

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 15 minutes each.

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

The Senator from Wyoming.

#### EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, what I would like to do is take some time, because I did not have an opportunity just before the vote, to thank all the people who worked on and participated in this bill that we have just completed, and that includes the people who are both for the bill and against the bill. Everybody made a contribution on this one.

As I mentioned before, all 100 Senators are interested in national security—deeply interested, deathly interested in national security. That has been demonstrated by the work that has been put in on this bill. They are also extremely interested that the economy of the country advance. We just passed a bill that will allow both of those things to happen, and happen safely.

We have been without the kind of a bill that we have needed for a long period of time. We just passed one that is considerably better than what we had in place, and is even better than the 1979 act when it was extended. So we are in a position now where we can go, with some real credibility, to the House side to ask them to move the bill forward and to join with the White House in getting this passed quickly, as the White House asked. And, of course, we will be asking for all the people who have an interest in this bill to also help work on the House side. We know they will take quick action and that we will get this huge problem to the United States solved.

I would like to particularly thank those people who have worked closely on the bill. I will start with Senator GRAMM, who allowed me to be the subcommittee chairman and get this assignment.

I have to tell you, when I first got the assignment, I thought, this has failed about 12 times so I assume this is one of those tasks that freshman Senators get. I didn't expect much to happen on it, but we began the process of learning about it, and the Cox commission report came out. Of course, it was

just a secret report at first, but it still got publicity that brought to the attention of the American people the problem of secrets being stolen from the United States.

That raised the level of this bill so that I and Senator JOHNSON of South Dakota could work through our subcommittee to really find out what was happening with it, to see how those things in the Cox commission and other reports, as they came out, fit into this bill. We put them into that bill, worked together to find solutions, met—"interminably" might not be the right word, but it feels like the right word sometimes—with a number of groups and anybody who was interested in the bill and worked hard to heighten the interest of those people in the bill.

Fortunately, Senator JOHNSON and I got to work under the direction of Senator GRAMM and Senator SARBANES, two vastly different personalities with different ways of working. I have to say that working under those two people on any piece of legislation is an education. They are very considerate in everything they do. They both study it to a very deep knowledge. They ask penetrating questions, and they have that ability and sense of when to move forward and when to hold back. Particularly when you have the combination of Senator SARBANES and Senator GRAMM, you have these two personalities that cover all aspects of the spectrum of dealing with people.

Of course, with both of them, you have vast years of knowledge of doing this kind of work, which is different than any other job I think anybody can have.

They recognize the ways to work with people and the mechanisms to do it and have just been tremendous in guidance as we have gone through this.

I would be real remiss if I did not place some special thanks on all of the staff people who worked on this. Again, staff do a lot of the preparation, a lot of the study. They do meetings among themselves and then bring the results of those meetings to us for resolution. There were some real experts involved in this, people who really know how to network. And I would be surprised if there has been any other bill that had the kind of trust between staff and between Senators that this bill has had.

We worked on it for a long time. Of course, that built up the trust as we slowly got to the point where we had a draft to put through.

During that time, we did find out that it was an issue that affected everybody in the country. So then, of course, it affects both sides of the aisle. This is one of those examples of bipartisan effort. It results in a bipartisan vote and gives us some real strength as we continue this process.

Again, I thank my fellow Senator, Mr. JOHNSON, for his efforts on this bill and all of the different presentations we had to give over the course of time to different groups as we got them to buy in. Everybody had to come to the

middle on this one because previous efforts had gone too far in one direction or the other. As a result, it picked up a majority in opposition.

One thing about passing a bill is that to pass it, you have to get it through all of the different steps. A "no" vote at any one of those steps kind of stops it dead in its tracks and sends you back to ground zero.

We are at the halfway point on this one now. We have gotten it through several votes successfully. It is much easier sometimes to create confusion and pick up the votes on the other side. I appreciate the Senators who helped to promote and to clarify this. Again, the clarification came from both sides.

Senator THOMPSON and Senator KYL particularly are to be congratulated for their tenacity at bringing up different points. You will find on the list of meetings that we put in that a lot of those meetings were with those two individuals. And as I mentioned numerous times, we put in 59 changes. One of the biggest changes, of course, is the override that the President has. We gave a trump to the President on everything in the bill.

We put in some new sections, and we said that the President has the right to set those aside in specific instances. It makes a huge difference in how this bill will work. It really will allow the limited resources that we have—and we are increasing those resources, but they are still limited—to concentrate on the worst situations and to make them better. That is what we are trying to achieve with the bill.

I would also like to thank the Majority Leader, Senator DASCHLE, for his strong support and willingness to bring the bill to the floor for debate. Senator REID was also instrumental in negotiating the bill to the floor for debate. His support and guidance was very much appreciated.

Again, I thank everybody who worked on the bill. I particularly appreciate all of the hours Senator SARBANES has spent on the floor this week, not only in debate, in clarifying things, which showed his vast depth of knowledge of the bill, but particularly with the administrative work he did as he helped to get people together who needed to talk about different parts of this bill. His steady hand certainly played a big role in the kind of vote we received.

I again thank everybody who worked on the bill and congratulate everybody who worked on the bill. That is both those who were for and those who were against. We will see everybody on the House side.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, we are in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DORGAN. Will the Senator from Kentucky yield for a unanimous consent request?

Mr. MCCONNELL. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. DORGAN. I understand the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from California, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, are going to seek recognition. I ask unanimous consent that I be recognized in morning business for 15 minutes following their presentation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Kentucky.

(The remarks of Mr. MCCONNELL and Mrs. FEINSTEIN pertaining to the introduction of S. 1409 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield for a brief statement?

