

caused me to understand what truly made me happy and what counted."

I think it is important to remember that Paul had always tried, even before he learned he had cancer, to balance family and career. As it was, he rarely went on the usual circuit of Washington cocktail parties and trade association receptions because he wanted to be home with Niki, Ashley, Katina, and Molly. We on his staff who had no kids or failed to share his priorities found this maddening—and Paul knew it and didn't care. But the cancer did crystallize his feelings further and he found, as he put it, that "the family was where I fulfilled my human aspirations. The Senate had become an obstacle to that."

Paul found his happiness—real happiness—planting flowers in Kittredge Park or being out on the boat at the Cape with Niki and the kids or sitting around a Thanksgiving dinner with his family and close friends or watching Ashley play rugby or Katina at hockey or Molly dancing.

His values seemed old-fashioned to some but I don't think Paul Tsongas ever felt emptiness from the day he married Niki. A few weeks ago, someone at the hospital asked Paul how he was doing and he replied "fine . . . as long as Niki's only three feet away". While he was strong for others she was his strength, whether it was campaigning for him around the country or caring for him through their long and courageous struggle together.

Paul told Carol Beattie, his nurse at Dana Faber that he had accomplished what he wanted most his remarkable 13½ years since he learned he had cancer—to see his daughters grow up. I would add that they didn't just grow up; they grew up to be people with the same kind of values and decency and caring as Niki and Paul. That is quite a testament.

Senator Kennedy called Paul a profile in courage and he surely was—a profile in both personal and political courage. His presidential campaign epitomized both those qualities. Paul had won 10 primaries and caucuses to Bill Clinton's 13 when he decided to drop out. He knew that if stayed in, he could deny Clinton the nomination and assure himself the role of a kingmaker at the convention. But that was not the purpose of his candidacy. Paul had run because he believed in something. While he lost the Presidency, he had won something that was for him far more profound. He had changed the debate about the future of his country and about its ability to confront the federal deficit. That, too, grew out of his experience with cancer and his determination not just to know his children but to secure their future and that of their generation—what he called "the obligation of my survival". It took courage to run in the first place, risking ridicule—and it was there in the early days. It took courage and integrity to insist that a candidacy of principle could not compromise on principles. Now the issues he raised in 1992 are at the center of America's public discourse. He lit the way.

I have often thought that I didn't have living heroes but I realize now that I was wrong. Paul was my hero. I wish I could have told him that before he died. What I did tell him was that I loved him and what a good friend he was but I know that in that I am not alone. For so many others across this city that he helped to rebuild, across this state that he loved and served so well, across this land that he awakened to a new reality, and across the generations to come whose freedom from unsustainable debt will be his legacy; they have lost a good friend as well.

#### EULOGY BY ASHLEY TSONGAS

Our father's love for us was fundamental to our lives. You don't question the existence of

the ground you walk on or the air you breathe, and we never doubted the existence of our father's love. Even in the middle of a four-hour car ride, when the incessant sound of snapping gum and the muffled screams of smaller, weaker children emanating from the back seat had begun to wear on his nerves, and it became abundantly clear that he didn't like us too much at the moment, it would never occur to us that we had been ejected from our position at the center of his universe.

And then further down the road, when we'd exhausted ourselves and drifted into sleepy silence as a Red Sox game crackled on the radio, he'd reach back and touch each one of us and we'd be reminded how much we loved him too.

I'm having trouble realizing he's gone. During the events of the last couple of days I keep wondering at the absence of a keynote speaker, expecting my dad to walk in at any moment. It's hard to believe the man who offered to fax me a copy of his less-than-impressive college transcript when I was stressing about my grades is no longer going to offer me academic solace. And at rugby, it won't be the same without my dad in the sidelines armed with apple cider and blind admiration.

And with the absence of my father, who treated me as a person with legitimate ideas from as far back as I can remember, I know that I will now have to push myself to come up with real answers instead of easy ones. But these things and countless more were merely expressions of his love for me. And though my dad's no longer here, his acts of love over the last 22 years have created a kind of momentum that will carry me through the rest of my life.

#### EULOGY BY KATINA TSONGAS

When confronted with the possibility that he might not live to see us grow up, my father became concerned about our future and valued the time which he was able to spend with us. His realization of his own mortality shaped the way in which he lived his life with us, but he did not allow it to dictate how he lived. He was able to live in the present while always providing for our future.

Each time he defeated his illness he made the best of the time he earned. We lived the last 13 years in a way which was normal, and that normality is what made them so great and what gave me so many great memories. But these memories were not forced; they were not created by my father as a way to ensure that he would not be forgotten. The memories I have of the last 13 years are memories of a father who loved me and made the best of the time he had. He never let anything get in the way.

