

who sold their properties to minority-owned firms. For this policy, the FCC defines minorities as including "Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, Alaska Natives, Asians and Pacific Islanders."

The greatest flaw in this program is that the economic benefit does not go to the minority buyer, the economic benefit goes to the seller. It is like a kickback. If you sell to me and not the other guy, I will give you a little extra something. And I will not be paying for it, the American taxpayer will. I do not understand it, and I do not understand why people would think this is benefiting minorities when the monetary gain is going to the seller.

These are also million-dollar deals. These are tax breaks to millionaires. The average sales price for transactions in which tax certificates were granted is \$3.5 million for radio, and \$38 million for television. Although there is no data currently available for the cable industry, one of the transactions in the cable industry seeking to utilize the tax certificate, is \$2.3 billion.

#### EFFECTIVE DATE

Some have tried to say that this bill's effective date is retroactive. And that this bill is crafted to target one particular transaction—the Viacom transaction. I disagree.

Chairman ARCHER of the House Ways and Means Committee issued a press release on January 17 of this year entitled, "Archer Announces Review of FCC Tax Provision," putting all FCC tax certificate transactions on notice. It reads, and I quote:

The Committee on Ways and Means will undertake this review immediately to explore possible legislative changes to section 1071, including the possibility of repeal. Any changes to section 1072 may apply to transactions completed, or certificates issued by the FCC, on or after today, January 17, 1995.

Two days later, on January 19, representatives from Viacom, House Ways and Means Committee, and the Joint Tax Committee met. And Viacom was fully apprised of the situation and the possible consequences on their transaction.

Nevertheless, the parties in the Viacom transaction signed an asset purchase agreement the following day, and even then I do not believe it was not a binding contract. The purchase agreement is contingent upon the FCC granting a tax certificate. They filed a tax certificate application with the FCC on February 3, with full knowledge that Congress would be acting to repeal the program. On February 6, 1995, H.R. 831 was introduced, and reported by the Ways and Means Committee on February 8. The bill passed the House on February 21.

This transaction is not a small one. This a \$2.3 billion transaction. The parties involved are sophisticated players in the mergers and acquisitions world. A world where players are accustomed to reacting quickly. It is clear to me that the parties of this transaction were given reasonable expectation that

the FCC tax certificate program would be repealed. And it is clear to me that they decided to sign their agreement regardless. And, remember, they did not file for an FCC tax certificate until February 3. Their agreement continues to be contingent upon a tax certificate being granted.

#### TURNING TAX BREAKS AND LOOPHOLES FOR MILLIONAIRES INTO HEALTH CARE FOR THE ORDINARY CITIZEN

Let me be clear, if we do not pass this legislation today, then what we are doing is raising taxes for 3.2 million Americans. Make no mistake about it. If we do nothing today, then they will pay more in taxes this year than they did last year.

What we are trying to do here today; what we will accomplish here today is taking a million dollar, unjustifiable tax break for millionaires, not minorities, and turn them into health care for ordinary Americans. Americans who really need it.

Let me also remind everyone here that this bill passed the House of Representatives with an overwhelming majority vote of 388 to 44. I urge my colleagues to vote for this bill.

#### AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Mr. DOLE. As the Washington Post reported today, the overwhelming majority of the American people believe that the race-counting game has gone too far.

I am proud of my own civil rights record. I have supported affirmative action in the past. That's no secret.

But my past record did not disqualify me last December from asking the Congressional Research Service to compile a list of all Federal preference laws and Regulations.

And my record does not disqualify me today from raising legitimate questions about the continuing fairness and effectiveness of affirmative action, particularly when the affirmative-action label is used to describe quotas, set-asides, and other group preferences.

Equal treatment, not preferential treatment, should be the standard. Equal opportunity, not equal results, must be the goal.

Earlier today, my distinguished colleague from Maine, Senator COHEN, gave a very eloquent speech on the Senate floor where he pointed out that America is not a color-blind society, and he is right. Discrimination continues to exist. The color-blind ideal is just that—an ideal that has yet to be achieved in the America of 1995.

