

What would the consequences be of opening up the Arctic plain to development?

I would like to quote to you from a passage written by Peter Matthiessen in his forward to the Natural Resources Defense Council report Tracking Arctic Oil:

Today the oil companies have set their sights on the last undeveloped lands to the eastward, pressuring Congress for permission to exploit the 125 mile-long coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, the very last protected stretch of our arctic coastline, where polar bears still hunt over the ice and come ashore, where a mighty herd of 180,000 caribou, with its attendant wolves, migrates each year from Canada to give birth to its young. . . . The danger posed by destructive and inefficient drilling in the Arctic with irremediable loss to wilderness and wildlife, is not an Alaskan problem. It is a national problem, a world problem.

Mr. President, the first step toward victory for those hungry oil companies occurred last week in the Senate, with the passage of a bill that would lift the ban on the export of Alaska North Slope Oil.

The lifting of the ban goes against all the principles on which Congress based its controversial and expensive decision to construct the Trans-Alaska Pipeline.

Today, we face step two: a budget resolution that assumes 2.3 billion dollars in revenue from oil exploration and development leases along the pristine coastal plane of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Republicans in the budget committee say that they are "only leasing 8 percent of the 19 million acres of the Arctic Wildlife Refuge", and that "The development of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge would only affect 13,000 acres".

Those 13,000 acres are on the last pristine arctic coastal plain—and are part of the original wildlife range established by President Eisenhower in 1960. Those 13,000 acres are in an area that the House of Representatives has twice voted to designate as wilderness in order to give it permanent protection from any development.

The fact is, Mr. President, that what we are talking about here is turning the only remaining protected stretch of our arctic coastline into an immense industrial desert.

Mr. President, leadership is about finding long term solutions to problems—not temporary solutions.

The proposal to open the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge demonstrates lack of long term vision and a lack of leadership—I firmly believe this is not where the citizens of this Nation want to go.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now occurs on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the Roth amendment would reduce the instructions to the Energy Committee by \$2.3 billion over 7 years and offset that reduction by increasing revenues \$2.3 billion over the same period of time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. DOMENICI. The Senator assumes this would be ANWR. I add that to my explanation.

Mr. President, I move to table the amendment and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table.

The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 56, nays 44, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 190 Leg.]

YEAS—56

Abraham	Ford	Lugar
Akaka	Frist	Mack
Ashcroft	Gorton	McCain
Bennett	Gramm	McConnell
Bond	Grams	Murkowski
Breaux	Grassley	Nickles
Brown	Gregg	Packwood
Burns	Hatch	Pressler
Campbell	Hatfield	Santorum
Coats	Heflin	Shelby
Cochran	Helms	Simpson
Conrad	Hollings	Smith
Coverdell	Hutchison	Specter
Craig	Inhofe	Stevens
D'Amato	Inouye	Thomas
DeWine	Johnston	Thompson
Dole	Kempthorne	Thurmond
Domenici	Kyl	Warner
Faircloth	Lott	

NAYS—44

Baucus	Feinstein	Moseley-Braun
Biden	Glenn	Moynihan
Bingaman	Graham	Murray
Boxer	Harkin	Nunn
Bradley	Jeffords	Pell
Bryan	Kassebaum	Pryor
Bumpers	Kennedy	Reid
Byrd	Kerrey	Robb
Chafee	Kerry	Rockefeller
Cohen	Kohl	Roth
Daschle	Lautenberg	Sarbanes
Dodd	Leahy	Simon
Dorgan	Levin	Snowe
Exon	Lieberman	Wellstone
Feingold	Mikulski	

So the motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 1150) was agreed to.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

ARCTIC OIL RESERVE

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I am glad to see that amendment offered by the Senator from Delaware to strike a major source of new Federal revenues from the budget resolution was rejected by my colleagues. This source of new revenue is \$2.3 billion from competitive bonus bids from leasing the oil and gas resources of an area in the northeast part of my State. This is an issue that is important to my State and to our Nation. This vote to keep those funds in the budget resolution is a clear indication that my colleagues would like to see the revenues from the

leasing of this area considered in context of the budget deficit reduction effort.

