are some other rosy scenarios in there that the objective economists do not believe will occur.

When you score this budget without using those gimmicks or rosy scenarios, as the Congressional Budget Office is required to do—they are required to make an independent analysis of the President’s budget, and they have done so.

Let me just say that we are proud of the independence of the Congressional Budget Office. They are a talented group. They work for us here. The new Director was chosen in a bipartisan way but clearly with the final power in the hands of the substantial Democratic majority in the Senate. They control the ultimate choice of the Congressional Budget Office.

They come out not with a $712 billion deficit for that year—not $912 billion but $1.2 trillion, $500 billion higher when you take into account the trillions that are fair and honest and accurate. coming out with $1.2 trillion in deficit, not $700 billion in deficit. There will not be, in this entire 10-year period, taking President Obama’s own numbers, and certainly not in the Congressional Budget Office’s numbers, a single year that is close to as low as the $455 billion deficit of President Bush’s last year. Most of them are twice that or will average twice that.

So what I wish to say to my colleagues is that this is not sustainable.

The President had a great meeting with the Republicans one day at lunch in the room right over here. He was very thoughtful and asked me to double check on any questions asked. I thought he was very sincere when he said: Look, we are going to have to spend a lot of money now, but when this economy comes back we are all going to have to work together to reduce the size and scope of government.

But when you propose a budget that has deficits increasing every year over the next 5 years and reaching, in the Congressional Budget Office’s numbers, $712 billion in deficit—and according to CBO, $1.2 trillion—then I can’t take that very seriously. There is not one act in this budget plan of any significant evaluation of the out-of-control entitlement programs we have or how to bring those under control.

So that is not politics; that is reality. It is not acceptable. We have to say no to this budget. I know my Democratic colleagues are uneasy about those numbers. They tell me they are uneasy about them. They want to support their President. They want to pass this budget. But at some point, I think my colleagues are going to have to say no. I hope they will. Certainly, the Republicans can’t say no; we don’t have enough votes.

Now, Senator THUNE made reference to this number.

Madam President, what is our timeframe?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business expires at 4 o’clock p.m., in several minutes.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam President, I would just point out these numbers. The public debt, which I think is probably the clearest definition of what our debt situation is—you can argue about that, but the public debt, I believe, is correct—is now $5.8 trillion. In 5 years, it will be $11.3 trillion, a doubling of the debt; and in 10 years, another 5 years, it will be $15.3 trillion, tripling—that is the debt since the founding of the Republic—$5 trillion right here. In 10 years, we are going to triple the total debt. That is not acceptable. And they are projecting not a recession in the next 10 years after we get out of this one, they are projecting growth, no wars, and it is still like this. The truth is, those of us who observed budgeting before don’t stay to the budget totals; we usually go over them through some sort of gimmick or maneuver.

How about another number that is disturbing to me—very disturbing. The White House’s own estimate of interest payments in the budget is $148 billion for 2009. According to CBO, they estimate it higher at $170 billion.

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

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to have 2 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SESSIONS. It shows the interest rate or payments on this tripling debt reaching $694 billion, according to the White House’s own estimate, in 2019, to the people who buy our debt—the largest foreign recipient of which is China. CBO says that is underestimated. They calculate it to be $806 billion. The entire general fund of the State of Alabama, an average-size State, is about $7 billion for the counties, schools, teachers, and roads. The highway budgets for the United States of America is $40 billion a year, including interstate, all the money we send to the States, and all of the pork money we put on top of it. This is $806 billion in interest alone on a debt that we have run up in previous years. That is why people are worried about it.

I will conclude with that and say, again, I know we all get caught up in politics, that is true. But this year, this budget is not a normal budget. It is gargantuan.

It is a gargantuan budget, the likes of which we have not seen before. It results in debt increases that are not sustainable. It has no projection of any containment of spending. It does nothing to deal with the entitlements difficulties that are driving much of the debt, and it cannot be passed in this fashion.

I urge my Democratic colleagues to say: No, Mr. President, you have to go back and look at this some more. We cannot pass this budget and not just take a few hundred billion dollars off, or something like that. We need to have a serious discussion of the financial condition of our country. I think the Republicans will be there trying to work with you on it. But without some leadership from the other side, this budget will go into effect. I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

NATIONAL SERVICE REAUTHORIZATION ACT—MOTION TO PROCEED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of the motion to proceed to H.R. 1388, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

Motion to proceed to consideration of the bill (H.R. 1388) to reauthorize and reform the national service laws.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to add the previously scheduled 6 p.m. cloture vote now occur at 5:45 p.m., and that 10 minutes immediately prior to 5:45 p.m. be divided as previously ordered, and that all other provisions of the previous order remain in effect.

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

Ms. MIKULSKI. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. REID. Madam President, for the information of Members, a number of Senators wanted us to start the vote earlier tonight, and we are happy to do that. For those who aren’t going to arrive until 6 o’clock, we will drag the vote out so they will not miss an important vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Madam President, I am proud today to bring the legislation to the floor entitled Serve America Act. This bill is the result of extensive bipartisan work by Senators KENNEDY and HATCH who have worked more than a year on this legislation but who have devoted their lives to this bill. I know in a short time I will be joined by the distinguished Senator from Utah, Mr. HATCH, who was one of the prime sponsors of the bill. Senator ENZI of Wyoming, the ranking member of the Health, Education Committee, was also going to be here. He is in a snowstorm in Wyoming. Senator ENZI will bring his remarks to the floor tomorrow.

Let me just say that I want to, first of all, salute Senators KENNEDY and HATCH for designing this legislation because it expands the opportunity to serve this country. At the same time, Senator ENZI and Senator DODD worked assiduously to strengthen the bill.

Senator ENZI brought very key legislative analysis to the bill, and his background as an accountant gave us
very much needed reforms in the area of greater accountability and stewardship. I want to, on behalf of our side of the aisle, thank him for his insight and know-how. We have adopted every single one of the Enzi stewardship recommendations.

Our colleague, Senator Dodd of Connecticut, himself a former Peace Corps volunteer, has also brought additional thinking to the bill to make sure that volunteers are rewarded by making sure we could expand the summer of service and the sector of service.

