

And as to the objections that the Senator has cited, we heard similar objections to an earlier version of this section. Frankly, we thought we had accommodated the concerns that were brought to us and modified the amendment in order to do that.

Now, of course, after making the modifications, we are faced with an amendment to strike the section entirely. I think it is good public policy for the Federal Government to assist States that want to have these programs. I do not see why it is in the public interest to strike a provision that enables the Secretary of Transportation to pursue this, to the extent the Appropriations Committee puts in funds to support the program.

So I very much hope we will not adopt the Senator's amendment and have this provision stricken from the bill. To my mind, it is a good provision. It provides an opportunity for States to move ahead with these programs where they would like to do that and where Federal funds are made available.

As I see it, it is not onerous in any respect as to either what States are required to do or what individuals are required to do. The entire effort is purely voluntary.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

#### BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 2002—MOTION TO PROCEED

##### CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I move to proceed to H.R. 2356, and I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

##### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close the debate on the motion to proceed to Calendar No. 318, H.R. 2356, a bill to provide bipartisan campaign reform:

Russell D. Feingold, Tom Daschle, Tim Johnson, Byron Dorgan, Bob Graham, Daniel Inouye, Joe Biden, Patty Murray, Jim Jeffords, Jeff Bingaman, Debbie Stabenow, Max Baucus, Ben Nelson of Nebraska, Harry Reid, Richard J. Durbin, Jon Corzine, Tom Carper.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, I withdraw the motion to proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to proceed is withdrawn.

Mr. DASCHLE. Madam President, as I indicated to Senator LOTT and as I indicated yesterday to a joint leader meeting, we would be required to file cloture on the motion to proceed to the campaign finance reform bill today, this afternoon. We have been working patiently with our colleagues who have opposed campaign reform now for some time. I am still hopeful that perhaps

we can reach an agreement which will allow us to vitiate this cloture motion, and if that can be done, we will vitiate the vote on cloture on Friday and we will move forward, but time has run out.

It is essential we at least file cloture today on the motion to proceed in order to accommodate a worst case scenario on campaign finance reform. I have put all of our colleagues on notice that this is one piece of legislation that must be completed prior to the time we leave for the Easter recess. So we will have the cloture vote on Friday, if it is required. We will then be on the bill on Monday. I will notify our colleagues that we will file cloture on Monday for a Wednesday cloture vote, and assuming we get cloture on Wednesday, we will be in session all night Wednesday night, all night Thursday night, and we will then have our vote on Friday.

So Senators should be aware, it may be unusual but we will be involved in an all-night session Wednesday and Thursday night in order to complete our work on the bill by Friday.

Now again, it is my hope that perhaps we can reach some agreement with regard to the package of technical amendments. We have not been able to do it to date. I am concerned that time is quickly running out, but we are certainly more than willing to continue our discussions. I have run out of time in terms of our ability to assure we can have the cloture votes at a time that will accommodate completing our work by the end of next week.

So I thank my colleagues. I especially thank the distinguished Senators MCCAIN and FEINGOLD for their extraordinary work and effort in getting us to this point.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Madam President, I thank the majority leader for his steadfastness in this effort. It has been a long odyssey, and as we have reached crucial points he has been extremely helpful in moving this process along. It has been pretty clear in the last few weeks that the opposition has chosen to delay consideration of the bill. So I thank him and look forward to trying to reach an agreement with the opponents of the bill so we are not required to follow the scenario as outlined by the majority leader. I am not sure we can get an agreement without that scenario being presented. So I thank him for that.

For the benefit of my colleagues, Senator MCCONNELL approached me a short time ago. He said he wanted to continue negotiations on a so-called package of technical amendments and that he would not insist that a substantive amendment be considered on it. I will be glad to, along with my colleague Senator FEINGOLD, consider any technical changes that are purely technical in nature, but we have found out in the course of this long odyssey we

have been involved in that words do have meaning and some people view words that are technical as not technical.

