

said, that it is no longer appropriate that we have an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In fact, we have been told to turn the other cheek when we are struck. We have been told to love your enemies, bless those who curse you, do good to those who hate you.

I do not know how people have been lost in this debate, Mr. President, how they feel that they can come and bomb places of business, hurting innocent people.

So I say, we must stop this violence. And the very first way of stopping the violence is to speak out against it. We must all speak out against these horrendous acts that are taking place in our country.

I express my appreciation to the Senator from North Dakota for allowing me to speak out of order.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may consume and ask unanimous consent that following my presentation the Senator from Florida, Senator GRAHAM, be yielded 10 minutes from my time.

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

(The remarks of Mr. DORGAN pertaining to the introduction of S. 181 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

THE AGENDA

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I just finished testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee on the issue of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. When I appeared before the committee, there was a debt clock the chairman put up in the back of him. He hung it up in the room. It showed the debt increasing every second as we were there testifying. It was a fairly effective prop, I thought, because we ought to be concerned about the debt. And we are on the right subject when we are talking about eliminating the deficit and trying to reduce the Federal debt.

But I pointed out to the chairman of the committee that if we pass his proposed constitutional amendment to balance the budget, if we pass it right now, and then pass the proposed budget that will balance the budget in the year 2002, it doesn't stop the debt clock. The debt clock doesn't become a stopwatch on debt, because they are defining a balanced budget as a budget that takes all the money in the Social Security system that is coming in and uses it as other revenue to balance the Federal budget. The result is, in the year 2002, when they claim the budget will be in balance and they will comply with the constitutional requirement to balance the budget, the debt in America will increase by \$130 billion.

I went to a small school, a high school class of nine. We didn't take the most sophisticated arithmetic in the

world, but I guarantee you nobody in the country teaches that if you claim you balance the budget, it is OK for your debt to continue to increase. Let me say it again. They will enshrine in the U.S. Constitution a practice that takes dedicated trust funds that can be used only for Social Security to be used now as other revenue, and then claim they have balanced the budget, even as the Federal debt will continue to increase by \$130 billion a year after they say the budget is balanced.

It is not budgeting that is correct, it is budgeting that—if you were in the private sector saying, by the way, in my business, I am going to take the workers' pension funds and use them to cover my operating loss in the business, it would get you sent off to 2 years of hard tennis in a minimum security prison. That is illegal. In Congress, they can simply change the definition so it allows them to say they have balanced the budget, even when they have not balanced the budget and are still borrowing \$130 billion a year more. That is not a good recipe for my children or yours. And it is not an honest way to balance the budget.

We will introduce tomorrow, a group of us, a constitutional amendment to balance the budget that says, yes, we support it. Let us do it the right way, the honest way. If we are going to balance the budget, let us do it the old-fashioned way. In fact, putting the provision in the Constitution won't balance the budget. It will be men and women who vote for a combination of taxing and spending changes that ultimately will balance the budget.

We have made progress, and I am proud to say that I am part of the team that has allowed us to make that progress year after year, reductions in appropriations in program after program, year after year, biting the bullet to do the tough things, make the hard choices, to bring the budget deficit down 4 years in a row, down by 60 percent. I am pleased to be a part of the group in this body that says that is the right course, it's the responsible thing, a thing we ought to do for our children's future.

Now, Mr. President, let me make a final point. We are going to introduce that tomorrow with eight or nine of us as original cosponsors. I hope that will be considered whenever there is consideration of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. That is an important first topic for this Congress—again, how to get our fiscal house in order. But there is much more to be done.

The convening of a new Congress is not just about trumpeting by elephants or parading by donkeys; it is about people representing men and women of good will across the country who send us here to do the public's business and to try to do the things that improve the future of this country.

We care about education because that is America's future. What do we do to improve education in this coun-

try? That is a topic that we need to address. We can address that in a bipartisan way, in my judgment.

What about health care? What about 10 million kids who don't have health care? What about a 2-year-old that is crying with an ache in his stomach, but his parents don't have money in their wallets and can't take him to a doctor they believe in? We should address health care. That is the right subject.

What about the environment? Nobody in America would have predicted that in the past 20 years we have doubled our use of energy, but we now have cleaner air and cleaner water. Why did we end up with cleaner air and water when we doubled our use of energy? Because this Congress said to those who pollute this country, "You can't do that anymore." We are not done with that job. There is more to do. But that is the right topic as well, to improve the future of this country.

Crime. Yes, crime. They say statistics show that crime has diminished. We have a lot to do on crime. I am somebody who believes we ought to say to people in this country: If you commit a violent act, you stay in jail until the end of your time, and no time off for good behavior. You go to prison and stay there. We have a lot to do on crime. We can do that, I hope, in a bipartisan way.

Trade. I hope in the next few days my distinguished colleague from West Virginia and I will introduce, once again, a piece of legislation we introduced toward the end of the last session, which says, what about the other deficit, the deficit that is increasing at an alarming rate, the merchandise trade deficit, which was the largest in the history of this country last year, breaking records 3 years in a row. What about the other deficit? How does this country get its trade in balance? Because the trade deficit, after all, must be repaid in the future with a lower standard of living in this country. That is why it is dangerous for our future. That represents an export of American jobs. Jobs that used to be here are there. Jobs that used to be ours are theirs. We must confront this trade deficit. It is dangerous for this country to proceed without dealing with the other deficit, the merchandise trade deficit, which, after all, in my judgment, is the deficit that will inexorably weaken this country.

No country will long remain a world economic power unless it retains a strong manufacturing base. The merchandise trade deficit represents the erosion of America's manufacturing base, the loss of American jobs, jobs that pay well, jobs that have good benefits. That is why it is so critically important to the future of our economy. I will be introducing again some days ahead, with Senator BYRD, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, a piece of legislation that establishes an emergency commission to make recommendations in how to address this

vexing, dangerous merchandise trade deficit.

