

enough to get through maybe the rest of this week, because the cost of gasoline is so high.

We stand for the high school graduates putting off being able to go to college because they simply can't afford the tuition. During the last 5½ years of this administration, college costs have gone up 40 percent. Student aid has been cut. Pell grants have been cut.

We stand for the guardsman who is concerned because he has been called back for the second tour of duty in Iraq. Reading the Washington Post today, I find that two Nevada soldiers were killed in Iraq yesterday, both from Las Vegas, a 46-year-old man and a 26-year-old man—killed yesterday.

We stand for the grandparents who are concerned about the debt this country is accumulating, recognizing their grandchildren will be forced to pay this debt. How big is the debt? During the 5½ years President Bush has been President, the national debt has almost doubled, now approaching \$10 trillion. We just raised the debt ceiling to \$9 trillion, and through some shuffling in the Republican-dominated House they have, in the last few days, raised that to \$10 trillion.

We stand for senior citizens who are unable to have the proper medicine to take care of themselves.

The part that is so concerning is that we are doing nothing in this Congress to address the issues. There are editorials running around the country today talking about the majority, the Republicans, not raising issues of any kind because the debate is one they know they can't win. We need to be focusing on the high cost of energy and high cost of education. We need to focus on global warming, and we are not. It is being ignored because in the minds in the White House, it doesn't exist. We need to focus on this staggering debt. Remember, during the last 3 years of the Clinton administration, we paid down the debt. We were spending less money than we were taking in. That is certainly not the case now.

We are going to have a so-called debate on health care this week, but it is a so-called debate. It is really not a debate because we are being prohibited from offering amendments of significance. We are going to be forced to focus only on the Enzi legislation, which is a flawed bill. It is so flawed that it took the minority in the HELP Committee about 250 pages to outline the problems with this legislation. Usually minority reports are very short. This one is not. It is not because the consequences of the Enzi bill are so significant. This report looks at every State and indicates how every State is hurt as a result of the Enzi legislation.

I look forward to maybe a change of heart. Maybe there will be the ability for us to offer amendments. That doesn't appear to be the case. I hope that it is the case, that we will be allowed to offer amendments. That is the way we should deal with Health Care

Week and not be stymied at offering amendments to this legislation, amendments that would really help—help those people who need help, not only with the hope of curing dread diseases but with the hope of 46 million people in America who have no health insurance, the senior citizens who hope they will be able to get prescription drugs at a lower rate, but because of the Medicare bill passed by this Republican-dominated town, Medicare cannot even negotiate for lower prices. They have to go to Rite Aid and buy their drugs like everyone else. HMOs can negotiate to lower prices because the legislation was directed toward managed care, not those Medicare recipients who badly need help.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is now 30 minutes under the control of the majority leader or his designee.

Who yields time?

The Senator from Idaho.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. We are now in morning business for 30 minutes under the control of the majority leader or his designee.

Mr. CRAIG. I ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ENERGY

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, I come on the heels of the minority leader speaking about or at least attempting to define what he and his party believe in. I watched him struggle this morning to try to shape what they are versus what we are, and that is really what we heard discussed a few moments ago. But he kept going back to the issue of high energy costs and the soccer moms and their inability to fill their gas tanks today. So I am going to focus on that part of what he struggled to define this morning and speak to the realities that are out there and what has transpired over the last several decades as it relates to the inability of this country to produce energy and why that inability exists.

A couple of weeks ago, I came to the Senate floor to inform this Senate and awaken America to the reality that just 50 miles off the coast of Florida, China is drilling for oil—Not the United States but China. And the reason China is drilling for oil is that we have prohibited our own companies from the opportunity to drill in the northern Cuban zone, so that Cuba is now leasing out to other countries in the world except the United States.

Then I watched a rush to judgment on the other side as there was a flurry to say not only do we have to stop Cuba, we dare not let America, American companies, experts in deepwater drilling, experts in environmental soundness, ever drill in that region.

Today I wish to expand on that idea. I wish to talk about why America is in trouble today with energy and why that soccer mom is paying more at the gas pump today than she ever has. The answer is really right here. It happened right here in the Senate over the last several decades, starting in 1950.

