bipartisanship, their desire to work with our Republican leadership and our Republican Senators. Both of these Senators who have spoken have manifestly stated very clearly, and I thank them for their comments, that they want to work with the Democrats to ensure that we pass the tax relief and that we do not stymie the process.

That is what they are here for. That is what they are here to do. I thank them for their comments. I urge the Senate to take up the budget and pass a budget. We cannot afford to stymie the process. We cannot afford to put the people of this country last. We cannot afford to forget the people of this country.

THE BUDGET

Mr. KYL. Madam President, while the distinguished Senator from West Virginia is still here, let me thank him for the remarks he has just made. I, too, listened very carefully to his remarks, as well as to the Senator from Florida and the Senator from New York.

But I must say that I find this rather bemusing—if I am using that term correctly. People around the country might wonder why there is such an emphasis on, or such a concern for, taking up the budget. After all, isn’t it time to take up the budget? Indeed, in the normal course of events in the Senate, we would have taken up the budget right now. So why is there all this expression about concern about taking up the budget? I suggest it has to do with the old phrase, “You follow the money.”

While I came here to speak about another subject, I want to speak for a few minutes about this subject because I think people across this country deserve to know what is really behind all of this talk about taking up the budget. You see, the truth is, until we take up the budget and pass a budget, we can’t take up tax relief. Until we take up and pass tax relief, the money that is available here in Washington to be spent by the politicians will be spent by the politicians. So you follow the money. If we never take up the budget, then we can’t pass the tax relief. If we don’t pass the tax relief, the money that the hard-working families of this country have sent to Washington, DC, will be available for this Congress to spend.

People who like to spend other people’s money don’t want to see tax relief. They can’t stand in the way of tax relief, which is too popular. It is going to pass. But they might be able to stop the budget from being considered, based upon some parliamentary procedures. The “Vision for America,” what President Bush, is what I think this is all about.

Let me take the four points that have been raised by my friends across the aisle in order:

First of all, we can’t possibly take up the budget yet because we don’t have the details of the President’s budget. I have in my hand a copy of something called “A Vision of Change For America.” The Senator from West Virginia will remember this. It is dated February 17, 1993.

This is what the Democratically controlled Senate had before it when it considered the budget resolution in that year. We did not have the Clinton budget. There was no Clinton budget. At least, of days— we are trying to get President Bush, that was the first year of President Clinton. It takes a new President’s team a little while to put together the budget, but that has never stopped the Congress from passing a budget in the ordinary timeframe, that is the first thing we have to do. We are pretty well stymied in all of the other things we have to do in terms of reconciliation, in terms of appropriations, until we have adopted the budget.

What is this “Vision for Change for America”? That President Clinton sent up? It was not a budget, as he acknowledged here; it was a blueprint, a vision, as he called it, pretty similar to the document the Senator from West Virginia has been referring to that President Bush sent up to Capitol Hill.

It is a blueprint. It is a vision for what he would like to do. There is a lot of information in it. It is not as detailed as the usual budget, to be sure, but there is plenty of information about the general direction he would like to take.

What happened to this “Vision for Change for America”? Did Republicans say: We cannot possibly take this budget resolution up; we have to wait for a detailed budget by President Clinton? Actually, I think some Republicans did say that, but the Democratic leadership said: Forget it; we are going to take up the budget resolution, and this body passed a budget resolution in a number of days. We are trying to determine whether it was 12 or 13. It was a number of days, close to 2 weeks, before the real Clinton budget was sent up here. The Senate acted upon its budget resolution before it ever had the detailed Clinton budget before it.

I do think it is a bit much to argue that it is unprecedented, that it is improper for the Senate to take up a budget resolution when it has not yet got the exact, complete, detailed budget from the White House. We know full well the general direction this President’s budget is going to take.

The second point is that there are questionable forecasts. I have heard the phrase twice used here, “looking through a glass darkly.” My goodness, we have to make decisions every day based upon what we think is going to happen. We cannot know for certain. As the fine Senator from West Virginia pointed out, we can hardly forecast the weather tomorrow, and that is true. Yet, we make decisions in the Congress, in the Government, in business, for our own families every day based upon imperfect and uncertain knowledge of what is going to happen in the future. We have to do that; otherwise, we would be frozen into inaction. We would never be able to do anything. We do the best we can.

