

that bill we passed this year, the bill that would create more competition and lower prices, we could help our families and businesses tremendously by lowering the prices of prescription drugs, which are one of the main explosions of cost to our families?

Wouldn't you agree that would be an important focus between now and when we leave?

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Michigan for calling attention to yet another economic issue that could have profound consequences on the ability the average working family has today to pay their bills and to keep their standard of living. As she and I have traveled the country, and certainly traveled our States, the issue of the cost of prescription drugs comes up over and over again.

The Senate passed a prescription drug bill that would reduce the cost to every single person purchasing drugs today. It sits languishing in the House of Representatives. I hope the President will do as the Senator suggests. I hope he will pick up the phone from Air Force One, since he is traveling all over the country, and tell the Speaker: Pass the bill, give us some real opportunity for relief this year. That, to me, would be one of the many things he could do to bring about longer term economic security.

The House also did real damage earlier this year. No one has looked at the bill, but I hope some day somebody will write the real story about the atrocious legislation passed by the House in the name of prescription drugs benefits. Basically, as the Senator from Michigan knows so well, because she has become such a leader on this issue, the House of Representatives has turned over prescription drug coverage for seniors to HMOs. Given the horrific examples of abuse in our health system today, in large measure because of abuse by HMOs, can you believe anybody would say, well, that is enough. We are now going to turn over drug coverage for seniors to HMOs, to the private sector, to people who simply are unable to live up to the expectations of all seniors, of the American people?

Again, the Senator makes a very important point. We have not been able to address prescription drugs this year, in part because of their determination to turn over responsibility for drug coverage under Medicare to HMOs and their unwillingness to deal with the generic legislation passed in the Senate by an overwhelming margin last summer.

I thank the Senator for asking the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I wish to make a couple of comments. Parliamentary inquiry: Are we going to be in morning business until 3?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

BALANCING THE RECORD

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I have heard a couple of speeches by our Democrat colleagues that are basically saying the entire fault of the economy is that of President Bush. I just have a little different view and wish to share the view somewhat to balance the record.

It is kind of interesting; we are an equal branch of Government, the legislative branch. We are an equal branch to that of the executive. For one branch of Government to say, wait a minute, the economy is bad and it is all the President's fault, I find kind of interesting. We have equal powers under the Constitution. Our powers are a little different. Maybe sometimes the President gets all the credit when things are good and all the fault when things are bad, but that is not quite accurate. Congress shares its portion of responsibility, whether it be good or bad.

We have done a couple things that are good and some things that are bad. Maybe I will point out some of those differences.

I find it interesting where one branch of Government is faulting the other and assuming that is really the solution. That is not the case.

When the recession started, I remember the stock market crashing or falling dramatically in March of 2000. I believe President Clinton was President at that time, and the market continued to fall. It rebounded a little bit in August of 2000, and then it fell a lot more and has been falling since. If you look at the precipitous rise in the stock market, it probably had risen too much too fast, and so it had some falling out to do. It has fallen; I hope it has not fallen too much. Maybe now it has bottomed out and started to increase.

Actually, the last few days have been very promising. If somebody just got into the market last Monday or Tuesday, they have made a remarkable rate of return in the last few days alone. I hope maybe the market has bottomed out. To say that is all President Bush's fault is incorrect.

The Washington Post on October 25 said:

To blame the weak American economy on Mr. Bush is nonsense.

That is a direct quote from the Washington Post, which is not exactly President Bush's biggest cheerleader. But they happen to be right.

Let me say, instead of just trying to throw rocks at the Bush administration, we should be looking at Congress. What can we do. I don't know that we can just pass a few bills and make everything rosy in the economy. Nor does everything we do have a negative impact. But I do believe we can make a difference.

Some of the things we pass can help, and some of the things we don't pass can either help or hurt. I will mention those.

I remember a person all of us respect, Chairman Greenspan. His recommenda-

tion, his advice to Congress was to do two things: Show some fiscal discipline and also do things that would stimulate trade. And we did pass a bill, trade promotion authority, this year. Due to President Bush's leadership, we did get it through the House and the Senate. It wasn't easy. It wasn't even pretty in some respects. But it passed both Houses. It passed the House by one vote; it passed the Senate by more than that after extraneous measures were put on that were not in the committee. That was not a good way to legislate. There were three bills combined into one. But we eventually did pass trade promotion authority. That was good. That will help the economy.