Together with the other members of the Alaska delegation I opposed this amendment. The amendment was also opposed by the Inupiat Eskimo people who live on the North Slope; by the local government for this region, the North Slope Borough; by the Eskimo-owned Arctic Slope Regional Corp.; by the State of Alaska; by our Governor Tony Knowles, and by an overwhelming majority of Alaskans.

Mr. President, I want to review the history and the potentially huge benefits that opening the coastal plain to oil and gas leasing can provide to the Nation.

In the 1980 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act Congress withdrew more than 19 million acres in northeast Alaska, 8 million acres were designated wilderness and another 11 million acres nonwilderness refuge lands. However, under section 1002 of that act Congress set aside about 1.5 million acres to study for oil potential. The purpose of the study was to evaluate the oil and gas values and the fish and wildlife values of this area.

In April 1987 the Department of the Interior released the legislative environmental impact statement and coastal plain report to the Congress.

This led to the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior to open the 1002 area to oil and gas leasing. Let me quote from the report:

The 1002 area is the Nation's best single opportunity to increase significantly domestic oil production. It is rated by geologists as the most outstanding petroleum exploration target in the onshore United States. Data from nearby wells in the Prudhoe Bay area and in the Canadian Beaufort Sea and Mackenzie Delta, combined with promising seismic data gathered on the 1002 area, indicate extensions of producing trends and other geologic conditions exceptionally favorable for discovery of one or more supergiant fields (larger than 500 million barrels).

There is a 19-percent chance that economically recoverable oil occurs in the 1002 area. The average of all estimates of conditional economically recoverable oil resources (the "mean") is 3.2 billion barrels. Based on this estimate, 1002 area production by the year 2005 could provide 4 percent of total U.S. demand; provide 8 percent of U.S. production (about 660,000 barrels/day); and reduce imports by nearly 9 percent. This production could provide net national economic benefits of \$79.4 billion, including Federal revenues of \$38.0 billion.

The report continues:

Discovery of 9.2 billion barrels of oil could yield production of more than 1.5 million barrels per day. Estimates of net national economic benefits based on 9.2 billion barrels of oil production, and other economic assumptions, are as high as \$325 billion.

On April 8, 1991, the Department of the Interior issued a formal update of the recoverable petroleum reserves 1987 study and report. The major finding from the update was that the probability of economic success of finding commercial oil in the 1002 area was increased from 19 percent to 46 percent.

Let me place this in context. The probability of finding oil in the lower 48 States in an unexplored area is about 1 percent. As a result, 46 percent is unprecedented.

Mr. President, let me quote from the 1991 update:

The 1991 update of recoverable petroleum resources in the 1987 Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska Coastal Plain Assessment, also known as the 1002 Report, makes a considerable contribution to the knowledge and understanding of the petroleum geology of the 1002 area of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). This study reaffirms most of the conclusions and estimates made in the 1002 Report, and increases the level of confidence that ANWR is part of the North Slope oil province. This is demonstrated by the increase in the marginal probability of economic success from 19 percent in the original assessment to 46 percent in the current assessment. The increase in marginal probability means that ANWR has a higher potential for oil discovery. The overall Minimum Economic Field Size (MEFS) for the 1002 area has been lowered from about 0.44 billion barrels of oil (BBO) to about 0.40 BBO. The mean resource estimate has increased from 3.23 to 3.57 BBO."

Mr. President, since this 1991 update, a number of new wells have been drilled near the 1002 area. A large number discovered oil and gas. Some of these wells may be commercial oil fields. These discoveries reflect very favorably on the prospect that the coastal plain contains major reserves of oil and gas.

As the reports quoted above make clear, the economic benefits of the coastal plains oil and gas reserves far exceed the \$2.3 billion assumed in the pending budget resolution. The 1987 report notes that a discovery of 3.2 billion barrels of oil would produce net national economic benefits of \$79.4 billion, including new Federal revenues of \$38 billion. A discovery of 9.2 billion barrels would yield net national economic benefits of \$325 billion and new Federal revenues of around \$150 billion over the life of the oil fields.

