

2001. He is survived by his parents, Joseph and Judy Childers. He was known to be an active runner and loved the outdoors.

LC 04 Jose Gutierrez—his hometown was Los Angeles, CA. He was born in Guatemala. At age 16, he traveled by himself across Mexico, to California. When he arrived in the United States, he was taken in by Marcelo and Nora Mosquera of Lomita, CA. His sister still lives in Guatemala City, Guatemala. His age was 22. He was killed on Friday, March 21, in a firefight with enemy troops in southern Iraq. He was an infantry rifleman, assigned to the 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment of the 1st Marine Division at Camp Pendleton.

Cpl Brian Matthew Kennedy was attached to the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force based in Camp Pendleton, CA; age 25; hometown: Glenview, IL. He was killed on Thursday, March 20, in a helicopter accident in Northern Kuwait, near the Iraqi border. He graduated from Glenbrook South High School in Illinois in 1995. He played football and lacrosse during high school. He was also a member of Future Teachers of America and the National Honor Society. He joined the Marines in 1999 and was stationed in Camp Pendleton for 3 years. His father, Mark Kennedy, lives in Houston, TX. His mother, Melissa Derbyshire, lives in Port Clyde, ME.

SSgt Kendall Damon Waterbey joined the Marines in 1992 and was stationed at Camp Pendleton, CA. He was age 29; hometown: Baltimore, MD. He was killed on Thursday, March 20, in a helicopter accident in northern Kuwait, near the Iraqi border. He is married and has a 10 year-old son, Kenneth. His brave son said this about his father:

He had to do what he had to do for our country. I was proud of him. He's going to stay my hero.

Sgt Michael E. Bitz was from Ventura, CA. He was age 31. He was killed on Sunday, March 23, when he encountered Iraqi troops pretending to surrender. He was assigned to the 2nd Assault Amphibious Battalion, 2nd Marine Division in Camp Lejeune, NC.

Cpl Jose A. Garibay was from Orange, CA. He graduated from Newport Harbor High School; age 21. He was killed on Sunday, March 23 when he encountered Iraqi troops pretending to surrender. He was assigned to the 1st Battalion, 2nd Marine Regiment, 2nd Marine Expeditionary Force in Camp Lejeune, NC.

Cpl Jorge Gonzalez was from Los Angeles, CA. He was age 20. He was killed on Sunday, March 23 when he encountered Iraqi troops pretending to surrender. He was assigned to the 1st Battalion, 2nd Marine Regiment, 2nd Marine Expeditionary Brigade in Camp Lejeune, NC.

Mr. President, may all of these beautiful young people rest in peace. May we have a short war. And may we also pray for the wisdom of those who sent these young people on their mission.

I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2004

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. Con. Res. 23, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res 23) setting forth the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2004 and including the appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal year 2003 and for fiscal years 2005 through 2013.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, for the information of our colleagues, the managers will be here shortly. They are looking at the amendments. As I said earlier, the Democrats have developed 40 amendments and the Republicans have 17 amendments. Once we start voting on these amendments, I expect they will be rapid-fire today. Once again, I request the presence of all Senators on the floor once that voting begins.

I will expect the first vote to begin close to 9:45 or 9:50. Both managers are working at this point to develop the order of those amendments as we go forward.

With that, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 401

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I call up Specter amendment No. 401.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Tennessee [Mr. FRIST], for Mr. SPECTER, proposes an amendment numbered 401.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase discretionary health spending for fiscal year 2004 by \$2,800,000,000 and make an offsetting reduction in overall administrative expenses)

On page 27, line 11, increase the amount by \$2,800,000,000.

On page 27, line 12, increase the amount by \$2,800,000,000.

On page 42, line 2, decrease the amount by \$2,800,000,000.

On page 42, line 3, decrease the amount by \$2,800,000,000.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, all time is yielded back.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 401.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. LIEBERMAN), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 96, nays 1, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 80 Leg.]

YEAS—96

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | DeWine | Levin |
| Alexander | Dodd | Lincoln |
| Allard | Dole | Lott |
| Allen | Domenici | Lugar |
| Baucus | Dorgan | McCain |
| Bayh | Durbin | McConnell |
| Bennett | Edwards | Mikulski |
| Biden | Ensign | Murkowski |
| Bingaman | Enzi | Murray |
| Bond | Feingold | Nelson (FL) |
| Boxer | Feinstein | Nelson (NE) |
| Breaux | Fitzgerald | Nickles |
| Brownback | Frist | Pryor |
| Bunning | Graham (FL) | Reed |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Reid |
| Byrd | Grassley | Roberts |
| Campbell | Gregg | Rockefeller |
| Cantwell | Hagel | Santorum |
| Carper | Harkin | Sarbanes |
| Chafee | Hatch | Schumer |
| Chambliss | Hollings | Sessions |
| Clinton | Hutchison | Shelby |
| Cochran | Inhofe | Smith |
| Coleman | Inouye | Snowe |
| Collins | Jeffords | Specter |
| Conrad | Johnson | Stabenow |
| Cornyn | Kennedy | Stevens |
| Corzine | Kerry | Sununu |
| Craig | Kohl | Talent |
| Crapo | Kyl | Thomas |
| Daschle | Lautenberg | Warner |
| Dayton | Leahy | Wyden |

NAYS—1

Voinovich
NOT VOTING—3

Landrieu Lieberman Miller

The amendment (No. 401) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I just had a conversation with the distinguished manager of the bill. We are now prepared to go through the list of amendments.

AMENDMENT NO. 324

Under the agreement, I call up our first amendment, amendment No. 324.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. DASCHLE], for Mrs. LINCOLN, for herself, Ms. LANDRIEU, and Mr. PRYOR proposes an amendment numbered 324.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To allow full access to Tricare for National Guard and Reserve personnel and their families on a continual basis, offset with reductions to the tax cut)

On page 45, line 24, decrease the amount by \$20,279,000,000.

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$343,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$919,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$1,604,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$1,968,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$2,151,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$2,311,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$2,475,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$2,648,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$2,832,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$3,028,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$343,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$919,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$1,604,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$1,968,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$2,151,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$2,311,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$2,475,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$2,648,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$2,832,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$3,028,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$426,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$1,055,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$1,768,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$2,059,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$2,205,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$2,360,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$2,525,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$2,701,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, increase the amount by \$2,888,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, increase the amount by \$3,088,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$343,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$919,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$1,604,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$1,968,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$2,151,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$2,311,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$2,475,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, increase the amount by \$2,648,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, increase the amount by \$2,832,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, increase the amount by \$3,028,000,000.

On page 9, line 2, increase the amount by \$426,000,000.

On page 9, line 3, increase the amount by \$343,000,000.

On page 9, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,055,000,000.

On page 9, line 7, increase the amount by \$919,000,000.

On page 9, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,768,000,000.

On page 9, line 11, increase the amount by \$1,604,000,000.

On page 9, line 14, increase the amount by \$2,059,000,000.

On page 9, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,968,000,000.

On page 9, line 18, increase the amount by \$2,205,000,000.

On page 9, line 19, increase the amount by \$2,151,000,000.

On page 9, line 22, increase the amount by \$2,360,000,000.

On page 9, line 23, increase the amount by \$2,311,000,000.

On page 10, line 2, increase the amount by \$2,525,000,000.

On page 10, line 3, increase the amount by \$2,475,000,000.

On page 10, line 6, increase the amount by \$2,701,000,000.

On page 10, line 7, increase the amount by \$2,648,000,000.

On page 10, line 10, increase the amount by \$2,888,000,000.

On page 10, line 11, increase the amount by \$2,832,000,000.

On page 10, line 14, increase the amount by \$3,088,000,000.

On page 10, line 15, increase the amount by \$3,028,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$426,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$343,000,000.

On page 47, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,055,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$919,000,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield time to the Senator from Arkansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 1 minute.

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, I rise very proudly today on behalf of the men and women who serve this great Nation as members of the National Guard and the Reserve units in all of our 50 States. We have an opportunity today to put ourselves, and I hope each of my colleagues in the Chamber will put themselves, in the shoes of these proud men and women who serve our country from the National Guard and the Reserves, to understand what it means not only when they are called up but when they are at home waiting to serve their country.

Well over 20 percent of the Reserve and National Guardsmen in this country do not have health insurance when they are called up to active duty. We have to spend a tremendous amount of money simply getting them to a health condition that actually allows us to activate them and send them into harm's way.

I think it is essential that this amendment be passed. I am proud to be joined by Senators LANDRIEU, FEINGOLD, PRYOR, MIKULSKI, and KENNEDY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mrs. LINCOLN. I do not think it is too much to ask of this great Nation to find them health care.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I urge our colleagues to vote in opposition to this amendment. I understand from the Armed Services Committee they are opposed to this amendment. This amendment portends that it would increase funding for this particular purpose, but it does not. All any amendment says is, for this one function, we will increase it.

The Armed Services Committee has not requested this. The President has not requested this. As a former National Guardsman who served, one does not receive health care for basically serving one weekend a month. When they are activated, they receive health care services.

This function would increase spending, as well as taxes. The cost is an estimated \$7,000 or \$8,000 per year per guardsman or reservist. I urge my colleagues to vote no on the amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that the rollcall vote be limited to 10 minutes on all subsequent votes and that the 10 minutes be strictly enforced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 324. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. LIEBERMAN), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CORNYN). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 81 Leg.]

YEAS—46

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lincoln |
| Bayh | Edwards | Mikulski |
| Biden | Feingold | Murray |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Nelson (FL) |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (NE) |
| Breaux | Harkin | Pryor |
| Byrd | Hollings | Reed |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Reid |
| Carper | Jeffords | Rockefeller |
| Clinton | Johnson | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kerry | Stabenow |
| Daschle | Kohl | Wyden |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | |
| Dodd | Leahy | |

NAYS—51

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Alexander | Bennett | Bunning |
| Allard | Bond | Burns |
| Allen | Brownback | Campbell |

| | | |
|------------|-------------|-----------|
| Chafee | Frist | Nickles |
| Chambliss | Graham (SC) | Roberts |
| Cochran | Grassley | Santorum |
| Coleman | Gregg | Sessions |
| Collins | Hagel | Shelby |
| Cornyn | Hatch | Smith |
| Craig | Hutchison | Snowe |
| Crapo | Inhofe | Specter |
| DeWine | Kyl | Stevens |
| Dole | Lott | Sununu |
| Domenici | Lugar | Talent |
| Ensign | McCain | Thomas |
| Enzi | McConnell | Voinovich |
| Fitzgerald | Murkowski | Warner |

NOT VOTING—3

| | | |
|----------|-----------|--------|
| Landrieu | Lieberman | Miller |
|----------|-----------|--------|

The amendment (No. 324) was rejected.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I inquire from the Presiding Officer, how much time elapsed on that rollcall?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Sixteen minutes.

Mr. NICKLES. Just for the information of our colleagues, we are going to be tightening down substantially. I don't want people coming up and being mad at Senator CONRAD and myself or Senator FRIST or Senator DASCHLE if they missed a vote, but we are going to start cutting off these votes, just for your information.

I yield to my colleague to call up the next amendment.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask unanimous consent there be 2 minutes equally divided on this amendment—for all of them.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is already provided.

Mr. CONRAD. I yield to Senator BAUCUS.

AMENDMENT NO. 348

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I call up amendment 348.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows: The Senator from Montana (Mr. BAUCUS) proposes an amendment numbered 348.

Mr. BAUCUS. I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To ensure that a prescription drug benefit is available to all medicare beneficiaries on an equal basis, including those who choose to remain in the current fee-for-service program)

On page 61, line 12, insert "on an equal basis with respect to benefit level regardless of whether such beneficiaries remain in the traditional medicare fee-for-service program under parts A and B of such title or enroll in a private plan under the medicare program" after "prescription drugs".

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I ask I be notified when I have consumed 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 1 minute.

Mr. BAUCUS. The administration's drug plan essentially abandons the 89

percent of senior citizens who are now on fee-for-service. How? By providing that seniors who stay in fee-for-service get catastrophic benefits and a discount card but they do not get additional drug benefits. However, if you are a senior and enroll in managed care, you are going to get a drug benefit, therefore, forcing seniors out of fee-for-service, into managed care.

I might add this will also not save money. The managed care programs we have in our country are costing more than fee-for-service. They are costing more than the Federal Employees Health Benefit package. And seniors are dropping out of managed care because they are not getting the benefits they deserve.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BAUCUS. I urge Members to vote for this amendment which provides all seniors get the same drug benefit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. The Budget Committee should not be trying to write the prescription drug bill. Our colleague from Montana is on the Finance Committee. That is where this bill should be written.

I yield to the chairman of the Finance Committee.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, obviously, like on so many issues, I happen to agree with my friends on the other side of the aisle. But where do you make this decision? You don't make it on the Budget Committee. You make it on the Finance Committee.

I am committed to having a drug benefit for all seniors. We developed such a bill last year, so we have the capability of doing it. We are going to do it this year. I do not want to curb the freedom of the Finance Committee.

I argued the same point on an issue that friends on the other side of the aisle would have agreed with me, on a Medicaid issue, that would have been in this budget that is not in the budget.

Leave these issues to a committee of competence, the Senate Finance Committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I have an additional minute, I believe?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator only had 1 minute.

Mr. NICKLES. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 348.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU), the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. LIEBERMAN), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 82 Leg.]

YEAS—46

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lincoln |
| Bayh | Edwards | Mikulski |
| Biden | Feingold | Murray |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Nelson (FL) |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (NE) |
| Byrd | Harkin | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Hollings | Reed |
| Carper | Inouye | Reid |
| Clinton | Jeffords | Rockefeller |
| Collins | Johnson | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kerry | Stabenow |
| Daschle | Kohl | Wyden |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | |
| Dodd | Leahy | |

NAYS—51

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Breaux | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Brownback | Frist | Sessions |
| Bunning | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Burns | Grassley | Smith |
| Campbell | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chafee | Hagel | Specter |
| Chambliss | Hatch | Stevens |
| Cochran | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Coleman | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lugar | Warner |

NOT VOTING—3

| | | |
|----------|-----------|--------|
| Landrieu | Lieberman | Miller |
|----------|-----------|--------|

The amendment (No. 348) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry: How much time was spent on that vote?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fourteen minutes.

Mr. NICKLES. For the information of our colleagues, I am going to try to tighten this down closer and closer to 10 minutes, and we are going to cut people off. I don't want people to be upset, but we are going to have to do this. We made a commitment to plow through these amendments. I told our colleagues that is what we are going to do, and that is what we are going to do. So I urge my colleagues to stay on the floor.

AMENDMENT NO. 411

(Purpose: To provide a substitute)

Mr. President, this next amendment is a very important amendment. It is the substitute proposal offered by my colleague, Senator CONRAD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, this is a whole substitute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD] proposes an amendment numbered 411.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, this is a substitute amendment that has \$1.2 trillion less in deficits than the President's plan. It also provides the funding for the war supplemental. It provides for additional funding for homeland security of \$80 billion over the baseline. It provides \$194 billion of additional funding for prescription drugs, which is still well short of what would be needed to give Americans the kind of coverage we, as Members of Congress, have. It provides \$73 billion to keep the promise made by Congress to States on funding for that program. It provides \$71 billion for transportation infrastructure, \$13 billion for veterans, and balances in 2011, as compared to the underlying resolution of balancing in 2012, and the President's budget which never balances.

Colleagues, I urge you to support this substitute which is the priorities of the American people.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I compliment my colleague for having a proposal. Last year, we did not get to vote on a Democrat alternative; today, we will. It greatly increases taxes and greatly increases spending.

I call upon my colleague from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, the Democrat substitute increases taxes by \$1.24 trillion over 10 years relative to the budget assumptions. It increases total spending by \$113 billion in 2004 over the budget assumptions and by \$458 billion over the 10 years.

I think there is a clear difference pointed out between our budget and this budget from a philosophical standpoint. There is only \$60 billion in a growth package allowed under this budget. I think this budget does not provide for the economic growth we need to get this economy going so there will be jobs for our military people when they get home. Our budget provides for that; their budget does not.

I urge a "no" vote on this budget. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 411.

The clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ENZI). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 43, nays 56, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 83 Leg.]

YEAS—43

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Edwards | Levin |
| Biden | Feingold | Lieberman |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Murray |
| Byrd | Harkin | Nelson (FL) |
| Cantwell | Hollings | Pryor |
| Carper | Inouye | Reed |
| Clinton | Jeffords | Reid |
| Conrad | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Corzine | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Daschle | Kerry | Schumer |
| Dayton | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Dodd | Landrieu | Wyden |
| Dorgan | Lautenberg | |
| Durbin | Leahy | |

NAYS—56

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Alexander | Crapo | McCain |
| Allard | DeWine | McConnell |
| Allen | Dole | Murkowski |
| Baucus | Domenici | Nelson (NE) |
| Bayh | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bennett | Enzi | Roberts |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Breaux | Frist | Sessions |
| Brownback | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Bunning | Grassley | Smith |
| Burns | Gregg | Snowe |
| Campbell | Hagel | Specter |
| Chafee | Hatch | Stevens |
| Chambliss | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Cochran | Inhofe | Talent |
| Coleman | Kyl | Thomas |
| Collins | Lincoln | Voinovich |
| Cornyn | Lott | Warner |
| Craig | Lugar | |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 411) was rejected.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I appreciate the cooperation of the Chair. We are going to have a lot of votes, so it is going to be important for us to keep order in the Senate at all times.

We are ready to consider an amendment by the Senator from Michigan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 372

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 372, which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] proposes an amendment numbered 372.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The amendment is as follows: (Purpose: To end the abusive use of offshore tax havens (ending tax advantages for corporate inversions and closing the Bermuda reinsurance loophole) and use the half of the resulting revenues of \$4.7 billion over ten years to reduce the deficit and half to restore funding for education, with the education increases to be split evenly between IDEA, school construction and modernization, and after-school programs)

On page 3, line 9, increase the amount by \$38,000,000.

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$130,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$153,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$268,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$321,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$385,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$460,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$551,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$658,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$785,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$936,000,000.

On page 3, line 23, increase the amount by \$38,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$130,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$153,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$268,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$321,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$385,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$460,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$551,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$658,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$785,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$936,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$272,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$269,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$269,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$267,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$262,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$253,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$240,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, decrease the amount by \$220,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, decrease the amount by \$193,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, decrease the amount by \$156,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$11,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$187,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$255,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$267,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$262,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$253,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$240,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, decrease the amount by \$220,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, decrease the amount by \$193,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, decrease the amount by \$156,000,000.

On page 5, line 17, decrease the amount by \$38,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, decrease the amount by \$119,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$34,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, decrease the amount by \$13,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, decrease the amount by \$54,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, decrease the amount by \$123,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, decrease the amount by \$207,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, decrease the amount by \$311,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, decrease the amount by \$438,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, decrease the amount by \$592,000,000.

On page 6, line 2, decrease the amount by \$780,000,000.

On page 6, line 5, decrease the amount by \$38,000,000.

On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$157,000,000.

On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$124,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$137,000,000.

On page 6, line 9, decrease the amount by \$191,000,000.

On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$314,000,000.

On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$520,000,000.

On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$832,000,000.

On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$1,270,000,000.

On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$1,862,000,000.

On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$2,642,000,000.

On page 6, line 18, decrease the amount by \$38,000,000.

On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$157,000,000.

On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$124,000,000.

On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$137,000,000.

On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$191,000,000.

On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$314,000,000.

On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$520,000,000.

On page 6, line 25, decrease the amount by \$832,000,000.

On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$1,270,000,000.

On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$1,862,000,000.

On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$2,642,000,000.

On page 25, line 16, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 25, line 17, increase the amount by \$14,000,000.

On page 25, line 20, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 25, line 21, increase the amount by \$193,000,000.

On page 25, line 24, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 25, line 25, increase the amount by \$261,000,000.

On page 26, line 3, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 4, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 7, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 8, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 11, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 12, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 15, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 16, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 19, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 20, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 23, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 26, line 24, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 27, line 2, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 27, line 3, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$3,000,000.

On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$3,000,000.

On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$6,000,000.

On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$6,000,000.

On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$6,000,000.

On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$6,000,000.

On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$8,000,000.

On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$8,000,000.

On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$13,000,000.

On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$13,000,000.

On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$22,000,000.

On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$22,000,000.

On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$35,000,000.

On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$35,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$55,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$55,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$82,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$82,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$119,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$119,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$14,000,000.

On page 47, line 14, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$193,000,000.

At the appropriate place insert the following:

SEC. . SENSE OF THE SENATE ON CORPORATE TAX HAVEN LOOPHOLES

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that companies are taking advantage of loopholes in the United States tax code to direct taxable income to tax haven jurisdictions, some of which have excessive bank secrecy laws and a poor record of cooperation with United States civil and criminal tax enforcement.

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that the Senate should act to stop companies from avoiding paying their fair share of United States taxes by—

(1) addressing the problem of corporations that have renounced their United States citizenship (“inverted”) by relocating their headquarters to tax haven jurisdictions while maintaining their primary offices and production or service facilities in the United States; and

(2) addressing the problem of Bermuda-based insurance companies that are using reinsurance agreements with their subsidiaries to direct property and casualty insurance premiums out of the United States into Bermuda to reduce their United States taxes in

a way that places United States property and casualty insurance companies at a competitive disadvantage.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, while young men and women are putting their lives on the line for us, for our country, some corporations are stifling our country, renouncing their citizenship, going through phony reincorporations in Bermuda. There are other tax haven countries, so-called inverting themselves in order to avoid taxes. This is one of the most egregious of all of the tax haven abuses that we know about—just a shell headquarters being opened, but all of the benefits of living in America continue.

These corporations continue to use our roads, use our law enforcement, use our education system, and so forth.

It is unfair to the taxpayers who are left holding the bag. It is unfair to U.S. competitors. It is something we ought to end. I hope we will end it today with the adoption of this amendment, particularly at a time when young American men and women are giving their all for us.

It is time for Congress to get serious about closing tax haven loopholes. This amendment is aimed at closing two of those loopholes that would raise \$4.7 billion over 10 years. It proposes that we take half of that \$4.7 billion to reduce the deficit over 10 years and half to increase funding over 10 years for the following education initiatives: one, special education; two, after-school programs; and three, school construction and modernization grants.

First, we need to stop corporate inversions, and do it in a way that will not permit those that started the inversion pretense to enjoy billions in future tax benefits that will continue to disadvantage their U.S. competitors. The companies targeted by this measure are those which have, in essence, pretended to move their headquarters to a tax haven when, in reality, their primary offices and production or service facilities remain right here in the United States. By opening shell headquarters in a tax haven, companies that got their start in this country, do most of their work here, and benefit from U.S. roads, banks, patents, computers, law enforcement, fair trade laws, its educated workforce, and much more, avoid contributing their fair share to pay for those benefits. A bill I have introduced along with Senators REID, DURBIN, and KENNEDY is designed to stop this abusive practice. Last year, the Joint Committee on Taxation analyzed an almost identical bill and estimated that it would raise \$4 billion over 10 years.

Second, we need to close the Bermuda reinsurance tax loophole. Utilizing the U.S. tax code, a number of Bermuda-based property and casualty insurance companies are placing American-owned property and casualty insurance companies at a severe competitive disadvantage by ducking U.S. taxes that U.S. insurers are required to pay. Through reinsurance agreements

with their subsidiaries, Bermuda insurance companies operating in the United States are using their U.S. subsidiaries to send U.S. insurance premiums out of this country and into Bermuda, where interest can be earned on the premiums tax-free. By sending the premiums offshore, the U.S. subsidiary of the Bermuda parent is able to reduce the amount of its income in the United States and, accordingly, reduce its U.S. taxes. Comparable U.S.-owned insurance companies cannot operate in the same way and, as a result, operate on an uneven playing field. Legislation has been developed to correct this inequity and level the playing field for U.S. property and casualty insurers. The Joint Committee on Taxation last year estimated the bill seeking to close this tax haven loophole would produce about \$700 million over ten years.

