

Dukakis's tank ride and his lame, emotionless answer to Bernard Shaw's question about how he would respond if someone raped and murdered Kitty Dukakis.

We've come a long way from that, with the four nominees for president and vice president arguing about such genuinely important topics as defense, education, Social Security and health care.

But before we get too giddy in celebrating our good fortune, let it be noted that historians are almost certain to remark on the purposeful myopia of the candidates in this first election of the new millennium, their deliberate refusal to acknowledge and discuss one of the biggest realities of our national life: The glorious federal budget surpluses they are happily parceling out for their favorite programs and tax cuts are a short-term phenomenon, soon to be followed by crippling deficits, unless we make some hard choices in the next few years.

In this respect, the 2000 campaign is reminiscent of 1988—but worse. In that year, Dukakis and the elder Bush avoided discussing the savings and that year, Dukakis and the elder Bush avoided discussing the savings and loan crisis both of them knew was around the corner. The reason: There were no easy answers, just bad news and an expensive bailout in store.

What we now confront is much, much bigger than the savings and loan bailout. Its dimensions were outlined last week in a report from the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO)—a report that did not make the front page of any of the papers I read and that was ignored by most of the TV news shows.

Here's what it said: Assuming that the new president uses the expected surplus in Social Security of \$2.4 trillion over the next 10 years to pay down the national debt, as Gore and Bush say they will do, the government may be able to balance its books until about 2020.

But then the retirement and health care costs of the huge baby boom generation and the shrinkage in the number of Americans working and paying taxes will once again create a serious imbalance—and push us back into debt.

In the estimate of the CBO, "If the nation's leaders do not change current policies to eliminate that imbalance, federal deficits are likely to reappear and eventually drive federal debt to unsustainable levels." A chart accompanying the report shows the public debt in 2040 rising to 60 percent of the estimated size of that year's economy—creating a burden on the next generation of Americans half again as large as the accumulated debt of the past is on us.

As The Post's Glenn Kessler noted in his news story, "The report underscores how campaign rhetoric has become increasingly separated from the budget reality that will face the next president." While Bush pushes his trillion-dollar tax cut and tries to keep up with Gore's promises of new prescription drug benefits, 100,000 teachers and 50,000 cops, neither one is preparing the public for the steps that are needed to rein in runaway health care costs—the largest single force driving us back into deficits.

By 2040, according to the best available data, the percentage of Americans over 65 will rise from 13 percent to almost 21 percent. The share of working-age Americans, between 20 and 64, will decline by 3 points of slightly over 55 percent. The ratio of workers to retirees will drop from almost 5 to 1 down to less than 3 to 1. Unless we begin now to reorganize our dysfunctional health care system and take steps to rationalize provisions for retirement income, the demographic wave will sink us.

Someone has to force the candidates to confront that reality.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

APPOINTMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, in accordance with 22 U.S.C. 1928a-1928d, as amended appoints the following Senators as members of the Senate Delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly during the Second Session of the 106th Congress, to be held in Berlin, Germany, November 17-22, 2000: The Senator from Iowa, Mr. GRASSLEY; the Senator from Arkansas, Mr. HUTCHINSON; the Senator from Maryland, Mr. SARBANES, and the Senator from Maryland, Ms. MIKULSKI.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN COMMEMORATIVE COIN ACT OF 2000

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of H.R. 4259, which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 4259) to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the National Museum of the American Indian of the Smithsonian Institution, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be read the third time and passed, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

The bill (H.R. 4259) was read the third time and passed.

EXPORT ADMINISTRATION MODIFICATION AND CLARIFICATION ACT OF 2000

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Banking Committee be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 5239 and the Senate then proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 5239) to provide for increased penalties for violations of the Export Administration Act of 1979, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 4305

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, Senators GRAMM and ENZI have an amendment at the desk, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER], for Mr. GRAMM, for himself and Mr. ENZI, proposes an amendment numbered 4305.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide for a simple one-year extension of the Export Administration Act of 1979)

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Section 20 of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. App. 2419) is amended by striking "August 20, 1994" and inserting in lieu thereof "August 20, 2001".

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be agreed to, the bill, as amended, be read the third time and passed, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the bill be printed in the RECORD.

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

The amendment (No. 4305) was agreed to.

The bill (H.R. 5239), as amended, was read the third time and passed.

PROVIDING FOR DISPOSITION AND ARCHIVING OF RECORDS OF JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES ON INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Con. Res. 148, submitted earlier today by Senator MCCONNELL.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 148) to provide for the disposition and archiving of the records, files, documents, and other materials of Joint Congressional Committees on inaugural ceremonies.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, earlier this year the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies held an organizational meeting to officially begin preparations for the next Presidential Inauguration hosted by Congress to be held on Saturday, January 20, 2001.

Next year marks more historic milestones as it will be the 200th anniversary of the first Presidential Inauguration in our Nation's Capital, the first Presidential Inauguration of the 21st Century, and, not least of all, the first inauguration of the new millennium. 2001 also marks the 100th birthday of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies, an entity which I am greatly honored to serve as Chairman.

As we approach adjournment for this Congress, let us look forward with great anticipation and excitement to our Nation's 54th Presidential Inauguration and celebrate this remarkable American tradition in which the peaceful transference of power takes place with all our citizens as witnesses.

