

THE DEBT TO THE PENNY—Continued

	Amount
9-30-1993	4,411,488,883,139.38
9-30-1992	4,064,620,655,521.66
9-30-1991	3,665,303,351,697.03
9-28-1990	3,233,313,451,777.25
9-29-1989	2,857,430,960,187.32
9-30-1988	2,602,337,712,041.16
9-30-1987	2,350,276,890,953.00

Source: Bureau of the Public Debt.

Mr. HOLLINGS. I yield the floor.
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CARPER). The Senator from Nevada.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that in the order of speakers already identified, Senator KENNEDY be removed from the list and that following Senator BYRD—Senator BYRD has indicated he will speak for 20 or 25 minutes—Senator ENZI then be recognized, followed by Senator DORGAN. Following that, Senators BOND, BINGAMAN, and LINCOLN will then be next recognized. They have some legislation on which they want to have a colloquy. Following Senator DORGAN, we will have a presentation by Senators BOND, BINGAMAN, and LINCOLN.

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

The Senator from West Virginia.

APPROPRIATIONS BILLS: AT AN IMPASSE

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair. I also extend my thanks to the distinguished Democratic whip for his help in arranging for me to speak at this moment.

Mr. President, today is October 2. In 2 days, the continuing resolution that Congress approved last week will expire. While the days flip by on the calendar, the work on appropriations bills remains at an impasse, a standstill.

As a result of White House efforts to slow down the appropriations process—and those efforts have been successful—not 1 of the 13 appropriations bills has been sent to the President as of October 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year. This is the worst record for progress in the appropriations process since 1987.

In 1987, my wife and I celebrated our 50th wedding anniversary. Here it is 15 years later, so we are now 65 years along on our journey, but how much further along are we in the appropriations process? Let me say again, this is the worst record for progress in the appropriations process since 1987.

I would be very unhappy to say this with respect to my wife's and my journey of wedding anniversaries. Fifteen of them have passed since we had our worst year in 1987 in the appropriations process. So today, 15 years later, we are as bad as we were then.

As a result of White House intransigence on total discretionary spending for this fiscal year, the other body, the House of Representatives, has not taken up a single appropriations bill on the House floor for 10 weeks—10 weeks.

God created the Earth and all of the universe and created man in 1 week—6 days and rested on the 7th. Here we are, the House has not taken up an appropriations bill on the floor for 10 weeks—10 weeks. Rather than working with the House Appropriations Committee and moderates in their own party on a level of spending that could be approved on the House floor, the House Republican leadership, at the request of the White House, simply shut the appropriations process down. That is it.

As a result, one of the most fundamental duties of the President and the Congress—namely, to make careful and responsible choices about how to spend the taxpayers' hard-earned dollars—has been put on automatic pilot.

While the days slip away, the 4 million veterans in this country who rely on the Veterans Administration for their health care will have to worry as to whether or not that care is going to be available for them.

While the days slip away, the 11,420 FBI agents who are supposed to be combating the war on terrorism will have to wonder whether they have the necessary resources to continue to fight that war. Why? Because of this administration's do-nothing policy when it comes to the appropriations process. Slow down the process. Stall.

While the days slip away, the Government's effort to root out corporate fraud would be put on hold.

While the days slip away, the President appears to be satisfied to forget his "no child left behind" promise and turn the commitment to educating America's children into another unfunded mandate, another unfulfilled promise.

The President is quick to champion homeland security on the political speech tour. Yes, he will stand out there with a backdrop of marines, a backdrop of soldiers, a backdrop of sailors, a backdrop of the National Guard, and he will say: Congress, pass my homeland security bill.

The President is quick to champion homeland security on the hustings when he is making fundraising trips, raising big dollars for the campaign. He is quick to champion homeland security, but his budget priorities reflect an entirely different agenda. The administration's adamant refusal to move off the dime in these appropriations discussions could jeopardize homeland security—and already has jeopardized homeland security.

No matter when or how or whether any new Department of Homeland Security is created, by jeopardizing the appropriations bills, the White House jeopardizes critical funds for the new Transportation Security Administration. Many of the requirements of the Transportation Security Act require large expenditures in the first quarter of fiscal year 2003. Are they going to flow?

