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## Senate

The Senate met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable MIKE CRAPO, a Senator from the State of Idaho.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Today's prayer will be offered by our guest Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel H. Miller, Moss Bluff Assembly of God, Moss Bluff, LA.

### PRAYER

The guest Chaplain offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, blessed are You Lord, King of the Universe. We humbly ask for forgiveness for our sins as individuals and as a nation. We thank You for Your blessings, love, and mercy for each of us. We are reminded of our great heritage as one nation under God and thank You for Your blessings on America. We thank You for all of our governmental officials at every level, and we depend on You, O mighty God, for guidance and direction.

Father, I ask Your Holy Spirit, Great Counselor, to direct each Member of this Senate today, each man and each woman, as they see Your divine will, wisdom, and perspective on the issues we have before us as a nation. As Daniel of old prayed, "Blessed be the name of God forever and ever; for wisdom and might are His." We rejoice in the Senators who seek to be right with You so they will know what is right for our Nation.

Lord, the days we live in are challenging to every individual's faith. Help us to look beyond merely the secular realm. I pray that the secularity would not replace spirituality. Give us humble mindedness in place of humanistic materialism.

Now on this day, O Lord, we come to You on behalf of our Nation asking for divine wisdom for every person in this Senate Chamber. Grant them wisdom and courage to face the challenges of this hour. Even though You have given us incredible intelligence, we cannot hope to find the way without Your

help, O Lord. Grant us now a brilliant clarity of mind, a rich sweetness of spirit, and a compassionate peace in our souls for the challenges we must face together for the good of these United States of America. In the precious name of Jesus we pray. Amen.

### PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable MIKE CRAPO led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

### APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, DC, May 17, 2001.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable MIKE CRAPO, a Senator from the State of Idaho, to perform the duties of the Chair.

STROM THURMOND,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. CRAPO thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Alaska.

### THANKING THE GUEST CHAPLAIN

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, for the leader we thank the visiting Chaplain for his prayer.

### SCHEDULE

Mr. STEVENS. Today the Senate will begin final remarks on the Dayton amendment with regard to IDEA, with a vote to occur momentarily. There will then be brief remarks and a vote on the Voinovich amendment on Head Start. Therefore, Senators may expect two votes at approximately 9:05 a.m. Under the order, Senator BYRD will be recognized for up to 30 minutes following these votes. The Senate will then begin the 20 hours of consideration of the reconciliation bill. Senators may expect votes throughout the day and into this evening in an effort to use a significant amount of the time on the reconciliation bill. A vote on final passage is expected no later than Monday night.

I thank my colleagues for their attention. I yield the floor.

### BETTER EDUCATION FOR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS ACT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1) to extend programs and activities under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Pending:

Jeffords amendment No. 358, in the nature of a substitute.

Kennedy (for Dodd) amendment No. 382 (to amendment No. 358), to remove the 21st century community learning center program from the list of programs covered by performance agreements.

Biden amendment No. 386 (to amendment No. 358), to establish school-based partnerships between local law enforcement agencies and local school systems, by providing

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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school resource officers who operate in and around elementary and secondary schools.

Voinovich amendment No. 389 (to amendment No. 358), to modify provisions relating to State applications and plans and school improvement to provide for the input of the Governor of the State involved.

Reed amendment No. 425 (to amendment No. 358), to revise provisions regarding the Reading First Program.

Leahy (for Hatch) amendment No. 424 (to amendment No. 358), to provide for the establishment of additional Boys and Girls Clubs of America.

Helms amendment No. 574 (to amendment No. 358), to prohibit the use of Federal funds by any State or local educational agency or school that discriminates against the Boy Scouts of America in providing equal access to school premises or facilities.

Helms amendment No. 648 (to amendment No. 574), in the nature of a substitute.

Dorgan amendment No. 640 (to amendment No. 358), expressing the sense of the Senate that there should be established a joint committee of the Senate and House of Representatives to investigate the rapidly increasing energy prices across the country and to determine what is causing the increases.

Wellstone/Feingold amendment No. 465 (to amendment No. 358), to improve the provisions relating to assessment completion bonuses.

Voinovich amendment No. 443 (to amendment No. 358), to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to extend loan forgiveness for certain loans to Head Start teachers.

Dayton modified amendment No. 622 (to amendment No. 358), to amend the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act to fully fund 40 percent of the average per pupil expenditure for programs under part B of such Act.

