

country of laws. I cannot imagine that there is ever a time that any one of us—any one of us—ought to be in a position to say: The rules in this case are not going to apply, the law in this case will not apply.

And how ironic—how ironic—that in the Judiciary Committee, the committee which passes judgment on those who will interpret the rule of law, that very committee violated the rule today.

So, Mr. President, we call attention to this extraordinary development with grave concern about its implications, about its precedent, about the message it sends. And I must say, it will not be tolerated.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

HOMELAND SECURITY

Mr. REID. Mr. President, there have been a number of statements over the past many months about the fact that we should have been spending more money on homeland security.

For example, this week, I had a woman come to me from Las Vegas, who is in charge of the 9-1-1 center at the Metropolitan Police Department, a very large police department, with hundreds and hundreds of police officers representing that urban area of some 1.5 to 1.7 million people.

She indicated to me there is a real problem. If you have a telephone call coming from a standard telephone, that person can be identified. They know the location of that telephone. Or if it is a pay phone, they know the location of that pay phone. But today a lot of people are getting rid of their standard telephones, as we know them, and are using computers, and millions of people are using cell phones.

She said that for virtually every place in the United States, including the Las Vegas area, if you call 9-1-1 from a cell phone, they have no idea who is making the phone call or where it is coming from. And, of course, with the computer, that is absolutely the case also.

She was lamenting the fact that the technology is there. It is easy to do what needs to be done to make sure that 9-1-1 calls that come from cell phones can be located.

People have lost their lives and have been injured and harm caused to them as a result of 9-1-1 not being able to identify when the emergency call comes in. This is only one example of how technology could handle the problem.

Why isn't it being done in Las Vegas and other places? There isn't enough money. With what happened on Sep-

tember 11, there is tremendous need for more money to be spent for homeland security. This was certainly the opinion of the Governors who were in town this week. They are having all kinds of problems.

So, Mr. President, I would like to refer again to the New York Times. I have talked about an editorial, as did my friend from Idaho, in the New York Times. I want to refer to a news story from the New York Times, dated today, February 27, 2003, written by one Philip Shenon, entitled "White House Concedes That Counterterror Budget Is Meager." In effect, what this news article says is the White House now recognizes that there isn't enough money to take care of the problems of homeland security.

In this article, among other things, the President blames the leadership of the House and the Senate. And, of course, that does not include the Democratic leadership, because everyone knows, including the President, that we have been crying for more money for more than a year.

There are just a couple things from this news article I would like to point out to the Senate:

... the long delayed Government spending plan for the year does not provide enough money to protect against terrorist attacks on American soil.

Mr. President, this is a statement from this administration. This is not a statement from the Senator from West Virginia, the senior member of the Appropriations Committee, who has spoken for hours and hours on the need for more money. This is not a statement from Senator DASCHLE, the Democratic leader. This is coming from the administration: White House concedes that counterterror budget is meager.

The article goes on to say:

... because it had failed to provide adequate money for local counterterrorism programs.

Mr. President, throughout America today you can't have police agencies talking with each other. In Las Vegas, as an example, you have the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department, the city of Henderson, and Boulder City, and they can't talk to each other in an emergency. The technology is there. They can do that. But these governments simply don't have the money to do that. Fire departments can't talk to police departments all over America. It is not only a problem in Nevada.

We have been asking that the President help with these moneys, and he has been unwilling to do so. He, in effect, vetoed a multibillion dollar proposal we had in a bill just a short time ago. In the bill we had, the big omnibus bill, we asked for a small amount of money for all the demands in here. We asked for \$3.5 billion, but it contains only, as this article indicates, about \$1.3 billion in counterterrorism money for local governments.

Now, these remarks struck some of the audiences unusually sharp, given that "both Houses of Congress are con-

trolled by the President's party," as the article indicates.

Now, there is more in this article, and the day is late, and the snow is falling, but I do want to read this to make sure the picture is plain.

This is a quote from Governor Gary Locke of Washington, which is in the article:

We have a lot of police agencies in the state that were assured by the administration, repeatedly, that this money was on the way.

Still quoting from the article:

He said that many police and fire departments had bought [for example] hazardous-materials protective suits and other counterterrorism equipment in the expectation that they would be reimbursed by the federal government.

"And now," Governor Locke said, "they're going to have to scramble to terminate other programs in order to cover those costs."

It is not only Democratic Governors complaining. Republican Governors are complaining. Governor Bob Taft, a Republican, said lawmakers did not appropriate the amount that was recommended and earmarked for what they appropriated. So it is very clear there are things we need to do on this Senate floor that deal with more than the employment of one man, Miguel Estrada, a man who today, I am sure, is billing big hours down at his plush office here in Washington, a man who makes hundreds of thousands of dollars a year.

