

growing cynicism about government. And who can blame them for being cynical and believing that government really does not represent their interests, when procedural maneuvering causes a bipartisan bill passed by a wide majority to fail to be transmitted from the Senate to the House?

The McCain-Feingold bill passed this body with 59 votes. Similar legislation has twice passed the House with 252 votes. The majority of both bodies clearly support campaign finance reform, and so do a majority of the American people. Yet leaders in both Houses are apparently determined to use every tool at their disposal to force this broadly supported bill into a divisive conference committee composed of the most vocal opponents of reform.

The day we passed this bill in the Senate, I spoke on the floor about what an amazing feeling it was to have accomplished one of my primary legislative goals within 90 days of arriving in the Senate. While I never thought that day would be the end of the battle to pass this bill, I must admit that I certainly did not expect to be back on this floor because the bill, despite its comfortable margin of passage six weeks ago, continues to gather dust here in the Senate because the Republican leadership cannot reconcile itself to the most significant campaign finance reform in a quarter century. In an information age, we owe our citizens a government free of special interest influence. Not a system of expedient, special-interest based, decision making, and not a system that engages in byzantine maneuvering to delay and thwart the will of the majority.

I hope that the leadership of both the House and the Senate will stop attempting to devise new ways to stonewall this bill and allow the Senate-passed version of this legislation to be debated and voted on in the House without further delay.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to note that due to the need to fulfill a long-scheduled speaking engagement at a university made in the expectation there would not be votes, I unfortunately was not able to be here in the Senate last night to vote on two amendments to the education bill, S. 1. I would like to say for the record that I would have voted for both amendments and am pleased that they both passed with broad bipartisan approval.

I support Senator REID's amendment, #460 to expand the 21st Century Community Learning Centers to include projects with emphasis on language and life skills programs for limited English proficient students. We know that assisting students to acquire English proficiency is becoming increasingly important as many of our communities are receiving immigrant children from many different countries. Limited English proficient students are at greatest risk for dropping

out of school and are among some of our lowest performing subgroups of students. I have long been an advocate for investing increased Federal resources and greater attention on limited English proficient students. My own ESEA reauthorization bill, S. 303, calls for \$1 billion in formula funds focused on increasing the English proficiency and raising the academic performance in all core subjects of our immigrant children. One of the primary risk factors for low academic performance and dropping out of school among immigrant students is their lack of English proficiency. Students that are proficient in English have a much greater chance to reach higher levels of academic achievement and fully participate in our society. The Reid amendment would help many immigrant children receive the extra help they need for English language acquisition through after-school programs. The Senate clearly recognized the value of this amendment by approving it 96 to 0.

I also support Senator CLELAND's amendment, #376 on school safety. It makes funds available to establish a center to offer emergency assistance to schools and local communities by providing information and best practices on how to respond to school safety crises, including counseling for victims, advice on how to enhance school safety and would operate a toll-free nationwide hotline for students to report criminal activity, threats of criminal activity and other high-risk behaviors. It also would provide grants to help communities develop community-wide safety programs involving students, parents, educators, and civic leaders. This amendment would further help to forge a crucial partnership between the Department of Education and the Attorney General so that these two departments may work together to ensure that our schools have the resources and tools they need to create safe learning environments for our nation's youth. In addition, the amendment would provide flexible funding, something that I have long fought for, to enable localities to design school safety programs that best meet their specific needs. For all of these reasons, I would have voted for the Cleland amendment and am pleased it passed by a strong vote of 74 to 23.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak up to 10 minutes each.

Mr. REID. Reserving the right to object, Mr. President, it is my understanding, because there are people waiting to find out what the final decision is, that there will be no more votes tonight. That is my understanding; we are trying to finish.

Mr. JEFFORDS. That is my understanding.

Mr. REID. I also ask if there is going to be any more legislative business tonight.

Mr. JEFFORDS. Other than what is cleared between the two leaders, there will be no other business.

Mr. REID. I withdraw my objection.

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

The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I understand we may speak as in morning business for a few minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Up to 10 minutes.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak for about 4 minutes.

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

ENERGY

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I rise on a small point, but it is representative of some of the difficulties we are having in trying to keep some focus on reality associated with the administration's anticipated energy package.

I am sure many Members saw the Washington Post today, Tuesday, May 15. On the front page there was a color picture of the Phillips Petroleum Company facility at Alpine which depicts very vividly the realization that technology indeed can make a very small footprint in the Arctic areas of Alaska, my State.