In 1789, our Nation's Father and first President, George Washington, recited the oath of office on the Balcony of Federal Hall in New York City. By 1801, the seat of the U.S. Government had moved from New York City, to Philadelphia, and finally to Washington, D.C.

On March 4, 1801, Thomas Jefferson became the first President to be inaugurated at the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., in a room now known as the "Old Supreme Court Chamber." In 1829, Andrew Jackson became the first President to be inaugurated on the East Front of the Capitol, where the majority of swearing-in ceremonies continued to take place until the late twentieth century. It was not until President Ronald Reagan's inauguration on January 20, 1981, that the swearing-in ceremony moved to the West Front of the Capitol where larger crowds could be accommodated. Though below-freezing temperatures in 1985 forced the second Reagan inaugural ceremony inside to the Capitol Rotunda, the West Front set the standard for the next three Congressionally hosted ceremonies. The 2001 Presidential inaugural ceremonies will continue that tradition.

It is interesting to note that until 1901 the Presidential inaugural ceremonies were planned and conducted solely by the Senate. A century later, the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies brings together the Senate and the House of Representatives in welcoming America's President-elect to the Capitol for the public swearing-in ceremony.

Upon undertaking this endeavor, it became apparent that steps needed to be taken to direct that the important historic materials generated by the JCCIC were preserved. For a committee reconstituted every four years, these documents are critical tools for conducting this massive quadrennial event. To ensure these materials are preserved in an appropriate manner, I am introducing a resolution to establish the procedures for archiving the records of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a press release which documents the May 24 organizational meeting of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies and the text of Senate Concurrent Resolutions 89 and 90 be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. SENATOR MITCH MCCONNELL NAMED CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

WASHINGTON, DC.—U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, today was appointed Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies.

Joining McConnell on the committee are Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS), Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT), Speaker of the House J. Dennis Hastert (R-IL), House Majority Leader Richard Armey (R-TX) and House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO).

The members met today and appointed McConnell as the Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee, approved the committee's budget and selected the West Front of the Capitol for the location of the ceremony. McConnell is the third Kentuckian to Chair the Congressional Committee since it was formed in 1901.

"I am truly honored to have been selected as Chairman of this Congressional Inaugural Committee," said McConnell. "I look forward to the extraordinary privilege of planning the first Presidential Inauguration of the 21st century."

The JCCIC is charged with the planning and execution of the Inaugural activities at the Capitol: the swearing-in ceremony and the traditional luncheon which follows.

The Presidential Inauguration will be held Saturday, January 20, 2001.

S. CON. RES. 89

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).

SECTION 1. ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT COMMITTEE.

There is established a Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies (in this resolution referred to as the "joint committee") consisting of 3 Senators and 3 Representatives, to be appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, respectively. The joint committee is authorized to make the necessary arrangements for the inauguration of the President-elect and Vice President-elect of the United States on January 20, 2001.

SEC. 2. SUPPORT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

The joint committee—

(1) is authorized to utilize appropriate equipment and the services of appropriate personnel of departments and agencies of the Federal Government, under arrangements between the joint committee and the heads of those departments and agencies, in connection with the inaugural proceedings and ceremonies; and

(2) may accept gifts and donations of goods and services to carry out its responsibilities.

S. CON. RES. 90

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).

SECTION 1. USE OF THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL.

The rotunda of the United States Capitol is authorized to be used on January 20, 2001, by the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies in connection with the proceedings and ceremonies conducted for the inauguration of the President-elect and the Vice President-elect of the United States.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the concurrent resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 148) was agreed to, as follows:

S. CON. RES. 148

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).

SECTION 1. RECORDS OF EACH JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON INAUGURAL CEREMONIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Upon the conclusion of the business of a joint congressional committee on Presidential inaugural ceremonies and the closing out of its affairs, all records, files, documents, and other materials in the possession, custody, or control of the joint committee shall be transferred subject to—

(1) such terms and conditions relating to access and use of such materials as the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate shall prescribe; and

(2) the provisions of Senate Resolution 474 (96th Congress, 2d Session).

(b) PRIOR RECORDS.—The records, files, documents, and other materials of any joint congressional committee on Presidential inaugural ceremonies in the custody of the Senate on the date of adoption of this resolution shall be transferred subject to—

(1) such terms and conditions relating to access and use of such materials as the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate shall prescribe; and

(2) the provisions of Senate Resolution 474 (96th Congress, 2d Session).

COMMEMORATING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORKERS' STRIKES IN POLAND

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 727, S. Con. Res. 131.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. Con. Res. 131) commemorating the 20th anniversary of the workers' strikes in Poland that led to the creation of the independent trade union Solidarnosc, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with an amendment, amendments to the preamble, and an amendment to the title.

(Omit the part in bold face brackets and insert the part printed in italic.)

S. CON. RES. 131

Whereas, in July and August of 1980, Polish workers went on strike to protest communist oppression and demand greater political freedom;

Whereas, in the shipyards of Gdansk and Szczecin, workers' committees coordinated these strikes and ensured that the strikes were peaceful and orderly and did not promote acts of violence;

Whereas workers' protests against the communist authorities in Poland were supported by the Polish people and the international community of democracies;

Whereas, on August 30 and 31 of 1980, the communist government of the People's Republic of Poland yielded to the 21 demands of the striking workers, including the release of all political prisoners, including Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, the broadcasting