

end up paying no tax so the people who go to work every day end up paying a certain tax. I do not think so. It does not make sense to me.

If the Senator from Mississippi wants to pass a bipartisan resolution and takes these kinds of things, especially, out of it, write a resolution and we will pass it. I have no problem with that. But you cannot call this bipartisan, bringing this to the floor and throwing out sort of an in-your-face admonition about what Democrats did in 1993. Most of us feel good about what we did in 1993. We turned this country around, and passed a piece of legislation that substantially reduced the Federal deficit, substantially reduced the Federal budget deficit, helped create new jobs, put us on a course to economic growth and reduced interest rates. That is what we did, and we did not get one vote to help us. All we got was criticism then and now, 4 years later, we slip papers under the doors and over the transom, to say, "Here is what they did, here is what they did back in 1993."

That is not the way to do business. If you want to do a resolution, let us do one. Let us just take all this backbiting out of it and do a resolution that reaches the consensus that I think we could reach on some of the things that we think should be done with respect to our Tax Code.

I yield the floor.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, if I could, I have a brief unanimous-consent request that I do not think will be a problem. I ask unanimous consent there now be a period for morning business with Senators to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

Mr. LOTT. For the information of all Senators, as I noted, there will be no further rollcall votes. We are working on a time agreement for tomorrow on the assisted suicide legislation that has already passed the other body. I would expect that rollcall to occur mid to late afternoon, and we are still working on the situation with regard to the nominee to be Secretary of Labor. So there could be at least one and maybe two votes tomorrow. We will give Senators the exact time once we have information.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). Who seeks time?

#### TAXES

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I compliment my distinguished friend from North Dakota on his very prescient remarks, which I think are right on target. I listened to a lot of the debate today on the question of taxation, and I must say I find it puzzling. I do not really mean this, but I say quite often

that I wish everybody had the opportunity to live through the Depression. My brother and sister and I were lucky. We had something to eat. We also had devoted parents and that makes up for a multitude of problems. However, not everyone is as fortunate. Some people need a helping hand.

Nobody likes the idea of taxes. I coughed up a sizable amount yesterday to the IRS. I did not particularly enjoy it. But I have never begrudged the taxes I paid, even though, as a U.S. Senator, I see a lot of waste. I see money misspent. I see priorities misplaced. And sometimes it is kind of a bitter pill to swallow. But I can not accept the idea that some Senators that have propounded today that somehow there is something unholy and evil about paying taxes. As Justice Holmes said, taxes are necessary "to make our society a civilized one." To complain about the taxes we pay in order to live in a civilized society is unfathomable to me.

My brother, who is my best friend, does not like to pay taxes. I keep reminding him the thing he and my sister and I had that a lot of children did not have when we were growing up, is that we chose our parents well. A lot of children do not have that luxury. The fact is that the Federal Government has done a tremendous amount of good with our tax funds. I think about the house we lived in and the fact that the water well was only about 10 steps away from the outhouse, and people died of typhoid fever in the summertime and we could not figure out why. All of a sudden, Franklin Roosevelt was elected President, the first President of the United States who began to treat the South as a part of the United States and not as a conquered nation. So, we began to get paved streets, running water, indoor plumbing, electricity, natural gas, housing, medical help, free shots against typhoid fever and smallpox at the schoolhouse, by a nurse paid for by those insidious taxes that we pay.

Mr. President, if I could just list all of the things that have happened since I was 10 years old, that have made us the great Nation we are, not one single Member of the U.S. Senate would take any of them back—not one. I am thinking about the housing programs we have, the farm programs we have, the medical research that we do, the medical help we give people. I think about the bank insurance fund. If we had not had the FSLIC fund when the S&L's were all going broke, you think about what a catastrophe that would have been in this country. That is what happened during the Depression, the banks went broke. And my mother, who had carefully saved \$1,100 selling cream and eggs and chickens on Saturday, lost every nickel of it when the bank went under. And she grieved about it until her dying day.

Who would turn their back on the environmental improvements we have made in this country? Mr. President, 65

percent of the streams were unfishable and unswimmable. Now 65 percent are swimmable and fishable, and nobody here wants to do anything but go to 100 percent clean water and air for our children and grandchildren yet to come.

