

skyrocketing public debt. But the credit card bill will come due. You can't repeal the laws of economics. Eventually, massive Government borrowing will squeeze out private investment and force interest rates up.

Eventually, massive indebtedness to foreign nations will cause the dollar to fall even more dramatically than it has so far on Mr. Bush's watch. Instead of making the needed adjustments to meet our responsibilities to retiring baby boomers and our children, this administration undercuts those responsibilities.

The President just does not get it. He continues on his reckless way, reckless and stubborn, cutting funding for veterans and public education and other domestic needs but he wants to send some people to Mars.

Priorities, priorities, reckless priorities. Reckless in economics and stubborn in continuing to do the same thing over and over again and expecting a different result.

The President seems to say as long as we keep cutting more and more taxes for the wealthy, as long as we continue on this reckless course in Iraq, as long as we continue this reckless deficit spending, well, then it will all work out. It will be different sometime down the road.

I am sorry, it is going to dig us deeper and deeper in the hole. Someone once described insanity as doing the same thing over and over and over again and expecting a different result. But we cannot keep doing the same thing over and over again and expect a different result. We know what the result will be.

Public opinion polls show the majority of Americans believe the country is headed in the wrong direction. They are right. We are headed in the wrong direction economically. We are headed in the wrong direction for our kids and our grandkids. It is time to end this reckless course that we are on, to get back to a sound fiscal and economic policy in this country. This President will not do it. He is just stubborn. He is going to continue his war policy. He is going to continue his policy in Iraq, and he is going to continue his domestic economic policy because he believes it is right. He may believe it is right, but the majority of Americans do not think so.

That is why we need to chart a new course for America. That is why, under a President JOHN KERRY we will turn this country around. We will turn around the mess in Iraq. We will save young American lives. We will set right our economic policies. We will invest in education and the health care of our people. We will do it in a sound manner and 4 years from now we will stand here and say truthfully: You are better off today than you were 4 years ago because JOHN KERRY has been President of the United States.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE 108TH CONGRESS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, as we set to adjourn, I think back to what I said earlier this year about the need to set aside bitter partisanship and move towards a new politics of common ground.

During campaigns, candidates and parties should be clear about where we stand on the issues and how we differ with our opponents so that voters can make a choice. That is an essential part of democracy. But we also have a responsibility to work together constructively, where we can, to find common ground.

It is not simple, but it is the essential ingredient to making Congress work for the American people.

By this measure, the record of the 108th Congress is mixed.

At times, we have been able to work across party lines and, as a result, we have been able to make meaningful progress on some of the issues and challenges that matter most to Americans.

There is no better example than the National Intelligence Reform Act. Senators from both parties worked together with the members of the 9/11 Commission and the families of the victims of 9/11 to pass real intelligence reform that will make our Government better able to deal with the new threats we face, and make Americans safer in the process.

This legislation passed 96-2. It demonstrated how much common cause we can find—and how much we can do—when we put the needs of Americans first.

There have been other examples through the course of the 108th Congress.

We passed commonsense tax relief for middle-class families, ending the marriage penalty and extending the child tax credits. Under this new law, the 70,000 families in South Dakota will benefit from a \$1,000 per child tax credit.

We passed legislation protecting the pensions of 35 million Americans.

Notwithstanding the majority's claims, the Senate confirmed 201 of the President's 211 judicial nominations—95 percent—and the judicial vacancy rate now stands at an historic low.

I am particularly pleased that Senator JOHNSON and I have been able to work with our colleagues to advance measures deeply important to the citizens of South Dakota.

We honored the service of our National Guard members and Reservists by extending their access to the military's TRICARE health care system.

We approved key incentives for the ethanol industry that will mean thousands of jobs for South Dakota and millions of dollars in revenue for South Dakota farmers.

And we have offered significant help to farmers and ranchers struggling to deal with the effects of the 5-year drought.

Each of these accomplishments was the product of bipartisan leadership. They testify to the fact that the Senate can make progress for the American people when we put aside partisanship and focus on the real challenges facing Americans.

