Iowans are economically conservative by nature, most of my citizens are outraged by the fact that Washington cannot get its fiscal house in order. The willingness to pay their share of Government services becomes harder to swallow when wasteful and inefficient Government programs continue to expand.

I should like to give you an example that I had something to do with bringing to the public's attention last year. Consider the estimated \$200,000 expense for a flight from Naples, Italy, to Colorado Springs, CO, U.S.A., last year by an Air Force general. About 36 tax-paying families in Iowa worked all of last year just to pay for General Ashy, an aide, and his cat to jet nonstop across the Atlantic with two inflight refuelings. He could have taken a commercial airline flight for \$1,500.

This disconnect between elected officials and the public will continue to widen if Washington clings to the fiscally irresponsible status quo. Last fall, Republicans made many tough decisions in order to pass the first Balanced Budget Act since 1969.

And again, I do not think we can hold this up too often to say, "Here it is. We passed it." One person stands in the way of this being law or not, and that is the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, because he vetoed it.

When the smoke from last year's budget battle cleared, it was obvious that no one won. We passed it, but we did not win. The President vetoed it, and you might say he won the public relations battle because he is on television having everybody believe that he thought of the balanced budget. It was 6 months past the last election when we won an election on a promise to balance the budget that the President said, "Well, I am for a balanced budget, but we will do it in 10 years." It has only been since January 13 that he came around to doing it in 7 years as we are doing it with this legislation that he vetoed.

The President still leaves about 87 percent of his expenditures to be made in the years 2000, 2001, and 2002. That is a long way off and is difficult to plan for.

The American people do not have a balanced budget, so I still have to say even though we passed it, the public has not won yet. In fact, they are losing every day that we do not balance it for next year. More importantly, faith in Government suffers yet another setback.

As the Senator from Texas said, we have to work to restore the \$500-per-child tax credit. In addition, we are going to repeal Clinton's 1993 gas tax, and we are going to do that because the President ran on a platform in 1992 in which he stated so often that an increase in the gas tax is sticking it to the low- and middle-income working people of America and the retirees. The President said that he is not for doing



that, and yet he did it within 6 months. We voted against it, so obviously we are still sticking by our convictions not to be for the President's gas tax increase because it is regressive. We have a chance now with high gasoline prices to make the point and to repeal something the President said in 1992 he was not going to do anyway. So that is why we are doing it. But we are also in the process of trying to free working poor and middle-income families from excessive tax burdens.

So Iowans, the people of my State, marked tax freedom day on May 4, 1996, and the rest of the country tomorrow, May 7.

During this period, and especially today, I believe it is the duty of the President to agree with Congress to cut spending and to provide tax relief so that Iowans, and their friends in every other State in the Union, can commemorate this day earlier next year.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I compliment my colleague, the Senator from Iowa. He reminds me of what I said in my opening remarks when I was rebutting the statement by the Senator from Virginia, who thought the courageous thing to do was to keep the gas tax in place. And he reminds us that the President himself came to the American people in 1992 and said, as you just heard from the Senator from Iowa, that a gas tax is not the thing to do and it is particularly harmful to people with low income, the middle class, and seniors. That whole episode is interesting to me because it was such a center point of the President's campaign, that he would lower taxes on America's middle class. The bags were not unpacked before that promise was forgotten. Then, by August 1993, as the Senator from Iowa has alluded to, we were confronted with the largest tax increase in American history.

So you go to the American people and say I am going to lower your taxes. Then you come up here and raise them the highest they have ever been raised. And no wonder a cynicism begins to set in across the land about the way Washington works. The bottom line here is that Americans are working 40 to 50-plus percent of a work year for a government. I know Thomas Jefferson, if he were here today, would be astounded. If you read back through his remarks, time and time again he warns and points to the egregious behavior of governments when they consume too much of the fruits of labor. He said it throughout his life and throughout his working in the founding of the Government. He also warned us that governments by their nature do just that. I do not believe a single Founder could ever conceive that our Government would be a government that sweeps half the earnings away from an American family.

I have spent a good bit of my time talking about this average family and

what the burden of taxes does to them. I would like to visit on this just a little bit more. I often refer to Ozzie and Harriet as the quintessential family of the 1950's. When Ozzie and Harriet were working in the workplace, Ozzie sent 2 cents out of every dollar he earned to Washington. But if he were here today, he would send up to 24 cents; from 2 cents up to 24 cents out of every dollar of his wages being sent to Washington.