Hutchinson modified amendment No. 555 (to amendment No. 358), to express the sense of the Senate regarding the Department of Education program to promote access of Armed Forces recruiters to student directory information.

Bond modified amendment No. 476 (to amendment No. 358), to strengthen early childhood parent education programs.

Feinstein modified amendment No. 369 (to amendment No. 358), to specify the purposes for which funds provided under subpart 1 of part A of title I may be used.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 622

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. As I understand it, we have 3 minutes; is that correct?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would like to re-serve 30 seconds of the time and have 2 and a half minutes for the Senator from Minnesota.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Each side has 1 and a half minutes.

Mr. KENNEDY. I would like to then give 1 minute of my time to the Senator from Minnesota.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be 3 minutes of explanation prior to the vote on or in relation to the Dayton amendment No. 622.

The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. DAYTON. I thank the Chair.

I thank the Senator from Massachusetts who long before I came to this body was championing the cause of American schoolchildren, and also his

colleague, the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Vermont, and the Senators from Iowa and Nebraska, who coauthored the earlier IDEA amendment. I just want to take their excellent idea and make it even better.

My amendment would accelerate their timetable and mandate 40-percent Federal funding for the cost of special education in 2 years instead of waiting for 6 years. Why? Because this promise was made 25 years ago when the Federal mandates under IDEA were enacted.

Congress then promised the State and local school districts that the Federal Government would pay for 40 percent of their costs. A quarter century later, Federal funding for special education costs average 12 percent nationwide, only 9 percent in my home state of Minnesota. That broken promise affects every schoolchild and every school in Minnesota and, I expect, our entire country. Since every school must provide special education services to every child who needs them, those missing dollars must, in Minnesota, be taken away from other funding for regular education programs. Every student in Minnesota gets shortchanged because the Federal Government has not kept its promise.

Now, I'm told that I may be asked: Where will this money come from? Well, Mr. President, I'm a brand new Senator, and this is my very first amendment to come up for a vote on the Senate floor. So, I'll admit my ignorance. But, I cannot for the life of me, figure out how, in a budget which projects a \$5.6 trillion surplus during the next ten years—\$2.1 trillion for so-called discretionary spending—there isn't enough money for special education.

Later today, I'm told, we'll be voting on a \$1.35 trillion tax cut. Where will that money come from? From the American taxpayers, obviously. So, I'm willing to ask the American Taxpayer, are you willing to share this surplus with American's neediest children? I'm confident that, in Minnesota, the answer would be an overwhelming "Yes." Yes, there is enough money available to us for tax reduction and funding for special education.

To the Members of the Senate today, and to the House and Senate conferees: Can't you find room in your hearts and in your budget to fulfill a twenty-five year broken promise to the children of America with disabilities and with special needs. And to the dedicated teachers who devote their lives to reaching and teaching them.

We have the money to fund this commitment. This is not a budget decision. This is a values decision. This is a priorities decision.

If we aren't willing to finally fulfill a twenty-five year broken promise to America's school children with a small part of a \$5.6 trillion surplus, then we have no one to blame, but ourselves.

Mr. President, I urge adoption of my amendment.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. DAYTON. I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I regret that I will have to oppose the amendment by Senator DAYTON. I agree with the intent—to fully fund IDEA as quickly as possible—but it does it too quickly and undermines the Hagel-Harkin amendment that was already passed on this bill. The Hagel-Harkin amendment provides the full funding in 6 years. That is a reasonable yet ambitious timeframe, and it has bipartisan support.

I commend Senator DAYTON for his dedication to provide full funding, but I don't think it can be done in 2 years, so I will oppose the amendment in order to preserve the bipartisan commitment to fully fund IDEA in 6 years as passed in the Hagel-Harkin amendment.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, the Senator from Minnesota returns us to a very important issue that we discussed at some length at the outset of the bill before us. Like the Hagel-Harkin amendment which was adopted and incorporated as part of the pending substitute, the amendment would convert the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act to a mandatory spending program.

Unlike the amendment we adopted 2 weeks ago, the Dayton amendment would provide for full funding of IDEA in 2 years. While I fully support that goal, I believe it is too ambitious a timetable.

As we have seen in vote after vote over the past 2 weeks, the Senate believes there are several important funding priorities in education ahead. Neither the budget we adopted nor any budget we are likely to adopt in the future can accommodate the increase the Senator seeks. Yet at the same time we need to fulfill our commitment to fully fund IDEA, we also need to meet our obligation under title I for teacher training, recruitment, and retention, for afterschool care, early education, and a host of other priorities.

