

drop by 1 percent, and increases in oil prices reduce the number of hours worked and increase unemployment.

We recall what has happened over a period of time, and as a consequence of that we could generalize that high prices for energy and natural gas cause significant impacts on those sectors of our economy that do not depend on oil.

America and the world move on oil. We have other sources of energy for electricity. We have seen impacts across the board. Energy spending by American families increased by nearly 30 percent in 2000. Heating bills tripled for many Americans, particularly in the Northeast. Small businesses had a great increase in costs associated with energy. We have seen this. Thousands of jobs were lost. These high energy prices were the result of one unavoidable fact: Our energy supplies failed to meet our growing energy demands.

For 10 years following the passage of the Energy Policy Act of 1992, U.S. demand for energy increased over 17 percent, while total energy production increased only 2.3 percent. By the end of last year, we had simply run out of fuel for the sputtering American economy. That has changed as a consequence of the tragedy of September 11, but it will not stay that way. OPEC will initiate the cartel to again decrease supplies.

We have seen what happened to our economy as a consequence of energy price increases. We know a national energy strategy that balances supply and demand could reduce threats and future recessions. Alan Greenspan noted on November 13:

As economic policymakers understand the focus on the impact of the tragedy of September 11 and the further weakening of the economy that follows these events, it is essential that we do not lose sight of policies needed to ensure long-term economic growth.

One of the most important objectives for those policies should be assured availability of energy.

As a consequence, the U.S. relies on foreign imported oil with more than one-half of its petroleum needs. Much of this comes from the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Kuwait.

Consider the consequences of the oil embargo in 1973. At the time, tensions ran high in the Middle East. Then we were involved in the war on terrorism.

It makes sense to consider our energy security in the context of an economic stimulus package. We have not done that. It makes sense to ensure our economic security by ensuring the availability of affordable energy supplies.

One aspect we have not considered in this equation is the contribution of ANWR. Talking about stimulus, there is hardly any single item we could have come up with that would have been a more significant and genuine stimulus package than opening ANWR in my State of Alaska.

What would it have done? It would have created \$3.3 billion in Federal bonuses, money that would have come in from the Federal Treasury as a con-

sequence of leasing off Federal land. This would have been paid for by competitive bidding by the oil companies. It was a jobs issue. It would have created 250,000 new jobs in this country.

The contribution of the steel industry is extremely significant, as well. We have a stimulus package not even considered in the debate because we could not have a debate. We did not have an energy bill.

It would have created 250,000 new jobs and \$3.3 billion in new Federal bid bonuses. And the bottom line is, not a red penny by the taxpayer. That is the kind of stimulus we need in this country.

As we look at the end of the year, we have to recognize the obligation that we have to come back and do a better job. We need an energy bill. We need it quickly. We need a stimulus in this country. We could and should consider a genuine stimulus that results in jobs that do not cost the taxpayer money, and as a consequence spurs the economy.

I hope as we address our New Year's resolutions we can recognize the House has done its job in energy legislation. We did not do our job in the Senate. I am very disappointed. I am sure the President and the American public shares that disappointment.

We have not been honest with the American people because we have a crisis in energy. Our national security is at risk. We are risking the lives of men and women in the Middle East over this energy crisis. We should address it here and relieve that dependence.

I wish all a happy and joyous holiday season, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I wish to ask the distinguished Senator from Alabama, Mr. SESSIONS, how long he will be speaking. The reason I ask, I know the Presiding Officer has an engagement. He has to leave within another 20 minutes, from what I understand.

How much time does the Senator desire?

Mr. SESSIONS. Twelve minutes would be sufficient.

Mr. BYRD. Let me deliver my speech. I ask unanimous consent, am I correct that the Presiding Officer needs to leave the Presiding Chair no later than 7:45, or is it 7:50?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. At 7:50.

Mr. BYRD. I ask unanimous consent the distinguished Senator from Alabama may proceed for not to exceed 12 minutes and I will do something not often done around here; I do it quite often. I wait and wait and wait, realizing I can get recognition almost any time I want, but I am usually willing to accommodate another Senator, even if that Senator is on the Republican side. Not many will accommodate me in that fashion, but I am glad to accommodate them.

