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THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION—THE END OF GEOGRAPHY?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SWEENEY). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. METCALF) is recognized until midnight.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, during 1969, C. P. Kendleberger wrote that the Nation's State is just about through as an economic unit. He added that the U.S. Congress and right-wing-know-nothings in all countries were unaware of this. He added the world is too small. Two hundred thousand ton tank and ore carriers and air buses and the like will not permit sovereign independence of the Nation's state in economic affairs.

Before that, Emile Durkheim stated, "The corporations are to become the elementary divisions of the state, the fundamental political unit." Now I am going to repeat that. "The corporations are to become the elementary division of the state, the fundamental political unit. They will efface the distinction between public and private, dissect the democratic citizenry into discrete functional groupings which are no longer capable of joint political action".

Durkheim went so far as to proclaim that, "Through corporatisms' scientific rationale, it will achieve its rightful standing as the creator of collective reality."

There is little question that part of these two statements are accurate. America has seen its national sovereignty slowly diffused over a growing number of international governing organizations.

The WTO is just the latest in a long line of such developments that began right after World War II. But as the protest in Seattle against the WTO ministerial meeting made clear, the democratic citizenry seemed well prepared for joint action. Though it has been pointed out that many, if not the majority of protesters, did not know what the WTO was, and much of the protest itself entirely missed the mark regarding WTO culpability, in many areas proclaimed jurisdiction, responsibility, this remains but a question of education. It is the responsibility of the citizens' Representatives to begin that education process.

The former head of the antitrust division of the U.S. Justice Department was Thurman Arnold from 1938 to 1943. We may not entirely agree with him when he stated that the United States had, I quote, "developed two coordinate governing classes. One is called business, building cities, manufacturing and distributing goods, and holding complete and autocratic power over the livelihood of millions."

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The other called government, concerned with preaching and exemplification of spiritual ideas, but so caught up in a mass of theory that when it wished to move in a practical world, it had to do so by means of a sub-rosa political machine. But surely the advocates of corporate governance today, housed quietly and efficiently within the corridors of power at the WTO, the OECD, IMF, and the World Bank, clearly believe. They really believe. Corporatism as ideology, and it is an ideology; as John Ralston Saul referred recently to it as a hijacking of first our terms, such as individualism, and then a hijacking of western civilization, the result being the portrait of a society addicted to ideologies, a civilization tightly held at this moment in the embrace of a dominant ideology: corporatism.

As we find our citizenry affected by this ideology and its consequences, consumerism, the overall effects on the individual are passivity and conformity in those areas that matter and nonconformity in those which do not. We do know more than ever before just how we got here. The WTO is a creature of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, that's GATT, which began in 1948 its quest for a global regime of economic interdependence. But by 1972, some Members of Congress saw the handwriting on the wall, and it was a forgery.

Senator Long, while chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, made these comments to Dr. Henry Kissinger regarding the completion and prepared signing of the Kennedy round of the GATT accords, and I quote: "If we trade away American jobs and farmers' incomes for some vague concept of a new international order, the American people will demand from their elected representatives a new order of their own which puts their jobs, their security and their incomes above the priority of those who dealt them a bad deal."

But we know that few listened. And 20 years later the former chairman of the International Trade Commission argued that it was the Kennedy round that began the slow decline in America's living standards. Citing statistics in his point regarding the loss of manufacturing jobs and the like, he concluded with what must be seen as a warning, and I quote: "The Uruguay Round and the promise of the North American Free Trade Agreement all may mesmerize and motivate Washington policymakers, but in the American heartland those initiatives translate into further efforts to promote international order at the expense of existing American jobs."

We are still not listening. Certainly, ideologists of corporatism cannot hear us. They, in fact, are pressing the same ideological stratagem in the journals that matter, like Foreign Affairs, and the books coming out of the elite think-tanks and nongovernmental or-

ganizations. One such author, Anne-Marie Slaughter, proclaimed her rather self-important opinion that State sovereignty was little more than a status symbol and something to be attained now through transgovernmental participation. That would be presumably achieved through the WTO, for instance?