From the 1800s to 1950, we were energy independent. We were the great producer of oil. But as folks came home from World War II and as our economy began to expand, we began to use more oil. Then, starting in the 1960s and 1970s, we began to say about oil: We need it, but we can't drill here and we can't drill there and we will drill elsewhere.

Here is our problem today, so clearly defined in a supply and demand environment in which we have become 60 percent dependent upon foreign countries to produce our energy for us. America now knows that. Two weeks ago, we watched the other side blame and blame again somebody, including this administration, for a failure to produce. But they failed to tell you what they had not done, had denied over the last two or three decades.

I went to the White House during the Clinton years and asked President Clinton to work with us, to floor what we call marginal wells in west Texas and Oklahoma so they could continue to produce. Why? Because oil was below \$18 a barrel and there was no economy there. They couldn't make money and they were shutting the wells in. We said: Let's floor it and keep them producing.

We couldn't do it because of the politics of that Democratic administration. What happened? Those wells went off line. They were filled with concrete, and they stopped producing what would be a million barrels of oil a day into this market right now. So to the American consumer who is paying those high gas prices, you are lacking a million barrels a day into our markets by a Democratic administration that denied its happening. Darn it, that is a fact. That is reality.

What transpired during that other time? Let's go on to the next chart that talks about our failure to get certain things happening. The Presiding Officer knows all about ANWR. He knows all about Alaska and Alaskan production. It was Bill Clinton who vetoed, a decade ago, the ANWR bill which would have put upwards of 10 billion barrels into the market at about a million barrels a day. Let's do the math now. We shut in a million barrels a day in Texas and Oklahoma because of the politics of that administration, and then they vetoed ANWR at 10 billion or a million a day. That is 2 million barrels a day to which they said no. So the answer to the minority leader as to why the soccer moms are paying the highest price ever today for gas is quite simple. It is because they said no. They said no to stripper wells, they said no to ANWR.

Now let's talk about the rest of the story because what I am interested in

is the reality of the "no" politics, the "no" production, the "no" refinement. That is the answer to our problem today. You saw it on the last chart, the chart of supply and demand and 60 percent dependency on foreign sources. We cannot even drill in our own hemisphere.

Then let's go to this map. I call it the no zone. Why is it called the no zone? Because you can't drill here and you can't drill here and you won't drill here and you can't drill here. Why? American politics today. It is the no-drill zone.

If we could drill in the no-drill zone, it is possible that we could find, through U.S. geological surveys already under way, 115 billion barrels of oil and a phenomenal amount of gas. But the answer is no. Who said no? They said no. Republicans didn't say no.

Let me talk about that for just a moment. President Bush comes to town. We meet over here in the leader's office. He says: My first priority is to allow the Vice President to assemble a group of the experts and put together a national energy policy. We have to get this country back into production. He said that as his first initiative. Five years later, after they kept saying no, last August we got a bill. We are beginning to produce. But this is still all "no." Mr. President, 115 billion barrels are outside the reach of the American consumer today, even though our technology is the best in the world and even though, after the worst natural disaster ever, we proved ourselves out in the gulf. In this little clean area right over here where we have not said no—at least the States of Texas and Louisiana didn't say no—we found out that wells went off line, rigs got blown off their foundations, but no oil was spilled. Why? Because of the phenomenal technology today and because of environmental rules and regulations that we have asked for and demanded compliance and received it from the major oil companies that drill in deep-water and the Outer Continental Shelf.

The reason I bring these issues today is quite simple: We have to quit saying no. The other side can demagog and they can try to blame, but the reality is here. The facts are here.

Let's run down the rest of the chart. We have said no to ANWR, no to OCS, no to 181 leasing, no drilling in the northern Cuba zone—at least American companies—while China drills in our backyard. American consumers need to know that the answer to their problem is not no. It is, yes, we can produce and, yes, we ought to produce and, yes, we ought to be energy independent and, yes, it ought to happen in our hemisphere, and, yes, we ought to be less dependent on foreign oil.