These are not the only tax haven abuses we need to address; there are others. We need to eliminate tax breaks for U.S. taxpayers that do business in uncooperative tax havens that fail, in the judgment of the U.S. government, to provide information needed in U.S. tax enforcement efforts. Since the 9/11 tragedy, the importance of financial transparency and cooperative information exchange among international law enforcement agencies has increased, not only to fight money laundering and other crimes, but also to understand financial transactions that may involve tax evasion or other illegal conduct. But a handful of tax haven jurisdictions continue to employ secrecy laws that impede U.S. tax enforcement or provide lackadaisical or ineffective responses to U.S. requests for information needed in criminal and civil tax matters. Legislation has been developed that would restrict the tax benefits that a U.S. taxpayer could claim from business transacted in one of these uncooperative jurisdictions. This legislation would produce not only new tax revenues, but also a powerful incentive for the targeted jurisdictions to reform their abusive policies. The funds that would be raised by such a provision are not included in the \$4.7 billion at issue in this amendment due to our inability to obtain a timely revenue estimate, but this tax haven issue—and others like it—need to be addressed.

We should use half of the \$4.7 billion that would be raised by closing the inversion and Bermuda reinsurance loopholes to reduce the deficit and increase our commitment to education, which has been underfunded in this budget resolution. The budget resolution proposes funding that is almost \$10 billion below the 2004 amount authorized in the No Child Left Behind Act, and includes funding levels that will reduce funding for after school centers and eliminate over 40 education programs, including programs relating to rural education, school counselors and teaching standards. It also would provide no funds for school modernization and

construction grants and reduced funding for Teacher Quality State Grants, resulting in fewer teachers receiving the high-quality training they need.

This amendment would increase education funding by over \$2 billion over ten years, and proposes that the funds be evenly divided between special education programs, afterschool programs and school construction and modernization.

The increased funding for special education will help to ensure that more students with disabilities get the public education they deserve, and that school districts will have additional funds to provide needed services without dipping even further into their general education budgets. School superintendents, school board members, teachers and parents in my state of Michigan and all across America have attested to the fact that the shortfall in federal support has placed a severe strain on local education budgets. It is clear that additional resources are necessary to help provide a quality education to all special needs children.

Additional funds are also necessary to support after-school programs. The development of our nation's children does not start and end in our nation's classrooms. It is important to give all children safe, enriching environments in which they can spend their time when the school day ends. Juvenile crime hits its peak after children leave school and before their parents arrive home. Between 5 and 15 million children have nowhere to go after school. Research indicates that between the hours of 3 and 7 p.m., children are more likely to engage in at-risk behavior, including abusing drugs or alcohol or engaging in sexual activity, or become the victims of crime. 21st Century Community Learning Centers provide after school educational, recreational, cultural, health and social services to youth in many communities. The additional funds in this amendment will help to ensure that we do not leave these children behind when the school day ends.

We also are faced with startling statistics about the state of America's public school facilities. Record enrollments and growing communities are causing severe overcrowding in many public schools. The average public school facility in America is over 40 years old. Approximately 46 percent of all public schools lack the electrical and communication wiring necessary to utilize today's computer systems and to prepare our children for today's technologically-based society. Recent surveys by the General Accounting Office and the National Council for Education Statistics, NCES, have placed cost estimates of school construction needs between \$112 billion to \$127 billion. Sixty to 70 percent of Michigan's schools reported having six or more insufficient technology elements. In this Congress and the last I supported grants and school bond tax provisions for the construction, rehabilitation, or

repair of school facilities. The additional funds this amendment provides will help to ensure that no student is denied access to the Internet because a school does not have the physical infrastructure to use computers or other technology.

Support for this amendment indicates support for three things—closing two egregious tax haven loopholes, increasing funding for education, and paying down the deficit. I urge my colleagues' support.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, we do not rewrite the Tax Code in this bill. A lot of people have implied we do, but we do not. We have no objections to the amendment of the Senator from Michigan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 372.

The amendment (No. 372) was agreed to.

Mr. LEVIN. I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator REID of Nevada be listed as a cosponsor of this amendment.

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

The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I yield to my friend and colleague from North Dakota to call up an additional amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask the Senator from Nevada if he is ready to consider his amendment.

Mr. REID. I am.

Mr. CONRAD. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

AMENDMENT NO. 341

(Purpose: To increase new budget authority and outlays for National Defense (050) in order to permit phased-in concurrent receipt of retired pay and veterans' disability compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities rated at 60 percent or higher)

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the next amendment in order to be called up is No. 341.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID] proposes an amendment numbered 341.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The amendment is printed in the RECORD of Thursday, March 20, 2003 under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. REID. Mr. President, as many of my colleagues know, over the last several years we worked hard to make veterans eligible for the concurrent receipt of retirement pay and disability benefits.

Under current law, most veterans, except those who were disabled as a result of combat, are prevented from receiving the pay and benefits they have rightly earned while serving this Nation. This is something the Armed Services Committee, with Senators WARNER and LEVIN, worked on with me last year, and we got this done. It was a big step forward, but we need to do more.

My amendment adjusts the budget resolution to pay for phased-in concurrent receipt for veterans with service-related disabilities rated at 60 percent or higher. Although it is not full concurrent receipt, this one change would help tens of thousands of veterans.

I hope everyone supports this most worthy amendment.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I rise to support Senate amendment No. 341, an amendment to provide partial concurrent receipt for veterans.

I would like to thank my colleague from Nevada for his unwavering and tireless support of veterans throughout the country. My constituents are aware of his advocacy for full concurrent receipt and appreciate his support.

Mr. President, as you know, our current military benefits system requires disabled military retirees who have a service-connected disability to deduct their disability compensation from the funds they would otherwise receive as retirement pay. This requirement unfairly merges two distinct programs and forces many disabled retirees to forfeit a significant portion of their well-deserved retirement pay.

The retirement benefit is an entitlement granted to all members of the U.S. Armed Forces who dedicate 20 or more years to providing our Nation's defenses. Disability compensation, on the other hand, is awarded as a compensation for personnel who are injured in the line of duty. I believe veterans should receive each payment separately. Allowing disabled veterans to receive their full military retired pay and disability compensation will restore fairness and common sense to U.S. military retirement policy.

Last year, President Bush signed compromise legislation that provides concurrent receipt to two veterans groups: one, any retiree receiving disability compensation, of at least 10 percent, whose disability was combat-related and for which the retiree was awarded the Purple Heart; and two, any retiree with a service-connected disability rated at 60 percent or higher incurred as a direct result of armed conflict, while engaged in hazardous service, in the performance of duty under conditions simulating war, or through an instrumentality of war.

Although this compromise was an important first step, it remains an in-

sufficient remedy to a persisting inequity in our veterans benefits system. Senate Amendment No. 341 would expand concurrent receipt to include veterans who have a service-connected disability of at least 60 percent. This is another important step in what will continue to be a long battle to provide concurrent receipt to all eligible veterans—a battle that I remain committed to fighting.

Again, I thank the Senator from Nevada for his leadership on this issue. I encourage my colleagues to support this amendment and look forward to working with them to provide full concurrent receipt for all veterans.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, last year the Armed Services Committee did a lot of good work in this field, and I compliment my colleague from Nevada and also the chairman from the Armed Services Committee and the Senator from Michigan for the great work they did last year.

Concerning the pending amendment by my friend and colleague from Nevada, we have no objection to accepting the amendment by voice vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is time yielded back?

Mr. REID. It is.

Mr. NICKLES. I yield back the remainder of time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to amendment No. 341.

The amendment (No. 341) was agreed to.

Mr. REID. I move to reconsider the vote, and I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I am prepared to yield to Senator BYRD for his amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 5 minutes on each side on this amendment.

Mr. NICKLES. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

AMENDMENT NO. 412

(Purpose: To foster greater debate in the Senate and to prevent further increases in the deficit by striking the reconciliation instructions to the Committee on Finance)

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] proposes an amendment numbered 412.

On page 45, strike beginning with line 20 through page 46, line 2.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, my amendment will strike the reconciliation instructions to the Finance Committee that would shield the President's \$726 billion tax cut from a thorough debate in the Senate. To use reconciliation to increase the deficit is an abuse of the budget process.

The Budget Act framers did not contemplate that reconciliation would ever be used to produce \$726 billion in tax cuts that would be financed through Social Security surpluses and an increasing debt. The Budget Act includes explicit and implicit language underscoring that the purpose of reconciliation is for deficit reduction.

If the reconciliation instructions were removed from the pending budget resolution, the Senate could still pass any economic stimulus plan it chose. To limit debate on such legislation is irresponsible, particularly when the administration has not even explained how it intends to pay for the cost of the war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. BYRD. I ask for an additional 30 seconds.

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

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, if this budget resolution passes with these reconciliation instructions included, the American people, through their elected representatives in Congress, will be denied their right to have a full debate upon the budgetary priorities of the Nation.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment and a vote to strike the reconciliation instructions to the Finance Committee from this budget resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time? The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the Budget Act is 25 years old and 22 times we have used reconciliation, and of that 22 times, 18 have had instructions to change, alter, or amend tax laws, change, alter, or amend programs such as Medicare, entitlement programs. We have done that. It has become an integral part of the Budget Act of the United States. Without that, you could take the Budget Act and say it is for naught. It would accomplish nothing.

It would be an exercise in debating and then later on we would have as much time as we wanted on every bill. There would be filibusters on every bill and, as contemplated by the Framers, we would get no budget activity in the United States.

Reconciliation includes minimum debate. Without minimum debate, nothing will be done of a budgetary nature for the United States. The Senator understands that. That is why he offers

it. The budget will be a shell meaning nothing. I suggest we defeat the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 412.

Mr. NICKLES. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. JEFFORDS) and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 52, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 84 Leg.]

YEAS—46

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Biden | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Murray |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Byrd | Harkin | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Hollings | Reed |
| Carper | Inouye | Reid |
| Chafee | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Clinton | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kerry | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Daschle | Landrieu | Wyden |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | |
| Dodd | Leahy | |

NAYS—52

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Alexander | Dole | Murkowski |
| Allard | Domenici | Nelson (NE) |
| Allen | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bennett | Enzi | Roberts |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Breaux | Frist | Sessions |
| Brownback | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Bunning | Grassley | Smith |
| Burns | Gregg | Snowe |
| Campbell | Hagel | Specter |
| Chambliss | Hatch | Stevens |
| Cochran | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Coleman | Inhofe | Talent |
| Collins | Kyl | Thomas |
| Cornyn | Lott | Voinovich |
| Craig | Lugar | Warner |
| Crapo | McCain | |
| DeWine | McConnell | |

NOT VOTING—2

Jeffords Miller

The amendment (No. 412) was rejected.

Mr. CONRAD. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

AMENDMENT NO. 315

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I call up my amendment on the unemployment benefits extension and ask for its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] for himself, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. REED, Mr. DURBIN, Mrs. CLINTON, and Ms. CANTWELL, proposes an amendment numbered 315.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 3, line 9, increase the amount by \$6,525,000,000.
 On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$9,895,000,000.
 On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$90,000,000.
 On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$45,000,000.
 On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$10,000,000.
 On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$10,000,000.
 On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$15,000,000.
 On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$45,000,000.
 On page 3, line 23, increase the amount by \$6,525,000,000.
 On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$9,895,000,000.
 On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$90,000,000.
 On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$45,000,000.
 On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$10,000,000.
 On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$10,000,000.
 On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$15,000,000.
 On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$45,000,000.
 On page 4, line 14, increase the amount by \$6,525,000,000.
 On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$9,773,000,000.
 On page 4, line 16, decrease the amount by \$8,000,000.
 On page 4, line 17, decrease the amount by \$12,000,000.
 On page 4, line 18, decrease the amount by \$15,000,000.
 On page 4, line 19, decrease the amount by \$16,000,000.
 On page 4, line 20, decrease the amount by \$18,000,000.
 On page 4, line 21, decrease the amount by \$21,000,000.
 On page 4, line 22, decrease the amount by \$23,000,000.
 On page 4, line 23, decrease the amount by \$24,000,000.
 On page 4, line 24, decrease the amount by \$25,000,000.
 On page 5, line 4, increase the amount by \$6,525,000,000.
 On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$9,773,000,000.
 On page 5, line 6, decrease the amount by \$8,000,000.
 On page 5, line 7, decrease the amount by \$12,000,000.
 On page 5, line 8, decrease the amount by \$15,000,000.
 On page 5, line 9, decrease the amount by \$16,000,000.
 On page 5, line 10, decrease the amount by \$18,000,000.
 On page 5, line 11, decrease the amount by \$21,000,000.
 On page 5, line 12, decrease the amount by \$23,000,000.
 On page 5, line 13, decrease the amount by \$24,000,000.
 On page 5, line 14, decrease the amount by \$25,000,000.
 On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$122,000,000.
 On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$98,000,000.
 On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$57,000,000.
 On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$25,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$26,000,000.
 On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$33,000,000.
 On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$66,000,000.
 On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$23,000,000.
 On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$24,000,000.
 On page 6, line 2, increase the amount by \$25,000,000.
 On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$122,000,000.
 On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$220,000,000.
 On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$277,000,000.
 On page 6, line 9, decrease the amount by \$302,000,000.
 On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$328,000,000.
 On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$361,000,000.
 On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$427,000,000.
 On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$450,000,000.
 On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$474,000,000.
 On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$499,000,000.
 On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$122,000,000.
 On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$220,000,000.
 On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$277,000,000.
 On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$302,000,000.
 On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$328,000,000.
 On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$361,000,000.
 On page 6, line 25, decrease the amount by \$427,000,000.
 On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$450,000,000.
 On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$474,000,000.
 On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$499,000,000.
 On page 30, line 23, increase the amount by \$6,525,000,000.
 On page 30, line 24, increase the amount by \$6,525,000,000.
 On page 31, line 2, increase the amount by \$9,775,000,000.
 On page 31, line 3, increase the amount by \$9,775,000,000.
 On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$2,000,000.
 On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$2,000,000.
 On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$8,000,000.
 On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$8,000,000.
 On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$12,000,000.
 On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$12,000,000.
 On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$15,000,000.
 On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$15,000,000.
 On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$16,000,000.
 On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$16,000,000.
 On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$18,000,000.
 On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$18,000,000.
 On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$21,000,000.
 On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$21,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$23,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$23,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$24,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$24,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$25,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$25,000,000.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, how could we in good conscience deny unemployment benefits to the long-term unemployed at the same time we are considering more than \$1.3 trillion in additional tax cuts disproportionately benefiting the wealthiest taxpayer? That is exactly what this budget does. This amendment will extend and expand unemployment benefits for the millions of workers who need them. It will cost just \$16 billion, about 1 percent of the cost of the tax cut. That should not be too much to ask for those families who need our help the most. More than 4 million Americans will be unemployed with no Federal benefits after June 1 under the current law. These men and women have worked hard for years, paid into the unemployment fund, and now find themselves without a job through no fault of their own. They are victims of the stagnant economy, and the economic news is not getting any better.

Where is our concern for these 4 million Americans? Where is our sense of fairness? I hope Members will support this amendment.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise today in support of amendment No. 315 of which I am a proud cosponsor. The purpose of this amendment is to accommodate in the budget an extension of unemployment insurance benefits. Currently, extended unemployment insurance benefits are scheduled to expire at the end of May. Beginning June first, individuals whose regular unemployment benefits expire will no longer be eligible for extended benefits.

This amendment sets aside the necessary funds, \$16 billion, to extend the existing unemployment insurance benefits program for an additional 6 months. That is estimated to provide assistance to between 2 to 2.5 million working Americans who have lost their job through no fault of their own. The amendment takes the money from the proposed \$1.5 trillion dollars in tax cuts. This raises the very fundamental question of what our priorities are.

I am convinced that we are going to still be in very difficult shape when the current extension of unemployment insurance benefits expires at the end of May, and I think we will need to extend it. There is little chance that the labor market will significantly improve for unemployed workers between now and the end of May. There is growing evidence that the labor market is still deteriorating. The Federal Open Market Committee's most recent statement on interest rates concluded that, "recent labor market indicators have proven disappointing."

That is an understatement. It was reported yesterday that the 4-week average of initial jobless claims rose to a 10-month high of 429,500. Last month we lost 308,000 jobs and the unemployment rose last month to 5.8 percent. The unemployment rate is higher today than when extended benefits were first enacted in March 2002. Over 3.4 million Americans are drawing unemployment benefits today a 4-month high. It would take private sector job creation of over 100,000 per month, every month, for the next 2-years, in order for the economy to recoup the 2.5 million private sector jobs that have been lost since President Bush took office.

The labor market remains weak because the overall economy remains weak. Last week the Federal Reserve released a report stating that, "growth in economic activity remained subdued in January and February. . . . Consumer spending remained weak," and "business spending was very soft, with little change in capital spending or hiring plans." Little change in business hiring is horrible news for would be job seekers who are caught in what the New York Times called the "Worst Hiring Slump in 20 Years." And this hiring slump has been very tough on those who are of moderate means. Witness the Baltimore Sun's recent story entitled "Jobs for poor few in a weak economy."

You have a situation where people are unemployed: Over 8.5 million unemployed Americans, over 22 percent of which, 1.87 million, have been unemployed for more than 26 weeks, are looking for work, and can't find a job because there are no jobs to be had. This is the highest percentage—of long-term unemployed our economy has witnessed since 1992. In situations like this, the Congress has always provided extended unemployment benefits. In the last recession these benefits were provided for 29 months. During the recession before that, they lasted for 33 months. In both of those recessions extended benefits were discontinued only after a pronounced strengthening in the labor market.

Today these benefits are set to expire after only 15 months, well before the labor market has improved. If this happens, it will mark not only a departure from prudent fiscal policy that has been implemented in a bipartisan fashion in the past but will also harm economic growth and hurt millions of Americans. Extended unemployment insurance benefits, already enacted by the Congress, have assisted 4.7 million workers and provided \$12 billion of stimulus into the economy. Federal Reserve Chairman Greenspan has testified that "extended unemployment insurance provided a timely boost to disposable income."

This amendment will allow for up to an additional \$16.3 billion in stimulus to be provided precisely to those Americans who need it the most. In fact, that is why it is so effective as eco-

nomics stimulus—those who receive unemployment benefits, by definition, are in such a precarious fiscal position that they must spend every dollar of benefits, which are far less than what they used to earn in their previous job. The \$16 billion would allow for the program not only to be extended as it is, but to provide for all Americans who qualify to receive an additional 13 weeks of benefits. This would include the 1 million workers who have already exhausted their extended benefits. These workers need help. They want to find work but cannot find a job because there are simply no jobs to be had.

I know that some of my colleagues oppose providing extended benefits for more than 13 weeks to anyone. I have a differing view point. I point out that at this state of the last recession, a minimum of 20 weeks of additional Federal benefits were provided for all Americans in every State. Under normal circumstances with a growing labor market, there is a strong case to be made that providing too long of a duration of unemployment insurance benefits would be harmful. However, in times when the labor market is weak and the job base is shrinking, the situation is very different. Even Fed Chairman Greenspan acknowledged this in testimony before the Joint Economic Committee, stating: "in periods like this [a shrinking labor market], that the economic restraints on the unemployment insurance system almost surely ought to be eased."

In the previous recession and jobless recovery, extended unemployment insurance benefits lasted for 29 months and for much of that time provided benefits for 26 to 33 weeks. In this recession and jobless recovery, benefits are scheduled to expire after only 15 months and have provided only 13 weeks of extended benefits to the vast majority of Americans. Even if you still cling to the idea that we should have no more than 13 additional weeks, passing this amendment does not itself extend these benefits. It only allows the Senate the flexibility to address this issue when the time comes without having a budget point of order raised. The amendment sets aside the necessary funds, \$16.3 billion—which I point out are more than covered by the \$21 billion in the unemployment insurance trust funds today—to provide for whatever form of extended benefits the Senate should chose to pass. Hold the debate on how to structure the program until then. What we cannot afford to do today is to pass a budget that contains nothing to provide for extension of benefits which may be critically needed in only a few months time.

Last year this issue was not properly dealt with, and as a result millions of Americans suffered through the holiday season believing that their benefits were going to expire. Yet when Congress reconvened, extended benefits were retroactively restored, 11 days after they had expired. Let's not put

these people through this again. Let's act now and set aside in this budget the resources necessary to do the job that we, in my view, will have to do between now and the end of May.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, we are making good progress. I am a little concerned about bouncing around on which amendment is next.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on this amendment. We have only voted on this particular amendment two or three times, maybe four or five times if you go back to last year.

This would double the program from a 13-week program to a 26-week program. It would cost billions, \$16.6 billion, I believe, in probably a year. According to GAO, there is \$6.6 billion of an \$8 billion block grant we gave to the States that they have not used. This is a very expensive amendment, in my opinion, not well thought out, not coordinated with States. High unemployment States already get up to 65 weeks in benefits under present law. This would extend it. It is very expensive. I urge my colleagues to vote no.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second. The question is on agreeing to the amendment No. 315.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID: I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 85 Leg.]

YEAS—48

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Leahy |
| Baucus | Durbin | Levin |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lieberman |
| Biden | Feingold | Lincoln |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Murray |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (FL) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Nelson (NE) |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Pryor |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reed |
| Clinton | Johnson | Reid |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Rockefeller |
| Corzine | Kerry | Sarbanes |
| Daschle | Kohl | Schumer |
| Dayton | Landrieu | Stabenow |
| Dodd | Lautenberg | Wyden |

NAYS—51

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Bunning | Frist | Sessions |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Campbell | Grassley | Smith |
| Chafee | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Specter |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Collins | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lugar | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 315) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I think we will offer an amendment now. It will be the second one we have offered today. It will be offered by the Senator from New Hampshire, the chairman of the Health and Education Committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

AMENDMENT NO. 414

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I call up an amendment. I believe it is at the desk, or I will send it up.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG] proposes an amendment numbered 414.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide \$2 billion for education block grants to states to be allocated to local educational agencies for any of the purposes of the No Child Left Behind Act, Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, or Vocational Education Programs by reducing spending on other government programs by a commensurate amount)

On page 25, line 16, increase the amount by \$2,000,000,000.

On page 25, line 17, increase the amount by \$40,000,000.

On page 25, line 21, increase the amount by \$1,400,000,000.

On page 25, line 25, increase the amount by \$500,000,000.

On page 26, line 4, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 42, line 2, decrease the amount by \$2,000,000,000.

On page 42, line 3, decrease the amount by \$40,000,000.

On page 42, line 7, decrease the amount by \$1,400,000,000.

On page 42, line 11, decrease the amount by \$500,000,000.

On page 42, line 15, decrease the amount by \$60,000,000.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, this amendment adds an additional \$2 billion into our educational accounts. We already increased educational spending last week. We are increasing it here again. The practical effect of what we are doing is that we will have seen a 91-percent, or \$3.2 billion, increase in Head Start as a result of this amendment and the additional amendments we passed. We will have seen over a 333-percent increase in funding in special education in the last few years as a result of this amendment and others and a 90-percent increase in funding in title I as a result of this amendment and others.

With this amendment, we will have again dramatically increased the funding for both preschool and general education activities at the elementary and secondary level, and I believe we should have pretty much filled up the bucket in those accounts.

Mr. President, I yield back the rest of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, we are prepared to take this amendment. We are ready to go to a voice vote on this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time is yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 414.

The amendment (No. 414) was agreed to.

