

AMENDMENT NO. 1070

(Purpose: To include in the definition of "out-of-State municipal waste" waste that is generated outside the United States)

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator LEVIN and Senator ABRAHAM, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFEE], for Mr. LEVIN, for himself, and Mr. ABRAHAM, proposes an amendment numbered 1070.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 49, strike lines 1 through 8 and insert:

(3) The term "out-of-State municipal solid waste" means, with respect to any State, municipal solid waste generated outside of the State. Unless the President determines it is inconsistent with the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the term shall include municipal solid waste generated outside of the United States. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, generators of municipal solid waste outside the United States shall possess no greater right of access to disposal facilities in a State than United States generators of municipal solid waste outside of that State.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, our side has reviewed this amendment and we find it acceptable.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? If not, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 1070) was agreed to.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BAUCUS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 1071

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFEE], for Mr. WARNER, proposes an amendment numbered 1071.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 65, line 6, insert "or related land-fill reclamation" after "services."

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, we have reviewed this amendment, as well, and also urge its adoption.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? If not, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 1071) was agreed to.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BAUCUS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. CHAFEE. I thank the Senator from Massachusetts. If he wants to proceed, this is a good time to do it.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CRAIG). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE BUDGET RESOLUTION

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, last night the Budget Committee, in the wee hours, passed the budget resolution for the U.S. Senate on which we will shortly go to work. There are many, many questionable choices within that resolution. There will be a time, a very fixed time obviously, a minimum number of hours that we have to debate it here on the floor, with a finality for that debate, and it is predetermined. But I would like to just talk for a moment, if I can, about a couple of aspects of that budget as we frame the debate about where we are going in this country.

First, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to one provision that is in this budget that this Senator finds profoundly disturbing, and that I hope other colleagues will think hard about before we ratify it in the course of the budget process.

A lot of things are being proposed in America today under the banner of deficit reduction. I think there is a unanimity here that we obviously have to reduce the deficit. We are going to be bankrupt if we do not. We cannot continue down the road that we are going on. But there also ought to be an application of common sense to the choices that we make as we do that. Reducing the deficit does not predicate that we simply come in with a machete or a pickax and chop away at things that make sense, while simultaneously leaving out there the things that do not make sense.

One of the items that has fallen under the budget committee's ideological approach to this issue is the Presidential campaign fund. For whatever reasons—I can give you the descriptions that are given, but I think the agenda is considerably different—the committee has chosen to eliminate the mechanism by which Americans for the years since Watergate have funded Presidential elections. That method is to have a checkoff on your tax form with which you decide to give money to the Presidential election fund. It is a voluntary mechanism in America.

But it has been a most important mechanism by which we have freed Presidential politics from the demeaning process of requiring our candidates to raise hundreds of millions of dollars from special interests all across this country.

It has worked, Mr. President. The system has worked. President Ronald Reagan used it. President George Bush used it. I believe President Bush in the course of his career as a Vice President and as a President, used something in the order of \$200 million in order to run for the highest Federal office in this land.

The majority leader, ROBERT DOLE, has used it in the past. Other Presidential candidates in this Senate have used it, Republican and Democrat alike. No one has suggested that system is wrong, corrupt, not working, or not freeing the Presidential process from the rather terrifying money chase that we in the U.S. Senate have to go through. Yet, this Budget Committee, in an effort to try to whack away at the deficit, is going to do away with this campaign financing mechanism.

Mr. President, for the life of me I don't understand why—but I understand the argument that will be made. The argument will be the soft, easy, political sloganeering arguments that, "Gee, politicians should not be getting welfare." It sounds really catchy. And the American taxpayer should not necessarily be paying. That is the argument you are going to hear. But I will bet you that four members of the Republican caucus who are running for President are prepared, in a matter of weeks, to ask for that money and will take it and will use it.

Now, it seems to me, Mr. President, if we cannot remember the lessons of Watergate and remember the degree to which this country felt a revulsion at what happened during that period of time, when stacks of cash and enormous sums of money were changing hands in an effort to try to curry favor and votes in America, if we do not remember that lesson, then we have not learned much about what was wrong with American politics in the course of the last years.

So I hope that before we just accept what the Budget Committee has done, Members will think hard about what is really good for this country in the context of political campaign finance reform. This Senate has twice passed campaign finance reform in the last years. We passed it in 1992, and the House passed it, but President Bush vetoed it. We then passed it again in 1994, but it died mostly because the House of Representatives did not want to take it up.

The bottom line, I think all colleagues will agree, is that we saw a period of scandal in America that brought reform, and it would be irrational now in the face of the extraordinary impact of money in American

politics to suddenly take away our capacity to free both of our candidates, or any major party candidate, from having to go out and raise these extraordinary sums of money which most Americans have come to agree distort the American political process.

That is not the only issue raised in this budget, and we will have ample time in the days ahead to discuss it.

Mr. President, I see that the majority leader is in the Chamber. I do not know if he had an announcement or a procedure.

Mr. DOLE. Announcement. I would like to get back on the bill.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, let me just say to the majority leader, I had asked if there were any amendments. There were no amendments, and I allowed whatever amendments were there to be done before speaking. If there is an amendment that is ready to go forward, I am not trying to delay the process or hold up the Senate, but I thought I would call attention to this issue in the absence of that.