Stephan Krasner, in a volume, *International Rules*, goes into more detail by explaining global regimes as functional attributes of world order, that is, environmental regimes, financial regimes and, of course, trade regimes. In a world of sovereign states, the basic function of regimes is to coordinate state behavior to achieve desired outcomes in particular issue areas. If, as many have argued, there is a general movement toward a world of complex interdependence, then the number of areas in which regimes can matter is growing.

But we are not here speaking of changes within an existing regime, thereby elected representatives of free people make adjustments to new technologies, new ideas and further the betterment of their people. The first duty of elected representatives is to look out for their constituency. The WTO is not changes within the existing regime but an entirely new regime. It has assumed an unprecedented degree of American sovereignty over the economic regime of the Nation and the world.

Then who are the sovereigns? Is it the people, the nation, in nation state? I do not believe so. I would argue that who governs, rules. Who rules is sovereign. And the people of America and their elected representatives do not rule nor govern at the WTO but corporate diplomats, a word decidedly oxymoronic.

Who are these new sovereigns? Maybe we can get a clearer picture by looking at what WTO is in place to accomplish. I took interest in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, "A New Trade Order," volume 72, number one, by Cowhey and Aronson. Foreign investment flows are only about 10 percent the size of the world trade flows each year, but intrafirm trade, for example sales by Ford Europe to Ford USA, now accounts for up to an astonishing 40 percent of all U.S. trade.

This complex interdependence we hear of every day inside the Beltway is nothing short of miraculous, according to the policymakers who are mesmerized by all this. But, clearly, the interdependence is less between the people of the nation states than between the corporations of the corporate states.

Richard O'Brien in his book entitled "Global Financial Integration: The End of Geography," states the case this way: "The firm is far less wedded to the idea of geography. Ownership is more and more international and global, divorced from national definitions. If one marketplace can no longer provide a service or an attractive location to carry out transactions, then the

firm will actively seek another home. At the level of the firm, therefore, there are plenty of choice of geography."

O'Brien seems unduly excited when he adds, "The glorious end of geography prospect for the close of this century is the emergence of a seamless global financial market. Barriers will be gone, services will be global, the world economy will benefit, and so too, presumably, the consumer."

Presumably? Counter to this ideological slant, and it is ideological, O'Brien notes the fact that "governments are the very embodiment of geography, representing the nation state. The end of geography is, in many respects, all about the end or diminution of sovereignty."

In a rare find, a French author published a book titled *The End of Democracy*. Jean-Marie Guehenno has served in a number of posts for the French Government, including as their ambassador to the European Union. He suggests this period we live in is an imperial age. And to quote, "The imperial age is an age of diffuse and continuous violence. There will no longer be any territory to defend, but only older operating methods to protect. And this abstract security is infinitely more difficult to ensure than that of a world in which geography commanded history. Neither the rivers nor oceans protect the delicate mechanisms of the imperial age from a menace as multi-form as the empire itself."

The empire itself. Whose empire? In whose interests?

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Political analyst Craig B. Hulet, in his book entitled "Global Triage: Imperium in Imperio," refers to the new global regime as imperium in imperio, or power within a power, a state within a state.

His theory proposes that these new sovereigns are nothing short of this: "they represent the power not of the natural persons which make up the nations' peoples nor of their elected representatives, but the power of the legal paper persons recognized in law, the corporations themselves then are the new sovereigns. And in their efforts to be treated in law as equal as to the citizens of each separate state, they call this National Treatment, they would travel the sea and wherever they land ashore, they would be citizens here and there. Not even the Privateers of old would have dared impose this will upon the nation-states."

Can we claim to know today what this rapid progress of global transformation will portend for democracy here at home? We understand the great benefits of past progress; we are not Luddites here. We know what refrigeration can do to a child in a poor country, what clean water means to everyone everywhere, what free communication has already achieved. But are we going to unwittingly sacrifice our sovereignty on the altar of this new God,

progress? Is it progress if a cannibal uses a knife and fork?

Can we claim to know today what this rapid progress of global transformation will portend for national sovereignty here at home? We protect our way of life, our children's futures, our workers' jobs, our security at home by measures often not unlike our airports are protected from pistols on planes, but self-interested ideologies, private greed and private power? Bad ideas escape our mental detectors.

