

will accumulate \$9.2 trillion in deficits. That would raise the debt held by the public to an astonishing 82.4 percent of GDP in the year 2019.

My colleague, Senator McCAIN, told us during the campaign that spending and deficits are two sides of the same coin; that President Obama's spending promises would raise deficits to unsustainable levels and that huge tax hikes, and not just for the wealthy, would be required to pay for it all. Even the President's Office of Management and Budget Director Peter Orszag has confirmed what Senator McCAIN said all along: These levels of spending and deficits will not be sustainable.

Let me quote an editorial comment from the Washington Post recently:

President Obama's budget plan would have the government spending more than 23 percent of gross domestic product throughout the second half of this decade while collecting less than 19 percent of revenue.

Is this the legacy we want to leave the next generation, unprecedented debt?

On this side of the aisle the answer to that question is no. That is why we are concerned about the effect of the past 100 days on our country's future.

And we can't forget the finance charges. By 2014, the interest on the national debt will be the largest single expenditure in the budget, more than we'll spend on education, on healthcare, on national security.

This excessive borrowing also increases our dependence on creditors in countries such as China and Russia. Other countries now hold more than half of America's total publicly held debt. As Senator BAYH pointed out in a recent Wall Street Journal column, when other countries hold a large amount of our debt they also have leverage to influence our currency, trade, and national security policies.

All of us share the goal of getting the economy back on track. We need a budget that meets the test of fiscal responsibility. This budget does not. Moreover, it contradicts the President's campaign promises for a net spending reduction and no tax increases for 95 percent of Americans. The unprecedented amounts of spending, taxing, and borrowing are sure to hinder an economic recovery.

As President Reagan said: Facts are stubborn things. We have seen throughout our country's history that increasing taxes and introducing new regulation during a recession has never led to economic growth. Why would this time be any different? Right now we should be working on growing our economy, not growing the Federal Government.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Tennessee.

TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, in the early 1800s, a perceptive young Frenchman came to America, Alexis de Tocqueville. He marveled at our new democracy. He wrote a classic book

about it. He warned more than anything about something he called "the tyranny of the majority." That was his worry about the American democracy.

We now have finished 100 days for a popular new President. He has presented a blueprint for the country that is dramatically different from what we had before.

Yesterday, a member of our Republican side moved his desk to the other side potentially giving that side of the aisle 60 votes and raising the prospect that we would have no check and balance on one-party rule, the genuine risk of what de Tocqueville called the tyranny of the majority. So the question arises, what is the blueprint for this popular new President, and is it the kind of change we really want?

All of us can point to something, as the Republican leader did, to Afghanistan and Iraq, of which we approve. I could point to the Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan and his focus on paying teachers more for teaching well and encouraging charter schools, something I greatly support. But both the Senator from Arizona and the Senator from Kentucky have pointed out that the blueprint presented by our new President has too much spending, too much taxing, and too much debt.

Especially striking to me is the idea that we would have, in the 10th year of the President's budget proposal, \$800 billion in interest to pay, which is more than we would be spending on defense that year, eight times as much as the Federal Government would spend on education that year, and eight times as much as it would spend on housing, \$800 billion of interest to pay just on the debt.

Yet there is another part of this blueprint that worries me, and that is too much government. We read that now our Government, through taxpayers, owns half of our largest automobile companies.

In an interview I heard the Environmental Protection Agency Administrator say automakers are waiting for the Government to tell them what kind of car they ought to build. Already the President has fired the President of our largest auto company and our Government is telling the company who should be on the boards. I suppose it will be saying also what plants should be kept open or closed and what people should be paid. That is quite a bit of government. Or banks, instead of asking the Congress at the beginning of January for a \$1 trillion line of credit so we could get the toxic assets out of banks and get credit flowing again, so jobs would come back and housing prices would stabilize, this new administration spent \$1 trillion, a breathtaking, unimaginable amount of money, adding it to the debt. What about the banks? Well, we are going to own the banks or at least be the major shareholder in many of the biggest banks in the world. Again, that means politicians and regulators in Washington will be deciding who will be the

bank president, who will be on the boards, who will get the loans, perhaps, and for what purposes the loans could be used.

