

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator. I could deliver a very appropriate encomium. I could say many appropriate things with respect to the ability of the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania. He is a great friend of mine. I have tremendous respect for his knowledge in the field of law, and I always listen when he speaks. I thank him for his very kind and overly charitable remarks.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I thank my distinguished colleague for that reply. I have been in this body, now, going on 18 years. Senator BYRD and I have been able to maintain a long, unguarded border between southern Pennsylvania and West Virginia because we maintain that friendship between the two States.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. SPECTER pertaining to the introduction of S. Res. 170 are located in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, before concluding, I have been asked by the leader to seek unanimous consent that the period of morning business be extended to 12:45, with Senators permitted under this request to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 10 minutes, for purposes of introduction of legislation.

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

Mr. GRAHAM. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. GRAHAM pertaining to the introduction of S. 1585 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. HOLLINGS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak as in morning business until the appointed hour of 12:45.

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

STOP LOOTING SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUND

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, the thrust of President Clinton's State of

the Union address was "save Social Security first." The quickest way to save Social Security is to stop looting Social Security. Over the years, we have looted the Social Security trust fund with wild abandon; we owe it to the tune of some \$631 billion right this minute. It should be a \$631 billion surplus. But actually, since Congress has expended it on foreign aid, defense, food stamps, and other programs in order to appear fiscally responsible, there is a deficit in Social Security.

I see now from the Congressional Budget Office, and I take it from the President's budget to be submitted next Monday, that the CBO, along with the Congress and the President, is prepared, again, to go forward with this nonsense of a unified budget. The unified budget is a fraud. It allows Congress to spend money but get credit for not spending money. Only here do fiscally irresponsible people get a good government award.

Let's think back a minute on President Lyndon Johnson, because the consensus is, "President Johnson changed government accounting procedures and created the concept and introduced the use of a unified budget, and that is how he got a surplus." This is false; false. I was present during that time; I was there with George Mahon, chairman of the Appropriations Committee. We asked if we could cut \$5 billion to achieve a total budget of \$178 billion for the Great Society and the Vietnam War. Can you imagine that? We funded the Great Society and the War with just \$178 billion. And where are we today? Today the budget is \$1.7 trillion. During LBJ's presidency, we balanced the budget with a surplus of \$3.2 billion. The Social Security trust fund then only amounted to \$300 million. So President Johnson balanced the budget without trust funds and without a unified deficit.

What really happened was that Wilbur Mills of the Ways and Means Committee, who was running for President up in New Hampshire, said to the American people: "Oh, we have so much money in that Social Security fund; I will give you a 10-percent COLA." Then along came President Nixon and he said, "If he will give you 10, I will give you 15 percent."

We started draining the fund during the seventies. By 1980-1981—when I was chairman of the Budget Committee—we could see we were going to have a horrendous deficit in Social Security. So we formed the Greenspan commission, and we issued a report that recommended not only to impose a higher tax for Social Security to balance the Social Security budget, but more particularly to build up a trust fund for the Presiding Officer.

Now, old men like Senator THURMOND and I are going to get our Social Security money. But I don't know that younger Americans are going to get theirs. The fact of the matter is that

according to the Greenspan Commission, baby boomers were to be cared for with Social Security through the year 2056. To show that, I ask unanimous consent that section 21 be printed in the RECORD.

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

SOCIAL SECURITY AND THE UNIFIED BUDGET

(21) A majority of the members of the National Commission recommends that the operations of the OASI, DI, HI, and SMI Trust Funds should be removed from the unified budget. Some of those who do not support this recommendation believe that the situation would be adequately handled if the operations of the Social Security program were displayed within the present unified Federal budget as a separate budget function, apart from other income security programs.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, section 21 says take Social Security off the unified budget and record it as a separate trust fund.

I also ask unanimous consent that section 13301 of the Budget Act be printed in the RECORD.

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

SUBTITLE C—SOCIAL SECURITY

SEC. 13301. OFF-BUDGET STATUS OF OASDI TRUST FUNDS

(a) Exclusion of Social Security from all budgets.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the receipts and disbursements of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Fund shall not be counted as new budget authority, outlays, receipts, or deficit or surplus for purposes of—

(1) the budget of the United States Government as submitted by the President,

(2) the congressional budget, or

(3) the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985.

