

(2) in subparagraph (F)—

(A) in clause (i)—

(i) in subclause (II), by striking “or October 1, 2002, whichever occurs first”; and

(ii) in the matter following subclause (II), by striking “October 1, 2003, or”; and

(B) in clause (ii), in the matter following subclause (II)—

(i) by striking “before October 1, 2003, or”; and

(ii) by striking “, whichever occurs first”.

SEC. 430. BANKRUPTCY CASES AND PROCEEDINGS.

Section 1334(d) of title 28, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking “made under this subsection” and inserting “made under subsection (c)”; and

(2) by striking “This subsection” and inserting “Subsection (c) and this subsection”.

SEC. 431. KNOWING DISREGARD OF BANKRUPTCY LAW OR RULE.

Section 156(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the first undesignated paragraph—

(A) by inserting “(1) the term” before “‘bankruptcy’”; and

(B) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(2) in the second undesignated paragraph—

(A) by inserting “(2) the term” before “‘document’”; and

(B) by striking “this title” and inserting “title 11”.

SEC. 432. EFFECTIVE DATE; APPLICATION OF AMENDMENTS.

(a) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—Except as provided in subsection (b), this title and the amendments made by this title shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) **APPLICATION OF AMENDMENTS.**—The amendments made by this title shall apply only with respect to cases commenced under title 11, United States Code, on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

AMENDMENT NO. 3559

(Purpose: In the nature of a substitute)

Mr. LOTT. On behalf of Senator GRASSLEY, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] for Mr. GRASSLEY, for himself and Mr. HATCH, proposes an amendment numbered 3559.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under “Amendments Submitted.”)

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provision of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the substitute amendment to Calendar No. 394, S. 1301, the Consumer Bankruptcy Protection Act:

Trent Lott, Orrin G. Hatch, Charles Grassley, Arlen Specter, Strom Thurmond, Connie Mack, Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Thad Cochran, Tim Hutch-

inson, Wayne Allard, Christopher Bond, Rick Santorum, Chuck Hagel, Larry E. Craig, and Jon Kyl.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, this cloture vote would occur, then, on Friday 1 hour after the Senate convenes unless changed by unanimous consent or unless we get something worked out.

I yield to Senator DASCHLE for his comments on this or his suggestions as to how we might proceed.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I appreciate the leader's comments earlier. I do believe that there is an opportunity here for us to come to some procedural conclusion on how we might address this bill. I think that Senators GRASSLEY and DURBIN have been working in good faith. I have had the opportunity to discuss this matter with Senator KENNEDY. I personally don't believe the cloture motion is the most constructive approach, but I also recognize that the majority leader has noted that that could be vitiated were we to come to some agreement.

I think it is a fair statement that if we are forced into a cloture motion, nothing will happen. If we can reach an agreement, there may be an opportunity for us to have a good debate and to have some votes on key amendments, both directly relevant to the bill and perhaps not as directly relevant, but certainly relevant to the American agenda.

I am hopeful that we can accommodate the needs of Senators who have expressed an interest in amending this bill. I am confident that we can, and I hope this cloture motion will not be necessary.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, just in conclusion, once again, I urge all of the Senators that are interested in this legislation that they begin work right away, tomorrow, so that we will not let the whole day pass without trying to work something out. Senator DASCHLE and I will talk as the day progresses. That would be the wise thing to do, I think, if we can work something out that is reasonable, to allow us to continue to complete campaign finance reform, and so we can go on and hopefully complete the Interior appropriations bill.

This is a positive move and I appreciate the opportunity to work on it to see if we can get something agreed to.

Mr. President, at this point, I ask that the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

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

Mr. LOTT. On behalf of the managers of the bankruptcy bill, I hope Members will file their amendments in a timely manner. I know there are amendments that Senators are very interested in that would even be relevant postcloture, and then there are others that obviously Members are interested in, too. I hope they will file them. The managers are attempting to clear as many amendments as possible and would like to reach a consent agree-

ment limiting amendments, if that is at all possible, and perhaps that could be taken care of in our agreement that we are working on.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask there be a period for morning business, with Members permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

NO RUSH TO JUDGMENT

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, we appear to be only days away from receiving the Independent Counsel's report on President Clinton. The pressure on Congress is escalating. Talk of impeachment is in the air along with suggestions of resolutions of reprimand and censure. Some have even suggested that we ought to get on with impeachment and “get this thing behind us.”

