The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. LaHood).

DESIGNATION OF THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC.

I hereby appoint the Honorable Ray LaHood to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

J. DENNIS HASTERT.
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, quiet our souls before Your throne of grace as we take up the responsibilities of this day. We acknowledge our dependence upon You. Give us this day the strength and wisdom to make decisions that would be pleasing to You.

Grant to the officers and Members of this body guidance and wisdom. May they find in You the spiritual resources for the pressures of their duties in this place. Make them conscious of Your will and purpose.

We pray today for our President, Vice President, and all Members of Congress as they work together to lead our country forward into a bright and blessed future.

Lord, thank You for every blessing upon our great country. We pray we might conduct ourselves in a manner worthy of all Your benefits.

This we pray in Your holy name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day’s proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. Goss led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair announces that one minutes will follow the proceedings later today.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H. CON. RES. 83, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET, FISCAL YEAR 2002

Mr. Goss, Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up H. Res. 100 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 100

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 83) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2002, revising the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2001, and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for each of fiscal years 2003 through 2011. The first reading of the concurrent resolution shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the concurrent resolution are waived. The period of debate on the subject of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002 that occurred on March 27, 2001, pursuant to the order of the House of March 22, 2001, shall be considered to have been debate on House Concurrent Resolution 83, and the time for debate prescribed in section 305 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 shall be considered to have expired. A further period of general debate shall be confined to the concurrent resolution and shall not exceed 40 minutes equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

The Clerk then ordered on the concurrent resolution and the previous question shall be considered as read. No further amendment shall be in order except those printed in part B of the rules. After the conclusion of consideration, all amendments shall be disposed of by the adoption of an amendment in the nature of a substitute. The Committee on the Budget shall have complete discretion in the conduct of its business and shall be subject to no limitations or restrictions except as provided in rules. The amendment may be offered only in the order determined by the Committee on Rules.

In the consideration of the concurrent resolution, all amendments thereto, except the adoption of the amendment in the nature of a substitute shall constitute the conclusion of consideration of the concurrent resolution for amendment. After the conclusion of consideration of the concurrent resolution for amendment and a final period of general debate, which shall not exceed 40 minutes equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget, the Committee shall rise and report the concurrent resolution, as amended, to the House with such further amendment as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the concurrent resolution and amendments thereto to final adoption without intervening motion except amendments offered by the chairman of the Committee on the Budget pursuant to section 306a(c) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 to achieve mathematical consistency. The concurrent resolution shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question of its adoption.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. Goss. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up H. Res. 100 and ask for its immediate consideration.

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 83) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2002, revising the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2001, and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for each of fiscal years 2003 through 2011. The first reading of the concurrent resolution shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the concurrent resolution are waived. The period of debate on the subject of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002 that occurred on March 27, 2001, pursuant to the order of the House of March 22, 2001, shall be considered to have been debate on House Concurrent Resolution 83, and the time for debate prescribed in section 305 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 shall be considered to have expired. A further period of general debate shall be confined to the concurrent resolution and shall not exceed 40 minutes equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 100

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XVIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 83) establishing the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2002, revising the congressional budget for the United States Government for fiscal year 2001, and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for each of fiscal years 2003 through 2011. The first reading of the concurrent resolution shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the concurrent resolution are waived. The period of debate on the subject of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002 that occurred on March 27, 2001, pursuant to the order of the House of March 22, 2001, shall be considered to have been debate on House Concurrent Resolution 83, and the time for debate prescribed in section 305 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 shall be considered to have expired. A further period of general debate shall be confined to the concurrent resolution and shall not exceed 40 minutes equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget.

Several Members offered amendments, which means we are going to have good debate today. Those amendments be drafted in the form of substitutes so that Members could consider the whole picture as we debate and weigh our spending priorities. This rule continues that tradition and wisely so in my view.

We have gone to great lengths with this rule to juggle the competing needs of having a full debate on a range of issues and perspectives without allowing the process to become so unwieldy that it bogs down in minutia.

In that regard, I think the rule is fair in making four, I repeat four substitute amendments, which means we are going to have good debate today. Those amendments reflect an array of points of view. I should note that three of those have Democratic sponsors.

Specifically, the rule provides for 40 minutes of additional general debate.
March 28, 2001

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

4759

Mr. Speaker, my Republican colleagues want to pretend they can give tax cuts to the very rich without hurting Social Security or Medicare, without hurting education or the environment. Mr. Speaker, if it sounds too good to be true, it probably is; and this budget is too good to be true.

They refused to admit that they cannot do it all. They do not want to admit that their $2 trillion tax cut comes from somewhere, and that somewhere is going to be heating programs for the working poor, prescription drugs, the national defense, family farms, and better schools for our children. Because, Mr. Speaker, there is no way one can afford these massive tax cuts and invest in education, provide prescription drug benefits, help people warm their homes in the winter; that is, not if one stands firm against raiding Social Security and Medicare.

