

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. I am just going to take one moment and then yield the floor. We have a measure that is before us, and I see the Senator from Vermont, who has an amendment, who had spoken to us earlier today and is waiting to move towards that amendment.

We are going to, in just a few moments, ask unanimous consent to finalize the list of amendments. We have been able to work through many of them. So we are expecting probably some votes that will be continuing along until we are able to hopefully get this concluded. We can do that in a period of time, but I hope that our membership will not be coming to us at 7:15 asking for windows and other kinds of things, because we were able to really move this and follow the admonition of both the majority and minority leaders. So we are going to ask for a consent that we have received all the amendments in just a few moments. So if any of the Members are interested, this is really the last call.

Mr. SIMPSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

BALANCED BUDGETS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I just want to speak for a few moments on this issue of Social Security and balanced budgets. I have the greatest respect for Senator Fritz HOLLINGS and my colleague Senator Kent CONRAD, who sits there, and his friend and mine BYRON DORGAN. They are a very remarkable duo from North Dakota, and they have been working hard on this issue a good long while, and so has my old friend Senator HOLLINGS.

If we are going to debate this issue of Social Security, we are going to have to deal with reality. The reality has come to me and should come to everyone in this Chamber simply by studying the work of the entitlements commission, the Bipartisan Entitlements Commission, where Senator BOB KERREY and Senator JOHN DANFORTH of Missouri sat for a year and presented to 32 Americans, including many of us in this Chamber, what is going to happen to Social Security.

There is no way to duck it. There is no way to finesse it. There is no way to demagog it. That is no way to go. Because if you are going to talk about something that is worth \$360 billion and leave it "off the table" in a fashion that no one in this body is supposed to touch it or say a word about Social Security while the senior citizens groups beat your head in and my head in and not allow us to even touch a system and keep telling us, and warning us, "Oh yes, it will need to be corrected" and, "Oh yes, we have a way to tell you

how to do that"—and their solutions always have to do with raising the payroll tax, ladies and gentlemen, and guess who pays the payroll tax? Not the senior citizens.

Now, if we are going to deal with this issue, then I am going to begin to come to the floor each and every time we come to this issue of Social Security and balanced budgets concepts and begin to get one singular thing across. Hear it. There is no Social Security trust fund, ladies and gentlemen. There is no Social Security trust fund. None. And the reason there is none is because, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Congress put this package together, they said that if there is any surplus in the Social Security system it will be invested in the securities of the United States Government, secured by the full faith and credit of the United States. And every shred of this surplus—and it is big and it is going to get a lot bigger—every shred of it is invested in the securities of the United States Government in a series of IOU's.

You know that and I know that. But, better yet, the trustees know that. And who is this group of people telling us about this? They are called the trustees of the Social Security system, three of whom are in the President's Cabinet: Robert Rubin, Donna Shalala, and Robert Reich; one Republican, one Democrat, and the Commissioner of Social Security. And they are the stewards of Social Security. There are no other designated stewards of it.

In the trustees little booklet of their annual review which is about that thick, and I hope you will read it, it says that in the year 2029, without doing something for Social Security, it will go broke. It will be out of business. But, more important, in the year 2012, when the payments coming in will not cover the payments going out, you are going to start cashing in the bonds. And then you begin to use up the interest. And between the year 2012 and the year 2029, it is history.

So, every time we hear this old saw, I want to be right here too and tell the American people, just as the trustees would if they were here—I will speak for them—that there is no Social Security trust fund. It is a floating pile of IOU's. You know it and I know it. So, when we come here to this Chamber to talk about cooperation, coordination, subjugating our own obsessions or our own agenda's to the body work of this then let us talk about that fact every time.

I have been through this plenty of times in this Chamber. I do not keep score of how many times I may have come to the floor on any issue. But I can tell my colleagues I do know how many times some people have come to the floor on this singular issue—time after time after time; and fully knowing that there is no trust fund.