The Department of Energy and Wharton Econometrics have done independent studies which project that leasing the coastal plain could create 250,000 to 732,000 new direct and indirect jobs in all 50 of our States.

Mr. President, in addition to providing a major stimulus to the economy and creating new jobs, opening the 1002 area will allow my State to continue to produce 25 percent or more of the Nation's domestic oil for an additional 30 or 40 more years. This is very important because Prudhoe Bay is now in decline. Since 1990, oil production has fallen from 2 million barrels a day to 1.6 million barrels a day. Every barrel of oil produced in Alaska is a barrel the United States does not have to buy abroad.

Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson authored the Alaska Statehood Act and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. Senator Jackson was a tough, no nonsense moderate Democrat. He was fair. He was accessible. He was informed. And he was balanced.

Senator Jackson heard from all of the special interest groups, but he made his own decisions, based upon all of the facts and the interest of people and of the Nation.

Jackson, along with the senior Senator from Alaska, authored the legislation to open Prudhoe Bay to oil production by authorizing the Trans Alaska Pipeline Act in 1973. In the face of major opposition from the national environmental organizations, this legislation was adopted. As a result, the Nation has enjoyed two decades of major economic benefits.

Scoop also worked out the compromise that was reached which led to the study and report authorized in section 1002. The reason the 1.5 million acres was set aside was to consider the great oil potential in the area. Scoop included the provision of the national security concerns associated with our country being reliant on foreign oil. We are more reliant on foreign oil than ever before. We imported more than 50 percent of our oil consumption for the first time in 1994.

Mr. President, the opposition to opening the coastal plain to oil and gas leasing comes from the leaders of some of the Nation's large environmental organizations. My view is that the leaders of these organizations are misguided and poorly informed. I suspect that their opposition has more to do with "fundraising" objectives than it does with "wilderness" values.

The leaders of the environmental community have invested a great deal of time, effort, and money in the Gwich'in Indian steering committee. The steering committee is composed of some of the 400 Athabascan Indians who live in two villages on the Venetie Indian Reservation. The steering committee opposes opening the coastal plain. They are concerned that leasing and development might, in some unknown way, adversely impact the porcupine caribou herd. This herd of 160,000 animals annually migrates between Canada and the United States. In some years, the herd uses the southern portion of the coastal plain for forage and calving. Last year, North Slope Eskimos and Athabascan Indians took about 380 caribou from this herd of 160,000 animals for subsistence uses.

I respect the right of the Gwich'in steering committee to oppose resource development in the coastal plain. It is a decision, however, which is contrary to experience at Prudhoe Bay and elsewhere in the Arctic. Caribou are very adaptable. At Prudhoe Bay, the central Arctic caribou herd is flourishing with oil development. Since oil was discovered in Prudhoe Bay the central Arctic caribou herd has increased from 3,000 to 23,000 animals.

Further, the Gwich'in steering committee's opposition to oil and gas leasing is a new development. In 1980 the Gwich'in people of Arctic village and Venetie villages leased all of the lands in their 1.7 million acre reservation to the Rouget Oil Co. of Tulsa, OK. This

20-page oil and gas lease did not contain any meaningful provisions to protect the porcupine caribou herd. This herd migrates annually through or near the Venetie Reservation. Yet, the Gwich'in leased all of their lands for \$1.8 million on the basis that oil exploration and oil development would not adversely impact the herds well-being. I believe this leasing decision by the Gwich'in was correct. It is supported by studies of caribou and oil industry experience elsewhere, including Alaska's North Slope.

In 1984, the Gwich'in people hired a consultant to lease their reservation lands a second time after the Rouget Oil Co. oil and gas lease expired. And again, no concerns were expressed by the Gwich'in about any adverse impact on caribou.

The North Slope Inupiat Eskimo people are now asking for the same opportunity the Gwich'in had in the 1980's. They regret and I regret that the oil company that Gwich'in leased their lands to did not discover major reserves of oil and gas on their lands. The North Slope Eskimo people want the same right to do as the Gwich'in did in 1980. They want the right to explore the 92,000 acres of land they own at Kaktovik along with the surrounding Federal lands. And if these lands contain oil and gas in commercial amounts, they want the right to develop their land.