So while I support the goal, I think the path taken by the Hagel-Harkin amendment is more reasonable and still very ambitious. I believe we can keep it, and I urge my colleagues to vote against the Dayton amendment.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 34, nays 65, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 110 Leg.]

YEAS—34

Akaka	Dorgan	Murray
Baucus	Durbin	Nelson (FL)
Bayh	Edwards	Reed
Boxer	Feinstein	Reid
Breaux	Hollings	Rockefeller
Cantwell	Inouye	Sarbanes
Clinton	Johnson	Schumer
Conrad	Leahy	Stabenow
Corzine	Levin	Torricelli
Daschle	Lieberman	Wellstone
Dayton	Lincoln	
Dodd	Mikulski	

NAYS—65

Allard	Feingold	McCain
Allen	Fitzgerald	McConnell
Bennett	Frist	Miller
Biden	Graham	Murkowski
Bingaman	Gramm	Nelson (NE)
Bond	Grassley	Nickles
Brownback	Gregg	Roberts
Bunning	Hagel	Santorum
Burns	Harkin	Sessions
Byrd	Hatch	Shelby
Campbell	Helms	Smith (NH)
Carnahan	Hutchinson	Smith (OR)
Carper	Hutchison	Snowe
Chafee	Inhofe	Specter
Cochran	Jeffords	Stevens
Collins	Kennedy	Thomas
Craig	Kerry	Thompson
Crapo	Kohl	Thurmond
DeWine	Kyl	Voinovich
Domenici	Landrieu	Warner
Ensign	Lott	Wyden
Enzi	Lugar	

NOT VOTING—1

Cleland

The amendment (No. 622) was rejected.

Mr. KENNEDY. Could we have order, Mr. President? We have another amendment now that we intend to vote on. There is a brief moment or two of explanation, and I think the Members should have the opportunity to listen to the proponents of it. Could we have order?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will be in order. Senators please take their conversations off the floor.

AMENDMENT NO. 443

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be 3 minutes for explanation prior to a vote on or in relation to the Voinovich amendment No. 443.

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. VOINOVICH. Mr. President, according to the experts, focusing on the earliest years of a child's life can make the greatest difference in that child's development and learning. One program we all know that makes a difference is Head Start.

In my State, we think so much of Head Start, that when I left office as Governor, Ohio was the only State in the Nation where every eligible child whose parents wanted them to be in the program had a slot open to them.

Unfortunately, Head Start programs typically have a hard time recruiting teachers with a bachelor's or a master's degree generally because of the pay differential between Head Start

teachers and elementary and secondary school teachers.

For example, in Ohio today, only 11.3 percent of Head Start teachers have a bachelor's degree. Nationally, it is 22 percent. That needs to change.

The amendment Senator FEINSTEIN and I have offered is designed to encourage college students working on a bachelor's or a master's degree to become a Head Start teacher.

In exchange for a 5-year teaching commitment in a qualified Head Start program, a college graduate with a bachelor's degree or a master's degree could have up to \$5,000 of their Federal student loan waived.

President Bush has pledged to improve the cognitive components of Head Start, and to do that, we have to have better teachers.

Hopefully, the \$5,000 incentive in our amendment will help us reach the President's goal of no child left behind.

I urge my colleagues to support our amendment.

I yield the remainder of my time to the Senator from California.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from California is recognized.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I am pleased to co-sponsor this amendment with Senators VOINOVICH, BAUCUS, COCHRAN, LANDRIEU, MURRAY, and CORZINE.

This amendment is simple. We are merely trying to expand the current Federal loan forgiveness program to include Head Start teachers. Elementary and secondary school teachers currently benefit under the Federal loan forgiveness program. We think that Head Start teachers should be afforded the same opportunity.

In exchange for 5 years of teaching, Head Start teachers could have up to \$5,000 of their Federal student loans forgiven. By offering Head Start teachers the same loan forgiveness benefit, I believe, we will encourage more college graduates to enter the field.

New educational requirements were included in the 1998 reauthorization of the Head Start Program. By 2003, 50 percent of Head Start teachers will be required to have an associate or 2-year degree, a bachelor's, or an advanced degree.