The numbers just will not add up. But I think my Republican colleagues know this. They do not want to confess how much they will shortchange other important priorities to pay for these tax cuts. So instead of a real budget, Mr. Speaker, my Republican colleagues propose a "3-card monte" budget.

It puts off confronting harsh realities. It postpones the hard choices. It says our numbers might not add up; and when they do not, the Republican chairman of the Committee on the Budget will adjust them.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on the Budget did not report a budget resolution. It reported a delegation of authority to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle). There are tax cut numbers and total revenue numbers in this budget. But section 10 says ignore them.

Section 10 says the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle) will adjust the revenue figures to take account of any additional surpluses projected by CBO. He can increase the size of the surplus by increasing tax cuts. He can reduce the appropriate level of public debt, or he can do both.

Last year’s budget also allowed the Committee on the Budget chairman to determine how much, if any, additional surplus to devote to tax cuts. Three weeks ago, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle) used this authority to adjust last year’s tax numbers to make room for this year’s first tax bill.

It does not matter that there is a new President, a new Congress, a new set of priorities. Republicans say they do not need to see whether these new priorities fit with tax cuts of this size. The only priorities that count are those of the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle), and he can decide to devote all of the surplus that is needed to fit this year’s fiscal plans.

Mr. Speaker, here we go again giving him the same unilateral authority for next year, but this time the Republicans do not stop at tax cuts. There

equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on the Budget. The rule makes in order the concurrent resolution modified by the amendment printed in part A of the Committee on Rules report accompanying the resolution.

The rule further makes in order only those amendments printed in part B of the Committee on Rules report. Those four amendments may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and opponent, and shall not be subject to amendment.

The rule waives all points of order against the amendments except that, and this is important, if an amendment in the nature of a substitute is adopted, it is not in order to consider further substitutes.

The rule provides for a final period of general debate not to exceed 10 minutes, as the Clerk told us, equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on the Budget to occur upon conclusion of the consideration of the concurrent resolution for amendment.

The rule permits the chairman of the Committee on the Budget to offer amendments in the House necessary to achieve mathematical consistency.

Finally, the rule provides that the concurrent resolution shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question of its adoption.

Mr. Speaker, this budget provides Congress with a unique opportunity. Here we are standing on top of a mountain of budget surplus thanks to the fiscal restraint of the majority party in the past several years. We gaze over endless possibilities rather than being stuck in the depths of a deficit canyon which we were in the early part of the 1990s.

Now, instead of jumping off of a mountaintop into some kind of spending free fall, it is time we firmly plant our feet and decide what we need to get accomplished for the people of the United States of America with our tax dollars.

That is what this budget is about. It is standing firm to ensure that our hard-fought, surplus is preserved while providing Americans with necessary and appropriate government programs and security they deserve and count on from the Federal Government.

The surplus, combined with strong leadership in new administration in the White House, will result from real relief for all taxpayers.

I commend the gentleman from Iowa (Chairman Nussle) and his committee for devising a budget that will reflect our commitment to new and improved government while also ensuring programs like Social Security and Medicare will be available for future generations, properly funded.

As we set forth to debate this budget, it is easy to get bogged down by the large abstract numbers: and I imagine we are going to hear lots of them today. There will be more zeros flying around this Chamber today than there were in the Second World War.

It is important to remember these numbers are an opportunity to return money to hard-working individuals or, better yet, let them keep it and not have to send it on to Washington on April 15 or in quarterly payments.

I know my constituents in southwest Florida want real relief. They ask for it every time I see them. It is up to this body to reward their hard work, the work they do every day, to admit also that the Government is taking more than America is giving. Over the next 10 years, this budget will provide the average American family with up to $1,600 in tax cuts. That is real relief.

The budget resolution goes further than immediate tax relief. It secures the future for all Americans. This security comes from the pairing of tax cuts with more funds for programs that every American cares about.

I certainly would not stand here and say that we have achieved getting rid of all government waste. I do not know anybody bold enough to make that statement, nor would it be an accurate statement.

Funds will be allocated, however, for important things, to improve education, to decrease the national debt, to modernize Social Security and Medicare. The increased money for these areas will enable all Americans to plan for the future with the assurance that past mistakes are, in fact, being corrected.

This budget illustrates the dedication of both the White House and the Republican Congress to fiscal discipline and to identifying, exposing, and excising unnecessary Federal spending. Americans do work hard to make and to save money, and they have a right to demand fiscal responsibility from the Federal Government.

But citizens of this country can rest assured that fiscal discipline will be practiced by following the blueprint this budget resolution outlines, as we will hear in debate today.

Not only will taxes be cut, but we will still stand committed to protecting from frivolous or wasteful spending our surplus which we are so proud of at this point. This is a fair rule. It is a standard rule, I think it is a good budget resolution that it underlies. I urge Members to support both.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker. I yield myself such time as I may consume; and I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss), my good friend, for yielding me the 30 minutes.