We require the agreement of all of our colleagues who have been involved in this issue, including Members of the House, and we have to be sure of a certain methodology that would be taken up in the other body. So we will be glad to continue to negotiate. I hope we can reach agreement, but under no circumstances would our failure to reach an agreement on a technical package of amendments impede the process we are now embarked on of reaching final resolution on Shays-Meehan/McCain-Feingold before we leave for the next break.

I wish to make it clear, I am willing, along with my colleagues, to work on so-called technical amendments, but in no way would they impact the final passage of the bill because they are technical in nature. That is the name of them. So I, again, thank the majority leader. I thank my friend Senator FEINGOLD, and perhaps—and I emphasize “perhaps”—we can reach some amicable agreements to get this thing done without causing discomfort to the schedules and lives of our colleagues.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. I know the Senator from Wisconsin wishes to say a few words, but before these two men leave, I wanted to be able to say to them it is not often in this body that one can make such a significant difference as they have done with campaign finance.

I can remember in 1986, I woke up one morning and the State of Nevada was covered with signs of my opponent. I thought to myself, what a tremendous waste of money. Why would he be wasting money on signs? They cost so much. So I filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission. Two years later I get a response that they have done something technically in violation.

The fact is, the signs were paid for by the State party. That was the beginning of this rush of corporate money. From that time, 1986 to 1998, 12 years, it changed dramatically. Between JOHN ENSIGN and HARRY REID, from signs paid for by the State party, there was \$20 million spent in the State of Nevada, not counting independent expenditures. The vast majority of that was corporate money. That is not going to happen when this legislation takes effect.

I am so grateful to these two men for what they have done to make my life more understandable. I will still have to work hard to raise money, but I will not have to go to people and ask for large sums of money for the State party, or for myself for the State party, however it worked, however one had to do it just right.

I know the Senator from Arizona has indicated he appreciated Shays-Meehan. Well, I appreciate the work they have done, also. I admire those two

men a great deal. These two gentlemen have to understand that the House legislation would never have passed without their travels around the country daring people not to do something about this. It was because of these two that a cloture motion was signed and filed in the House forcing the House leadership to take up this legislation.

Now there is going to be a lot written about this. There will never be enough positive written about the work you two have done. If you never do another thing legislatively—which you both do a great deal—you have done so much. There are very few people in the history of this country, in my opinion, legislatively, that have done as much as you are about to accomplish when this legislation passes.

I wanted you to be here to tell you how much people will appreciate the fact, even though they may not feel the benefit as some Members here, with the work you have done. It will improve our system of government, and it will put it back, in my opinion, the way it used to be, when people campaigned—instead of going out seeing how much money they could raise.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. We thank the Senator from Nevada for his extremely kind words and we thank the majority leader for his firm resolve in a very reasonable timeframe to bring this matter to a conclusion. I also thank the Senator from Nevada for the many hours he has been here with us on this issue. He has been extremely helpful. I look forward to the final stages with the Senator from Nevada and my colleague.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Madam President, I thank the Senator from Nevada not only for his kind remarks, which may be to some degree undeserved, but his continuous help as we have gone through every conceivable parliamentary obstacle as we moved forward. I am very appreciative of his patience, as well as his kind words.

Perhaps we are entering the last phase. Perhaps not. As the famous philosopher Yogi Berra said: It ain't over until it's over.

I think we have established a scenario which could lead us to a conclusion. I believe, for a period of time, this result may have the beneficial effect that Senator REID predicts.

I yield the floor.

#### NATIONAL LABORATORIES PARTNERSHIP IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 2001—Continued

Mr. REID. For the information of all Senators, Senator DASCHLE has indicated he would like a vote about 4:30 this afternoon. So everyone should arrange their schedules accordingly. This vote is on the Campbell amendment. Senator CAMPBELL has asked for the yeas and nays. They have been ordered.

Unless there is a change by the two managers of the bill, we will have that vote about 4:30 this afternoon. We will have announcements at a later time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BROWNBACK. What is the pending business?