If we put all of those things together, America can be independent today. But you are not independent by saying no. And the answer has been no, no, no, no. That is why we ought to talk about the "no zone" and the naysayers and the minority who have said no for so long.

Reality is at hand. The American consumer is being squeezed at the gas pump like never before, and the answer still remains no. Americans are demanding that this be resolved. We are rushing to new production in all kinds of alternatives, but you do not get away by denying the obvious.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MARTINEZ). The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank the leader for that time.

I will conclude by simply saying 115 billion barrels of oil are denied because somebody—and it was over here—said no, and now we enter the "no zone." Americans do not believe it. Americans are going to demand a change, and we ought to be able to deliver.

I yield the floor.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has no time to yield for a question.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. I thank the Presiding Officer. I will raise the questions in a speech later on. I thank the Chair.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, we want to accommodate colloques. If the request is to be asked and granted by the Chair, then I suggest the morning business hour for the Republican side be extended 10 minutes to accommodate that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. WARNER. How much time does the Senator require?

Mr. NELSON of Florida. I am not going to request time.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, at this time I seek the concurrence of the Presiding Officer to speak about 12 to 14 minutes regarding General Hayden.

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

#### APPOINTMENT OF MICHAEL HAYDEN

Mr. WARNER. I have known this fine officer for some time. I worked with him, and I'm very pleased that the President of the United States has asked the Senate for its advice and consent on this important nomination.

Mr. President, our Nation is at war on two main battlefields—Iraq and Afghanistan. The national security apparatus of our country centers around the White House, the National Security Council there, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Homeland Security and, most importantly, the new organization headed by John Negroponte, our national intelligence community.

It is imperative that this Nation receive as early as possible the replacement for Porter Goss to take over his position with the Central Intelligence Agency, and I hope that the hearings, which I believe will be scheduled, subject to Chairman Robert's views, early next week. Early next week there will be a very thorough investigation of

this officer, and we, the Senate as a body, can conform General Hayden and move forward. This Senator, the Senator from Virginia, will give him the strongest support and as an ex officio member of the Intelligence Committee, I will participate in those hearings.

Before turning to General Hayden, though, I would like to say a few words about Porter Goss. Mr. President, I am privileged to know this fine public servant who, presumably, is going to step down here shortly and conclude, perhaps, maybe not, maybe another assignment some day, but he certainly has had a distinguished public record of service. He was at the CIA himself, and served thereafter in the Congress. That is when I first came to know him.

The Presiding Officer may recall that there was a time here, a dozen or so years ago, when, I remember, our good friend, Senator MOYNIHAN from New York, said, it is time to re-examine the CIA, and possibly abolish it. Well, I and others came to the forefront and did what we could to begin to put that debate into balance. And we successfully put in a bill, and Porter Goss in the other body put in a similar bill, to establish a commission to review the origins of the CIA, and see how it was an integral part of our intelligence system.

The late Les Aspen, the former Secretary of Defense, was the first chairman of that commission. He had an untimely death, and was succeed in that position by former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, at that time also having finished his work in the Department of Defense. The Commission did an excellent job. I just point that out as a reference in history of how hard Porter Goss has fought throughout his career to preserve the integrity and the viability of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Now, we do not know, many of us, all the facts regarding this transition of positions. I personally hope to visit with Mr. Goss, and will do so prior to the hearings, so that I can understand his perspective more fully. But he did a lot of valuable work at that agency, notably he began to restore the focus of the agency to its principle function as it was established some 50 years ago, and that is the collection of human intelligence. So I say to Porter Goss, well done. And I say to General Hayden, you fill the shoes of a very able man, but you have a challenge of your own.

Now, there are several issues that have been brought up by the general's nomination, and I would like to address those issues. First, there is a question of surveillance. As the head of the NSA, the National Security Agency, General Hayden was in the business of collecting electronic signals from around the world, from emissions abroad. We will go into that very thoroughly during the course of the hearings. I think that debate I appropriate. But I wish to point out that a very important debate has proceeded on that