But, Mr. President, do you become a color-blind society by dividing people by race? Do you achieve the color-blind ideal by granting preferences to people simply because they happen to belong to certain groups? Do you continue programs that have outlived their usefulness or original purpose? The answer to these questions is, of course, a resounding "no."

I look forward to the completion of the President's review of all Federal af-

firmative action policies, but if the President is seeking a magical "third way," I suspect he is going to run into a dead end: When it comes to the issue of group preferences, you are either for them or against them. There can be no splitting the difference, no "third way."

With that said let us hope that reason prevails as we continue down this road. If we keep our voices low and our intentions good, the debate over affirmative action can, in fact, be an opportunity to unite the American people, and not divide us.

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I believe we are prepared to yield back our time.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I yield back our remaining time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on agreeing to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the committee amendment and third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read a third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, shall the bill pass?

So the bill (H.R. 831), as amended, was passed.

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendment to H.R. 831, request a conference with the House, and that the chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to, and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. PACKWOOD, Mr. DOLE, Mr. ROTH, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. BAUCUS, Mr. BRADLEY, and Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN conferees on the part of the Senate.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period of morning business.

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

#### CHILD NUTRITION PROGRAMS

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I rise today to talk about my deep concern over the House proposal on the child nutrition program and stand before you today to speak about the questions that I have asked and the answers I have looked to to find out whether this is the right road for this body to go down.

I want to relate some of that to you today. The National School Lunch Program, as we all know, began in 1946 in response to concerns that our national security was jeopardized because many of our incoming military personnel suffered from nutrition-related illness.

The Federal Government made a decision that it is in the national security interest of this country to feed and nourish our youth to ensure a strong population and a strong nation.

If we take the time to review this program's record, we will clearly find that it has been successful in boosting health and achievement among our children.

This program touches every family in America. Its elimination will shake the very foundation of the family: health, nutrition, education, and opportunity.

Here is why: Every single school day, more than 25 million children in 93,000 schools across America eat a lunch provided through the National School Lunch Program. More than half of these children receive the meal free or at a reduced price.

I doubt my colleagues know what it is like to sit in a classroom as a small child and try to concentrate on learning when you have not had a meal for several hours.

I doubt that many know what it is like to teach these children.

As a mother and a pre-school teacher, I can assure you that for hungry children, learning is not a priority. It cannot be. Often, the meals they get at school are their only meals for the day.

Often, these lunches are the only nutritious meal they get. I can tell you from first-hand experience that food makes a child—any child—happy and healthy and willing to learn.

Teachers are overburdened as it is. The last thing we need to do is to put more hungry children in our classrooms and then ask our teachers to teach them.

The Women, Infants, and Children Program [WIC], another nutrition program targeted for block granting, is one of the most successful forms of health care cost containment that we have today. It has an outstanding record of reducing the incidence of low-birth-weight babies born to poor women, and saving lives.

This program serves nearly 7 million mothers and children each month at a cost of less than \$1.50 a day for each participating child. The Medicaid savings this program produces outweigh the costs by a 3 to 1 ratio.

It is a model program which should not be lost in the welfare reform debate but rather one we can and should learn from.

I think it is important to point out that these programs have rightfully enjoyed bipartisan support in this body. The Senate has affirmed the issue of nutrition as one of health for our children.

It is one of economics too. This Nation will pay so much more later if growing children do not get the nutri-

tion they need now and if women do not get the parental care they need now.

Let me touch on a few other aspects of this legislation. One of the reasons these nutrition programs have been so successful is because of national nutrition standards. Where do you think the campaign for the five basic food groups came from?

The House proposal would eliminate these and ask each State to set their own. So, instead of one proven, workable national program, we will have 50 individual bureaucracies experimenting on our children.

But that is not all. If we look further into the legislation, we realize that despite what the House would have us believe, their proposal will cut nutrition funds to many States.

The claim that the school lunch program will see a 4.5-percent increase cannot be found in this legislation. What you can say is that the school nutrition block grant would provide 2.5-percent more funding in fiscal year 1996 than schools will receive in fiscal year 1995. However, this does not take into account food price inflation or increases in participation.

Under current law, these programs would see a 5-percent increase in order to keep pace with food costs and participation. Because block grants do not take these into account, the bill will actually provide \$170 million less in fiscal year 1996 than would be provided under current law.

