

for victim assistance and awareness to help stop this practice, both overseas and domestically.

Establishes an annual reporting mechanism to identify trafficking offenders, both individual and country-specific.

Advances rule of law programs to promote combating of international sex trafficking.

Authorizes grants for law enforcement agencies to investigate and prosecute international trafficking, and assist in drafting and implementation of new legislation.

In closing, there is a unique generosity in the American people, who are defined by their vigilance for justice. As we challenge this dehumanizing practice, an inspired movement is growing in America and worldwide. Sparking this awareness are courageous groups which deserve acknowledgment, including the International Justice Mission with Gary Haugen, and the Protection Project with Dr. Laura Lederer, among several others. Both Senator WELLSTONE and I hope this legislation is the beginning of the end for this modern-day slavery known as trafficking.

Mr. President, we had five major health organizations come together and identify the violence in our entertainment that is harming our children. The organizations include the American Medical Association, American Psychological Association, American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, the American Academy of Family Physicians, and the American Academy of Pediatricians.

I turn the floor back over to my colleague from Minnesota. Today, his interest has culminated in this legislation passing this body. This is the most significant human rights legislation we have passed this Congress, if not for several years. This is going to save lives. It will start identifying this pernicious, ugly, dark practice around the world for what it is. We are going to start saving people's lives as a result of it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SESSIONS). The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, the Senate tonight passed the Trafficking in Victims Protection Act of 2000. Similar legislation passed the House. The conference committee is committed to this legislation. I don't think there is any question but that the Congress is going to pass this bill. This was a huge step forward.

I thank Senator BROWNBACK who for 3½ years, at least, has been working on this. It started with my wife Sheila, who brought this to my attention. I remember meeting with women from Ukraine—which is where my father was born—describing what had happened to them.

Senator BROWNBACK is absolutely right. This is one of the brutal aspects of this new global economy. It supplements drug trafficking, except quite often it is more profitable, believe it or

not, because the women—girls—are recycled over and over again. We are talking about close to 1 million women and girls, the trafficking of these women and girls for purposes of forced prostitution or forced labor.

We are talking about the trafficking of some 50,000 women, girls, to our country. Two miles away, in Bethesda, there was a massage parlor with a group of girls from Ukraine. The country is in economic disarray. They thought this was an opportunity. They came to our country. Their passports were taken away. They were isolated. Senator BROWNBACK talked about the isolation. They were beaten up. They were raped. They were forced into prostitution. In our country, in the year 2000, this goes on in the world, and in the United States of America.

This legislation would never pass without the leadership of Senator BROWNBACK and the leadership of Sharon Payt. I thank Wes Carrington, who is on the floor with me, and Jill Hickson, two fellows who have been gifts from Heaven, and Charlotte Moore, who has been working on this, and my wife Sheila.

I could talk for hours about this, but I will emphasize a couple of key aspects. First, prevention, a focus on doing the public information work in these countries and work with the consulates so these girls have some understanding of what their rights are, so they are warned about the dangers of this when the recruiters are out there to try to prevent this from happening in the first place; and an emphasis on how you can get economic development from microenterprise to opportunities for women. Part of the problem is the way in which women are so devalued in too many nations. Also, the grinding poverty.

Second, protection. The bitter, bitter, bitter irony, colleagues, is that quite often the victims are the ones who are punished, and these mobsters and criminals who are involved in the trafficking of these women and girls with this blatant exploitation get away with literally murder.

One of the problems is that these girls and women can't step forward because then they will be deported. So we have an extension of temporary visas for up to 3 years for the women, girls, and a final decision is made as to whether or not they can stay in the country.

In addition, there is some help for them. We have in Minnesota the Center for the Treatment of Torture Victims. It is a holy place. It is a spiritual place. Most of these women and men come from Africa. They have been through a living hell. We read about child soldiers. We read about what is happening. It takes a long time for people to be able to rebuild their lives when they have been through this, when they have been tortured.

There are 120 governments today in the world that are engaged in this systematic use of torture today; the same

thing for these women and girls. Imagine what it is like for them. There is help for them.

Finally, prosecution, and taking this seriously, treating it as a crime so, for example, if you are trafficking a young girl under the age of 14 and forcing her into prostitution, you face a life sentence in prison.

And finally, not automatic sanctions but a listing of those governments which are involved in the trafficking, which have turned their gaze away and refused to do anything about it. With it being up to a President, be he Democrat or Republican or she a Democrat or Republican, in the future, as to whether or not there is an action to be taken.

It is a good piece of legislation. I think Senator BROWNBACK is right. I think it is the human rights legislation to pass the Congress. It will pass. Mr. Koh, Assistant Secretary of Human Rights at the State Department, has been great. The administration has been supportive. We have had a lot of support from Democrats and Republicans here, and I really feel good about it.