Mr. BOND. I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. DODD, for an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

AMENDMENT NO. 415

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] proposes an amendment numbered 415.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase funding for after-school programs to the levels promised by the No Child Left Behind Act to serve 1.6 million more children in FY 2004 and to increase funding for Head Start to serve 80 percent of eligible 3 and 4 year olds and increase the number of infant and toddlers served and for deficit reduction)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,155,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$3,891,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$5,806,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$7,666,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$8,818,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$9,195,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$9,455,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$9,694,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$9,900,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$10,164,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$1,155,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$3,891,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$5,806,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$7,666,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$8,818,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$9,195,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$9,455,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$9,694,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$9,900,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$10,164,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$2,140,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$2,655,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$3,363,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$4,098,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$3,934,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$3,768,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$3,583,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$3,379,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, increase the amount by \$3,111,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, increase the amount by \$2,915,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$567,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,869,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$2,690,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$3,423,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$3,752,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$3,660,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$3,486,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, increase the amount by \$3,278,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, increase the amount by \$3,031,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, increase the amount by \$2,787,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$588,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$2,022,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$3,117,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$4,243,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$5,066,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$5,534,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$5,969,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$6,416,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$6,869,000,000.

On page 6, line 2, increase the amount by \$7,377,000,000.

On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$588,000,000.

On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$2,610,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$5,727,000,000.

On page 6, line 9, decrease the amount by \$9,970,000,000.

On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$15,036,000,000.

On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$20,570,000,000.

On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$26,539,000,000.

On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$32,954,000,000.

On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$39,823,000,000.

On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$47,200,000,000.

On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$588,000,000.

On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$2,610,000,000.

On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$5,727,000,000.

On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$9,970,000,000.

On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$15,036,000,000.

On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$20,570,000,000.

On page 7, line 25, decrease the amount by \$26,539,000,000.

On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$32,954,000,000.

On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$39,823,000,000.

On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$47,200,000,000.

On page 25, line 16, increase the amount by \$2,150,000,000.

On page 25, line 17, increase the amount by \$578,000,000.

On page 25, line 20, increase the amount by \$2,732,000,000.

On page 25, line 21, increase the amount by \$1,945,000,000.

On page 25, line 24, increase the amount by \$3,577,000,000.

On page 25, line 25, increase the amount by \$2,903,000,000.

On page 26, line 3, increase the amount by \$4,508,000,000.

On page 26, line 4, increase the amount by \$3,833,000,000.

On page 26, line 7, increase the amount by \$4,591,000,000.

On page 26, line 8, increase the amount by \$4,409,000,000.

On page 26, line 11, increase the amount by \$4,705,000,000.

On page 26, line 12, increase the amount by \$4,597,000,000.

On page 26, line 15, increase the amount by \$4,824,000,000.

On page 26, line 16, increase the amount by \$4,727,000,000.

On page 26, line 19, increase the amount by \$4,948,000,000.

On page 26, line 20, increase the amount by \$4,847,000,000.

On page 26, line 23, increase the amount by \$5,030,000,000.

On page 26, line 24, increase the amount by \$4,950,000,000.

On page 27, line 2, increase the amount by \$5,210,000,000.

On page 27, line 3, increase the amount by \$5,082,000,000.

On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$10,000,000.

On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$10,000,000.

On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$77,000,000.

On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$77,000,000.

On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$214,000,000.

On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$214,000,000.

On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$410,000,000.

On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$410,000,000.

On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$657,000,000.

On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$657,000,000.

On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$937,000,000.

On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$937,000,000.

On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$1,241,000,000.

On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$1,241,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$1,569,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$1,569,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$1,919,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$1,919,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$2,295,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$2,295,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$2,150,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$578,000,000.

On page 47, line 14, increase the amount by \$2,732,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,945,000,000.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I have combined two amendments. This is both the afterschool program and Head Start. We were going to do it separately, but to move things along I decided to combine them.

This is a 10-year proposal since much of this budget proposal covers 10 years. It amounts to about \$18 billion for afterschool programs and \$24 billion for Head Start. As a result of this amendment, we would actually increase from 850,000 under this budget to 2.5 million the number of children who would take advantage of afterschool programs this year.

Mr. President, 2,000 prosecutors and police chiefs have endorsed this amendment.

On Head Start, we would go from roughly 850,000 kids to approximately 1 million, 1.2 million. That is an increase of 20 percent over the next 10 years for Head Start. We pay for it by reducing the tax cut of \$1.73 trillion by about \$42 billion. It is a tiny fraction of that tax cut, to serve kids in preschool and the afterschool programs.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that relevant material be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 23, 2003]

CUTBACKS TO OUR CHILDREN

(By David S. Broder)

Under the shadow of war with Iraq, the House and the Senate last week fought a series of skirmishes over the federal budget for next year. One big, overriding question was at stake: Would President Bush and the Republican majorities in Congress step up to the costs of battle, of homeland defense and of national obligations at home, or would they pass the costs on to future generations?

The answer, sadly, is that youngsters yet to be born will see their choices limited and their prospects blighted by the decision of today's politicians to press ahead with an unaffordable tax cut even while the costs of war and reconstruction make earlier spending estimates wildly unrealistic.

The possible doubling of the national debt in the next decade will drive up interest costs that must be paid every year—billions of dollars that will not be available for Social Security; Medicare or any of the myriad responsibilities of the government here and abroad.

But the squeeze is not all prospective. Some dangerous economies are being forced this year—cutbacks that will have long-term damaging consequences for American society.

This was brought home to me from an unexpected source in a group interview last

week with six state attorneys general—four Democrats and two Republicans—who were in Washington for a professional conference. Their theme was one I had heard before, not just from social workers, academics and supposed bleeding-heart liberals but from police chiefs, prosecutors and other hard-nosed denizens of the criminal justice system.

It is the irrefutable evidence that the most effective anti-crime strategies—and the least expensive—are early childhood education, after-school programs and serious mentoring of youngsters who otherwise are almost certainly fated to be dropouts, delinquents and, yes, prison inmates.

Larry Long, the South Dakota attorney general and a 30-year career prosecutor, put it this way. "I can tell you that by the time kids of 12 or 14 are brought into the juvenile justice system, they are lost. All I can do is warehouse them—at huge expense. The sooner and faster we reach kids, the better the chance of their being saved."

Long and his counterparts from Colorado, Delaware, Maine, Montana and New Mexico described what they are doing to reach vulnerable youngsters—especially those being raised by single mothers still in their teens—and to help those parents stabilize lives often blighted by drugs or other addictions. But they also confirmed that many of their initiatives are on the chopping block, as states struggle with declining revenue and runaway health care costs for the elderly.

"These are proven programs that work," said Montana Attorney General Mike McGrath, "but our budget crisis is so severe we may not be able to meet the federal matching requirement"—the dollars a state must put up to qualify for a grant from Washington.

That is why they express such dismay at what they are hearing out of the Washington budget proceedings. The briefing paper that all the state law enforcement officials were given by the advocacy group Fight Crime: Invest in Kids spelled out some of the cuts included in the Bush budget.

Funds for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers after-school program would be cut from \$1 billion to \$600 million. The memo to the attorneys general says that cutback would take a half-million children each year out of a those centers, even though unsupervised youngsters make the hours from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. the peak time for serious and violent juvenile crime.

The Bush budget increases Head Start funding by \$148 million, just about enough to keep pace with inflation, but the program now serves only six out of 10 preschoolers who are eligible. Several other early childhood block grants and programs are ticketed for reduction or elimination.

The picture is similar for other Justice Department and Education Department program aimed at preventing juvenile delinquency.

"This is so shortsighted," said Maine Attorney General Steven Rowe. "For \$300 billion, one-fifth the [10-year] cost of the new tax cut, we could fully fund all of these programs" for the next decade.

That kind of investment would not only save lives, the attorneys general said. It would save money. "We are spending \$75,000 a year every time we incarcerate someone under 18," said Delaware Attorney General Jane Brady. "We have to jail them, educate them, counsel them and try to rehabilitate them. It would be so much better to help them while they are young."

It's another example of the long-term costs will incur today's budget decisions.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 7, 2003]

THE 3 TO 6 GAP

(By E.J. Dionne, Jr.)

The phrase "balancing work and family" is abstract. Here's the concrete part: Kids' school schedules are out of sync with their parents' work schedules. It is plain dumb that from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday, we just let kids loose.

Yes, many families make heroic efforts to deal with this problem. But many others—especially in households that desperately need two incomes—are put in a terrible dilemma. Filling the 3 to 6 gap is one of our most urgent social needs, a point made regularly by law enforcement officials.

Some politicians understand it, too. "After-school programs keep kids safe, help working families and improve academic achievements," said the most prominent one of them all. "They engage students in service and ensure that youth have access to anti-substance abuse programs. For America's working parents, they provide the confidence that their children are well cared for after the school day ends."

Excellent points. President Bush made them in a letter he wrote on Oct. 4, 2002, to a group called the Afterschool Alliance. So why, exactly, has the president proposed to cut federal spending on after-school care by 40 percent? Under Bush's budget, federal spending on 21st Century Community Learning Centers would drop from \$1 billion this year to \$600 million next year.

Rep. George Miller, a California Democrat who worked with Bush on the education bill, notes that the program now covers about 1.5 million kids. The program's advocates estimate that at least 500,000 would be affected by the cut.

This cut, alas, perfectly embodies what's wrong with the way this administration is doing business. The dissonance between the president's moderate, compassionate words and his spending priorities is jarring.

Moreover, the federal government is pulling away from a problem at exactly the moment when giant budget deficits are forcing states to do less themselves. In Maryland, for example, Gov. Robert L. Ehrlich Jr., a Republican, has proposed cutting the Maryland After School Opportunity Fund in half, from \$10 million to \$5 million. Afterschool Alliance reports similar cuts in at least four other states and expects more to follow.

Bush speaks constantly of making it easier for faith-based groups to get federal funds. The 21st Century program was opened to such organizations last year. Does it help faith-based groups to let them into the program and then dry up the funding?

Miller is not alone in suspecting that this program was vulnerable because it happened to be one of former president Bill Clinton's more popular initiatives. "There's obviously been a search-and-destroy mission against anything that was Clinton," he says.

Oh, yes, Bush says we have to make these hard budget choices, but he has refused to put a price tag on the war with Iraq (it could easily run to \$100 billion) and insists we need his huge tax cuts for the wealthy. Let's see: We have to cut \$400 million from after-school program to pay for the elimination of the dividends tax, which will eventually cost the government \$50 billion a year in revenue?

Most remarkable, the administration has justified this cut as good government. It cites a recent study by Mathematica Policy Research showing, as the administration's budget documents put it, that "the centers funded in the program's first three years are not providing substantial academic content and do not appear to have a positive impact on students' behavior."

The Mathematica study did find some positive effects from the program, and some of

its criticisms were disputed by after school advocates. But let's assume that the report was sound and that these programs would do well to beef up their academic content. That's still no excuse for using a single report as a rationale for cutting the federal government's commitment to helping kids between the hours of 3 and 6. We need to build on the after-school experience, not retreat. And, by the way, does the administration have one standard for social programs—a little bad news and they're slashed—and another for tax cuts and, say, missile defense?

To challenge these cutbacks, I nominate a good Republican known as The Terminator. Last fall, Arnold Schwarzenegger led the fight for Proposition 49 in California, a ballot measure that will eventually provide about \$430 million for after-school programs. It passed with 57 percent of the vote. "My hope is that, as goes California, so goes the rest of the nation," he declared. Arnold, where your priorities are concerned, your president is saying, "Hasta la vista, baby."

[From the New York Times, Feb. 13, 2003]

HEAVY LIFTING

(By Bob Herbert)

He's at it again.

President Bush traveled to Nashville on Monday to talk, among other things, about compassion, which is a topic this president probably should leave alone. Mr. Bush's idea of compassion tends to send a shiver of dread through those who are disadvantaged.

But there he was in Nashville at the National Religious Broadcasters convention, exhorting his audience to "rally the armies of compassion so that we can change America one heart, one soul at a time."

The president said religious organizations had a responsibility to assist the poor and those who are suffering, and to help alleviate the "artificial divisions" of race and economics.

"I welcome faith to help solve the nation's deepest problems," he said.

If religious leaders take up the challenge they will have to do some awfully heavy lifting, because Mr. Bush's domestic policies—instead of easing suffering—are all but guaranteed to provide an ever-swelling stream of people in need of help.

Everywhere you turn, support programs for the poor, the ill, the disabled and the elderly are under attack. Children's services are being battered. As Mr. Bush smiles and talks about compassion, funding for programs large and small is being squeezed, cut back, eliminated.

The day after, Mr. Bush's upbeat speech to the religious broadcasters, The Times's Robert Pear revealed that the administration was proposing a change in federal law that would result in rent increases for thousands of poor people receiving housing aid.

The administration has proposed a restructuring of Medicare that would curtail, rather than enhance, delivery of health services to the elderly.

In the \$2.2 trillion budget that Mr. Bush sent to Congress last week was an unconscionable proposal that would eliminate after-school programs for 500,000 children. In the arena of bad ideas, that one's a champion. It would result not just in hardship, but tragedy. For one thing, the peak hours for juvenile crime are 3 p.m. to 8 p.m., with the biggest, most dangerous burst coming in the very first hour after school. That is also the time of day in which most teenage girls become pregnant.

Mr. Bush has proposed cuts in juvenile delinquency programs, public housing assistance, children's health insurance and on and on. He's even undermined the funding for his

own highly touted school reform program, the No Child Left Behind Act.

Senator Edward Kennedy, who had worked closely with the president on the school reform legislation, said yesterday, "As soon as the Klieg lights were off and the bunting came down, the Bush administration turned its back on school reform and America's children."

Looming over this calculated assault on programs of crucial importance to millions of Americans is Mr. Bush's colossal accumulation of tax cuts for the wealthy and an endless mountain range of federal budget deficits. The ideologues on the right are close to realizing their dream of crippling social services by starving the government of revenues.

Dr. J. Lawrence Aber, director of the National Center for Children in Poverty at Columbia University, said yesterday:

"These cuts are tearing at what was emerging as a bipartisan consensus at the end of the last administration that the unfinished agenda on welfare reform was to create the work and family supports necessary to continue to help people move from welfare to work."

Tip O'Neill once said of Ronald Reagan, "He has no concern, no regard, no care for the little man of America."

George W. Bush is making the Gipper look like a softy.

Policies that affect the poor and working poor seldom get sustained attention. In an atmosphere of terror and impending war, Mr. Bush's approach to social services is getting even shorter shrift than usual. The policies he is attempting to put in place would largely overturn the notion we've had of a federal responsibility for programs to help struggling Americans. Mr. Bush would turn much of that responsibility over to the states, which are struggling with backbreaking budget problems of their own that are forcing drastic reductions in state services.

The collective result would be a long-term abandonment of the most needy among us. It's difficult to square that with the idea of compassion, conservative or otherwise.

MARCH 24, 2003.

Hon. CHRISTOPHER DODD (D-CT),
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR DODD: The Afterschool Alliance is pleased to endorse your proposed amendment to the fiscal year 2004 Senate Budget Resolution providing the fully authorized funding level for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program. More than 15 million school aged children lack a safe, supervised place to spend their afterschool hours—where they can get academic support and have the opportunity to take part in art, music, athletic and other enrichment activities. The 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program provides critical support to communities throughout the nation to create and expand high quality afterschool programming.

According to the law enforcement community, the afterschool hours are when youth are most at risk. Juvenile crime triples between the hours of 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Studies show that students who have no access to extracurricular activities are much more likely to get involved with drug use and become teen parents.

Beyond safety, high quality afterschool programs are helping kids learn new skills and perform better in schools. A study just released by The Afterschool Corporation reported that 84 percent of principals in New York credited afterschool programs with improved overall effectiveness of their schools.

Afterschool programs are increasingly popular among parents and other community leaders. Nine out of ten voters think that all

children should have access to afterschool programs. Nationally, more than 50 percent of teens wish there were more afterschool programs available as well. In other words, afterschool programs work and are popular with the people who need them most.

At a time when safety is high on everyone's list of concerns, funding for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program should continue to grow—not be the target of deep cuts in the federal budget. The 40% cut proposed by the President in his fiscal year 2004 budget would deny 570,000 children and youth the afterschool programming they now receive. It would hurt them, their families and their communities. Support for the Dodd Afterschool/Headstart amendment is a vote in favor of kids, working families and local schools and communities.

Sincerely,

JUDY SAMELSON.

FIGHT CRIME: INVEST IN KIDS,
Washington, DC, March 24, 2003.

DEAR SENATOR: On behalf of the thousands of sheriffs, police chiefs, prosecutors and crime victims who constitute the national anti-crime group Fight Crime: Invest in Kids, we urge you to support amendments to the Fiscal Year 2004 budget resolution that increase funding for key investments that can keep kids from growing up to become criminals.

Specifically, we urge you to support the amendment offered by Sen. Christopher Dodd to increase funding for Head Start and the 21st Century Community Learning Centers and the amendment offered by Sen. Jeff Bingaman to increase funding for the Child Care and Development Block Grant by \$4.6 billion over five years (to the level in the bipartisan reauthorization bill reported out of the Finance Committee last year), as well as any other amendments supporting similar investments.

As leaders on the front-line in the battle against crime, our members know that the best way to prevent crime is to invest in programs that keep kids from becoming criminals in the first place. Research and experience prove that crime and violence can be greatly reduced through quality early childhood and after-school programs.

For example, a study published in the Journal of the American Medical Association of the Chicago Child-Parent Centers early childhood education program found that children left out of the program were 70% more likely to be arrested for a violent crime by age 18. A study of the Quantum Opportunities after-school program showed that boys left out of the program averaged six times more criminal convictions in their high school years than the boys who attended the after-school program.

Unfortunately, programs that support these types of activities are drastically under-funded. Only six in ten children eligible for Head Start can participate in the program, only one in seven eligible for the Child Care and Development Block Grant can receive subsidies, and less than 5% of eligible kids can participate in Early Head Start. In addition, 75% of the requests for 21st Century Community Learning Centers after-school grants have to be turned down due to a lack of funding, leaving more than 10 million children and teens home alone after school on a regular basis.

Investing in children is the most effective investment that our nation can make in long-term growth, and will pay off in crime reduction and other benefits for years to come. These programs not only better the lives of children and prevent crime, but also save money and help grow the economy in the long run. The Chicago Child-Parent Centers saved the public \$7 for every \$1 invested,

and the Quantum Opportunities program saved the public \$3 for every \$1 invested.

Please support crime-reducing amendments to the budget that will provide more families with access to quality early education and care and force fewer parents to leave their child unattended during the peak hours of juvenile crime from 3-6 p.m.

If you have any questions, please contact us at 202-776-0027 ext. 143.

Sincerely,

SANFORD A. NEWMAN,
President.
MIRIAM A. ROLLIN,
Federal Policy Director.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I urge adoption of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Who yields time?

The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, in the Head Start and early education programs, we have increased those by 800 percent—800 percent—in the last decade. In this budget, we have a significant increase in Head Start. In fact, we are putting so much money into Head Start already that about 7 percent of the slots in Head Start are not even filled. We have so much money in this program, in a number of parts of this country they cannot find the kids to put into the programs.

It is really inappropriate for us to fund it in a way which is excessive. We are doing a strong and effective job in the area of funding Head Start and early education programs. I hope we defeat this amendment as spending which is unnecessary at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is all time yielded back?

Mr. GREGG. I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 10 additional seconds.

Kids are being—

Mr. NICKLES. Regular order.

Mr. DODD. There is a huge need for this program in the country.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have been requested.

Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 415.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 86 Leg.]

YEAS—48

| | | |
|----------|----------|---------|
| Akaka | Breaux | Corzine |
| Baucus | Byrd | Daschle |
| Bayh | Cantwell | Dayton |
| Biden | Carper | Dodd |
| Bingaman | Clinton | Dorgan |
| Boxer | Conrad | Durbin |

| | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Edwards | Kerry | Nelson (FL) |
| Feingold | Kohl | Nelson (NE) |
| Feinstein | Landrieu | Pryor |
| Graham (FL) | Lautenberg | Reed |
| Harkin | Leahy | Reid |
| Hollings | Levin | Rockefeller |
| Inouye | Lieberman | Sarbanes |
| Jeffords | Lincoln | Schumer |
| Johnson | Mikulski | Stabenow |
| Kennedy | Murray | Wyden |

NAYS—51

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Bunning | Frist | Sessions |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Campbell | Grassley | Smith |
| Chafee | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Specter |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Collins | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lugar | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 415) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators be able to file documents supporting their amendments as we go throughout the day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Who yields time?

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield time to the Democratic leader.

AMENDMENT NO. 361

(Purpose: To fulfill the U.S. commitment to provide health care to American Indians and Alaska Natives)

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 361.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DASCHLE], for himself, Mr. INOUE, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. DORGAN, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. LEAHY, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. REID, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LIEBERMAN, and Mr. CAMPBELL, proposes an amendment numbered 361.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The amendment is printed in the RECORD of Thursday, March 20, 2003, under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, Native Americans and Alaskan Natives have a guarantee under law and treaty that

we provide health benefits to them and to their families. They are not getting it today. In fact, we are falling dramatically short of the budget required to buy them the services that they must now have. In fact, we are so short that we are now under a life or limb test. Unless your life is threatened, unless you may chance the loss of a limb, you are deferred treatment in most Indian health care facilities today.

This amendment would simply provide clinical services funding for any current users—not for anybody who is currently ineligible, but only for those who are eligible today. We must provide this health care under the law. This amendment would do it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, for the information of colleagues, we were prepared to offer a second-degree amendment, but at the request of the minority leader we will not do that.

I ask unanimous consent that the second-degree amendment we have prepared be eligible to be considered as an amendment on or in relation to immediately following the Daschle amendment.

Mr. CONRAD. We agree to that.

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

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I urge our colleagues to vote against this amendment. I understand there are a lot of problems in Indian Health Service. We have some of those in my State as well. It doesn't solve it by saying we should have an 86 percent increase in growth in this function. I understand the demands and needs, but percentage-wise this is too great.

The amendment to be offered by Senator MURKOWSKI will have at least a 10-percent increase. We have increased this function by millions of dollars in the last couple of years. I understand the demand.

I urge colleagues to vote no on this amendment and in favor of the subsequent amendment to be offered by the Senator from Alaska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is all time yielded back?

Mr. CONRAD. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 361.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALEXANDER). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 87 Leg.]

YEAS—48

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Leahy |
| Baucus | Durbin | Levin |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lieberman |
| Biden | Feingold | Lincoln |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Murray |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (FL) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Nelson (NE) |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Pryor |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reed |
| Clinton | Johnson | Reid |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Rockefeller |
| Corzine | Kerry | Sarbanes |
| Daschle | Kohl | Schumer |
| Dayton | Landrieu | Stabenow |
| Dodd | Lautenberg | Wyden |

NAYS—51

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Bunning | Frist | Sessions |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Campbell | Grassley | Smith |
| Chafee | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Specter |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Collins | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lugar | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

AMENDMENT NO. 416

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senator CAMPBELL, the chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee, and Senator MURKOWSKI.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES], for Mr. CAMPBELL, for himself, and Ms. MURKOWSKI, proposes an amendment numbered 416.

On page 27, line 11, increase the amount by \$292,000,000.

On page 27, line 12, increase the amount by \$256,000,000.

On page 27, line 16, increase the amount by \$17,520,000.

On page 27, line 20, increase the amount by \$8,760,000.

On page 27, line 24, increase the amount by \$5,840,000.

On page 42, line 2, decrease the amount by \$292,000,000.

On page 42, line 3, decrease the amount by \$256,960,000.