Madam President, I have been no stranger to this bill, and one of the things I have done was be the appropriator for appropriations from the time of its inception, from 1993 to 2004, when the VA-HUD and Independent Agencies Committee was dissolved by Mr. Delay of Texas in the House, and the Senate followed suit. That is a chatty way of saying that Senator Kt Bond, who chaired that subcommittee as my ranking member, was able to make national service functioning and also very much needed reforms.

In 2004, Senators Harkin and Specter got the appropriations portfolio for national service, and they have done an outstanding job all this way. And when that we bring up this bill, it is not a Democratic bill; it is a bipartisan bill and an American bill. Ever since the framework for the underlying legislation was created more than a decade ago, we have worked on both sides of the aisle, with Presidents of both parties, to give our young people an opportunity to serve. This has been an outstanding effort.

Today, the legislation I bring to the Senate floor on their behalf is the result of considerable experience, lots of lessons learned, and also the recognition and knowledge that there is a new invigorated spirit in the United States of America. Some are calling it the "Obama effect" because there are so many people who want to give back to the United States of America, to use their own sweat equity to be involved in our communities to make them a better place to be, for our schools to be able to be more effective, for there to be structured afterschool activities for children, and volunteer efforts to add to more housing for Habitat for Humanity—item after item, we could go.

Let me give a couple of examples, and you can see the American philosophy at work in AmeriCorps. In terms of our social inventions, what are some? Well, you know we are the country that invented night school. At the turn of the old century, with so many immigrants coming from Europe, with Lady Liberty raising her hand saying: Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free—and they also wanted to learn to read English, write, and earn citizenship. But they were working night and day to be able to do that.

Out of the great settlement houses—primarily the great settlement houses out of New York and Chicago—they said: If you work during the day, we are going to give you an opportunity to learn at night. Out of that settlement house movement came a new social invention called night school. It was never done anywhere else in the world. Look how the great school changed the face of America.

Then, while our GIs went overseas and then came back home, we had another social invention that said: We want to thank you not only with words but with deeds. So another empowerment legislation was called the GI bill, which created one great, gigantic opportunity ladder for generations of men who would have never had the opportunity for either education or home ownership to be able to move ahead.

Along the way, they knew they could not go off to 4 years of college. They were adults. They had seen war and they had liberated death camps. They could not come back and go "bula bula"; they had to go to work. So we invented something else, too, called the junior college, or the community college, which in and of itself was a social invention.

So you see, every generation comes to the floor and called them "the Obamas"; they had to go to work. So we invented something else, too, called the junior college, or the community college, which in and of itself was a social invention.

What is it we wanted to do? A social invention for the nineties? What did we face? We saw two things: No. 1, students had incredible debt—and they still do. Their first "mortgage" was not a home but what they owed in terms of their college debt. Also, we saw a new trend coming to America called the "me" generation. Articles and books were being written about it. There were those on both sides of the aisle who wanted to change the "me" generation to the "we" generation. We wanted to say: How can we help with student debt? That is when we thought about national community service, where you could give back to your country, learn the habits of the heart that de Tocqueville talked about—neighbor helping neighbor, the signature of America, from barn raising to Habitat for Humanity, and habits of the heart and Habitat for Humanity.

We created national service as a form. We didn't want it to be service only for idealistic, affluent kids who could afford to take 2 years off to find themselves. We wanted them to find opportunity to be of service and also to make an important contribution.

That was the original national service legislation. We wanted to strike a balance between precollege and postcollege to help pay for college, get ready for college or to learn a trade. We also wanted to provide the opportunity for retired people to be of service and also, while being of service, to earn a modest voucher to pay down student debt.

We wanted to make sure we could do this in a way that was sensible, affordable, and also would involve the flexibility and creativity of the local community.

We allow not only full-time volunteers but the opportunity for part-time volunteers. Actually, the part-time volunteer was my first social work hat again, what I saw in our communities was not everybody can go away and not everybody wants to go away. It could be someone disabled, where their whole support system is in that community. And although they have a physical challenge, they can still give. How about that single mother who graduated from a community college and wants to reduce her debt as she is moving on with her career? This would give her a chance to do that.

There were important lessons learned, and for more than a decade we worked on it. But not all was rosy, not all was smooth. What we then saw in 2003, when I was the ranking member on the appropriations subcommittee funding national service, is they created a debacle. God, did they get sloppy. One of their most colossal errors was that they enrolled over 20,000 volunteers and could not afford to pay for it. That is how sloppy they were in their accounting.

I took to the floor and called them the "Enron of nonprofits." I called for...
a new board, a new CEO, and new rules of engagement. President Bush responded, and he gave us the right people to right the ship of national service.

I must say, in those 6 years since then, they have worked to do so. They have righted the ship, they have good financial accounting, and people continue to volunteer.

But all that is history. What about the next century now? Wow, people want to volunteer like never before. Do you know that last year 35,000 college seniors applied for Teach America? There were only 4,000 slots. There were 35,000 young people who wanted to do it. The Peace Corps got 15,000 applicants last year for 4,000 slots. People want to serve.

While we saw this new flourishing of desire and passion to serve, Senators Kennedy and Hatch put their abilities and their human need and passion for this issue together and have come up with the Kennedy-Hatch Serve America Act. It is a great bill. Let me tell you about it.

First of all, it improves the number of national volunteers. Over a 7-year period, it would take the volunteers from 75,000 slots to 250,000 slots. But this bill is more about creating opportunities and for people to serve. It is about meeting compelling human needs.

We are going to also expand this bill with lessons learned on focusing some of our AmeriCorps activity into specialized corps. These are what we found. Education corps; another, a health futures corps; another, a veterans corps; and another called opportunity corps. These are not outside of AmeriCorps. They will be subsets because we find this is where compelled education and where this time offers great opportunity for volunteers to do it.

What does the education corps do? It improves student engagement. It works with young people in schools in supplementing, such as tutoring, field trips, and particularly in these structured school activities. We have found that where they have focused on education, they have improved student academic achievement and graduation rates.

Also, we have something called the clean energy service corps. This is going to work to weatherize more low-income households to be more energy efficient and savings.