Not only will taxes be cut, but we will still stand committed to protecting from frivolous or wasteful spending our surplus which we are so proud of at this point. This is a fair rule. It is a standard rule, I think it is a good budget resolution that it underlies. I urge Members to support both.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker. I yield myself such time as I may consume; and I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss), my good friend, for yielding me the 30 minutes.
Mr. Speaker, I have to say, the chairmanship of the Committee on the Budget is looking better every day. The gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle) can rewrite the numbers without a hearing and without a vote of any committee. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman can do it without any House action at all. Make no mistake about it, today we vote to grant the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle) extraordinary discretion to change the whole spending side of what a mockery.

And as if this broad spending authority is not enough, there are plenty of reserve funds to go around, too. There is a separate reserve fund for fiscal year 2001 defense, agriculture and other critical needs, a special fund for education, a fund for emergencies, one for Medicare, another for this, for that, and for the other thing, too.

Years ago Mr. Domini, the chairman on the Senate side, faced a number of questions about a reserve fund in his budget. Frustrated, he tried to explain the notion once and for all with this phrase, "The money is in the resolution and the money is not in the resolution, and if you cannot see that, you must be blind."

Where I grew up, if you could not see through a ruse like that, you lost your wallet, your shirt, your reputation, not your eyesight. A reserve fund means that the numbers in the budget are not worth the paper they are printed on; Republicans can adjust them as they go along.

Mr. Speaker, this turns the budget process on its head. We will no longer enforce the totals we decide on in the budget. Instead, the Committee on the Budget chairman will determine, as each proposal comes up, if he likes it enough to adjust the budget levels to accommodate it. What a mockery!

My Republican colleagues on the Committee on Rules and the Committee on the Budget have said we need a biennial budget, but they cannot even write a budget that will last through July. If we cannot write a budget that will last for 2 months, how can we expect to do one for 2 years?

Mr. Speaker, we do not need these contingency funds and reserve funds and other extraordinary procedures to rewrite the budget as we go along. Republicans should step up to the plate. They should admit that a $2 trillion tax cut to benefit the rich is more important than anything else. They should admit that they are willing to endanger Medicare, cut heating programs, slash education, and dismantle a new prescription drug benefit. But this budget lets them pretend for a while that all is well.

Mr. Speaker, the American people deserve better. I urge my colleagues to send this budget back and demand a real budget, an honest budget instead.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LaHood), The Chair reminds Members that they are not to make references to statements made by Members of the other body.

Mr. Goss. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Following along on his comments, I think we will have to put the comments of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Frost) in the undecided column based on the statements he has just provided us.

I want to express my appreciation to the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle), who has done a superb job here with this, and I also want to commend the newest member to the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. Hastings), who has also worked on this issue and done a phenomenal job.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Obey).

Mr. Obey. Mr. Speaker, we have just been told that we are about to pass the President's budget today. That is simply not true. The President is not even planning to send his budget down to the Congress until a week from Monday, and yet the Congress is so hell-bent to pass a tax bill before the public understands the consequences of that tax bill that we are passing it before we even have the full budget sent down by the President. That to me is a disgraceful institutional advocacy of responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, there are three reasons why we should vote against this "budget" and this resolution. First of all, this so-called budget resolution and the tax cuts contained in it are based upon flimsy, foggy guesses about what we are going to have in the Treasury 10 years from now. We do not have the faintest idea what we are going to have by way of surpluses 10 years from now. Mr. Speaker, the President's budget is based have changed by 75 percent in 1 year. To commit to 10-year tax cut numbers on the basis of a guess about how much money is going to be in the much that President Clinton was forced over the past several years, as we were pursuing all of these great accomplishments that we had, to spend right here in this Chamber behind where I am and say, the era of big government is over. But today President Bush is at the helm, and he is making a great deal of history.

The Republican budget pays down $2.3 trillion in national debt. The Republican budget provides tax relief for every American who pays taxes. The Republican budget makes education of our children a top priority. The Republican budget protects Social Security from the spending raids that went on for the three decades before we came to majority here in the Congress, and the Republican budget, of course, does what is our number one priority at the Federal level, and that is to build our Nation's military capability.

So to sum this up, Mr. Speaker, this Republican budget is a fair and balanced American budget that fully funds our shared priorities while reducing taxes and paying down national debt. This is a very fair rule; and as the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss) said, he suspects that underneath the statement of the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Frost), there was support of the rule.

Mr. Speaker, as was pointed out by the gentleman from Florida, we make in order three Democratic substitutes, one Republican substitute. We should have a rigorous and interesting debate today. But at the end of the day, I am very, very proud that we will pass the President's budget, which is the right thing to do.

Mr. Frost. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Obey).
Treasury 10 years from now is patently ridiculous. Daffy Duck might pass that kind of stuff but not this.

