

concern. But a distinction is easily drawn: Using cameras activated only when a traffic law is broken—good; deploying police cameras in public spaces in order to scan in the faces of unsuspecting passersby—bad.

Armey would have us believe that the police departments that use red-light cameras are not interested in reducing accidents but in maximizing traffic-ticket revenue. His evidence, however, consists of nothing more than listing the number of tickets issued by various departments and the sums collected. New York City, for example, sent out 400,000 tickets to red-light runners last year, a truly astounding number. Contrarily, the same facts can be read as powerful evidence of the magnitude of the problem.

In Armey's home state, the legislature has twice rejected proposals to use red-light cameras statewide. But Garland, Texas, is about to go ahead with cameras anyhow. That the House majority leader, an outspoken opponent of government interventionism, is attempting to interfere in a local safety program strikes Garland's city's attorney as ironic.

Armey believes the so-called crisis is solved simply by lengthening yellow-light signals. His reasoning is more Orwellian than the cameras. War is peace, and now red is to be yellow.

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

CONGRESS FACES CHALLENGING TIMES

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, the Congress will now reconvene following the August recess. We face some challenging and difficult times, especially dealing with fiscal policy.

I noted this weekend on some of the news shows that Bush administration spokesperson, Mitch Daniels, who heads the Office of Management and Budget, made the following observations about our fiscal situation. He said, "We have the second largest surplus in U.S. history. We are awash in cash." He used the term "awash in money." And then he seemed to say: Well, there is not a problem here because we have this very large surplus.

I think it is interesting to note that the economy in this country is weak. It has softened substantially. That which was expected to have been in surplus just months ago has now evaporated. The Office of Management and Budget and the Congressional Budget Office both acknowledge that the surplus is largely gone. When Mitch Daniels uses the term "surplus" and says we are "awash" in money and we have the second biggest surplus in history, what is he talking about? He is talking about the Social Security trust fund. He is doing it pretty much the same way that Charles Krauthammer, a columnist for the Washington Post, has done it. He wrote "no lock, no box," talking about a lockbox for Social Security trust funds. Robert Novak, a columnist for the Sun Times, wrote a column that says, "Don't believe the Dem scare tactics." In effect, Mr. Novak said all of this notion about a Social Security trust fund issue is bogus.

George Will weighed in with essentially the same message. What are they

talking about? Mr. Novak says that Senator CONRAD, my colleague from North Dakota, and I are effectively deceiving people about this.

Let's look at this for a moment. Workers in this country, when they get their paycheck, discovers something is taken out of that, which is called Social Security taxes. They are told it is going to go into a trust fund. This money taken out for Social Security isn't taken out for the purpose of paying for the Defense Department, or paying for air traffic controllers, or paying for a farm program, or paying for food inspection; it is taken out of the paycheck and the worker is told this goes into a Social Security trust fund. The word "trust" is used in the trust fund because it is a trust fund in the classic sense. That trust fund invests its money in Government securities.

The trust fund exists; it is real. If Mr. Novak, for example, purchases a U.S. Government savings bond for his grandson next Christmas, I hope he will not tell his grandson what he is telling readers, that somehow the savings bond he purchased has no value, that there is nothing there and the security is meaningless. I hope he will not tell his grandson that. We ought not tell the American workers that, either.

When Mr. Mitch Daniels, the head of OMB, says we have the second largest surplus in history, what he is saying is, by the way, we have these surplus funds in the Social Security trust fund and we view them as surplus. The moderator on "Meet the Press" said, well, but these are trust funds, are they not? Are they not dedicated to Social Security? Mr. Daniels said, well, yes, but they are not really dedicated to Social Security.

Well, that is new. The message ought to be, keep your hands off these trust funds, to everybody: The administration, the Congress, keep your hands off these trust funds. They do not belong to you.

It is not the Government's money. It is money that came out of workers' paychecks to be put in a trust fund for their future. And we will need that when the baby boomers retire and put a maximum strain on the Social Security system. That is precisely why we are accruing surpluses at this point. It is not for the purpose of Mr. Daniels or others to say that we have this huge surplus of funds and look at the great shape we are in. If a business said, by the way, we made a huge profit last year but only if you consider the pension funds of our employees, people would say, are you crazy? You cannot consider pension funds as part of your profit, and yet that is exactly what some people are trying to tell us.