On page 42, line 7, decrease the amount by \$17,520,000.

On page 42, line 11, decrease the amount by \$8,760,000.

On page 42, line 15, decrease the amount by \$5,840,000.

At the appropriate place insert:

It is the Sense of the Senate that Congress has recognized the importance of Native American health. In 1997, Congress enacted a program to spend \$30 million a year on research and treatment on diabetes in the Native American community. This amount was increased to \$100 million a year in 2000 and further increased to \$150 million a year in 2002. This is a 500% increase since 1997. This priority focuses on prevention and treatment for a major disease in the Native American community.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time? The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, first let me thank Senator DASCHLE for his concern about the health of American Indians. For many of us, it is not really a front burner issue on our agendas as we face the war and so many other things, but to a lot of people whose health problems are between 5 and 10 times the national average, it is very important. So I thank Senator DASCHLE for doing that.

Unfortunately, the amount seemed to exceed what we are able to support. The amount under this amendment increases IHS by 10 percent, or \$292 million, bringing the total funding for the Indian Health Service to \$3.208 billion for facilities and services. In addition, it includes a sense of the Senate that Congress recognizes the need for prevention and research for a major disease in the Native American community, which is diabetes.

As the Chair might know, some tribes suffer a 50-percent rate of diabetes among their members. Since 1997, Congress has increased Native American diabetes research and treatment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In closing, this is a marked improvement over what we have done. I wish it could have been more, and I do thank Senator DASCHLE for bringing this to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I have great admiration for the Senator from Colorado. There is no one who is more sensitive to many of these issues than is he. He has led us well in the Indian Affairs Committee.

This amendment still leaves us over \$2.6 billion short in providing health care services. Under the life and limb test: Your life has to be threatened or you are going to lose a limb to even walk in the front door. We are going to be \$2.6 billion below that level right now if this amendment passes. That is No. 1.

No. 2, this 10 percent is taken out of other Indian Health programs, other Indian education programs and other priorities. So we are really taking—

Mr. NICKLES. No.

Mr. DASCHLE. One dollar out of one pocket and putting it in the pocket of the other side, and we are not accommodating the real need or real commitment in health care that is so desperately needed right now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, for the information of our colleagues, it is taken out of general government, not out of any health service. I do not know if a vote is necessary on this. I urge the adoption of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 416.

The amendment (No. 416) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

AMENDMENT NO. 318

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I have an amendment at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY], for himself, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. REID, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. SCHUMER, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. DAYTON, and Mr. BYRD, proposes an amendment numbered 318.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase the level of funding in fiscal year 2004 for first responders by \$3,000,000,000 (to a total of \$6,500,000,000) to support their efforts to protect homeland security and prevent and respond to acts of terrorism and to reduce tax reductions for taxpayers with annual incomes greater than \$300,000, and provide an additional \$3,000,000,000 for deficit reduction)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$2,100,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$2,100,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$1,200,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$600,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$2,100,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$2,100,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$1,200,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$600,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$2,981,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, decrease the amount by \$75,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, decrease the amount by \$127,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, decrease the amount by \$162,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, decrease the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, decrease the amount by \$190,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, decrease the amount by \$201,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, decrease the amount by \$212,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, decrease the amount by \$224,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, decrease the amount by \$236,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$1,031,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$975,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$473,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$138,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, decrease the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, decrease the amount by \$190,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, decrease the amount by \$201,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, decrease the amount by \$212,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, decrease the amount by \$224,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, decrease the amount by \$236,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,069,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,125,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$727,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$462,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$190,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$201,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$212,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$224,000,000.

On page 6, line 2, increase the amount by \$238,000,000.

On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$1,069,000,000.

On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$2,194,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$2,921,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$3,383,000,000.

On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$3,562,000,000.

On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$3,752,000,000.

On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$3,953,000,000.

On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$4,165,000,000.

On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$4,389,000,000.

On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$4,625,000,000.

On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$1,069,000,000.

On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$2,194,000,000.

On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$2,921,000,000.

On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$3,383,000,000.

On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$3,562,000,000.

On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$3,752,000,000.

On page 6, line 25, decrease the amount by \$3,953,000,000.

On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$4,165,000,000.

On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$4,389,000,000.

On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$4,625,000,000.

On page 36, line 15, increase the amount by \$3,000,000,000.

On page 36, line 16, increase the amount by \$1,050,000,000.

On page 36, line 20, increase the amount by \$1,050,000,000.

On page 36, line 24, increase the amount by \$600,000,000.

On page 37, line 3, increase the amount by \$300,000,000.

On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$19,000,000.

On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$19,000,000.

On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$75,000,000.

On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$75,000,000.

On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$127,000,000.

On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$127,000,000.

On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$162,000,000.

On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$162,000,000.

On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$190,000,000.

On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$190,000,000.

On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$201,000,000.

On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$201,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$212,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$212,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$224,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$224,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$236,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$236,000,000.

On page 45, line 24, decrease the amount by \$6,000,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$3,000,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,050,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,050,000,000.

On page 79, after line 22, add the following:

SEC. 308. PROVIDING GRANTS TO SUPPORT FIRST RESPONDERS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PROTECT HOMELAND SECURITY AND PREVENT AND RESPOND TO ACTS OF TERRORISM.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Senate finds that—

(1) since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, our Nation has asked State and local responders (firefighters, law enforcement officers, and emergency personnel) to defend Americans as never before on the front lines in the war against terrorism;

(2) on March 17, 2003, the Department of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Homeland Security Council, raised the national threat level from an "Elevated" to "High" risk of terrorist attack (Level Orange) because the intelligence community believes that terrorists will attempt multiple attacks against United States and Coalition targets worldwide in the event of a military campaign against Saddam Hussein led by the United States;

(3) Level Orange indicates a high probability of a terrorist attack and requires additional precautions by first responders at public events;

(4) this is the third time since the Federal Homeland Security Advisory System was created on March 12, 2002, that State and local first responders have been kept on Orange Alert, including—

(A) September 10 to September 24, 2002; and

(B) February 7 to February 27, 2003;

(5) notwithstanding the periods listed under paragraph (4), the Nation has continuously been at Yellow Alert (an "elevated" threat level declared when there is a significant risk of terrorist attacks), which has required increased surveillance of critical locations for State and local first responders;

(6) the National Governors' Association estimates that States incurred about \$7,000,000,000 in homeland security costs in the past year for State and local first responders; and

(7) as a result of the elevated and high national threat alerts and other Federal homeland security requirements, State and local governments have been subject to unfunded Federal mandates.

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the funding levels in this resolution assume a total of at least \$6,500,000,000 for fiscal year 2004 for the Office of Domestic Preparedness through the Department of Homeland Security to provide direct funds to support first responders nationwide in their efforts to protect homeland security and to prevent and respond to acts of terrorism.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the budget resolution now provides less funding to our Nation's first responders in the next fiscal year than it does in the current one. My amendment, which is co-sponsored by Senators DASCHLE, REID, BIDEN, SCHUMER, CLINTON, and DAYTON, will increase the level of direct funding for fiscal year 2004 for first responders by \$3 billion to support their efforts to protect homeland security and respond to acts of terrorism. This will bring the total funding for our State and local first responders to at least \$6.5 billion for the first fiscal year.

When one calls 9-1-1, they get the State and local; they do not get Washington. They need the money.

We offset this by reducing tax reductions by \$3 billion for taxpayers with annual incomes greater than \$300,000, and we provide an additional \$3 billion for deficit reduction. I hope we can support our Nation's police officers, firefighters, and emergency personnel by passing this amendment.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that my name be added as a cosponsor.

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

Mr. LEAHY. I thank the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, my good friend from Vermont has told us what the amendment provides in way of an increase in spending. But what he did not tell us is it increases taxes by \$6 billion over the period of 2004 through 2007. It increases the spending caps and it changes the reconciliation instructions.

What also is contained in this budget resolution is \$28 billion in discretionary spending for the homeland security function. This amendment is aimed at one small part of the budget resolution, and it increases that account, though, by 85 percent.

Today, we have received from the President a supplemental budget request for homeland security asking for an additional \$4.2 billion. The administration is making a very strong effort, under the competent leadership of Secretary Tom Ridge, to have a coordinated national strategy. While this amendment is well intended and we all support the goal of strengthening our effort to deliver the safety and health

assistance that is needed at the local levels, this amendment is unnecessary and the bill takes care of the problem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time has expired.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 318.

The clerk will call the roll

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I announce that the Senator fro Mississippi (Mr. LOTT) is necessarily absent.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 88 Leg.]

YEAS—47

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Leahy |
| Baucus | Durbin | Levin |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lieberman |
| Biden | Feingold | Lincoln |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Murray |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (FL) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Reed |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reid |
| Clinton | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Corzine | Kerry | Schumer |
| Daschle | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Dayton | Landrieu | Wyden |
| Dodd | Lautenberg | |

NAYS—51

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McConnell |
| Allard | Dole | Murkowski |
| Allen | Domenici | Nelson (NE) |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Bunning | Frist | Sessions |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Campbell | Grassley | Smith |
| Chafee | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Specter |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Collins | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lugar | Voinovich |
| Crapo | McCain | Warner |

NOT VOTING—2

| | |
|------|--------|
| Lott | Miller |
|------|--------|

The amendment (No. 318) was rejected.

CHANGE OF VOTE

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, on rollcall vote No. 88, I was recorded as voting no. I intended to vote yes. I ask unanimous consent to change my vote, which would not change the outcome.

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

(The foregoing tally has been changed to reflect the above order.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield now to the Senator from Iowa, Mr. HARKIN, for the presentation of an amendment.

AMENDMENT NO. 396

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I have an amendment at the desk. I ask for its

immediate consideration, amendment No. 396.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HARKIN], for himself and Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. KOHL, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. DORGAN, and Mr. INOUE, proposes an amendment numbered 396.

Mr. HARKIN. I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To help rural health care providers and hospitals receive a fair reimbursement for services under Medicare by reducing tax cuts to the wealthier income brackets)

On Page 3, line 10, increase the number by \$1,000,000,000.

On Page 3, line 11, increase the number by \$1,500,000,000.

On Page 3, line 12, increase the number by \$2,000,000,000.

On Page 3, line 13, increase the number by \$2,500,000,000.

On Page 3, line 14, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 3, line 15, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 3, line 16, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 3, line 17, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 3, line 18, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 3, line 19, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 1, increase the number by \$1,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 2, increase the number by \$1,500,000,000.

On Page 4, line 3, increase the number by \$2,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 4, increase the number by \$2,500,000,000.

On Page 4, line 5, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 6, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 7, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 8, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 9, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 10, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 15, increase the number by \$1,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 16, increase the number by \$1,500,000,000.

On Page 4, line 17, increase the number by \$2,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 18, increase the number by \$2,500,000,000.

On Page 4, line 19, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 20, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 21, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 22, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 23, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 4, line 24, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 5, increase the number by \$1,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 6, increase the number by \$1,500,000,000.

On Page 5, line 7, increase the number by \$2,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 8, increase the number by \$2,500,000,000.

On Page 5, line 9, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 10, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 11, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 12, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 13, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 5, line 14, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 29, line 6, increase the number by \$1,000,000,000.

On Page 29, line 7, increase the number by \$1,000,000,000.

On Page 29, line 10, increase the number by \$1,500,000,000.

On Page 29, line 11, increase the number by \$1,500,000,000.

On Page 29, line 14, increase the number by \$2,000,000,000.

On Page 29, line 15, increase the number by \$2,000,000,000.

On Page 29, line 18, increase the number by \$2,500,000,000.

On Page 29, line 19, increase the number by \$2,500,000,000.

On Page 29, line 22, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 29, line 23, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 2, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 3, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 6, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 7, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 10, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 11, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 14, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 15, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 18, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 30, line 19, increase the number by \$3,000,000,000.

On Page 61, beginning with "or promotes" on line 12 strike all through "\$400,000,000,000" on line 19 and insert "and promotes geographic equity payments of which \$25,000,000,000 shall be for legislation reducing the geographic disparity in Medicare reimbursement payments to health care providers and hospitals, the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, may revise committee allocations for that committee and other appropriate budgetary aggregates and allocations of new budget authority (and the outlays resulting therefrom) in this resolution by the amount provided by that measure for that purpose, but not to exceed \$425,000,000,000".

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, what we have is a very unfair system on reimbursement for beneficiaries. Here is a chart that shows the national average is about \$5,490 per beneficiary in reimbursement. There are 34 States below that. My State of Iowa is \$3,000 per beneficiary per year; New Mexico, \$3,700. You can see all these States down here; we pay the same taxes, we pay the same Medicare taxes as every other State, yet Iowa receives \$4,300 per beneficiary less than the top State in the Nation. All this amendment does is it provides \$25 billion over 10 years to the Finance Committee to bring up these

States. It does not take from the States at the top; it only adds to the States at the bottom, and even some of the States at the top will be helped because it helps the rural-urban inequity. So some of the States at the top that have rural areas will actually benefit, but this brings up the bottom States.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. I urge our colleagues to vote "no" on this amendment. This amendment doesn't do anything to help the rural areas. All it does is say let's increase, in the resolution, the amount from \$400 billion to \$425 billion in the area of Medicare. Under the resolution we passed, we said there would be \$400 billion in the Medicare reserve fund to strengthen and enhance Medicare, improve access for beneficiaries under that program to prescription drugs and promote geographic equity payments.

That was included because Senator GRASSLEY wanted to make sure we dealt with the inequities that were just described by my friend from Iowa. We are going to address that when we take up Medicare in the Finance Committee, which is where it should be addressed, not on a budget resolution that wouldn't have the impact. When we draft a Medicare bill that we are going to have on the floor this year, we can deal with some of these inequities.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I announce that the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT) is necessarily absent.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHAMBLISS). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 89 Leg.]

YEAS—49

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Biden | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Murray |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Reed |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reid |
| Clinton | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Collins | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kerry | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Daschle | Landrieu | Wyden |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | |
| Dodd | Leahy | |

NAYS—49

| | | |
|-----------|---------|-----------|
| Alexander | Allen | Bond |
| Allard | Bennett | Brownback |

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Bunning | Fitzgerald | Roberts |
| Burns | Frist | Santorum |
| Campbell | Graham (SC) | Sessions |
| Chafee | Grassley | Shelby |
| Chambliss | Gregg | Smith |
| Cochran | Hagel | Snowe |
| Coleman | Hatch | Specter |
| Cornyn | Hutchison | Stevens |
| Craig | Inhofe | Sununu |
| Crapo | Kyl | Talent |
| DeWine | Lugar | Thomas |
| Dole | McCain | Thomson |
| Domenici | McConnell | Voinovich |
| Ensign | Murkowski | Warner |
| Enzi | Nickles | |

NOT VOTING—2

Lott Miller

The amendment (No. 396) was rejected.

CHANGE OF VOTE

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, on rollcall vote No. 89, I voted nay. It was my intention to vote yea. I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to change my vote. It will not change the outcome of that vote.

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

(The foregoing tally has been changed to reflect the above order.)

Mr. GRASSLEY. I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 417

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. BINGAMAN] proposes an amendment numbered 417.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase Mandatory Child Care Spending by \$4.6 billion over five years and \$9.1 billion over ten years by reducing the tax cut)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$750,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$835,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$879,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$893,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$901,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$750,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$835,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$879,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$893,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$901,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,000,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$750,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$835,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$879,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$893,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$901,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 31, line 2, increase the amount by \$1,000,000,000.

On page 31, line 3, increase the amount by \$750,000,000.

On page 31, line 6, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 31, line 7, increase the amount by \$835,000,000.

On page 31, line 10, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 31, line 11, increase the amount by \$879,000,000.

On page 31, line 14, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 31, line 15, increase the amount by \$893,000,000.

On page 31, line 18, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 31, line 19, increase the amount by \$901,000,000.

On page 31, line 22, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 31, line 23, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 2, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 3, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 6, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 7, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 10, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 11, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 14, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

On page 32, line 15, increase the amount by \$900,000,000.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I am offering this amendment on behalf of myself and Senator DODD. It is an amendment that would increase the mandatory funding for childcare by approximately \$900 million per year or \$4.6 billion over 5 years. The amendment is paid for by lowering the amount of the unreconciled tax cuts that are contemplated in the pending budget. I emphasize, the unreconciled tax cuts. The issue is very simple. We need to at least maintain current childcare services. The Congressional Budget Office has done an estimate that determines we need to raise the level of spending to the amount called for in the amendment in order to maintain the current level of childcare services. This is particularly important in light of the fact that we have the proposal by the administration, which many of us support, to increase work-related requirements for welfare recipients. Clearly, if we are going to do that, the demand for childcare would increase.

I urge my colleagues to support the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the amendment. We have increased childcare assistance by 250 percent since 1996. We doubled the number of children in childcare programs. This budget resolution alone increases childcare assistance by 7.3 percent in the mandatory accounts, 10 percent in the discretionary accounts, for a \$5 billion increase. All of this has been done while welfare rolls have dropped by 54 percent. We are putting a dramatic increase in money in fewer children who are even qualified for the money which means, as a practical matter, that we are certainly making an extra effort in these accounts. This increase is excessive in light of the amount of the increases already in the bill, which are dramatic in and of their own right.

I yield the balance of my time.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 417. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 90 Leg.]

YEAS—49

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Baucus | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Bayh | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Biden | Feinstein | Murray |
| Bingaman | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Boxer | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Breaux | Hollings | Pryor |
| Byrd | Inouye | Reed |
| Cantwell | Jeffords | Reid |
| Carper | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Clinton | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kerry | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kohl | Snowe |
| Daschle | Landrieu | Stabenow |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | Wyden |
| Dodd | Leahy | |
| Dorgan | Levin | |

NAYS—50

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Bunning | Frist | Sessions |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Campbell | Grassley | Smith |
| Chafee | Gregg | Specter |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Stevens |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Collins | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lugar | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 417) was rejected.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield now to the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. DODD.

AMENDMENT NO. 419

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] proposes an amendment numbered 419.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase the budget authority for Federal "FIRE Act" grants and to express the sense of the Senate that from the total funding provided for Federal "FIRE Act" grants, not less than \$1,000,000,000 per year will be used for grants to local governments to hire additional firefighters and not less than \$750,000,000 per year for the purchase of firefighting equipment and training, and to provide for a reduction in the deficit)

On page 3 line 10, increase the amount by \$550,000,000.

On page 3 line 11, increase the amount by \$1,511,000,000.

On page 3 line 12, increase the amount by \$2,416,000,000.

On page 3 line 13, increase the amount by \$2,590,000,000.

On page 3 line 14, increase the amount by \$2,642,000,000.

On page 3 line 15, increase the amount by \$2,694,000,000.

On page 3 line 16, increase the amount by \$2,748,000,000.

On page 3 line 17, increase the amount by \$2,803,000,000.

On page 3 line 18, increase the amount by \$2,860,000,000.

On page 3 line 19, increase the amount by \$2,917,000,000.

On page 4 line 1, increase the amount by \$550,000,000.

On page 4 line 2, increase the amount by \$1,511,000,000.

On page 4 line 3, increase the amount by \$2,416,000,000.

On page 4 line 4, increase the amount by \$2,590,000,000.

On page 4 line 5, increase the amount by \$2,642,000,000.

On page 4 line 6, increase the amount by \$2,694,000,000.

On page 4 line 7, increase the amount by \$2,748,000,000.

On page 4 line 8, increase the amount by \$2,803,000,000.

On page 4 line 9, increase the amount by \$2,860,000,000.

On page 4 line 10, increase the amount by \$2,917,000,000.

On page 4 line 15, increase the amount by \$1,245,000,000.

On page 4 line 16, increase the amount by \$1,243,000,000.

On page 4 line 17, increase the amount by \$1,213,000,000.

On page 4 line 18, increase the amount by \$1,166,000,000.

On page 4 line 19, increase the amount by \$1,112,000,000.

On page 4 line 20, increase the amount by \$1,053,000,000.

On page 4 line 21, increase the amount by \$989,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$919,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, increase the amount by \$843,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, increase the amount by \$760,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$270,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$724,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$1,120,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$1,134,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$1,080,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,020,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$955,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, increase the amount by \$885,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, increase the amount by \$808,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, increase the amount by \$724,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$280,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$787,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$1,296,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$1,456,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$1,562,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$1,674,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$1,793,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$1,918,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$2,052,000,000.

On page 6 line 2, increase the amount by \$2,193,000,000.

On page 6 line 6, decrease the amount by \$280,000,000.

On page 6 line 7, decrease the amount by \$1,067,000,000.

On page 6 line 8, decrease the amount by \$2,363,000,000.

On page 6 line 9, decrease the amount by \$3,819,000,000.

On page 6 line 10, decrease the amount by \$5,382,000,000.

On page 6 line 11, decrease the amount by \$7,056,000,000.

On page 6 line 12, decrease the amount by \$8,849,000,000.

On page 6 line 13, decrease the amount by \$10,767,000,000.

On page 6 line 14, decrease the amount by \$12,818,000,000.

On page 6 line 15, decrease the amount by \$15,011,000,000.

On page 6 line 19, decrease the amount by \$280,000,000.

On page 6 line 20, decrease the amount by \$1,067,000,000.

On page 6 line 21, decrease the amount by \$2,363,000,000.

On page 6 line 22, decrease the amount by \$3,819,000,000.

On page 6 line 23, decrease the amount by \$5,382,000,000.

On page 6 line 24, decrease the amount by \$7,056,000,000.

On page 6 line 25, decrease the amount by \$8,849,000,000.

On page 7 line 1, decrease the amount by \$10,767,000,000.

On page 7 line 2, decrease the amount by \$12,818,000,000.

On page 7 line 3, decrease the amount by \$15,011,000,000.

On page 23 line 19, increase the amount by \$1,250,000,000.

On page 23, line 20, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 23, line 23, increase the amount by \$1,275,000,000.

On page 23, line 24, increase the amount by \$756,000,000.

On page 24, line 2, increase the amount by \$1,301,000,000.

On page 24, line 3, increase the amount by \$1,208,000,000.

On page 24, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,327,000,000.

On page 24, line 7, increase the amount by \$1,295,000,000.

On page 24, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,353,000,000.

On page 24, line 11, increase the amount by \$1,321,000,000.

On page 24, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,380,000,000.

On page 24, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,347,000,000.

On page 24, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,408,000,000.

On page 24, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,374,000,000.

On page 24, line 22, increase the amount by \$1,436,000,000.

On page 24, line 23, increase the amount by \$1,402,000,000.

On page 25, line 2, increase the amount by \$1,465,000,000.

On page 25, line 3, increase the amount by \$1,430,000,000.

On page 25, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,494,000,000.

On page 25, line 7, increase the amount by \$1,458,000,000.

On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$5,000,000.

On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$5,000,000.

On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$32,000,000.

On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$32,000,000.

On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$88,000,000.

On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$88,000,000.

On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$161,000,000.

On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$161,000,000.

On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$241,000,000.

On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$241,000,000.

On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$327,000,000.

On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$327,000,000.

On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$419,000,000.

On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$419,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$517,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$517,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$622,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$622,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$734,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$734,000,000.

On page 45, line 24, decrease the amount by \$23,731,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$1,250,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$275,000,000.

On page 47, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,275,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$756,000,000.

On page 79, after line 22, insert the following:

SEC. 308. GRANTS FOR FIREFIGHTERS.

It is the sense of the Senate that the funding levels in this resolution assume that under section 33 of the Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1974—

(1) not less than \$1,000,000,000 will be used annually to provide grants to local governments for the sole purpose of hiring additional firefighters; and

(2) not less than \$750,000,000 will be used annually to provide grants to local governments for the purchase of firefighter emergency response equipment and training.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, this is the FIRE Act. I introduced this with Senator DEWINE in 1999. It became law in the year 2000. Senator WARNER and I were able to get \$100 million for our 20,000 fire departments across the country. One million people serve in our fire services. We had a number—about \$750 million—which this budget rolls back to \$500 million for these firefighters across the country for the basic homeland security issues of first responders.

