he really believes in it. If you are really going to work for the line-item veto. We hope he does.

So I alert my colleagues that though many of us would like to have a little more time off these next few months, I do not believe it is possible. If it is, I will try to accommodate all my colleagues.

I yield the floor.

THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, we have heard speeches this morning that suggest because the balanced budget amendment has been defeated, we somehow have to wait to balance the budget. I simply say that there is no need to wait. There is nothing that prevents us from moving to write budgets that balance the budget. We can do that in the normal process of the Congress—and we should.

Mr. President, no one should use as an excuse that the balanced budget amendment failed. Mr. President, we have an obligation—all of us, Democrats and Republicans—to now go to work to move this country toward balance. And there is no time to spare, because we face a demographic time bomb in this country; that is, when the baby boomers start to retire and the number of people who are eligible for Medicare and Social Security doubles. That requires that we go to work and write balanced budgets.

Mr. President, I want to just put in some perspective why some of us felt so keenly that the balanced budget amendment that was before us was flawed. I come from a financial background. I was a tax commissioner of my State before I came to this body. In that position, I fought the looting of trust funds at the State level. We were faced with it consistently because we had large energy trust funds and, repeatedly, there were attempts by people in the legislature to raid those funds. I thought it was wrong then. I thought it was wrong when I came to this Chamber that we were doing the same thing with respect to trust funds.

Mr. President, I think when people talk about a balanced budget amendment, we ought to ask: What budget was being balanced? What budget was being balanced with that amendment that we considered yesterday?

I remind my colleagues of the language of section 7, which defined what budget was being balanced. It said:

> Total receipts shall include all receipts of the United States Government except those derived from borrowing. Total outlays shall include all outlays of the United States Government except for those for repayment of debt principal.

Mr. President, this definition includes all Social Security revenue and all Social Security outlays. And the problem is, Social Security is not contributing to the deficit; it is in surplus. So, by definition, the amendment we were considering yesterday would have taken Social Security surpluses and applied them to other operating expenses of the Federal Government. That is what was wrong with the amendment we considered yesterday. In principle, that is what was wrong.

Mr. President, I understand fully that when you do not use Social Security surpluses, when you do not use trust fund moneys, that makes the task more difficult. That makes the challenge greater. But I do not think we should say to the American people we are balancing the budget when we are really looting and raiding trust funds in order to balance the budget. That is a fraud. That should not be enshrined in the Constitution of the United States, because that would make it virtually impossible to fix. And if we fail to fix it, the economic implications for the future are far more severe. We will never be able to keep the promise to those who have paid the taxes on the promise that they will receive retirement benefits, if we do not treat the Social Security surpluses that are supposed to be treated as a trust fund in that way.

During the discussions, a number of the leaders who were proponents of the amendment came to me in an attempt to secure my vote and said they would agree to stop using the Social Security trust fund surpluses by the year 2012.

Mr. President, this chart shows what they were suggesting. This chart shows the flow of funds in the Social Security trust fund. The year 2012 is about here on the chart. So when they are saying they would use the Social Security trust fund surpluses until the year 2012, they were saying they would use most of the trust fund moneys, because you can see that is about the high-water mark of the buildup of the trust fund. Then it starts to decline as the baby boom generation starts to retire. I said, no, I would not accept a proposal that would use trust fund moneys until the year 2012. That is about $2 trillion that would have been used. They came back to me several moments later and said, ''How about if we stopped using the Social Security trust fund money by the year 2008?''

Mr. President, I said no to 2008 because after consulting on the flow of funds that moved through the trust funds or the projections of the flow of funds, my staff reported to me that it would be $1.3 trillion. Mr. President, I think those exchanges confirm that those who were proponents of the amendment fully intended to use Social Security trust fund moneys to offset other Government operating expenses. I think that is wrong as a principle, just wrong. I do not think we should do that. I think it would be a mistake to do that. I understand that it makes the job tougher.

