

Instead, he stated his intention to spend nearly \$1 trillion on a plan he says will expand coverage without increasing costs or adding to the deficit. These are precisely the claims Americans are finding so difficult to square with reality. The speech itself was certainly well delivered, but in the end Congress is not going to be asked to vote on a speech. It is going to be asked to vote on specific legislation.

In my view, the President's speech only highlighted the concerns that millions of Americans and Members of both parties in Congress continue to have with the Democratic plans for health care reform because when you strip away the pageantry of the speech itself, what you are left with is simply this: one more trillion-dollar government program and a whole lot of unanswered questions about how we are going to pay for it. What is it going to mean for seniors and small business owners, and how is it going to affect the quality and availability of care for millions of Americans, the vast majority of whom are happy with the care they have? These are legitimate questions, and it is unfair for anyone to dismiss those who ask them as either cranks or scaremongers. The answers to these questions impact some of the most important aspects of people's lives, and people just aren't getting answers.

Take the issue of cost. The President says he is going to pay for his plan by cutting waste, fraud, and abuse out of the system. That raises a couple of questions. First of all, if there is such waste, fraud, and abuse, then why isn't the administration doing something about it already? Second, if we are seeing this kind of waste, fraud, and abuse in an existing government program, why shouldn't we expect it to exist in the new government program the White House wants to create? Of course, we should root out waste, fraud, and abuse. I don't know anybody who is against that. But let's do it for its own sake, not to justify a very brandnew government program most Americans aren't even asking for.

How about Medicare? The administration plans to pay for much of its health care proposals with hundreds of billions of dollars in cuts to Medicare. A significant portion of this would involve cuts to Medicare Advantage, a program that serves more than 11 million American seniors, nearly 90 percent of whom say they are satisfied with it. But faced with questions about his proposed cuts to Medicare, the administration insists services to seniors won't be cut. Mr. President, this is absurd. How can the administration tell America's seniors with a straight face that it is about to cut \$½ trillion from Medicare but that those cuts won't affect the program in any noticeable way?

What about the hundreds of billions of dollars the administration would have to raise to pay for its plan even after its proposed cuts to Medicare?

The White House hasn't said where it plans to get all of that money, but to most people, the answer is pretty obvious: more spending, more taxes, higher deficits—or, most likely, all three.

What about the deficit? The White House says its health care plan won't add a dollar to the deficit. How do they square that with the fact that the Congressional Budget Office has said repeatedly and unequivocally that every proposal they have seen would, in fact, add hundreds of billions of dollars to the deficit?

Any schoolkid in America could tell you that creating a massive new government program will cost a lot of money, that cutting Medicare by hundreds of billions of dollars will lead to cuts in services people currently enjoy, and that higher taxes on small businesses will lead to even more job losses.

These are serious questions. The administration's response to them is not. Their response is to accuse anyone who asks them of being a scaremonger and to give them the same two-word answer they gave everybody who questioned the stimulus: Trust us.

When it comes to health care, Americans are saying these arguments don't add up. These are simple questions. The administration should answer them. If they can't, it is even further validation that the questions are worth asking.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will proceed to a period of morning business until 3 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa.

TRIBUTE TO DR. NORMAN BORLAUG

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to pay tribute to a fellow Iowan, Dr. Norman Borlaug, a 1970 Nobel Peace Prize laureate. That honor—Dr. Borlaug's winning the Nobel Peace Prize—was because he was the father of the Green Revolution.

Dr. Borlaug passed away over the weekend at the age of 95. I am honored to have known Dr. Borlaug. He was a remarkable man, a true son of the Iowa soil. A tenacity found through wrestling, a love of the soil, and a twist of fate helped Dr. Borlaug develop the scientific breakthroughs to ease malnutrition and famine around the globe. His effort to spare people from the sharp hunger pains that strike an empty stomach is an example for gen-

erations to come that one person can, in fact, make a difference—and, in his case, a big difference.

Dr. Borlaug's notoriety most often comes, as I have just said, as the father of what is called the Green Revolution, a time when drastically increased crop yields over a short period of years helped alleviate world hunger. It is from this work that he is credited with saving more lives than any other person in history.