There have been statements made on this floor that it is extremely important that we shift from this man's employment, one man's employment, to the millions of people who are unemployed, and millions who are underemployed, people who have no health insurance and are underinsured and the many other problems we face.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 466

Based upon the New York Times article and the fact that the President of the United States has now acknowledged that the counterterror budget is meager, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session and then proceed to the immediate consideration of S. 466, a bill to provide \$5 billion for first responders, introduced today by Senator DASCHLE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, this is no surprise. I hope that people will understand the need to go to other legislation. When we have our own President who, for more than a year, has said we have enough money, there is money in the pipeline, now agreeing that we have a problem, that we don't have enough money. The State of Nevada, I spoke to the State legislature there a week ago last Tuesday, 10 days ago, 9 days ago. I told the legislature there, which is like 45 other State legislatures around America today, they have a State that is in red ink. I told them there are a number of reasons they are

in red ink. One is we have passed a bill called Leave No Child Behind, and we are leaving lots of children behind because we passed on to the State of Nevada and other States unfunded mandates that create financial problems for the States.

I also told the State legislature that what we have done in passing different measures dealing with terrorism, we have passed on to the State and local governments unfunded mandates, costing the State of Nevada and local governments millions of dollars, causing their budgets to be in the red significantly.

The President is wrong. He must help us address the problem. Senator DASCHLE's bill for \$5 billion for first responders is not enough, but it is a step in the right direction.

We are fighting. We have now here the former chairman of the Armed Services Committee, now ranking member. As we speak, American forces are in a war in Afghanistan. People every day are being wounded and killed in Afghanistan. But that has been overwhelmed by what is going on in Iraq, or what soon will go on in Iraq.

We have lots of problems. We have problems in North Korea, which is a real serious one. They have started their second reactor there in the last few days. I was present at a briefing the other day with somebody from the administration who should know about how much the war is going to cost, and they don't know. The war in Iraq, they don't know. But we know we have a war going on here at home to fight terrorism, and we are not spending enough money to protect American people.

We have interests in the Middle East. We have interests in Afghanistan. We have interests on the Korean peninsula. We have interests here, and they are being neglected. The President acknowledges that. What are we doing here, spending 3 weeks dealing with Miguel Estrada. It is wrong. I am not surprised this unanimous consent request was objected to, but even though I am not surprised, it doesn't take away from the significance and really how depressed I am as a result of not having the adequate resources we need to take care of the problems dealing with homeland security.

Mr. LEVIN. I wonder if the Senator will yield for one question?

Mr. REID. I am happy to yield to my friend.

Mr. LEVIN. We have heard now with some regularity from the administration that they have no idea, no estimate as to what the cost of the war with Iraq will be, nor what the aftermath would cost; in other words, assuming there is a war, assuming that we occupy Iraq with or without others. According to General Shinseki, that could actually involve up to 100,000 troops there for some unlimited period of time. But even if they disagree with that, which apparently some members of the Pentagon do, we have not been

able to obtain—and they claim there is none—an estimate of the cost of the aftermath of a war with Iraq at the same time that they are asking us to put in place an additional tax cut.

Does it not strike my good friend from Nevada as being irresponsible to put into place tax cuts with huge costs to the Treasury when we are likely on the verge of a war which has no particular estimated cost, and then the aftermath of that war, which could last years, in turn also has no estimated cost? Does it not strike the Senator from Nevada as simply not being the responsible thing to do to be imposing or putting into place tax reductions which means losses to the Treasury, when we are right on the verge of potential expenditures which could be literally hundreds of billions of dollars over a reasonably short period of time?

Mr. REID. Even though I would disagree with what the administration would do if they had the information and wouldn't give it to us, I wouldn't like that, but I would at least feel more comfortable that they were on top of their game. But for them to come to us and say, we don't know, that says it all. If they don't know and have no estimates as to the cost of what post-Iraq is going to be, we should all be concerned. If the general is 50 percent wrong, and it is only 100,000 troops, that is a lot of troops to keep there for a period of time. They don't know whether it is 2 days, 2 years or 2 decades.

Mr. LEVIN. And the answer we get is there is no way to know with certainty. These specifics are simply not available. There are too many imponderables. That is true, there are clearly some uncertainties. But it seems obvious to me the planners at the Pentagon must have some range of time or else there is no exit strategy, or else it is forever.