The picture represents a fair evaluation of this development. It was taken in the summertime, that brief 2½ months or so when the area is not covered with ice and snow. The viewer can see the river, the lakes. But to grasp the significance of it, one has to recognize that this is a major oil field in itself. Yet it takes less acreage than the District of Columbia.

That footprint is concentrated in the area that is known as Alpine. For the most part, one derrick has drilled the wells there. These are directional drills that go out for many miles recovering the oil. This particular facility is producing about 88,000 barrels a day.

However, there is another picture. This is the point I want to bring home to the Members. In an effort to try to draw a balance, if you will, between development and the wildlife in the area, the Washington Post portrays a picture of three little bears, and it is entitled "A polar bear with her cubs rests in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge."

The reality is that this picture was not taken in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. It was taken in another area of Alaska far, far away.

It isn't that we don't have polar bears in Alaska. We are all concerned about the beauty and the majesty of

this beast, but we have done a lot to encourage the polar bear by safeguarding it from any trophy hunting. In Alaska, you cannot take a polar bear for a trophy. You cannot take a polar bear if you are a non-Native, but you can go to Canada and you can go to Russia.

We have and will provide for the RECORD the statement from the photographer of exactly where this picture was taken. But it is not in ANWR, and the photographer is prepared to give a statement in that regard. Here again we have another mischaracterization, the implication that ANWR is filled with polar bears and that if we open up this fragile area, somehow we are going to disturb the polar bears. That is not accurate.

The Washington Post should know better. They should check their sources. They should recognize that polar bears for the most part live out on the ice. Why do they live on the ice? Because that is where there is something to eat. They live on the ice, and they stalk the seal. As a consequence, they don't come into the Arctic National Wildlife area in any abundance.

They do come in from time to time.

But there is little food for them, and during the months where the ice is continually moving, they simply stay out on the ice where they can have the availability of food. It is noted that there are very few that den on the shores adjacent to ANWR. So, again, I encourage my colleagues to recognize, as I am sure many people who see in the Washington Post today those warm and cuddly polar bears, that they are being misled in this particular photo because this photo was not taken in ANWR.

I also encourage my colleagues to recognize that the administration is going to come out with an energy task force report. While I have not had briefings to amount to any significant detail, I think it is important for the American people, and my colleagues particularly, to know that it addresses positive corrections in the imbalance we have in America's energy crisis.

We do have a crisis. One need only look at California to recognize that Californians are going to be paying an extraordinarily increased amount for energy. Electricity is \$60 billion to \$70 billion. Last year, it was in the area of \$28 billion. The year before, it was \$9 billion. They have an energy crisis. We haven't built a new coal-fired plant in this country since 1995. Yet close to 51 percent of our energy comes from coal. We haven't built a new nuclear plant in this country for more than 10 years. Yet we know the value of nuclear from the standpoint of what it does to air quality. There are no emissions. There are other tradeoffs.

We also know we are now 56- to 57-percent dependent on imported oil, and the forecasts are that the world will be

increasing its consumption of oil for one reason—for transportation—by nearly a third in the next 10 years or so.

We have seen natural gas and our increasing dependence on natural gas because it is one of the few areas where you can get a permit to put in facilities. Yet natural gas prices have increased dramatically from \$2.16 per thousand cubic feet 18 months ago to \$4, \$5, \$6, \$7 to \$8. We have had a coming together and that coming together also involves distribution. We have had the realization in the hearing that we had today before the Energy Committee, which I chair, that there are severe constrictions on transmitting electric energy.

In our bill that we introduced, we left out eminent domain for electric transmission lines purposely because we felt the States could meet that obligation as they saw fit. Now some suggest that States don't have the commitment internally to reach a decision and are going to need Federal eminent domain. Maybe that is the case. It is like the perfect storm; everything is coming together at once. No new coal, no nuclear, dependence on imported oil, higher costs for natural gas, no relief on transmission. Now they are saying we have to do something about it immediately.