Mr. President, I am glad to see that the amendment from my colleagues from Delaware was defeated. We now can proceed with consideration of responsible oil and gas exploration and development of the best prospect for a major oil find in North America.

AMENDMENT NO. 1151

(Purpose: To restore funding for agriculture and nutrition programs)

Mr. EXON. 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 Nebraska [Mr. EXON], for himself, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. CONRAD, and Mr. WELLSTONE, proposes an amendment numbered 1151.

Mr. EXON. 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 74, strike lines 12 through 24 and insert the following: "budget, the revenue and spending aggregates may be revised and other appropriate budgetary aggregates and levels may be revised to reflect the additional deficit reduction achieved as calculated under subsection (c) for legislation that reduces revenues, and for legislation that will provide \$15,000,000,000 in outlays to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry for the purpose of restoring outlay reductions required of that committee pursuant to section 6 of this resolution."

"(b) REVISED ALLOCATIONS AND AGGREGATES.—Upon the reporting of legislation pursuant to subsection (a), and again upon

the submission of a conference report on such legislation (if a conference report is submitted), the Chair of the Committee on the Budget of the Senate may submit to the Senate appropriately revised allocations under sections 302(a) and 602(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974; budgetary aggregates; and levels under this resolution, revised by an amount that does not exceed the additional deficit reduction specified under subsection (d).".

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, Senator EXON's amendment to restore \$15 billion in agricultural spending is a step in the right direction for rural America. It is a step in the right direction for the American families who depend on USDA nutrition programs. It stands in stark contrast to the Republican budget that takes these funds from rural America, not to reduce the deficit, but to fund tax breaks for some of the wealthiest Americans.

The Exon amendment instead directs the \$15 billion where it is most needed, to farmers who struggle each year to stay on the farm, to keep producing America's food and fiber supply, and to families who strike a rough patch when there is job loss or other bad luck, people trying to put food on the table and keep their families together.

The Republican budget, on the other hand, raids rural America to aid the comfortable. The Republican budget proposal would cut \$45.9 billion out of the Agriculture Department over the next 7 years. That is likely to translate to around \$12 billion in direct cuts to farm programs. It is a 20-percent cut in farm spending. It will contribute to the further deterioration of the economic and social fabric of rural America. No other sector of American life is being asked to absorb such a hit. We cannot have a prosperous Urban America riding on the back of an impoverished Farm America. Yet that's what Republican budget cuts will produce.

Farmers in South Dakota would see a devastating decline in their income of over \$57 million. Other rural States will suffer similar pain. This budget is shortsighted for rural America and self-interested for the best off. It is not a balanced, fair proposal. It is not a budget that sustains the American tradition of building a strong farm sector, a tradition that has enjoyed bipartisan support until this Republican majority.

Make no mistake, the agricultural community recognizes the enormity of the Federal budget and is committed to reducing it. Farmers are some of our most fiscally conservative citizens. But America's producers—rightly—feel they should not be asked to bear a disproportionate share of spending reductions.

They are right. America's producers have already contributed their share. Long before the budget cutters turned to other programs to see where we could cut, farm producers over the last decade have already seen commodity program spending decline more than 60 percent. Other parts of the Federal budget have expanded, while agriculture has consistently been cut back.

Now we are cutting into live growth, not deadwood. If other Federal spending had been reduced at anything near the same rate as agricultural spending has been, we would have a budget surplus. In this context, to make farmers take another deep cut just to give the richest Americans a tax break adds insult to injury.

Ideas have consequences and so do choices. If we choose to sacrifice a healthy farm sector to the momentary impulse to finance a tax cut, we will pay more down the road. We cannot disinvest and disinvest and disinvest in rural America, channeling support to virtually every other sector, without finally paying the price. The fact is, these cuts could easily cost us more than they save. Barely 10 years ago, in the mid-1980's, we learned the price of misguided and mistaken policies that starved rural America. We paid billions to repair the damage done by short-sighted farm policies, unforeseen weather patterns and changing economic conditions. There were more farm and rural business foreclosures and bankruptcies than at any time since the Great Depression.