We have been using very conservative budget estimates. The congressional budget estimates are that over the next 10 years, we would have about a $5.6 trillion surplus and in that President Bush has decided to ask for $1.6 trillion over a 10-year period to be returned to American taxpayers. That is the size of his tax cut.

That tax cut was proposed during the campaign when the estimated budget surplus was far less. That budget surplus has grown virtually every quarter since then. It is now up to $5.6 trillion, $5.8 trillion.

Given the fact that these are conservative estimates, given the fact that we all have to make decisions on imperfect information, it certainly seems to me we ought to at least proceed to take up the budget. My goodness, we will be here all year waiting for exactitude, and nobody, of course, expects that.

The third point I have heard is there is not going to be room for debt relief if we are not careful. That, of course, is not true. I was in a hearing yesterday of the Finance Committee in which we had experts talk about how much debt we could pay down and over what period of time.

Everybody agrees that the debt can be paid down within the 10-year period as far as we can possibly pay it. The only difference is, can we pay it down to about $500 billion or down to $1 trillion, somewhere in between there? The experts are in disagreement as to where exactly we can pay it down. It is virtually impossible to pay off more debt than that because it is held by people in long-term obligations and obligations that would cost too much to buy back.

We are going to pay down the debt all we can, and there is just over $1 trillion left, after we have done the tax cut, after we have paid off the debt, and after we have paid for everything on which the Government has to spend money, plus a 4-percent rate of growth, more than the rate of inflation. And that is on top of record huge historical increases in spending over the last 2 years, all of which are built into the baseline.

We have the historic spending, greater even than—well, literally any other
Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I am shocked by the amazement, if I might say. I thank the distinguished Senator for yielding. But when he charges the Democratic leadership with having yielded, he is misusing that spending; we are paying off the national debt; we are providing $1.6 trillion over 10 years in tax relief; and we still have another billion dollars left over. That does not sound to me to be a very risky proposition.

Finally, the fourth point that has been raised by our friends on the other side is we have to come together in a bipartisan spirit, and that, I gather, is why the Democratic leadership has worked so hard to get every single Democrat to oppose the budget resolution in an absolute 100-percent partisan vote. That is bipartisanship?

Every Democrat can decide to oppose this budget resolution on the basis that they did not have the degree of tax relief that they want; the degree of tax relief that they want. They will probably all conclude that is why they are not going to vote for it, and I certainly respect that. But I think it is a bit much to talk about a spirit of bipartisanship when we already know that for several days this week, the Democratic leadership has been working very hard to get an absolute, 100-percent partisan vote against the Republican budget resolution. That is not bipartisanship.

That is the condition we are faced with right now. Why wouldn't Senators want to take up the budget? What is really behind this? As I said, follow the money. We cannot cut taxes until we take up the budget, and that, in fact, is why some Senators do not wish to take up the budget.

Paul Harvey has a saying at the end of his broadcast in which he says: “And that’s the rest of the story.” If we are direct and clear-eyed about this, this is the rest of the story. It has nothing to do with whether we should take up the budget, whether we have enough information to take up the budget, whether it is time to take up the budget, whether we will have all week long to debate the budget, to offer amendments to the budget. All of that will be quite possible.

It all has to do with partisan politics to delay taking up the budget so that we delay taking up the issue of tax relief because there are a lot of folks who do not want the degree of tax relief for which President Bush has called.

I see my distinguished friend from West Virginia wants to intercede with a comment which he will pose in the form of a question, and I will be happy to yield.

Mr. KYL. Thank you. I thought for a moment you were suggesting Representative... I am waiting.

Mr. KYL. I know that, and I appreciate the Senator helping to set the record straight. Let me set it exactly straight, however.

Mr. BYRD. The Senator has. I wanted to help set the record straight.

Mr. KYL. President Clinton’s “Blueprint for New Beginnings” was transmitted on February 17, 1993, 145 pages long, outlining the details of the fiscal 1993 spending stimulus package and tax increase plan, plus the other visions of President Clinton.

President Bush’s “Blueprint for New Beginnings” of which the Senator from West Virginia has a copy, was transmitted on February 28, 2001. The document is 207 pages long and outlines a 10-year budget plan with $1.6 trillion in tax cuts.

The Senator from West Virginia might say my document is more detailed than your document. I think that is a matter of judgment. My document is longer than your document. It covers a longer period of time.