We have a health futures corps that will work to increase access to health care among low-income and underserved populations but at the same time work on health promotion and wellness primarily in schools, to teach our young people the kind of cool, new, edgy ways of doing those healthy habits that will change their lives for a lifetime.

We also are working on a veterans corps to help create housing units for deployed soldiers and to help also with voluntarism to assist military families when a military family is deployed.

I heard of a very innovative approach in Hawaii called Grannies for the Troops. That is grandmothers in the area who want to volunteer to help women whose husbands are deployed with some time off for themselves to go shopping, get other family business done, work with a volunteer coordinator to make that happen. That is the kind of innovation we are going to have.

We also have in this program help for retirees. We keep all our senior programs and we get something called an encore fellowship for an older generation to serve. We also provide the opportunity for professionals called volunteers for prosperity to serve overseas. Those two ideas from Senator Hatch were very helpful.

This bill takes AmeriCorps and focuses it in a way that we think offers greater efficiency and provides some other new opportunities to serve, such as the summer of service and the service academies that concentrate on improving the capacity of our non-profit organizations in some other very innovative ways.

This is just a brief summary of the history that brought us to today and the framework that will take us to tomorrow.

In the last Congress, there was a lot of talk about bridges to nowhere. National Service is a bridge to somewhere. I wish to note that health corps programs, we already have one that will continue to function under this health umbrella in AmeriCorps. Not only do we help people get connected to the services for which they are eligible, but 65 percent of the young people who work in the National Community Health Corps Program go on themselves to health care jobs. Some decide on a career in medicine. Some think: Wow, although I already have my degree, I think I will go into an accelerated program, where they have the accelerated program for people with degrees. Others are looking at careers in public health or in x-ray technology. They get turned on.

For people who go into education, they say: You know, I was going to do this for a stint. I want it to be my life’s work. They then will go into the field of education as teachers and getting extra degrees and doing a good job. They are the reformers of the next generation. Whatever we do in national service serves the community immediately today, but the impact on the volunteers continues for the rest of their lives.

I think this is a great social investment, and it is a public investment in our young people to help our communities that I think will pay dividends long beyond anything we can imagine. I hope this bill is adopted by late tomorrow. I hope we can keep amendments to a minimum and do believe we have had excellent help on both sides of the aisle. We talk about changing direction in this country. I think people do want a new direction. They want to rekindle the habits of the heart. There are a lot of people out there, as we talked about bonuses, who might be talking about “me,” but there are a lot of young people who want to be part of the “we” generation.

I think this bill and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, last May, then-Senator Barack Obama gave a commencement address at Wesleyan University. Senator Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts had been originally scheduled to speak to the graduates, but Senator Kennedy had taken ill and Senator Obama spoke in his place.

In a tribute to Ted Kennedy’s lifetime of service to America, Senator Obama spoke to the graduates about the importance of national service. It was a remarkable speech. In fact, what he told the graduates was his life story, about how Barack Obama, after graduating from an Ivy League college, could have gone to law school or Wall Street with many of his classmates. But, instead, he took a job as a community organizer on the south side of Chicago.

Many people know this story because they have heard Barack tell it. They may have read about it when the President published his autobiography, “Dreams From My Father,” of how he ended up with a broken down little car, taking a job that didn’t pay very much as a community organizer in a section of Chicago that had been wracked by the closing of steel mills and all the unemployment and hardship that followed. It wasn’t easy work for him. He went church to church trying to organize people in the neighborhoods. The pay wasn’t very good, but he knew he was making a difference. He made friends and connections. He learned a lot about life, and he learned a lot about himself. He found direction in his life from those moments that he spent volunteering and giving back to his community.

President Obama—then Senator Obama—called on the graduates at
We know we need them. A student drops out of school every 26 seconds in this city. City Year volunteers are helping to keep Chicago students in school and on the road to success.

When asked to share the impact of the City Year corps members on their classroom, teachers recently said:

All of my students who are being tutored are more interested in reading. They are more confident in themselves as striving learners.

It works and it works in both directions. The students are better off; so are the volunteers.

This week we are considering a bill that will dramatically expand national service programs, giving more Americans the chance to serve their country. I thank Senator Mikulski for leading us in this effort, bringing this to the floor. The original cosponsors of the bill, of course, were Senator Ted Kennedy and Senator Orrin Hatch. I joined a long list of Democrats and Republicans as cosponsors as well. Both Senators Kennedy and Hatch have a long personal commitment to service, and this bill is a testament to their public legacy. Senator Mikulski is bringing this to the floor in Senator Kennedy’s absence. I know she will handle this bill well. She always does.

The Serve America Act will triple the number of national service participants to 250,000 participants within 8 years. Along with this dramatic expansion, the bill will create new corps within AmeriCorps, focused on areas of national need that include education, the environment, health care, economic opportunity, and helping our veterans.

We are expanding opportunities to serve for Americans in every stage in life. Middle and high school students will be encouraged to participate in service projects during the summer and after school. By serving their communities early in life, these students will be put on a path to a lifetime habit of service.

For working Americans who cannot commit to full-time service, the bill provides funding to community organizations for recruiting and managing part-time volunteers; retirees will be given new opportunities to serve through the Senior Corps, as it exists, and through new initiatives. The bill also increases the education award for one year to $5,600, paid out by all who complete a year’s service.

We are asking Americans to meet the new class—and I love this—of young volunteers who are reporting record numbers of service.

President Obama repeated this call to service throughout his campaign and now into his Presidency. He has called on all Americans to find a way to serve their neighbors and their community to make this Nation a better place.

Over the last few months, we have heard too many stories about the so-called successful people who have followed their ambitions, and sometimes their greed, and the economy and country have suffered. But there are so many other stories to be told—community organizations across this Nation that are reporting record numbers of volunteers coming through their doors as we face this big, bad recession. Many of these new volunteers have recently lost their jobs, but they still want to answer the President’s call and give back to their communities.

That is the spirit that truly makes America great. Even in the most troubling times, Americans think of those who are suffering, those who have lost their homes or can’t put food on the table, and they want to help. There isn’t a community in America where you can’t find this spirit, and you can find it on the street corners, in church basements, in afternoon and weekend efforts of people just wanting to give a little bit back and to help those less fortunate.