Will Rogers once said: When there is no place left to spit, you either have to swallow your tobacco juice or change with the times. Well, there is no place left, and we have to change.

Four months ago we were told there was going to be a surplus of \$125 billion

above the Social Security accounts. That is all gone. It has evaporated. It does not exist anymore. The question for the President and Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, is how do you reconcile all of these interests and needs with the current situation?

The President wants \$18 billion additional spending for defense. The surplus that would be used to pay for that does not exist at this point. It seems to me the President is going to have to come to Congress, Mr. Daniels, Mr. Rumsfeld, and others, and say here is the plan by which we are going to pay for that. That plan ought not include using the Social Security trust fund.

I say to my conservative friends who write these columns that you do a real disservice, in my judgment, to the facts when you suggest that that which we take out of workers' paychecks to be put in a trust fund does not really exist in the trust fund. That is not true. The fact is, it forces national savings if we have a fiscal policy that recognizes these trust funds for the purpose they were collected in the first instance.

Now we have a lot of people who are poised to get their mitts into that trust fund and use it for other purposes. I hope the administration and the Congress will hold firm and say, keep your hands off those trust funds. They do not belong to the Government. They belong to the American people. They are the ones who paid those taxes, and they were the ones who were told it was going to be put in a trust fund. The word "trust" ought to mean something.

I will comment on another issue. This weekend I was enormously dismayed to see press reports in the New York Times and the Washington Post on the subject of national missile defense and the potential buildup of offensive nuclear weapons in China. The New York Times headline said: The U.S. will drop objections to China's missile buildup: strategy meant to ease Beijing's concern about plans for a weapons shield.

According to the reports, the U.S. will tell China that it will not object to a missile buildup by that country. It says, "The Bush administration seeking to overcome Chinese opposition to its missile defense program intends to tell leaders in Beijing it has no objections to the country's plans to build up its small fleet of nuclear missiles." It also says, "One senior official said that in the future the United States and China might also discuss resuming underground nuclear tests."

Let me ask a question: Does anyone think this will be a safer and more secure world if we say it does not matter whether China builds more offensive nuclear weapons? Does anyone believe it enhances world security and makes this a safer place in which to live if we give a green light to China and tell that country that it does not matter to us, you just go ahead and build up a huge nuclear arsenal? It defies all common sense. We ought to be the world

leader in trying to convince countries not to build up their nuclear arsenals, to reduce rather than increase their nuclear arsenals. We ought to be the world's leader in saying not only stop nuclear testing, which we did a long while ago, but to have everyone, including this country, subscribe to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.

Regrettably, this Senate turned down that treaty almost two years ago. However, this country still needs to be a leader to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. We need to be a leader in a way that helps persuade other countries not to build an offensive nuclear threat. Some people, including myself, think that is just daft for our country to say we would like to spend tens and tens of billions of dollars—some say the current proposal would be about \$60 billion, other people say it would be well over \$100 billion—to build a national missile defense system and in order to do so we will say to China, by the way, you go right ahead and build up your offensive nuclear capabilities.

What on Earth could we be thinking of? We need to push in the opposite direction. We need to say to China and Russia and others, which are part of the nuclear club in this world, that we want to build down, not up. We do not want to see an increase in offensive nuclear weapons.

This is exactly what many of us have feared, by the way. The discussion about abandoning the ABM Treaty, which has been the center pole of the tent for arms control and arms reductions, the abandonment of that which is being proposed by the White House and some of their friends in Congress, is a substantial retreat from this country's responsibility to be a leader in trying to stop and reduce the threat of nuclear war.

Is it really going to provide more security and more safety for this world if the administration says we do not care about an ABM Treaty, we will just abandon it and not care about the consequences. Or if the administration says we do not care if our building a national missile defense system of some type if it leads Russia to stop cutting its nuclear forces and if it leads China to have an offensive nuclear weapons buildup. Does it matter to us? It sure does.