By fiscal year 2000, the block grant would provide \$760 million less than the levels needed to keep pace with inflation and participation. Over a 5-year period, the block grant would provide \$2.3 billion less than current law. These are not block grants; they are block cuts.

The House proposal shifts these funds to discretionary spending. Once this happens, 1996 is the only year funds can be guaranteed. Afterward, State nutrition programs would be subject to arbitrary spending caps, across-the-board cuts, and other money savings gimmicks without regard to the impact on children.

The House proposal does not take into account the possibility of a recession. Nor does it compensate for any increases in population or poverty.

It puts our States in a position of setting nutrition standards they may not be able to afford. It caps administrative costs which will limit each State's ability to establish the new State regulations.

What does this mean? When States run out of funds—and believe me, they will—The children will not eat. The end result will be devastating to our children, our schools, our families, our communities, and our economies.

I have talked with many people since the introduction of this proposal. I know that my State of Washington will lose under the current block grant formula.

I know that hard working parents who need WIC or school lunches are

afraid of what the future holds for their children. I know that children are worried about their families.

I understand and share their fears and I urge all of my colleagues to get out and talk with those people who participate in these programs.

Talk to parents, to teachers, and to children so that when the Senate takes up this issue you have a clear and deep understanding of just what you will be doing if you support this effort.

Mr. President, one last issue I want to touch on in regard to this whole block grant effort is the issue of welfare and how it has become associated with abuse and irresponsibility.

I share the view that the programs I just discussed are investments in our future.

The overwhelming majority of those people involved are using these programs as a last resort and not because they choose to. They are necessary for survival.

Mr. President, I have several letters from families in the Washington WIC programs which I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD.

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

I am very grateful for the WIC Program, and to the nurses I have met. I have learned a lot about nutrition.

If I was not receiving WIC, Monique my two year old would not have enough milk.

I have felt very support by the ladies that work there.

There are a lot of ladies that come to the WIC office to learn how to take good care of their new babies. Without the WIC a lot of babies would go hungry. They give formula, baby food and support you if the mother would like to Breast feed their Baby. These nurses help to keep a lot of Babies healthy.

In school my older girl would not be able to eat, because not all the time, I have enough food to send with her for lunch, she able to eat and worry about how hungry she is. she can concentrate on her school work.

I know what it is like to go to school and be hungry and not be able to think very clear.

*Katheran Northrop.*

The WIC program has really helped supply my family with the nutritious foods we need. It has supplemented the food stamps we receive I always feel that the staff here at WIC is very dedicated to the welfare of our children.

*Susan Bess.*

DEAR SENATOR MURRY: I'm hoping that they don't cut the WIC program because it has really helped me the past 3½ years. Baby milk is really expensive and when you are on a fixed income and only receive a certain amount of Food stamps it becomes a problem with finance. The WIC program helps us women and children afford milk for their children and even help us afford some things we need but if there wasn't the program we would have a lot of under nourished babies. So you see Sen. Murry we really need the WIC program. \* \* \*

*Julie Allen.*

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: I just want to say that the WIC program has helped me so much and many others that I know. Without the WIC program I don't think I could of made it threw. Formula is very expensive. It would cost about 150.00 dollars more a month if I had to buy it myself then I would probably have to seek other assistance.

*Sarah Zottman.*

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: I would like to encourage you to Keep funding WIC. It is a fantastic program. This is my second Child to have on WIC my first was five years ago, She is a healthy beautiful little girl. I am expected another baby in April and thanks to WIC I know this baby will have the Formula She or he will need to grow strong and healthy. WIC is wonderful. WIC is a program that really benefits the Children.

Sincerely,

*Diane Aston.*

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: Please continue to support the WIC Program. I'm glad I've join this program because I have learn a lot for my pregnancy this time. Also, the WIC Program help my family a lot for all. Such as financially & family support, etc.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

*Fondy Lee.*

Being a mother of three small children ranging from 7 years of age to 3 months, I am currently enrolled in a local WIC Program. I must take this opportunity to tell you how happy and grateful I am to be provided this opportunity.