There had to come a time, sooner or later, when the boil would be lanced. The problem is, that with the lancing, a hemorrhaging may be only one of those continuing symptoms of a greater lancing—perhaps even an amputation—that still lurks in the shadows up ahead.

There is no question but that the President, himself, has sown the wind, and he is reaping the whirlwind. His televised speech of August 17 heaped hot coals upon himself, coals causing wounds which continue to inflame and burn ever more deeply. Coming, as the speech did, so soon after the President's appearance before the Grand Jury, his words were ill-timed, ill-formed, and ill-advised. Perhaps if he had only delayed his televised speech for 24 hours, he may have, upon reflection, avoided some self-inflicted wounds that have since festered and continue to fester.

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,

Moves on: nor all thy Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

When the scribes and Pharisees brought before Jesus a woman taken in adultery, saying that, under Moses, the law commanded that she be stoned, they sought to tempt Jesus that they might accuse him. He said unto them: “He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.” And that ancient admonition, that he who is without sin should cast the first stone, applies to every human being in this country today. Someone else has said: “No man's life will bear looking into.” These admonishments should give all of us pause and should encourage reflection and self-examination. In this instance, the President, himself, has, by his own actions and words, thrown the first stone at himself and thus made himself vulnerable to the stoning by others.

What a sorrowful spectacle! To maintain that Presidents have private lives

is, of course, not to be denied, but the Oval Office of the White House is not a private office; it is where much of the business of the Nation is conducted daily; it is the people's office; and the only real privacy that any President can realistically claim is in the third-floor living quarters of the White House with his family. What the President had hoped to claim was "nobody else's business" has now become everybody else's business.

His speech was a lawyer-worded effort—as in the reference to "legally accurate" testimony—and the people have long since grown tired of having to pick and sift among artfully crafted words that have too often obscured the truth rather than revealed it.

The White House's apparent strategy of delay and attack over so many long months has only succeeded in stringing out a judgment day that is increasingly threatening, and has only made bad matters worse. Former President Nixon, in an earlier tragedy for the Nation and for all of us who were here and lived through it, tried the same thing—delay, delay, delay, and counter-attack, attack, attack—and it failed in the end.

We seem to be living recent history all over again. As the Book of Ecclesiastes plainly tells us, "There is no new thing under the sun." Time seems to be turning backward in its flight, and many of the mistakes that President Nixon made are being made all over again.

We also must stop and remember that this is a sad time for the President and his family, a sad time for his friends and supporters throughout the country, a sad time for the devoted members of his staff who have labored and sacrificed and given so much for a man in whom they implicitly believed. It is a sad time for members of his cabinet and heads of agencies who publicly defended him and who depended on his word.

But it is an even sadder time for the country. As a schoolboy, I looked upon George Washington and Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and Abraham Lincoln as my idols to be emulated; I looked upon Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey and Charles Lindbergh and Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Edison and Nathan Hale and Daniel Morgan and Nathaniel Green and Stonewall Jackson as my heroes. I was taught, as most of us were, to revere God. I was taught to believe the Bible, and that a judgment day would surely come when we would all be punished for our sins or be saved by our faith and good works.

The old couple who raised me taught me by their example and their words not to lie but to tell the truth, not to cheat but to be honest; but what will parents tell their children today? Can they tell them to plow a straight furrow and that honesty is still the best policy? To whom can our young people look for inspiration?

I recently asked a question on this floor, "Where have all the heroes

gone?" I ask that question again today. Where have all the heroes gone? Fortunately, we do have a Mark McGwire and a Sammy Sosa, both of whom have captured the Nation's admiration with their home runs. But where are the Nation's leaders to whom the children can look and be inspired to work hard and live clean lives?