In my State of Illinois, each year 2.7 million volunteers dedicate over 300 million hours of service. The estimated economic contribution of those hours is $5.9 billion annually. More than 66,000 of these volunteers participate in national service programs through 144 different sites in Chicago. In Chicago, the City Year program is one of my favorites. It places young volunteers to work full time in some of Chicago’s neediest schools. There they serve as tutors, mentors, and role models for Chicago’s students.

They usually call me in once a year to meet the new class—and I love them. They are just so bristling with energy and determination and commitment. Many of them are doing something in a community sense that they have never done in their lives. Many of them are in Chicago for the first time, dazzled by the city but dazzled as well by the people they are working with.

I would like to discuss the context in which this legislation has moved forward to give us some perspective as to what is about to happen. After months of discussion, negotiation, debate, and flatout argument, Senator Kennedy and I introduced the original version of the Serve America Act last September in the middle of the other budget considerations of campaign season. Despite the overly partisan atmosphere at the time, a bipartisan group of Senators offered their
support for this bill. Even though the differences between the two Presidential candidates were played out on news shows every night, both of them were willing to put their debates aside and become original cosponsors. That pleased me.

I would like, once again, to thank Senator MCCAIN for his continued support, not only for this particular piece of legislation but for volunteer service in general. He has truly been a leader on this issue throughout his life and has rightly won the admiration of those on both sides of the aisle.

In addition to the Kennedy-Hatch legislation, the Serve America Act, the Senate bill also includes legislation that will reauthorize the Corporation of National and Community Service. The reauthorization effort has been led by distinguished ranking member of the HELP Committee, Senator ENZI, and has worked tirelessly with both Senator KENNEDY and Senator MIKULSKI to reach a bipartisan accord on these much-needed provisions.

In addition to Senators KENNEDY and MCCAIN, I extend my thanks, my deep-felt thanks to Senators ENZI and MIKULSKI for their outstanding work on the legislation before us today. Both of them are outstanding legislators. They are both beloved people in this body. I, personally, feel that way toward each of them.

At the same time all this work has been going on in the Senate, we have been working with both Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives to ensure that both Chambers reach similar conclusions with their national service legislation. This has all been accomplished during a time when, for the most part, partisan hostilities have done anything but subside. Since the beginning of the new Congress, we have seen debates on legislation such as the SCHIP bill, the stimulus package and the Omnibus appropriations bill that, in many ways, have deepened the divisions between the two parties. Here in a few weeks, as we begin debate on the budget, we are sure to see even greater clashes between the principled beliefs and ideologies between those on both sides of the aisle.

However, the bill we have before us today is the result of a bipartisan and bicameral effort. In our opinion, this is nothing short of remarkable, given the current political climate.

One Senate effort has been spearheaded by myself, Senator KENNEDY, Senator ENZI, and Senator MIKULSKI. I doubt any other piece of legislation we consider this year will be the product of such a diversity of views. I have no reason to extend myudos has carried this matter on behalf of Senator KENNEDY. I have nothing but tremendous respect for her.

I will not be foolish enough to claim the credit for all this good will, but I am certainly grateful to be a beneficiary.

Service has been one of the golden threads of our Democracy, and the roots of our tradition run deep. Ronald Reagan put this powerful tradition of volunteer service in its appropriate context when he said, speaking of the Mayflower Compact:

“The single act—the voluntary binding together of a people as a community for the common defense—set the pattern for what was to come.

A century and a half later, the descendants of those people pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to defend this nation. Some forfeited their fortunes and their lives; none sacrificed honor. Four score and seven years later, Abraham Lincoln called upon the American people to renew their dedication and their commitment to a government of, for and by the people. Isn’t it time once again to renew our own compact of freedom; to pledge to each other all that is best in our lives; all that gives meaning to us—for the sake of this, our beloved and blessed land?”

Together we have done this a new beginning. Let us make a commitment to care for the needy; to teach our children the values and the virtues handed down to us by our ancestors; to defend the faiths of those who hold them dear; to respect the values and the willingness to sacrifice for them.

Let us pledge to restore, in our time, the American spirit of voluntary service, of cooperation, of private and community initiative; a spirit that flows like a deep and mighty river through the history of our nation.

President Reagan had a very good way of putting things.

President Reagan was not alone in his call for service. Presidents down the generations, Republicans and Democrats alike—Teddy and Franklin Roosevelt; Eisenhower and Kennedy; Johnson and Nixon; Carter and George Herbert Walker Bush; and Clinton and George W. Bush—have all worked to awaken the national consciousness to their duties and responsibilities as citizens, to light in every individual that spark of voluntary service, the seed of compassion that makes us serve, causes larger than ourselves.

They have done so particularly in times of crisis—during the Great Depression, during our world wars, and after 9/11. Times of trial have always summoned the greatness of our people, and we are right now in a time of challenge today.

Service can take many forms in a free country, and we all have choices, not only as to whether we will serve but how we will serve. There is no greater example of service than those who put on the military uniform and go into battle for our country. Many of the men and women of the military service make the ultimate sacrifice. They put their lives on the line for our country. Millions have lost their lives, so we might be free.

There are more than 26 million Americans alive today who have served in our armed services. They epitomize American values, the values of duty, honor, and country. They also inspire new generations to ask what they can do for their country.

Other Americans may decide to go into public or Government service. This is a choice that is made by State and municipal workers, by teachers and police officers, and, yes, by Senators and their staffs—to serve the public interest through their public institutions. I have to admit, I left my own law practice, where we had just started it a few years before, I had left my own law firm and I joined a public interest law firm. We were going like gangbusters. My partner is worth a lot of money today. I am not. But I made this choice to come and work for our country. It is made by all these good people, to serve the public interests through our public institutions.

Service to country can take other forms. Many Americans want to serve for a full year or part of a year of national service. Others may want to volunteer to serve in countries abroad for short-term or long-term assignments. We had two people come back last night from a mission over in Africa. He served his whole working life as a chaplain. Service in our military is voluntary as is service in our soup kitchens. Public service is not only a voluntary activity, but for many of us subject to regular elections where the citizens get to exercise their own judgment. Someone who is a candidate for office will exercise the privilege of serving them.