Right now, producers in South Dakota and across the Midwest are suffering from unseasonably wet weather and destructive flooding. They cannot get their crops in the ground. So they will be struggling to make it through this difficult year even with the current level of farm spending. With the cuts in the Republican budget proposal, net income will plummet, and land prices will fall again. Another bad year could push many producers over the edge into insolvency.

We can and should do more to streamline agricultural programs, both to make them farmer friendly and to curb costs. But there is a difference in curbing costs and what this budget proposal does. This budget imposes a straightjacket on Congress as we are trying to write a better, more responsive and more flexible farm bill. This budget will prevent reasonable reform, not promote it. It is exactly the wrong way to go.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, this amendment, using a \$170 billion bonus surplus, gives \$15 billion to the Agriculture Committee. The rest can still be used for tax cuts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Are we ready to vote?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are ready to vote.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the pending amendment is not germane to the provisions of the budget resolution. Pursuant to section 305 of the Budget Act, I raise the point of order against the pending amendment.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, pursuant to section 904 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, I move to waive section 305(b) of that act for consideration of the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays are ordered on the amendment.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

VOTE ON MOTION TO WAIVE THE BUDGET ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion to waive the Budget Act.

The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 31, nays 69, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 191 Leg.]

YEAS—31

Akaka	Feingold	Kohl
Baucus	Feinstein	Leahy
Bingaman	Ford	Moseley-Braun
Breaux	Harkin	Murray
Bumpers	Heflin	Nunn
Byrd	Hollings	Pryor
Conrad	Inouye	Robb
Daschle	Jeffords	Simon
Dodd	Johnston	Wellstone
Dorgan	Kennedy	
Exon	Kerrey	

NAYS—69

Abraham	Glenn	McConnell
Ashcroft	Gorton	Mikulski
Bennett	Graham	Moynihan
Biden	Gramm	Murkowski
Bond	Grams	Nickles
Boxer	Grassley	Packwood
Bradley	Gregg	Pell
Brown	Hatch	Pressler
Bryan	Hatfield	Reid
Burns	Helms	Rockefeller
Campbell	Hutchison	Roth
Chafee	Inhofe	Santorum
Coats	Kassebaum	Sarbanes
Cochran	Kempthorne	Shelby
Cohen	Kerry	Simpson
Coverdell	Kyl	Smith
Craig	Lautenberg	Snowe
D'Amato	Levin	Specter
DeWine	Lieberman	Stevens
Dole	Lott	Thomas
Domenici	Lugar	Thompson
Faircloth	Mack	Thurmond
Frist	McCain	Warner

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 31, the nays are 69. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn, not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected, and the Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was rejected.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. FAIRCLOTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

AMENDMENT NO. 1152

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate regarding reimbursement to the States for the costs of implementing the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 under budget function 800)

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. COVERDELL] proposes an amendment numbered 1152.

Mr. COVERDELL. 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:

At the end of title III, add the following:

SEC. . SENSE OF THE SENATE REGARDING THE COSTS OF THE NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT OF 1993.

It is the sense of the Senate that within the assumptions under budget function 800 funds will be spent for reimbursement to the States for the costs of implementing the National Voter Registration Act of 1993.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, the Coverdell amendment is a sense-of-the-Senate resolution stating that the funds within this resolution should be spent for reimbursement to States for motor-voter mandates.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, as the lead Republican sponsor of the National Voter Registration Act, I was very interested in a recent New York Times article reporting on the progress of voter registration since the bill's implementation in January of this year. Over 2 million new voters have been registered in the first quarter of 1995 and the National Motor-Voter Coalition estimates that approximately 20 million new voters will be registered by the 1996 Presidential election.

It is very gratifying to hear that this important program is being implemented successfully and that the results are exceeding our expectations. I realize there are concerns about this law being a burden to the States and its financial impact on them. However, I would remind my colleagues that many innovative States, including Oregon, led the way for the Federal Government by adopting State motor-voter laws and supported a national law. Additionally, according to the Congressional Budget Office study on the implementation costs of motor-voter, the aggregate costs for States would be 20 to 25 million annually for 5 years. Mr. President, this does not meet the requirements of the Federal unfunded mandate legislation passed earlier this year by the Senate—which I supported.