The fact is, neither are budgets in the pure traditional sense, the Senator from West Virginia would concede I have been quite liberal in yielding to him to answer that question.

Mr. KYL. I think the Senator from West Virginia would concede I have been quite liberal in yielding to him to answer that question.

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The fact is, neither are budgets in the pure traditional sense, the Senator from West Virginia would concede. Both are the best the administration could do within the short period of time they had, and in both cases the majority party in the Senate sought to take up a budget resolution prior to the submission of the budget by the President.

The Democratic-controlled Congress in 1993 not only reported a budget resolution on a party-line vote—but if I am not wrong, I think the Senate's leadership did not support it. Not a single Republican supported it, but every Democrat did support it. So I don’t know which side you blame for being partisan.

Mr. KYL. I am not blaming either side.

Mr. BYRD. I am not blaming either side.

Mr. KYL. It was a partisan vote.

Mr. BYRD. I am not blaming either side.
at that time the Democrats were in charge of the Senate. It passed Senate and House floors on party-line votes, and the budget resolutions based on this document, completed conference on the two budget-passed resolutions, completed and passed on party-line votes, budget resolution conference based upon this “Vision of Change” document and, most importantly, Congress approved this or the President submitted his detailed budget plan.

The 107th Congress now is working to adopt a budget resolution in the Senate following the submission of President Bush’s blueprint, and that is no different than what was done in the 1993 Democratically-controlled Congress.

The point I am trying to make is that all of this debate about procedures is it the real budget? Is it just a blueprint? Have we ever done this before? Is it partisan? All of that is a smokescreen. It is a smokescreen to hide the fact that my friends on the other side of the aisle are trying to delay the consideration of the budget in order to delay the consideration of tax relief so that possibly something will come up so the tax relief won’t pass to the degree that President Bush wants it to pass.

Just to make it crystal clear, I would never suggest that the Senator from West Virginia would feel himself bound to follow his party leadership. I suggest that it is the Senator from West Virginia who is helping to lead his party. I know in this case he believes strongly about this. We believe just as strongly. I do not think that it is too much to ask the Congress to take up the budget at the time it does every year, pursuant to the budget resolution, and consider that budget so we can get on with the other business of the nation, to take up the questions of appropriations for all of the spending programs we need to fund, to take up the question of tax relief for hard-working Americans, and to do all the other things the American people sent us back here to do.

To try to get bogged down in a bunch of parliamentary or procedural wrangling, I suggest, doesn’t do the people’s business.

Mr. BYRD. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. KYL. Madam President, I had asked for an hour to present to the Senate another very interesting set of comments.

However, given the fact that we have begun an actual conversation on the Senate floor, something somewhat rare, I am delighted to continue to use the time that was allocated to me under the unanimous consent agreement that the Senate approved this afternoon, not only have Republicans speaking, but also to have Democrats speaking, with the stipulation that when we are all done with this I have an opportunity to present my other remarks in full, which really will not take a full hour but at least I ask that you would like to see the end to the quibbling and to the bickering and the partisanship in Washington.

I came to the floor today suggesting that the Senate would be much better off if we had the President’s budget in front of us before we vote. Then I said even if we can’t have the President’s budget, surely the administration has the details, the information it can submit to the Senate. Let us see what is in it. I did not come here with any intent to engage in quibbling, or partisanship.

Mr. KYL. I hope the Senator from West Virginia doesn’t mind if anyone disagrees with his assessment that we shouldn’t take up the budget. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. NICKLES. Regular order, Madam President.

Mr. KYL. The regular order is I have the time, I believe.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona has the floor.

Mr. BYRD. May I say I came here hoping I could speak out for the rights of both sides of the aisle; the rights of Republican Senators, the rights of Democrats; the rights of the majority, the rights of the minority, to have before us the President’s budget, which we need in order to exercise a reasoned judgment. That is what I came here for. I am not interested in bickering, arguing about partisanship.

I will be just as happy if we concentrate on the need for the President’s budget for the edification of both sides. I want to stand up for our rights, for the Senator’s rights—the Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. I ask the Senator from West Virginia, were you willing to stand up for those?

Mr. NICKLES. Regular order, Senators are having discussion. They are supposed to go through the Chair. I believe the Senator from Arizona has the floor. I believe he can only yield for a question.

