

## EPA PROPOSED NEW AIR QUALITY STANDARDS

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I rise to express my deep concerns with the Environmental Protection Agency's proposed changes to air quality standards. The EPA kicked off the last Thanksgiving weekend by announcing its intention to move their air quality goalposts yet again. It seems they change the rules more frequently than the NFL and the NBA put together. I doubt there were many State or local governments that spent Thanksgiving giving thanks for that announcement. I was the mayor of Gillette, a coal producing town on the plains of Wyoming. I know firsthand how hard many of our Nation's cities and States have been working. They have been expending a huge amount of effort and dollars just to get into compliance with the standards established in 1990.

And let there be no mistake. Compliance, for better or worse, has been costly. It has been costly to small businesses, businesses that operate on thin profit margins in the best of circumstances. It has been costly to major industries that have spent hundreds of millions of dollars retooling their plants and factories to comply with that law. It has been costly to State and local governments that have had to divert scarce dollars to mandated planning and enforcement duties. And most of all, it has been expensive for the citizens who lose jobs when industries relocate overseas or to other areas of the country that are already in compliance. This costly compliance has resulted in the higher taxes levied to compensate for a smaller tax base. And citizens notice higher costs for goods and services.

I do recognize that the EPA excludes economic concerns from the formulation of their air quality standards. The 1990 amendments to the Clean Air Act require that oversight. The air quality standards established in 1990 have been beneficial to our Nation's environment and, by extension, our public health. Of course, the more radical environmentalists point to the absence of an economic apocalypse over the past 7 years as proof that no environmental standard is too strict and nothing is impossible. You and I know that nothing is impossible. But arm in arm with successes has come a dangerous corollary. It is also easy to believe that nothing is too outrageous.

In the name of species protection, logging in the Pacific Northwest has all but disappeared. Years of careful forest management had rendered these the most productive forest lands in the world. They are so productive that for every 100,000 acres of Pacific Northwest forest land taken out of production, we force a half-million acres of Siberian wilderness to be cut down to fill the void. Environmentalists may have saved a few spotted owls, but in the process they have probably signed the death warrant of the Siberian tiger. It is ridiculous to trade jobs for dubious

environmental gain. It is ridiculous to think that we are saving the world by importing our natural resources. This is what Senator Hatfield used to refer to as "environmental imperialism"—imperialism inflicted on nations too desperate to ignore our resource markets yet too poor to enforce their own environmental standards.

Can the word "ridiculous" apply to the proposed standards themselves? The current standard for particulate matter limits particles to 10 microns or larger. The proposed standard would change that to particles larger than 2.5 microns. For comparison, a human hair is about 28 microns in width. For ozone, the current standard of .12 parts per million averaged over 1 hour would be replaced by a new standard of .08 parts per million averaged over 8 hours. In light of the fact that there are many cities across the Nation that have yet to satisfy the current standard and the fact that no one yet has justified these new standards, I think it is safe to say that the proposed standards fail the credibility test. The Congressional Research Service has stated that "The new standards would substantially increase the number of areas not attaining the Clean Air Act's air quality standards and magnify the difficulties faced by present nonattainment areas in reaching attainment." And the hardship to be imposed is without reasonable evidence of any additional benefit.

Billions—billions—of dollars were sent by cities and industry 10 years ago to comply with the current standards. Yet, now the EPA intends to require billions more to comply with the new standards. The capital invested in current compliance has yet to be paid off, in many instances. Areas that are not yet in compliance with the current standards will have to strengthen their restrictions by several orders of magnitude. The possibility of mandatory car pooling and bans on backyard barbecues and lawn mowing are ridiculous, but probably will be the result.

I can assure you they will not go over well in my State. Wyoming is populated with people gifted with a basic common sense. They are aggressively independent and free thinking. I can only imagine the head scratching that will ensue when they see county tanker trucks watering the dirt roads around there. After all, Wyoming has miles and miles of miles and miles, and many of those roads are gravel.

Anyone familiar with the average Wyoming winter understands the axiom that sand is safety, yet sand applied to ice-bound roads results in a dust level, and that dust level already violates the proposed standards in many communities. The current clean air standards are already causing wrecks and injury to people.

