

I put into the RECORD yesterday evidence that those tax cuts, those marginal tax rate reductions actually resulted in a 40-percent, approximately 40-percent, increase in revenues because they stimulated the economy for 8 years, they contributed more jobs, more opportunity; 21 million jobs were created. They stimulated opportunity. They did a lot of things to get this country going again. But let me point out that during that whole time Reagan was in the Presidency, the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives. Tip O'Neil was in charge during the first part of that. And they kept spending.

Now, I am not just blaming Democrats. There were liberal Republicans who helped them to do that as well. And there is no question that the increase in military spending did put pressures on the budget and that President Reagan was the one who did that. There is no question about that.

But, on the other hand, if you think of the trillions of dollars that were saved because the Iron Curtain now has fallen and freedom has been restored to the East bloc countries, it probably was worth it.

The blame should be on everybody. I don't think people should demagog this issue and stand up and say, "It is Reagan and Bush who did this thing to us and created this \$5.3 trillion debt." No, it is a continual, 58-out-of-66-year unbalanced spending process, during which time the Congress was controlled by liberals—let me put it that way, rather than Democrats and Republicans—liberals who spent us into bankruptcy. And during all of the Reagan years, the liberals did the same thing.

Had we not continued to spend, those marginal tax cuts would have brought us out of the difficulties, except with the possible exception, at least as I view it, of the increases in the defense budget.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I will be very brief. A lot of people want to catch airplanes, and I do not want to discommode anybody. But let me close by saying the Senator from Utah has suggested that the constitutional amendment would be so much more effective than my amendment.

But I ask the Senator from Utah, what provision in the constitutional amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 1, is more effective than mine? We cannot ignore the Budget Act; 60 votes is 60 votes, whether you are trying to get 60 votes to comply with the constitutional amendment or whether you are trying to get 60 votes to comply with the Budget Act, as my amendment will provide.

Let me tell you what one of the differences is. Under my amendment, if you cannot get 60 votes, you shut the Government down and you wait for the people here to come to their senses and get the Government open, as we did the

year before last. Under the constitutional amendment, if you cannot get the 60 votes, you shut the Government down and go down to the Supreme Court and wait for them to act. Not only is that time-consuming and outrageous, but you are also cutting the three branches of the Government of the United States to two.

One of the reasons we have this big deficit, which everybody laments—let me say it once more—is because we talk one way and act another. We talk about how we are going to get the budget balanced, and how terrible it is that we cannot get our spending under control, and then we turn around and cut taxes by massive amounts. It is the worst form of snake oil I have ever seen in my life, yet we keep buying into it. We bought into it in 1981, and now we are getting ready to buy into it again.

All I am saying is, under my amendment, you have everything you have under the constitutional amendment. It is just as tough to comply with—really, tougher—and we exclude Social Security.

I guess everything is said that needs to be said, so I will close and let the Senator from Utah move to table my amendment.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, how much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENNETT). The Senator from Utah has 47 minutes, and the Senator from Arkansas has 29 minutes.

Mr. HATCH. I am prepared to yield back my time.

Mr. BUMPERS. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I move to table and ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table the motion to refer. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. INHOFE] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 65, nays 34, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 23 Leg.]

YEAS—65

Abraham	Chafee	Gorton
Allard	Coats	Graham
Ashcroft	Cochran	Gramm
Baucus	Collins	Grams
Bennett	Coverdell	Grassley
Biden	Craig	Gregg
Bingaman	D'Amato	Hagel
Bond	DeWine	Harkin
Brownback	Domenici	Hatch
Bryan	Enzi	Helms
Burns	Faircloth	Hutchinson
Campbell	Frisk	Hutchison

Jeffords	Murkowski	Smith, Gordon
Kempthorne	Nickles	H.
Kohl	Reid	Snowe
Kyl	Robb	Specter
Lott	Roberts	Stevens
Lugar	Roth	Thomas
Mack	Santorum	Thompson
McCain	Sessions	Thurmond
McConnell	Shelby	Warner
Moseley-Braun	Smith, Bob	Wyden

NAYS—34

Akaka	Feinstein	Levin
Boxer	Ford	Lieberman
Breaux	Glenn	Mikulski
Bumpers	Hollings	Moynihan
Byrd	Inouye	Murray
Cleland	Johnson	Reed
Conrad	Kennedy	Rockefeller
Daschle	Kerrey	Sarbanes
Dodd	Kerry	Torricelli
Dorgan	Landrieu	Wellstone
Durbin	Lautenberg	
Feingold	Leahy	

NOT VOTING—1

Inhofe

The motion to lay on the table the motion to refer was agreed to.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 9 AND 18 WITHDRAWN

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent amendments No. 9 and No. 18 be withdrawn.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senator from Delaware be allowed to proceed as in morning business for as long as he may need. We are waiting for the Democratic leader. We may perhaps interrupt for some agreements when he arrives.

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

The Senator from Delaware.

#### MEDICARE

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I rise today to draw my colleagues' attention to an opinion piece by Senator Bob Dole entitled "Medicare: Let's Fix It" that was in last Sunday's Washington Post.

It is my hope that all my Senate colleagues will read this compelling op-ed. Senator Dole has worked on and observed the Medicare Program for many years, and there is much wisdom to be gleaned from his commentary. He is right—we must address Medicare's problems with real solutions while giving seniors more choices.

On a personal note, I want to thank my friend for his praise of legislation, S. 341, recently introduced by Senator MOYNIHAN and myself, to establish a bipartisan commission on the long-term solvency problems in the Medicare Program.

As Senator Dole notes, "a bipartisan commission can recommend sound long-term solutions," as evidenced by the 1983 Social Security Commission.

Mr. President, the proposed national bipartisan commission on the Future of Medicare would be this type of commission.