Second, I would like to point out, as has been pointed out by the gentleman from Texas, that the tax cuts contemplated in this budget are so large that they leave no room on the table to deal with fixing Social Security on a long term, to deal with fixing Medicare long term, both of which are going to be in deficit in the long term. They leave no money left on the table to have a real attack on educational inadequacy or do a real alternative to prescription drugs, or to meet many of the other national priorities that our people have.

Mr. Speaker, worse, it risks repeating what happened in 1981, the last time this Congress rammed through a tax package before they had a budget. In 1981, we were told by President Reagan: ‘If you just pass my tax bill, we will have a balanced budget in 4 years. The green bars on this chart demonstrate what we were told we would have. Deficits would go down to zero in 4 years. Instead, the red bars demonstrate that we wound up with deficits tripling and quadrupling over that time, and interest rates went up by two full percent, and 4 million people lost their jobs. This resolution risks making the same mistake that we made in 1981, and I do not think that we ought to do it again.

This resolution makes a number of changes in the budget process that further detaches this Congress from economic reality, and I do not think that we ought to do that. It is a shell game, as the gentleman from Texas has indicated.

Mr. Speaker, thirdly and most importantly, this budget speaks to our values as much as it does to our accounting, and it tells a sad story. The fact is that this budget places supersize tax cuts for people over $200,000 ahead of our obligations, our prior obligations, to fix Medicare, fix Social Security or do anything significant on education.

My colleagues know there is a direct link between how well you do in the classroom and how well you do in the world economy afterwards, and yet this President, while talking as though education is his priority, instead cuts in half the increases we have had in the last 5 years to strengthen education. He puts the needs of taxpayers who make more than $200,000 a year ahead of the needs of all of the school children of this country.

Mr. Speaker, this budget resolution, because it refuses to cap tax cuts at $6,700, benefits giant gasoline tax payers who make over $200,000 a year much larger tax cuts than $6,700 a year, because it insists on doing that for the 2.3 million taxpayers who make more than $200,000 a year, it gets in the way of our being able to restore education for the 47 million kids who need it.

Mr. Speaker, for the $280 billion that we could save by simply capping tax cuts at $6,700 for people who make over $200,000, we could do three things: We could, first of all, reduce the class size for every classroom down to 18. That is the size at which the research shows kids learn the best. Secondly, we could pay teachers enough so we could close the gap between what teachers get and other professionals. Thirdly, we could eliminate the construction backlog for every dilapidated school in America.

We ought to put those priorities ahead of the tax cut, above $6,700 for the wealthiest 1 percent of people in the country. The fact that we do not says something very sad about the values of this Chamber.

Mr. Speaker, might I make an inquiry about the time remaining?

The Speaker pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. Goss) has 20½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. Frost) has 19.

Mr. Goss. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. Hastings).

Mr. Hastings of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the rule and the underlying legislation. As a member of both the Committee on Rules and the Committee on the Budget, I would like to congratulate the gentleman from California (Mr. Dreier), the chairman on the Committee on Rules, on a very fair rule allowing for open debate.

Mr. Speaker, I also thank the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle), the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, for a budget resolution that recognizes a need to rein in Federal spending while ensuring that our Nation’s needs are met.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that we have crafted a resolution that will allow the Committee on Appropriations to responsibly allocate money to the subcommittees and to ensure that we maintain fiscal discipline throughout this whole process.

Mr. Speaker, today I would like to highlight one very important aspect of this resolution that affects many of us throughout the country. The Department of Energy’s Environmental Management Program is at a critical juncture this year. I am pleased that the Committee on the Budget has highlighted the very real need for increased funding by including language that I authored, recognizing a need for approximately $6.5 billion for this program for fiscal year 2002.

This language is a strong signal to both the Committee on Appropriations and the administration of the importance of the nuclear cleanup funding for fiscal year 2002. I encourage OMB to take a note of Congress’ support for this program as evidenced by the pending passage of the budget resolution today and to provide funding as suggested by the report language.

I am very concerned about recent reports that rather than increase the funding for this program the administration at least in its proposed budget has proposed to cut this cleanup effort, but what we have seen in the past is a dramatic increase in cleanup success throughout the Nation as we focus more on cleanup and less on bureaucracy.

Mr. Speaker, I want to repeat that because at the sites throughout the country we indeed have focused more on cleanup rather than just adding more people to the whole process.

I am confident that we can and must continue through continued funding for the PM program. A failure to fully fund this program will result in increased costs, delays and legal battles. States throughout the country that will further drain essential cleanup dollars away from the complex and simply delay progress. Many have highlighted the need for reform in the Department of Energy’s management practices. I fully support this desire and pledge to work as chairman of the nuclear cleanup caucus to work with my colleagues and the administration to find ways to reform, continue to reform, the Department and ensure the program management’s success.