Isn't that the kind of thing that got us into trouble in the first place, politicians in Washington telling banks to loan money to people who could not afford to pay it back? This too much government in the first 100 days is not just the result of the recession in which we find ourselves. This is not a crowd that believes if you can find it in the yellow pages, the Government should not be doing it. This is a deliberate choice of more Government.

As in the case of student loans, the first proposal from the President was that we take the amount of Pell grants and add that to the automatic spending in the budget, adding another \$117 billion to the automatic spending over 10 years. This is something that could bankrupt our country and it didn't fly. But there is another proposal, which is still out there. That would take the entire student loan program and cancel the choices that students have, create a big new bank, a half-trillion-dollar bank, and have the Department of Education make all the loans. That is a massive takeover by the Government.

Twelve million students today choose to get their loans from private lenders. There are 2,000 of those loaning money to students who choose to attend Nashville Auto Diesel College or Harvard or Princeton, where the Senator from Missouri was an outstanding student. There are 4,400 campuses that offer this choice. The proposal would be to create a big, new, half-trillion-dollar bank that would take all of that over, that would make \$75 billion of loans in a year. It would make the promising new Education Secretary a candidate for banker of the year instead of Secretary of the year. It would cause Andrew Jackson, who fought against the national bank in his day, to roll over in his grave at what his party is doing. It would be Congressmen playing a trick on students because the end result would be saying: We are going to borrow the money, the U.S. Department of Education, at one-quarter of 1 percent, and we are going to lend it to you at 6.8 percent. Then we will turn around and give aid to other people that you students are paying for, and we Congressmen will take the credit.

I don't think students will like that. It is all in the name of \$94 billion in savings, but that is exaggerated because the Government already admits that it will cost \$25 or \$30 billion at least for the Government to manage the program, and I can't believe the Government is a better manager of a bank making 15 million loans a year than banks that are set up to do that.

If the subsidy is too high, lower it; don't cancel the program. That is the direction in which we are going. This is an administration with a blueprint for a different kind of American future. But it is not the kind of American future that Abraham Lincoln saw for the

Federal Government. In the first years of President Lincoln's administration, he not only was involved in the Civil War, but he and the Congress passed the Homestead Act and the Land Grant Colleges Act and the Transcontinental Railroad Act. They conferred opportunities on Americans everywhere, and then the Americans used their own elbow grease to make things happen.

This administration, this 100 days, is a command-and-control type of administration, with regulators and politicians running the banks, running the auto companies, and nationalizing student loans. It is an opportunity to have a new blueprint of a kind we haven't seen before, not one that confers opportunities but a planned America with less freedom, with fewer choices, fewer opportunities, a society planned and run by Washington regulators and politicians that our children and grandchildren cannot afford, not a society that confers opportunities and choices for the people.

In addition, there is the prospect of no check and balance on one-party rule which risks what the perceptive young Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, said in the early 1800s was the greatest threat to the new American democracy when he warned about the tyranny of the majority.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri.

NATIONAL SECURITY GRADE

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, today marks day 100 on the job for the Obama administration. Many in the media and commentators will be grading the President on his leadership and policy decisions. As vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, I am most concerned about what is shaping up to be the President's failing strategy in national security policy. Unfortunately, the Obama administration's national security policy appears to be in disarray. While the administration is busy trying to decide who from the previous administration, which kept us safe from attacks since 9/11, they should prosecute for those efforts, they don't understand that as far as the American people are concerned, they are the ones on trial now. The President and his team have to answer how they are going to protect the American people. What are they not going to do? What will they do that will be successful?

Don't get me wrong. The President has some high points when it comes to national security, and I applaud him for those. On some very important issues, campaign rhetoric has met national security realities. To date the President has shunned the advice of Code Pink and others and stayed the course in Iraq. As several of my colleagues have said, his initial rollout steps of a new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan are in the right direction, and he has continued strikes against

al-Qaida and other terrorists in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. President Obama took appropriate measures, I believe, to prepare for the North Korean missile launch.