This amendment would restore that number to \$750 million, and over 10 years it would be \$1 billion a year, which is paid for by reducing the tax cut.

I do not need to tell my colleagues how important this is to the million firefighters in 20,000 departments across this country. They need equipment. They need personnel. Many of their members are off in the Persian

Gulf as I speak because they have been called up in the National Guard and Reserve services. These dollars would provide for new firefighters, replacements, as well as safety equipment. Two-thirds of all departments are badly understaffed and too many still do not have the basic safety equipment. This amendment allows for those numbers to be restored to the numbers we appropriated and agreed to last year. I urge the adoption of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, we are all very concerned about making adequate funds available for this account, but we also have in the budget—and Senators should recognize this—\$28 billion in discretionary spending in the homeland security function of the budget resolution.

What the Senator from Connecticut did not let you know was—and I am sure he will be glad to admit this is the case—this amendment would cause taxes to go up. The amendment increases taxes by \$23.7 billion over the period of time from 2004 to 2007. It increases the spending caps, and it changes the reconciliation instructions.

We just received from the President today a supplemental budget request for homeland security in the amount of \$4.2 billion. The President is giving strong leadership on this issue, trying to organize a national strategy to help not only first responders, firefighters, and others, but have a national strategy for making our homeland safer and our people more secure.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. COCHRAN. I hope Senators will vote against the amendment.

Mr. DODD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 419. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER) is necessarily absent.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 91 Leg.]
YEAS—48

| | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|
| Akaka | Byrd | Dayton |
| Baucus | Cantwell | Dodd |
| Bayh | Carper | Dorgan |
| Biden | Clinton | Durbin |
| Bingaman | Conrad | Edwards |
| Boxer | Corzine | Feingold |
| Breaux | Daschle | Feinstein |

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Graham (FL) | Landrieu | Nelson (NE) |
| Harkin | Lautenberg | Pryor |
| Hollings | Leahy | Reed |
| Inouye | Levin | Reid |
| Jeffords | Lieberman | Rockefeller |
| Johnson | Lincoln | Sarbanes |
| Kennedy | Mikulski | Schumer |
| Kerry | Murray | Stabenow |
| Kohl | Nelson (FL) | Wyden |

NAYS—50

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Bunning | Frist | Sessions |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Campbell | Grassley | Smith |
| Chafee | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Specter |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Collins | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lugar | |

NOT VOTING—2

| | |
|--------|--------|
| Miller | Warner |
|--------|--------|

The amendment (No. 419) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I now yield time to the Senator from New York, Mrs. CLINTON.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

AMENDMENT NO. 418

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, amendment No. 418 is at the desk, and I ask unanimous consent that Senators LEAHY, SCHUMER, LIEBERMAN, CORZINE, DAYTON, and SARBANES be added as co-sponsors to my amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mrs. CLINTON], for herself, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. CORZINE, Mr. DAYTON, and Mr. SARBANES, proposes an amendment numbered 418.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To raise the caps and provide direct first responder funding to localities and for high threat areas through the Department of Homeland Security's Office of Domestic Preparedness in 2003 and 2004, to restore funding for the Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Act ("Byrne Grant" program) and the Local Law Enforcement Block Grant Program, and to reduce the deficit, by reducing the size of newly proposed tax cuts)

On page 3, line 9, increase the amount by \$700,000,000.

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$3,157,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$2,213,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$1,460,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$1,225,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

On page 3, line 23, increase the amount by \$700,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$3,157,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$2,213,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$1,460,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$1,225,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

On page 4, line 14, increase the amount by \$997,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$3,461,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, decrease the amount by \$116,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, decrease the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, decrease the amount by \$230,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, decrease the amount by \$264,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, decrease the amount by \$283,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, decrease the amount by \$300,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, decrease the amount by \$317,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, decrease the amount by \$334,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, decrease the amount by \$352,000,000.

On page 5, line 4, increase the amount by \$347,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$1,540,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$991,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$552,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$382,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, decrease the amount by \$143,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, decrease the amount by \$283,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, decrease the amount by \$300,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, decrease the amount by \$317,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, decrease the amount by \$334,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, decrease the amount by \$352,000,000.

On page 5, line 17, increase the amount by \$353,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,617,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,222,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$908,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$843,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$388,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$283,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$300,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$317,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$334,000,000.

On page 6, line 2, increase the amount by \$352,000,000.

On page 6, line 5, decrease the amount by \$353,000,000.

On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$1,969,000,000.

On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$3,191,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$4,100,000,000.

On page 6, line 9, decrease the amount by \$4,943,000,000.

On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$5,331,000,000.

On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$5,614,000,000.

On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$5,914,000,000.

On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$6,231,000,000.

On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$6,565,000,000.

On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$6,917,000,000.

On page 6, line 18, decrease the amount by \$353,000,000.

On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$1,969,000,000.

On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$3,191,000,000.

On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$4,100,000,000.

On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$4,943,000,000.

On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$5,331,000,000.

On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$5,614,000,000.

On page 6, line 25, decrease the amount by \$5,914,000,000.

On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$6,231,000,000.

On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$6,565,000,000.

On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$6,917,000,000.

On page 23, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,000,000,000.

On page 23, line 16, increase the amount by \$350,000,000.

On page 23, line 19, increase the amount by \$2,450,000,000.

On page 23, line 20, increase the amount by \$1,453,000,000.

On page 23, line 24, increase the amount by \$813,000,000.

On page 24, line 3, increase the amount by \$468,000,000.

On page 24, line 3, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

On page 24, line 3, increase the amount by \$121,000,000.

On page 36, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,050,000,000.

On page 36, line 16, increase the amount by \$126,000,000.

On page 36, line 20, increase the amount by \$294,000,000.

On page 36, line 24, increase the amount by \$263,000,000.

On page 37, line 3, increase the amount by \$367,000,000.

On page 40, line 2, decrease the amount by \$3,000,000.

On page 40, line 3, decrease the amount by \$3,000,000.

On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$39,000,000.

On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$39,000,000.

On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$116,000,000.

On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$116,000,000.

On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$179,000,000.

On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$230,000,000.

On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$230,000,000.

On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$264,000,000.

On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$264,000,000.

On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$283,000,000.

On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$283,000,000.

On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$300,000,000.

On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$300,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$317,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$317,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$334,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$334,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$352,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$352,000,000.

On page 46, line 20, increase the amount by \$1,000,000,000.

On page 46, line 21, increase the amount by \$350,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$3,500,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,579,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,107,000,000.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I rise to offer this amendment because it fully funds the Edward Byrne Memorial State and Local Law Enforcement Act, the Byrne Grant Program, named for a New York City police officer, and the Local Law Enforcement Block Grant Act, by providing a respective \$650 million and \$400 million in funding in fiscal year 2004.

In addition, this amendment raises the discretionary cap for fiscal year 2003 by \$1 billion and fiscal year 2004 by \$2.5 billion to provide direct homeland security first responder funding to localities and for high threat areas such as New York City through the Department of Homeland Security's Office of Domestic Preparedness. This amendment is paid for by the nonreconciliation part of the tax cut.

In addition, we are still not adequately funding homeland security directly where it needs to go to the people on the front lines in our cities. Just because we now have new terrorist threats does not mean we can let our guard down when it comes to drug dealers, violent crimes, the kinds of things that we have successfully dealt with over the last decade.

I ask my colleagues to cast this vote for our police officers, our firefighters, and our emergency responders.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, the resolution already provides \$2.1 billion for a variety of local law enforcement grant programs, as well as an additional \$500 million at the Department of Homeland Security specifically for grant programs to local law enforcement entities.

Under an arrangement at the Department, Governor Ridge has made clear that discretionary funds going to the States are passed through to local governments and localities.

One thing the Senator did not point out was if this amendment is adopted, it is going to increase taxes by \$9 billion over the period from 2003 to 2007. It will also increase the spending caps.

This resolution we have before us already provides for funding for the strategy for making our homeland

safer and our people more secure. I urge Senators to vote against this amendment.

Mrs. CLINTON. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 418.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. VOINOVICH). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 92 Leg.]

YEAS—49

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Biden | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Murray |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Reed |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reid |
| Clinton | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Corzine | Kerry | Schumer |
| Daschle | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Dayton | Landrieu | Wyden |
| DeWine | Lautenberg | |
| Dodd | Leahy | |

NAYS—50

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | Dole | McConnell |
| Allard | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Allen | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bennett | Enzi | Roberts |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Brownback | Frist | Sessions |
| Bunning | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Burns | Grassley | Smith |
| Campbell | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chafee | Hagel | Specter |
| Chambliss | Hatch | Stevens |
| Cochran | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Coleman | Inhofe | Talent |
| Collins | Kyl | Thomas |
| Cornyn | Lott | Voinovich |
| Craig | Lugar | Warner |
| Crapo | McCain | |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 418) was rejected.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Louisiana, Mr. BREAUX.

AMENDMENT NO. 420

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BREAUX] proposes an amendment numbered 420.

Mr. BREAUX. I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To redirect \$396 billion into a reserve fund to strengthen the Social Security trust funds over the long term)

On page 3, line 9, increase the amount by \$10,433,000,000.

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$33,015,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$27,962,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$22,167,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$16,893,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$16,183,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$15,879,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$15,992,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$52,874,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$79,512,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$105,090,000,000.

On page 3, line 23, increase the amount by \$10,433,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$33,015,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$27,962,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$22,167,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$16,893,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$16,183,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$15,879,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$15,992,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$52,874,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$79,512,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$105,090,000,000.

On page 4, line 14, decrease the amount by \$77,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, decrease the amount by \$899,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, decrease the amount by \$2,687,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, decrease the amount by \$4,364,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, decrease the amount by \$5,762,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, decrease the amount by \$7,003,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, decrease the amount by \$8,294,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, decrease the amount by \$9,640,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, decrease the amount by \$12,035,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, decrease the amount by \$16,276,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, decrease the amount by \$22,175,000,000.

On page 5, line 4, decrease the amount by \$77,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, decrease the amount by \$899,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, decrease the amount by \$2,687,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, decrease the amount by \$4,364,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, decrease the amount by \$5,762,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, decrease the amount by \$7,003,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, decrease the amount by \$8,294,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, decrease the amount by \$9,640,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, decrease the amount by \$12,035,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, decrease the amount by \$16,276,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, decrease the amount by \$22,175,000,000.

On page 5, line 17, increase the amount by \$10,511,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$33,914,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$30,648,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$26,532,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$22,654,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$23,186,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$24,173,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$25,632,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$64,909,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$95,788,000,000.

On page 6, line 2, increase the amount by \$127,265,000,000.

On page 6, line 5, decrease the amount by \$10,511,000,000.

On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$44,425,000,000.

On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$75,073,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$101,605,000,000.

On page 6, line 9, decrease the amount by \$124,259,000,000.

On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$147,445,000,000.

On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$171,619,000,000.

On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$197,250,000,000.

On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$262,159,000,000.

On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$357,947,000,000.

On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$485,217,000,000.

On page 6, line 18, decrease the amount by \$10,511,000,000.

On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$44,425,000,000.

On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$75,073,000,000.

On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$101,605,000,000.

On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$124,259,000,000.

On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$147,445,000,000.

On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$171,619,000,000.

On page 6, line 25, decrease the amount by \$197,250,000,000.

On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$262,159,000,000.

On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$357,947,000,000.

On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$685,217,000,000.

On page 40, line 2, decrease the amount by \$77,000,000.

On page 40, line 3, decrease the amount by \$77,000,000.

On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$899,000,000.

On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$899,000,000.

On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$2,687,000,000.

On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$2,687,000,000.

On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$4,364,000,000.

On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$4,364,000,000.

On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$5,762,000,000.

On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$5,762,000,000.

On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$7,003,000,000.

On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$7,003,000,000.

On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$8,294,000,000.

On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$8,294,000,000.

On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$9,640,000,000.

On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$8,640,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$12,035,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$12,035,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$16,276,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$16,276,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$22,175,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$22,175,000,000.

On page 45, line 24, strike the amount and insert \$322,524,000,000.

SEC. . RESERVE FUND TO STRENGTHEN SOCIAL SECURITY.

If legislation is reported by the Senate Committee on Finance, or an amendment thereto is offered or a conference report thereon is submitted that would extend the solvency of the Social Security Trust Funds, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Budget may revise the aggregates, functional totals, allocations, and other appropriate levels and limits in this resolution by up to \$396,000,000,000 in budget authority and outlays for the total of fiscal years 2003 and through 2013.

Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, cutting taxes when you have a \$5.6 trillion surplus in the Treasury is one thing. Cutting taxes by \$1.3 trillion—which is where we are right now—when you do not have a surplus but in fact you have a \$300 billion deficit, and, added to that, we are at war and we don't know how much it is going to cost, is not good public policy.

The amendment at the desk reduces the reconciled tax cut to \$350 billion. It takes \$120 billion of the tax cut outside of reconciliation and creates a Social Security reserve account. That Social Security reserve account will be for reforming Social Security. If we don't get around to doing it, the money will go to reduce the deficit. This amendment has a \$350 billion tax cut which is protected by budget reconciliation. The remaining funds will be used for a Social Security reserve fund.

This amendment is an amendment that was previously considered by the Budget Committee, which did not pass it, and we are offering it on the floor now.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, this is an amendment on which we voted on Friday. The amendment was defeated 62 to 38. Maybe it is another reason we should have finished the entire bill on Friday, the initial bill.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on this amendment. I have a couple of comments about it.

The thing that is different about it, that now there is a Social Security reserve fund, that is bogus. There is no money going into the Social Security reserve fund because on the other hand they say the money goes toward deficit reduction. It can't go into both.

This amendment would cut the growth package in half. It would cut the growth out of the growth package. We need to be growing our economy. Our economy is really going through a difficult time. The President has a package that will help create jobs, put people to work, encourage investment, and encourage real growth in our economy. We need that. I am afraid if we pass this amendment, we will just be cutting it in half and end up with a package that is \$323 billion of tax cuts over a total of \$28 trillion over that 10-year period of time.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 420.

Mr. BREAUX. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 48, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 93 Leg.]

YEAS—51

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Biden | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Murray |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Reed |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reid |
| Chafee | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Clinton | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kerry | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kohl | Snowe |
| Daschle | Landriou | Stabenow |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | Voinovich |
| Dodd | Leahy | Wyden |

NAYS—48

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | Lugar |
| Allard | Dole | McCain |
| Allen | Domenici | McConnell |
| Bennett | Ensign | Murkowski |
| Bond | Enzi | Nickles |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Roberts |
| Bunning | Frist | Santorum |
| Burns | Graham (SC) | Sessions |
| Campbell | Grassley | Shelby |
| Chambliss | Gregg | Smith |
| Cochran | Hagel | Specter |
| Coleman | Hatch | Stevens |
| Collins | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Cornyn | Inhofe | Talent |
| Craig | Kyl | Thomas |
| Crapo | Lott | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 420) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 413

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I believe the Senator from Kentucky has the next amendment.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 413.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BUNNING] proposes an amendment numbered 413.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, this amendment is a much needed amendment. It repeals the Clinton tax increase on Social Security benefits that passed by one vote in 1993. Before 1993, seniors were taxed on 50 percent of their Social Security benefits if their incomes were above \$25,000 for individuals and \$32,000 for couples. After the increase, individuals who made over \$34,000 and couples who made over \$44,000 paid taxes on 85 percent of their Social Security income.

These figures have not been adjusted for inflation for the past 10 years. The tax hike was unfair in 1993. It is unfair today. On the one hand, we tell the seniors to plan and save for retirement. On the other hand, we tax them for doing just that. That doesn't make any sense. We ought to repeal this tax. Some of us have been trying to undo this mistake for 10 years. The amendment would allow the Finance Committee to finally finish the job. I urge support for the amendment to end this unfair tax on seniors and their Social Security benefits.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time? The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, let us be clear, the budget resolution does not make the determination for the Finance Committee on how this additional tax cut will be used. This amendment is very simple. It increases the tax cut by \$146 billion. It does absolutely nothing about the Social Security tax—nothing—because a budget resolution does not make the specific determination. All we decide is what the instruction is to the Finance Committee for raising money and the Appropriations Committee to spend money. So this has absolutely nothing to do with the Social Security tax. The only effect of this amendment is to raise the tax cut \$146 billion to over \$1 trillion, all of it borrowed, every penny.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 413. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 94 Leg.]

YEAS—48

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bond | Enzi | Roberts |
| Brownback | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Bunning | Graham (SC) | Sessions |
| Burns | Grassley | Shelby |
| Campbell | Gregg | Smith |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Snowe |
| Cochran | Hatch | Specter |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Stevens |
| Collins | Inhofe | Sununu |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Talent |
| Craig | Lott | Thomas |
| Crapo | Lugar | Warner |

NAYS—51

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Leahy |
| Baucus | Durbin | Levin |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lieberman |
| Biden | Feingold | Lincoln |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Frist | Murray |
| Breaux | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Byrd | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Cantwell | Hollings | Pryor |
| Carper | Inouye | Reed |
| Chafee | Jeffords | Reid |
| Clinton | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Corzine | Kerry | Schumer |
| Daschle | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Dayton | Landrieu | Voinovich |
| Dodd | Lautenberg | Wyden |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 413) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I enter a motion to reconsider the last vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is entered.

The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, a number of times it has been indicated that the various amendments have been to increase taxes. Let us just be clear that all the amendments heretofore have been to reduce the tax cut, not to increase taxes.

I now yield time to the Senator from Delaware, Mr. CARPER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

AMENDMENT NO. 330

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, amendment No. 330 is at the desk, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. CARPER], for himself, Mr. CHAFEE, and Mrs. FEINSTEIN, proposes an amendment numbered 330.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The amendment is printed in the RECORD of Thursday, March 20, 2003, under "Text of Amendments.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I offer this amendment on behalf of Senator CHAFEE, Senator FEINSTEIN, and myself, and I thank Senator LANDRIEU and Senator LINCOLN for joining us as co-sponsors.

Mr. President, if my colleagues are looking for a balanced approach to balancing the budget by 2009, this is it. If my colleagues are looking for tax cuts that would be effective immediately, this amendment does that.

This amendment takes the 10 and 20 percent bracket cuts and makes them effective immediately. The estate tax exclusion is set permanently at \$6 million per family. We grow the child credit. We eliminate the marriage penalty. We allow small business to expense their equipment purchasing at \$75,000 for this year and for next. We pay for that by deferring further cuts in the 35 and 38.5 percent rate until we balance the budget.

We also work on the spending side. We adopt the committee's increased defense numbers. We use about an \$80 billion offset with the President's numbers to actually add to domestic discretionary spending. We put back in place controls that have been allowed to lapse: Pay-go controls and reinstatement controls. It is a good, balanced approach. We would appreciate your support.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, while I oppose the level and distribution of funding in this amendment, it is no worse than what is in the current budget resolution, and it proposes a tax cut plan which is superior to the one before us. While it is a better alternative if it is substituted for the resolution before us, I would vote against it on final passage because it still underfunds too many of our nation's priorities.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I yield our time to the Senator from South Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to oppose this amendment. This is basically the Blue Dog budget in the House. The net impact: Versus our budget, there would be an increase of \$1.25 trillion over the next 10 years. The growth package goes to \$50 billion. Here is the net effect. We are going to take \$27.8 trillion from the American taxpayers over the next 10 years to run this Government. Mr. President, \$50 billion represents .18 percent, less than two-tenths of one penny; \$323 billion is

about one penny on the dollar. Surely to goodness this body can afford to give 1 cent on a dollar, 2 cents on a dollar, maybe .18 of a penny on a dollar back to the American taxpayer. Do we have to keep all the \$27.8 trillion?

On top of that, our friends on the other side want to add \$990 billion today. People are crying uncle. They need a little bit of help. We are not helping very much. I ask my colleagues to oppose this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Time has expired. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 330.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAPO). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 57, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 95 Leg.]

YEAS—42

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Durbin | Leahy |
| Biden | Edwards | Levin |
| Bingaman | Feingold | Lieberman |
| Boxer | Feinstein | Lincoln |
| Cantwell | Graham (FL) | Mikulski |
| Carper | Harkin | Murray |
| Chafee | Inouye | Nelson (FL) |
| Clinton | Jeffords | Pryor |
| Conrad | Johnson | Reid |
| Corzine | Kennedy | Rockefeller |
| Daschle | Kerry | Sarbanes |
| Dayton | Kohl | Schumer |
| Dodd | Landrieu | Stabenow |
| Dorgan | Lautenberg | Wyden |

NAYS—57

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Alexander | Crapo | McCain |
| Allard | DeWine | McConnell |
| Allen | Dole | Murkowski |
| Baucus | Domenici | Nelson (NE) |
| Bayh | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bennett | Enzi | Reed |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Roberts |
| Breaux | Frist | Santorum |
| Brownback | Graham (SC) | Sessions |
| Bunning | Grassley | Shelby |
| Burns | Gregg | Smith |
| Byrd | Hagel | Snowe |
| Campbell | Hatch | Specter |
| Chambliss | Hollings | Stevens |
| Cochran | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Coleman | Inhofe | Talent |
| Collins | Kyl | Thomas |
| Cornyn | Lott | Voinovich |
| Craig | Lugar | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 330) was rejected.

AMENDMENT NO. 422

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I believe we are ready to consider and we will accept the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. REID. I yield to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. On behalf of myself, Senator CHAFEE, and Senator CARPER, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. FEINGOLD], for himself, Mr. CHAFEE, and Mr. CARPER, proposes an amendment numbered 422.

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To extend the pay-as-you-go requirement)

On page 57, lines 3 through 5, strike "as adjusted for any changes in revenues or direct spending assumed by such resolution" and insert "based on laws enacted on the date of adoption of that resolution as adjusted for up to \$350 billion in revenues or direct spending assumed by section 104 of this resolution".

Mr. FEINGOLD. This is the pay-as-you-go amendment. We extend the pay-as-you-go system that has been in place since 1990 as adjusted for the reconciled levels just adopted in the Breaux amendment. This amendment says tax cuts or entitlement spending increases, if they are beyond the \$350 billion for which the Senate just voted, do have to be deficit neutral.

This is a system that has worked well since 1990. It has helped keep deficits in check. It was suspended in times of surplus, and we got ourselves into the current deficit jam. The budget resolution before the Senate, however, creates a giant exception to pay-as-you-go for everything the budget assumes. Basically, it says pay-as-you-go, but for the first \$900 billion they are free, they are on the house.

They are not free. We should not take money from Social Security revenues. We should not just bill our children's generation, robbing them of their choices. We need to return to the ethic that we will pay for what we get.

I urge my colleagues to support the amendment. I thank the Senator from Oklahoma for his willingness to accept the amendment.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, there are bound to be a few people in this body, and probably fewer in the country, who understand pay-go. I compliment my colleague from Wisconsin. I am not sure the amendment is perfect, but I will work with him and others. I have no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 422) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 421

(Purpose: To increase funding to implement the No Child Left Behind Act in 2004)

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the Senator from North Dakota, Mr. CONRAD, authorized me to yield to the Senator from Washington, Mrs. MURRAY, for the next amendment.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 421 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Washington [Mrs. MURRAY], for herself, Mr. KENNEDY, and Mr. HARKIN, proposes an amendment numbered 421.

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.")