Mr. DOLE. I do not have any problem with that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. If the Senator will yield.

Mr. KERRY. I would like to retain the right to the floor, but I will yield.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF MUNICIPAL SOLID WASTE ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. DOLE. I have just seen a list of amendments—10, 12, 13, 14 amendments. I do not know why people are not here offering the amendments. We are going to be here today, and we are going to vote today, if we have to have Sergeant at Arms votes. People who wish to offer their amendments better come to the floor and offer their amendments. We want to finish this bill.

I do not have any problem with the Senator speaking, because, as the Senator from Massachusetts said, there is nobody here to offer an amendment. But I say to my colleagues who have amendments, if you are going to offer them, come to the floor and offer your amendments. We have two managers here who do want to do business. They were here late last night. They were here early this morning. So I hope we can accommodate Senator BAUCUS and Senator CHAFEE and others who have primary responsibility for this legislation. It is important legislation. We ought to finish it, and I hope that by 4 or 5 o'clock we will be finished with the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I thank the majority leader.

LOOKING AT THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I would like to say to my colleagues that the

last time I looked at the Federal budget, which has been many times in the last few days, I did not notice that spending was increasing significantly in the discretionary domestic side of the budget. I did not notice that Americans were coming up to any of us and saying to us, Senator, we have too much drug treatment in America; we ought to cut it so fewer addicts can get treatment.

I did not notice that a lot of people were coming up and saying, it is already easy enough for me to send my kid to school, so why not cut the tax deduction to send our kids to college and make it harder for us to send our kids to school.

I did not notice people were suggesting that our train system is comparable to the Japanese or the Germans or the French, and therefore we ought to be reducing the investment in our railroads.

I did not notice that our colleges and universities were so fat with money that their laboratories, which are 20 and 30 years old in many cases, are state of the art and so they do not need additional Federal funding to increase the science capacity or research of America.

I could run down a long list of things that I do not think Americans are asking us to cut, but, Mr. President, we are cutting them. We are cutting them. And I respectfully suggest we are cutting out of this country the guts of our ability to be able to remain a great country and guarantee that our kids, who are increasingly growing up in a vacuum, are going to have the best education system in the world, the kind of opportunity that we have promised through these years.

We had a period of know-nothingism in America once before, and I am not sure that we are venturing close to a new period of sort of put your head in the sand and pretend—pretend that a 15-year-old kid who has an abusive parent or a drug addict parent and whose other parent is absent, pretend that that kid, who is already at risk and dropped out of school, is somehow suddenly going to be saved by cutting access to the YMCA, YWCA, the Boys and Girls Clubs, Youth Build, the City Years, the AmeriCorps of this country.

That is what we are doing. The one part of the budget that is increasing is entitlements. It is the only part of the Federal budget that is really increasing in real dollars. And the truth is that you are not going to solve that problem just by whacking away at a fixed amount of money when more and more Americans are turning 65, more and more Americans are living longer, and more and more Americans have a right to expect that they are going to get quality medical care.

What will happen if we just lop off several hundred billion out of Medicare? Sure, we will cut out some waste. And, yes, some good entrepreneurs will respond and there will be an increase in managed care and HMO's, and so forth.

But you will take the guts out of teaching hospitals. You will take the guts out of research and development. And those things that have provided the United States with the most extraordinary advanced technology and medical care in the world will suddenly begin to diminish, just like deferred maintenance on a building. Sure, we can cut the maintenance today, and we have been doing that, I might add, in many different sectors. But 5 and 10 years from now, after 10 years of cuts and deferred maintenance, the buildings begin to crumble, the bridges begin to fall down, the sewer systems fall apart, the water treatment facilities are not there.

Mr. President, we have to stop and recognize that there are three deficits in this country. There is a fiscal deficit, but there is also an investment deficit, and there is a spiritual deficit. And we are not going to address the investment deficit, which is critical to dealing with the spiritual deficit, unless we treat all three of them simultaneously. And all this budget that we will be presented does is deal with the fiscal deficit.

What do I mean when I say an investment deficit? Well, Mr. President, let me give you one example: railroads. The United States is ranked 34th in the world in our investment in our railroads. We are just behind Ecuador and Bolivia and just ahead of Bangladesh. And there are only seven countries I think with railroads that are behind us—34th in the world.

Now, I can tell you that in Boston, in New England, along most of the eastern seaboard and much of the west coast now, and in other parts of this country, rail transportation is essential to moving millions of people to their jobs, taking the burden off of our highways, and yet, we are disinvesting in those railroads, Mr. President.

France has its TGF, Japan has a bullet train. And instead of thinking about how we are going to provide millions of jobs for Americans building an adequate transportation system, we are disinvesting.

No country on this planet has a railroad system that does not have a subsidy. There is not a country in the world that does not subsidize its railroad system. And yet the House of Representatives has zeroed out—zeroed out—money for support of railroads.

Now I can give you dozens of other examples like that. Global climate change. We do not know all the answers. We know that there is a phenomenon taking place. We do not have a complete understanding of it. We need to have an understanding of it, because the consequences could be cataclysmic. And yet we are cutting that research.

The Coast Guard, the admiral in charge of the Coast Guard told me they