(b) Exclusions of Social Security from congressional budget.—Section 301(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 is amended by adding at the end the following: "The concurrent resolution shall not include the outlays and revenue totals of the old age, survivors, and disability insurance program established under title II of the Social Security Act or the related provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 in the surplus or deficit totals required by this subsection or in any. . . ."

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I got that reported out of the Budget Committee, and President George Walker Herbert Bush signed it into law on November 5, 1990: "Thou shalt not use the Social Security trust fund." But, Mr. President, Congress today totally ignores it. Here is the economic budget outlook for fiscal year 1999. I ask unanimous consent that this table 2 be printed in the RECORD.

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

SUMMARY TABLE 2. CBO BUDGET PROJECTIONS (BY FISCAL YEAR)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS												
Revenues:												
Individual income	737	768	782	805	840	886	922	974	1,027	1,083	1,143	1,207
Corporate income	182	197	200	200	200	203	209	216	224	232	241	250
Social insurance	539	573	600	625	651	679	710	743	781	817	856	892
Other	120	127	147	149	155	162	167	173	177	181	187	191
Total	1,579	1,665	1,729	1,779	1,847	1,930	2,008	2,105	2,208	2,314	2,426	2,540
Outlays:												
Discretionary ¹	549	557	561	565	564	560	576	592	609	626	643	661
Mandatory:												
Social Security	362	376	391	409	428	449	471	495	522	551	582	614
Medicare	208	218	231	244	268	277	306	330	367	377	417	448
Medicaid	96	101	108	115	123	131	141	152	165	179	194	210
Other	229	256	272	290	303	316	330	342	360	369	378	399
Subtotal	895	950	1,003	1,058	1,121	1,173	1,247	1,320	1,415	1,476	1,570	1,672
Net interest	244	244	248	244	238	231	226	222	216	209	202	194
Offsetting receipts	-86	-81	-81	-84	-90	-104	-96	-100	-106	-112	-119	-126
Total	1,601	1,670	1,731	1,782	1,833	1,860	1,954	2,034	2,133	2,199	2,297	2,403
Deficit (-) or Surplus	-22		-2	-3	14	69	54	71	75	115	129	138
Memorandum:												
On-budget Deficit (-) or Surplus	-103	-105	-115	-125	-116	-69	-94	-87	-95	-64	-60	-60
Debt Held by the Public	3,771	3,790	3,806	3,821	3,821	3,765	3,725	3,668	3,606	3,503	3,386	3,259
AS A PERCENTAGE OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT												
Revenues:												
Individual income	9.3	9.2	9.0	8.8	8.8	8.9	8.9	8.9	9.0	9.0	9.1	9.2
Corporate income	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9
Social insurance	6.8	6.8	6.9	6.9	6.9	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8
Other	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Total	19.8	19.9	19.8	19.6	19.4	19.4	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3	19.3
Outlays:												
Discretionary ¹	6.9	6.7	6.4	6.2	5.9	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.0
Mandatory:												
Social Security	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.7
Medicare	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.4
Medicaid	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.6
Other	2.9	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.0
Subtotal	11.2	11.3	11.5	11.6	11.8	11.8	12.0	12.1	12.4	12.3	12.5	12.7
Net interest	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.5
Offsetting receipts	-1.1	-1.0	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-1.0	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-1.0
Total	20.1	20.0	19.8	19.6	19.3	18.7	18.8	18.6	18.7	18.4	18.3	18.3
Deficit (-) or Surplus	-0.3	-0.1	(²)	(²)	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.0
Memorandum:												
On-budget Deficit (-) or Surplus	-1.3	-1.3	-1.3	-1.4	-1.2	-0.7	-0.9	-0.8	-0.8	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5
Debt Held by the Public	47.3	45.3	43.6	42.0	40.2	37.9	35.8	33.6	31.5	29.3	27.0	24.8

¹ The baseline assumes that discretionary spending will equal the statutory caps on discretionary spending in 1999 through 2002 and will increase at the rate of inflation in succeeding years.

² Less than 0.05 percent.

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Table 2, instead of showing that trust funds are not used, shows that Congress uses over \$165 billion of trust funds—\$165 billion. That is \$101 billion from Social Security and \$64 billion from the military retirement trust fund, Civil Service retirement trust fund, highway trust fund, airport trust fund; and the surplus crowd is trying to report just a \$5 billion deficit. Come on.