Local airports are required to purchase explosive detection equipment to

keep bombs from being placed on airliners. To do that, the airports need help. But the administration's refusal to be more flexible in its appropriations approach means that help is not on the way.

Federal funds are also needed to hire new Federal screeners to make our Nation's seaports more secure. Is help on the way?

Help is not on the way.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service is at a critical juncture in developing a comprehensive entry and exit system to protect our Nation's borders. The Senate bill provides \$362 million for this initiative. Is help on the way? No. The administration's inflexibility means that help is not on the way.

The Customs Service is scheduled to hire more than 620 agents and inspectors to serve at the Nation's high-risk land and seaports of entry. Homeland security? The Senate provides the funding for the Customs Service. But is help on the way? No. The administration is being inflexible. Help is not on the way.

Thousands of FEMA fire grants, grants for interoperable communications equipment, grants to upgrade emergency operations centers, grants to upgrade search and rescue teams, grants for emergency responder training, and grants to improve State and local planning would be funded under the Senate's appropriations bill. Is help on the way? No. The administration is inflexible.

These are the special interests, I suppose, that the President was talking about, these firemen, policemen, and emergency health personnel who appeared before the Senate Appropriations Committee last spring in support of more money for homeland security.

So here are these special interests—the firemen, the policemen, the emergency help personnel, the people from the hospitals, and the nurses who came before our Senate Appropriations Committee and pleaded for more money for homeland security. Are these the special interests the President is talking about?

Help is not on the way.

Talk is cheap. Homeland security is not cheap. By forcing the Government to operate on autopilot, the administration wants the Nation to fight terrorism at home with one hand tied behind our backs. The President needs to come out of the White House war room long enough to focus on the situation at home. There is no need to go to Iraq, no need to go to the Middle East. The war on terrorism is being waged at home.

Is help on the way? No.

By December 31, 2.3 million unemployed Americans will be cut off from employment assistance. As the days slip away, our Nation's farmers and ranchers are left with no assistance in the face of the worst drought since the Dust Bowl days of the 1930s. I remember those Dust Bowl days of the 1930s.

I was beginning my last 4 years in high school in the 1930s. That is when mechanically sliced bread first came along. "The greatest thing since sliced bread," we hear. That goes back to the 1930s.

The promise made to America's senior citizens for an effective prescription drug benefit is left for another day. Help is not on the way.

A weakened economy and rising health care costs are the main reasons for the growth in the number of the uninsured. When people lose their jobs, they often lose their health coverage.

The number of unemployed men and women has increased by about 2 million since January 2001, so it should come as no surprise that the number of uninsured is also going up, up, up. Health insurance premiums also increased by 12.7 percent during the past year, making coverage less affordable for employers and workers.

According to the Census Bureau, the number of people with employment-based health coverage dropped in 2001 for the first time since 1993. What is the response to this situation from the Bush administration? What is the response?

What? I can't hear you. A deafening silence.

In 2001, the 30 top earning corporate executives took home \$3.1 billion, an average of \$104 million. We are talking about the 30 top earning corporate executives. What did they do to earn their money?

They bilked shareholders. The 30 top-earning corporate executives took home \$3.123 billion, an average of \$104 million.

Why be a U.S. Senator? Why be a Senator? Why be anything else? Become a corporate executive. Not all of them are like that, but there are some bad apples there.

Compared to the national median income in 2001, these 30 corporate executives earned the equivalent of 73,955 households. I would never believe it, but these 30 corporate executives earned the equivalent of 73,955 households.

What is the response to this inequity from the Bush administration? What? A deafening silence. Have I lost my hearing? What has happened? Here I am, 85 years old, and I have no ear plugs in all these years. What? A deafening silence. Deafening.

Unfortunately for the American people, it is not a record on which to look back with pride. It is a record that rejects compromise in favor of obstinance. It is a record that rejects progress in favor of partisanship. It is a record that puts politics ahead of the American people.