The political and social environment in which parents must today raise their children is, unfortunately, an environment in which anything goes; politicians try to be all things to all people; family values and religious values which made us a great Nation are looked upon as old-fashioned, unsophisticated, and the product of ignorance and rustiness. Profanity and vulgarity, sex and violence are pervasive in television programming, in the movies, and in much of today's books that pretend to pass for literature. The Nation is inexorably sinking toward the lowest common denominator in its standards and values. Haven't we had enough?

I think our country sinks beneath the yoke:
It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day
A gash is added to her wounds.

Yes, talk of impeachment and censure and resignation is in the air. It is on almost everybody's mind with whom I have talked.

As we find ourselves being brought nearer and nearer, as it would seem, to a yawning abyss, I urge that we all step back and give ourselves and the country a little pause in which to reflect and meditate before we cast ourselves headlong over the precipice.

To say we ought to get on with impeachment and "get the thing behind us" is a bold thing to say; but boldness, to the point of cavaliness, can come back to haunt us.

I suggest that we Senators should let the House do its work and wait to see what action that body takes. The Senate cannot vote on Articles of Impeachment—we all know that—until the House formulates such articles and presents them by its managers to the Senate—if it ever does so. I also suggest that putting "this thing behind us" is not going to be an easy thing to do. If Congress reaches that stage of voting on Articles of Impeachment it is going to be a traumatic experience for all of us, both here in this city and throughout the country. The House is in no position to formulate Articles of Impeachment prior to its receipt and consideration of—and I emphasize consideration—the Starr report. The Judiciary Committee—I am talking about the Judiciary Committee in the House—will undoubtedly want to hold hearings before it formulates any Articles of Impeachment if such appear to be called for.

That is the House's charge; that is the House's responsibility, not ours. If and when such Articles are presented here to the Senate—they are not amendable here, and the Senate, in such cases, is limited to an up-or-down vote on each Article—that will be a

matter of the utmost gravity. All Senators will be sworn. I tell you. That will be a matter of the utmost gravity. Caution should be the order of the day.

If, sometime in the future, the American people should come to believe that this President, or any other President, has been driven out of office for what they may perceive to be political reasons, their wrath will fall upon those who jumped to judgment prematurely. That is not something that we can so easily "put behind us." Both the media and those of us who may ultimately be called upon to sit in judgment should exercise restraint in pressing toward a particular conclusion before all of the facts are known. There is a constitutional process in place. We should all let it work.

It is my suggestion that everyone should exercise some self-restraint against calling for impeachment or censure or for the President's resignation.

Who knows? I may do that before it is all over. But not now. We should exercise some self-restraint against calling for impeachment, or censure, or for resignation—until the other body has had an opportunity to study and sift through the Starr report.

There are many avenues down which we could travel as we grapple with this matter. Among them is the path of official censure which some have suggested. Others may think that censure is "meaningless." Let me state for the record that that is not my view. I have written in my work on the Senate that censure has no constitutional basis.

It doesn't mean that censure is unconstitutional. Just as "holds" that are placed on bills and resolutions have no basis in the Senate rules, they nevertheless have grown up as a custom here, and such "holds" are practiced.

I have observed that censure is not mentioned in the Constitution. But, certainly censure is not "meaningless." It is a serious and emphatic expression of condemnation and disapproval. Censure by the Congress is a major blot on the record and reputation of a public official. While at this point, I prefer to reserve judgment on that course, it should not be simply brushed off as "meaningless."

And we must not fail to consider the lessons of history. For my part, I have seen history repeat itself. I served on the Senate Judiciary Committee and was the Democratic Whip during the weeks and months of the Nixon tragedy. Some of the aspects of that tragedy can be seen in the problems that are today confronting us. Some aspects are different. Much is the same.

By April 1973, there had been talk of impeachment of President Nixon, with some people saying that he should resign. On May 23 of that year, I said, "As of now, there is no reason for President Nixon to resign, and talk of impeachment is at best, premature, and, at worst, reckless." Citing the lack of hard evidence "to date," I also

said, "It is a time for restraint and sobriety in our words, our actions, and our judgments."

I later said that impeachment would require "hard evidence" of Nixon's complicity in Watergate and would also require strong "public opinion to support" impeachment and conviction. And I say to my colleagues here today, it will require strong "public opinion to support" impeachment and conviction of any President in the future.