I started receiving WIC September of 1994 when my husband of 3½ years walked out on me and my children. I was five months pregnant at the time and worrying about the stress involved in caring for my family.

The WIC Program was a life saver. Not only was I able to take care of myself during my pregnancy but it helped to provide for my other children. I learned more about pregnancy and infant care than I knew the two previous pregnancies. I am currently breastfeeding my three month old, and providing overall better nutrition to myself and my children.

None of these things would have been possible without WIC.

Please do not cut WIC funding.

Sincerely,

*Janet L. Pettie.*

DEAR SENATOR GORTON: I'm writing to inform you of the importance for a WIC Program. Me and my family used WIC for approximately one year and if it hadn't been for the program we wouldn't have made it. WIC enabled me and my family to get on our feet, thus giving us the ability to give back. So please don't cut this program because it would be creating a problem rather than solving one.

Sincerely,

*Eddie Carter and Family.*

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: The WIC Program has made a huge difference in the life of all four of my children. My last two pregnancy were monitored by WIC. The nutrition conceling nurse care and social work were invaluable. My daughter age 4 and son age 2 have been on WIC since before they were born. Having WIC has ment they would always have formula or milk. They probably would not have had milk everyday if it wasn't for WIC. I am a working mom and make just a little too much to stay on foodstamps. So WIC has bridged a big gap in our food budget.

Thank you for all the help in the past.

And please don't take it away from the children who really need it.

My family uses WIC and w/out their help I don't know what I would have done. My son used a special formula that was very expensive and I couldn't afford it on my own. Also, being a first time parent, they informed me about all the right foods to feed my child and at what age he should start these foods. They have helped me out in so many ways.

Sincerely,

*Martina Sambrano.*

DEAR SENATOR MURRAY: Please do not vote to cut the WIC Program. Without it I would not be able to give my kids milk once a day and probably not once a week. We are a struggling family of 7 with a small business. We hope to not need help soon but there are a lot of people still out there who wouldn't survive without this program.

Thank you for your time.

*Mischel V. Sullivan.*

SENATOR PATTY MURRAY: My infant daughter and I have greatly enjoyed the WIC program. The services are excellent. The staff are professional and the classes and information are valuable.

Now that I am home with my daughter, (she is our first child), motherhood is a completely new and different world. The WIC program has helped me learn a lot about nutrition. Our daughter is very physically small and the formula provided has greatly helped her growth. In addition, the nutrition program has benefited our entire family.

Please do not reduce the WIC funds. The infants & children we raise today will be our furture leaders, such as yourself. (We need as many positive factors towards their development.)

Thank you.

*Mary Jane Brogan.*

I am writing to you regarding the WIC program. I was informed today that for some reason you are trying to erase WIC from Seattle. Obviously you do not know the importance of WIC to thousands of pregnant women & their children. Women must eat, receive proper medical care, good social care, & correct knowledge & advise to bring healthy babies (like you once were yourself) into this world. Mothers will do almost anything to protect & provide for their babies including theft & illegal ways of making money. With WIC, these women do not have to submit themselves to the ugly ways of life, but instead feel that they have a whole building of friends they can always come to. Nobody wants to rely on anyone else, but in these days & ages, life is so vastly unfair, that sometimes your low days do outnumber your high days. So, until then, when everyone in this world is totally self-sufficient, programs like WIC are needed & worth every penny the government puts towards it.

*Sondra Erskine.*

WIC help me to get in Heath for kind good for my children on WIC we learn a lot of how to feed my children to eat good food for health.

*Saeleuon, Koi Fong.*

WIC has been very helpful to me as a single mother—to be sure that I have the basics. Milk, peanut butter is a real comfort. I don't know what I would do without the support of this office, the vouchers and the support in general. WIC is a great program.

P.S. I'm not on food stamps but I think that program should be more like WIC where there are specific foods allowed—people will be healthier, better educated and tax payers less resentful.

JENNIFER MELTZER.

Please don't cut WIC. It means a lot to our family. It helps a lot with the children. We need WIC to help like families like ours. In times of need.