That fact raised several questions in my mind. All of us in the country are very concerned, deeply concerned about the behavior of our families and the changes that have occurred. It created a deep worry. We have heard Senators say here: If you ask parents today if they are better off than their parents, they say yes. But for the first time in American history if you ask them do you think your children will be better off than you, they say no. That is the first time that has ever happened in America.

What has been the force that created this sense of pessimism? My argument is that there is no single institution or structure or force on the American family that has so profoundly affected the way they live and function as has had their government; more than Hollywood, more than pop music stars—government. What other force sweeps through the family and takes half of everything those bread earners earn?

When I was a kid I was told the largest single investment I would ever make is my home. My guess is the Presiding Officer was told the same thing. But that is not true anymore. We have to change the rhetoric. We now have to tell America's children the single largest investment you will ever make is government. It now surpasses housing; your home, clothing, education, and transportation combined. So no institution has had a more profound effect on the way the American family functions than the government.

There is a lot of discussion in today's workplace about both parents having to work and not, therefore, having the opportunity to spend enough time with the family in setting the standards, in monitoring what is going on in the family. I would allege that the single greatest force in our country that has caused families to have both parents in the workplace is the government, too. In fact, I was so curious I wanted to know, from 1950—Ozzie and Harriet—to now, the increasing number for which both parents work each succeeding year. Then I tracked that scale or growth against the increased tax burden. Mr. President, you will not be surprised, nor would anybody else, that those two lines on a graph track each other almost simultaneously. In other words, every year, as the Government added yet another gas tax or raised the income tax or some other scheme to get more of the revenue of that working family, each time they did that another so many thousands of American families were forced to make the decision that both spouses had to work.

In fact, both parents today work on each day longer earning taxes to give to the government than they spend with their own family. They are now investing more of their workday working to pay off this tax burden and the debt and the interest on the debt and all the commensurate effects of taxation and regulatory burdens—they are spending more time doing that than they are raising their own families. Is there any wonder, then, that the behavior of that family is changed? It should not be a surprise to any of us.

If you ask the second spouses today if they are working on their own, voluntarily, 85 percent say no. Mr. President, 85 percent would do something differently. A third of them would stay home. If they had their option, they would stay home. They cannot. They cannot make ends meet without both of them being in the workplace. A third of them would volunteer, they would like to be in the workplace as volunteers. And another third would modify the amount of time that they are in the workplace.

So I wonder, you almost wish that we could cause the Federal Government or all governments to put on the tax form: "This is how many days your family has to work to meet this obligation," because I am convinced that there are not many families who think they are working from January 1 to May 7—or, as the Senator from Texas pointed out, to July 3, if you add the regulatory burden in—that they work until midyear before they have the opportunity to keep one dime for themselves, one dime to pay for what they are responsible for accomplishing for the country. This is a sad state of affairs and I believe all of us need to be engaged in absolutely sound, fundamental policy to push that burden back.

If America were picking the date, they would pick March 1; that they would have worked from January 1 to March 1, and that is a fair deal between that family and the Government: March 1. But, instead, because of all these pressures—I guess courage has been alluded to by the Senator from Virginia—they now work until May 7 instead.

Mr. President, we have just received a white paper from the Manufacturing Institute called "Improving the Economic Condition of the American Worker."

I would like to read just a small piece of what this report says. It is entitled: "Government Obstacles to Wage Growth and Job Creation."

Taxes, particularly payroll taxes, account for much of the slowdown in compensation growth.

We read every day articles concerning the anxiety in the American family from economic pressures in the family. But this report says:

Taxes, particularly payroll taxes, account for the slowdown in compensation growth.

It says:

Had the relative tax burden remained at the level of 40 years ago, today's typical family would have an extra \$8,847 in disposable income each year.

Eight-thousand dollars. Now remember, Mr. President, a moment ago I said that average family is earning about \$40,000 a year. This is the equivalent of a 20-percent pay increase, \$8,847 in additional income.

Based on an analysis of Census Bureau figures by the Tax Foundation, the median two-earner family paid about 20 percent of its income in 1955. In 1995, taxes took an estimated 37 percent. The change is even more apparent when it comes to payroll taxes which represent the largest tax on many employees. Social Security and Medicare taxes are 45½ times higher today than in 1955.

These are the reasons Ozzie was only sending 2 cents to Washington and today he is sending 24 cents.

Median income, on the other hand, is only 10 times higher. Companies today are burdened by heavy, nonproduction costs largely created by government—

Just as we have been saying all afternoon.