How can we ask low-paid Head Start teachers to go back to school to finish their bachelor's degree or college students to enter the field if we cannot even offer them the same loan forgiveness already afforded to elementary and secondary school teachers?

Head Start is one of the most important Federal programs because it has the potential to reach children early in their formative years when their cognitive skills are just developing.

I believe we must continue to improve the cognitive learning aspects of the Head Start program so that children leave the program able to count to ten, to recognize sizes and colors, and to recite the alphabet. To ensure cognitive learning, we must continue

to raise the standards for Head Start teachers.

Offering Head Start teachers similar compensation for their educational achievements and expenses afforded to other teachers is one step to encouraging collage graduates to become Head Start teachers.

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I rise today to applaud the Senator from Ohio for his recognition of the need to provide incentives to attract individuals to the worthy cause of teaching in the critical early years of learning. As Senator KENNEDY has already noted, we have over 100 amendments filed to this legislation which are not germane. While I support many of these amendments, including the Voinovich amendment on loan forgiveness for Head Start teachers, I think that it is important that the Senate stay focused on the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I look forward to debating and supporting the Senator from Ohio during the debate on the reauthorization of the Head Start Program. However, today I will lend my support to Senator KENNEDY's efforts to keep this education bill from languishing under the load of non-germane amendments.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I am going to support this amendment as an amendment on the reauthorization of the Head Start bill. Currently, we are providing loan forgiveness now for elementary and secondary teachers when they go into underserved areas. We also had an offset on that. This amendment does not have an offset. We ought to have an offset. It ought to be on the Head Start bill.

Also, we are trying to keep only germane amendments in this bill. This is not germane. We have 100 amendments which are not germane, many of which I will agree with. But on this particular occasion, I hope this will not be accepted.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I agree with the statement just made by my friend from Massachusetts.

Senator VOINOVICH has been a leader—both as Governor and as a Senator—in recognizing the critical need to improve the quality of the care and education we provide to our youngest children. The amendment he offers with Senator FEINSTEIN would address this vital issue.

My colleagues are absolutely correct that the key to a child's achievement in elementary school is found in the years prior to going to school, especially at ages 3 and 4.

But as I mentioned 2 days ago during the debate on another amendment, I have agreed to oppose amendments to this bill that are not directly relevant, and, therefore, I must reluctantly oppose Senator VOINOVICH's amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, have the yeas and nays been ordered on the amendment?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The question is on agreeing to amendment No. 443.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 76, nays 24, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 111 Leg.]

YEAS—76

Akaka	Dorgan	Murkowski
Allard	Durbin	Murray
Allen	Edwards	Nelson (FL)
Baucus	Feinstein	Nelson (NE)
Bennett	Fitzgerald	Reed
Biden	Graham	Reid
Bingaman	Gramm	Roberts
Boxer	Grassley	Rockefeller
Breaux	Harkin	Santorum
Brownback	Hatch	Sarbanes
Bunning	Hollings	Schumer
Burns	Hutchison	Sessions
Cantwell	Inhofe	Shelby
Carnahan	Inouye	Smith (NH)
Carper	Johnson	Smith (OR)
Chafee	Kerry	Snowe
Cleland	Kohl	Specter
Clinton	Landrieu	Stabenow
Cochran	Leahy	Stevens
Conrad	Levin	Thompson
Corzine	Lincoln	Torricelli
Daschle	Lugar	Voinovich
Dayton	McCain	Warner
DeWine	McConnell	Wellstone
Dodd	Mikulski	
Domenici	Miller	

NAYS—24

Bayh	Enzi	Kennedy
Bond	Feingold	Kyl
Byrd	Frist	Lieberman
Campbell	Gregg	Lott
Collins	Hagel	Nickles
Craig	Helms	Thomas
Crapo	Hutchinson	Thurmond
Ensign	Jeffords	Wyden

The amendment (No. 443) was agreed to.

RESTORING EARNINGS TO LIFT INDIVIDUALS AND EMPOWER FAMILIES (RELIEF) ACT OF 2001

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN). Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of H.R. 1836, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1836) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 104 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from West Virginia, Mr. BYRD, is recognized to speak for up to 30 minutes, with the time not being charged to the reconciliation bill.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, may we have order so the Senator from West Virginia can be heard. This is an enormously important issue and the Senator has thought long and hard about it. The Senator is entitled to be heard.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. Senators will take their conversations off the floor.