However, I do not think that we can afford to not fund the cleanup program which has both contractual and legal funding requirements while these reforms that are badly needed take hold. We must recognize that our field offices are enacting reforms and contract discipline successfully on their own and that we must continue to fund their needs this year, and as reforms are identified and implemented the additional savings be focused on this cleanup work.

For example, at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in my district, and also throughout the complex but particularly here, the Department has recently completed contracts with most of the major contractors that are new commercial-type contracts. These contracts put an impetus on the contractor to deliver on their projects or lose their fees. This is a big departure from what has happened in the past.

For example, one company in my district at Hanford agreed contractually to complete $2.5 billion worth of work for $2.2 billion through efficiencies and technical innovation, and if in fact that, they surrender their fee. I have to say this is a refreshing change to DOE contracting practice in the past and one that will greatly increase accountability throughout the complex.

Further, by incentivizing contractors to save money by giving them a small percentage of the savings that they attain, we are finding ways to increase
clean up and reduce the cost to the American taxpayer. This new contracting structure must continue and must be expanded. However, without adequate funding, these contracts will be altered; and the American taxpayer will lose out on the benefits that they are entitled to.

So, again, Mr. Speaker, I want to thank both of my chairmen, the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) and the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. NUSSELE), for their work on this legislation before us; and I ask all of my colleagues to support the rule and the budget resolution.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BONIOR).

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, back when he was running for President, Mr. Bush said, $32 trillion is too high, it is too much, do not start on this kind of thing. But when it comes to the public health and the environment, fewer Americans trust this President’s agenda and for good reason. He has called for oil drilling in the National Arctic Wildlife Refuge. This is a huge problem. In southeastern Michigan, 4.2 million people, women and children depend on those systems. But instead of investing in the treatment plants America needs, this budget, like it does in education, like it does for senior prescription drugs, squanders money on tax cuts for the super rich. It does not take care of those basic needs of education, of health care, and the public health and the environment on the issues that I have talked to.

This may not be this administration’s priorities but I want the American people to know it is our priorities. Most families depend on facilities built in large part with Federal dollars. Good sewers and water systems may not make for good photo-ops but they are essential to protecting the environment and the public health. It is one thing to say the people are trusted. It is another to have policies and agendas and a budget that is worthy of our trust.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY).

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, when I look at the Republican budget, it is absolutely clear to me who is taking care of the billionaires in this country. What I want to know is who is taking care of our children? The Republican budget puts children and their needs behind a $2 trillion tax cut that gives 45 percent of the benefit to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans.

In fact, a third of our children are part of families that would receive zero benefit from the proposed tax cut. Let me say that again. One-third of the children in this Nation live in families that would benefit nothing from the proposed tax cut.

In recent months, we have all heard the Republicans talk about helping children. Now is the time to support those words with actions in this budget. They will not do it. They are not doing it and they will not.

The Democrats, however, invest in our children by providing tax cuts for the families that need them the most, by protecting Social Security and Medicare, by improving the schools for these children and, most importantly, by paying down the national debt for their future. By voting for the Democratic alternative, we will make good on a promise not to leave children behind, and we will then invest in our children’s future. We will be investing in the future of this Nation.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KINK), a member of the Committee on the Budget.

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, as a new member of the Committee on the Budget, I rise in support of this resolution. We have a problem facing our country and that is the economic forecasting which is an inexact science and mistakes start at the program level. For example, when Congress added the recent national dialysis benefit to Medicare in 1972, forecasts used at the time predicted that the program enrollment would level out at 90,000 patients by 1985. Medicare actuaries now expect enrollment to exceed 400,000 by 2005 at a per-patient cost of $37,000.

Another example is the V–22 Osprey. DOD estimated in 1986 that the cost would be $32 million each, measured in 2000 dollars. That has now doubled to $63 million above the $236 billion actually achieved. This year, CBO states that its estimated $281 billion surplus for fiscal year 2001 could either be $50 billion too high or too low. We need to reduce the swing in budget projections.

The Committee on the Budget must base its decisions on more accurate information. One important step in accuracy is to learn from the mistakes of the past. In the Committee on the Budget, we have bipartisan support for President Bush’s testing under his education initiative. The committee would have annual testing for students. We need to apply the same testing principle to the assumptions we use in budget forecasting.

Another source of error in the economic forecasts have been the omission of real world economic responses to the estimates that assess the changes in government spending or taxing policy. The chairman of the Committee on the Budget needs the ability to request supplemental estimates from CBO to accurately assess the impact of policy changes enacted during the fiscal year on estimated Federal revenues and expenditures.

These are decision tools needed by the chairman of the Committee on the Budget. In the recent hearing that we had on this rule, I proposed a change that would empower the chairman, in consultation with the ranking minority member, to get that data. I look forward to working with the gentleman from California (Mr. DZIENZ), the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE), and other members of the subcommittee, on legislative and budget
March 28, 2001

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON).