You have to go all the way back, Mr. President, to page 42 of the CBO's report. If you look at page 42, you can find the real deficit, because down there they have the gross Federal debt. Of course, they don't put it in red. I wish I had a chart here so everybody could see it.

This is not how a family budgets. Families ask themselves if they spend more than they take in? They don't employ this unified budget nonsense, or economic flows or the Wholesale Price Index or the Consumer Price Index or any of this economic gobbledygook. If you spend more than you take in, you have a deficit, and that adds to your debt.

Page 42 of the Congressional Budget Office's report shows that we go from a \$5.5 trillion debt in 10 years to over \$7.5 trillion. In the next 5 years, according to this chart, we are going to spend \$957 billion more than we take in—under this so-called balanced budget plan. Yet everyone is running around,

patting each other on the back and complimenting each other on fiscal responsibility and discipline. "A balanced budget as far as the eye can see," says the President. Dr. June O'Neill said the same thing yesterday before the Budget Committee. Mr. President, they are talking out of the whole cloth.

Their claims are false. They continue to use these trust funds to obscure the debt and deceive the people. We already have used Social Security, military, civilian, unemployment, highway, airport, railroad of \$1.5 trillion we owe now, and under the 1998 projected current policy, CBO reports it will be \$1.652 trillion. So we are using all of these trust funds, and President Clinton said all trust funds. I read from that particular report where he said any trust funds. I want to make sure everybody gets that because I am not being technical at all.

I quote President Clinton: "Tonight I propose we reserve 100 percent of the surplus. That's every penny of any surplus."

Mr. President, I have two bills that do just that. Boy, are we going to put them to the task of truth in budgeting. I ask unanimous consent that these bills be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bills were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1587

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Pay-as-you-go Extension Act".

SEC. 2. AMENDMENT TO THE BALANCED BUDGET ACT.

Section 252(a) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 is amended by adding at the end the following: "This section shall be effective until the Federal budget excluding the receipts and disbursements of the social security trust funds, the Federal military retiree trust fund, the highway trust funds, and any other Federal trust fund included in the gross Federal debt is in balance or surplus."

S. 1588

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Deficit Integrity Act".

SEC. 2. TRUST FUND PROTECTION.

The receipts and disbursements of the social security trust funds, the Federal military retiree trust fund, the highway trust funds, the medicare trust fund, the civil service retirement trust fund, the unemployment trust fund, the airports trust fund, and any other Federal trust fund included in the gross Federal debt shall not be—

(1) included in the Federal budget baseline for any fiscal year; and

(2) counted as new budget authority, outlays, receipts, or deficit or surplus for purposes of—

(A) offsetting any tax decrease; and
(B) offsetting any spending increase.

Mr. HOLLINGS. This is a short, one-paragraph bill. It says that Congress cannot use any of these surpluses and trust funds for any tax cut or any spending increase where we have caps.

Maybe, Mr. President, they will get the money from the tobacco settlement. I don't know where they will get the money from.

You are looking at a Senator who voted against spending increases and against tax cuts last year in order to try to bring about fiscal responsibility. We enjoy a good economy, Mr. President. And we want to stay the course. But let us practice truth in budgeting, and let us mean it. I have provided all the facts and figures here.

There is a chart that everybody in America ought to see: the gross Federal debt. In the past year, 1997, we ran a deficit not of \$22 billion but of \$188 billion. The Congressional Budget Office projects an actual deficit of \$170 billion. And, Mr. President, in 1999, the deficit will increase from \$170 billion to \$200 billion. Why? Because rather than heading in the right direction, Congress and the President last year increased spending and cut out revenues. Under current policy, the deficit will continue to soar, right on up and away to \$205 billion by the year 2000.

So everybody ought to understand that Congress and the White House can make all the wonderful talks they like; and everyone can say, "Well, the President wants to use those funds for spending, and I want to use it for tax cuts." That suits me, whatever you all want to do, but let us have truth in budgeting and let us not use any of the trust funds as an offset.

The bills I introduce today will achieve both of these goals; they will ensure an honest budget and protect Social Security and other trust funds.

I thank the distinguished Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, what is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business has just concluded.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. BUMPERS. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that I be permitted to proceed in morning business for no more than 15 minutes in order to introduce a bill.