Mr. KYL. I would like to yield to the Senator for a question if he would care to answer it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is correct.

Mr. BYRD. I will be glad to ask a question.

Mr. KYL. When Republicans, in 1993, objected to the consideration of the budget resolution on the grounds that President Clinton’s “Vision of Change” document and the Senator from West Virginia stood up for their rights to wait until the President submitted a complete budget? Or did the Senator from West Virginia vote with the majority on a purely partisan vote to pass the budget resolution and, in fact, to pass the final budget resolution, all prior to the time President Clinton submitted a budget?

Mr. KYL. Madam President, I was thinking of Cicero’s statement when he said, “Let us not go over the old ground.”

Mr. KYL. That was then; this is now.

Mr. BYRD. Wait. Let’s just wait. I like your smile, but I don’t like the interruption of Cicero’s quotation. But the Senator is being very liberal to me in letting me speak on his time. Cicero said:

Let us not go over the old ground. Let us, rather, prepare for what is to come.

The Senator wants me to ask him a question? I will ask that question.

Mr. KYL. No, I want the Senator to answer the question.

Mr. BYRD. I answered the question, didn’t I?

Mr. KYL. Was the answer yes?

Mr. BYRD. Yes. Yes, I voted for that budget.

Mr. KYL. Thank you.

Mr. BYRD. Was it one of—I don’t remember the precise number, but I was one Senator who voted for that budget in 1993, and not a single Republican voted for it in the Senate or in the House. Yet, it was that budget that put this country on the course of having surpluses rather than deficits.

Now, did the Senator want me to ask a question or answer a question?

Mr. KYL. No, I think the Senator answered the question. The Senator was willing to vote for a budget resolution prior to the submission of the complete budget by the President in 1993, but he criticizes Republicans for doing precisely the same thing in the year 2001.

Mr. CONRAD. Will the Senator from Arizona just yield for a question?

Mr. KYL. If I might, since the Senator from Oklahoma was here earlier and had sought recognition, I would like to yield to him first.

Mr. NICKLES. The Senator has an hour under his control. I wish to make a speech on campaign finance.

Mr. KYL. Then, Madam President, perhaps what I should do is ask how much time we have remaining so I can give the remarks I was originally prepared to give and then yield to those others.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 30 and one-half minutes remaining.

Mr. KYL. I think that will be sufficient to give the other remarks I have, unless the Senator from South Dakota wishes to engage me in a lengthy colloquy, in which case I would want to ask for a little bit more time.

Mr. CONRAD. No, I will be brief. Was the Senator aware that in 1993 there was sufficient detail from the President to have the Joint Tax Committee and the Congressional Budget Office estimate the cost of the President’s tax proposals? That is totally
Mr. KYL. That is a question. Let me answer by saying apparently the Joint Tax Committee believes it has enough information, because it has given us an estimate of the cost, both to the House and the Senate. In fact, it gave a very uncompromising estimate of the part of the tax relief which I am putting forward. I might argue with what they have come up with, but apparently they believed they had enough information to do it.

We do have an estimate this year, whether it is right or wrong. We had an estimate back in 1993. We have an estimate there, and I think we are going to live with it one way or the other. But I don't think that should be a basis for suggesting it is improper at this point to take up the budget resolution. I think what we have established is that just as with the change of President in 1993, when you have a President in the year 2001, it is unrealistic to expect there would be the same degree of detail in the budget they send up in their very first year as there is for the remainder of their term.

But the fact has not stopped Congress from acting on a budget resolution at the time of year when it should do so, that we will be doing that, and that hopefully we will have an entire week next week for a continuation of this debate for proposals of amendments. I suspect we will be going very late at night next week as we consider all the different ideas different Senators have before we finally act on the budget.

I hope, to conclude the remarks here, this could be done in a bipartisan fashion and it will not be a purely partisan vote. One would hope that. We will see how it develops.

Mr. CONRAD. Will the Senator further yield just for a brief question?

Mr. KYL. I would like to get on with what I started a half hour ago, if I may.

Mr. CONRAD. May I be permitted a brief question?

Mr. KYL. I think, as the Senator from West Virginia has said, I have been more liberal in yielding to my colleagues. I really would like to get on to what I came here to talk about.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, we have not seen an estimate from the Congressional Budget Office nor the Joint Tax Committee of the cost of the President's plan, except for pieces of it, the estate tax provision of the Senator from Arizona, and two pieces of it from the House. But we don't have an estimate of the President's full plan.