In thinking about my father in the last few days, I have realized what an extraordinary man he was. I have never been able to understand what it was exactly that inspired those New Hampshire campaigners to work day and night for a cause which was less than promising. I know now what it is they saw, and it remains with how many lives he touched and how many people grew to love him. I only wish that I could have realized how great he was when I was still able to tell him.

My dad's ability to live a normal life at home is what now makes it possible for me to see him as the amazing man that he was, but remember him as my father. Dad, we just wanted to tell you that we are going to be okay. You've made our city, state, country, world and home better and more importantly you married an incredible woman who is the best mother we could hope for. We miss you so much, and we're going to miss you every day for the rest of our lives. We love you, Dad.

#### EULOGY BY MOLLY TSONGAS

One day in fifth grade, my principal announced over the intercom that all the fifth-graders should report to the playground. We followed orders and made our way outside, where I was stopped dead in my tracks by the most humiliating sight my 11-year-old eyes had ever beheld. There was my dad handing out trash bags to my skeptical classmates and encouraging them to participate in picking up all the trash scattered around the playground.

If I wasn't mortified enough, he had packages of Oreos and Fig Newtons as our reward—two per person. As if any respectful fifth-grader ever ate Fig Newtons. I scurried to pick up every piece of trash and shove every Fig Newton down my throat to end this fiasco as soon as possible and send my dad on his way.

Looking back, I realize that I was not surprised to see him do this. I did not even question him. But I know that he was just trying to get me involved in keeping my school and city clean, that I had a place to be proud of and I would not allow others to do the job for me. Through bringing me around to the developments on the arena, the ball park or even the making of a new Market Basket, he made me realize someone as normal as my dad could make a difference if they just get up and do it. This spirit of his is something I will always remember and hopefully lead my life by.

However, in the long run, the politician or the man of Lowell is not who I am going to miss. I'm going to miss my dad and the way he always ate his English muffins with butter and jam, or how he'd wake up at 8 o'clock and swim across Schoolhouse Pond, or water Kittredge Park, or seeing him excitedly jump out of his chair during charades, or how he'd take us to some random field to play baseball, or how he'd tell me that I was a good kid. I'm even going to miss him helping me make my bed or trying to pick up my clothes from the bathroom floor.

No matter how many times I reassure myself that he had a wonderful life, he did a lot of amazing things, some of which I've just realized, nothing can make me stop wishing that my dad was here right now.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PAUL TSONGAS

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, when then-Representative Paul Tsongas of Lowell, MA, was running for the U.S. Senate in 1978, a newspaper columnist referred to him rather dismissively as "an obscure first-term Congressman." Candidate Tsongas responded quickly to correct the error, saying, "I'm an obscure second-term Congressman."

That was Paul Tsongas, meticulous with the facts, parrying an attack with laughter, and always keeping on course to his goal.

Mr. President, Paul Tsongas embodied the best qualities of a public servant. Uppermost in his mind was the responsibility to make his community, his district, his State, his Nation, his world a better place than he found it. Part of that responsibility was to speak plainly the truth as he saw it, even when speaking the truth might undermine his own ambitions.

During the 1992 Presidential campaign, for example, Senator Tsongas insisted on warning the American people, over and over, about the looming

threat posed by our national deficit. He refused to embrace tax cuts, instead insisting that fiscal responsibility and prudent policy were the keys to bringing the Federal budget back into balance.

Because we shared a commitment to deficit reduction, Senator Tsongas came to Wisconsin in 1992 to campaign for me in my Senate race. Deficit reduction was the centerpiece of my campaign effort, and, like Senator Tsongas, I took the position that massive new tax cuts would undermine our efforts to reach a balanced budget. It was heartening to me to have Senator Tsongas' support and encouragement.

His principles of fiscal responsibility and prudent policymaking led Senator Tsongas, after ending his quest for the Presidency, to join with another former Senator, Republican Warren Rudman, to form the Concord Coalition, an organization that has become one of the leading voices for deficit reduction.

While I did not have the opportunity to serve with Senator Tsongas, our philosophies often crossed paths. I have been proud to have had the support of the Concord Coalition on various deficit-reduction efforts, and I have been inspired by Senator Tsongas' vision, energy, courage, and dedication, both on this issue and in the practice of public policymaking generally.

Mr. President, I had only recently begun my own career in public service when Paul Tsongas announced he would not run for re-election in 1984, because he had been diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. He wanted, he said, to spend more time with his family.