On the second recommendation, Chairman Greenspan said show fiscal discipline. I give the White House high marks in many regards. I give Congress a very low grade. If I was going to grade Congress on fiscal discipline, the grade would be an F. I am critical. I am on the Budget Committee. I used to be on the Appropriations Committee. But for the first time since 1974, we didn't pass a budget. And we have shown no discipline whatsoever. As a matter of fact, for the last two or three Congresses, we have shown very little discipline, whether or not we had a budget. Even when we had a budget in the last 2 or 3 years of the Clinton administration, we continually waived it.

If you are going to waive it by declaring things an emergency, or waive it and say it doesn't count, we basically had no budget. So as a result, we had Federal spending climbing and climbing dramatically. Total outlays increased, in the year we just completed, 2002, the fiscal year, by \$148 billion. That is the largest percentage growth in spending programs in 20 years.

Defense grew by 13 percent. I agree with that. We underfunded defense for many years. Unemployment comp grew by a staggering 72 percent. Medicaid grew by 13.2 percent, the fastest since 1992. Total outlays grew by 7.9 percent in fiscal year 2002. But if you exclude the decrease for net interest, spending grew by 11 percent last year, about 3 times the rate of inflation. And then I look at some of the other things Congress did that affect spending. Now, we can control that. We control how much money we spend. We had a farm bill that was billions of dollars over what was budgeted. The trade adjustment assistance bill had \$11 billion of new entitlement spending. We had an emergency supplemental bill that was \$4 billion over the President's request. I could go on and on.

There was \$6 billion in drought assistance that—when we passed the farm bill that was so expensive, the proponents said we won't need to do drought assistance every year. Then we came back and, sure enough, Congress passes billions of dollars more. So my complaint is against Congress because, for the first time, we didn't pass a budget. Then because we didn't pass a budget, we didn't pass appropriations bills.

This is embarrassing. Here we are in the new fiscal year and we have not sent the President any appropriations bills. By the end of this week, I think we will have sent the President two appropriations bills—2 out of 13, all of which are supposed to be done by the end of September. And here we are in the middle of October. Congress, on appropriations bills, deserves an “F” this year because we have not done a budget, and Congress deserves an “F” because we have not done one of our constitutional responsibilities, which is to pass appropriations bills on time.

So I look at the Members of Congress who keep throwing rocks at the President, saying the economy is in bad shape. Yet what are we doing? Have we done our job? No. What else could Congress have done? What could the Senate have done? The House passed an energy bill and we spent 7 or 8 weeks on it and it is still stuck in conference. If we would have passed an energy bill that had allowed exploration in ANWR—the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge—as the House did, we could create hundreds of thousands of jobs. That is still stuck, so the Congress has not passed an energy bill.

We have not passed a reinsurance bill. It passed the House and the Senate, but we have not worked out the differences in conference, mainly because the Trial Lawyers Association wants to have the extended ability to sue victims of terrorism. So there are billions of dollars in construction projects being held hostage because Congress hasn't been able to pass antiterrorism insurance.

The House passed pension reform months ago. The Senate Finance Committee—of which I am a member—I believe, passed pension reform unanimously in committee. We have not passed it on the floor of the Senate. I urge the majority leader to call that bill up. If you want to talk about 401(k)s, and we want to protect them, and pension plans, and so on, let's pass the bipartisan bill that passed out of the Finance Committee to lend some protection there.

We have not moved to make permanent the tax cuts passed last year. I keep hearing people being critical of the tax bill that passed. They want to say that tax bill caused all the deficits. That is totally false. The real cause, or culprit, wasn't the tax cut; it is the fact of the failing economy. The economy is staggering. Income receipts are down, and it is not so much because of the tax cuts but because of the economy. So we need to turn the economy around and allow people to keep more of their own money. Let's make the tax cuts permanent.

Some people say, no, let's increase taxes. Let's change the law. I don't think that is the remedy being advocated by many, but I don't think that is a very good solution.