Mr. KYL. What we have, of course, is the estimate of those portions of the President's tax plan that have been put forward by Members of the House and Senate, and that is ordinarily what is reviewed and what we get estimates of. That is plenty enough for us to move forward on a basis of what we think the cost is.

I know the Senator from North Dakota appreciates that we in the Senate operate on that basis as a routine matter.

I appreciate the opportunity to have this exchange. I think it may illustrate some of the tough sledding that we have to do as we move forward with the consideration of the President's budget, with the Senate budget resolution, with our tax relief legislation, and the other business that we have.

CHINA'S MILITARY POLICY

Mr. KYL. Madam President, I rise today to express concern about the direction of Chinese military policy vis-a-vis the United States.

America's relationship with China is one of the key foreign policy challenges facing our nation in the 21st Century. To this week, it is imperative that we understand the importance of our relationship with China. It is the world's most populous nation, has the world's largest armed forces, and is a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council. Its economic and military strength has grown a great deal in recent years, and is projected to continue to grow significantly in the coming decades. And most significantly, it is intent on gaining control over Taiwan, even by military force if necessary.

For some time now, I have been concerned that, out of a desire to avoid short-term controversies in our relationship with China that could prove disruptive to trade, we have overlooked serious potential national security problems.

As Bill Gertz noted in his book, The China Threat, the former administration believed that China could be reformed solely by the civilizing influence of the West, but China is a country in which the embrace of western capitalism has not been accompanied by respect for human rights, the rule of law, the embrace of democracy, or a less belligerent attitude toward its neighbors. Indeed, serious problems with China have grown worse. And continuing to gloss over these problems for fear of disrupting the fragile U.S.-China relationship, primarily for trade reasons, only exacerbates the problem.

We must be more realistic in our dealings with China and more cognizant of potential threats. As Secretary of State Colin Powell said in his confirmation hearing:

A strategic partner China is not, but neither is it our inevitable and implacable foe. China is a competitor, a potential rival, but also a trading partner willing to cooperate in areas where our strategic interests overlap where we can do that is constructive, that is helpful, and that is in our interest.

I believe it is in our best interest to seriously evaluate China's military strategy, plans for modernization of its People's Liberation Army, including the expansion of its ICBM capability, and buildup of forces opposite Taiwan. Let us not risk underestimating either China's intentions or capabilities, possibly finding ourselves in the midst of a conflict we could have prevented.

I would like to begin by answering a seemingly obvious question: Why isn't China a strategic partner? Among other things, China is being led by a communist regime with a deplorable human rights record and a history of irresponsible technology sales to rogue states. Furthermore, Beijing's threatening rhetoric aimed at the United States and Taiwan, as well as its military modernization and buildup of forces opposite Taiwan, should lead us to the conclusion that China potentially poses a growing threat to our national security. While it is true that China is one of the United States' largest trading partners, we must not let that lull us into seeing China as a competitor—not an enemy, but certainly a cause for concern that should prompt us to take appropriate steps to safeguard our security.

Chinese government officials and state-run media have repeatedly threatened to use force against Taiwan to reunite it with the mainland; and further, have warned the United States against involvement in a conflict in the Taiwan Strait. For example, in February 2000, the People's Liberation Army Daily, a state-owned newspaper, carried an article which stated, "On the Taiwan issue, it is very likely that the United States will walk to the point where it injures itself." The article went on to issue a veiled threat to attack the U.S. with long-range missiles, stating, "China is neither Iraq or Yugoslavia... it is a country that has certain abilities of launching a strategic counterattack and the capacity of launching a long-distance strike. Probably it is not a wise move to be at war with a country such as China, a point which U.S. policymakers know fairly well also."

This threat, and countless others like it, have been backed by China's rapid movement to modernize its army. The immediate focus of the modernization is to build a military force capable of subduing Taiwan, and capable of defeating it swiftly enough to prevent American intervention. According to the Department of Defense's Annual Report on the Military Power of the People's Republic of China, released in June, "A cross-strait conflict between China and Taiwan involving the United States has emerged as the dominant scenario guiding [the Chinese Army's] force planning, military training, and war preparation."