He endured bone-marrow transplants, a treatment that was experimental at the time, and he eventually came back, first to chair the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education, then to run for President and then to cofound the Concord Coalition.

Even as he was working in the highest circles of American politics, he always kept close contact with his beloved hometown of Lowell, where he served on the city council in the late 1960's and where he is recognized as one of the community leaders who help revive that former mill town.

Mr. President, in April 1963, Paul Tsongas was serving in the Peace Corps in Ethiopia, and he wrote then-Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy, asking for help in securing a party worker's job in the upcoming national elections. In that letter, the 22-year-old Tsongas told Kennedy, "I feel confident that I have the raw material to become a successful public servant."

A typical understatement from Paul Tsongas, Mr. President. He will be missed.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. GREGG. Parliamentary inquiry, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The Senator is permitted to speak up to 10 minutes.

#### THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I rise today to speak a little bit about the balanced budget amendment which is being brought forward on this floor in the near future. It is obviously one of the most significant items that this Congress will deal with. As we all know, in the last Congress it passed the House and unfortunately failed here in the Senate by one vote.

So it is a matter of substantive policy which we must attend to, and which we as a Congress should pass. There are a lot of reasons for passing the balanced budget amendment. The most important, in my opinion, is that we put in place procedures in this Nation which will not allow one generation to take from another generation its opportunity for hope and for economic prosperity. Unfortunately, every time we go to the well and borrow money here, as a Congress, we are requiring our children to pay that debt. It truly is unfair for one generation, which has benefited so much from the greatness and energy and prosperity of our Nation, to be taking from another generation its ability to also benefit from that greatness, energy, and prosperity. But that is what we do, we run up the debt of the United States and pass it on to the next generation.

In dealing with the balanced budget, there has been a lot of discussion as to how it should be structured, how this constitutional amendment for a balanced budget should be structured. One of the primary arguments that has been made, on the other side of the aisle especially, is that any balanced budget amendment must not include in its calculation the receipts that flow into the Social Security trust fund for the purposes of determining whether or not the Government is in balance. This is what is known as the Social Security argument.

I think it is put forward for a variety of reasons, some of them substantive and, regrettably, some of them political. We all know whenever you raise the issue of Social Security you not only gather the attention of a number of Americans but, in many instances, if you raise it in certain ways you scare a lot of Americans because many Americans' lifestyles, their ability to exist financially and their capacity to make it from day to day, depend on their capacity to receive Social Security and the support of Social Security. It has been an extraordinarily successful program.

But, in the context of the balanced budget amendment, the way it is being presented is, I think, a bit of an obfuscation of what is actually the situation. Because what is being represented, if you want to get down to the simplest statement of it, what is being represented is that today the Social Security funds are essentially being raided to operate the Federal Government. That is the basic argument that is being made on the other side. And the argument therefore follows that we should not do that, we should only use revenues that are available for the purposes of operating the Government in order to operate the Government.

In other words, if we raise \$1 of taxes to pay for defense or to pay for education or to pay for any variety of things that we do at the Federal level, that is where that dollar should go. But if we raise \$1 for purposes of the Social Security trust fund through the withholding tax, if we raise that dollar, it should only be spent on Social Security. And to set up a balanced budget amendment which may in some way use those dollars to operate the general Government is unfair and inappropriate to seniors who deserve that money to support them.

This argument makes sense just stated in that way. But it does not make any sense if you look at the substance of the way Social Security works. Today, in fact, it raises some very serious concerns about what the promoters of this argument really want to do with the Social Security trust fund. Because today the way the Social Security trust fund works is this. You pay \$1 into the Social Security trust fund. That \$1, as a working American—whether working on an assembly line in Detroit or whether you are working as a computer programmer in New Hampshire—you pay \$1 into the Social Security trust fund and that dollar is immediately paid out to support somebody who is on Social Security today. Social Security is a pay-as-you-go system. Today, under the system as it is structured, more people are paying into the fund than are taking out of the fund in total dollars. If you discount interest payments as a technical thing, basically you are paying \$29 billion more into the Social Security fund than is taken out of the Social Security fund, for the purposes of paying seniors their support under Social Security.

So the senior citizen might say, or some from the other side of the aisle seem to be saying, "Well, that \$29 billion should be available to Social Security and only Social Security. Because, after all, it was raised with Social Security taxes." I am willing to accept that as an argument; as an argument. But how does it actually work? How does it actually work?

Under the law, what do the Social Security trustees do with this extra \$29 billion they will receive this year that they are not going to pay out in benefits? Do they invest it in the private