Consistent with our All-Volunteer Army and volunteer opportunities and individuals’ choice in communities, nothing in this legislation is mandatory. This bill simply provides more Americans more choices and opportunities to give back to their neighborhoods and their country all through the forms that they choose.

With a backdrop of this rich history of citizen service in America, Senator KENNEDY and I began discussions more than a year ago about what we might do together to build on the tradition of Americans supporting one another, and so we might be free. This is because both of us love his sister, Eunice Kennedy Shriver. We have watched this woman year after year after year give service to this country Pittsfield, Massachusetts, to children all over the world; not just through the Special Olympics—but especially through the Special Olympics—but in so many other ways. I admire her about as much as any woman.
in our society today for what she has been able to do with her life. She is a 90-pound dynamo who just keeps going. I think—well, I will not say it because I know it can be embarrassing to her. But the fact is, she is a terrific human being.

I have chatted with all kinds of other people who are giving tremendous service to their fellow human beings, men and women, children, throughout our society. You know, Senator KENNEDY and I and others did work on ideas from Republicans behind the scenes. With my friend Senator JOHN MCCAIN, who introduced his own bill almost a decade ago and, as I mentioned, endorsed the Serve America Act in the midst of his Presidential campaign.

We drew on ideas from Democrats, such as the godmother of national and community service, that is Senator BARBARA MUKULSKI. We hear of godmothers such as the godmother of national and international service. We have the attention of our new President. He has talked to me about this. I know he has talked to Senator KENNEDY about this. He completely supports this. He knows how important it is. I have respect for him for jumping right in and helping us with this.

We decided we wanted to create more opportunities for Americans to serve over their lifetimes, so schoolchildren can learn the importance of giving back at a young age, for tapping into the talents of the longest living, healthiest, best educated, and most highly skilled generations of older Americans in our history.

We wanted to tap the ingenuity of our people working through schools, faith-based institutions, workplaces, and communities in America and across the world to tackle challenges large and small.

So today I am very pleased to be here as legislation makes it over what I hope will be the final few obstacles before becoming law. With this bill, our efforts to keep service will begin early in our schools all across America, and where we can marry learning in classrooms with service in our communities, for those who choose such service learning.

We knew a high school dropout epidemic in America, with almost one-third of all students, and nearly 50 percent of African Americans, Hispanic, and Native Americans, failing to graduate with their class. For each of these kids a decision to drop out is a million dollar mistake, since they will earn that much less over a lifetime than their college graduate friends.

For our country a multibillion dollar mistake in increased welfare, prison, and health care costs, and lost revenues from the lack of productive workers. Service learning has been shown to keep students engaged in school, and to boost student academic achievement. So we will offer competitive grants to local and State partnerships to carry out these efforts in our schools.

Again, all of this will be voluntary activity, and it holds the promise of keeping so many of our young people engaged in school. In addition to elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities can play a critical role in the culture of service, so we will authorize the Corporation for National and Community Service to recognize institutions that meet these criteria and provide additional funding to "campuses of service" that do an outstanding job in engaging their students in important community work.

The U.S. Census Bureau tells us that nearly 6 million Americans volunteered through or for an organization last year. Most Americans did so through religious organizations, followed by nonprofits, related to education and youth. While many charities believe volunteers are essential to meeting their missions, only a small percentage of them actually invest in recruiting, training, and utilizing volunteers to meet those missions.

There are always waiting lists of volunteers who want to use their time and talents, but too often they are turned away or they do not come back after a bad experience. So we will invest in a new volunteer generation fund, which will include matching funds by the private sector to increase the capacity of organizations to use volunteers to meet local needs, especially among the poor and disadvantaged.

America is known for its innovation in business and the power of its markets to foster and support the next generation of great ideas in the social marketplace, such as Teach for America, City Year, Habitat for Humanity, and the U.S. Dream Academy, which are some of the many innovative ideas of our day.

Having mentioned the U.S. Dream Academy, that was started by a wonderful African-American man named Wintley Phipps. Wintley is a Seventh Day Adventist minister. But he decided there were too many of our young African-American kids and others who were children of prisoners, children of people who had been sent to prison, and that this was a population that would wind up in prison themselves unless we did something about it. So he has brought computers into the inner cities. He has brought wonderful teachers and others who could be making themselves wealthy outside of this program, who are teaching these kids how to live in a modern world. He has had an amazing transformational change in so many children.

These are the types of things we have to encourage. The idea behind service clearly has always been about transforming the person who serves. I saw how it changed my own life when I served a 2-year mission for my church in the Great Lakes mission. That was Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. A lot of our young missionaries serve all over the world, such as the young couple I mentioned last night. They came back from Kenya and Nairobi, where they served I think about a year and a half. Their main job was humanitarian, to help people to be able to know there is a better way; to find water for people, to help them with food, to help them with so many of their problems, to help them with their health care. They did that voluntarily, at their own expense. Think about it, at their own expense.

I did my voluntary 2-year service at my own expense. I actually presided over the congregation and saw that thousands and thousands of people who had problems, and in the process, the one who was helped the most was myself. It was a great blessing in my life. I would not change it for being a Senator, as a matter of fact. It was 2 years out of my life, but the most important 2 years, outside of marriage to Elaine and raising a family with 6 kids, now 23 grandchildren, and 3 great-grandchildren. That was an important time in my life. My folks were poor. They were not wealthy. They helped me and assisted me on my mission. We paid for it all ourselves, and I gave 2 solid years every day, 18 hours a day. I was very dedicated.

Service is also about solving problems in our Nation, and bringing real hope and impact on the ground in our communities with real accountability for results. Some people have written off this bill as promoting "paid volunteerism." This mistaken view is as a result of a fundamental misunderstanding about these programs. National service programs give Americans opportunities for us to serve for a full year or more to tackle tough problems, and that they augment our average Federal investment in them to mobilize more traditional volunteers to help.

When you look at the numbers, you can see it is a very smart return on investment. Let me illustrate how this works. Today about 75,000 people participate in national Federal service programs every year. I am not counting the States programs at this point, although I know some of these work in the States as well. But on AmericaCorps and programs such as this, Peace Corps, et cetera, the currently existing programs, there are about 75,000 volunteers who participate
in national service programs every year.