"We all shrink from taking a step that is the most drastic step authorized in the Constitution," I said. I added that "the bare possibility of resignation of Mr. Nixon at some point is a more likely event than impeachment." Those are my quotes as I look back.

On January 28, 1974, I was a guest on "Washington's Straight Talk," a 30-minute public television interview show. In reference to the impact that the Watergate Affair was having on the President, I stated: "There is no question but that his influence has been greatly eroded. I doubt that he can ever regain the confidence of the American people." I also said that impeachment of the President "is becoming a more realistic possibility, but there is still no groundswell for impeachment." I was talking about a Republican President in that instance. "There is an uneasiness on impeachment because of the paralysis that would come with it," I said then.

I cosponsored a resolution directing the Committee on Rules and Administration—on which I served and still serve—to review all existing rules and precedents that applied to impeachment trials in order to recommend any revisions to the rules that might be necessary. The result of our work was an exhaustively researched publication, titled, "Procedure and Guidelines for Impeachment Trials in the United States Senate." The Senate was, indeed, gearing up for an impeachment trial—if needed.

But, on Thursday, August 8, 1974—almost a quarter of a century ago—President Nixon resigned, his resignation to be effective at noon the next day. And promptly after noon on Friday, August 9, Gerald Ford was sworn in as the 38th President.

Mr. President, just as I urged caution and patience in 1973 and 1974, I urge that same course now. I suggest that we try to restrain ourselves and wait until the House of Representatives has had an opportunity to examine the contents of Mr. Starr's report. It will be forthcoming soon, I hear. Perhaps before the week is out. Let us, as Senators, remember that if the House ultimately votes to impeach this President—and we all should be careful not to attempt to influence the other body—when I say "we all" I have reference to ourselves, to the executive branch and to the media—in any way in a decision which should rest with the House, and it alone—we Senators, who must sit as jurors if the worst ever

comes to worst, will carry a heavy burden in that event. We must not compromise any final decision by rushing to judgment in advance. I trust that we will all weigh carefully, in our own minds and hearts, the possible consequences to the nation of our words and actions and judgments if that duty ultimately should beckon us. If it does, there will be many difficult questions.

What is an impeachable offense? We read in last weekend's newspaper. And what is meant by "high crimes and misdemeanors"? We heard the question asked on television. Gerald Ford, in remarks to the House of Representatives in April 1970, stated: "The only honest answer is that an impeachable offense is whatever a majority of the House of Representatives considers [it] to be at a given moment in history; conviction results from whatever offense or offenses two-thirds"—not just 60—"of the other body considers to be sufficiently serious to require removal of the accused from office."

Even though the debates and actions at the Philadelphia Convention regarding impeachment appear on the record to have been comparatively sparse, they seem to indicate clearly enough that the framers intended the phrase "high Crimes and Misdemeanors" to subsume corruption, maladministration, gross and wanton neglect of duty, misuse of official power, and other violations of the public trust by officeholders."

The interpretation of the Constitution's clause on impeachable offenses entered into the ratification debates. James Iredell, speaking at the North Carolina Convention, declared that the "power of impeachment" given by the Constitution was "to bring great offenders to punishment. . . . for crime which it is not easy to describe, but which every one must be convinced is a high crime and misdemeanor against the government." Iredell, who would later serve as a Supreme Court justice, said that the "occasion" for exercise of the impeachment power "will arise from acts of great injury to the community, and the objects of it may be such as cannot be easily reached by an ordinary tribunal."

Alexander Hamilton, hoping to influence the critical New York decision on ratification, explained in *The Federalist* No. 65:

A well constituted court for the trial of impeachments, is an object not more to be desired than difficult to be obtained in a government wholly elective. The subjects of its jurisdiction are those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men, or in other words from the abuse or violation of some public trust. They are of a nature which may with peculiar propriety to be denominated political, as they relate chiefly to injuries done immediately to the society itself. . . . What it may be asked is the true spirit of the institution itself? Is it not designed as a method of national inquest into the conduct of public men?