Mr. President, if we are going to tell the American people we are balancing the budget, then I think we ought to do it honestly. We ought to be really balancing the budget, not taking trust fund moneys to help balance the budget. If that means we have to stretch out the time period so that we set an honest goal, then we should do that. And the reason I feel this so acutely is when we look at what the flow of funds will be, or are projected to be, if we do not save that money, when we reach out here in 2025 and when we reach 2029, all of the money is gone. It is all gone by 2029. And that assumes that we allow the trust funds to be built up. So I think it is imperative that we treat the trust funds separately from the other operating accounts of the Government.

Mr. President, let me just go back to this final chart because it speaks to the need for all of us to come together.

We have had high levels of partisanship in the last days, and perhaps that was inevitable. I think some of the things that have been said that question each other's motives are unfortunate. I think when Members of Congress start name calling, that is uncalled for. None of us should engage in that. That demeans this institution.

Mr. President, we now do have an obligation to try to address what is a serious crisis facing this country.

This chart shows why current trends are not sustainable. The green line here shows the revenues anticipated for the United States. It shows the history from 1970 to today and a projection out to the year 2030. Revenue is pretty constant. The colored bars here show the expenses. And we can all see what is going to happen because of this demographic time bomb, the tremendous number of baby boomers who are going to retire and what that does to Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security. It explodes the costs. That has to be addressed. And nothing precludes us from doing that.

Mr. President, it is time for us to work together, to put aside partisanship to get the job done.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. SANTORUM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Thank you, Mr. President.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND BALANCING THE BUDGET

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I just want to make a couple of comments about the arguments that are being made with respect to Social Security, not just by the Senator from North Dakota but many others, not just today but for the last several days.

First, we should not use the Social Security trust fund for balancing the budget. What does that mean? We should not use the Social Security trust fund to balance the budget. Are we taking money out of the Social Security trust fund and spending it directly on other programs? No. No, we do not take money out of the Social Security trust fund to spend it on other programs.

Money in the Social Security trust fund is borrowed, for which we pay interest on the money back to the Social

Security Administration, as we would with any fund that runs a surplus in the Federal Government.

We have surpluses in the highway trust fund. What do we do with the highway trust fund money? Do we spend it on other programs? No, that money is in there. It is earning interest. We are investing it in Government bonds, just like we do the Social Security trust fund, just like we do the aviation trust fund, just like we do with any other trust fund that we have in the Federal Government that happens for a period of time to be running a surplus.

So to use the argument that we are using the Social Security trust fund to balance the budget is as fallacious an argument as it is to say we are using the highway trust fund to balance the budget. The highway trust fund has a couple billion dollars surplus in it. I did not see anybody run to the floor to protect our roads and bridges. They did not come to the floor and say, ''We can't use the highway trust fund. That is not fair. It hid the deficit.''

It is not true. Let us be honest. Let us not hide it from the people.

Where were the highway trust fund advocates? Where were the aviation trust fund advocates?

We were saying let us be truthful and honest in not hiding this from the American people.

What is going on is in the fine spirit of hiding behind the apron of Social Security when you cannot define your program in other ways. That is what is going on here. I had it happened to me in my election. Many of us have had it happen to us in our elections. When you are losing, when you know you cannot defend your record, when you know you cannot defend your vote, you bring up the old red herring: Let us run behind Social Security. Let us scare the public that we are going to get Social Security and we will be OK. They will believe it.

We will never change this place, we will never change this place, until the American public has enough realization to know that there is not any program that could ever compete in popularity and support—not one program that can compete in popularity and support—with the Social Security program. If the Federal Government continues on its way and we continue to have to eliminate programs as the debt gets to be a bigger and bigger and bigger part of our Federal Government, the only program, if we have one program left, I will assure you, will be the Social Security program. Everything else will be gone. That will win. That will always be maintained.

The American public has to stop being afraid that someone is going to come in and raid their Social Security plan. It is not going to happen. We promised it was not going to happen. Unfortunately, I guess the promise of the majority leader of the U.S. Senate is not enough; the promise of the Speaker of the House that we are not going to touch Social Security is not enough. A vote of something like 90 to 10 in this body that we will not cut Social Security or touch Social Security over the next 7 years is not enough. Because people are always afraid.