Previous administrations have been criticized for not having exit strategies, not having estimates in time, for making their estimate too short: They will be home by Christmas. But that is no excuse for not having some range—that we will be there from 1 to 3 years according to the best estimate. The worst case scenario is X number of years, best case scenario is such and such. The best case scenario is we won't have problems with the Kurds or the Shia will not be attacking the Sunni. The worst case scenario is we will have those kinds of civil wars. There are best case and worst case scenarios which allow planners who are working actually on estimated costs and exit strategies to come up with some kind of an estimate upon which we can base future resources and expenditures of this Nation.

Mr. REID. People in the administration who try to be candid with Congress get in trouble. Larry Lindsey, the chief economic adviser to the President, told us the war would cost \$100 billion. He lost his job. I don't know if that is the only reason, but the gen-

eral, a couple days ago, said: We will have to have 200,000 troops. There was a mad rush to that poor man to get him to change his opinion, and he changed his opinion and said: Maybe I was wrong, maybe it will be—and he mumbled around a little bit, but he gave an honest answer.

Mr. LEVIN. He did.

Mr. REID. Let's hope he doesn't lose his job. Let me also say this. We have all been impressed with this movie "A Beautiful Mind," which a year ago won the Academy Award. The principle of that movie and the book that I read, written by a woman named Nasar, was that this brilliant man, Nash, figured out what was called the game theory. This doesn't necessarily mean playing checkers.

He was able to determine through this brilliant mind that he had what would happen if more than two people were engaged in an activity and, as a result of the work he did, that is what much of the cold war planning was based upon—his theory, his game theory.

Now, for me to be told that this mighty Nation, the United States of America, with 260 million people, with the finest educational institutions in the world—there are about 121 great universities in the world, and we have about 112 of them; basically they are all in America. So for someone to tell me that we don't know what it is going to cost postwar, that simply is not being candid. They know. There are different scenarios and they have them all in those computers, and they know what the different costs are going to be.

I say to my friend from Michigan that, through mathematics, through computer modeling, you can figure about anything out. As most everybody knows, my last election was real close. I won election night by 401 votes. By the time it was over, I picked up 27 more votes. But on election night, I had a computer man who worked with me for many years. He was a fine man. He had run a number of different models for the 17 counties in Nevada and he told me after the vote was out of Clark County: You cannot lose. I have run every model there is and you cannot lose. It will be close, but you cannot lose. He figured out with mathematical certainty that I could not lose. Now, I didn't believe him, but he knew because he believes math doesn't lie.

So without belaboring the point to the Senator from Michigan, somebody knows in this administration, but they are not going to tell us because they are afraid the American people are going to lose more confidence. As reported yesterday, the Wall Street Journal reports that soaring energy costs, the threat of terrorism, and a stagnant job market has sent consumer spirits plunging to levels only seen in recessions. That was from yesterday. That is why they are not telling us.

I have given the Senator a very long answer to a short question, but I believe the administration knows and

they are afraid to fess up to the Congress and to the American people what this war is going to cost.

Mr. LEVIN. Just to add one further thought, it seems to me it would be absolutely irresponsible not to have a range or an estimate of what the cost of a war would be in the best and worst case scenarios.

Mr. REID. Or middle case.

Mr. LEVIN. Yes, or at least a range on what is the worst case scenario and what is the best case scenario. I cannot believe the planners at the Pentagon and the OMB do not have a range. If they don't have a range, it would be irresponsible because how in heaven's name can the administration then say that we can afford a tax cut of the size they are proposing, when we have an impending demand for resources in a war that could be lengthy, costly, and then the aftermath could be lengthy and costly? It borders on the reckless, in terms of an economy, to say we don't have an estimate, we don't know whether or not it is going to be \$20 billion, \$40 billion, \$100 billion—we don't have a range; yet they are trying to persuade a majority of the Congress that we ought to shrink the resources coming into the Government at the same time we are on the verge of war and the aftermath of a war, which doesn't have any estimated length, any estimated cost, and no troop estimate. We were given about a 200,000 estimate. Well, that is too high. OK, what is the ceiling that is more realistic to the people who say 200,000 is too high? We are completely devoid of that.

What we are not devoid of, though, is the effort to shrink resources to this Government through a tax cut, which has a number of problems to it. One of them is that when we are facing what we are in terms of expenditures, it is not the responsible thing to do.

Mr. REID. I would like to respond, not in a very direct way, but to point out problems the Senator has outlined in his statement to me. Is the Senator aware that yesterday I talked about a Pew Research Center poll? It is a non-partisan organization. They are not for Democrats or Republicans. This was a real big poll, where 1,254 adults were contacted between February 12 and 18. For the first time in this administration, the American people do not approve of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy; 48 percent of the people disapprove. Is the Senator aware of that?