I could go on with many other things the Government has done to benefit us all. For instance, we have dammed the rivers that used to flood every spring. My mother and father used to go down to the Arkansas River every April, see people straggling along the road who had lost their homes and all their possessions, pick them up, take them home, keep them for a couple of nights until the water receded, and take them back to the area they had called their homes. We dammed the Arkansas River. It not only provides navigation but recreation and flood control. And people in those same areas of Arbuckle Island do not have to worry about it anymore.

And now some in Congress want a constitutional amendment that would require a two-thirds vote to raise taxes. You could not even correct a mistake with less than two-thirds of the vote. You could not close a tax loophole with less than two-thirds of the vote. It would favor the wealthy, who would be assured their taxes would never go up. And it would be a terrible disservice to the people who rely on Government services—yes, even welfare recipients. Like I say, everybody did not have Bill and Lattie Bumpers for parents.

We talk about family values. I have the three greatest children and the greatest family a man could have. I know all about family values. I put mine up against those of anybody in the world. Yet you and I know there are a lot of children in this country who would be better off almost anywhere than where they are.

So, I believe in helping these children. We keep on building more prisons and spending \$25,000 a year for every person we incarcerate, and if we had given that child an education at roughly half the cost, he would not be in prison. When I was Governor I used to go to the prisons and talk, sit and have lunch with them, interview them, talk to them. I never met one with a college degree, though there probably were a few. I never met one who owned his own home. I didn't meet very many who did not come from a broken home.

Mr. President, I stand here on April 15 and we are still without a budget. Instead, we are wasting the peoples' time with a debate between the Democrats and Republicans about taxes. So far as I am concerned, the whole country loses with that debate. If you really want to restore confidence in the American political system and you want to stop the alienation of people's attitudes toward Congress and what goes on here, do two things: Balance the budget and change the way you finance campaigns. Anybody who thinks a democracy can survive when the laws

we pass and the people we elect are totally dependent on how much money we put on it is dreaming.

And, if you want to stop alienation and really cause people to dance in the streets, balance the budget. In 1981, FRITZ HOLLINGS, Bill Bradley and DALE BUMPERS were the only three Senators who voted for Ronald Reagan's spending cuts and against his tax cuts. I can show you absolute documented proof, if everybody had voted that way we would have had a balanced budget in 1985. But, no, the herd instinct swept across this body and we voted for those massive tax cuts that guaranteed the budget was going to go out of control. And it did. Just as I screamed from this very spot in 1981.

Here we are, back to the same old stand. It reminds me of trying to housebreak my little dog. I just could not do it. His memory was just too short. And he is not alone. The memories of people in this body are awful short, too. Nobody seems to remember how we got an additional \$3 trillion in debt from 1981 to 1992.

So, it is nonsense to talk about a two-thirds vote to raise taxes. Even the Articles of Confederation, which started out by saying you have to have 9 of 13 States agree to raise taxes before you can do it, had to be changed because they knew that would not work.

Mr. President, I have tried to make two points today. As I have said many times before, if it had not been for a generous, compassionate, caring Government, who had taxes to pay for my education on the GI bill, I would not be standing here right now. I have been trying to pay back this great Nation, the oldest democracy on Earth, with an organic law which we call the Constitution; next to the Holy Bible the most sacred to me. And every time we get in a tough political spot somebody says, "Well, let's amend the Constitution." When I think about some of the people here trying to tinker with what Ben Franklin and James Madison and John Adams and Alexander Hamilton did, crafted the greatest document and delivered under that document the greatest Nation, the greatest democracy on Earth, and people are constantly trying to destroy it, undo it—I shudder when I hear some of my colleagues wanting to undo what the greatest assemblage of minds ever assembled under one roof did to bring this all about.

What do they want to do? Make it impossible to raise taxes because the rich would have to pay. I am not going to be caught voting to cut Medicare and welfare and Medicaid and have somebody come to me and say, "Did you use it for balancing the budget?"

No.

"Did you use it for education, so that everybody can have a college education?"

No.

"Did you put it into housing? The environment?"

No.

"What on Earth did you do with it?"