Mr. President, I know the Senator from Florida is waiting for the floor. I yield the floor to him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator yield for a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. GRAHAM. yes.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at conclusion of the remarks by the distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM], I be recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes in morning business for the purpose of introducing a bill and making some comments thereon.

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

RETIREMENT SECURITY FOR AMERICANS

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, this morning, I appreciate the opportunity to speak on behalf of an important set of provisions in the Democratic program of putting families first—in this case, the provision that gives families some additional security for their pension and retirement. There is no generation in American history which needs to plan more carefully for their retirement years than that which is currently in America's work force. Two fundamental things have occurred.

First, people are living longer. One of the great successes of our generation has been its capacity to extend life and extend the quality of life. Today a person who retires can look forward to almost 18 years of quality of life after they leave the workplace.

A second thing that has occurred is tremendous mobility within the work force. Our grandparents had an expectation when they completed their formal education of finding a place of employment and in many instances staying in that one employment for the rest of their work careers. Today people are much more mobile and change their jobs at frequent intervals.

The chart behind me indicates what has happened just in the last decade in terms of job mobility. To focus on one group of Americans, American males between the ages of 35 and 44, in 1987 the average American male in that middle-age active employment group had been with their current employer for 7.6 years. Less than 10 years later, the average has dropped to 6 years. The same is true of virtually every other category of males and females from the beginning worker to the worker who is on the edge of retirement.

Workers can no longer expect to spend a career with a single employer. The work force patterns of the last hundred years have evolved as industries, technologies, and the American economy has evolved. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, if you are an average employee between the ages

of 18 and 29 you have held 7.6 jobs in that brief work career. On the occasion of a 30th birthday, 40 percent of Americans have been in their current jobs less than 2 years, making it easier for working Americans to successfully save for their retirement in this context of extended age after retirement, and the mobility of the work force is a matter of tremendous national importance. It is obviously important to the individual and their families to be well prepared for those retirement years, but also it has important implications to the communities in which they will live and to the Nation as a whole.

A retiree who is financially well prepared will not risk being a financial burden to their children, or to State, local, or Federal Government social service providers. They will be able to strengthen the economy in their local communities with home purchases and a variety of leisure and recreation activities. They will be able to use their free time for volunteer efforts to help the next generation with things like the President spoke of in his inaugural address, helping young people to learn to read, building homes for Habitat for Humanity, all the ways in which that discretionary time has served the community and the Nation.

Financial security retirement is valuable to the retiree. It is valuable to the Nation.

Our Nation's businesses offer a variety of benefits to their workers to give them a secure retirement to help them start saving for their postemployment life. These range from the traditional defined benefit programs to profit-sharing to 401(k) retirement accounts. I am going to focus on that third area in which employers have assisted their employees in preparing for retirement; that is, through incentives and encouragement to persons to voluntarily save for their own retirement, and how can we make that a more expansive and a more stable source of retirement income.

Generally, the 401(k) retirement benefits become available to employees after they have worked 5 to 7 years with a particular company. If an employee leaves before that time, some or all of the benefits which they derived can be lost. I applaud the Democratic leadership and specifically Senator DASCHLE for a legislative response that will greatly assist hard-working Americans in continuing their ability to prepare for their retirement even as they undergo these dramatic changes in their employment career.

This legislation provides for more rapid vesting for the employer contribution to a 401(k) plan as retirement savings. 401(k) plans have grown tremendously over the past two decades. In 1984, there were 17,300 qualified plans. Today there are over 140,000 such plans. Currently, 22 million American workers contribute part of their salary to a 401(k) plan to help prepare for retirement. In the aggregate, 401(k) plans now hold \$675 billion in assets for American workers.

Employees are contributing large sums to their 401(k) in part because many employers match the employee contribution. But under current law, if an employee terminates his or her employment with a company prior to 5 years of service, then the employee may not get any of the employer's contribution to the plan. In today's mobile work force, many employees switch jobs in less than 5 years. We should recognize this reality of the mobility of the work force. We should recognize that it is a strength of the American economy. We should mitigate the current practice of penalizing mobility at less than 5 years by vesting an employer match after 3 years. That is one of the proposals for reform in the 401(k) program. But faster vesting alone is not enough. We need to explore other proposals that will make it easier on employers to transfer pension funds with an employee when the worker changes jobs.

As an example, under current law, if a new employer accepts pension funds that came from a new employee's previous company, a worker who has worked at company A, they have accumulated savings in their 401(k) plan and they want to carry those funds to their new employer B, the new employer has to make certain that pension funds are part of a plan that meets all the Federal requirements. Failing to do so, they can be subject to Internal Revenue Service penalties. Many businesses, particularly small businesses, would like to let employees bring pension funds with them, but the regulatory hassle makes it not worthwhile. We need to assure employers that if they allow an employee to roll over his or her old pension plan to carry it with them to their new point of employment, that the new employer will not risk IRS penalties.

Mr. President, 5 million American workers participate in retirement savings plans and change jobs every year. Some will be completely vested and have a smooth transition. Some will put themselves, their family and their retirement security at risk by losing a portion of the company's matching contributions.

Mr. President, the next chart indicates the percentage distribution of worker by years of tenure in their current job. For instance, for American workers in the 35 to 44 age group, 14.7 percent have been in their current employment for less than 1 year, 29 percent for less than 4 years, which means that 29 percent of Americans within that age group would not be in a status in which an employer contribution to their retirement would be mandatory vesting. This issue of making it more secure for employers to be able to provide a continuation of retirement benefits to their new employee, to give the new employee a greater assurance that their contribution and the employer contribution upon which they counted will be there when they reach retirement, are critical issues to the large