

laid out the blueprint that we all agree is necessary if, indeed, we are serious about reaching our goal in a short period of time.

In a matter of 7 years, we proclaim today, if we pass this amendment, we will have a balanced Federal budget. But we all recognize privately that, unless we have a blueprint, we simply cannot achieve that goal in any meaningful way without using smoke and mirrors, without a blueprint.

The American people have stated very clearly their desire to see a blueprint, and indeed that is what we tried to offer as we considered this amendment many weeks ago. Some of us suggested that we provide for a capital budget so the Federal budget would work like the budgets of virtually every business, every State, every family in this country. We wanted to preserve the ability to respond to national security or economic emergencies, something that we have attempted to address in amendments as well. We tried to protect against unconstitutional Presidential impoundments and preserve the integrity of Congress' power of the purse. We tried to protect veterans' health programs and pensions.

Finally, we tried to protect Social Security, to make certain that all those commitments we made verbally on the Senate floor and in the media about protecting Social Security would in fact be kept when the amendment became part of the U.S. Constitution. On Social Security alone we had a number of different votes, different ways to make certain that the solemn commitment to protect the money in the trust fund would not be broken by a future Congress. We ran into a stone wall and, as a result, Social Security, despite Republican claims to the contrary, is legally and realistically available for cuts. We know that. And the Social Security trust funds are completely vulnerable to being raided.

Those who support the idea of a balanced budget amendment worked to improve this proposal so that it would be balanced and that we could in conscience vote for it without relying upon those trust funds for the next 7 years. But those efforts, too, were rejected.

We are still committed to balancing the budget. As supporters of this proposal have told television reporters outside the Senate Chamber, passage in this Chamber will not bring the budget one penny closer to real balance. Only we can do that. There is no machine that ultimately is incorporated in this Constitution that will force us to do what we are unable to do today. That is up to us. It is important that we understand that. It is we who must take that responsibility and no one else.

Some will attempt to characterize a vote against this flawed amendment as a vote against balancing the budget, but that is not what this vote is about. As I said, we all agree on the impor-

tance of balancing the budget. But this amendment simply does not do the job.

For the past month the Republican majority has been trying to pass their balanced budget amendment and claim a political victory. They have refused to listen to those of us who support an amendment but have had concerns about the language, rejecting our proposals time after time after time. They have refused to listen to the people of this country who have a right to know about how we are going to balance the budget. And, most important, they have refused to join us as we insist on real protection for Social Security, putting their political contract ahead of a solemn contract with the American people.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, leaders' time was reserved?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

#### THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I will make a motion here in a moment to have the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

I would also indicate, though I did not raise the question last night about rule XIX, I think my colleague from West Virginia came close if not being in violation of rule XIX, which states: "No Senator in debate shall directly or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct remotely unworthy or unbecoming a Senator." I would ask that—some of the "tawdry" references, "sleazy" references, in my view were uncalled for.

This is a very important vote. I believe there are 66 votes for the amendment, Democrats and Republicans. We need 67. Or we need 66, if there are only 99 voting.

I thought a lot about what procedure to follow after we recessed last evening. I thought about the hard work of the Senator from Utah, Senator HATCH; the Senator from Illinois, Senator SIMON; and other Democrats and Republicans who have worked and worked and worked for months and months and weeks and weeks and days and days and hours and hours in an effort to gain the support of 67 of our colleagues.

This must be bipartisan; there are only 53 Republicans. As I said last night, if you want to take a look at total nonpartisanship, take a look at Senator SIMON. He is leaving the Senate. He can do most anything. If he had any political motives, I assume—you can say, in most cases, Members have political motives—but in this case you cannot. He feels strongly about the amendment. We feel strongly about protecting Social Security. We have made a number of suggestions to Members on the other side about protecting

Social Security, but it is never quite enough, never quite enough, never quite enough.

I must say, it seems to me to be in the interest—not in our interest—in the interest of the American people; 76 to 80 percent of the American people support the balanced budget amendment. And they could care less whether we voted last night or vote today or tomorrow or next week or the next week. They know the country is in danger of economic collapse unless we do something.

The American people are very sophisticated. They listen to radio. They read the newspapers. They watch television. They watch C-SPAN. This is no time for retreat. This is a time, as far as this Senator is concerned, for all of us who believe in the balanced budget amendment on both sides of the aisle to try to find one more vote—not in some back room deal, as alleged last night by the Senator from West Virginia—but by a recognition that if we do nothing—it probably will not make any difference to us or our families, but what about the 80 percent of the American people out there who want us to balance the budget? They balance their budgets. They balance their budgets in their businesses and in their homes, and they do not understand this business-as-usual attitude in Washington.

We are going to continue to try to find one vote. If we fail on that, then I, when the vote is cast, if it ends up 66, I will change my vote and I will enter a motion to reconsider. That motion to reconsider is not debatable. It can be called up any time by the leader, and I think sometime about next September might be appropriate to reconsider this whole issue. We do not want to do it too quickly, but maybe let it—leave it out there a year. Let us see what happens as we get nearer the election and the American people are a little agitated at Congress, as they should be.

I just suggest if anyone in this Chamber on either side of the aisle can find one more vote—or send someone on vacation, who might be on the other side—we need your help. The American people need your help. This is not a battle—this is a victory—victory for whom? Not for BOB DOLE. Not for PAUL SIMON. Not for LARRY CRAIG. Not for ORRIN HATCH. Not for JIM EXON. This will be a victory for the people. That is what this is all about. Give America back to the people.

Dust off the 10th amendment. Unless the power is reserved to the Federal Government, give it back to the States and give it back to the people.

We are going to continue every way we can to make this happen.

Mr. President, I move the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the minority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I only object so as to respond, if I could, using the remainder of my leader time. How much time do I have available?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 3 minutes.

Mr. DOLE. That is all right. Whatever you need.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President let me respond to the distinguished minority leader. I do not know that I have learned all the rules of this place as well as he has, but I thought that a deal was a deal.

I thought in good faith that when we negotiated an agreement which required unanimous consent that a deal was a deal and that our word was our bond. The word that I was given over a week ago was that we would have a vote last night. The vote was not going to be if we had so many votes we keep

the deal. The vote was we are going to keep our deal. We will have a vote, and that will be the end of it.

I recognize the right of any Senator to change his vote and make a motion to reconsider. That is always within the prerogative of any Senator. And the majority leader is certainly within his rights to do that. But to say today that we are going to change the rules and that we are going to nullify an agreement that we had in good faith last week makes me wonder whether or not we will ever get another agreement during this Congress. It makes me wonder whether in good faith we can negotiate and come to some arrangement with regard to the consideration of any bill in the future.

So this portends some very serious ramifications, and I hope that we all recognize it. I thought we had a deal. I thought we had an agreement. I thought we were going to go to a vote.

If we are not going to go to a vote, if we are going to delay that vote and bring it up some other time, I think it is imperative that we have the notice of the majority leader in advance so all Members can be forewarned.

But I must say that I am deeply disappointed and that this kind of instant rulemaking is unacceptable.

I yield the floor and reserve my right to consider the proposal by the majority leader again.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the Senator from South Dakota.

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#### RECESS UNTIL TOMORROW

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I am going to modify the proposal to move that the Senate stand in recess until noon on Thursday, March 2.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate, at 10:22 a.m., recessed until tomorrow, March 2, 1995, at 12 noon.