Mrs. MURRAY. The amendment before the Senate stops at the No Child Left Behind Act. It is an issue this Senate supports, the House and Senate supported, and the President signed it into law, putting in new accountability measures for all public schools. There were two promises in that bill: One that would require accountability for our students; second, that we will pay for the resources so they can meet the standards we had set.

The amendment before the Senate puts \$2 billion from the tax cut into the No Child Left Behind Act so we can begin to follow up on the promise made by Senators in this body to the children in our country. This is an extremely important amendment as many of our States are suffering from very difficult budget crises. We cannot put on them another unfunded mandate under the guise of No Child Left Behind. This amendment makes sure we provide some of the resources that we required when we passed that bill a year and a half ago. I ask for all of our colleagues to support it.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, we have accepted a lot of education amendments. I believe now, after consulting with Senator GREGG, chairman of the committee, we will even be beyond the education level as proposed by Senator CONRAD in last year's budget for 2004.

We have no objection to this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 421) was agreed to.

Mr. REID. I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 395

Mr. REID. On behalf of Senator CONRAD, I yield to Senator DORGAN for amendment No. 395.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senator DORGAN is recognized.

Mr. DORGAN. I send an amendment to the desk for myself, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. HAGEL, and Mr. JOHNSON, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DORGAN] for himself, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. HAGEL, and Mr. JOHNSON, proposes an amendment numbered 395.

Mr. DORGAN. I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase budget authority and outlays in Function 450 (Community and Regional Development) and Function 500 (Education, Training, Employment, and Social Security) to establish a New Homestead Venture Capital Fund to make equity and near equity investments in start-up and expanding businesses located in high out-migration rural counties and to repay up to 50% of college loans (up to \$10,000) for recent graduates who live and work in such counties for five years, respectively; and to express the sense of the Senate that any economic stimulus or other revenue measure passed by Congress in the future should include tax incentives designed to address the devastating problem of chronic out-migration from rural communities in America's Heartland)

On page 23, line 19, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 23, line 20, increase the amount by \$18,000,000.

On page 23, line 23, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 23, line 24, increase the amount by \$299,000,000.

On page 24, line 2, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 3, increase the amount by \$242,000,000.

On page 24, line 6, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 7, increase the amount by \$257,000,000.

On page 24, line 10, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 11, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 14, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 15, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 18, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 19, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 22, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 24, line 23, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 25, line 2, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 25, line 3, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 25, line 6, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 25, line 7, increase the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 25, line 16, increase the amount by \$660,000,000.

On page 25, line 17, increase the amount by \$561,000,000.

On page 25, line 20, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 25, line 21, increase the amount by \$150,000,000.

On page 25, line 24, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 25, line 25, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 3, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 4, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 7, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 8, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 11, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 12, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 16, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 16, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 19, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 20, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 23, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 26, line 24, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 27, line 2, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 27, line 3, increase the amount by \$60,000,000.

On page 42, line 2, decrease the amount by \$920,000,000.

On page 42, line 3, decrease the amount by \$579,000,000.

On page 42, line 6, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 42, line 7, decrease the amount by \$449,000,000.

On page 42, line 10, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 42, line 11, decrease the amount by \$302,000,000.

On page 42, line 14, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 42, line 15, decrease the amount by \$317,000,000.

On page 42, line 18, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 42, line 19, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 42, line 22, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 42, line 23, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 2, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 3, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 6, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 7, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 10, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 11, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 14, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 43, line 15, decrease the amount by \$320,000,000.

On page 79, after line 22, insert the following:

SEC. . SENSE OF THE SENATE ON PROVIDING TAX AND OTHER INCENTIVES TO REVITALIZE RURAL AMERICA.

It is the Sense of the Senate that if tax relief measures are passed in accordance with the assumptions in the budget resolution in this session of Congress, such legislation should include tax and other financial incentives, like those included in the New Homestead Act (S. 602), to help rural communities fight the economic decimation caused by chronic out-migration by giving them the tools they need to attract individuals to live and work, or to start and grow a business, in such rural areas.

Mr. DORGAN. My understanding is this amendment has been accepted on both sides. On behalf of Senator BROWNBACK, myself, Senator HAGEL, Senator JOHNSON, and others, we are offering an amendment that deals with the issue of outmigration in the heartland of our country and provides incentives to provide tools to those involved in economic development to try to stem the outmigration. This is an important amendment. I believe it is bipartisan. I appreciate the work of both the chairman and ranking member of the Budget Committee to accept this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I am thankful for the cooperation of our colleague from North Dakota. Also I wish to acknowledge the hard work of Senator BROWNBACK. He has been talking to me about this amendment for a long time. We are happy to accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 395) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator CONRAD, I yield to the Senator from New Jersey, Mr. CORZINE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

AMENDMENT NO. 423

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CORZINE], for himself, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mrs. MURRAY, Mrs. CLINTON, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mrs. BOXER, and Mr. SARBANES, proposes an amendment numbered 423.

Mr. CORZINE. I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide increased funding for environmental protection and natural resources conservation)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$378,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$660,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$896,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$1,139,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,173,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,208,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$1,245,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$1,282,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,320,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,360,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$378,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$660,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$896,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$1,139,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$1,173,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,208,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$1,245,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$1,282,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$1,320,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,360,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,081,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$1,113,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$1,147,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,181,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,217,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$1,253,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$1,291,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$1,329,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, increase the amount by \$1,369,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, increase the amount by \$1,410,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$378,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$660,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$896,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$1,139,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$1,173,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,208,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$1,245,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, increase the amount by \$1,282,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, increase the amount by \$1,320,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,360,000,000.

On page 16, line 11, increase the amount by \$1,081,000,000.

On page 16, line 12, increase the amount by \$378,000,000.

On page 16, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,113,000,000.

On page 16, line 16, increase the amount by \$660,000,000.

On page 16, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,147,000,000.

On page 16, line 20, increase the amount by \$896,000,000.

On page 16, line 23, increase the amount by \$1,181,000,000.

On page 16, line 24, increase the amount by \$1,139,000,000.

On page 17, line 2, increase the amount by \$1,217,000,000.

On page 17, line 3, increase the amount by \$1,173,000,000.

On page 17, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,253,000,000.

On page 17, line 7, increase the amount by \$1,208,000,000.

On page 17, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,291,000,000.

On page 17, line 11, increase the amount by \$1,245,000,000.

On page 17, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,329,000,000.

On page 17, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,282,000,000.

On page 17, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,369,000,000.

On page 17, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,320,000,000.

On page 17, line 22, increase the amount by \$1,410,000,000.

On page 17, line 23, increase the amount by \$1,360,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$1,081,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$378,000,000.

On page 47, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,113,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$660,000,000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. CORZINE. This amendment which I offer today with Senators KERRY, JEFFORDS, MURRAY, LAUTENBERG, CLINTON, BOXER, and SARBANES, increases funding for environmental protection and natural resource conservation. Cleanup of brownfields, Superfund sites, MTBE, contaminated water supplies are a national and a bipartisan objective. These environmental challenges to public health stand as roadblocks to economic development and economic renewal across America. Addressing these issues with efficacy requires a constancy of purpose and funding. The amendment does just that.

In addition, this amendment provides resources to fund parks, open space acquisition, wildlife habitat, and beach conservation. These should not be shortchanged. They are investments in the future of America, not just for today's generation but future generations. Funding for the amendment adds \$1.1 billion in fiscal year 2004 and the same amount in future years adjusted for inflation. The funding is offset by a corresponding reduction in the nonrecoupled tax cut.

I ask for the support of my colleagues to be sure we protect our environment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, in debate last Friday we agreed to the amendment of Senators CRAPO and SARBANES which added \$3.5 billion. I think that would be more than adequate. We are way over the President's budget, considering that amendment.

I yield to my colleague from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, our brownfield legislation was very successful. Nothing is adequately funded, but this comes very close to being adequately funded. We put out an amendment to include the petroleum sites which doubles the scope of the brownfields program.

As chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, I do not believe it is necessary to have this additional amount of money. I ask you to defeat the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 423.

Mr. CORZINE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 52, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 96 Leg.]

YEAS—47

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Durbin | Levin |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lieberman |
| Biden | Feingold | Lincoln |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Murray |
| Byrd | Harkin | Nelson (FL) |
| Cantwell | Hollings | Nelson (NE) |
| Carper | Inouye | Pryor |
| Chafee | Jeffords | Reed |
| Clinton | Johnson | Reid |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Rockefeller |
| Corzine | Kerry | Sarbanes |
| Daschle | Kohl | Schumer |
| Dayton | Landrieu | Stabenow |
| Dodd | Lautenberg | Wyden |
| Dorgan | Leahy | |

NAYS—52

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McConnell |
| Allard | Dole | Murkowski |
| Allen | Domenici | Nickles |
| Baucus | Ensign | Roberts |
| Bennett | Enzi | Santorum |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Sessions |
| Breaux | Frist | Shelby |
| Brownback | Graham (SC) | Smith |
| Bunning | Grassley | Snowe |
| Burns | Gregg | Specter |
| Campbell | Hagel | Stevens |
| Chambliss | Hatch | Sununu |
| Cochran | Hutchison | Talent |
| Coleman | Inhofe | Thomas |
| Collins | Kyl | Voinovich |
| Cornyn | Lott | Warner |
| Craig | Lugar | |
| Crapo | McCain | |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 423) was rejected.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 357

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I believe the Senator from Massachusetts has an amendment. We are prepared to accept the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 357 on behalf of myself, Senators BINGAMAN, JOHNSON, and others.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] proposes an amendment numbered 357.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To increase the funds provided to expand coverage for the uninsured from the \$50 billion currently included in the budget resolution to the \$88 billion recommended in the President's budget and offset the cost by reducing the unreconciled portion of the tax cut)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 11, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 12, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 15, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 16, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 19, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 20, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 23, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 27, line 24, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 2, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 3, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 6, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 7, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 10, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 11, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 14, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 28, line 15, increase the amount by \$4,750,000,000.

On page 62, line 12, increase the amount by \$38,000,000,000.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, outside of the education of children, American families are most concerned about whether they have health insurance coverage. President Bush, in his budget, requested of the Congress some \$89 billion. In the budget before us now, it has only \$50 billion. This amendment brings the budget up to what President Bush had asked for. It makes no judgment about the form of any health insurance program. I am hopeful we can put this on our agenda and respond to an overwhelming concern of American families. This would provide an important downpayment to make sure we had some resources to begin that process.

I appreciate the fact that the chairman of the Budget Committee is willing to accept it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, we are very grateful to the Senator from Massachusetts for bringing this to our attention. We are supportive of the President and his budget. I know it has happened time and time again, and we welcome his support. We have no objection to the amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY. I have a couple of others.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 357) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 408

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New Jersey, Mr. LAUTENBERG.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 408 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG], for himself, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. CORZINE, Mr. REED, Mr. SARBANES, and Mrs. MURRAY and others, proposed an amendment numbered 408.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To require polluters to pay for clean up of toxic waste sites, by reinstating the original superfund taxes)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,081,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$1,349,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$1,443,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$1,505,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$1,568,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,620,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$1,667,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$1,721,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,777,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,833,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$1,081,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$1,349,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$1,443,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$1,505,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$1,568,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,620,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$1,667,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$1,721,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$1,777,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$1,833,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, decrease the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, decrease the amount by \$84,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, decrease the amount by \$168,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, decrease the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, decrease the amount by \$358,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, decrease the amount by \$465,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, decrease the amount by \$581,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, decrease the amount by \$704,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, decrease the amount by \$837,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, decrease the amount by \$980,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, decrease the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, decrease the amount by \$84,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, decrease the amount by \$168,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, decrease the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, decrease the amount by \$358,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, decrease the amount by \$465,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, decrease the amount by \$581,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, decrease the amount by \$704,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, decrease the amount by \$837,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, decrease the amount by \$980,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$1,101,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$1,433,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$1,611,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$1,765,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$1,926,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$2,085,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$2,248,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$2,425,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$2,614,000,000.

On page 6, line 2, increase the amount by \$2,813,000,000.

On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$1,101,000,000.

On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$2,534,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$4,145,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$5,910,000,000.

On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$7,836,000,000.

On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$9,921,000,000.

On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$12,169,000,000.

On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$14,594,000,000.

On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$17,208,000,000.

On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$20,022,000,000.

On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$1,101,000,000.

On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$2,534,000,000.

On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$4,145,000,000.

On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$5,910,000,000.

On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$7,836,000,000.

On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$9,921,000,000.

On page 6, line 25, decrease the amount by \$12,169,000,000.

On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$14,594,000,000.

On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$17,208,000,000.

On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$20,022,000,000.

On page 40, line 6, decrease the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 40, line 7, decrease the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$84,000,000.

On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$84,000,000.

On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$168,000,000.

On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$168,000,000.

On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$260,000,000.

On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$358,000,000.

On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$358,000,000.

On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$465,000,000.

On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$465,000,000.

On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$581,000,000.

On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$581,000,000.

On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$704,000,000.

On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$704,000,000.

On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$837,000,000.

On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$837,000,000.

On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$980,000,000.

On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$980,000,000.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I offer this amendment for myself, Senators BOXER, CORZINE, CHAFEE, REED, SARBANES, and MURRAY.

In short, if we believe that polluters should pay for the contamination they cause, everybody ought to vote for this amendment. It will restate the original taxes created to support the Superfund trust fund as well as two additional taxes signed into law by President Ronald Reagan in 1986. It also increases the total Federal revenues by at least \$15 billion over 10 years and will reduce the deficit accordingly.

Without the tax, the general fund will have to contribute \$1.5 billion to continue the Superfund Program. We cannot afford that. But we cannot abandon Superfund either.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the polluter-pays approach.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I yield to my colleague from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, of all the amendments we have been talking about, this probably is the broadest tax increase of any of them. This is a tax increase on every business regardless of what business they are in, if their income tax shows \$2 million or more. It has nothing to do with polluters. It also has a tax increase of 9.7 percent per barrel in excise oil and somewhere between 50 cents and \$10 a ton in feedstocks. Right now we are getting the highest amount of cleanups and yet we have the lowest amount in the fund. It is really not needed now. This is not polluters pay. This is not a tax on polluters. This is a tax on people who do not pollute. The responsible parties are being held liable today.

We had a hearing on it in our Environment and Public Works Committee. They are all being held responsible. They are cleaning up the pollution. I urge a "no" vote on this tax increase proposal of Senator LAUTENBERG.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time on the amendment has expired. The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 408.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 43, nays 56, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 97 Leg.]

YEAS—43

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dayton | Johnson |
| Baucus | Dodd | Kennedy |
| Biden | Dorgan | Kerry |
| Boxer | Durbin | Kohl |
| Byrd | Edwards | Lautenberg |
| Cantwell | Feingold | Leahy |
| Carper | Feinstein | Levin |
| Chafee | Graham (FL) | Lieberman |
| Clinton | Harkin | Mikulski |
| Conrad | Hollings | Murray |
| Corzine | Inouye | Nelson (FL) |
| Daschle | Jeffords | Pryor |

| | | |
|-------------|----------|-------|
| Reed | Sarbanes | Wyden |
| Reid | Schumer | |
| Rockefeller | Stabenow | |

NAYS—56

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Bayh | Ensign | Nelson (NE) |
| Bennett | Enzi | Nickles |
| Bingaman | Fitzgerald | Roberts |
| Bond | Frist | Santorum |
| Breaux | Graham (SC) | Sessions |
| Brownback | Grassley | Shelby |
| Bunning | Gregg | Smith |
| Burns | Hagel | Snowe |
| Campbell | Hatch | Specter |
| Chambliss | Hutchison | Stevens |
| Cochran | Inhofe | Sununu |
| Coleman | Kyl | Talent |
| Collins | Landrieu | Thomas |
| Cornyn | Lincoln | Voinovich |
| Craig | Lott | Warner |
| Crapo | Lugar | |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 408) was rejected.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALEXANDER). Without objection, the clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New York, Mrs. CLINTON, for an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

AMENDMENT NO. 424

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 424, which is at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mrs. CLINTON], for herself and Mr. BINGAMAN, proposes an amendment numbered 424.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$16,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$315,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$338,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$345,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$351,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$359,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$369,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$379,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$386,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$16,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$315,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$338,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$345,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$351,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$359,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$369,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$379,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$386,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$326,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$333,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$340,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$346,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$352,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$361,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$371,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$382,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, increase the amount by \$387,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, increase the amount by \$405,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$16,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$315,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$338,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$345,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$351,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, increase the amount by \$359,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, increase the amount by \$369,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, increase the amount by \$379,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, increase the amount by \$386,000,000.

On page 25, line 16, increase the amount by \$326,000,000.

On page 25, line 17, increase the amount by \$16,000,000.

On page 25, line 20, increase the amount by \$333,000,000.

On page 25, line 21, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

On page 25, line 24, increase the amount by \$340,000,000.

On page 25, line 25, increase the amount by \$315,000,000.

On page 26, line 3, increase the amount by \$346,000,000.

On page 26, line 4, increase the amount by \$338,000,000.

On page 26, line 7, increase the amount by \$352,000,000.

On page 26, line 8, increase the amount by \$345,000,000.

On page 26, line 11, increase the amount by \$361,000,000.

On page 26, line 12, increase the amount by \$351,000,000.

On page 26, line 15, increase the amount by \$371,000,000.

On page 26, line 16, increase the amount by \$359,000,000.

On page 26, line 19, increase the amount by \$382,000,000.

On page 26, line 20, increase the amount by \$369,000,000.

On page 26, line 23, increase the amount by \$387,000,000.

On page 26, line 24, increase the amount by \$379,000,000.

On page 27, line 2, increase the amount by \$405,000,000.

On page 27, line 3, increase the amount by \$386,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$326,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$16,000,000.

On page 47, line 14, increase the amount by \$333,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$245,000,000.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, this amendment, offered by myself and Senator BINGAMAN, will restore funding for vocational education to its 2003 appropriations level for the next 10 years. The chairman's mark cuts this program by 25 percent from its 2003 level. We often talk about education, and many times we act as if every single child in this country is going to go to college and graduate school, and we do not pay enough attention or give due regard to those people who do the technical work that keeps this country going from day to day.

The President has proposed a new vocational educational program which will place many new demands on the technical training infrastructure. These lofty goals deserve an adequate investment. Slashing funding by one-quarter will undermine the chances of our high schools and community colleges being able to fulfill their obligations to these students. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to cast this vote in favor of technical vocational education and to support the infrastructure in our high schools and community colleges.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. CREGG. We are now participating in the theater of uncontrolled spending. We have already added to education—we are \$4 billion above where the Democratic budget was last year. We have a spending bill which is presently \$8 billion above the actual appropriation level for last year. We are at a number which is 15.3 percent over what was spent last year. We have added massive amounts of money into the educational spending accounts at a level which can only be concluded as being not only reasonable but maybe even beyond our capacity to get the money out to the school districts and the people who are involved in this area.

To continue to add money to these educational accounts is really the theater of uncontrolled spending. By "theater," I mean in the term of show because it is not substance any longer that we are dealing with; it is simply the purposes of show. Let's try to be fiscally responsible and defeat this amendment.

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 424. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll. Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 98 Leg.]

YEAS—49

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Biden | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Murray |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Reed |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reid |
| Clinton | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Collins | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kerry | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Daschle | Landrieu | Wyden |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | |
| Dodd | Leahy | |

NAYS—50

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | Dole | McConnell |
| Allard | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Allen | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bennett | Enzi | Roberts |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Brownback | Frist | Sessions |
| Bunning | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Burns | Grassley | Smith |
| Campbell | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chafee | Hagel | Specter |
| Chambliss | Hatch | Stevens |
| Cochran | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Coleman | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lugar | Warner |
| DeWine | McCain | |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 424) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. NICKLES. I believe the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. LUGAR, has an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

AMENDMENT NO. 400

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask amendment No. 400 at the desk be reported.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR], for himself, Mr. BIDEN, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. SMITH, Mr. JEFFORDS, and Mr. KENNEDY, proposes an amendment numbered 400.

Mr. LUGAR. I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 10, line 23, increase the amount by \$1,115,000,000.

On page 10, line 24, increase the amount by \$675,000,000.

On page 11, line 2, increase the amount by \$834,000,000.

On page 11, line 3, increase the amount by \$830,000,000.

On page 11, line 6, increase the amount by \$560,000,000.

On page 11, line 7, increase the amount by \$641,000,000.

On page 11, line 10, increase the amount by \$294,000,000.

On page 11, line 11, increase the amount by \$392,000,000.

On page 11, line 14, increase the amount by \$28,000,000.

On page 11, line 15, increase the amount by \$130,000,000.

On page 11, line 18, decrease the amount by \$242,000,000.

On page 11, line 19, decrease the amount by \$130,000,000.

On page 11, line 22, decrease the amount by \$505,000,000.

On page 11, line 23, decrease the amount by \$397,000,000.

On page 12, line 2, decrease the amount by \$767,000,000.

On page 12, line 3, decrease the amount by \$656,000,000.

On page 12, line 6, decrease the amount by \$1,034,000,000.

On page 12, line 7, decrease the amount by \$924,000,000.

On page 12, line 10, decrease the amount by \$1,298,000,000.

On page 12, line 11, decrease the amount by \$1,188,000,000.

On page 42, line 2, decrease the amount by \$1,115,000,000.

On page 42, line 3, decrease the amount by \$675,000,000.

On page 42, line 6, decrease the amount by \$834,000,000.

On page 42, line 7, decrease the amount by \$830,000,000.

On page 42, line 10, decrease the amount by \$560,000,000.

On page 42, line 11, decrease the amount by \$641,000,000.

On page 42, line 14, decrease the amount by \$294,000,000.

On page 42, line 15, decrease the amount by \$392,000,000.

On page 42, line 18, decrease the amount by \$28,000,000.

On page 42, line 19, decrease the amount by \$130,000,000.

On page 42, line 22 increase the amount by \$242,000,000.

On page 42, line 23 increase the amount by \$130,000,000.

On page 43, line 2 increase the amount by \$505,000,000.

On page 43, line 3 increase the amount by \$397,000,000.

On page 43, line 6 increase the amount by \$767,000,000.

On page 43, line 7 increase the amount by \$656,000,000.

On page 43, line 10 increase the amount by \$1,034,000,000.

On page 43, line 11 increase the amount by \$924,000,000.

On page 43, line 14 increase the amount by \$1,298,000,000.

On page 43, line 15 increase the amount by \$1,188,000,000.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask Senator BIDEN be added as a cosponsor.

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

The Senate will be in order.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I thank the cosponsors of this amendment:

Senators BIDEN, FEINSTEIN, DEWINE, HAGEL, CHAFEE, SMITH, JEFFORDS, and KENNEDY.

My amendment would increase the foreign affairs account by \$1.15 billion, using section 920 of the budget as an offset. This would restore foreign affairs spending to the amount requested by President Bush.

We are engaged in a worldwide war against terrorism and a regional war against Iraq. We should grant the Commander in Chief's funding requests for the accounts that pay for our diplomats' assistance to key allies, food aid, nonproliferation efforts, public diplomacy, and other tools that will contribute to victory now and a better world later. I ask the Senate to join me in restoring the funds the President has requested.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today to express my support for the amendment offered by myself and my colleague from Indiana, Senator LUGAR, to restore the international affairs function 150 account to the President's request. I firmly believe that if we are to win the war against terror and decrease global poverty, we must use every tool at our disposal to do so.

At the constituent breakfasts I hold every Thursday in Washington, DC, for visiting Californians, I often ask: "What percentage of the Federal Budget do you think we spend on foreign aid?" The answers are fascinating and thought provoking: Some say 10 percent, others offer 15 percent, and even some think 20 percent is the right answer.