The major ones are government regulations, legal services and taxes. If these costs could be reduced significantly, companies would have more resources available to expand and hire more workers and pay higher wages. The current regulatory system is too costly.

The Senator from Utah was talking about this very point.

In my closing minutes, I want to point out that elections have consequences. President Clinton's efforts on the economy in 1993 really had a major effect on the American family.

It is important to note that since this administration came to office in January 1993, virtually everything they have done has pushed and mounted the economic burden on the American family and American business. In other words, with all the American people saying, "We're being taxed twice what we should be, we should be free to earn our own money on March 1, not May 7," but this administration came here and has pushed the tax burden higher, blocked regulatory reform by arguing against it here on the floor, so the regulatory burden is mounting.

Since Clinton has been President, regulatory costs to the American family have risen about \$300 per year. Their taxes have gone up. They are working even more for the government than they were when this administration came to office, even though this administration said, "You will be working less for the government. That's our promise to you. You'll work less. It won't be May 7; we're going to go back the other way."

Wrong. Wrong. That promise was left at the doorstep of the White House, Mr. President, and they work more than when this administration came to office and they have more regulatory burden today than they had then. As we said earlier, the largest tax increase in history—\$255 billion in higher taxes—gas taxes, Social Security taxes, a \$31 billion increase in the gas tax,

and, as we have all alluded, that has a particularly regressive effect on low-income Americans; less family income.

According to the Joint Economic Committee, after-tax median family income for a single-earner family has fallen \$803 during the Clinton Presidency. If real after-tax incomes had grown at the average rate of the Reagan expansion, 1983 to 1989, single-earner median family income would be \$1,274 per year higher.

People are spending less time at home with their families and more time working to pay for big Government. According to the Tax Foundation, Americans will spend 2 hours, 47 minutes—3 hours—of each working day laboring to pay taxes, and they will work this year until tomorrow, May 7, just to pay Federal, State, and local taxes.

Mr. President, the 1993 budget has cost America dearly. It has cost her 1.2 million in additional private sector jobs between 1993 and 1996; a total of \$2,600 in after-tax income for every household in America between 1993 and the end of 1996; roughly \$465 in wages and salaries in 1996 alone. The list goes on.

The point we are making is that American families work too long for the government and not enough for themselves, and this administration has made that situation worse, not better. They promised to make it better. They did not. Worse yet, they made it worse.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I am sure there will be more conversations today, as there should, about the fact that this is tax freedom day. This is the day that has been determined that each of us on the average has worked since the first of the year until now to pay our taxes to this country.

A typical family of four pays 38.2 percent of their income in taxes. That is for all governments.

In Wyoming, and this is the U.S. Census estimate, the median income for families is about \$47,000. Federal taxes are about \$10,000; local and State taxes are another \$5,000 or \$6,000, for a total of \$16,000 in direct taxes. The estimated cost of Federal regulation for a family is about \$6,600. Excess family interest payments caused by Federal borrowing are approximately \$2,000 for a total of \$24,000 that goes to taxation.

So, Mr. President, it is an appropriate day for us to take a look at what we do with taxes. I would like to approach it from just a little different angle. Of course, taxes are dollars, taxes are numbers when we talk about those, but I think also there is a concern that we ought to have that taxes also are related to the size of Government. They are more than money. They have to do with the kind of Government we have. They have to do with the number of Government programs that we expect, and there is a relationship between spending and taxes.

Of course, we ought to be willing to pay for the programs that we want. We

have not done this. For 40 years, we have not balanced the budget. What we have done is said, "Yes, we want more programs, but we are going to charge them to our kids; we're not going to pay for them." We ought to be willing to pay for the programs that we want.

I think that the message in the election of 1994, and we are coming up to another one in 1996, the message was, "government is too big, the Federal Government is too big, it costs too much and we are overregulated."

Too often in the past 40 years, we have said, "Well, we have all these programs. The question is, how do we pay for it," instead of taking a look each time at what programs we have, how effective those programs are, where should those programs be cared for, do they, indeed, need to be there at all.

One of the problems is we have been sort of distanced from the idea of paying for them. The best relationship between a taxpayer and his or her Government is that as a taxpayer in a school district where the proposition is we need a new school or we need a new science lab, we say, "All right, it costs  $x$  amount of dollars to have this new science lab. It is going to cost you this much on your taxes next year," and you make the decision whether or not you are willing to pay a cost-benefit ratio. Is it worth it to you to pay for that program?

