

CONCLUSION OF MORNING
BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT
TO THE CONSTITUTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of House Joint Resolution 1, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1) proposing a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The Senate resumed consideration of the joint resolution.

Pending:

Reid amendment No. 236, to protect the Social Security system by excluding the receipts and outlays of Social Security from balanced budget calculations.

AMENDMENT NO. 236

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, what is the status of the Senate? Are we on the Reid amendment at this point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair did not hear the Senator.

Mr. DORGAN. Is the Senate now considering the Reid amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes, we are under consideration of the amendment. There is no time controlled.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to offer words of support for the Reid amendment. I intend to vote for it, and I hope the Senate will vote for it in sufficient numbers to add this to the constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

(Mr. KYL assumed the chair.)

Mr. DORGAN. Let me this morning begin by talking about a woman who many of you know; the story, of course, is legend. On December 1, 1955, in an Alabama city, a woman had just finished her work for the day. She was a seamstress. She was about 40 years old. She was tired, her feet hurt; she had worked a long day, and she was on the way home.

She went back and forth to her job by bus. And on this day, at the end of the workday, with tired feet, this woman boarded a bus and took the first available seat. And as the bus traveled down the avenue, the bus began to fill up. And on this day, December 1, 1955, as the last seat was taken on the bus, a white male passenger boarded the bus and looked at this woman, Rosa Parks, and said, "You must leave your seat and move to the back."

She refused to do so. At that point in the life of this country, she was required to ride in the back of the bus. Her dignity that day, as well as the fact that she had worked a long day and was tired, but her dignity especially, persuaded her to say, "I'm not moving," and she remained in her seat. Others around her began to curse her, as the story is told. The bus driver

stopped and refused to move the bus because this woman would not move to the back of the bus and give her seat to a white passenger.

The police were called, and Rosa Parks was arrested and thrown in jail. Her indiscretion? She refused to give up her seat and refused to move to the back of the bus.

Well, it is some 40 years later now, and I guess all of us would say we are proud to understand that the quiet dignity and strength of Rosa Parks lit a fuse that caused an explosion of understanding and, yes, tension—but most especially understanding—that has changed things in this country for the better. The avenue where that bus traveled on that December day in 1955, and where that arrest was made, is now named Rosa Parks Avenue.

Sometimes one can force change by simply refusing to move. Some say, "Well, don't just sit there." Rosa Parks just sat there because she felt she was entitled to do that, and that single act by that courageous woman, who will live in our history, has caused substantial change in our country.

So when they say, "Don't just sit there," I think sometimes on some issues some of us say, "Well, wait a second; where we sit is important."

On this issue today of Social Security, some of us believe that where we are in this country, with a program that is, I think, the most significant and the most remarkable program of its kind anywhere in the world, it is one that ought not be trifled with. It ought not be threatened. It ought not, in our judgment, be in any way changed so that the American people will not have confidence that Social Security will be there when they need it.

That is why many of us feel at this point in this debate on the constitutional amendment to balance the budget we ought not move forward on this issue without the Reid amendment. We should add the Reid amendment to the constitutional balanced budget amendment so that we do not jeopardize the Social Security trust fund.

Why is it important to us? Too many Americans do not even understand the consequences of the Social Security system or what makes it unique. We just take it for granted.

I told my colleagues before about an experience I had one day that I shall never forget. Some years ago, I ran out of gas in a helicopter. I quickly learned one of the immutable laws of flying: If you are in the air and you run out of fuel, you will land very quickly.

I, with a colleague of mine, landed in a helicopter in the jungle terrain between Nicaragua and Honduras. Congressman GEJDENSON, from Connecticut, and I were actually down in a Contra camp, and touring refugee camps in Central America.

We were traveling by helicopter one day. It was in August, and there were big thunderstorms. We were over mountains and jungles, and we were

going down mountain passes, and then a big thunderstorm cell would loom up in front of us and we would backtrack and go down another valley, and we would backtrack again. We had been flying a long while, and the pilot had some lights go on and some bells go off and we were running out of fuel. They had to put the helicopter down, right now. There we were, out of radio contact, somewhere in the mountains and jungles of Honduras, right by the Nicaraguan border.

We were unhurt, but for a number of hours we did not know where we were. Nor did anyone else. Other Army helicopters eventually searched for us and found us. We were pulled out of there by other helicopters.

The point of the story is this. As we sat there on the ground, some of the campesino families and others began walking toward us. A group gathered to try to figure out who on Earth had come down here in this rural stretch, in the mountains of Honduras. We had an interpreter with us who spoke fluent Spanish. And as we were there—because no one knew where we were, we were going to be there for awhile, and we did not know exactly what was going to happen—we began, through the interpreter, to talk with these people who came around to figure out who had come down there. People I talked to—and this is something I discussed with the interpreter during this conversation—told me something I had never even thought about before.

I was visiting with a young woman, I guess probably 23 or 24 years old, who had come walking through the underbrush there with some children with her. We were just talking through an interpreter. There was kind of a little crowd, maybe six or eight people.

I said, "How many children do you have?"

And this very young woman said, I believe, "Only three. Only three."

I said to the interpreter, "Gee, she sounds disappointed. Lord, she cannot be over 22 or 23 years old, and she sounds disappointed she has only three children."

The interpreter said, "You do not understand. You come from a country that has all these things—Social Security. Down here, there is none of that. Down here there is no Social Security program. If you grow old in some of these countries, you want to have had as many children as you could have, so maybe enough of them will live so when you become old, if you are lucky enough to grow old, you will have some children surviving you who can help you in your old age. That is Social Security."

It was the first time I had ever thought about it. I never thought about that before because I grew up in a country where Social Security was just there. It was a part of our lives. We understood: When you work, you pay in. The person who employs you pays in. And when you retire, it is