We seem to be radically short of leadership where this act of participation in the process of diffusing America's power over to and into the private global monopoly capitalist regime, today pursued without questioning its basis at all.

An empire represented by not just the WTO but clearly this new regime is the core ideological success for corporativism.

The only step remaining, according to Harvard Professor Paul Krugman, is the finalization of a completed Multilateral Agreement on Investment, which failed at OECD. According to OECD, the agreement's actual success may come through not a treaty this time but arrangements within corporate governments itself quietly being hashed out at the IMF and the World Bank as well as OECD. We are not yet the united corporations of America.

The WTO needs to be scrutinized carefully, debated, hearings and public participation where possible. If there is any issue upon which Congress must hold extensive and detailed public hearings, this is it. Yet few are planned that I know of.

We can, of course, as author Christopher Lasch notes, peer inward at ourselves as well, when he argued, the history of the 20th century suggests that totalitarian regimes are highly unstable, evolving toward some type of bureaucracy that neither fits the classic fascism nor the capitalist model. None of this means that the future will be safe to democracy, only that the threat of democracy comes less from totalitarian or elected movements abroad than from the erosion of its psychological, cultural, and spiritual foundations from within.

Are we not witness to, though, the growth of global bureaucracy being created not out of totalitarian or collective movements but from autocratic corporations which hold so many lives in the balance? And where shall we redress our grievances when the regime completes its global transformation, when the people of each nation and their state find that they can no longer identify their rulers, their true rulers, when it is no longer their state which rules?

The most recent U.N. Development Report documents how globalization has increased inequality between and within nations while bringing them together as never before.

Some are referring to this globalization's dark side like Jay Mazur recently in *Foreign Affairs*.

"A world in which the assets of the 200 richest people are greater than the combined income of more than 2 billion people at the other end of the economic ladder should give everyone pause. Such islands of concentrated wealth in the sea of misery have historically been a prelude to upheaval. The vast majority of trade and investment takes place between industrial nations dominated by global corporations that control one-third of the world's exports."

With further mergers and acquisitions in the future, with no end in sight, those of us that are awake must speak up now.

Or is it that we just cannot see at all, believing in our current speculative bubble which nobody credible believes can be sustained much longer. We miss the growing anger, fear, and frustration of our people. Believing in the myths our policy priests pass on, we missed the dissatisfaction of our workers, believing in the God "progress" we have lost our vision.

Another warning, this time from Ethan Kapstein in his article "Workers on the World Economy" (*Foreign Affairs*: Vol. 75, No. 3):

"While the world stands at a critical time in post-war history, it has a group of leaders who appear unwilling, like their predecessors in the 1930s, to provide international leadership to meet economic dislocations. Worse, many of them and their economic advisors do not seem to recognize the profound troubles affecting their associates. Like the German elite in Weimar, they dismiss mounting worker satisfaction, fringe political movements, and plight of the unemployed and working poor as marginal concerns compared with the unquestioned importance of a sound currency and balanced budget. Leaders need to recognize the policy failures of the last 20 years and respond accordingly. If they do not, there are others waiting in the wings who will, perhaps on less pleasant terms."

We ought to be looking very closely at where the new sovereigns intend to take us. We need to discuss the end they have in sight. It is our responsibility and our duty.

Most everyone today agrees that socialism is not a threat. Many people feel communism, even in China, is not a threat. Indeed, there are few real security threats to America that could compare to even our recent past.

Be that as it may, when we speak of global market economy free enterprise, we massage the terms to merge with manage the competition and planning authorities, all the while suggesting we have met the "hidden hand" and it is good.

We need to also recall what Adam Smith said but is rarely quoted. "Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit but constant and uniform combination not to raise the wages of labor above their actual rate. To violate this combination is everywhere a most unpopular action and a sort of reproach for a master among his neighbors and questions. We seldom, indeed,

hear of this combination because it is usual and, one may say, the natural state of things. Masters, too, sometimes enter into particular combinations to sink wages of labor even below this rate. They are always conducted with the utmost silence and secrecy till the moment of execution."

And now precisely, whose responsibility is it to keep an eye on the masters?

I urge my colleagues, Republicans and Democrats, left and right on the political spectrum, to boldly restore the oversight role of Congress in one stroke and join my colleagues and I in supporting H.J. Res. 90 in restoring the sovereignty of these United States.

