SENATE BUSINESS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, with respect to the announcement by my colleague from Nevada, I am a bit confused as to what is happening in the Senate. We have the month of September to finish our appropriations bills. We have had no conferences on any appropriations bill at this point. We have 13 of them to do. We have a very short period of time in which to finish the work of the various committees in the House and the Senate.

It is inexplicable to me that we are at this moment at 5 o'clock in the afternoon unable to go to another appropriations bill. They are ready to come to the floor. We are being blocked. There are objections to the motion to proceed to an appropriations bill. It makes no sense to me. This Senate must do its work and pass the appropriations bills. It will have to be sooner or later. It is much better if it is sooner. This is the work of the American people passing appropriations bills that contain the money for essential operations of Government. We have so much work to do and so little time in which to get it done.

The appropriations bills and the question of whether this fiscal policy adds up is very important for everyone. This town and, in ways, the country are asking a lot of questions these days about a softening economy, a surplus that used to exist that has now largely vanished, and a fiscal policy that was put in place when it was expected there would be nothing but surpluses as far as the eye could see that now does not add up at all.

I want to show a quote on a chart from Mr. Mitch Daniels, the head of the Office of Management and Budget, in a statement he made on Sunday on “Meet the Press” because it is central to this question about fiscal policy. What are the resources? How many resources do we have? How do we use those resources? Mr. Daniels says we have the second largest surplus in the history of the country. We are “awash in cash,” he says. But, of course, what he is talking about is the Social Security trust fund and the money in the trust fund.

There used to be $125 billion expected above that, which indeed is a surplus, but that is now gone. That has evaporated. What is left belongs to the Social Security fund. When he says we are “awash in cash,” he is talking about Social Security trust fund monies. Mr. Russert, the moderator of “Meet the Press,” said: “The surplus is money that you got through payroll taxes, which are designated towards Social Security. And to tap into that is a violation of what George Bush pledged during the campaign.”

To which Mr. Daniels replied: “Well, it is not designated for Social Security, Tim. It is not designated for Social Security. That is from the head of the Office of Management and Budget from this administration who says that the trust funds are not in the trust fund. The taxes that come out of all the workers' paychecks in this country, called Social Security taxes, that are put into a dedicated trust fund, we are told now by the head of the Office of Management and Budget that this money is not designated for Social Security.”

He could not be more wrong or more unsuited for that job if he really believes that. It is possible this is a mistake. It is not a mistake in transcription. That is what he said, but it is possible he misspoke. If he did, let’s hear that. If he did not misspeak, if this is what he believes, he is sadly mistaken.

This is a big, big issue. This is a $1.62 trillion issue in this year alone. It is a half-a-trillion-dollar issue in the next 5 years. It is essential to the construct of a fiscal policy that works to understand that this money does not belong to them; it does not belong to the Government. They paid it. It is their taxes, and they were told it was going to go into a trust fund.

The message ought to be: Keep your hands off those trust funds.

All of us face difficulty as a result of the softening economy, and I am not here pointing fingers at who is to blame and who is not to blame. The fact is, we have had an economy that always has had a business cycle; an expansion side and a contraction side. Nobody has ever changed that.

We suffered a contraction. We went through a period when everybody thought the stock market would always go up and never go down. That is not the case. We went through a period when everybody thought there was one way the economy moves: upward, steadily, relentlessly.

Now they are experiencing what we learned in economics. I actually taught economics for a while, and I have overheard构造 that, as I often say. We taught the business cycle. The business cycle is inevitable. There is an expansion and a contraction. It all has to do with people's confidence in the future. Sometimes there is more confidence and sometimes less confidence.

The point is, we all now inherit this economy that has softened. It is incumbent on us all to get together and work together; that the President and the Congress understand the plan that existed before, anticipating surpluses forever, is a plan that now does not add up. It is up to the administration to use the resources to do that which the President wants to do. It would make good sense, in my judgment, for the President to join us in an economic summit of sorts to work through a new plan that represents the future. There is a new reality to this economy and the numbers in the current plan do not add up.

Let’s create a plan together that makes sense for the American people, one that invests in the American people's future and one that tries to provide the stimulus and incentive to help promote confidence and start this economy, once again, on an upward trend. That is what we have a responsibility to do.

Fingers that are pointed mean very little at this point. We are all in this ship of state together. It is not as if there is an engine room with dials, knobs, gauges, and levers so that if we can just get Alan Greenspan, or someone in charge of fiscal policies, to move these gauges and levers just right so the ship of state will move. That is not the way the economic engine behaves.

This ship of state moves forward and the economy grows when people have confidence in the future. The American people, the bond markets, and the stock markets do not have confidence in a fiscal plan they know does not add up. That is why it is important for the President to recognize that reality and work with us to construct a new plan.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I wish to take a moment to speak about a different subject, international trade. I will do it briefly because I understand my colleague, Senator BYRD, wishes to address the Senate. I certainly do not want to disadvantage him. If my colleague, Senator BYRD, will indulge me for a few more minutes, I want to make a comment about international trade.

Mr. BYRD. Please.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, my colleague, as always, is gracious, and I deeply appreciate that.

Congress Daily today says: “Vote on trade negotiating authority suffers another delay.”

This is a story about the House of Representatives deciding to delay a vote on what we normally call fast track. They have delayed it because the Speaker of the House says they need time to get all their “ducks in a row.”

I simply point out to those who are working to get their “ducks in a row” in the House of Representatives to pass fast track trade authority, that when it comes to the Senate, there are not going to be ducks in a row to pass fast track trade authority for our President.

I would not support it for President Clinton and I will not support it for this President, and I want to explain why. I believe a band of Senators who feel as passionately as I do about our trade policy believe it is not only undemocratic to cede to someone else the ability to go to negotiated trade agreements, and I believe the President has the opportunity to offer a change to that agreement when it comes to the floor of the Senate. But I