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

TRUTH IN BUDGETING

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, prior to introducing my bill, let me just lend my support to the remarks just made by the Senator from South Carolina. He and the Senator from North Dakota, Senator DORGAN, have made

speech after speech after speech on the floor of this body about how we do not have truth in budgeting. We do not have a balanced budget. We are not even close to a balanced budget and are not going to be for some time to come. And the idea of people talking about tax cuts or using the budget surplus, which does not exist, to using that surplus to cut taxes or to increase spending is an absolute absurdity.

I think this year, 1998, we are anticipating a \$100 billion surplus in Social Security. So I lend my support to what the President said the other night. And I lend my support to what the Senator from South Carolina just said.

(The remarks of Mr. BUMPERS pertaining to the introduction of S. 1586 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for up to 20 minutes as in morning business.

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

HONORING CONGRESSMAN LOUIS STOKES

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon to commemorate an important event in the history of my State, the State of Ohio, and also the history of this Congress. Over the just-concluded recess, my good friend, Congressman LOU STOKES, announced he will retire at the end of this Congress. LOU STOKES will retire after 30 years representing the people of his Cleveland area district.

Mr. President, when I first entered the House of Representatives in 1983, LOUIS STOKES had already been there for 14 years—14 years building friendships and developing a reputation as a powerful and effective leader.

LOU STOKES is a leader. Mr. President, he is more than that. LOU STOKES is a good man. One of my own favorite memories of LOU STOKES, and frankly it is one of my memories that I will carry with me all my life and my career in politics, was the very moving speech that Congressman LOU STOKES made when he and I served together on the Iran-Contra Committee. Mr. President, this was a contentious time. Congressman STOKES and I did not always agree on everything about these hearings or about the facts of that series of events that led to the Iran-Contra hearings. But there was a moment during the hearings when LOU STOKES spoke from the heart and he really let us know what kind of a person he is, sort of what makes him tick. We really had an insight into the soul of this very good man.

In his remarks he expressed heartfelt love of this great country of ours. Let me quote a portion of what Congressman LOU STOKES said at that time:

I wore the uniform of this country in World War II in a segregated Army. I wore it

as proudly as you did, even though our Government required black and white soldiers in the same Army to live, sleep, eat, and travel separate and apart while fighting and dying for our country.

But because of the rule of law today's servicemen in America suffer no such indignity. . . . My mother, a widow, raised two boys. She had an eighth grade education. She was a domestic worker who scrubbed floors. One son became the first black mayor of a major American city. The other sits here today as chairman of a House Intelligence Committee. Only in America, only in America, Colonel North, only in America.

Mr. President, LOUIS STOKES said these words at a time of great tension in our country and in the Congress. In doing so, he gave voice to what Abraham Lincoln called the better angels of our nature.

That, Mr. President, is really who LOUIS STOKES is, a truly honorable man who represents the finest aspects of the American spirit. Congressman STOKES rose from poverty to become a great American statesman. He was Ohio's first African American member of the U.S. Congress. He was the first African American ever named to the House Appropriations Committee.

First, first, first, again and again and again, Mr. President. Where a path had not been carved out before, LOUIS STOKES took the lead and blazed a trail by himself. He was chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, he was chairman of the House Ethics Committee, he was chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, he was chairman of the historic House committee that investigated the assassinations of President Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He was chairman and is currently ranking member of the appropriations subcommittee on VA-HUD overseeing \$87 billion of our Federal budget.

For the last 5 years he has been the dean of our State's congressional delegation.

Mr. President, I am proud to have served for so long with this truly great American, here in the Senate for the last 3 years, as well as the 8 years we served together in the U.S. House of Representatives. So today, Mr. President, I join the people of Ohio in thanking Congressman LOU STOKES for all he has done to move our State and our country forward.

LOUIS STOKES's hometown newspaper, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, says that he is "A man who, through word and deed, created a legacy of exemplary public service. . . . After his long years of distinguished service, Congress won't be the same without him."

Mr. President, how true that is.

So to our friend, LOU STOKES; his wife, Jay; his children, Shelley, Angela, Louis, Lorene; and his grandchildren, who I know he cherishes so much, Brett, Eric, Grant, Kelley, Kimberley, Alexandra, and Nicolette, thank you very much. Thank you for sharing him with us. We wish you, Congressman STOKES, and your children and your grandchildren and the rest of