From an economic perspective, these standards will visit tremendous hardships upon my State and upon every State that depends on land-use industries. Wyoming is the largest coal pro-

ducer in the Nation. Clean, low-sulfur coal, I might add. But mining does create some dust. Not really dust, it is smaller than that. That is why we are talking about the size of these particulates. I wish each of you would have an opportunity to visit a mine in Wyoming. Many of you would see a very clean industry. But now the particulates have to be even finer. And oil refining creates gases.

The Nation simply cannot have job-producing factories or heat in their homes without those byproducts. We are led to believe these standards would eliminate billowing clouds of pollution, but the current laws already do that. These proposed standards would place enormous burdens on our mining and refining industries and would simply spell the end of many western refineries.

The Environmental Protection Agency and its handmaiden, the environmental movement, are engaging in a form of execution attributed to the ancient Chinese. It is known as death by 10,000 slices, and its current victim is the American economy. Each swipe of the knife results in wounds that are individually minor but cumulatively disastrous. With every burdensome standard, the blade flashes and another small business goes under. With every new expensive regulation, a new slice drips red and another plant or factory moves overseas. With every additional surtax, the knife whistles by, and the American family has less money to place back into the economy.

Mr. President, we must restore a semblance of balance and reason to our environmental laws. We must introduce cost-benefit analysis and risk assessment into the environmental equation. We must evaluate science above politics. We must honor the work of the last Congress in restricting unfunded Federal mandates. We must stop moving the goalposts on cities, towns, States, and businesses that are already working hard to comply. We must give business and industry incentives to work toward our spiraling environmental goals. It is a small planet. It is where you and I live. We can't keep shifting environmental problems to poorer countries who can't afford the level of clean air we enjoy. We must recognize that the worst thing in the world for the environment is not responsible logging or ranching or mining, but poverty.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes in morning business.

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

## CAMPAIGN SPENDING

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I noticed in the newspapers this morning

that the chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee is suggesting that he be given some \$6.8 million to hire some 80 investigators on the issue of investigating campaign irregularities, apparently including the ones that are in the paper about the Democratic National Committee, and more.

It seems to me the first step in dealing with the issue of irregularities in campaigns—and if there are some, they ought to be investigated—the first step would be to give the Federal Election Commission some teeth. Invest a little bit in the Federal Election Commission and give it some teeth, and let them investigate. But if we are going to investigate in Congress, if we are going to have a group of politicians investigating another group of politicians, I don't think we need \$6.8 million to do that. But if they decide to do that, I have a suggestion: Go ahead and rent a truck and back it up to whatever house—the Republican National Committee or the Democratic National Committee—and I hope all of them will encourage their minions to load up all the relevant paper and let people read it to see who did what, who didn't do what and who didn't comply with laws and who did comply with laws.

But it ought to be more than that. The trail of trouble, it seems to me, in campaign financing isn't just in the national committees—and there are some problems in both national committees. One fellow went to jail already earlier this year on the issue on the other side of the aisle. There are plenty of questions on this side of the aisle with respect to the DNC.

Let's find out where the trouble was and correct it. But that is not the only place there is trouble on the campaign trail. Let's also investigate the growth of these 501(c)(3) organizations that some in politics have created to get tax-exempt money and use it in the political system. Let's follow that string wherever that leads.

In my judgment, there are a substantial number of questions that need to be addressed by investigators in that whole range of areas. Once we start down this trail, let's make sure we follow the fresh trail all the way to the end, not just take a look at one little building or another little building. Let's look at all of it.

I say to those who are concerned about it—and I am concerned about it—the first step ought to be for us to come to the floor of the Senate—we could do it this afternoon or early next week—and decide there is too much money in politics and we ought to limit campaign spending.

The Supreme Court says that is hard to do, but there are mechanisms by which we could do it. If Republicans and Democrats decided to create a system in which there were voluntary spending limitations, we would limit spending in campaigns, and we would solve a lot of these problems.