It is said that Dr. Borlaug's desire for a sufficient food supply came from his childhood. He grew up in a small town on a family farm in northeast Iowa. His education came in a one-room schoolhouse full of immigrant children. It was there where he and his schoolmates learned the common threads between them, similar to what their own parents learned, that working together to provide food for their families was more important than any ethnic differences that might divide them.

In true Iowa tradition, as a young man Dr. Borlaug was an outstanding wrestler. His wrestling skills took him to the University of Minnesota, where he, besides wrestling, earned a bachelor's and master's degree in forestry and, by a twist of fate, a doctorate in plant pathology.

It was after his graduation and World War II service that Dr. Borlaug first saw the plight of poverty-stricken wheat farmers in rural Mexico. In the early going, his work in Mexico was discouraging, but Dr. Borlaug showed his tenacity and willingness to get dirt under his fingernails and, in fact, over a period of time ingratiated himself to the local farmers. With the help of Mexican farmers, Dr. Borlaug and his scientific team eventually developed a disease-resistant wheat—a breakthrough in the fight against hunger.

His success in Mexico gave Dr. Borlaug the opportunity to help developing countries all around the world. His innovative work brought an agricultural revolution to poor and hungry countries. I don't think it is a stretch to say that Norman Borlaug transformed these countries. His work helped these countries avoid starvation and famine, but he also helped to lift the social conditions and create more peaceful societies.

His commitment to this important cause has been recognized worldwide. I already alluded to the fact that he was a 1970 Nobel Peace Prize winner. He is one of only five people to be awarded three different medals of honor: the Nobel Peace Prize, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and this Congress awarded him the Congressional Gold Medal. That may not sound like much, but let's just put that into context. The other four recipients of all three of those awards—again, the Nobel Peace Prize, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and the Congressional Gold Medal—include Nelson Mandela, Elie Wiesel, Mother Teresa, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Mr. President, Dr. Borlaug may not be a name known at every kitchen

table, but this man is one of the greatest humanitarians who have ever lived. He dedicated his life to the development of scientific breakthroughs in order to ease malnutrition and famine all over the world.

One of Dr. Borlaug's latest efforts began in the early 1980s. There wasn't anything in the Nobel armada of prizes that represented agriculture, which is why he received the Peace Prize for recognition of his research in agriculture, and so Dr. Borlaug thought there ought to be an annual award for research in agriculture and helping with the problems of food production. Through his initiative, the World Food Prize was initiated. It recognizes the achievement of individuals who have advanced human development by improving the quality, quantity, and availability of food in the world. Just as Dr. Borlaug dreamed, the World Food Prize is helping to continue to inspire future generations of scientists and farmers to innovate and lift those mired in poverty and preserving Dr. Borlaug's legacy over the years. The World Food Prize is the idea of Dr. Borlaug, and so his scientific work will live on.

The World Food Prize exists today because of the John Ruan family endowing it. They are an outstanding Des Moines business family, and they have endowed this. President of the World Food Prize is the former Ambassador to Cambodia, Dr. Ken Quinn. The World Food Prize has been headquartered in Des Moines since 1992, about 4 or 5 years after its founding.

An extraordinary man, with a brilliant vision and Iowa common sense who turned his dreams into reality—that was Dr. Norman Borlaug.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, how much time is remaining?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is 30 minutes remaining in morning business, with Senators having a 10-minute limit. The Senate goes out of morning business at 3 o'clock.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Will the Chair please let me know when 1 minute is remaining—after 9 minutes?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will so advise.

PUSH OUT THE CZARS

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, according to news accounts, there are approximately 32 or 34 so-called czars in the Obama White House and government. Respected voices in the Senate—Senator BYRD, a senior Democrat and Senator HUTCHISON, a senior Republican—have pointed out that these czars are an affront to the Constitution. They are anti-democratic. They are a poor example of a new era of transparency, which is what was promised to this country. I would add that they are a poor way to manage the government, and they seem to me to be

the principal symptom of this administration's 8-month record of too many Washington takeovers. We have an AIDS czar, an auto recovery czar, a border czar, and a California water czar. We have a car czar, a central region czar, and a domestic violence czar. There is an economic czar, an energy and environment czar, a faith-based czar and a Great Lakes czar. The list goes on, up to 32 or 34. One of these, for example, is the pay czar, Mr. Kenneth Feinberg, the Treasury Department's Special Master for Compensation. He will approve pay packages at seven firms receiving TARP funds, thus deciding how much pay is too much. This will affect the top earners at some of the major corporations in America.