Well, what do you do about it? This didn't come overnight. We have seen the realities with regard to higher prices of gasoline. Yet we know we don't have the refining capacity. We haven't built a new refinery in 25 years in this country. We have our refineries up to maximum production. They were busy making heating oil. Now they are trying to build up inventories for gasoline. So you not only have a shortage of refined capacity but you are dependent primarily on foreign countries—OPEC, for the most part—for our crude oil. We suddenly find we have an inability to refine an adequate amount. So with inventories low, the maximum utilization out of refineries is converting over—and they have been for some time—to gasoline; and then the complications of 15 different types of reformulated gasoline in this country that require almost a boutique type of activity in the refiners, where they have to refine it to specific fuel specifications for the area—they have to separate it, batch it, transport it separately. Additives, whether ethanol or MTBE, complicate the process.

Is it necessary that we have that kind of a mandate? Clearly, the industry says they can meet the air quality requirements and the Clean Air Act if you will give them some flexibility. Well, we haven't given them the flexibility.

The public wants relief, and I think it is unfair to characterize the new administration with having the sole responsibility to come up with so-called

immediate relief. Nobody is a magician around here, and it would take a magician to provide immediate relief for the crisis we have gotten into. But what we have to do is focus realistically, and I think that is the value of what we are going to see out of President Bush's and Vice President CHENEY's new energy task force—relief—which will be coming out Thursday.

We are not going to see generalities that say you can simply get there from here by conservation. Conservation is important, but conservation isn't going to do it alone. Make no mistake; Americans are used to a standard of living that has been brought about by plentiful supplies of relatively inexpensive energy. If we want to sacrifice our standard of living, that can be done. But I wonder how many people in California are ready to go out and turn in their old refrigerators, their old washers and dryers, when they are not worn out, for a new energy-saving appliance that will cut their energy bills in half. I don't know. Maybe we can mandate CAFE savings. We have a mandatory 27-mile CAFE standard currently in the automobile industry. People say, well, that doesn't include the vans, the suburban vehicles, the type that are so popular today, the SUVs and others. That is true. They are classified in the truck classification as light trucks, but the reality is that you can't get there on CAFE, either.

We have 207 million vehicles in this country. About 170 million are automobiles and the rest are trucks and cars. It is going to take you 10 years to make a significant dent in that number of vehicles because a lot of them aren't paid for. So you are not going to discard them.

If you mandate substantially increased CAFE standards, then people have to buy new cars; they have to buy new ones. CAFE standards are important, but you can't achieve the kinds of savings we need by CAFE standards. You can give tax credits for people who save energy. I think you will probably see an amendment or two on that to give them a \$250, \$300 tax credit.

The point is that we are far behind, and what the administration is going to propose is some positive steps as to how we can address the energy crisis. It is going to take the conventional sources of energy that we know and have had experience with and the addition of the clean coal technology that we have come to develop in the last decade or so. We can continue to use coal. We can use it in a manner in which we take out many of the impurities—the sulfur, and so forth. We can address the reality that we can produce more natural gas in this country, but the incentive has to be there. That is a return on investment.

Obviously, we can reduce our increased dependence on imported oil by producing more domestic oil. Of

course, that involves my State of Alaska and the item that I first mentioned, the accuracy of some of the important portrayals of ANWR.

In conclusion, to those who suggest the potential development in ANWR, a reserve somewhere in the area of 5.6 billion to as high as 16 billion—and if it were an average of 10 billion it would be the largest oilfield found in the last 40 years—I suggest the prospects for developments of this area are very good. We have the technology to open it safely, there is absolutely no question about that, with the 3-D seismic and directional drilling.

The people, the residents in the area of Katovik and Nuiqsut, Barrow, the Natives who live in this area who are dependent pretty much on the realities associated with hunting and fishing for their livelihood, a subsistence lifestyle, also have aspirations of a better life, an alternative life, and this provides them with jobs, education, health care opportunities, and opportunities for their children as well to prosper. Just as people in any other community, they have visions of a better life. They support it.

Some say it is a 6-month supply. That is a totally unsuitable and inappropriate comparison because, as we all know, if you were to stop all the oil flowing into the United States for a 6-month period, that is what it would take to say that this is a 6-month supply. You would have to stop all oil imports coming in from my State of Alaska, from oil produced in the United States, whether it be from California, Kentucky, or Pennsylvania, or imported into this country from overseas. That is what it would take to equal a 6 months' supply of oil.

That Prudhoe Bay has supplied the Nation with 20 to 25 percent of crude oil for the last 25 years—and the likelihood is this field is larger than Prudhoe Bay and would immediately flow in the area of somewhere in excess of 1 million barrels a day—is the reality about which we are talking.