Is it not sad? Is it not sad what we have done to the people of this country? We have gotten them so addicted to Government that every time we talk about changing it, they run. They get scared. They get scared. We have made them dependent. We have succeeded here in Washington in the first step to really control what goes on in America by having people dependent upon us.

No one in this Chamber is going to take $1 of benefits away from any Social Security recipients in this country to balance the budget. And everyone in this Chamber knows it. Everyone in this Chamber knows it.

This was partisanship. This was political. It is a lot of things. The reason six Members who voted for this exact amendment voted the other way and hid behind Social Security was one reason, and it was not Social Security—partisan advantage. Stop the Contract With America, let us not move things too fast now, let us not change the status quo in Washington.

We have a great opportunity before us in Washington today. We have a House of Representatives that continues to crank out and pass legislation that was called for in their Contract With America that has the support of the American public. And it is sitting over here in the Senate and it will continue to pile up and pile up until the people of America send a message to their Senators that they want something done.

If you want something done in Washington, if you want a leaner, more efficient, smaller Government, if you want that power and freedom back to you, the American public, not centered here in Washington where we can threaten you by pulling the rug out from under a program that you like, but in fact to enable you and empower you to take those challenges and responsibilities yourselves, when you believe that can happen, you have to communicate that to the people here in the Senate. Because if you communicate that, this place will change. And if it is not in the next 2½ years, the 1996 election will make that change.

The opportunity is here. It is up to the American public as to whether that is going to happen or not. It is up to you as to whether we are going to succeed as a body in the Senate.

The rules are structured here—boy, I never knew—but the rules are structured here so we pretty much cannot get anything done. That is the way they sort of crafted this place, so things slow down, so we do not do a lot here.

Now, as Senator LOTT said earlier, I do not want, as a former House Member, I do not want the Senate to be like the House. We need more deliberation. We need to put the brakes on things and cool things off a little bit. I understand that. But, at the same time, we should not be obstructionists for the sake of being obstructionists.

I have here a table, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

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

FIRST SESSIONS—STATISTICAL COMPARISONS

Year/Congress	Days in session through February	Time in session	Record/votes
1995/104th	36	316′03″	97
1993/103d	19	91′51″	20
1991/102d	29	145′56″	20
1989/101st	16	43′10″	15
1987/100th	22	89′58″	29
1985/99th	22	105′36″	17
1983/98th	17	53′55″	2
1981/97th	24	71′18″	25

Prepared by the Senate Daily Digest/Office of the Secretary.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the Senator that his time has expired.

Mr. SANTORUM. I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. EXON. Reserving the right to object, as long as it would not be extended longer than the 2-minute period. We have a problem. The Senator from Michigan has to assume the chair, people have to catch airplanes.

In deference to the Senator, I will not object.

Mr. SANTORUM. I will take 1 additional minute.

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

Mr. SANTORUM. I just wanted to include this in the RECORD and comment that in the 104th Congress, the Congress we are in right now, we have been in 36 days, 316 hours and 3 minutes of debate, 97 votes.

It is unprecedented the amount of time we have spent here in this body to try to move things forward. We have cooled it off, we have debated it, and we got two bills passed. Only one has been signed into law.

If you look at other Congresses through February, in the last Congress they were in 19 days, compared to 36, and only had 91 hours of debate. In 1991, 29 days in session, 145 hours of debate; 1989, 16 days in session, 43 hours of debate.

The fact of the matter is we are working hard, we are debating long, and we are not accomplishing a whole heck of a lot. Cooling off is one thing; stonewalling is another.

What we need to do, I implore my colleagues and the American public, is to rally to the defense of what the voters in November asked for, and move some things forward.

I yield the floor.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I ask if I may yield to my colleague from Michigan for a statement, and I ask unanimous consent that I might yield for whatever short period he might need to my friend from Michigan.