Now, as a result of their efforts, 2.2 million traditional persons every year come out to work on the same projects without pay. That is nearly 50 volunteers who get nothing from Government, for every 1 participant in a national service program, who receive a below-poverty stipend and a small education award to defray the cost of higher education. Let us do the math. If we assume that as we expand national service, as this bill does, the same ratio of participants to leveraged volunteers holds, we will eventually be seeing roughly 7.5 million new unpaid volunteers every year serving throughout our great Nation.

My gosh, that is something worthwhile doing. Personally, I think it would be more than that. Because with the bill we are also improving the efficiency of the government, national service opportunities outlined in this bill are specific to leveraged efforts. We find that people, once they get into this, will love it and want to continue.

We envision national service opportunities to build upon this multiplying effect in order to tap the power of our Nation's greatest asset, our people, to take on some of these large challenges.

Now, some have argued that the priorities outlined in this bill are specifically designed to advance the President's domestic agenda or his priorities with the recent stimulus bill. Well, quite honestly, these people must as-
enterprise of the American people will always have a comparative advantage over big government solutions. I know this from my own personal experience, serving as a Mormon missionary when I was only 20 years old, 20 to 22. I am proud to be here tonight with the President to remind Americans of their duties to their country, to provide them more opportunities to serve it, and to fulfill the promise of the American experiment, which is truly based on their participation in making it all work. I have confidence in the American people that they will make this work, and we will all be very happy when they do.

I yield the floor.

"THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. Madam President, let me begin by thanking the Senator from Utah, whose leadership on this effort has been absolutely spectacular and who obviously, from the words he just spoke, has a deeply personal and historical understanding of the importance of this kind of service. We are all very grateful to him for his partnership with my colleague, Senator KENNEDY, and for the leadership he has offered along the way. I would concur with every word he said about all of the good things he said it would do. I couldn't agree more. It will do all those things and more. This is one of the better moments and better bills for which we get an opportunity as Senator to vote.

May I also thank Senator MIKULSKI. She has been tenacious and unbelievably engaged and enthusiastic and wonderful in her commitment to help bring us to this moment. I know how much Senator KENNEDY and Senator HATCH both value the contribution she has made. We all value it. We are grateful to her for stepping in. She has been a tiger. Perish the thought for anybody who has wanted to run counterman for this and get this done. I want to speak for a couple moments. I yield myself perhaps 5 minutes. I think we have about 7½ remaining.

This effort we will vote on is going to generate the largest expansion in national service since President Kennedy inspired the creation of VISTA and the Peace Corps. For many of us in public life today, that was the formative moment. That was the demarcation point that was an all-handful of us about public service and brought a lot of us into this arena.

It is particularly fitting that this legislation comes at a time when a new President is inspiring a whole new era of volunteerism, much as President Kennedy did nearly half a century ago. It is equally fitting and appropriate that this legislation bears the name of our friend and beloved colleague, my senior Senator from Massachusetts, Ted KENNEDY. As President Obama observed to Congress, Senator KENNEDY is "an American who has never stopped asking what he can do for his country." It was under Senator KENNEDY's leadership as chairman of the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee that this bill was crafted.

This is nothing new for Senator KENNEDY. In 1990, Senator KENNEDY worked with the first President Bush to pass the original National Community Service Act, the Thousand Points of Light Foundation. President Bush called that particular effort, helped by Senator KENNEDY, the hallmark of his Presidency. When President Clinton needed a champion for the proposed Corporation for National Community Service, he didn't have to look any further than Ted KENNEDY.

As Senator KENNEDY notes, "Service is a bipartisan goal." Indeed, Members of Congress from across the political spectrum have pledged their support for this measure, which is a clear indication that the ethic of service is spawned not by faithfulness to party but by devotion to country and community.

The Serve America Act is also the work of our colleague from Utah, Senator Orrin Hatch. Senator Hatch has on many occasions been 'Ted Kennedy's partner in these kinds of bipartisan efforts. Senator HATCH points out that volunteer service is the lifeblood of our Nation and that it benefits the volunteer and country and that community or help other people or do something openly on behalf of their country the volunteer is serving. We just heard those words a moment ago from Senator Hatch when he talked about his own experience as a young person, about the mission for faith that he called the greatest of his life. Service is what has always made America America.

Many times in 2004, when I was running for President, I talked about de Tocqueville's visit to our country and how he found something special here. He wrote about it. He wrote that "America is great because Americans are good." What he meant by that was he had observed this extraordinary blend of spirit and patriotism that was defined by Americans who would voluntarily give back to their community or help other people or do something openly on behalf of their country and that community. He clearly had not seen or witnessed that kind of giving in his experience in Europe.

Just as it was in de Tocqueville's day, Americans in many ways, big and small, are looking for opportunities to do more for their country. Last year, 62 million Americans gave 8 billion hours of service to the country. Last month, AmeriCorps had tripled the number of applications over the same month as a year ago. I note that my own kids who graduated recently from college came to me and my how so many of their classmates in college were all engaged in some kind of local activity, not necessarily fighting on the national stage, but they were involved mentoring kids or helping in a homeless shelter. In national and educational institutions across the country boast unbelievably high percentages of voluntarism.

They are sending us a signal, telling us why this is a good moment to create a new corps of 175,000 volunteers who are going to be organized and assist in their efforts to do the things we need to do in America. That means that in addition to the other volunteer programs that will be created as a quarter of a million Americans serving full time or part time working to meet some of our most pressing challenges: modernizing schools, building homes, serving as mentors or tutors in schools, with the sick in hospitals and clinics. And with the Serve America Act, it is going to be a lot easier for professionals and retirees, the baby boomers, the people who were first challenged by President Kennedy's call to service in 1961, it is going to be much easier for them to get involved once again.

So we face great challenges. We should have no illusion about the magnitude of those challenges. But we also know that extraordinary opportunities to serve it, and to fulfill the promise of the American experience, to remind Americans of their duties to our country and that it benefits the volunteer service is the lifeblood of our Nation and that it benefits the volunteer and country and that community or help other people or do something openly on behalf of their country the volunteer is serving. We just heard those words a moment ago from Senator Hatch when he talked about his own experience as a young person, about the mission for faith that he called the greatest of his life. Service is what has always made America America.