It is our obligation as policy-makers to protect the voting process and, at the same time, to make it accessible. The motor-voter law effectively achieves both of these important responsibilities and, therefore, I voted against the Coverdell amendment to the budget resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Georgia. On

this question, the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 192 Leg.]

YEAS—51

Abraham	Gorton	McConnell
Bennett	Gramm	Murkowski
Bond	Grams	Nickles
Brown	Grassley	Packwood
Burns	Gregg	Pressler
Campbell	Hatch	Roth
Coats	Helms	Santorum
Cochran	Hutchison	Shelby
Cohen	Inhofe	Simpson
Coverdell	Kassebaum	Smith
Craig	Kempthorne	Snowe
D'Amato	Kohl	Specter
DeWine	Kyl	Stevens
Dole	Lott	Thomas
Domenici	Lugar	Thompson
Faircloth	Mack	Thurmond
Frist	McCain	Warner

NAYS—49

Akaka	Feingold	Levin
Ashcroft	Feinstein	Lieberman
Baucus	Ford	Mikulski
Biden	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Bingaman	Graham	Moynihan
Boxer	Harkin	Murray
Bradley	Hatfield	Nunn
Breaux	Hefflin	Pell
Bryan	Hollings	Pryor
Bumpers	Inouye	Reid
Byrd	Jeffords	Robb
Chafee	Johnston	Rockefeller
Conrad	Kennedy	Sarbanes
Daschle	Kerrey	Simon
Dodd	Kerry	Wellstone
Dorgan	Lautenberg	
Exon	Leahy	

So the amendment (No. 1152) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 1153

(Purpose: To maintain public funding for Presidential campaigns)

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. EXON], for Mr. KERRY, proposes an amendment numbered 1153.

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

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 64, strike lines 17 through 19 and insert the following: "\$2,000,000 in fiscal year 1996, \$37,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 1996 through 2000, and \$72,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 1996".

On page 66, line 6, decrease the amount by \$70,000,000.

On page 66, line 13, decrease the amount by \$70,000,000.

On page 66, line 14, decrease the amount by \$28,000,000.

On page 66, line 20, decrease the amount by \$70,000,000.

On page 66, line 21, decrease the amount by \$215,000,000.

On page 67, line 2, decrease the amount by \$70,000,000.

On page 67, line 3, decrease the amount by \$4,000,000.

On page 67, line 9, decrease the amount by \$70,000,000.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, this removes instructions to the Rules Committee that repeals spending limits and public financing for Presidential campaigns, returning to pre-Watergate rules for those campaigns. Offset approximately \$250 million over 7 years, of reduced overhead and administrative costs spread across Government by the Appropriations Committee.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN FUND

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, and I would like to thank the junior Senator from Massachusetts for offering his amendment that would derail this misguided effort to eliminate the Presidential election campaign fund.

It came as a surprise—and a disappointment—to many of us that when the Republican Party announced last fall their new Contract With America and declared their commitment to reforming the Congress and ending business as usual in Washington, that they did not even bother to mention campaign finance reform in their contract.

Well, we are now out from under the first 100 days of the contract, and there is still no indication that the Senate will be turning to campaign finance reform anytime soon.

But not only are we going to be prevented from taking a step forward, the budget resolution before us today would push us back—20 years back—to the days before Congress recognized how fundamentally flawed our system of Presidential campaigns was.

Mr. President, what in the world is the logic behind this? As far as I know, even the most vocal opponents of the Presidential campaign system are not willing to suggest that we have had a single unfair Presidential election in the past 20 years. Nor has any general election candidate for President, to my knowledge, ever said in the past 20 years that their loss was attributable to the lack of financial resources.

That is because the Presidential campaign finance system is based on simple principles. One principle is that money should not determine the outcome of elections. Another is that elected officials should not be spending inordinate amounts of time on the phone soliciting campaign funds.

That is what the Presidential system is about. If there is a problem of inadequate funding of the Presidential campaign fund, then that should be addressed. We did it 2 years ago and we can do it again.

But instead, this resolution is trying to fix a wristwatch with a sledgehammer, preferring to discard the one