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

IN MEMORY OF ED PRINCE

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, it is with great sadness and a deep sense of personal loss that I note the passing yesterday of a close friend, Mr. Ed Prince of Holland, MI, a successful businessman, family man, and philanthropist.

I had the privilege of knowing Ed Prince and his family for a number of years. Ed was a self-made businessman who took seriously his Christian duty to help his neighbors and others less fortunate than himself.

After quitting his job as chief engineer at the local machine works in Holland, MI, Ed started his own automotive components company. Now that company employs 4,500 people and is the Nation's largest producer of die cast machinery.

But Ed did not let concern with the bottom line take him away from his Calvinist roots and family values. He devoted time and money to family causes on a local, State, and national scale. He was a major contributor to his church, local charitable organizations, and such national organizations as the Family Research Council and Focus on the Family.

Perhaps Ed's greatest accomplishment, other than serving as an exemplary husband and father, is his commitment to his hometown of Holland. When downtown Holland began struggling financially, Ed and his wife Elsa came to the rescue. They bought a number of downtown buildings, refurbished them, and sold or leased them back to small businesses. They even put heaters under the sidewalks so folks could come downtown during Holland's severe winters without fear of slipping and falling or being disinclined because of the winter.

I also know the residents at the Evergreen Commons Senior Center a facility which I have visited, will miss Edgar and his support. He gave $1 million to that organization so that Holland's senior citizens could maintain their dignity while being helped in their old age. He also has been a major contributor to colleges in his area—both Calvin and Hope colleges owe him a great debt of gratitude. As his pastor, David Guerrin, remarked, ''He used all of his resoruces—both personal and financial—not as an end in themselves, but always as a means of glorifying God.''

Those words constitute a fine tribute to a great man, a man to whom I also owe a great debt of gratitude for the example he provided through his generosity, strength of character, and spirit of fellowship toward his community.

Mr. EXON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Will the Chair explain to the Senator, are we in morning business, and are there time restraints on the amount of time that we are allowed to speak under the order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the order of business, and the time limit is 5 minutes.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I will try to stay within that timeframe. I might request an additional minute or 2 if I run out of time.

I want to start out, Mr. President, and briefly compliment my great friend and colleague from West Virginia. There is no Member that I have served more proudly with in the U.S. Senate than ROBERT BYRD. He is a very learned individual, and I listened and I have listened before to his great and persuasive arguments as to why the constitutional amendment should not be placed in the Constitution. And he has made some excellent points.

He did not change my mind, but he made me quiver a few times. I simply say that I thought the statements, the way Senator BYRD, as usual, handled himself in a very professional, gentlemanly manner, made his points very, very well, and I am proud to serve with him. I am proud to serve with all of the Members of this body, even those who of course did not agree with my vote yesterday in support of the constitutional amendment.

Nevertheless, I think it has been a very healthy debate. Basically, the reason this debate has been kept on track is because it has been the herding, keeping the locomotive of straight talk on track, by the Senator from West Virginia.

Let me address some of the concerns I have. The main concern that I have—and I would like to say despite the fact that the balanced budget amendment did not pass yesterday, the world has not come to an end—I hope the comity and the understanding of Members on both sides of the aisle and on both sides of this important and contentious issue is such that we can move ahead in some kind of a proposition to bring our spiraling deficit and skyrocketing national debt under control.

We can lament the fact that the balanced budget amendment failed by one vote yesterday. I think it is safe to assume that those Members who supported the balanced budget amendment think little is served by whipping or arguing at great length about maybe calling it up again tomorrow and turning it around. That is not going to happen. I will simply say that I hope we can leave politics as much as possible out of this debate.

Having said that, I simply say, as a person who has always voted for a balanced budget amendment, I think that even with the great talents and arguments—many of them sound—that Senator BYRD and others advanced, we probably would have carried the day on the balanced budget amendment had it not been that politics got involved in this matter very early.