Mr. DORGAN. Of course, I will be happy to yield.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator DASCHLE, there will be no more votes tonight. The majority leader indicated in the morning he is going to move forward on some legislation. It is not for sure what it is. We are hopeful we will move to an appropriations bill. Senator DASCHLE has an important meeting tonight to see if that can be done. Senator DASCHLE asked I advise everyone there is a possibility of votes in the morning. Everyone should be prepared in that regard. There will be no more votes tonight.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

#### SENATE BUSINESS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, with respect to the announcement by my colleague from Nevada, I am a bit confused what is happening in the Senate. We have the month of September to finish our appropriations bills. We have had no conferences on any appropriations bill at this point. We have 13 of them to do. We have a very short period of time in which to finish the work of the appropriations committees in the House and the Senate.

It is inexplicable to me that we are at this moment at 5 o'clock in the afternoon unable to go to another appropriations bill. They are ready to come to the floor. We are being blocked. There are objections to the motion to proceed to an appropriations bill. It makes no sense to me. This Senate must do its work and pass the appropriations bills. It will have to be sooner or later. It is much better if it is sooner. This is the work of the American people passing appropriations bills that contain the money for essentially the operation of Government. We have so much work to do and so little time in which to get it done.

The appropriations bills and the question of whether this fiscal policy adds up is very important for everyone. This town and, in ways, the country are asking a lot of questions these days about a softening economy, a surplus that used to exist that has now largely vanished, and a fiscal policy that was

put in place when it was expected there would be nothing but surpluses as far as the eye could see that now does not add up at all.

I want to show a quote on a chart from Mr. Mitch Daniels, the head of the Office of Management and Budget in a statement he made on Sunday on "Meet the Press" because it is central to this question about fiscal policy. What are the resources? How many resources do we have? How do we use those resources? Mr. Daniels says we have the second largest surplus in the history of the country. We are "awash in cash," he says. But, of course, what he is talking about is the Social Security trust fund and the money in the trust fund.

There used to be \$125 billion expected above that, which indeed is a surplus, but that is now gone. That has evaporated. What is left belongs to the Social Security trust fund. When he says we are "awash in cash," he is talking about Social Security trust fund monies. Mr. Russert, the moderator of "Meet the Press," said:

The surplus is money that you got through payroll taxes, which are designated towards Social Security. And to tap into that is a violation of what George Bush pledged during the campaign.

To which Mr. Daniels replied:

Well, it's not designated for Social Security, Tim.

It is not designated for Social Security. That is from the head of the Office of Management and Budget from this administration who says that the trust funds are not in the trust fund. The taxes that come out of all the workers' paychecks in this country, called Social Security taxes, that are put into a dedicated trust fund, we are told now by the head of the Office of Management and Budget that this money is not designated for Social Security.

He could not be more wrong or more unsuited for that job if he really believes that. It is possible this is a mistake. It is not a mistake in transcription. That is what he said, but it is possible he misspoke. If he did, let's hear that. If he did not misspeak, if this is what he believes, he is sadly mistaken.

This is a big, big issue. This is a \$162 billion issue in this year alone. It is a half-a-trillion-dollar issue in the next 5 years. It is essential to the construct of a fiscal policy that works to understand that this money does not belong to them; it does not belong to the Government; it belongs to the American workers. They paid it. It is their taxes, and they were told it was going to go into a trust fund.

The message ought to be: Keep your hands off those trust funds.

All of us face difficulty as a result of a softening economy. I am not here pointing fingers at who is to blame and who is not to blame. The fact is, we have had an economy that always has had a business cycle: an expansion side and a contraction side. Nobody has ever changed that.

We suffered a contraction. We went through a period when everybody thought the stock market would always go up and never go down. That is not the case. We went through a period when everybody thought there was one way the economy moves: upward, steadily, relentlessly.

Now they are experiencing what we learned in economics. I actually taught economics for a while, and I have overcome that, as I often say. We taught the business cycle. The business cycle is inevitable. There is an expansion and a contraction. It all has to do with people's confidence in the future. Sometimes there is more confidence and sometimes less confidence.

The point is, we all now inherit this economy that has softened. It is incumbent on us all to get together and work together; that the President and the Congress understand the plan that existed before, anticipating surpluses forever, is a plan that now does not add up. It is desperately short of the resources to do that which the President wants to do. It would make good sense, in my judgment, for the President to join us in an economic summit of sorts to work through a new plan that represents an understanding that there is a new reality to this economy and the numbers in the current plan do not add up.

Let's create a plan together that makes sense for the American people, one that invests in the American people's future and one that tries to provide the stimulus and incentive to help promote confidence and start this economy, once again, on an upward trend. That is what we have a responsibility to do.

Fingers that are pointed mean very little at this point. We are all in this ship of state together. It is not as if there is an engine room with dials, knobs, gauges, and levers so that if we can just get Alan Greenspan, or someone in charge of fiscal policies, to move these gauges and levers just right so the ship of state will move. That is not the way the economic engine behaves.

This ship of state moves forward and the economy grows when people have confidence in the future. The American people, the bond markets, and stock markets do not have confidence in a fiscal plan they know does not add up. That is why it is important for the President to recognize that reality and work with us to construct a new plan.

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I wish to take a moment to speak about a different subject, international trade. I will do it briefly because I understand my colleague, Senator BYRD, wishes to address the Senate. I certainly do not want to disadvantage him. If my colleague, Senator BYRD, will indulge me for a few more minutes, I want to make a comment about international trade.

Mr. BYRD. Please.