The Federal Government removes us from that. It removes us in several ways. That is, most of us have our taxes withheld, and so we talk about after-tax dollars, and for some it is really hard to understand how many dollars we do pay in taxes.

I think it is great to have a tax day and say we have worked this year until now with nothing for ourselves, paid entirely for taxes. That is part of the problem.

The other, of course, is the Federal Government is removed to the extent that seldom do we have a chance as taxpayers to say, "Here's the program, here's what it costs. Is it worth it to me? Am I willing to pay what it costs?" We do not have that same kind of cost-benefit ratio opportunity that we have on the local level.

So I think it is appropriate that when we talk about taxes and we talk about the burden and we talk about the debt and we talk about the future, that we also take a look at government; take a basic, long look, some introspection of you and me as taxpayers and citizens, saying, "I suspect in our form of government, those who put together the Constitution did not envision that 40 percent of our earnings, of everyone's earnings, on average, would go to pay taxes for government functions." Do you think? I do not think so.

They so clearly defined in the Constitution those things that the Federal Government should do, and there are many things, indeed, that the Federal Government should do. There are many things that only the Federal Government can do—defense, interstate commerce, highways—many things.

They also put in the Constitution the 10th amendment which says that only those things enumerated in the Constitution would, in fact, be carried out by the Federal Government and others would be reserved to the States and to the people. So we find ourselves with a great relationship between the taxes we pay and the amount of Government that we have.

Big spending and big taxes go together. We have done a number of things this year to seek to work at this. When the Republicans came in and took control of the House and Senate, they changed the debate. We have changed the debate from talking about how do we get more money to continue to grow, to taking a look at the programs that are there.

We have changed the debate to one of examining programs instead of simply saying they are going to grow some more, how do you charge it or how do you put it on the debt or how do you get some more taxes.

We have changed the debate to balancing the budget. The budget has not been balanced in 25 years. For the first time, the conversation now is toward balancing the budget. We presented a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution which says, as it does in almost all State constitutions, that you cannot spend more than you take in. It lost by one vote. I hope we get another chance, Mr. President, to take a look at that issue, and I think perhaps we will this week.

In that debate, frankly, we forced the President to deal with balancing the budget. The President did not send up any balanced budgets until this year. Now, of course, we do not agree with the way it has been balanced. It does not do anything about those things that drive it. But nevertheless, the discussion now is how do you balance the budget, not if you are going to balance the budget. We have reduced the number of programs in Government. We have to do that if we are going to do anything about taxes. We sought to reduce taxes in a couple of instances. We had regulatory reform.

Mr. President, I guess what I want to emphasize is we do pay a great deal of taxes. I think we pay too many taxes. I think we expect too much from the Federal Government; that there are other ways to accomplish those things more efficiently either through local government, State government, the private sector, that we ought to take our taxes and orient them, direct them toward those things that only the Federal Government can do.

But I hope that we do not simply talk about the amount, because taxes have a great deal to do with the concept, with the principle of what you do in the Federal Government. I think that is a legitimate debate that each of us ought to undertake as we move into this election season. Each of us ought to evaluate in our judgment what role we think the Government ought to have at the Federal level, what role

should the centralized Government have, how much money should we spend, how do we become responsible morally, physically to balance the budget, and that seems to me is what tax day is about. I am delighted that there will be discussions about it, there will be considerable interest in it.

I think one of the things sometimes we do not even recognize ourselves is the amount that taxes have increased. Corporate tax increases between 1992 and 1995 have gone up 55 percent. Who pays corporate taxes? Corporations? I do not think so. It is the people who use their products, of course. They are passed on.

Personal taxes have gone up 25 percent. Total receipts have gone up 23 percent. At the same time total receipts and taxes have gone up 23 percent, the GDP has only gone up 16 percent.

So tax increases have outstripped our growth by at least 1.5 times. Payroll taxes have gone up 15 percent, and indirect taxes up 11 percent.

I am not opposed to taxes. Taxes are how we fund our Government. We have to pay taxes, should pay taxes. We should pay them fairly. The real issue is, what do you want to pay for? What are you willing to pay? What should we pay for? How do we do it efficiently? Tax day ought to cause us to consider those things and consider them as we come into this election cycle. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize tax freedom day; a day marking the people's emancipation from government taxation; a day after which the American people begin working for themselves and their families instead of for the Government; a day which continues to recede further and further every year.