It is important Members keep in mind the reality of separating fact from fiction, which again brings me to the fiction associated with the front page of the Washington Post in identifying three little bears as residents of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Clearly, they are not, and we will have certification from the photographer as soon as we can obtain it relative to the exact location of where the picture of the three bears was taken.

Mr. President, thank you for indulging me additional time. I yield to my good friend from Nevada, if he is seeking recognition at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

RECONCILIATION

Mr. REID. Mr. President, as we speak, there is a meeting of the Fi-

nance Committee taking place. There are 10 Democrats on that committee and 10 Republicans. I have tried today but really literally have been able to spend no more than 3 or 4 minutes watching the proceedings. They have been going on all day. I understand they will go on into the night trying to come up with a tax bill we call reconciliation.

I have heard in the last few minutes that there is going to be an attempt tomorrow to bring that bill before the Senate. I hope the majority understands there are 40 Democrats and 40 Republicans who do not sit on the Finance Committee. It is a prestigious committee, I understand, but the members cannot speak for the rest of us, either Democrats or Republicans.

I very much want to have the opportunity to look through certain parts of that bill. It is going to be a very large piece of legislation. I doubt I will be able to read all of it, but I want to read parts of it. I have a staff that will read every word of it and bring to my attention those things I have not looked at first.

I have a staff that I think is well equipped to peruse that bill, but I just cannot imagine that we would go to that bill tomorrow without Members of the Senate having an opportunity to look at that legislation. That is how we get into trouble legislatively.

It is unfair to the American people. I have said from the very beginning we are doing well. We have a surplus. We deserve a tax cut. The American people, the people of Nevada deserve a tax cut, and they should get an immediate tax cut. But that tax cut should be given to them with deliberation. We should make sure we understand every provision in that very important legislation. I cannot imagine a legislator voting for or against that bill not having the opportunity to read it.

I hope we slow down. We can work on this bill Thursday or next Monday or Tuesday just as well as we can tomorrow. What I prefer, when they report that bill out of committee, is we have several days to look at it.

I repeat, there is no effort on this Senator's part to unduly delay proceedings. There are all kinds of ways we can do that. There has been talk, if this proceeding goes forward as indicated, that people will file lots and lots of amendments, and we would have to vote on every one of them and the voting would take several weeks.

There are methods of slowing this down. I hope we will not have to resort to any of those. I hope we have ample time for us and for our staffs to review this legislation in some detail.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nevada yield for a question?

Mr. REID. I will be happy to yield to my friend from North Dakota, whom I appreciate being here. I say prior to

yielding, I served in the House with my friend from North Dakota. I looked to him when we served together. He was one of the leaders of issues dealing with money. He was on the Ways and Means Committee, which is the comparable committee to the Finance Committee in the Senate.

I will be happy to yield to my friend from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada makes a critically important point. It is important for all of us to think through this process and this strategy. We are blessed with a wonderful country that has had an economy that has produced jobs and expansion and opportunity in the last years. We want to make sure we do not create a fiscal policy that turns that around and moves us back into big Federal budget deficits and economic contraction rather than expansion.

The Congress is now, in a new day, set to provide some tax breaks because we are at this point experiencing some budget surpluses.

I support tax cuts. They need to be thoughtful and reasonable. They need to be fair to all the American people. But what I worry about is we are told that the Finance Committee is now writing a tax bill. It is now 6:30 in the evening. I understand there are over 120 amendments to that bill that have been filed. They are sitting over in, I believe, 216 of the Hart Building going through amendments. If they do finish tonight, I expect they will work until the wee hours of the morning.

We are told—I do not know if this is the case—we are told that at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning the Senate will be confronted with the reconciliation bill, the tax bill that is being written this evening. If that is brought before the full Senate for consideration at 10 o'clock in the morning, I ask who in the Senate, A, has read it; B, knows what is in it; and C, has studied it enough to evaluate what kind of amendments they may or may not offer.

The answer to that question—I will answer it myself—is nobody. Not one Member of the Senate will have the foggiest notion of what is in that bill. So bringing that bill up tomorrow at 10 o'clock in the morning will be a disservice to this body and a disservice, in my judgment, to good sound fiscal policy for this country.

We are talking, after all, about a proposal that will affect Federal revenues for well over a decade. We are talking about affecting Federal revenues for over 10 years. This tax bill is put together with the prospect that we will always have budget surpluses in our future, something I hope we will have, but there is no guarantee that will be the case. There is still such a thing as a business cycle, and there is still a contraction phase in the business cycle.