Mrs. CLAYTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this measure.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE).

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

As we plan a budget now, we should indeed have that budget to be a statement of our priorities. It should be a statement of who is important and what is important to us. It should be an opportunity of making choices.

I say our budget says some profound things to us. It says that our first priority is to make sure we give a big tax break and yet we do not say that. We say that our first priority is our children or education or defense and agriculture, but when we look at this budget we see that everything else is indeed determined by how much we give back in the tax cut. Then we begin to say what is left we will say in our priorities. So we made a choice. The choice was to go to those indeed who had the most, and that means that this budget is not fair.

Furthermore, when we say we are committed to our farmers, in the Committee on the Budget, I offered an amendment that would allow this budget to be a statement based on soundness and fiscal reality. For the last 3 years, we have been funding our farmers $9 billion in emergency funds for the last 3 years. That is $27 billion, but this budget refused to take that reality in to consideration, again making this document at its very inception unpredictable number and we are not able to plan as we should.

We do not have the budget backup process, to improve budget forecasting in the models that we use so that we make better decisions here in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I rise with some concern about this resolution that is before us. Mr. GOSS, Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE).

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly oppose the resolution that is before us.

Mr. Speaker, this budget is a faulty budget for our children. This budget should not pass. I ask my colleagues to support the alternatives that are put before us and promote our children of this Nation.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Delaware (Mr. CASTLE).

Mr. CASTLE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I rise with some concern about this particular rule for sort of a reason most people are not even familiar with, but it is the rainy-day fund or the budget surplus. It was set up. I thought the chairman of the committee did a wonderful job of setting it up. The fact that we were going to have a strict way of handling emergency ap- propriations in this Congress which we have just never had before, it has always been a Christmas tree in the past. And unfortunately, as it wended its way to the floor here today, it has been watered down substantially in terms of leaving the definition up to the Committee on Appropriations and essentially they can spend it on whatever they want and then save the real emergencies for a separate appropriation.

I do not think that is right. Frankly, I think this is an issue that we have to address in this Congress. I have introduced legislation to do this. The gentleman from Iowa (Mr. NUSSLE), the chairman of the Committee on the Budget, has supported that legislation. He has supported the concept of what we are doing, and I think it is something we should do. So for that reason I strongly oppose it.

Mr. Speaker, this budget is a faulty budget for our children. This budget should not pass. I ask my colleagues to support the alternatives that are put before us and promote our children of this Nation.

We do not have the budget backup data; it is still to come from the Office of Management and Budget. We do not know what the number for agriculture will be, a very big add in discretionary and mandatory spending. We do not know what the real number for defense is. Instead, what we have is a budget with placeholder numbers for these two large and critical accounts. As to defense, for example, that is more than half of discretionary spending. We asked for Mr. Rumsfeld to come over and testify. He declined. He is in the middle of his study for the transformation of the United States Armed Forces. So what did we do?

This resolution contains extraordinary authority for the chairman of the committee, acting unilaterally, by
This budget is too tight. The numbers do not work. What we are going to end up doing is spending Social Security and Medicare funds and shortening the life span of those two very important programs to all of our constituents.

Mr. Speaker, we should reject this rule, we should reject the budget, and we should start over in writing a real budget for the American people.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Mrs. JONES).

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I rise in opposition to the Republican budget. Let me focus for a moment on the whole issue of small business. Small business now provides an estimated at a level of $900 million. Under the Republican proposal, it will be reduced to $339 million. Let me tell my colleagues what they are going to get rid of. They are going to reduce funding in programs that previously had provided access for small businesses in our country that are going to require them to pay up-front fees to get into some of the programs. It is a claim that they are going to reduce redundant programs. The redundant programs that they are going to reduce are the new market venture capitalists and the new market initiatives that were proposed under the past administration, programs to go into areas that are disadvantaged and unfunded previously.

I say to the Republican administration and to the President, you claim to be a President for the business folk. The real business folk in our country are those who run small businesses. If you reduce those dollars, you kill small business.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. PHYCE), a distinguished member of the Committee on Rules.

Ms. PHYCE of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Gooss), my colleague on the Committee on Rules, for yielding me this time. I rise in strong support of this balanced rule for the Republican budget resolution. The rule provides for a full and free debate of our Nation’s budget priorities.

Mr. Speaker, the budget before us today is the hard-earned reward for years of fiscal discipline exercised by this Republican-controlled Congress. I am proud to say that this budget makes historic strides in paying down the Federal debt to its lowest level in more than 80 years, while investing in priority areas that will guarantee security for every generation of Americans.

What I am talking about is a better education for every child, the prescription-drug plan for every senior who needs it, and the return of the tax surplus to the American people. This plan also provides the funds necessary to rebuild our defense readiness and fulfills our commitment to our Nation’s veterans.

This budget plan further promotes a sound economy by holding the rate of spending at the level of inflation, and by providing for critical reforms in Medicare and Social Security, by including a prudent emergency set-aside for natural disasters.