This year, Mr. President, America's tax freedom day arrives on May 7. In my own State of Michigan it arrives even later—on May 9. Michigan, thanks to its friendly atmosphere for economic growth and investment, is relatively affluent. Thus Michigan pays a significantly higher portion of its income in Federal taxes than do other States. We are 13th in the Nation in total taxes paid, again in large measure because the Federal Government takes more from our citizens' paychecks than from those of citizens of other States.

But let us look at the overall tax picture.

As tax freedom day approaches, Mr. President, I believe it is appropriate for us to ask ourselves how much of their time, what proportion of their paychecks the American people feel it is fair for them to be asked to pay to the government.

When I first saw the results of the Roper Poll on this subject I was surprised to note that Americans of all stripes—whatever their race, sex, income level, or political persuasion—felt it was fair for them to pay a full 25 percent or one quarter of their income

taxes. More astounding, however, is the proportion they actually must pay in taxes—over 38 percent.

Americans are willing to pay a quarter of their incomes in taxes, Mr. President, but that is not enough for our government. No, our government taxes away over 38 percent of the income of the average American family.

And the trend is toward more, not less. The government imposes ever-higher taxes on America's working families. Commerce Department data reveal that in 1995 total taxes as a share of the gross domestic product were the highest in U.S. history. Federal, State, and local government receipts consumed a record 31.3 percent of GDP.

Mr. President, this figure is simply astounding. Even at the height of World War II, with America fighting for her very existence, total taxes only consumed 25 percent of GDP. In 1992, only 4 years ago, taxes consumed 30 percent of GDP.

What does this mean? It means that taxes have risen by 1.3 percent of GDP—of the size of our entire domestic economy—since Bill Clinton became President.

And what does our President propose to do about this deplorable situation, in which our economy is operating under the highest tax burden in history?

Recent experience does not provide much hope for relief. In 1993 President Clinton signed into law the largest tax increase in history: \$241 billion. The President raised taxes on gasoline. He raised taxes on Social Security recipients. He also hit our senior citizens by reinstating the highest estate and gift tax rate of 55 percent. He raised taxes on small business owners. And he passed a retroactive tax increase on the incomes of America's working families—not only increasing taxes on their future incomes, but actually taking a portion of the incomes they already had earned.

The President's tax hikes directly and indirectly increased the tax burden on millions of middle-class taxpayers. Small wonder he recently admitted that he "may have" raised taxes too much.

But President Clinton's contribution to higher taxes does not end there. When we Republicans sought to emancipate American families from some of their tax burden—to make their tax freedom come earlier in the year—President Clinton was ready, with his veto.

Americans should judge for themselves the effects of Clinton tax policies on their ability to keep what they earn for themselves and their families. They should ask themselves a few simple questions.

First, do you have children?

If so, President Clinton's veto of our Balanced Budget Act is costing you \$500 per child in tax savings—the amount of the tax credit we attempted to give you.

Second, are you married?

If so, President Clinton's veto is denying you tax savings from a higher joint standard deduction. Married couples with average incomes of \$50,000 who claim the standard deduction are paying \$217 more than they would otherwise, because of the President's veto.

Third, are you trying to save for your retirement?

If so, and you earn more than \$40,000 a year or have a nonworking spouse, President Clinton's veto cost you \$1,120 in IRA tax savings.

Fourth, are you planning to adopt a child?

If so, President Clinton's veto cost you a credit of up to \$5,000 to defray adoption expenses.

Fifth, do you care for an elderly parent at home?

If so, President Clinton's veto is denying you savings from a \$1,000 eldercare deduction—that's between \$150 and \$280 out of your pocket and into the Government's.

Sixth, do you plan to earn taxable capital gains—for example by selling your house when you retire?

If so, President Clinton's veto is preventing you from keeping more of your profits. The GOP reforms would have seen that you were taxed on only half of your net capital gain.

And finally, are you paying off a student loan?

If so, President Clinton's veto is costing you savings from a maximum \$2,500 deduction on the interest paid for the first 5 years of repayment.

This veto delayed tax freedom day to May 7—the latest date ever. This veto extended to 3 hours, out of the typical 8-hour workday, the time Americans must work just to pay taxes, the longest ever. This veto means that the value of the dependent exemption continues to decline. Our families are having a harder time supporting their children, in part because the exemption has lost much of its value. For the dependent exemption to be worth the same it was worth in 1960, it would have to be \$3,800 today—\$1,300 more than the current \$2,500.

In short, President Clinton's policies have chained America's working families to ever-higher taxes, making it harder and harder for them to support themselves.