My constituents are surprised—even shocked—when I tell them that, in fact, the United States spends less than 1 percent of our budget on foreign aid. That is less than half of what it was just 15 years ago and it is barely 0.1 percent of GDP. The United States spends less than \$30 a year for each of its citizens helping those in the developing world, compared with a median per capita of \$70 by other industrialized nations.

In fact, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United States in recent years ranks next to last among 21 industrialized donor countries in per capita foreign assistance.

Most Americans, however, recognize the benefits of foreign aid and support a robust international assistance package. A survey conducted by the Program on International Policy Attitudes of the University of Maryland found that, on average, Americans believe that 14 percent is an appropriate percentage of the Federal budget for foreign aid.

While we are far from that mark, I was pleased that President Bush announced last year before a summit in Monterrey, Mexico, an important new initiative to begin to restore the foreign aid budget to the high water mark of the cold war years and increase foreign assistance spending by \$5 billion over the next 3 years

In announcing the program he stated,

The advancement of development is a central commitment of American foreign policy . . . We work for prosperity and opportunity because they are right. It's the right thing to do. We also work for prosperity and opportunity because they help defeat terror.

I and a bipartisan group of 35 other Senators wrote to President Bush to express our strong support for his initiative and to urge him to make a substantial first commitment to that effort in his fiscal year 2004 budget request.

That request, announced in February, contained \$28.5 billion for the international affairs budget, including increased spending for the fight against HIV/AIDS and \$1.3 billion for the proposed millennium challenge account.

I was disappointed, then, that the budget resolution passed out of the Budget Committee cut \$1.15 billion from the President's request and reduced funding for the millennium challenge account to \$300 million. Senator LUGAR and I have drafted an amendment to restore the President's request of \$28.5 billion.

In fact, I strongly believe that the United States should devote additional funds above the President's request to the international affairs budget. However, under the current fiscal circumstances and in the context of this budget, I understand that meeting the President's request is the best opportunity to make a statement about the importance of increasing foreign assistance.

I understand that the offset used in this amendment—the function 920 account—is not ideal, but we must move forward on our commitment to build a robust international affairs budget, and the Lugar/Feinstein amendment is the best vehicle to do so at this time.

Restoring the President's international affairs budget request is key to protecting our national security and our standing as a leader in the effort to reduce global poverty. The Senate, by accepting this amendment, will rise to the challenge.

As the men and women of our Armed Forces prepare to go into harm's way, we are reminded once again about the serious costs—in financial and human terms—of military conflict and post-war reconstruction. We will be doing our soldiers, sailors, and airmen a grave disservice if we do not make every effort to avoid the need for such conflicts in the future.

Our foreign aid budget, at a dramatically smaller cost and loss of life, can protect our national interests and the safety and security of all Americans.

One of the tragic mistakes of the post-cold-war era was the fact that the United States turned its back on Afghanistan after the collapse of the Soviet Union. We shifted our attention elsewhere, and the Taliban and al-Qaida moved in. The Afghan people, especially women and girls, suffered under a brutal dictatorship and terrorist camps flourished.

We are all aware of the consequences. We spent billions to remove the Taliban from power and it will cost billions more to rebuild Afghanistan. However costly an aid package would have been for the people of Afghanistan at the end of the cold war, it certainly would not have compared with the costs we have met so far.

No one doubts the strength of our Armed Forces. Our service men and women are the best in the world and the military component is key to defeating al-Qaida and other international terrorist organizations. Yet our troops cannot do the job on their own and we will not win the war on terror without making use of all the tools at our disposal to provide safety and security for all Americans.

By fulfilling President Bush's request and increasing the foreign aid budget, we will attack the conditions that foster terrorism in the developing world: poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and illness.

Terrorists prey on the hopelessness, anger, fear, and alienation of the poor and provide an easy way out of the misery of the developing world. Foreign aid by providing education, health care, shelter, and food promotes tolerance, understanding, and political stability.

Such attitudes and conditions are crucial if we are to help build prosperous democracies who will then become important allies and partners in facing a wide range of global challenges in addition to terrorism: Narcotics trafficking, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, aiding refugees, and building market economies. And we can build such allies far cheaper through a robust foreign aid budget than through costly military interventions.

Foreign aid not only protects our national security, it promotes the best of America and American values and sustains our influence in the world. Simply put, it brings out the best of who we are as a people.

Imagine a child in the developing world who attends a school built with American assistance, who studies textbooks purchased with American assistance, and who eats a meal provided by American assistance. How effective will the words of terrorists be on such a child? How prone to anti-Americanism will that child be?

Former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl often spoke of his memories as a child in postwar Germany, receiving soup off of an army truck from an American soldier. This is what foreign aid does: It gives hope to those who have none and shows them that Americans care.

In the days and weeks ahead, we will witness the power of our Armed Forces. By passing this amendment, the Senate will demonstrate the power of American goodwill and our commitment to helping those in need and safeguarding our own interests. This is a significant first step for the United States to reclaim its status as a leader in providing foreign assistance, and I look

forward to working with my colleagues and the administration to build on this initiative.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from California, Mrs. FEINSTEIN.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I urge everyone to vote for this amendment. This would restore the President's number for the Millennium Challenge account. This account is very specific. It is to go for economic assistance and improvements in undeveloped countries. I think all of us know that our budget in this area is surprisingly small. We rank next to last in industrialized countries. As Mr. LUGAR has so ably pointed out, the Iraq war should show us the need, indeed, is great.

I hope everyone on this side of the aisle will vote to restore this \$1.15 billion and offset it with the account 920.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be added as a cosponsor of the amendment and urge its support.

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

The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 400) was agreed to.

The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. I yield to the Senator from Iowa, Mr. HARKIN, for the purpose of offering an amendment.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Which amendment is this?

Mr. NICKLES. Education.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

AMENDMENT NO. 425

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I have an amendment I send to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HARKIN] proposes amendment No. 425.

Mr. HARKIN. I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To restore education cuts)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$114,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$1,565,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$2,110,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$2,258,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$2,305,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$2,352,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$2,405,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$2,461,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$2,518,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$2,572,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$114,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$1,565,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$2,110,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$2,258,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$2,305,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$2,352,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$2,405,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$2,461,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$2,518,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$2,572,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$2,180,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, increase the amount by \$2,224,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, increase the amount by \$2,272,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, increase the amount by \$2,317,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, increase the amount by \$2,365,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, increase the amount by \$2,419,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, increase the amount by \$2,476,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, increase the amount by \$2,535,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, increase the amount by \$2,585,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, increase the amount by \$2,656,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$114,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$1,565,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$2,110,000,000.

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On page 26, line 24, increase the amount by \$2,518,000,000.

On page 27, line 2, increase the amount by \$2,656,000,000.

On page 27, line 3, increase the amount by \$2,572,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$2,180,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$114,000,000.

On page 47, line 14, increase the amount by \$2,224,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$1,565,000,000.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, the budget resolution before us eliminates 46 important education programs, programs such as rural education, dropout prevention, arts education, the Carol M. White Physical Education for Progress, Gifted and Talented, Ready To Learn, the National Writing Project, Parental Assistance Information Centers, a number of them—46 programs that have been broadly supported by both the House and the Senate on the Republican and Democratic sides.

These are programs that go to meet certain specific kinds of needs like rural education, where small schools do not have the wherewithal to get in grants. They do not have the economies of scale. They have specific transportation needs.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator is entitled to be heard.

The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, what this amendment will do—it does not add any money. It simply restores these programs. It would be \$2.2 billion the first year, \$24 billion over 10 years, offset by a reduction in the tax cut. All it does is simply restore the programs.

I assume some of these will be restored as we go through the process. But if we don't have it in the budget, that means we are going to take it out of title I, we are going to take it out of special education, and other areas. Let's put the money in there now to pay for these programs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, as the Senator from Iowa well knows, this bill does not eliminate any programs. As the Senator from Iowa well knows, this bill sets a number, a gross number, that we will spend on education. However, what the Senator from Iowa doesn't appear to know is that this bill is already \$8.1 billion above where his bill was when he reported it out of committee just 3 months ago.

I am wondering why we need to continue to put money into programs to

which there is a significant commitment already. It is time to bring down the curtain on this theater of spending.

I yield the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 46, nays 53, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 99 Leg.]

YEAS—46

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Edwards | Lieberman |
| Bayh | Feingold | Lincoln |
| Biden | Feinstein | Mikulski |
| Bingaman | Graham (FL) | Murray |
| Boxer | Harkin | Nelson (FL) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Nelson (NE) |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Pryor |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reed |
| Clinton | Johnson | Reid |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Rockefeller |
| Corzine | Kerry | Sarbanes |
| Daschle | Kohl | Schumer |
| Dayton | Landrieu | Stabenow |
| Dodd | Lautenberg | Wyden |
| Dorgan | Leahy | |
| Durbin | Levin | |

NAYS—53

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | Crapo | McCain |
| Allard | DeWine | McConnell |
| Allen | Dole | Murkowski |
| Baucus | Domenici | Nickles |
| Bennett | Ensign | Roberts |
| Bond | Enzi | Santorum |
| Breaux | Fitzgerald | Sessions |
| Brownback | Frist | Shelby |
| Bunning | Graham (SC) | Smith |
| Burns | Grassley | Snowe |
| Campbell | Gregg | Specter |
| Chafee | Hagel | Stevens |
| Chambliss | Hatch | Sununu |
| Cochran | Hutchison | Talent |
| Coleman | Inhofe | Thomas |
| Collins | Kyl | Voivovich |
| Cornyn | Lott | Warner |
| Craig | Lugar | |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 425) was rejected.

Mr. NICKLES. I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. KERRY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

AMENDMENT NO. 397

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 397.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] proposes an amendment numbered 397.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide for a \$150 billion revenue stimulus for fiscal years 2003 and 2004 without adding to the long-term debt)

On page 3, line 9, decrease the amount by \$63,441,000,000.

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$65,685,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$97,978,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$77,675,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$59,192,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$56,706,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$55,640,000,000.

On page 3, line 16, increase the amount by \$56,036,000,000.

On page 3, line 17, increase the amount by \$185,271,000,000.

On page 3, line 18, increase the amount by \$278,611,000,000.

On page 3, line 19, increase the amount by \$294,654,000,000.

On page 3, line 23, decrease the amount by \$63,411,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$65,685,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$97,978,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$77,675,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$59,192,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$56,706,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$55,640,000,000.

On page 4, line 7, increase the amount by \$56,036,000,000.

On page 4, line 8, increase the amount by \$185,271,000,000.

On page 4, line 9, increase the amount by \$278,611,000,000.

On page 4, line 10, increase the amount by \$294,654,000,000.

On page 4, line 14, decrease the amount by \$3,943,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, decrease the amount by \$613,000,000.

On page 4, line 16, decrease the amount by \$7,650,000,000.

On page 4, line 17, decrease the amount by \$12,304,000,000.

On page 4, line 18, decrease the amount by \$16,253,000,000.

On page 4, line 19, decrease the amount by \$20,366,000,000.

On page 4, line 20, decrease the amount by \$24,295,000,000.

On page 4, line 21, decrease the amount by \$27,358,000,000.

On page 4, line 22, decrease the amount by \$33,124,000,000.

On page 4, line 23, decrease the amount by \$59,290,000,000.

On page 4, line 24, decrease the amount by \$77,387,000,000.

On page 5, line 4, decrease the amount by \$3,943,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, decrease the amount by \$613,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, decrease the amount by \$7,650,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, decrease the amount by \$12,304,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, decrease the amount by \$16,523,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, decrease the amount by \$20,366,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, decrease the amount by \$24,295,000,000.

On page 5, line 11, decrease the amount by \$27,358,000,000.

On page 5, line 12, decrease the amount by \$33,124,000,000.

On page 5, line 13, decrease the amount by \$59,290,000,000.

On page 5, line 14, decrease the amount by \$77,387,000,000.

On page 5, line 17, decrease the amount by \$59,498,000,000.

On page 5, line 18, increase the amount by \$66,298,000,000.

On page 5, line 19, increase the amount by \$105,628,000,000.

On page 5, line 20, increase the amount by \$89,979,000,000.

On page 5, line 21, increase the amount by \$75,715,000,000.

On page 5, line 22, increase the amount by \$77,072,000,000.

On page 5, line 23, increase the amount by \$79,935,000,000.

On page 5, line 24, increase the amount by \$83,394,000,000.

On page 5, line 25, increase the amount by \$218,395,000,000.

On page 6, line 1, increase the amount by \$337,901,000,000.

On page 6, line 2, increase the amount by \$372,041,000,000.

On page 6, line 5, increase the amount by \$59,498,000,000.

On page 6, line 6, decrease the amount by \$6,800,000,000.

On page 6, line 7, decrease the amount by \$112,428,000,000.

On page 6, line 8, decrease the amount by \$202,408,000,000.

On page 6, line 9, decrease the amount by \$278,122,000,000.

On page 6, line 10, decrease the amount by \$355,194,000,000.

On page 6, line 11, decrease the amount by \$423,129,000,000.

On page 6, line 12, decrease the amount by \$518,523,000,000.

On page 6, line 13, decrease the amount by \$736,919,000,000.

On page 6, line 14, decrease the amount by \$1,074,820,000,000.

On page 6, line 15, decrease the amount by \$1,446,861,000,000.

On page 6, line 18, increase the amount by \$58,498,000,000.

On page 6, line 19, decrease the amount by \$6,800,000,000.

On page 6, line 20, decrease the amount by \$112,428,000,000.

On page 6, line 21, decrease the amount by \$202,408,000,000.

On page 6, line 22, decrease the amount by \$278,122,000,000.

On page 6, line 23, decrease the amount by \$355,194,000,000.

On page 6, line 24, decrease the amount by \$435,129,000,000.

On page 6, line 25, decrease the amount by \$518,523,000,000.

On page 7, line 1, decrease the amount by \$736,919,000,000.

On page 7, line 2, decrease the amount by \$1,074,820,000,000.

On page 7, line 3, decrease the amount by \$1,446,861,000,000.

On page 30, line 23, decrease the amount by \$4,380,000,000.

On page 30, line 24, decrease the amount by \$4,380,000,000.

On page 31, line 2, decrease the amount by \$1,111,000,000.

On page 31, line 3, decrease the amount by \$1,111,000,000.

On page 31, line 6, decrease the amount by \$4,586,000,000.

On page 31, line 7, decrease the amount by \$4,586,000,000.
 On page 31, line 10, decrease the amount by \$4,165,000,000.
 On page 31, line 11, decrease the amount by \$4,165,000,000.
 On page 31, line 14, decrease the amount by \$3,833,000,000.
 On page 31, line 15, decrease the amount by \$3,833,000,000.
 On page 31, line 18, decrease the amount by \$3,698,000,000.
 On page 31, line 19, decrease the amount by \$3,698,000,000.
 On page 31, line 22, decrease the amount by \$3,511,000,000.
 On page 31, line 23, decrease the amount by \$3,511,000,000.
 On page 32, line 2, decrease the amount by \$2,192,000,000.
 On page 32, line 3, decrease the amount by \$2,192,000,000.
 On page 32, line 6, increase the amount by \$26,000,000.
 On page 32, line 7, increase the amount by \$26,000,000.
 On page 32, line 10, decrease the amount by \$11,458,000,000.
 On page 32, line 11, decrease the amount by \$11,458,000,000.
 On page 32, line 14, decrease the amount by \$10,901,000,000.
 On page 32, line 15, decrease the amount by \$10,901,000,000.
 On page 40, line 2, increase the amount by \$437,000,000.
 On page 40, line 3, increase the amount by \$437,000,000.
 On page 40, line 6, increase the amount by \$498,000,000.
 On page 40, line 7, increase the amount by \$498,000,000.
 On page 40, line 10, decrease the amount by \$3,064,000,000.
 On page 40, line 11, decrease the amount by \$3,064,000,000.
 On page 40, line 14, decrease the amount by \$8,139,000,000.
 On page 40, line 15, decrease the amount by \$8,139,000,000.
 On page 40, line 18, decrease the amount by \$12,690,000,000.
 On page 40, line 19, decrease the amount by \$12,690,000,000.
 On page 40, line 22, decrease the amount by \$16,668,000,000.
 On page 40, line 23, decrease the amount by \$16,668,000,000.
 On page 41, line 2, decrease the amount by \$20,784,000,000.
 On page 41, line 3, decrease the amount by \$20,784,000,000.
 On page 41, line 6, decrease the amount by \$25,166,000,000.
 On page 41, line 7, decrease the amount by \$25,166,000,000.
 On page 41, line 10, decrease the amount by \$33,150,000,000.
 On page 41, line 11, decrease the amount by \$33,150,000,000.
 On page 41, line 14, decrease the amount by \$47,832,000,000.
 On page 41, line 15, decrease the amount by \$47,832,000,000.
 On page 41, line 18, decrease the amount by \$66,486,000,000.
 On page 41, line 19, decrease the amount by \$66,486,000,000.

Strike section 104(b)

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, as we all know, consumer confidence is at its record lowest level in 10 years. There are 300,000 Americans who lost their jobs in February alone—2.5 million in the last 2 years. State and local governments are in trouble. Families and businesses are having trouble. We are

running Federal deficits as far as the eye can see. And we are at war.

My amendment tries to avoid saddling the next generations with debt by offering a \$150 billion tax cut to average Americans over the course of the next 2 years, contemplating a payroll tax holiday, paid for in the outyears.

It will strengthen our economy by putting money as a stimulus into the pockets of Americans now. And it does not take a dime out of Social Security or Medicare.

We can give every American worker \$750 this year. If you are married with children and are both working, you would get \$1,500, which is more than with the Bush tax cut, without any of the negative impact in the long run.

It does not raise taxes. It simply avoids going forward with the worst components of the President's proposal. It is not a tax increase; it is simply not giving the cut, which is unwise and nonstimulative and takes from our children.

I hope my colleagues will support it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts would not only gut the growth package, it would gut the amended growth package, the Breaux bill. It cuts it in half. I urge our colleagues to vote no.

I yield the remainder of our time to the Senator from New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. SUNUNU. I thank the chairman. Mr. President, for anyone to believe repealing a tax cut already signed into law is not a tax increase is a serious mistake.

Second, this is a provision that would cut payroll taxes. To suggest that will not undermine the strength of the Social Security trust fund is also a mistake. We cannot pretend that payroll taxes do not go into the Social Security trust fund.

And third, if my colleagues are really concerned about deficits, then we need to do two things: We need to encourage economic growth, and this amendment will not do that; second, we need to control spending.

As my colleague from New Hampshire has made clear, we are in a theater of spending right now: increasing spending, increasing debts, and deficits. This isn't the approach we should be taking.

I urge my colleagues to reject the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 397.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER), is absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. DOLE). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 37, nays 62, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 100 Leg.]

YEAS—37

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Durbin | Levin |
| Biden | Edwards | Lieberman |
| Bingaman | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Feinstein | Murray |
| Byrd | Graham (FL) | Reed |
| Carper | Harkin | Reid |
| Chafee | Inouye | Rockefeller |
| Clinton | Jeffords | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kennedy | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kerry | Stabenow |
| Daschle | Kohl | Wyden |
| Dodd | Lautenberg | |
| Dorgan | Leahy | |

NAYS—62

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Alexander | DeWine | McCain |
| Allard | Dole | McConnell |
| Allen | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Baucus | Ensign | Nelson (FL) |
| Bayh | Enzi | Nelson (NE) |
| Bennett | Fitzgerald | Nickles |
| Bond | Frist | Pryor |
| Breaux | Graham (SC) | Roberts |
| Brownback | Grassley | Santorum |
| Bunning | Gregg | Sessions |
| Burns | Hagel | Shelby |
| Campbell | Hatch | Smith |
| Cantwell | Hollings | Snowe |
| Chambliss | Hutchison | Specter |
| Cochran | Inhofe | Stevens |
| Coleman | Johnson | Sununu |
| Collins | Kyl | Talent |
| Cornyn | Landrieu | Thomas |
| Craig | Lincoln | Voinovich |
| Crapo | Lott | Warner |
| Dayton | Lugar | |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 397) was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. I yield to the Senator from New York, Mr. SCHUMER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

AMENDMENT NO. 285

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate that economic stimulus legislation enacted pursuant to the instructions contained in this concurrent resolution on the budget should include provisions to make higher education affordable)

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I call up amendment No. 285.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mr. SCHUMER], for himself, Mr. SMITH, and Mr. BIDEN, proposes an amendment numbered 285.

(The amendment is printed in the RECORD of Wednesday, March 19, 2003, under "Text of Amendments.")

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, this amendment, which is a bipartisan amendment, cosponsored by Senator BIDEN of Delaware, Senator SNOWE of Maine, Senator SMITH of Oregon, Senator BAYH of Indiana, and myself is simply a sense-of-the-Senate amendment that when we come back with a

tax proposal, it ought to increase the deductibility of college tuition.

As you know, we worked 2 years ago and this year for the first time tuition is deductible, \$3,000. It goes up to \$4,000 in 2004.

This amendment is a sense of the Senate, a bipartisan amendment that urges that tuition deductibility be raised from \$3,000 to \$8,000 in the year 2003, and from \$4,000 to \$12,000 in the year 2004 and the years thereafter. The high cost of tuition, we know, is a huge burden, particularly on middle-class families.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has used 1 minute.

Mr. SCHUMER. I urge the adoption of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, as Senator CONRAD and I both stated a couple times, we do not write the tax bill. That is going to be up to the Finance Committee. That being said, we have no objection and are happy to accept the amendment by voice vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? If not, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 285) was agreed to.

Mr. REID. I move to reconsider the vote, and I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I yield to the Senator from Indiana, Mr. BAYH.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

AMENDMENT NO. 426

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate on low income programs and the income tax on certain Social Security benefits)

Mr. BAYH. Madam President, I send an amendment to the desk for immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH], for himself, Mr. SCHUMER, and Mrs. LINCOLN, proposes an amendment numbered 426.

Mr. BAYH. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

Mr. NICKLES. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will continue with the reading of the amendment.

The senior assistant bill clerk continued with the reading of the amendment, as follows:

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate on low income programs and the income tax on certain Social Security benefits)

SEC. . SENSE OF THE SENATE ON FUNDING FOR LOW INCOME PROGRAMS AND THE INCOME TAX ON CERTAIN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS.

It is the sense of the Senate that the final budget conference report should not include any net reduction in funding below current baseline levels for programs that assist low income working families, and that repeal of the 1993 tax increase on Social Security benefits can be accommodated within the revenue totals and instructions of this resolution, in a manner that does not reduce the solvency of the Medicare Hospital Insurance Trust Fund (Part A of Medicare.).

Mr. BAYH. I offer this amendment on behalf of myself, Senator SCHUMER, and Senator LINCOLN. This expresses the sense of the Senate that the 1993 tax increase on Social Security benefits should be repealed. It is similar to the amendment offered by Senator BUNNING because it accomplishes this objective in a more fiscally responsive way because it instructs the Finance Committee to accomplish this within the context of the current tax cut rather than adding to it.

It helps Social Security beneficiaries, it cuts taxes, and it does so in a fiscally responsible way. I ask for its immediate adoption.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, we already dealt with whether we should tax Social Security. I call upon my colleague from Kentucky.

Mr. BUNNING. Madam President, this is an absolute zero amendment. It is a sense of the Senate, which means nothing in law. The amendment we voted on earlier had the direct effect on \$146 billion which is the amount of money that would have been reduced from the tax base if we did what we said we were going to do on the Social Security reduction from 85 percent to 50 percent, with the instructions to the Finance Committee to do just that. This amendment does absolutely nothing to correct that situation.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, the pending amendment offered by our colleague from Indiana, Mr. BAYH, proposes to create a sense of the Senate which is precatory and thus not germane. This language is not germane to the measure now before the Senate. Therefore, I raise a point of order under section 305(b)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974.