I ask consent that the Senator from Alabama have not to exceed, say, 10

minutes, after which I be recognized, and that mine be the last speech of the day. I don't mind relieving the Senator in the Chair, so I will ask that the Senator from Alabama go ahead of me.

Mr. SESSIONS. I am delighted to follow the Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. I want to make my speech about Christmas in the main. We refer to this as a holiday. It is not a holiday to me. This is Christmas, which is something different. It marks the greatest event that ever occurred in the history of man. It split the centuries in two. There is B.C. and there is A.D. It was a tremendous event. I believe in Christ. I am a Christian—not a very worthy one, but a Christian. I respect those who are of a different religion. I respect those who believe that Christ was a historic figure but not the Messiah, but a prophet. That is all right. They have a right to believe that.

Both would agree that it was a tremendous event. This is something beyond just being a holiday. When someone wishes me happy holidays, I say: No, Happy Christmas.

I want to make a statement about Christmas, so I ask unanimous consent the Senator from Alabama proceed for 10 minutes and I follow him.

I ask the question of the minority, while I am on the floor, Is there an intention on that side of the aisle to seek unanimous consent by Senator BROWN-BACK? If there is still the intention to make that request, I want to be here to object to it; if there is not, I may go on my way happy.

I make that consent and I will see to it that the Chair gets relief.

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

#### ECONOMIC STIMULUS

Mr. SESSIONS. I thank the distinguished Senator from West Virginia. I thank him for his fidelity to his faith and for his fidelity to this Senate and the courtesies and rules that need to be followed to make sure we live up to the high ideals on which this institution was founded. He, more than anyone I know, has taught us the history, and the importance, of what we are about. His courtesy to me, a first-term Senator, is typical of his many courtesies.

I simply say how deeply disappointed I have been that we will be leaving this body before Christmas without having passed a stimulus package. Experts have said a good stimulus package, \$75 to \$100 billion, would preserve 300,000 jobs in this country. That is a lot of jobs. Those people, if they are working, will be happier. Those families will be happier. The homes will be happier. They will pay taxes. They will pay State and local sales taxes and other taxes. They will pay Federal taxes. It will help us run our government.

But if they lose their jobs, there will be a sadness and an unease in their homes, a difficulty that otherwise would not take place, and the government itself, State, local and Federal, will lose revenue.

It is a big deal if we can affect the economy. I do not think there is any doubt. I have been convinced for a long time in the projections that we could achieve a 1-percent or a half-percent increase in the gross domestic product by passing the stimulus package. That is important. I believe we should pass a bill.

No less than 2 weeks ago I became deeply concerned that we might actually leave this body without a bill being passed. At first I did not think that was possible. We brought up a bill and disagreed, the House had passed a bill, and some here didn't like it but negotiators were working together. The Finance Committee chairman and ranking member, the majority leader, the Democratic leader and the Republican leader, they were all working and talking and surely a bill would pass, I thought. They would work out their differences.

Frankly, I never believed exactly what was in that bill, if it met a few simple principles, would make a lot of difference. Probably, another \$100 billion, another \$75 billion into the economy we would have made an impact. There was no doubt in my mind if a middle-income family would have gotten a 2-percent reduction in the amount of money withheld from their taxes they would have more money and they would spend it.

Because of my concern, I offered my own bill. As a matter of fact, we were here one night until midnight. I sat around with some colleagues and refined my ideas and four of us introduced a stimulus package. It was simple. It did not have a lot of complexity to it. Frankly, I did not think anybody could find anything wrong with any of it or would object to a bit of it. I said: We offered this bill; let's just vote on that.

It had a number of provisions in it that I thought were worthwhile. My favorite contribution, what I believe in and would like to see accomplished and really needs to be accomplished as part of this package, or it may be more difficult to pass, is the advanced payment of the earned-income tax credit.

The Presiding Officer understands these finance issues a lot better than I, but I can understand a little bit about low-income working Americans. They are at a point with the earned-income tax credit where the Federal Government gives them a tax credit. It is \$31 billion a year. It amounts to, for an average family with one child, a \$2,000-per-year tax credit. They can get it when they work or on their tax refund a year after they work. Since the earned-income tax credit was designed to encourage work, there has been a strong feeling it ought to go on the wage that they earn.