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LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas (at the request of Mr. GEPHARDT) for June 15 after 10:00 p.m. on account of official business.

Mrs. EMERSON (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today after 6:00 p.m. and June 20 on account of her daughter's graduation.

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SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ALLEN) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. LARSON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BALDACCI, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. PAUL) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. PAUL, for 5 minutes, today and June 20.

Mr. HUNTER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KASICH, for 5 minutes, today. (The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. FOSSELLA, for 5 minutes, today.

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ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.J. Res. 101. Joint resolution recognizing the 225th birthday of the United States Army.

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SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 761. An act to facilitate the use of electronic records and signatures in interstate or foreign commerce.

S. 2722. An act to authorize the award of the Medal of Honor to Ed W. Freeman, James K. Okubo, and Andrew J. Smith.

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BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on this day present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 4387. To provide that the School Governance Charter Amendment Act of 2000 shall take effect upon the date such Act is ratified by the voters of the District of Columbia.

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ADJOURNMENT

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 11 o'clock and 50 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Tuesday, June 20, 2000, at 9 a.m., for morning hour debates.

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EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 8 of rule XII, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

8182. A letter from the Associate Administrator, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Raisins Produced From Grapes Grown in California: Changes in Reporting Requirements [Docket No. FV00-989-1 FR] received March 23, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8183. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Tebufenozide; Benzoic Acid, 3,5-dimethyl-1-(1,1-dimethylethyl)-2-(4-ethylbenzoyl) hydrazide; Pesticide Tolerance [OPP-300999; FRL-6555-1] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received May 19, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8184. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Consolidation of Certain Food and Feed Additive Tolerance Regulations [OPP-300756; FRL-6043-1] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received May 17, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8185. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Consolidation of Certain Food and Feed Additive Tolerance Regulations [OPP-300753; FRL-6041-9] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received May 17, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8186. A letter from the the Director, the Office of Management and Budget, transmitting Cumulative report on rescissions and deferrals of budget authority, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 685(e); (H. Doc. No. 106-257); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

8187. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Force Management Policy, Department of Defense, transmitting a report entitled, "Mili-

tary Child-Care: Meeting Extended and Irregular Duty Requirements"; to the Committee on Armed Services.

8188. A letter from the Under Secretary, Acquisition and Technology, Department of Defense, transmitting a response to section 922 of the National Defense Authorization Act of Fiscal Year 2000, Public Law 106-65; to the Committee on Armed Services.

8189. A letter from the Assistant Secretary, Command, Control, Communications, and Intelligence, Department of Defense, transmitting the "Year 2000 (Y2K) Lessons Learned"; to the Committee on Armed Services.

8190. A letter from the Under Secretary, Acquisition and Technology, Department of Defense, transmitting a report on, "Review of Profit Guidelines in the Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement"; to the Committee on Armed Services.

8191. A letter from the Principal Deputy, Personnel and Readiness, Department of Defense, transmitting a report on the status of the elimination of the backlog and a plan for preventing accumulation of backlogs in the future; to the Committee on Armed Services.

8192. A letter from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting the approved retirement and advancement to the grade of general on the retired list of General Wesley K. Clark, United States Army; to the Committee on Armed Services.

8193. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Changes in Flood Elevation Determinations [Docket No. FEMA-7297] received April 28, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

8194. A letter from the General Counsel, Federal Emergency Management Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Final Flood Elevation Determinations—received April 28, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

8195. A letter from the Assistant General Counsel for Regulations, Special Education & Rehabilitative Services, Department of Education, transmitting the Department's final rule—National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research—received May 17, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

8196. A letter from the Attorney Advisor, NHTSA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule—Consumer Information Regulations: Uniform Tire Quality Grading Test Procedures [Docket No. 00-7364] (RIN: 2127-AG96) received May 22, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8197. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans: Oregon [OR 76-7291; FRL-6601-1] received May 19, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8198. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Colorado; Designation of Areas for Air Quality Planning Purposes, Canon City [CO-001-0037a; FRL-6706-5] received May 23, 2000, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Commerce.

8199. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Approval and Promulgation of Implementation Plans;