We have some folks trotting around here who think there is not enough

money in politics. They say we spend more money on washing machines and dog food than we do on politics, suggesting somehow that politics is a commercial activity like everything else, just buy and sell.

Our political system is our democracy. It ought not be for sale. What has happened to money in politics is that it has ratcheted up out of control in an exponential way, and it is time for us to put some limits on campaign spending. Let's limit campaign spending, and let's make it stick. There is too much money in politics, and we can do the American democratic system and the American public a real service if we would, on a bipartisan basis, decide to come together and support campaign finance reform that has real and effective spending limits.

Yes, it can be done and it ought to be done today, tomorrow, next week or next month. We do not need \$6 million or 80 investigators to do that. All we need is the will to decide there is too much money in American politics and we ought to limit campaign spending.

Take a look at what has happened with campaign spending relative to the consumer price index in this country. You will see the consumer price index has risen a bit and campaign spending has risen out of sight. There is too much money in politics, and we ought to adopt a bill that the President will sign that limits spending in our political system.

Some won't like that, I suppose. We have one party that spends twice as much as another party. I suppose they would say, "We have a 2-to-1 advantage, so why would we want to do that?"

We ought to do it to clean up the political system. The fact is, there have been abuses on both sides. Any abuse ought to be investigated, and we ought to investigate it thoroughly. Let's not take one little cause of abuses and say, "All right, let's drive our trucks over there and send all our investigators over there." Let's look at all the whole thing. Let's look at 501(c)(3)'s using tax exemption and trying to contravene the law. Let's find out how they have done it, why they have done it, and what laws they have broken. If we are going to have an investigation, we ought to open that investigation, make it aggressive and don't limit the vision.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO BALANCE THE BUDGET

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, we are going to have a vote on a constitutional amendment to balance the budget very soon. Some discussion on the floor of the Senate in the last day or so said that those of us who believe that when we put a provision in the Constitution requiring a balanced budget, we ought not enshrine in the Constitution the requirement to use the Social Security trust funds to balance the budget, because we think it is dishonest budgeting. They say, those of us

who believe that, that is an accounting gimmick; just an accounting gimmick, they say.

There are two to three dozen folks over in the House of Representatives now, I am pleased to say, on the Republican side who are saying exactly what some of us have been saying for some long while, that it is not honest budgeting to collect money from paychecks of workers, call it Social Security taxes, tell them we promise we will put it in a trust fund, and then use it as an offset for other revenue so you can claim the budget is in balance when it isn't.

To those who say this is an accounting gimmick, I ask one question: Why is it that when those who want to use this device of misusing Social Security trust funds to balance the budget, why is it when their budget is balanced, the Federal Government will still borrow \$130 billion more that year? Why, if your budget is in balance, is the Federal debt still growing?

The answer: The debt is still growing when those who advocate this practice claim the budget is in balance because the budget is not in balance. It is a ruse. It is a charade. More than that, it is misusing money that if you did it in the private sector, you would be on your way to some minimum security installation, because you can't do it in the private sector.

If you run a business and say to your employees, "I will put money away in a pension program for you, but, by the way, I had a loss in my business this year so I am going to take your pension money and offset it against my loss so I can say to people that I haven't lost any money," what happens to you isn't very pretty, because that is against the law.

That is exactly what is proposed we enshrine in the Constitution, by saying that we should take the Social Security trust funds and declare them revenue with all other revenue and then declare that we have balanced the budget.

In the same year when we declare we have balanced the budget, we will have to increase the debt limit because the debt is still increasing. And when the folks in North Dakota or Wyoming or New Mexico or elsewhere ask us the question, "If you have balanced the budget, why did you have to increase the debt limit?" I want to be around for the answer, because the answer is, the budget was not balanced.

I think fiscal discipline is a pretty good thing. I come from a small town, a small school, a small State. We believe in fiscal discipline. I am pleased I have been one of those who cast votes to reduce the Federal budget. The deficit is down 60 percent in the last 4 years. The last 4 years in a row it has been down. I cast tough votes to do that.

I will continue to do that. I will cast a vote in the coming weeks to support a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. But I will not cast a vote