As for the appropriations bills, the ranking member of the full committee, the senior Senator from Alaska, Mr. STEVENS, and I have urged the administration and the House Republican leadership to move closer to the Senate levels in these bills. The 13 bills approved by the Senate Appropriations

Committee total \$768.1 billion. These bills are consistent with the committee allocation approved by a vote of 29-0 in June. The bills are consistent with the \$768.1 billion allocation that was approved by the Senate Budget Committee when it reported its budget resolution last March. The bills are consistent with the \$768.1 billion allocation that was supported by 59 Members of the Senate when the allocation was voted on during floor debate on the Defense Authorization bill on June 20.

The Senate bills do not promote an explosive growth in spending. The big growth in the bills is for the 13-percent hike proposed by the President for Defense and the 25-percent increase proposed by the President for homeland defense. The fight with the President is over the Senate's desire to provide a 2.6 percent increase for domestic programs, barely enough to cover inflation.

Clearly, a bipartisan effort in the Senate has produced good pieces of legislation. But progress on these bills is at an impasse because the House leadership, under direction from the administration, will not move beyond its arbitrary funding level of \$759 billion. Just \$9 billion between us, \$9 billion. Yet the administration will not move. On the other hand, someone asked Larry Lindsey, the President's top economic adviser, at the White House the other day: How much will the war cost? Maybe \$100 billion, maybe \$200 billion. That is nothing.

That was his response. That is nothing.

Yet we have come to a standstill because of \$9 billion that the Appropriations Committee in the House and the Appropriations Committee in the Senate believe is needed for domestic programs that benefit the Nation's families, children, and veterans.

By its calculated machinations, the administration is turning its back to the needs of the American people at the exact moment where those needs are reaching the breaking point.

This should not be about political winners or losers. This year, of all years, we should not play political games with the appropriations bills. But it seems as if the administration is more than willing to roll the dice with these important bills. And I fear that their gamble will come up snake eyes.

Time and again, the President called on Congress to pass the Defense appropriations bill before the break for the election. I agree with the President. We should pass that bill. The Senate's bipartisan Defense package is \$1.2 billion above the House-passed level. The Senate, which some claim is uninterested in defense and in the security of the Nation, provided significantly more resources for our soldiers, sailors, and airmen than the House. This Senate has answered the call and responded to the needs of the military. Congress should not pinch pennies at this time for the men and women in our Armed Forces, and I continue to urge the

House to move closer to the Senate level.

We are making progress on the Defense package, and I hope that we can conference those bills soon. But, in order to do that, we need the House Republican leadership and the administration to be more flexible in their approach. Taking such a hard line on these appropriations bills threatens the security of the country forces Congress to gut vital domestic initiatives.

The atmosphere of the White House is a heady one. It can cause even the most level-headed occupant to focus on what is important inside the Washington beltway and to forget what is important in the rest of the Nation. I, for one, do not forget what is important to America. I recognize, as do many Members of this body, the importance of these appropriations bills to the future progress and security of this Nation. I recognize the importance of these appropriations bills to the farmers, to the teachers and their students, and to the veterans. I recognize the importance of these bills to future breakthroughs in medical research and cancer treatments. I recognize the importance of these bills to our Nation's energy independence and to our transportation network. Without these bills, promises will remain unfulfilled, problems will remain unattended, and progress will be stalled.

Tomorrow, the House is expected to debate a second continuing resolution that would simply extend the first continuing resolution through Friday, October 11, and I will recommend that the Senate approve that resolution without controversy. But we should not continue to place the Government on autopilot. We should complete work on our appropriations bills.

I urge the administration and the House Republican leadership to join this Senate in passing 13 responsible pieces of legislation that respond to the needs of the Nation, at home and abroad. I urge that arbitrary budget figures be left at the door and we complete our work before adjourning this session of Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

COMPLETING THE SENATE'S BUSINESS

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, as people can probably tell, we are getting down to the end of this session. As such, there is a lot of business that still needs to be completed. Many of my colleagues have expressed their concerns that the Senate has not completed its business for this session. We all have similar concerns. Every once in a while, I am compelled to come to the floor and explain what is going on. There is not a scorecard around here. There is not a program that anyone can follow. So sometimes it is a little difficult to know what is really happening in the Senate.