The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the very distinguished Senator from Massachusetts for his thoughtfulness, his consideration. I thank the Chair. I also thank those Senators who are listening, even though they may not be in this Chamber. I thank the majority leader for arranging for me to have this time without its being charged against the time on the reconciliation bill.

Mr. President, the day before yesterday, Americans turned on their television sets to see live coverage of a runaway freight train traveling through northwestern Ohio. I saw it. Many of you saw it. Nobody was at the controls and officials were failing in their attempts to stop the train. To make matters worse, the train was carrying toxic chemicals. News stations were bracing for disaster. The safety mechanisms put into place to prevent such a scenario were not working. Local and emergency personnel were left simply to block highway intersections, to issue warnings, and to let the runaway train rumble through, endangering the environment, endangering the infrastructure of whatever cities or small towns happened to be in the way, and endangering the lives of citizens.

Mr. President, the Senate, today, faces its own runaway train. These tax cuts have been on the fast track since they were first proposed in the snows of New Hampshire during last year's campaign. A budget resolution was rushed through this body to authorize this tax cut bill, bypassing the Budget Committee, and without the benefit of the President's detailed budget, or any analysis from the Joint Tax Committee, or the Congressional Budget Office. Senate Democrats were then excluded from the conference committee to further expedite the process.

Mr. President, I was talking with one of our new Members about the concurrent resolution on the budget, and about the fact that the members of the Budget Committee representing the minority were excluded. This was a relatively new Member in this Senate. He said, "I was disturbed by that." But he said, "The Democrats did it when they were in power. That is what they tell me."

Mr. President, not a word by those who say that was done by the Democrats when they were in control—not a word—is true. The Democrats, when they were in control, never excluded the then minority from the conferences or from the committees with respect to the budget. I was majority leader and it was not in my makeup; it would be totally alien to me to exclude the minority, when I stand up so many times, as I have over the years, to say that the Senate is the protector of minorities, the Senate protects the minority's rights.

I have read about those tales told by some Senators—often, the aides of the minority—who are presently in the minority who said: Well, BYRD did this; BYRD did this. Those Members were not

even in the Senate when BYRD was majority leader. They were not here. Three-fifths of the Senate makeup today were not here when Byrd was majority leader, were not here when Senator Mansfield was majority leader, were not here when Lyndon Johnson was majority leader. So much for that.

The safety mechanisms that the Senate put into place to prevent such a reconciliation disaster have been disabled, and there seems little anyone can do but issue warnings, and watch the train rumble through, endangering our Nation's infrastructure investments and our Nation's fiscal soundness.

The tax cuts that are involved here—and let me say parenthetically that I like to vote for tax cuts. Over the 55 years I have been in public office, I have voted for a several tax cuts, and it is always a great pleasure to do that.

Let me say this. I respect every Senator in this body, no matter if he disagrees with me, no matter if he votes for this tax cut. I respect his or her decision on that matter. I found when I was majority leader, that the Senator who hurt me today by his vote saved me tomorrow. I say what I say today with great respect.

I am not against all tax cuts, but I am against this one, this colossal tax cut that is based on projections over 10 years away when we cannot even project the economy 1 year away or 6 months away. It is like the weather. These things are really unpredictable.

This is a tax cut that threatens to ignite an explosion in the national debt and blow up the economy as resources are squandered and long-term problems are ignored.

Mr. President, a few days ago, the Senate passed the FY 2002 budget resolution, and even before Senators had voted, there was little reason to believe that this body would abide by the revenue levels set forth in that budget resolution. Senators were openly talking about how tax cuts would exceed those authorized in the budget resolution.

In other words, Mr. President, that budget resolution was a sham. Its primary purpose was to authorize a reconciliation bill by which this body would pass a massive tax cut bill that could not be passed as a free standing bill. This \$1.35 trillion tax cut could not be passed in this Senate as a free-standing bill.

Section 103 of the FY 2002 budget resolution allows the Republican leadership to bring this massive \$1.35 trillion tax cut bill to the floor as a reconciliation bill. And why is it so important to that leadership? Because section 103 permits the Republican leadership to bring the tax cut bill to the floor with, at most, 20 hours of debate. And reconciliation allows time to be yielded back on a nondebatable motion. Section 103 makes sure that the bill cannot be filibustered. So section 103 makes sure that 51 votes will be enough to pass the tax cut bill.

In other words, Mr. President, the most important feature of the budget