His policies have cut the growth of Americans' real personal disposable income. They have hurt the economy, increased taxes and reduced by nearly \$2,600 the amount of money every American household can use to support itself. They have contributed to a situation in which more and more families have two working parents not out of choice but out of economic necessity. At the same time these policies have reduced the size of parents' paychecks—even as parents face increased costs for their children's education, worries over their own retirement and concern that they are spending enough time with their kids.

Americans today are, and have every right to be worried about their jobs,

concerned about their future, and angry that the American Dream of moving up through hard work seems to be slipping out of reach.

In one generation, Mr. President, the Government has doubled the amount of money it takes from the American people. It has severely restricted our freedom from taxation. And what have we gotten in return? Certainly not safer and better schools. Certainly not safer and cleaner streets. Certainly not reduced drug-use and juvenile crime. Certainly not lower levels of welfare dependency and hopelessness.

No, Mr. President, what Americans have bought with their tax freedom is nothing more than increased Government control over their lives. And this must end.

We must free our people from the chains of overtaxation and overregulation.

We must see to it that Americans earn more and keep more of what they earn so that they can do more for their families and communities.

We must institute reforms that will encourage economic growth, lower tax burdens, and empower America's working families to once again take charge of their own lives, helping themselves and their neighbors.

What does this mean in practice?

To begin with, Mr. President, it means relieving American families of the burden imposed by the Clinton tax increases. This is why we must pass the \$500 exemption for all children under the age of 18.

It also means reducing the amount Americans must pay for gasoline by rolling back the 1993 Clinton gas tax increase that unfairly burdens lower income working families.

It also means we must create more and better paying jobs through incentives like a capital gains tax cut that will encourage businesses to invest in resources that create jobs.

And it means helping people save for the future by encouraging retirement savings and portability.

Finally, Mr. President, it means balancing the budget and stopping Government from overspending. It means regaining control over the cost and size of Government so that the tax burden and regulatory burden both may be lifted from the shoulders of the American people.

America always has been the land of freedom and opportunity. In large measure this has been true because we have recognized that opportunity—the chance to build a decent and rewarding life for yourself and your family—depends on freedom.

Only with the freedom to work, move, and invest as we see fit can we make the most of our capacities.

It is our job, Mr. President, to restore Americans' opportunity by freeing them from a Government that taxes too much and prevents them from pursuing their own good, and the good of their families and neighbors.

Tax cuts, growth incentives, and renewed responsibility in government

spending and regulation will emancipate the American people from the chains of taxation and overregulation.

More than this government cannot provide. Less than this, Mr. President, we dare not provide.

Mr. HATCH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, before we get into the Billy Dale bill, because it is a very important piece of legislation, as far as I am concerned, I thought I would spend a few minutes, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, talking about habeas corpus reform because of the extraordinary action taken by the Supreme Court last Friday, and then I will launch into the Billy Dale legislation.

#### THE SUPREME COURT AND HABEAS CORPUS REFORM

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, last Friday, the Supreme Court decided to hear a challenge to the constitutionality of the habeas provisions in the Anti-Terrorism Act. To examine this issue, the Court chose the vehicle of *Felker versus Turpin*, a case in which the prisoner, Ellis Felker, kidnaped, robbed, raped, sodomized, and then killed Evelyn Joy Ludlam, a 19-year-old college student who was working as a waitress. The Court ordered an expedited briefing and argument schedule, with the likely result that the Justices will decide the issues involved by the beginning of July.

Mr. President, I ask the Clinton administration, and in particular, its Solicitor General, Drew Days, to vigorously defend the constitutionality of our habeas reform. Habeas reform was the heart and soul of the Anti-Terrorism Act, and it is the only thing in the act that will directly affect the perpetrators of the heinous bombing in Oklahoma. Without habeas reform, those who murdered in Oklahoma, like other convicted murderers throughout our Nation, will be able to use frivolous petitions and appeals to prevent the imposition of their justly deserved punishments.

It is a sad day when we in the Senate must ask the Justice Department to vigorously side with the State in a death penalty case. But I am afraid to say that we must because of the Clinton administration's demonstrated reluctance to support habeas reform and the death penalty. Through its Solicitor General, the Clinton administration has failed to support State efforts to impose capital sentences—a 180-degree turnaround from the policies of the Reagan and Bush administrations. For example, in Judiciary Committee hearings led by myself and Senator THOMPSON, we learned that, during the 1994 Supreme Court term, the Solicitor General under the Clinton administration failed to file even one brief on the side of the State in death penalty cases. As this chart makes clear, this is a sharp drop off from the practice