Thanks,

*Barbara Wilkens.*

The WIC program is extremely good, the program help my child so much as he was growing. They had choices of milk for him. A lot of it is very expensive and with my income God knows how I would have purchase what he needed. They (WIC) were very helpful in the right foods he needed and just very helpful in all my questions. I highly recommend WIC for any mother and wish the program would stay around for many years to come.

*Phyllis Sanders.*

I support continued funding of the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program. I do not believe we should make any cuts to the funding of this program. This program is extremely vital to the well being of many of our country's young children. We need to continue to ensure the well being of these children by continuing all funding to programs, such as WIC, that help children begin life with a healthy start.

*Donna M. Fine.*

Mrs. MURRAY: Let me quote a few:

I am writing to you regarding the WIC program. I was informed today that for some reason you are trying to erase WIC from Seattle. Obviously, you do not know the importance of WIC to thousands of pregnant women and their children. Women must eat, receive proper medical care, good social care, and correct knowledge and advice to bring healthy babies (like you once were yourself) into this world. Mothers will do almost anything to protect and provide for their babies. Including theft and illegal ways of making money.

She goes on to say that:

Nobody wants to rely on anyone else, but in these days and ages, life is so vastly unfair, that sometimes your low days outnumber your high days. So until then, when everyone in this world is totally self-sufficient, programs like WIC are needed and worth every penny the government puts towards it.

Another letter writer talks about how important WIC has been to her children and ends by saying that:

Having WIC has meant my children would always have formula or milk. They probably wouldn't have had milk everyday if it weren't for WIC. I am a working mom and make just a little too much to stay on food stamps so WIC has bridged a big gap in our food budget. Please don't take it away from the children. They need it.

Another letter:

We are a struggling family of 7 with a small business. We hope to not need help soon but there are a lot of people still out there who wouldn't survive without this program.

I think you will find that these are caring, responsible, hard-working individuals who have benefited tremendously from this program. It has been the safety net they need.

Finally, I want to share a few quotes from some letters children wrote:

"If we don't get our lunch we would starve. Don't do this to us. You are breaking our hearts."

"Instead of taking something that we do not need you are taking something that we do need. I am one of those children that needs those programs."

"We need school lunches because we do not have lunch at home. I do not like you for taking this away."

I could go on and on but will not as time will not allow it.

I will, however, submit these for the record so that others can read them. I wanted to make the point that these are caring, responsible, hard-working individuals who have benefited tremendously from these programs.

These are children who know the only full meal they or many of their friends get is at school. It has been the safety net they need. These letters make that point so much better than I can.

In closing, I want to say that I do not argue that our welfare system is in need of some change. What I do not like is the assumption that every person utilizing these programs is out to take the Government and the taxpayers.

Like so many other issues, the House has gone too far on child nutrition.

Welfare reform merits in-depth, serious consideration and I am anxious to begin that process. I think a little common sense will go a long way on this issue.

However, in the case of child nutrition programs, I am appalled that such little time or consideration was taken before this bill was reported out of committee. We cannot afford to follow the House lead and expect responsible, effective legislation to result.

This legislation affects a group of Americans who are completely unable to come to Congress and speak out. I strongly urge my colleagues to oppose the wholesale slashing of child nutrition when the issue comes to the Senate.

I yield the floor.

#### THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT DEBATE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, there was a column in the Washington Post this morning entitled, "More 'Trust Fund' Whoppers" by a columnist named Charles Krauthammer. I felt it necessary to come over and respond to this column. Mr. Krauthammer was upset about a response that Senator CONRAD and I had written to the Washington Post in response to his first column about us that was titled "Social Security 'Trust Fund' Whopper."

His first column was so devoid of facts and reasonable conclusions that we wrote a column back and said, in our part of the country we expect people to tell the whole truth. We did not like what he had done in his first column in which he called our arguments with respect to the constitutional amendment to balance the budget and looting of the trust funds in Social Security to do so as "fraudulent." Now he is upset at the column we wrote back

and so he wrote a second long column, a long-winded column this morning.

As I read that, I was thinking, I come from ranching country in southwestern North Dakota. And occasionally you refer to people as "all hat and no cattle." I thought about that when I finished reading his column this morning. It was hard for me to understand how, with facts so evident, he can reach a conclusion so flawed.