We all agree, however, that those moments were far too rare.

On a number of occasions, the Republican leadership pursued an all-or-nothing strategy that can be poisonous to the legislative process.

One of the most regrettable instances was the Transportation bill. In February, we passed legislation to modernize our transportation infrastructure and create 2 million jobs by an overwhelming, bipartisan margin. But despite that, the White House and House blocked the Senate bill from becoming law.

The same process was at work with the Energy bill. The Senate passed a bipartisan bill that had few controversial provisions. But once the Republican leadership insisted on attaching poison pill provisions, this bill became impossible to pass.

The same all-or-nothing approach kept us from passing a bipartisan gun liability bill.

It doomed a bipartisan effort to bring down the cost of prescription drugs for America's seniors by enabling them to shop for better prices across the border.

It prevented us from raising the minimum wage at a time when millions of Americans work full time yet still live and raise their families in poverty.

And it kept the Senate from passing a mental health parity bill that has 77 cosponsors in the Senate and 249 in the House.

There is a long list of bipartisan legislation that has been left undone. That list exists solely because the leadership put the needs of American families behind those of insurance companies, drug companies, HMOs, and other special interests. Rather than listening to the voices of the American people, they have worked to advance rigid ideological theories.

Nowhere has that dogmatic stance been more damaging than to the budget and appropriations process.

The minimum requirement of any Congress, our most basic responsibility, is to pass the appropriations bills that enable our Government to continue working for the American people.

At the beginning of the 108th Congress in 2003, we were told that the White House and Republican leadership would ensure the budget and appropriations process ran more smoothly than ever before.

But each of the last 2 years, the process has broken down. Last year, the Republican leadership was forced to resort to an omnibus spending bill that combined seven different appropriations bills.

This year, we might return after the November elections to vote on a massive omnibus spending bill that sews

together nine different appropriations bills.

This is not merely a difference of procedure. We all know that omnibus spending bills are fundamentally undemocratic, because they deny the American people the right to have their representatives the chance to vote on the details of how the Government is spending their money.

Omnibus bills are invitations to abuse. Last year, for instance, the Republican leadership used conference negotiations to attach to the omnibus a series of provisions that could never have passed the House or Senate on their own. We don't know what provisions will be attached to the omnibus this time, and we won't until the spending bill comes out of conference in November.

One thing is clear. This is not the way the Framers intended us to legislate or fund our Government. And it is not what the American people sent us here to do. They deserve better. They

deserve leadership that put their needs first.

Throughout this Congress, we should have applied a simple test to our work. With each piece of legislation that came before us, we should have asked: Does it do right by America? Does it do right by our troops fighting for our security overseas? Does it do right by the seniors who need help buying prescription drugs? Does it do right by middle-class families struggling to make ends meet? Does it do right by our children whose future is in our hands?

Doing right by America demands a politics of common ground. We were able to achieve this common ground for the people of South Dakota.

And as the Intelligence Reform Act proved, Congress is able to put aside partisan politics for the sake of all America, as well.

We are capable of doing right by America. We have made progress, but clearly there is much work left to be done.

I look forward to taking up this work again next year, tackling the challenges of the American people, creating a true politics of common ground, and doing right by America.

FURTHER REVISED APPROPRIATIONS ALLOCATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, today, I submit a revised allocation to subcommittee for fiscal year 2005. The allocation has been modified to conform outlays for the outcome on the conference on the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act.

These allocations are a revision to those printed in Senate Report 108-356, submitted on September 23, 2004.