Since the dismantlement of the Soviet Union well over a decade ago now, there have been really just two major nuclear superpowers. There were two nuclear superpowers involved in the cold war, us and the Soviets. Now we alone and the country of Russia have very substantial nuclear capability. It is estimated there are over 30,000 nuclear weapons in the arsenal of both countries, 30,000 nuclear weapons. We need to be reducing the threat of nuclear war. We need to be building down and reducing the stockpile of nuclear weapons. We ought not as a country be saying it does not matter much to us whether China builds up its offensive

nuclear weapon capability. It sure ought to matter to us. It will be a significant part of our future if we allow that to happen.

I hope we can have an aggressive discussion on this subject in the coming month or so. This country ought to care very much about whether the country of China is going to increase and build up its offensive nuclear capability. This country ought to care a great deal about that, and this country's policy ought not be giving a green light to other countries to say we do not mind. We should not be saying: You let us build a national missile defense, and we will just say you go right ahead and increase your stockpile of nuclear weapons. That is a policy that will not create a safer world, in my judgment.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. REED). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Nevada.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Illinois be recognized for up to 10 minutes as in morning business, and if the Republicans wish 10 minutes of morning business following, I have no objection to that.

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

The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

BUDGET SURPLUS

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, most of us are returning today for the first time since the August recess. It was a period of time when we had a chance to spend a little vacation time with our families, and I was happy to be part of that process and to be reunited with my extended family and have a great time. It was also a time to be back in our States to travel around, to listen and to hear what is on the minds of the people we represent, and for a few of us a chance to perhaps take a few days to go overseas and to be part of the global dialog which comes with this job as much as our dialog with the people we represent.

In these past 4 weeks, we have been busy and most of us have enjoyed it, but now we are back to work. We come back to work with additional information and more views on the issues that we are about to debate. What a difference a month has made. Many of us did not believe in this short period of time there could be such a turn of fortune as we have seen occur with the recent report on the status of surpluses in our Federal budget.

It was not that long ago we were deep in red ink in Washington with deficits in every direction. We saw ourselves building up a national debt to \$5.7 trillion, a national mortgage which we still shoulder, a burden which we carry, and our children and grandchildren are likely to carry as well.

The good news, of course, starting in 1993 we began to turn the corner on that debt with an expanding positive economy, with the creation of jobs and new businesses, profits to build up retirement accounts. People were making more money and paying taxes, providing more revenue to the Government. We found ourselves in a surplus situation. We were exalting after so many years and years of deficits under President Reagan, President George Bush, and then for the first few years the Clinton administration. We finally came out of that dark veil and now we are in a position to enjoy the surplus.

The President who was elected last November, President George Bush, said the surpluses give an opportunity to enact a massive tax cut, one of the largest tax cuts in our history. Many members of his party, as well as a few on this side of the aisle, joined with the President to enact this tax cut, believing that the surpluses were virtually as far as the eye could see. Why not take this extra money in Washington and give it back to the people of the United States? The logic was simple. It seemed so clear.

Some Members believed that caution was the guide to which we should turn. Instead of spending a possible surplus, we should wait to see if the American economy would recover strongly, and how quickly, and whether it would generate a surplus, and before we committed the possible future surplus, we ought to take care, lest we find ourselves in a deficit situation.

We return in the first few days of September of the year 2001 to find President Bush's tax cut, in addition to the state of the American economy, has cost the projected surplus which the President said we would have. We find ourselves knocking on the door, without that surplus, going back into, if not a deficit, the situation where we have to go to trust funds in order to pay for the ordinary expenses of Government. Which trust funds? The largest—Medicare and Social Security. In a short period of time—just a few months—with this new President we have gone from the euphoria of surpluses to now worrying over whether or not we are going to endanger the Social Security trust fund. It tells you we have come very far very fast.

The tax rebates that many people have received in the last few weeks of \$300 and \$600 are welcome to many families who need to buy supplies for kids to go back to school this week, or clothing, or to pay off some of the debts they might have. It does not appear at this moment it will show any