I would like to commend the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Nussle), the chairwoman of the Committee on the Budget, and the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Spratt), the ranking member, and all of the Members on the House Committee on the Budget for their hard-working commitment to produce a thoughtful plan that meets our most important priorities.

Mr. Speaker, the budget resolution that this fair rule will bring to the floor is a responsible budget; and it will keep us on the path of fiscal responsibility and economic prosperity. I support the rule, and I urge its support by the rest of this House.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Moran).

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, there are a number of things that this rule on the budget resolution could have done to prevent us from going into another decade of deficits comparable to what happened after the 1981 tax cut, but it does not allow any such protections to even be debated and voted on.

For example, it could have put in triggers that said that if the surplus estimates do not materialize, then we will not cut taxes as deeply as is envisioned in this budget resolution, but it kept those triggers out. What this budget resolution says is that if the surplus estimates go up, we can increase the tax cut; but if the surplus estimates go down, we cannot reduce the tax cut. That is a recipe for financial ruin, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker, since the tax cuts passed the House floor last month, the stock market has lost trillions of dollars of equity; corporations have come in with dramatically reduced earnings. None of that has been incorporated into the Congressional Budget Office estimates.

Those stock market losses are going to be deducted against next year’s income taxes due, and yet we are acting today as though the rosy economic scenario of the last eight years is going to continue indefinitely. If the CBO growth estimate is off by even eight-tenths of a percent, $4 trillion of this projected surplus vanishes.

The fact is that we have a very different economy, a worse economy, a slower economy than is estimated in the 16-year surplus estimates upon which this budget resolution is based.
All we are saying is, do not cut taxes if it means that our kids are going to have to pay off more debt, if our kids are going to have to provide for our Social Security and our Medicare because we have had to raid the trust funds in order to pay for a tax cut. That is fiscally irresponsible and it is selfish for the baby boom generation to reward ourselves and pass the bill onto our kids.

All we are saying is, cut taxes, but only cut taxes if we can afford to, only if our kids do not have to pay for those tax cuts.

This budget resolution does not do that. This budget resolution puts us right back into where we were in the 1980s, but this time the baby-boom generation is not around to pay off that debt, to put us back on a road of fiscal responsibility. This time the baby boom generation retires after this 10-year projection is over. In 2011, the baby boomers retire. They are going to want their Social Security and Medicare, and they will have the votes to make what their children pay for those benefits. Our kids are going to have to come up with that money. This is so irresponsible to do to the next generation of Americans. The rule should be defeated.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, recalling that the debate is on the rule itself, I am happy to yield 1½ minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON).

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Florida for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to say that I support this rule because I support ultimately the budget.

I support the budget for a number of reasons. Number one, I think it is time that we in this Congress address the national debt. I have four children. I want the national debt gone. I am glad that this budget takes a very serious look at it.

I also believe that it is time to decrease the taxes on our citizens. When I was growing up in the 1970s, the tax burden on my parents and their generation, the income tax, was about 16 percent. Now, the generation before that in the 1960s had a 5 percent income tax burden. Even today, that is 24 percent. I think for middle-income Americans it is time to have tax relief. I am glad this budget takes a swing at that.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I support this budget because it has common-sense spending. It keeps the priorities of education, Medicare, Social Security, important social service programs which government should be funding, and yet at the same time it says, after we take care of those obligations, those priorities, after we take care of those normal, important functions and obligations of the government, after we pay down the debt, we are going to re-turn and we are going to rebate to the American people the money which is theirs.

Somehow, somewhere along the way to Washington, many of us have forgotten this is not our money, it is the money of the hard-working taxpayers, and they deserve to keep as much of it as possible for themselves.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I just want to respond to my colleague from Georgia to say that he will have an opportunity to vote to pay down the national debt, and he will have an opportunity to vote to ensure that we meet our obligations, but it will not be in the underlying resolution. It will be in the separate substitute that will be offered that will pay down more debt than the President proposed and more debt than the Republican budget resolution would pay down.

In addition, the gentleman is correct that we do need to meet our obligations first. Our obligations include not only paying down the national debt, but they also include meeting the obligations that we have made to the American people who have paid their FICA taxes for Social Security and Medicare.

Unlike the Republican budget and unlike the President's budget, the Democratic budget substitute does not spend any of those proceeds on other programs. The Republican budget and the President's budget, which are basically one and the same, would spend proceeds in the Medicare and Social Security Trust Funds, thereby shortening the life span of those programs and curtailing future beneficiaries. The gentleman will have that choice today to vote for the separate substitute.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, it is very clear what we have before us. We have basically a sham budget on the other side with the equivalent of the magic asterisk of 20 years ago giving the chairman of the Committee on the Budget the authority to change great portions of the budget.

Why can we not have a real budget? That is all that is asked on our side. Let us do this on the up and up. Unfortunately, the other side has not chosen to do that.