Over the last few weeks the Obama administration has faltered. Now we are seeing some national security decisions made on what I fear is politics, not on what is in the best interest of the American people.

Just look at the recent examples. The President has decided to close our terrorist detainee facility with no backup plan. He has decided to release CIA memos on highly classified terrorist detention programs. Now he plans to release photos of alleged detainee abuse.

First, let's talk about the President's decision to close our terrorist detainee facility with no backup plan. The facility at Guantanamo Bay, or Gitmo, doesn't house middle-of-the-road, white-collar criminals. Instead this terrorist detention facility houses deadly combatants who in the past, when released, have gone back on the battlefield to kill Americans. Don't take my word for it. The Department of Defense has confirmed that at least 18 detainees who were released from Gitmo have gone back to the fight. The Pentagon suspects another 43 of doing the same.

Despite confirmation that Gitmo detainees have gone back to the battlefield to kill Americans, President Obama has decided to close Gitmo with no plan on what to do with these terrorists.

The President also has no plan to deal with new terrorists who are captured on the battlefield. Where does he plan to detain them? Does he plan on telling our troops to release them so they can go on killing Americans? This is one of the scariest of Obama's "ready, fire, aim" national security strategy points.

I can tell you this: Missourians in my State, and I believe people in most States, will not stand for importing terrorists such as 9/11 mastermind Khalid Shaikh Mohammed to their neighborhoods. They surely do not want a bunch of them housed in secure facilities in their community because al-Qaida has a nasty tendency to launch massive attacks on detention facilities to release their brethren.

Like me, Missourians and all Americans are still waiting for Obama to make the case that his decision to release the detainees at Gitmo is in our country's national security interest.

The President has failed to make the case that the release of these terrorist detainees will make us safer. The President has failed to make the case that the release of these terrorist detainees will not pose a threat to Americans.

It is clear that without having a plan to deal with the current and new terrorists currently at Gitmo, President Obama's decision was not in our Nation's best interest. Instead, this was a

national security policy decided for the purpose of appeasing the ACLU and many in the leftwing.

Another national security policy decided for the benefit of the ACLU—and at their request even—was the President's decision to release memos on the CIA's terrorist interrogation program.

While the ACLU was in favor of releasing these memos, President Obama's own CIA Director and the four previous CIA Directors all opposed this foolhardy decision. The decision is a serious blow to our terror fighters and, even worse, to their ability to obtain the intelligence we need to prevent another 9/11.

The release of these memos sends a chilling message to our intelligence community: The CIA better change their mission to "CYA" because their Government is not going to stand behind them.

No intelligence operator can feel safe that the legal guidance they are given or the orders they follow from superiors can be counted on to last beyond a single administration. This means our intelligence operators will be worrying about protecting their hides, not their national security mission.

Former CIA Director General Hayden and former Attorney General Michael Mukasey called President Obama's decision a step in the weakening of our intelligence gathering. Regretably, I could not agree more. This politicization and weakening of our intelligence gathering could result in a retreat to the pre-9/11 mentality that led to the tragic intelligence failures that ultimately cost the lives of more than 3,000 innocent Americans.

In addition to weakening our intelligence gathering, the release of the interrogation program limitations and their operating guidelines ties the hands of our terror fighters. During his confirmation hearing, President Obama's own CIA Director purposefully left open the door to future use of interrogation techniques in an enhanced fashion for the high-value detainees who are believed to have vital information who will not talk under normal questioning.

But now that President Obama has officially given al-Qaida the playbook, he has made any future use of these techniques ineffective. He has also told the terrorists that if they, in the course of trying to kill Americans, are captured, they have nothing to fear. They will not be subjected to any more harsh or coercive tactics than we have subjected hundreds of thousands of Americans who have volunteered to be marines, SEALs or pilots.

It is hard to imagine that this administration could make this situation even worse, but last week President Obama managed it. After his decision to release the CIA memos, the President went to Langley and told employees:

Don't be discouraged that we have to admit that we've made some mistakes and then move forward.