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exactly that. It is a bipartisan measure to strengthen service and volunteer opportunities. It expands opportunities for individuals of all ages to serve. Its passage is important now, when so many communities are struggling with so many pressing problems and so many services.

This act invites many more Americans to give a year of service to solve specific challenges in the areas of education, healthy futures, clean energy, even helping our veterans. When they come home from overseas, they are going to have somebody to be with them to get connected to the services and to help those military families while they are serving abroad.

We can do this by passing this legislation. It expands the number of national service corps participants to 250,000 a year. But we do that over a 7-year period. We will be able, through prudent pacing of both recruitment and funding, to do it over a 7-year period.

It uses the Eli Segal Education Award from $4,725 to $5,350, pegging it to Pell grants, helping those who want to serve be able to reduce their student debt or to get a voucher to be able to pursue higher education. It also increases increased service opportunities for students, particularly very young people in the Learn and Serve Program, and middle and high school students through a summer of service and a semester of service. It also recruits retirees. Many retirees are ready, able, and willing to be involved through Senior Corps programs—RSVP, Senior Companions, and Foster Grandparents.

We have a program called Encore Fellowships to help retirees participate in longer term public service. It also supports international service opportunities. Senator HATCH is too modest to talk about his own fine hand in this bill, but he has offered an excellent suggestion that has been incorporated. The bill, but he has offered an excellent suggestion that has been incorporated. The bill, but he has offered an excellent suggestion that has been incorporated. The bill, but he has offered an excellent suggestion that has been incorporated.

Like I say, with 75,000 for AmeriCorps, and some of the others we have mentioned, we estimate there are 2.2 million people, extrapolated out, who want to serve. And many of them happen to be youth who basically are leveraged out, to take a really interesting role on this bill, and Senator ENZI, and he came to see me in my office. He heard I was interested in doing a service in America bill, and he came and went over it with me and was very interested and has done a great deal to inspire a number of us on both sides of the floor to be able to do some things in this area.

I also want to thank Pastor Rick Warren. A year ago, he came to see me in my office. He heard I was interested in doing a service in America bill, and he came and went over it with me and was very interested and has done a great deal to inspire a number of us on both sides of the floor to be able to do some things in this area.

I also want to thank JOHN MCCAIN. I have mentioned President Obama and Senator MCCAIN, both of whom are supporters of this act. And if you talk about bipartisanship—I think it shows the great character of Senator MCCAIN that he would come and support this type of legislation and, as he is want to do, to do so in such a way that I have such respect for him and for the President himself. He has been nothing but a great help to us in this matter.

Like I say, this is an opportunity for all of us to vote for a program that will get people involved from teenage years through senior citizen years, the vast majority of whom will not be paid a dime, the vast majority of whom will be leveraged into working because they want to serve the communities. They want to be a part of organizations. They want to be part of doing good.

I hope everybody will vote for cloture tonight. I also hope we can pass this bill in a relatively short period of time, and I hope we can make it truly bipartisan in every way. We have endeavored to do that. I think we have done a good job on it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Maryland. So such a pivotal role on this bill, she and Senator ENZI in particular. And, of course, Senator KENNEDY and I both feel very deeply toward her and Senator ENZI.

I also want to thank Pastor Rick Warren. A year ago, he came to see me in my office. He heard I was interested in doing a service in America bill, and he came and went over it with me and was very interested and has done a great deal to inspire a number of us on both sides of the floor to be able to do some things in this area.

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a renewable resource right here at home that is reducing our dependence on foreign oil and fossil fuels, and it has contributed to a cleaner environment.

U.S. domestic renewable fuels have been doing these things long before it was cool or in vogue. So don’t be surprised that this is the nature of America’s farmers, ranchers, and entrepreneurs. They do things because of the intrinsic value to our country and to our economy, whether it is a fad on the east coast or not.

I happen to think it is great that there is a newfound zeal for creating renewable resources here at home. I have been supporting our domestic renewable fuels industry for nearly 30 years as a means to reduce our dependence on volatile nations for our energy, mostly for petroleum. I have been promoting clean wind energy since I fathered the wind energy tax credit back in 1992. I am pleased to see the success and the impetus wind energy now receives because of my tax incentive. I hope my colleagues who tout the benefits today of the so-called green jobs fully realize the contribution the domestic ethanol and biodiesel industries have made for years in this area. Farmers across this country produced more than 9 billion gallons of homegrown renewable fuels last year. Ethanol production displaced 321 million barrels of oil last year. That is the equivalent of imports from Venezuela for 10 months. The use of 9 billion gallons of ethanol saved American consumers $32 billion last year.

Yet even with this success, our farmers and the biofuel industry have been under constant attack—at least constant assault that is taking place on biofuels. The chief executive for Safeway described the situation as a “battle-ground” with manufacturers right now over prices.

I am pleased to see others in the food chain call on these food producers to lower prices in light of the large drop in commodity prices, but this isn’t the reason I came to speak today. I would like to take just a few minutes to share with my colleagues another assault that is taking place on biofuels.

In the 2007 Energy Independence and Security Act, Congress enacted and expanded a renewable fuels standard to greatly increase the production and use of biofuels. A component of that renewable fuels standard was a requirement that various biofuels meet specified life cycle greenhouse gas emission reduction targets. The law specified that life cycle greenhouse gas emissions are to include direct emissions and significantly indirect emissions from indirect land use changes. This means that the emissions from planting, growing, and harvesting the feedstock to the production of biofuels must be included in the calculation. It also means that the Environmental Protection Agency must determine and must measure the greenhouse gas impacts if there is a significant conversion of forest or prairie-to-tillable land because of our biofuel policies.

For the past few months, the Environmental Protection Agency has been working on what we call a rulemaking—notice of proposed rulemaking—to implement the updated renewable fuels standard. While it hasn’t been finalized or made public, there are great concerns about this rule within the biofuels industry surrounding the science behind indirect land use changes. And, of course, when you think of the Environmental Protection Agency, isn’t science what EPA is all about?