I ask unanimous consent that a table setting forth the revised allocation to the subcommittees be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FURTHER REVISED ALLOCATION FY 2005
(\$ millions)

| Subcommittee | Discretionary | | Mandatory | | Total | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| | BA | Outlays | BA | Outlays | BA | Outlays |
| Agriculture | 16,772 | 18,282 | 58,312 | 44,305 | 75,084 | 62,587 |
| Commerce | 39,792 | 40,440 | 704 | 705 | 40,496 | 41,145 |
| Defense | 390,931 | 415,689 | 239 | 239 | 391,170 | 415,928 |
| D.C. | 560 | 554 | — | — | 560 | 554 |
| Energy & Water Development | 27,988 | 27,897 | — | — | 27,988 | 27,897 |
| Foreign Operations | 19,386 | 26,785 | 43 | 43 | 19,429 | 26,828 |
| Homeland Security | 32,000 | 29,819 | 867 | 863 | 32,867 | 30,682 |
| Interior | 20,226 | 20,137 | 54 | 59 | 20,280 | 20,196 |
| Labor-HHS-Education | 142,317 | 140,936 | 342,503 | 342,402 | 484,820 | 483,338 |
| Legislative Branch | 3,575 | 3,696 | 113 | 112 | 3,688 | 3,808 |
| Military Construction | 10,003 | 10,010 | — | — | 10,003 | 10,010 |
| Transportation-Treasury | 25,439 | 69,601 | 18,261 | 18,262 | 43,700 | 87,863 |
| VA, HUD | 92,930 | 101,732 | 38,912 | 38,535 | 131,842 | 140,267 |
| Total | 821,919 | 905,578 | 460,008 | 445,525 | 1,281,927 | 1,351,103 |

Source: Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate.

VOTE EXPLANATION

(At the request of Mr. REID, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I would like the RECORD to reflect that I was necessarily absent for the vote on the conference report to H.R. 4520. While I believe that there were some missed opportunities on this legislation, overall I support the bill. I voted for the original bill when it passed the Senate and to invoke cloture on the conference report. Had I been present, I would have voted in support of the conference report.●

RETIRING SENATORS IN THE 108TH CONGRESS

PETER, WE HARDLY KNEW YE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, at the close of the 108th Congress, we say farewell to Senator PETER G. FITZGERALD who is leaving us after one term.

The former congressional intern, commercial banking attorney, and Illinois State Senator was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1998. In fact, he was the first Republican in Illinois to win a Senate seat in 20 years.

It has been a busy 6 years for Senator FITZGERALD. During his brief tenure in this chamber he served on the Senate Agriculture, Commerce, Government Affairs, Small Business, and Aging Committees. He was active in a number of legislative areas, including mutual fund reform, consumer safety protection, aviation, environmental, and agricultural issues. And he actively pursued the expansion of overseas markets.

During his 6 years in this chamber, Senator FITZGERALD threw himself into some of the most challenging and complex issues considered by the Senate. In 2000, he attacked waste in Government contracting and crafted legislation to improve the process by which contractors are awarded taxpayer monies. He later worked with me to address the Pentagon's "revolving door"—an egregious practice utilized by government contractors in exerting influence over the contracting process. In 2002, the former commercial banking attorney lashed out at Enron executives who robbed thousands of workers of millions of dollars of their life savings, and he later crafted legislation to reform the mutual fund industry.

Time and again he showed himself to be a Senator who is not intimidated by

complexity. He did not simply talk about the issues of the day, he took time to study them, and understand them, and then try to do something about them. Time and again he demonstrated that he was a workhorse, not a show horse. The Senate needs more members like him, Senators whom we can look to when confronting difficult and complex issues.

And the Senate needs more Senators like Senator FITZGERALD who, on a number of high-profile issues, including gun control, health care, patient's bill of rights, and the environment, ANWR drilling, put the good of the people of his State, in particular, and the American people, in general, above partisan party interests and ideology.

In attacking political corruption and cronyism, he was bipartisan, not simply in rhetoric, which is easy, but rather in action, which is a good deal more difficult.

I wish Senator FITZGERALD and his wife Nina the best as they begin a new phase of their lives.

SENATOR JOHN BREAUX

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, when the 109th Congress convenes in January, 2005, this Chamber and our Nation will, unfortunately, be without the services of Senator JOHN B. BREAUX.