Not long ago, the Republican National Committee, with their vast resources, decided they were going to put some pressure on Democratic Senators in certain States of the Union, and they went into those States and in some cases enlisted the Republican Governor of those States to attack publicly, at the expense of the Republican hierarchy, to bring pressure to bear.

The facts of the matter are that that backfired. The facts of the matter are—and I am a pretty good vote counter in this body—I think that that activity, as much as anything else, was a prelude to the defeat of the balanced budget amendment yesterday.

There were some talks today, unfortunately, on the floor of the Senate about people resigning because they changed parties and all of these kind of things, which brought a retort, of course, that possibly others who had voted for this previously and did not vote for it this time should resign.

I do not think that kind of debate contributes much to the basic understanding, to advise the people on what the situation is. Let me say in the first place that I believe that there were mistakes made on both sides. I have cited what I think was a critical mistake when obviously the hierarchy of the Republican Party decided to politicize this debate, and if we look at the States where they advertised, we will see what I think is proof positive that their actions were ill advised, bad politics, and certainly bad strategy from the standpoint of passing the constitutional amendment.

Everywhere they tried, they failed. In fact, I happen to feel, in conversations I have had with several of my colleagues that were caught in that attack, that it probably caused them to swing against the amendment, among other reasons. So it was counterproductive.

I will also say that one of the problems I had with the constitutional amendment that I voted for was the fact that the hope was held out—in fact, it was almost a promise—that if we passed the constitutional amendment to balance the budget, we would do so by the year 2002. Well, the facts of the matter are that had we passed that constitutional amendment yesterday, and had we not had a war between now and the year 2002, or a serious downturn in the economy, if everything went according to schedule, we still would not have balanced the budget the way most people think the balanced budget would have worked.

I simply say it would have been far better, it seems to me, had my friends on the other side of the aisle, with whom I worked closely on this, been more upfront and said, ''Yes, we would not have actually balanced the budget by the year 2002 because we intend to use the amount of money that we protect and are going to continue to protect that is called the Social Security trust fund.''

So, therefore, it should have been said up front that if this constitutional amendment passes, we will balance the budget of the Federal Government by the year 2002, except for counting

the surplus in the Social Security trust fund. I think that is evident, and it is evident by the fact that it came up in discussion but has not been, I think, fully understood.

Having said that, I do not agree. I did not agree and I disagree with those on this side of the aisle who, I think, made some very good political points by talking about the looting and the raiding of Social Security. Certainly, I think that was not the intent of all but one of the Members on that side of the aisle who voted for the amendment. It certainly was not the intent of this Senator. But I recognize that it was a good political argument to make.

I do not believe that any of us who were supporting a constitutional amendment—I can only speak for myself, but I have some knowledge of the thinking that went on of others who were supporting this—that we were simply saying we were not raiding anything. We were simply recognizing the fact that some people do not understand; and that is that the Social Security trust fund is presently invested in T bills, securities of the United States of America fully backed with the faith and credit of the United States of America, and there is no way that we could or should raid those funds to balance a budget.

Another way of saying that is a bookkeeping procedure, because clearly the law says that we cannot invest trust funds, especially Social Security trust funds, but all trust funds, we cannot invest them in the stock market or other speculative propositions, only in Government securities, basically T bills. So there was no raid on Social Security in the actual sense of the word.

Let me simply ask, where do we go from here? It seems to me, although the balanced budget amendment would have given us the discipline that I think is necessary—it is not there for many and varied reasons—therefore, that we should press on very aggressively to begin to balance a budget now without the constitutional amendment, as most of us said we hope we could do.

I probably think the best way out of this is simply pass a resolution that the Budget Committee should report out, according to present law, by April 1, a budget that will balance the budget by the year 2002, or whenever. I will simply point out that the present law clearly states that you cannot use the Social Security trust fund to balance a budget. So I hope that possibly we could pass a resolution directing the Budget Committee to come out with a balanced budget amendment, notwithstanding the fact at least of now we are not going to put it in the Constitution, there is no reason why we should not press forward.