President Obama, during his Presidential campaign and as President
now, has stated that his administration will return to decisions and actions based on "sound science." In January, he said:

Rigid ideology has overruled sound science. Special interests have overshadowed common sense.

Well, I would encourage President Obama and his staff to take a close look at what the EPA is doing in this rulemaking process called a notice of proposed rulemaking on renewable fuels standards. There are a couple of people in the EPA called the Office of Air Quality Planning and Standards. The office is run by an individual named Dr. Robert Wang. He has been assigned to make the determination on what the ability to predict this alleged effect depends on using an economic model to predict worldwide carbon effects, and the outcomes are unintentionally positive to the assumptions made by the researchers conducting the model run. In addition, this field of science is in its nascent stage, is controversial in the scientific community, and is only being enforced against biofuels.

The two primary conclusions of these scientists are that science surrounding indirect land use changes is far too limited and uncertain for regulatory enforcement. Second, indirect effects are often misunderstood and should not be enforced selectively.

Several of us in the Senate are trying to get the Environmental Protection Agency to wake up and reconsider some of their thoughts. Last week I had the opportunity to join my Iowa colleague, Senator HARKIN, as well as 10 other Senators, in appealing to EPA Administrator Lisa Jackson to be cautious on this issue, and to doctors would say about medicine: First do no harm.

Because of the incomplete and limited science, we urge in our letter against any premature and, of course, inaccurate conclusions on indirect land use changes. Instead, the EPA should move forward by allowing for public review and refinement of the methodology that they have developed. I am afraid the climate folks at EPA are heading in the wrong direction on this issue and not only do I think that will happen to the people, but I am afraid they do not understand, much about American agriculture. I do not think they are aware of the significant crop yield improvements we have seen in recent years or the great potential for the next 20 years.

I will just give my own farming operation as an example. In 1959, when I started farming, we were raising, on average, about 60 bushels of corn per acre. It happened that the first year I farmed I produced considerably less than that amount, but eventually, within 15 years, this farmer, as well as the Iowa average, had gone to about 90 bushels of corn per acre.

Last year, in my county, we raised 175 bushels of corn per acre. During that period of time, we went from tilling the field probably six or seven times over to produce a crop to now a point where we are only tilling the field once or twice a year. In each of these processes, we are producing more corn, we are producing it more efficiently, and at the same time we have an abundance.

When I started farming, farmers were producing about enough food for 44 other people. A family farmer today produces enough food for 140 other people. A family farmer today produces enough food for 140 other people.

I think we have made great progress, but I am not sure EPA understands the efficiency of the American farmer to produce food. In fact, I don't understand that people in Brazil are not just sitting around, seeing how they can take advantage of the fact that American farmers might be producing some of their crop for sustainable energy production in this country as opposed to importing more oil.

I also do not think these people fully understand the benefits of valuable ethanol byproducts, which further reduce the effective land used for food production.

Along this line, do they understand that when you take a bushel of corn to make 3 gallons of ethanol that corn is...
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not gone forever, that 18 pounds of the 56 pounds that is in a bushel of corn is left over for animal feed? So it is not all going to production of energy.

To me, it defies common sense that the EPA would publish a proposed rulemaking with harmful, integral, and obvious conclusions on biofuels based on incomplete science and inaccurate assumptions and especially in light of President Obama's commitment to use sound science in decisionmaking by the bureaucracy carrying out the laws we pass. President Obama was a strong advocate for whistleblowers. Most importantly, I have always pushed the idea that laws are faithfully executed, as the Constitution requires, and as money is spent according to Congress.

I have been an equal opportunity overseer and have given my Republican colleagues as many headaches as I have given Democrats.

Given my background on oversight, I was supportive of some of the statements President Obama made as a candidate for transparency and openness in Government. A document on the Obama campaign Web site titled, "Restoring Trust in Government and Improving Transparency," outlined ethics and contracting reform, and included a statement that: Obama was sign legislation in the light of day without attaching signing statements that undermine legislative intent. Candidate Obama further discussed signing statements during a campaign speech where he said that his administration was "not going to use signing statements as a way of doing an end run around Congress." A video of that speech is available online for all to see.

I was also encouraged by candidate Obama's protect employees in the Federal Government who blow the whistle on fraud, waste, and abuse. In yet another campaign document, candidate Obama stated that he would "strengthen whistleblower laws to protect Federal workers who expose waste, fraud, and abuse in government. This is simply good government." That statement was posted on the Change.gov Web site of the Obama Transition Team for all to see. It was a welcome message to the employees of the executive branch that would face the risk that they stick their necks out to alert Congress, inspectors General, and the public about fraud, waste, and abuse in Government agencies and programs.

These employees, also known as whistleblowers, often do nothing more than "commit truth." and for it they are shunned by their agencies, coworkers, friends, and government. My colleagues have all heard me say time and again that whistleblowers are as welcome as a Sunday picnic. These patriot individuals believe that Government can do better for its citizens. They risk everything to make sure that laws are faithfully executed as they were intended and let Congress know when something is not working and needs fixing. Some of the most important reforms to our laws have come from whistleblowers, be it reforming our national security and law enforcement coordination following the tragic events of 9/11 or those employees to Congress.

Given Candidate Obama's promise to use signing statements to circumvent the intent of laws is even more problematic this because it states that he has the authority to not only restrict privileged or otherwise confidential."

I want to emphasize that this authority would be used when employee communications would be "unlawful or would reveal information that is properly privileged or otherwise confidential." By failing to define "confidential," because you will hear about that in just a minute.

While other Presidents have objected to this appropriations rider in the past, President Obama's signing statement is even more problematic this because it states that he has the authority to not only restrict privileged material, but also "confidential" information.

Understanding, it is a constitutional power and responsibility of this Congress to oversee, as part of our checks and balances of our Constitution, the agencies of Government to make sure laws are faithfully executed, as the Constitution requires, and as money is spent according to Congress.

Even the New York Times noted President Obama's signing statement includes "one somewhat unclear objection" that "could be read as bumping up against the rights of executive branch whistleblowers." Because, in our constitutional responsibility, we have to rely upon people in the executive branch to tell us when the job isn't being accomplished according to the Constitution or according to law.

I want to go further than what the New York Times said and say: It does