Why, we cut taxes for the wealthiest 5 percent of the people in America. That is what we did with it.

I will be 6 feet under before you catch me voting for something like that.

I just came over here to say that the citizenry of this country, when you stop and talk to them from the heart, if not the head, talk to them from the heart and the head, let them know we are the luckiest people alive.

Yes, I paid a lot of taxes yesterday, and I did not like it, but I will tell you what I do like. I enjoy living in a civilized society where the crime rate is down, where the unemployment rate has been dramatically reduced, where inflation is under control, where people have jobs and where some Senators are trying to figure out a way to educate every child in this country who wants it.

So, no, I am not voting for any of this nonsense that would require a two-thirds vote to raise taxes. That is not a democracy. I consider myself just about the luckiest man that ever lived, No. 1, because of my parents and No. 2, because I got elected to the U.S. Senate after serving my State as Governor for 4 years. Why? It is the greatest place in the world to keep faith with humankind, to give other people the same kind of chances you had.

So I am very fortunate to be an American, and I did not begrudge the taxes I paid yesterday, just as I never begrudged the taxes I have paid, and I think most of the Members of the Senate agree with that when they stop and really reflect on it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SNOWE). The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GRAMS. Madam President, thank you.

#### TAX DAY AND TAX RELIEF

Mr. GRAMS. Madam President, I would like to talk a little bit about tax day and, of course, the arguments going on here in the last few minutes about taxes and who should pay them, how much should be paid. I find it a little ironic, but perhaps not surprising, that efforts to get a couple of resolutions on the floor to approve or have the Senate go on record that the American taxpayer, the American family, the American working people need tax relief—we tried to get just a resolution approved under a unanimous-consent agreement, but it was denied.

Many talk about tax relief. The only problem is there are many more in this body who talk against tax relief. I have been a strong supporter of family tax relief, and I have been the author and have supported for the last 4 years an effort to get a \$500-per-child tax credit across the board. That is not really enough, because when you look at how we support families and children, if we kept pace—and a lot of you just looked at your 1040 forms, 1040EZ forms, and you found out for every dependent you

can deduct \$2,550. If that had kept pace with inflation from 1955, it would be worth over \$9,000. So over the last 20 or 30 years, somehow we have found children or families less worthy of tax relief than we do today.

We talk about other tax relief, like the death tax, the estate tax. In other words, you have worked all your life, you have tried to put something away, as you are encouraged to do, to provide for your family after you are gone, to be able to leave your children or your spouse some money for the means of doing better. But yet, when you die, the Government wants to come in and take the majority of it. I think it was Paul Harvey who went through this the other day on the radio and talked about if you had a \$3 million estate, by the time the Government got finished taking money away from you through penalties, et cetera, and the estate tax and everything else, your family would get \$400,000, the Government would get \$2.6 million of that.

If you had an estate of \$1.9 million, the tax on it would be 85 percent that would go to the Government. What kind of a message does this send to anybody? Does it tell you that you should save? "Why? I'm going to save up all my money so that the day I die, the Government can come in and take 85 percent of it away from my kids."

We talk about the death tax, and we talk about eliminating the estate tax. You worked all your life, you have already paid your taxes on those dollars. This is after-tax income, and yet, when you die, the Government says, "That's not enough, we want the bulk of whatever you have in your savings account and cap gains tax."

There is always talk about how it is only a tax cut for the wealthy. Granted, there are people who have money who are going to benefit from this, but it is capital they are going to reinvest. When we talk about being able to provide an economy for working families in this country, we need to grow, and that needs investments, it needs capital, no matter where it comes from—foreign investors, local, domestic. We need those dollars.

Right now, it is estimated that \$7.5 trillion is locked up in old investments; in other words, in companies that maybe are not as efficient as new companies, old products that could be replaced by new, because of penalties of taking your money out of one investment to put into another, and the Government is standing there to grab a majority of it. In other words, people cannot afford to take it out of one investment because the Government is going to confiscate a large part of that. So those investments remain locked up. What we are saying is cap gains would release a flood of new investments into new jobs, new companies, new products; it would expand the economy, it would provide new revenues.

I know my time is going to run out, but let me talk quickly about tax cuts.