We were just involved in a bill, talking about a rather interesting issue called illegal immigration reform. Several years ago—and I have done this

too long, remember for 17 years—my dearest friend, Senator John Heinz, proposed an amendment on—guess what? Social Security. What was it that time? Listen to this one. I said to John Heinz, my old friend—and remember, we put together a package that said that the COLA would always be paid out, but if the inflation was ever 3 percent or less that we would not increase the COLA. If it was less than 3 percent we would not give a COLA on Social Security."

It was that year at 1.5 percent or something, or perhaps 2. And we came to the floor and Senator Heinz, who really was spectacular—in fact—if he were here today we would not be in the health care conundrum we are in. He was that good. He could have led us out of that.

I said, "John, you know it will pass. All you have to do is mention Social Security or a COLA and you know it will pass—or if you mention veterans, you know it will pass." We have all been there. We are all bright people. We know this.

So, there it was. An impasse. And finally he removed it from the immigration bill, placed it on another one, and so it is much like this one. We all know what this is. There is not a soul in this building, a soul in this city, a soul who follows this, like BOB KERREY and JACK DANFORTH did, who does not know that there is no Social Security trust fund—zero—zip—nothing. To hear it continued to be bandied about is an extraordinary adventure in fantasy.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Will the distinguished Senator yield?

Mr. SIMPSON. I will yield for a question.

Mr. HOLLINGS. With respect to Senator KERREY and Senator Danforth's recommendations, fine—I support their particular report. It is not a question of fixing Social Security. It is a question of not using the surpluses to obscure the size of the deficit and using them for Social Security.

I am sure the Senator was with me, on October 18, 1990. And I am sure he supports that law.

You and I act like there is some difference. There is no difference in our belief that changes will have to be made to protect the integrity of social security. But the law says thou shalt not use the Social Security moneys to obscure the size of the deficit? That is the law, 13301. The chairman of the Budget Committee is here, he is totally familiar with it. Isn't that correct?

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I do not think anybody would try to obscure anything—at least this Senator is not. The obfuscation and the obscuring is to tell the American people that there is a trust fund that we are using moneys from. There is not any trust fund there to be using. It is not there. It is a series of IOU's. So, when we say, "Oh, you are doing a terrible thing. You are hiding something or you are using the money that should have been there for us," that is simply not the case.

Let me just review just for the body in 4 more minutes eight rather recent votes on this issue. I can only find eight in the last 30 minutes, since I knew that this would come up on the floor. The amendments are not always offered up by the same Senator. They are offered by different people each time. It is kind of like we do with a "rolling hold." You kind of fire the one barrel and then you fire another barrel. So here it all is, of recent vintage.

On January 26, 1995, Senator HARKIN offered an amendment. Senator KEMPTHORNE made a second-degree amendment on it. The Kempthorne amendment said that implementing legislation should not cut Social Security. We all agree with that. You cannot miss on that one. If you simply, each time, want to talk about the balanced budget and add to it that we will never "cut" Social Security, that is a snapper in here—except for a few of us who will cast that opposite vote and know very well that it just does not fit.

Then Senator REID tried to table that. That failed. Senator KEMPTHORNE's amendment then passed. Then Senator HARKIN tried a perfecting amendment to add his language back, saying that the balanced budget itself should exempt Social Security. That was tabled.

On February 10, 1995, Senator DOLE offered the amendment to ask the Budget Committee to report instructions not affecting Social Security. That passed 87 to 10, like we all knew it would. Then it was done.

Then Senator REID presented an amendment, February 14 of 1995, saying Social Security is now counted in the balanced budget amendment. And Senator DOLE tabled that, 57 to 41.

On February 28, 1995 Senator FEINSTEIN offered a substitute for the balanced budget amendment with the exclusion of Social Security. That was tabled 56 to 39.

On February 28, 1995, Senator GRAHAM put forward an amendment to eliminate "held by the public" from the debt limit, so as to get the balanced budget to exclude Social Security. That was tabled 59 to 40.

Another Graham amendment was tabled 57 to 43.

This issue has been voted on time and time and time again. I think it is time that it not be voted on again, especially for this issue, on either illegal immigration or health care. Find a new line of work.

Several Senators addressed the chair. Mr. DORGAN. Will the Senator yield for one brief question? I wonder if the Senator will yield for a brief question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming has the floor.