Mr. BAYH. To offer any language that is precatory pursuant to section 904 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, I move to waive the applicable sessions of that act for purposes of the pending amendment.

I ask for the yeas and nays, and I thank my colleagues for their courtesy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Indiana.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 49, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 101 Leg.]

YEAS—49

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dorgan | Levin |
| Baucus | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Bayh | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Biden | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Bingaman | Feinstein | Murray |
| Boxer | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Breaux | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Byrd | Hollings | Pryor |
| Cantwell | Inouye | Reed |
| Carper | Jeffords | Reid |
| Chafee | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Clinton | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kerry | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kohl | Stabenow |
| Daschle | Landrieu | Wyden |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | |
| Dodd | Leahy | |

NAYS—50

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | Dole | McConnell |
| Allard | Domenici | Murkowski |
| Allen | Ensign | Nickles |
| Bennett | Enzi | Roberts |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Santorum |
| Brownback | Frist | Sessions |
| Bunning | Graham (SC) | Shelby |
| Burns | Grassley | Smith |
| Campbell | Gregg | Snowe |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Specter |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Collins | Inhofe | Talent |
| Cornyn | Kyl | Thomas |
| Craig | Lott | Thomas |
| Crapo | Lugar | Voinovich |
| DeWine | McCain | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote the yeas are 49, the nays are 50. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected. The point of order is sustained and the amendment falls.

The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, for the information of our colleagues, I thank all Members of the Senate, Democrats and Republicans, for working together. Senator CONRAD should be complimented as well. We worked hard to finish the resolution under the agreement we made to finish it by 4 o'clock tomorrow, and we will finish it by 4 o'clock tomorrow. We may well finish it before 4 o'clock. I thank all colleagues for their cooperation in doing so.

For the information of colleagues, we will have one additional rollcall vote tonight, an amendment by Senator CANTWELL. That will be the last rollcall for tonight. We will announce the schedule tomorrow after consulting with the majority and minority leaders. But I do thank all our colleagues for their cooperation. It has been a very productive day.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I yield to Senator CANTWELL for the purpose of offering an amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

AMENDMENT NO. 382

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, I call up amendment No. 382.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Washington [Ms. CANTWELL], proposes an amendment numbered 382.

Ms. CANTWELL. I ask unanimous consent the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To restore funding for programs under the Workforce Investment Act of 1998)

On page 3, line 10, increase the amount by \$87,000,000.

On page 3, line 11, increase the amount by \$391,000,000.

On page 3, line 12, increase the amount by \$129,000,000.

On page 3, line 13, increase the amount by \$34,000,000.

On page 3, line 14, increase the amount by \$17,000,000.

On page 3, line 15, increase the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 4, line 1, increase the amount by \$87,000,000.

On page 4, line 2, increase the amount by \$391,000,000.

On page 4, line 3, increase the amount by \$129,000,000.

On page 4, line 4, increase the amount by \$34,000,000.

On page 4, line 5, increase the amount by \$17,000,000.

On page 4, line 6, increase the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 4, line 15, increase the amount by \$678,000,000.

On page 5, line 5, increase the amount by \$87,000,000.

On page 5, line 6, increase the amount by \$391,000,000.

On page 5, line 7, increase the amount by \$129,000,000.

On page 5, line 8, increase the amount by \$34,000,000.

On page 5, line 9, increase the amount by \$17,000,000.

On page 5, line 10, increase the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 25, line 16, increase the amount by \$678,000,000.

On page 25, line 17, increase the amount by \$87,000,000.

On page 25, line 21, increase the amount by \$391,000,000.

On page 25, line 25, increase the amount by \$129,000,000.

On page 26, line 4, increase the amount by \$34,000,000.

On page 26, line 8, increase the amount by \$17,000,000.

On page 26, line 12, increase the amount by \$20,000,000.

On page 47, line 5, increase the amount by \$678,000,000.

On page 47, line 6, increase the amount by \$87,000,000.

On page 47, line 15, increase the amount by \$391,000,000.

Ms. CANTWELL. Madam President, this is a very important amendment that would restore \$678 million to workforce training programs that is vital to America in a time of high unemployment. The underlying bill basically cuts these funds and, instead, gives them to a tax cut for the wealthiest Americans.

What is really important for us to understand is that we have had report after report that in the Information Technology area there are more jobs to be had if we had skilled workers who had the training to work in this areas, and the same is true for the nursing and health care fields. According to the American Hospital Association there are over 126,000 openings in nursing, yet we are cutting the training programs that could retrain thousands of unemployed workers who could fill these openings. By cutting funding for workforce training, we are eliminating the opportunity for 65,000 Americans to receive training.

So where do these jobs go instead, I know because I have had firsthand experience as an employer. You go find the workers and sometimes they are from overseas. So by cutting workforce training, we are sending a message that instead of retraining our dislocated and unemployed workers we would rather have the Department of Labor issue more labor certifications so that these jobs can be filled by foreigners.

Please vote for this amendment to restore the funds so that the workforce level in this country will at least be at 2002 levels.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, this amendment would increase spending by \$678 million. I might mention, we have \$6.6 billion of \$8 billion in a block grant that has not even been used yet by the States.

Madam President, I yield the remainder of my time to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Madam President, much has been made about deficits. I just want to know what the Senate has accomplished today—I should argue, what the Democrats have tried to accomplish.

As you can see from these charts, this is a list of the Democratic amendments that were voted on today. They add up to a 10-year cost of \$666 billion in brand new Federal spending, for which, as you can see by these votes, the vast majority of Democrats voted. If this amendment is agreed to, at least on the Democratic side, that number will go to \$675 billion in new spending over the next 10 years.

Compare that to what we want to do, which is a very modest reduction in taxes over those 10 years, and you see the same spending priorities versus giving money back to taxpayers—the same amount of money.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Will the distinguished Senator yield?

We had not gotten up to \$726 billion. We had it paid for until you—

Mr. NICKLES. Regular order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 382.

The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I request the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. REID. I announce that the Senator from Georgia (Mr. MILLER) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHAFEE). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced— yeas 51, nays 48, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 102 Leg.]

YEAS—51

| | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Akaka | Dodd | Leahy |
| Baucus | Dorgan | Levin |
| Bayh | Durbin | Lieberman |
| Biden | Edwards | Lincoln |
| Bingaman | Feingold | Mikulski |
| Boxer | Feinstein | Murray |
| Breaux | Graham (FL) | Nelson (FL) |
| Byrd | Harkin | Nelson (NE) |
| Cantwell | Hollings | Pryor |
| Carper | Inouye | Reed |
| Chafee | Jeffords | Reid |
| Clinton | Johnson | Rockefeller |
| Collins | Kennedy | Sarbanes |
| Conrad | Kerry | Schumer |
| Corzine | Kohl | Snowe |
| Daschle | Landrieu | Stabenow |
| Dayton | Lautenberg | Wyden |

NAYS—48

| | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Alexander | Dole | McCain |
| Allard | Domenici | McConnell |
| Allen | Ensign | Murkowski |
| Bennett | Enzi | Nickles |
| Bond | Fitzgerald | Roberts |
| Brownback | Frist | Santorum |
| Bunning | Graham (SC) | Sessions |
| Burns | Grassley | Shelby |
| Campbell | Gregg | Smith |
| Chambliss | Hagel | Specter |
| Cochran | Hatch | Stevens |
| Coleman | Hutchison | Sununu |
| Cornyn | Inhofe | Talent |
| Craig | Kyl | Thomas |
| Crapo | Lott | Voinovich |
| DeWine | Lugar | Warner |

NOT VOTING—1

Miller

The amendment (No. 382) was agreed to.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, Senator CONRAD and I would now like to see if we can clean up a couple other amendments that we have basically agreed to. I believe the Senator from Ohio, Mr. DEWINE, has a couple sense-of-the-Senate amendments that we are willing to accept.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

AMENDMENT NO. 354

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 354.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE] proposes an amendment numbered 354.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate concerning funding for children's graduate medical education)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ SENSE OF THE SENATE CONCERNING CHILDREN'S GRADUATE MEDICAL EDUCATION.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Senate finds that—

(1) children's hospitals provide excellent care for children;

(2) the importance of children's hospitals extends to the health care of all children throughout the United States;

(3) making up only 1 percent of all hospitals, independent children's hospitals train almost 30 percent of all pediatricians and 50 percent of all pediatric specialists;

(4) children's hospitals provide over 50 percent of the hospital care in the United States for children with serious illness, including needing cardiac surgery, children with cancer, and children with cerebral palsy; and

(5) children's hospitals are important centers for pediatric research and the major pipeline for future pediatric researchers.

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that, for fiscal year 2004, children's graduate medical education should be funded at \$305,000,000.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to support my Sense of the Senate amendment, advocating full fiscal year 2004 funding—\$305 million—for children's hospitals graduate medical education programs.

This funding for pediatric GME is a vital part of our efforts to protect children's health. Today, children's hospitals—though they represent only one percent of all hospitals—train 30 percent of all pediatricians and 50 percent of all pediatric specialists. And, they also provide hospital care to almost 50 percent of seriously ill children. Furthermore, children's hospitals serve as the healthcare safety net for low-income children in their respective communities and are often the sole regional providers of many critical pediatric services.

These children's hospitals are often the only source of many pediatric specialty services. And it is their graduate training programs that make these services possible. Funding for this training—funding for pediatric graduate medical education—helps provide our Nation with highly qualified pediatricians, who can properly treat and care for our children when they are sick.

Congress took a remarkable step when it fully funded this program in FY2002 and again in FY2003. Now, for the first time, the independent children's hospitals have the same Federal support for their teaching programs

that other teaching hospitals were receiving through Medicare. It has saved many children's hospitals from being forced to reduce their physician training or cut other services.

Clearly, funding for GME in children's hospitals is a sound investment in children's health and provides stability for the future of the pediatric workforce. Please join me in support of continued full funding for children's hospitals graduate medical education.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, we have no objection to the amendment. I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of it.

Mr. CONRAD. We have no objection on this side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 354) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 355

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 355.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE] proposes an amendment numbered 355.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate that the programs authorized under the Crime Identification Technology Act of 1998 to improve the justice system will be fully funded at the levels authorized for each of the fiscal years 2004 through 2007)

On page 79, after line 22, add the following:
SEC. 308. SENSE OF THE SENATE ON FUNDING FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Senate finds that—

(1) bipartisan efforts have led to success in the fight against crime and improvements in the administration of justice;

(2) Congress steadily increased funding for crime identification technologies between 1994 and 2003; and

(3) a strong commitment to improve crime identification technologies is still needed.

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that the funding levels in this resolution assume that the programs authorized under the Crime Identification Technology Act of 1998 to improve the justice system will be fully funded at the levels authorized for each of the fiscal years 2004 through 2007.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to join me in support of an amendment that Senator LEAHY and I are offering to express the Sense of the Senate that we should fund the Crime Identification Technology Act at its authorized level of \$250 million through the year 2007.

CITA provides State and local law enforcement with the much-needed resources to make improvements in anti-crime technology. CITA has streamlined a patchwork of Federal funding programs, giving the Department of Justice greater flexibility to make

grant awards to States and localities for their specific anti-crime technology needs. What we are talking about is DNA items. We are talking about ballistics. We are talking about all kinds of crime technology items that really go to the heart and soul of our fight against crime today.

This single Federal funding stream allows States and localities to make improvements in 17 different areas relating to crime-fighting technology, including automated fingerprint background checks, ballistics testing, DNA-testing, domestic violence information systems, and automated criminal history systems.

Quick and efficient access to information is crucial to solving and preventing crimes and protecting our communities. And access to state-of-the-art technology means access to information. Whether it's matching fingerprints or DNA samples or bullets from a gun, law enforcement personnel—police officers and prosecutors and scientists in crime labs—all rely on technology to do their jobs.

America can no longer afford to fight 21st Century crime with 20th Century tools and technology. This amendment would demonstrate our support for giving our State and local law enforcement access to the practical tools they need to do their jobs. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I compliment my colleague from Ohio for his amendment. I urge my colleagues to accept it.

Mr. CONRAD. We are willing to take the amendment on this side as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 355) was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 427

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senators HATCH and LEVIN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES], for Mr. HATCH and Mr. LEVIN, proposes an amendment numbered 427.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate that of the functional totals in this resolution assume that up to \$20,000,000 from funds designated, but not obligated, for travel and administrative expenses, from drug interdiction activities should be used for drug addiction treatment programs that utilize substances that block the craving for heroin and that are newly approved for such use by the Food and Drug Administration)

At the end of title III, add the following:

SEC. ____ SENSE OF THE SENATE CONCERNING FUNDING FOR DRUG TREATMENT PROGRAMS.

It is the sense of the Senate that the functional totals in this resolution assume that up to \$20,000,000 from funds designated, but not obligated, for travel and administrative expenses, from drug interdiction activities should be used for service-oriented targeted grants for the utilization of substances that block the craving for heroin and that are newly approved for such use by the Food and Drug Administration.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, this is a sense-of-the-Senate amendment stating that \$20 million in drug interdiction funds shall be used for drug addiction treatment programs that utilize substances that block the craving for heroin and that are newly approved for such use by the FDA.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise to speak in favor of a bipartisan sense-of-the-Senate amendment that Senator LEVIN and I are offering. Here is what the amendment does:

We ask that it be the sense of the Senate that up to \$20 million of any unused travel or other administrative funds designated, but not obligated, for drug interdiction activities be used for a grant program that helps disseminate innovative anti-heroin medications recently approved by the FDA.

Not one penny of drug interdiction funds will be taken away; our amendment only asks the Senate to go on record as supporting the use of unobligated drug interdiction travel or administrative funds to help distribute and get out the word on a new class of drug addiction treatments.

This amendment builds upon the Drug Addiction Treatment Act that allows qualified doctors the ability to treat a limited number of heroin addicts in an office setting. This sense-of-the-Senate amendment will send a signal to the private sector to invest in developing new drug treatments.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, the amendment Senator HATCH and I have offered, which the Senate has adopted, is a life-saving amendment. It will help to mend broken lives and shattered families that are living with the scourge of drug addiction and are struggling to rid themselves of this dreadful disease. Our sense of the Senate amendment supports \$20 million in fiscal year 2004 for drug treatment programs that utilize a newly FDA approved substance called buprenorphine, which blocks the craving for heroin.

The costs of substance abuse treatment are minimal when compared to the resulting savings. According to a national study of treatment programs that are funded by HHS's Center for Substance Abuse Treatment, the average savings per individual in the year after treatment was approximately \$9,200—more than three times the average cost of one treatment period. Another study by the RAND Corporation found that treatment is 10 times more cost effective than interdiction in reducing societal costs of certain illegal drugs.

The U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) has estimated that 57 percent of those who need drug treatment do not receive it, despite its proven cost effectiveness over criminal justice approaches in reducing drug abuse and related social costs. Another ONDCP study, released in January of 2002, found that illegal drugs drain \$160 billion a year from the American economy; and that the majority of these costs, \$98.5 billion, stem from lost productivity due to drug-related illnesses and deaths, as well as incarcerations and work hours missed by victims of crime. The report also found that illegal drug use cost the health-care industry \$12.9 billion in 1998. The \$20 million assumed in our amendment pales in comparison to these sums, yet this modest funding will reap huge benefits in lowering illicit drug use, by providing funding for up to 60 new drug treatment projects, utilizing new FDA approved substances that block the craving of heroin.

Again, I am pleased that the Senate has adopted our much-needed amendment. It has the potential of opening the door to tens of thousands of individuals who seek to rid themselves of their addiction to heroin, through the use of the anti-addiction medication called buprenorphine, which was approved last year by the Food and Drug Administration.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 427) was agreed to.

Mr. NICKLES. I thank my colleagues.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, just before the last amendment, the Senator from Pennsylvania held up a series of charts purporting to be total spending advocated by our side of the aisle during the budget consideration. I have no idea where he got those numbers from because they bear no relationship to what has been offered on this side.

No. 1, we did not offer a package of spending increases. We offered a series of amendments that were offered one at a time to increase resources for education, for homeland security, for national defense, and a series of other national priorities. Again, they were not offered as a package.

Even if one were to consider them a package, they do not add up to \$675 billion or \$650 billion or \$400 billion or \$300 billion. It is \$231 billion—\$231 bil-

lion—all of it paid for by reducing the size of the tax cuts being proposed by the other side. The President proposed \$1.6 trillion in tax cuts. The budget resolution offered over \$1.3 trillion out of the committee. It was over \$1.3 trillion.

The budget substitute I offered on our side reduced the deficit included in the President's budget by over \$1.2 trillion. Yes, we had some additional spending, very modest. Over the 10 years, we would go to a total spending as a percentage of GDP at 19.3 percent compared to the budget resolution offered by our colleagues on the other side of 18.8 percent, so slightly more spending over the years for education, for homeland security, for national defense, and we paid for the war in our substitute.

This series of charts that were held up by the Senator from Pennsylvania bear no relationship in fact to amendments that were offered today by our side. I repeat, those amendments were not offered as a package. They were offered individually. Even if you count them all, they add up to \$231 billion. Again, you cannot do that either because they were not offered as a package. Many of them were defeated. So if you offer a subsequent amendment, you cannot then add that to a defeated amendment.

I do not know where he ever came up with the number \$675 billion because it bears absolutely no relationship to what occurred today.

I thought it was important to set the record straight, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I might later go into what the amendments were. I think right now I would like to complete this day. It has been a long day, but a productive day at least, working our way through the amendments.

For the information of our colleagues, I believe there are eight amendments still pending on the Democratic side. We worked through 32 amendments. We still have a few amendments pending on the Republican side. I am not sure if any of those will require a rollcall vote—possibly one or two, maybe more, but I doubt it. So we are well positioned to complete action, as we committed to do, by 4 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

I thank all of our colleagues. I think the tenor of the debate was positive. I did not agree with the outcome on one or two of the amendments, but that is part of the legislative process.

AMENDMENT NO. 425

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise today to comment briefly on my vote against Senator HARKIN's amendment this afternoon. I do so because I was faced with a very difficult decision. I care very deeply about the education programs that would be funded through this amendment, programs that include afterschool programs and vocational education programs. These are

critical programs in schools across my State, and I hope we find a way to fund them.

But I am forced to vote against this amendment because of another concern—my concern with mounting deficits.

The budget resolution brought before us includes tax cuts that total \$1.3 trillion. The budget also proposes that \$725 billion of these tax cuts be enacted immediately, under the reconciliation process.

Two years ago, we passed a \$1.3 trillion tax cut. I supported that tax cut. But those were different times. We had a surplus. We did not foresee the significant decline in revenues, or the deficits that followed.

This is not the time to reduce revenues by \$725 billion. It would hurt our budget and our economy.

Why is \$725 billion in tax cuts inappropriate at this time?

The most crucial problem is that it is not paid for. The budget resolution brought before us forecasts enormous deficits for almost the next decade. Reducing revenues by \$725 billion adds to the already mounting deficits.

In order to prevent the passage of tax cuts that would drive up the deficit and hurt our economy, I believe that we must reduce the size of this tax cut.

I joined three of my colleagues in a letter that laid out these concerns—we pledged that we would not agree to tax cuts above \$350 billion. This is crucial. The Budget Committee approved \$725 billion in tax cuts, and brought it to the Senate floor. Along with my colleagues, I promised to vote to bring this number down by \$375 billion.

In a narrowly divided Senate, it is important that both parties work together to come up with the appropriate spending and revenue targets for the budget. That is why I worked with both Democrats and Republicans. Together, we came up with a target of \$350 billion for this tax cut, and we agreed that we would all stick to that number.

As part of our commitment to try to reduce the size of the tax cut approved by the Budget Committee, we also agreed that we would not try to reduce the size of the tax cut below \$350 billion. That means I am forced to make difficult decisions. In order to keep my commitment to a more responsible tax cut, I have to vote against funding priorities like the one presented by Senator HARKIN.

During tough times, we must make tough choices. I chose to commit to a responsible tax cut. A tax cut that will prevent worsening deficits that would hurt our economy.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period for morning business.

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

LANCE CORPORAL JOSE GUTIERREZ

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a true hero—to one of the first Americans to have fallen in combat in Iraq and make the ultimate sacrifice. His name: Jose Gutierrez, a lance corporal in the United States Marine Corps. He was just 22 years old.

Corporal Gutierrez arrived in the United States when he was a 16 year old orphan, having left poverty-stricken circumstances in Guatemala City and a country racked by a brutal civil war.

He traveled over 2,000 miles by foot, north through Mexico, in search of a better life here in the United States.

Like so many immigrants, his past was soon eclipsed by his new life as an American. He was taken in by the Mosquera family of Lomita, CA. Nora and Max Mosquera had begun helping immigrant foster children when their own children had grown.

"He joined the Marines to pay back a little of what he'd gotten from the U.S.," Max Mosquera said. "For him it was a question of honor."

A tall and quiet young man who enjoyed soccer and chess, Jose learned English quickly and had plans to study architecture.

He became an infantry rifleman with the 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment. He enlisted exactly 1 year ago, on March 25, 2002, and arrived at Camp Pendleton, CA, in early September.

Corporal Gutierrez died in battle, around 4 a.m. on Friday. He was struck by enemy fire while fighting alongside fellow marines near the southern Iraqi port city of Umm al Qasr.

"He was such a good kid," remembered Robert Nobles, a physical education teacher at North High in Torrance, where Corporal Gutierrez graduated in 2000.

I have been told that news of his death has resonated throughout Guatemala. Every major newspaper, radio and TV station carried his story. He has been portrayed as a brave and selfless young man—which he most certainly was.

I have also heard that it has been difficult to locate his one blood relative, his sister, who still lives in poverty in Guatemala City. The sister is arranging to have his body sent back to Guatemala, whereas a social worker in Los Angeles, Wendy Perlera, an acquaintance of Corporal Gutierrez, wants to bring his body back to L.A.

Wherever Lance Corporal Jose Gutierrez is finally laid to rest—in the country of his birth or the country which he was willing to give his life for—he will not be forgotten.

Our thought and our prayers are with his family—with his sister in Guatemala and with the Mosquera family, who provided him with the emotional and financial support to pursue his dreams.

The fact that he died so young—just 22—is tragic. Indeed, the loss of any

young life is a tragedy. The fact that he was willing to fight—and die—for his adopted homeland, has earned him the lasting admiration of Americans everywhere.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the need for hate crimes legislation. In the last Congress Senator KENNEDY and I introduced the Local Law Enforcement Act, a bill that would add new categories to current hate crimes law, sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred December 8, 2001, in Valencia, CA. A Sikh liquor store shopkeeper was severely beaten by two men. The men first entered the store and asked the victim, "Are you Osama bin Laden?" He tried to explain that he was a Sikh and had no association with Bin Laden. The men struck him repeatedly with metal poles, causing serious head injuries. The shopkeeper managed to escape his attackers after pushing a shelf over on top of them, knocking them down.

I believe that Government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act is a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation and changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.

GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise today to support the designation of March 25, 2003, as Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy.

As in previous years, I welcome the opportunity to honor the democratic values and lasting friendship that bind our nations. Our common struggle to protect freedom and democracy at home and around the world has forged a strong partnership between Greece and the United States, a partnership which is critical to meeting today's challenges.

On the international front, Greece has played an important role in Operation Enduring Freedom and is now working with its European Union partners to support the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Greece continues to be a leader in bringing stability to the Balkans and in guiding the countries of this former region of conflict toward the community of democracies in Europe. Greece has been a steadfast ally in the fight against international terrorism, responding to every request for assistance in tracking and disrupting terrorist networks.

Greece has been actively pursuing security on the home front as well. In the last year, we welcomed the arrest in