Then I heard our colleagues say we didn't pass a prescription drug bill. That is not our fault. The majority

leader and the chairman of the Finance Committee never even had a markup on prescription drugs in the Finance Committee, which has jurisdiction over that issue. They pulled the bill up on the floor and we debated it for weeks, but we didn't pass a comprehensive bill to add prescription drugs as a benefit for Medicare because we didn't let the Senate work its will. We didn't have it marked up in committee. We didn't allow Members to proceed as we should.

I mention those few things. We are getting close to election time, so they want to start throwing rocks at the President and criticizing him for the economy, without saying, what have we done? What has the Senate done? I might say we should be thankful for some things that we didn't do and what some of our friends on the Democratic side of the aisle wanted to do, or have tried to do, which, if they were successful, would have made the economy a lot worse.

I will mention one: ergonomics standards. There was a regulation promulgated by the Clinton administration in the last day or two of his term in office called ergonomics standards, which would have cost the economy billions and billions of dollars. I saw one estimate that was up to \$100 billion. It was going to have the Federal Government set up a Federal workers compensation system—I started to say “scheme”—that would have cost billions of dollars to regulate movement in the workplace. It had such ridiculous rules, such as you could not move over 50 pounds 20 times a day and all kinds of little rules on how OSHA is going to regulate business. Congress wisely stopped that regulation. That was good. Some people still want to pass that. It would have cost billions and billions.

Some people say let's pass the Patients' Bill of Rights, which would increase everybody's health care costs. Actually, the Senate passed that a year ago in June. It is interesting to note that the House already passed it a year ago, but we have not even gone to conference on that bill—maybe for a good reason. That bill would greatly expand not only the right to sue the HMOs but also employers for providing health care insurance for their employees. The employers could be sued, and the net result would be that a lot of employers would drop their health care. That would hurt the economy, not help it.

Some people say let's increase the minimum wage. That is one of the proposals many Democrats are pushing now—increase that by \$1.50 over the next 14 months. That is almost a 30-percent increase. Oh, that is great. What if the business could not pay \$6.65? What if this is somebody trying to help at a convenience store, and all they can afford to pay is \$5, maybe \$6 an hour? We are just going to say that is too bad; we would rather have you unemployed than to have a job like that. If you cannot pay \$6.65, you are out of work.

CAFE standards: On the energy bill, many Democrat colleagues say let's increase the CAFE standards for automobiles. That is great. We are going to make everybody drive a Volkswagen-type automobile. That is not very safe; that is not what consumers want. It would certainly be detrimental, and it would cost thousands of jobs.

I mention these to say that there are two sides to the story. We are a little less than 3 weeks from the election and a lot of colleagues are saying: We want to throw rocks at the President, blame the President for the deficit. So we want to stop making permanent the tax cuts the President already passed; and, incidentally, we want to spend a whole lot more money. So they are against the deficits when it comes to taxes, but in favor of them when it comes to spending money. Whether you are talking about Medicare adjustments, drought assistance, unemployment compensation—which, in a moment, we will probably be debating—we are going to have a major expansion of unemployment compensation, more than double the Federal program that we have today. Some will possibly propose that. It only cost \$17 billion. What difference does it make? We don't have a budget anyway. In other words, they don't care about the deficit when it comes to spending—only when it comes to the tax side.

I say these things because I think it is important to move together and improve the economy. I think we can do it if Congress works together. We can take a lot of the measures the House passed and we can help the economy. If we would pass an energy bill, a reinsurance bill, pension reform, and if we would be responsible and pass a budget, pass appropriations bills that meet the budget guidelines, I think we could help the economy. I don't think we help the economy by making a bunch of political speeches and blaming everything on President Bush.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

MEASURES PLACED ON CAL- ENDAR—H.R. 4968, S. 3099, AND S. 3100

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I understand that H.R. 4968, S. 3099, and S. 3100 are at the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these bills receive a second reading, and I object to any further consideration of this legislation.

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

The clerk will report the bills by title.

A bill (H.R. 4968) to provide for the exchange of certain lands in Utah.

A bill (S. 3099) to provide emergency disaster assistance to agricultural producers.