Mr. SIMPSON. I yield for a question.

Mr. DORGAN. I appreciate that. I guess it is the Senator's contention that there is no Social Security trust fund. I just ask this question.

We were told early on that the Social Security trust fund was not being used for any other purpose. Then we were

told by those who wanted an affirmative vote on the constitutional amendment to balance the budget that the Senator supported that, even though they had argued that it was not being used to balance the budget, they would stop using it to balance the budget by the year 2008.

How does one reconcile that if there is not a trust fund? If there is not a trust fund, how can you stop using it in the year 2008?

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I say to my friend from North Dakota that the travesty is that it is not being used. It is a series of IOU's. There is no Social Security trust fund. And the money is being invested.

You can say we will cut it back. You cannot. It is in T-bills. Some people here own T-bills. Banks own T-bills. There is no Social Security trust fund. I have never gone to my people and said we are stealing from the Social Security trust fund because I just stepped up to the plate and said there is none. So, when you bring that up, you are bringing up a fiction.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, how would it be if we had IOU's for the same time, I ask the Senator?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming has the floor.

Mr. HOLLINGS. How can it be invested and become an IOU? If it is invested, it is presumably going to be paid back? That is our problem, it is being spent on the deficit. That is my point.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, not only the fiction of it, but since 1938, by law, the trust fund buys T bills which are IOU's that the Government must pay back. FDR did that, and that is what it is. There is no mystery to it. It is a series of IOU's, and when those are outstanding and then the revenue from Social Security will not cover—it is a pay-as-you-go, do not forget, Social Security is pay-as-you-go, and if it does not cover, you have to cash in the IOU's and you have to get more money through the payroll tax, or reducing benefits or issuing some new kinds of securities.

Mr. HATCH. Will the Senator yield for a unanimous consent request?

Mr. SIMPSON. Yes.

HEALTH INSURANCE REFORM ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I understand the pending business is the BROWN amendment. It is my understanding that he will make his arguments and then withdraw the amendment; am I incorrect on that?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, the Senator is correct.

Mr. HATCH. I am correct.

Mr. SIMPSON. I yield the floor.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, prior to returning to Senator BROWN'S

amendment, if I may propose a unanimous consent request on behalf of Senator DOLE.

Let me yield and say, evidently, this has not been cleared fully on both sides, so we will return to Senator BROWN'S amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, we want to try and accommodate the greatest number of Members. We have several Senators who are here with their amendments ready to address them and ready to act on them. We believe that if we are able to do that, we can afford, whoever wants to speak, as much time as they want to speak on other kind of matters. But we are here to deal with this legislation.

We have been urging Senators to come over here and offer their amendments. They are here now, and we can either do this later—I plan to stay here until it is done, but the greater numbers of Members would like to have at least some finality to the legislation. I believe we can do it. It is 6 o'clock now and we had the chance for general discussion during the course of the day. Many of our colleagues have come over here to address these issues and to vote on them, and they have been waiting as well.

I hope we will urge our colleagues who are not going to talk on these matter—we know they can; people can get up and address any other matters—but out of consideration of other Members, please try and see if we cannot focus on the matter that is at hand, and that is the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill, which is of enormous importance to many American families.

I see other Members here, and I am sure they will do what they have to do, but we are trying to conclude this and then to let others speak so that at least others will not be here tomorrow. We are going to end up being here tomorrow as sure as I am standing here unless we are able to make progress. That is fine with me, if that is what it is. But with some cooperation of the Members, we have a very good chance of finishing this. Otherwise, Members ought to understand we are going to be here late tonight voting and end up starting the votes later this evening and tomorrow.

We are just about to ask for the final list so that we can agree with that. But in the meantime, we have the Senators who are here who are prepared to move ahead. Senator BROWN is here, and Senator JEFFORDS was here just a few moments ago to deal with an extremely important measure and has been here now for an hour and a half trying to gain the floor.

Mr. CHAFEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

AMENDMENT NO. 3678

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I am going to address the amendment that is before us, the Brown amendment,