I simply say I think people of good will should put politics aside now and try to work toward balancing the budget the only way we have available to us at the present time, and that is the will, the good fellowship and support of the men and women who serve on the Budget Committee; direct them to come forth with a balanced budget amendment by some period of year, hopefully 2002, that could balance a budget the way we have to balance a budget in the absence of a constitutional amendment to do so.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

Mr. MURKOWSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABRAHAM). The Senator from Alaska.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I believe morning business was to expire at 1. I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until 2 p.m., under the same arrangement that was initiated for the previous morning business schedule.

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

MANDATE OF SELF-DISCIPLINE

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I would like to reflect on what I consider a reality. It seems to me that we have managed to do it again. We have put off taking the medicine necessary to correct the accumulated deficits that we have been running because we have again refused to impose a balanced budget mandate in our Constitution. Let me just reflect a little bit on how this body seems to work with unsolvable problems.

We all remember the extended debate on base closures, the fact that we could never agree whose base would be closed. So we finally consented to bring about the creation of a commission staffed by knowledgeable people who would independently evaluate priorities of base closures. The Commission would examine all relevant evidence presented by the individual military services and then make specific recommendations on a package. Congress would then be given the opportunity to vote up or down on that package.

We saw what happened to that Commission yesterday. We voted unanimously to extend the Commission because it has worked. It worked simply because the other alternatives did not work.

I am kind of a bottom-line person, Mr. President. It seems to me that we have attempted to address our deficits by statute in the past. You remember back in 1985, we had Gramm-Rudman I. And it was our conviction that this would bring about control of runaway spending and it would bring about an end to the continued deficits.

Under Gramm-Rudman I, we were going to have a zero deficit by 1991, at least we were supposed to. Then we had Gramm-Rudman II in 1987. That was supposed to bring about a zero deficit by 1993. It did not work. Then we had the 1990 budget agreement and that was supposed to bring about the decline of the deficits. Under that agreement, the deficit was supposed to be $83 billion. In reality, the deficit for 1995 is more than 100 percent higher—$205 billion.

If we look at our short history relative to trying to correct this matter since 1985, one has to come to the conclusion that statutes do not worked.

I was somewhat amused by the editorial in the Washington Post this morning which suggested that amending the Constitution was the wrong way to do it; we have the capability to do it and, therefore, we should do it. But the fact remains, Mr. President, we did not do it then and we have not done it now. It simply is not going to be addressed. I think the attitude of the American people is that we simply do not have the self-discipline to reduce spending, we do not have the self-discipline to reduce the rate of growth of entitlements, we have simply left the entitlements on automatic pilot.

I reached the conclusion some time ago—and this is the basis for my support of the balanced budget amendment—that since nothing else has worked, this obviously would bring about a mandate to the Congress, and that mandate would be self-discipline.

There is one other factor that I think is important, and that is how the American people are going to view this. Social Security has been mentioned, but it would seem to me that the people of retirement age that are dependent on Social Security, and those who are about to be, have a conscious awareness of the realities associated with the monetary system of this country. We can look at Mexico and see what happened—too much debt.

I do not know, Mr. President, if you have observed what is happening in Canada, but 29.6 percent—29.6 percent—of the Canadian budget is interest on their debt. That is nearly one-third.

We are running deficits each year, Mr. President, but the difficulty with it is that the interest on the accumulated debt now is more than the deficit. So the reality of this action, or lack of action taken by this body is really one that has to be addressed.

Mr. President, I think we have a situation where we have to recognize we do not have the self-discipline to eliminate the deficit. Our monetary system, as we know it, is very much at stake. We should have given the American people, through their State legislatures, the opportunity to decide whether the Constitution should be amended. It takes 38 States to amend the Constitution. There would have been a great debate.

I think by not giving the American people the opportunity to be heard on this matter, we have done a great disservice to them and to ourselves, and we have not corrected the problem that has been addressed in this body over the last several weeks. I think that is, indeed, unfortunate.

I thank the Chair.