Mr. Speaker, I urge people to vote against the budget and for the Democratic substitute that is a real budget.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I would certainly encourage people to vote for the rule, because that is actually what is before us. I am not sure where my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Texas, is going on that. I think he supports it because he wants to go to the substitutes that the rule does carry and provide for.

I would point out that it is a fair rule. It certainly is going to allow for extensive, full debate, I think, in a number of ways. We have the Progressive Caucus substitute, the Blue Dog substitute, the Republican study substitute, and a Democratic substitute, in addition to the original work of the Committee. That is a plateful to consider today, and it certainly provides a number of options.

I do not know how we on the Committee on Rules can do much better than that, although I understand the concern of the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. BENTSEN). I think we need to be careful of the rhetoric. I understand that when we are dealing with budgets, that it is hard to be absolutely correct about numbers because we are projecting into the future. If we knew everything exactly, it would be a lot easier to do.

But the idea that somehow we cannot go forward with a budget because we do not know exactly every number, it seems to me we will not get a budget done if we are going to wait for all those numbers to come in, because I would point out this is a prospective budget for the next fiscal year, and we are planning in order not to overspend. This is a prudent, responsible fiscal exercise to do that well.

We know that government cannot do it all. Most of us know that government should not do it all. When it comes to jobs, people depend on jobs. Our quality of life depends on jobs. That requires risk-taking by business and entrepreneurs; small business, big business, all kinds of enterprise. It is the way we do it in our country.
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE  March 28, 2001

We know that business is complaining, that enterprise is complaining about being overregulated. We also know it is complaining about being overtaxed. Today we are going to try to do something for Americans who are overtaxed. Today we are going to try and spend a budget forward that says that we recognize we are taxing too much, and now is the time that we can afford to do all the things government should appropriately and properly do for Americans in need who are counting on those programs, and we will still have the ability to reduce taxes on hard-working Americans so they can save and spend their own money instead of having us do it for them in Washington.

I think one of the questions we have to ask regularly when we are talking about the Federal budget is, is the expenditure that is being considered appropriate for the Federal Government, or are there other ways to spend money? Because when we get into questions of spending Federal dollars, what we really are asking is who pays and how much.

We know the answer to who pays: It is the taxpayers. How much? We know the answer to that now in America, too. We are taxing too much.

I urge my colleagues to pay close attention to the debate today. We have put good debate potential on the floor under this rule. I urge support of the rule.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 282, nays 130, not voting 20, as follows:

Page 5, line 17, strike "$7,596,000,000,000" and insert "$6,452,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 16, strike "$6,972,000,000,000" and insert "$6,394,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 15, strike "$6,394,000,000,000" and insert "$5,875,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 14, strike "$5,969,000,000,000" and insert "$5,387,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 13, strike "$5,928,000,000,000" and insert "$5,800,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 12, strike "$5,800,000,000,000" and insert "$4,800,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 11, strike "$5,387,000,000,000" and insert "$2,383,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 10, strike "$5,383,000,000,000" and insert "$2,383,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 9, strike "$4,800,000,000,000" and insert "$4,500,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 8, strike "$4,500,000,000,000" and insert "$4,200,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 7, strike "$4,200,000,000,000" and insert "$3,900,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 6, strike "$3,900,000,000,000" and insert "$3,600,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 5, strike "$3,600,000,000,000" and insert "$3,300,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 4, strike "$3,300,000,000,000" and insert "$3,000,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 3, strike "$3,000,000,000,000" and insert "$2,700,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 2, strike "$2,700,000,000,000" and insert "$2,400,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 1, strike "$2,400,000,000,000" and insert "$2,100,000,000,000".

# 1030

Messrs. BENTSEN, ALLEN, KIND, SAWYER, EDWARDS, LUTHER, and OWENS changed their vote from "yea" to "nay".

Ms. RIVERS, Mr. TAUZIN and Mr. KUCINICH changed their vote from "nay" to "yea".

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ADOPTION OF FURTHER AMENDMENT TO H. CON. RES. 83, CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET, FISCAL YEAR 2002

Mr. NUSSELE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that during consideration of H. Con. Res. 83, pursuant to House Resolution 100, the further amendment that I have placed at the desk be considered as adopted in the House and in the Committee of the Whole; and that the amendment I have placed at the desk be considered as read for the purpose of this request.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LAHOOD). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Page 2, line 26, strike "$3,378,000,000,000" and insert "$3,387,000,000,000".

Page 3, line 4, strike "$5,800,000,000,000" and insert "$5,800,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 14, strike "$5,903,000,000,000" and insert "$5,903,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 15, strike "$6,394,000,000,000" and insert "$5,928,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 16, strike "$6,972,000,000,000" and insert "$6,972,000,000,000".

Page 5, line 17, strike "$7,596,000,000,000" and insert "$9,885,000,000,000".