A misconception that has surfaced during impeachment trials is the notion that criminal or civil standards of

proof are somehow required in order to convict. Such standards run the gamut from the lowest threshold, proof by "preponderance of the evidence," which must be met by plaintiffs in most civil cases; to the next highest standard, proof by "clear and convincing evidence," employed in some classes of civil cases; to the most rigorous standard, "proof beyond a reasonable doubt," imposed for criminal cases. Of course, Mr. President, a Senator may apply any standard of proof he or she desires, or may choose to apply no set standard whatever. But, given the history of impeachment in the United States and the fact that neither civil penalties nor criminal punishments are applicable in impeachment cases, any talk of standards of proof seems rather pointless and likely to be unproductive.

If they have taught us nothing else, the events of recent months at least should have taught us the essential importance of restraint. As Members of this body, we are all likely to be sorely tested in this matter. The nation will look to us for leadership. And in critical times, real leadership often requires one to turn one's back on the daily hue and cry and quietly sort through the noise of competing interests for the one overriding, essential interest. Such a course demands restraint and discipline. We, who may one day be called upon to bear the brunt of the responsibility of deciding the fate of a president, must reach for those qualities at this time.

And so, I respectfully urge everyone in this town to calm down for a little while and contemplate with seriousness the impact that our actions may have on the well-being of the nation, and the paralysis which we may be spawning if we continue to be mesmerized with each new rumor, and each new titillating whisper. The President's situation—and the Congress', the media's, and the public's all-consuming obsession with it—has contributed to a loss of focus on, and attention to, many aspects of our national life that have far-reaching consequences; and we shall see a continuation of that loss of focus when and if the time ever comes that we have to vote on an impeachment resolution. Nowhere is this more true than in the realm of foreign policy. In the few snippets of newspaper and news shows which attempt to turn our attention from our unfortunate domestic travails and focus instead on events overseas, we can see the troubling signs of a long and difficult winter ahead.

In the Balkans, the Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army has reportedly rounded up ethnic Albanian men and boys of fighting age in the province of Kosovo, labeling them all "terrorists." This action bears the bloody stains of earlier Serbian "ethnic cleansing" in neighboring Bosnia that eventually led to a massive intervention by NATO. What action, if any, should the U.S. take? I fear that our lack of attention may

allow the situation to get even further out of hand.

In Iraq, troubling questions have been raised about an unwillingness to deal with continued Iraqi intransigence over weapons inspections. Russia's economy and indeed her very government appear on the verge of dissolution. North Korea has launched a long range missile right over our ally, Japan. In China and elsewhere, many tens of thousands of people face the coming winter hungry and homeless as a result of floods and fires and droughts. And, not least, acts of terrorism against U.S. embassies and interests continue to threaten. All of these unhappy circumstances will challenge the U.S. economy and U.S. leadership. It ill behooves us all to become so enmeshed in the current web of scandal that we ignore or obscure opportunities to deal with these serious challenges before they escalate into full-blown crises.

We cannot continue to swirl in this miasma of misery if we are to judiciously carry out our duties as the representatives of the people. Impeachment is among the most serious, if not the most serious, duty meted out to us in the Constitution that we are sworn to support and defend. Let us wait for the facts to come out before we rush to judgment as to the action we should take. Let us wait for the House to determine those facts from the report that will shortly be presented to it. And then, hopefully, we can all see what the facts are.

There are serious challenges to our nation ahead. Here in the Senate, we may be called upon to help restore such forgotten qualities as courage, integrity, dignity, fairness, and thoughtfulness to a situation marked, for the most part, by the absence of those characteristics. For my part, I shall pray that we who serve here will do our best to restore the sense of serious contemplation and quiet duty expected of us under the Constitution and by the good people of this nation during times of testing and crisis.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I wanted to respond, if I might, for just a minute, to Senator BYRD. First of all, I would like to thank him for the lesson of his speech today. Our founders did not write the Constitution and then sit down and wonder about what they would do about corruption in public men. In fact, when they wrote the Constitution the first power enumerated for the House of Representatives in the Constitution is the power to impeach. This was no afterthought. When the founders wrote, in article I, section 3, about the first power of the Senate, it was the power to try all impeachments. So Senator BYRD, I would like to thank you for reminding us that this is a high constitutional responsibility.