AMENDMENT NO. 3007

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment is No. 3007, offered by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I rise to speak in favor of the amendment of my colleague from Colorado.

Is there a time agreement or allocations on the amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is none.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I rise to speak in favor of the amendment put forward by my colleague from Colorado, Senator BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, on the vehicle scrap provision that is in the underlying energy bill.

The Senator from Colorado has hit it right. This program is not a good idea. It is not a good idea to put forward Federal funds to purchase used cars as a way of trying to improve fuel efficiency. This is unproven, not wise, and expensive in the process. Plus, by the number of calls and letters we have been getting in my office, a lot of people do not think it is a very bright idea to go with this program. They do not see the benefits. A number of car enthusiasts think this is a program aimed at getting at them.

This provision creates a federally funded program giving grants to States to establish scrappage programs for vehicles 15 years or older or pursue repairs to improve fuel economy. Owners who turn in such vehicles receive a minimum payment and future credit toward purchasing a new vehicle, meeting certain DOE guidelines.

The stated intent is to retire fuel-inefficient vehicles, the first program of its kind. All prior State scrappage programs sought to address poor emissions. The provision requires a vehicle to be scrapped, not stripped for parts.

To make a couple of points, this provision has no guaranteed environmental benefit. Vehicle scrapping requires States neither to determine the fuel efficiency of vehicles being scrapped nor to certify that scrapped vehicles are replaced by more fuel-efficient vehicles. A carowner could scrap an older but more fuel-efficient compact car and replace it with a newer but less fuel-efficient vehicle. While revisions have been made to address this problem, the fundamental issue remains: There is no guarantee that the scrapped car is actually replaced by a more efficient one. That is point one.

Under this provision, cars rarely or never driven, vehicles that have minimal or no impact on overall fuel economy, may be turned into scrap. DOE would be required to pay and give credit to carowners for these cars, although they are just sitting there.

This provision could possibly hurt low- and fixed-income families and in-

dividuals. Even if, as proponents claim, section 822 did improve emissions somewhat, the program will definitely create a burden on the used car market and the low- to middle-income families who buy them.

If the vehicles are scrapped, then their parts are destroyed. A reduced supply of older auto parts translates into an increased demand for these parts, raising the cost for anyone who desires to responsibly maintain his or her older vehicle. Low- and fixed-income car occupiers who cannot afford to purchase a new DOE-approved vehicle are affected. I don't think the authors of this provision desire that sort of feature. That is the likely impact.

If the Department of Energy gets into a State grant program and buys up a bunch of older used cars, it will drive up the market price for the cars. That is not an impact we want on lower or moderate-income families, or families seeking to buy a first-time car for a younger member of the family. They should not be competing against the Government for that car, nor should they compete against the Government for replacement parts for that car because the older vehicles are being scrapped.

Vehicle scrappage hurts small business by encouraging the destruction of older, and in some cases vintage, cars and the parts necessary for maintenance. This provision would have a detrimental effect on the automotive industry on aftersales. After the new car is sold, there is a huge industry that supports the auto industry in the automotive sales after the original sale; 98 percent of that business is comprised of small businesses.

The potential cost of the program to taxpayers is unclear. Certainly the benefits are unclear, but the costs are unclear. This provision states neither how much DOE will pay for each scrapped vehicle nor the value of the credit toward a new vehicle purchase. The State programs do not offer a clear precedent. The State of California Bureau of Automotive Repair pays \$1,000 for each donated car. However, this program addresses the State's poor air quality, not fuel efficiency. Moreover, no State provides interested car donors with credits toward the purchase of new cars. This vehicle scrap program does not meet its own intended goals. It hurts low- and middle-income families who are the predominant buyers of used cars or families buying for first-time car users.

It is the wrong way to dedicate our Federal resources. We all want a better environment, but this is not the way to achieve it. I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of the Campbell amendment to take out this provision.

This impacts a lot more people than what might appear on the surface. It has broad impact for the public. It is not being well-received by the public. We are getting a number of calls and letters in our office saying this is a bad idea for a program. It seems highly