What has happened, however, is that we have never accomplished that. Only 5 percent of the workers take advantage of the opportunity to get their earned-income tax credit on their paycheck. If it were given to them 100 per-

cent, that would be a \$1-an-hour pay raise with no deductions from it. But we have never been able to figure out how to do it.

They finally passed, a day or so ago, an amendment that would allow that to happen, but only 5 percent take advantage of it; 95 percent get their credit the next year.

So it is good public policy, in my view, that they get their credit early. I believe in this time of stimulus, if we would make a conversion and pump in \$15 billion or \$20 billion extra on low-income people's paychecks, many of whom may be out of work for a while, get another job, lose work and find another job, they would have more money to take care of their families with and it would not cost the budget of the country, the Treasury of the country, any money in the long run. It would shift about \$15 billion or more into this fiscal year but that money would be from the next fiscal year, and we would have \$15 billion left to spend next year. It is good public policy and a superb stimulus that moves money forward and saves money next year.

We would have put in another item. We proposed reducing the median income tax rate from 27 percent to 25 percent. It was planned to be done anyway.

We extended the unemployment benefits, as most of the proposals have, for an additional 13 weeks. We provided insurance and health benefits. We provided a \$5 billion fund for national emergency grants for States to help people who have been displaced or lost their job. And we advanced the plans for 1 year for the child tax credit. This child tax credit is a plan that would infuse about \$6 billion or \$8 billion into the economy for families with children.

Those were some of the provisions we put in that plan. It could have passed. I don't believe anybody would have been upset about it. It had no business provisions in it that would upset anybody. It did have some depreciation advancement.

I say we ought to have done something. That bill, other bills, the bill that almost reached conclusion, the bipartisan approach that passed the House last night, was sent over here, and we did not get a vote. So I am very disappointed.

I believe the leadership of this Senate made a mistake. We were not even allowed to vote on it or debate it. Everybody said we needed a stimulus package, but we never even got to bring the bill up for a vote. We had a number of Democratic Senators and certainly a large number of Democratic House Members who supported this bipartisan bill, and we could have passed it, but we did not and it is a great disappointment to me.

I was pleased the Senator from Alaska discussed the energy bill that did not pass this time, under the very same factors. I was in Mobile Monday of this week. On two different occasions a real estate person and a very fine doctor

came to me and said: JEFF, I think you have to do something about the energy situation. We are too dependent on Middle Eastern oil. They have the ability to disrupt our economy and to affect our foreign policy and damage us in ways that we ought to defend against. You need to do something to reduce our dependence on middle eastern oil. That is something I believe in very strongly.

The bill the Senator from Alaska, Mr. MURKOWSKI, has so eloquently argued for has conservation, reduced use of energy, as well as increased production. Both of those steps together will help reduce our dependence on foreign oil. It will help reduce the amount of American wealth that goes out of our country to purchase this substance that it would be better if we could purchase at home and keep that wealth at home.

I believe we have had a number of opportunities to do better. I wanted a farm bill passed desperately. The President has made clear that we do not have a fight over money on the farm bill. We are prepared to honor the \$75 billion set-aside in our budget over 10 years for farm programs. But there are some problems and serious disagreements about some of the policy that was in that bill.

We could not get debate on it. Every amendment was rejected virtually on a party line vote, so we ended up not passing an Agriculture bill. We will have to come back and work on that because we need an Agriculture bill. We do not need to go into the summer without an Agriculture bill. So I am sure we will be back on that early next year. But it could have been done this time.

So I will just say there were some great things accomplished this year: the education bill, a bipartisan effort that passed. The tax reduction was a historic empowerment of individual working Americans, a victory for the individual against the State and the power the State has to extract what they earn from them and spend as the State wishes. But it would empower them to utilize the wealth they have earned in the way they choose. If we had not done that, I am confident our economy would be struggling even more today.

I see the distinguished Senator from West Virginia is ready to speak, and I am interested in hearing his remarks. I thank the Chair. I thank the Senator from West Virginia for his time. I wanted to express these remarks before we recessed today.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

#### THE PRESIDING OFFICER OF THE SENATE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, first I thank our Presiding Officer, the Senator from New Jersey. He always has a clean desk. What does that mean? That