Mr. LEVIN. I wasn't aware of the Senator's remarks, but I was aware of the poll.

Mr. REID. And the Senator talked about tax policy. This same poll says that 44 percent of the American people disagree of George W. Bush's handling of tax policy. So the Senator said it all. I appreciate his asking me a question.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I am going to speak about the very budget document that the Senator from Nevada and I have been discussing, perhaps in an indirect way. I wish to share

some thoughts with the Senate about the proposed budget for 2004, which the President has now sent to Congress.

As always, I wanted to see where the President's priorities were—not in sound bites, but the actual nitty-gritty numbers in the budget document. While every budget request is important, with the economy sputtering the way it is and with huge Federal deficits looming and critical domestic and international issues unresolved, particularly when we are facing the potential of a war and a very lengthy and complicated, expensive aftermath to that war, this budget requires special attention.

I have been keenly disappointed by what this attention revealed. The President's budget would do exactly what he recently said he did not want to do, which was to pass our problems along to the next generation. The President made a very eloquent statement in the State of the Union Address, saying that we are not going to pass our problems along to the next generation. But when you look at the details of the budget, that is precisely what this budget request does.

By the administration's own calculations, this budget would have us run a deficit of over a trillion dollars for the next 5 years, including record-setting deficits of over \$300 billion for this year and next.

Now, the contrast here between this projection of deficit and the \$5.5 trillion 10-year surplus that was projected in January of 2001 is simply stunning. That contrast between just what 2 years ago was projected for our economy—a \$5.5 trillion surplus—now there are projections of deficits upon deficits upon deficits—a projected deficit of over a trillion dollars over the next 5 years.

The administration's plan estimates a non-Social Security deficit totaling over \$2.5 trillion to the year 2008, which would leave us with an additional debt of \$5 trillion in 2008, which is 150 times greater than what was projected just in the year 2001.

Why such dire fiscal predictions? First, while the tax cut in the year 2001 played a huge part in putting us into the current deficit ditch, the President's call for an additional \$1.5 trillion in new tax cuts—most of which disproportionately benefits upper income folks—will help ensure that we not only stay in the deficit ditch, which we are back into, but that it will be a deep deficit ditch.

Even Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan recognized the danger of such cuts when he spoke of the importance of curbing the deficit, not increasing it.

That perhaps came as a surprise to some people in the administration who were looking to Alan Greenspan to give support to the tax cut proposal and minimize, they hoped, the impact of deficits on future economies. That is not what Chairman Greenspan did. He straightforwardly recognized the dan-

ger of the tax cuts when he spoke of the importance of reducing deficits and not increasing deficits.

Mr. President, I see the Democratic leader is in the Chamber. I withhold the remainder of my comments at this time because he has a very important message relative to North Korea, and I wish to participate with him in a colloquy and presentation. So I withhold the remainder of my comments relative to the President's budget at this time.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

NORTH KOREA

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Michigan for his courtesy and appreciate very much his comments with regard to the budget and his extraordinary leadership with regard to many issues involving our military challenges and priorities abroad.

Three weeks ago, I came to the Senate floor to address the intensifying crisis in North Korea, a country and a situation that I believe poses a risk to our Nation every bit as serious as that posed by Saddam Hussein. At the time, I urged President Bush immediately and directly to engage the North Korean Government in discussions to bring about a verifiable end to that country's nuclear weapons program.

Unfortunately, the administration so far has failed to act, and, in the meantime, the crisis in North Korea continues to escalate. In recent days, we have seen reports that North Korea test-fired a new missile, evidently that regime's idea of an inauguration present for South Korea's incoming President. Just today, the newspapers contain reports that North Korea has restarted one of the reactors at its primary nuclear complex, a reactor that produces spent plutonium which can then be converted into weapons grade material.

Let's be clear about what this latest provocation means. It means North Korea could have a nuclear production line up and running and producing weapons grade nuclear material in a matter of months. It means the world's worst proliferator could have enough nuclear material to produce six to eight nuclear weapons by summer.

According to Brent Scowcroft, President George Bush's National Security Adviser, if we fail to act, it means "We will soon face a rampant plutonium production program that could spark a nuclear arms race in Asia and provide deadly exports to America's most implacable enemies."

Unfortunately, the administration continues to insist on downplaying this threat. These latest developments should confirm for anyone watching that this is a crisis that only grows with each day the administration fails to act. I come to the floor today to join with my colleague, the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, to urge the administration to act now.