According to Mr. Feinberg, in answer to some questions, he said:

The statute provides guideposts but the statute ultimately says I have discretion to decide what it is that these people should make and that my determination will be final. Anything is possible under the law.

That is the pay czar. Then we have a manufacturing czar. The manufacturing czar's name is Mr. Ron Bloom. He is also the car czar. We have had manufacturing czars before in other administrations, but as Rollcall pointed out on September 8, Mr. Bloom's background and new position differs from the two czars who served under former President George W. Bush:

Bloom is a former union official, remaining close to leaders in organized labor. Bush's manufacturing czars were placed in the Commerce Department. Bloom, on the other hand, was entrusted with a high profile Presidential task force on autos, and will operate within an office that has broad authority over domestic policy. He will head the auto task force which is in the Treasury Department.

According to the policy director for the AFL-CIO, Mr. Bloom is expected to have a major role in the development of climate change legislation. So-called buy American provisions that favor home-grown products, and tax credits for domestic industry need to be included, said the policy director for the AFL-CIO, in the climate change provision. If it's not done right, the President could lose votes, said the AFL-CIO Policy Director.

In other words, Mr. Bloom may end up being the protectionist czar as well.

Then there is the health czar, a very distinguished Tennessean, Nancy-Ann DeParle, a very able woman I know well. But who is in charge of health care policy? Is it the Secretary of Health and Human Services, confirmed by the Senate, accountable to the Congress, accountable, therefore, to the people of the country? Or is it someone in the White House who, an administration official says will "wake up every morning focused on health care reform, and she is going to be focused on that the entire day through?"

There have been czars in the White House, at least since President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Of the 32 or 34 we have today—and I am using those two numbers because there are different reports and 2 or 3 czar positions are vacant—only 8 are confirmed by the Senate. We have had czars before, but there has never been anything quite like this.

Let me take my concerns one by one. Article I of the Constitution of the United States gives to the Congress the appropriations power and sets up, in articles II and III, the executive and judicial branches, a system of checks and balances to make sure no one branch of the Federal Government runs away with the government. Senator ROBERT BYRD, the President pro tempore of the Senate, wrote a letter to President Obama on February 23. Senator BYRD, who is often called the Constitutional conscience of the Senate, expressed his concern over the increasing appointments of White House czars and the relationship between these new positions and their executive branch counterparts, noting:

Too often, I have seen these lines of authority and responsibility become tangled and blurred, sometimes purposely, to shield information and to obscure the decision-making process.

That is Senator BYRD speaking. He goes on to say:

The rapid and easy accumulation of power by White House staff can threaten the Constitutional system of checks and balances. At the worst, White House staff have taken direction and control of programmatic areas that are the statutory responsibility of Senate-confirmed officials.

Continuing:

As presidential assistants and advisers, these White House staffers are not accountable for their actions to the Congress, to Cabinet officials, and to virtually anyone but the president. They rarely testify before congressional committees, and often shield the information and decision-making process behind the assertion of executive privilege. In too many instances, White House staff have been allowed to inhibit openness and transparency, and reduce accountability.

More recently, one of the senior Republicans, Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON of Texas, who is the senior Republican on the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, said in an op-ed in the Washington Post:

I oversee legislation and agencies that cover policy areas as vast and varied as trade, technology, transit, consumer protection and commercial regulation. As many as 10 of the 32 czars functionally fall under my committee's jurisdiction. Yet neither I nor the committee chairmen have clear authority to compel these czars to appear before our panel and report what they are doing. The Obama administration presented only two of these officials for our consideration before they assumed their duties. We have had no opportunity to probe the others' credentials.

That is Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON of Texas. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD following my remarks the comments of Senator ROBERT BYRD and the op-ed of Senator KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1).

Mr. ALEXANDER. As the Senator said, many of these czars have no vetting by the Senators, no appropriation requests to be considered by us, no testimony given, and answer no hard