None of us will be judged based on what the President did or did not do,

but we will be judged on what we do or what we do not do. One of the quotes from the Federalist Paper No. 65, from Alexander Hamilton, that you did not use, which I think defines the role you have taken in this debate, is the line where Hamilton sees a Senate which is "unawed and uninfluenced." I think your lesson today to us is we should be unawed, but we should also be uninfluenced. And I can say that if I were to be tried in the Senate, if I were innocent, I would look to Senator BYRD as my greatest hope; if I were guilty, I would look to him as my greatest fear.

Finally, before yielding the floor, the Senator asked, Where are the heroes? I would like to say that for those who know him, ROBERT C. BYRD is a hero. When I think of great men and women who have sat in this body as Senators whose names you might want to put up next to Cicero and Cato, I include the name of ROBERT C. BYRD on that list. I am very proud to serve in the Senate with him.

I think his comments today really reflect on the posture that the Senate should take. I have no doubt that Senator BYRD will take that posture. I intend to do my best to take it as well. I yield the floor.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator for his words, which I take very seriously, and for his kindness, as always, to me.

I hope that I have spoken wisely. I hope that I will not be misunderstood. I simply think that before we reach a judgment on this President or any other President—and I said this when Mr. Nixon was in the docks, as it were—I hope that we Senators will not advocate impeachment or censure or resignation at least until the Starr report has reached the House and the House has had an opportunity to conduct hearings, if it so chooses, and has formulated articles, if it so chooses. There will be plenty of time then for Senators to reach that judgment. In the meantime, we have much to do. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of the Senator from West Virginia, obviously, as fundamental a matter as we can have before us, but I share the Senator's view that prior to the release of the report, there are many matters that need our attention. First on that list is what we have been debating today and will be debating tomorrow, and that is the extremely urgent need to pass campaign finance reform.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, September 8, 1998, the federal debt stood at \$5,548,700,311,164.48 (Five trillion, five hundred forty-eight billion, seven hundred million, three hundred eleven thousand, one hundred sixty-four dollars and forty-eight cents).

One year ago, September 8, 1997, the federal debt stood at \$5,411,319,000,000 (Five trillion, four hundred eleven billion, three hundred nineteen million).

Five years ago, September 8, 1993, the federal debt stood at \$4,391,317,000,000 (Four trillion, three hundred ninety-one billion, three hundred seventeen million).

Ten years ago, September 8, 1988, the federal debt stood at \$2,605,450,000,000 (Two trillion, six hundred five billion, four hundred fifty million).

Fifteen years ago, September 8, 1983, the federal debt stood at \$1,355,323,000,000 (One trillion, three hundred fifty-five billion, three hundred twenty-three million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,193,377,311,164.48 (Four trillion, one hundred ninety-three billion, three hundred seventy-seven million, three hundred eleven thousand, one hundred sixty-four dollars and forty-eight cents) during the past 15 years.

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I want to commend to my colleagues the exceptionally thoughtful lead editorial in yesterday morning's Washington Post. It is entitled "The Test Ban and Arms Control," and it makes some cogent points about the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty and a Senate where few objections are raised to the Treaty itself, but most Republicans still cast symbolic votes against it.

The Post notes correctly that leading Senate Republicans seem to assume that a national missile defense is the only answer to the problems of nuclear proliferation and the risk of nuclear war.

As the Post concludes, however, treaties like the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty "are capable of serving American requirements well." Whatever one's views on national missile defense, those treaties "would strengthen the American position in the world."

I would note two areas in which I disagree with the Post editorial. First of all, the Test-Ban Treaty was signed 2 years ago, rather than "earlier this year." The Treaty was submitted to the Senate nearly a full year ago, and has languished because the Republican leadership is afraid to let it come up.

I do not accept the Post's pessimistic view, moreover, of the Test-Ban Treaty's chances on the floor. In last week's vote, moderate Republicans could support their Leader without doing any tangible harm.

When the Test-Ban Treaty finally comes up for a vote on ratification, however, I am confident that at least 67 members will support it, just as they supported the Chemical Weapons Convention last year.

With those two caveats, I strongly urge my colleagues to read Tuesday's Post editorial and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.