The Presiding Officer, the Senator from Wyoming, also comes from ranching country, and I brought along a piece of cowboy poetry that I thought might describe the difference in perspectives, and the difference, sometimes, is simply that some do not have the capability of understanding the clear perspective. It is sort of described as the difference between tongue and egg in this poem.

A cowboy poet, whose name I do not have, wrote a piece and I thought about this piece as it might apply to the disconnect of logic in Mr. Krauthammer's column. Let me read the piece to you, the poem called "The Disputed Epicure." It is about a cowboy who is queried by a high-born lady.

"What's your favorite cut of beef?"

The high-born lady queried.

Of an old cowboy who long ago  
Had grown, both wise and wearied,  
Of direct infernal questions  
On the ways of cowpoke lore.

So he considered on this question  
That he'd not been asked before.

With rapt anticipation,

On his pause, the lady hung.

Until, at last the cowboy said,

"I'd have to say it's tongue.

Tongue's got flavor, 'n texture,

And nary a bit of bond.

A cinch to cook, I'd put her up

On top there, all alone."

Recoiling, the lady said aghast,

"Surely air, you jest."

The idea is disgusting.

Your grossness I protest.

Eat something from out a cow's mouth?

Your suggestion's crude, I beg."

The cowboy then said softly,

"Don't s'pose you've ate no egg."

Sometimes cowboy poets are able to say simply and clearly what we in politics fumble around to try to express.

I guess this difference between us and Charles Krauthammer is really kind of the tongue and egg difference here. Mr. Krauthammer, in his column today, first is upset that I responded to his first column on the balanced budget amendment and the misuse of the Social Security trust fund by saying on the floor of the Senate that, based on his column, I thought he might qualify as a candidate for O.J.'s defense team. He seems almost unmoved by facts and evidence.

He was upset by that, and, maybe I overreached. It may be I overreached because the column Mr. Krauthammer writes today demonstrates his talent is not in law, his talent truly is in fiction. Let me go through, if I might, the fiction that I see in Mr. Krauthammer's column, and perhaps just briefly review the dispute.

The dispute is that, briefly, in 1983 we had to solve some problems in the

Social Security System. We did that by deciding to save for the long term. We, in fact, forced a national pool of savings so that each year we would raise more money in Social Security than we spent. This year we will raise \$69 billion more than we spend. That surplus in the Social Security System is not an accident. Mr. Krauthammer, in his last column, said this is a pay-as-you-go system. But that is not true. This is not an accident. This is a deliberate strategy to force a national pool of savings in the Social Security trust funds to meet the time when the baby boomers retire after the turn of the century.

Since the surplus began to accumulate it has been used as an offset to show a lower Federal deficit. I do not think there is much dispute about that. And it is also true, and demonstrably true that, since 1983 when I offered the first amendment on the Ways and Means Committee, and time after time after time on the floor of the House and on the floor of the Senate, I have raised the question, offered the amendments, and objected to the looting the Social Security trust fund or using those moneys to offset against a lower budget deficit because I think it is dishonest budgeting.

Then we had a constitutional amendment brought to the floor of the Senate and the constitutional amendment was written very precisely. It prescribed that by the year 2002, the U.S. budget shall be in balance and it shall be in balance when you use all expenditures and all receipts counting towards that balance. Under that constitutional amendment to balance the budget it would enshrine forever the practice, that I have objected to in recent years, of looting the Social Security trust funds to balance the budget. In fact, the way the constitutional amendment to balance the budget was written, it was clear that is the case. Senator REID offered an amendment to provide that would not happen. That amendment was defeated. So it was clear that is exactly what would happen and we were told, my colleague Senator CONRAD and I, that those who offer this amendment had no intention of using the Social Security trust funds to balance the budget.

But back in that room behind this Chamber we were told by the same people, "Look fellows, let's all be honest. We cannot balance the Federal budget without using the Federal trust funds." Those are direct quotes. Then they gave us handwritten pieces of paper that said we will stop using the trust funds in the year 2012; and then the second piece of paper said we will stop using the trust funds—that they were saying we will not do any time—by the year 2008; in other words, we will stop doing something we claim we are not doing 13 years from now. What twisted sense of logic that is.