I said to Senator BROWNBACK, I think Senator BENNETT can appreciate this because I think he is like this—the first part I don't want to say is his view—but there are some days where I just cannot decide whether or not I have really been able to help anybody. You try, but you just sometimes get so frustrated. I think this piece of legislation we passed will help a lot of people. I really do, I say to Senator BROWNBACK. I think it is a good model for other governments, other countries. I am not being grandiose here. I think we can get this out to a lot of fellow legislators in other nations and other NGOs. I know there is a lot of interest.

I rise to speak about this bill, to tell my colleague from Kansas, Senator BROWNBACK, I appreciated working with him, and to say to the Senate—all the Senators; after all, this passed by unanimous consent—thank you, thank you for your support.

THE DEBATE ON CHINA

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, if it is OK with Senator BROWNBACK, I want to briefly respond to my colleague from Montana. I will do it under 10 minutes, to anticipate the debate we are going to have on China.

I think some of this debate has already become confused. My father was born in Odessa, Ukraine, then moved to Russia in the Far East Siberia. His father was a hatter trying to stay ahead of the czarist troops—Jewish. He then moved to Harbin, then to Peking, then came over to the United States of America when he was 17, in 1914, 3 years before the revolution. He then was going to go back, because first it was the Social Democrats but then the Bolsheviks, the Communists, took over, and his family told him not to come back. I believe his father lost all of his family to Stalin. I think they

were all murdered, because all the letters stopped.

My father is no longer alive. He spoke 10 languages fluently and was really—you would have liked him, Mr. President.

My father taught me that we should value human rights. Our country is a leader in this area. When we turn our gaze away from the persecution of people and the violation of human rights of people in the world, we diminish ourselves.

This debate we are going to have after Labor Day is not about whether or not we should have trade with China. We have trade with China. We have a tremendous amount of trade. In fact, we have a huge trade deficit, I think to the tune of about \$70 billion.

It is not about whether we should have an embargo of China like an embargo of Cuba. I don't think the embargo of Cuba makes much sense, and certainly no one I know is recommending an embargo of China.

It is not about whether or not we want to isolate China. China is not going to be isolated. China is very much a part of the international economy.

The debate is about whether or not we maintain for ourselves the right to annually review trade relations with China so we at least have some small amount of leverage when it comes to human rights.

According to the State Department report last year on human rights in China:

The Government's poor human rights record deteriorated markedly throughout the year, as the Government intensified efforts to suppress dissent, particularly organized dissent. Abuses includes instances of extrajudicial killings, torture, mistreatment of prisoners, and denial of due process.

The Commission on Religious Freedom chaired by David Saperstein recommended that we not automatically grant normal trade relations with China because of the religious persecution in China and laid out a series of criteria that should be met, and that will be the first amendment I will introduce.

Yes, to us giving China most favored nation status. But not until they at least meet basic, simple, elementary criteria so the people in China have the right to practice their religion. Are we going to turn our gaze away from that?

According to Amnesty International, "throughout China mass summary executions continue to be carried out. At least 6,000 death sentences and 3,500 executions were officially recorded last year."

The real figures are believed to be much higher.

In the debate, I will talk about Wei Jingsheng and Harry Wu—people, in addition to these statistics. But let me be clear to my colleagues. After all the discussion about all the economic relations having led to opening up society and it has all changed, the human rights record has deteriorated. There is

not one Senator who can come to the floor and make the argument that, because of trade relations—I understand investment opportunities making a lot of money—the human rights record has improved in China, or that the situation in Tibet has improved, or that people now can practice their religion. It is not true. Don't we want to maintain just a little bit of leverage and just say we have the right to annually review our trade relations with China?

One other point. I think what you are going to see is not more exports to China. I am going to hold every single Senator and I am going to hold the administration accountable as well.

The President came to my State of Minnesota. He said we were going to have all these exports in agriculture, and it was going to help out family farmers who were struggling to survive. I don't know if that is going to be the case. There are 700 million farmers in China. I do know this. What is more likely to happen is there will be more exports in China and multinational corporations will go to China and China will become even more of a low-wage export platform or, for that matter, you will have large grain companies producing corn in China well below the cost of production for family farmers in our own country.

Wal-Marts pay 14 cents an hour. Other U.S. companies pay 5 cents and 6 cents an hour. If you should try to organize a union in China, you would wind up in prison.

So I will have three other amendments, and I will yield the floor on this. I will have an amendment that deals with forced prison labor conditions in China and says: Enough of this, if we are going to have normal trade relations. I will have another amendment that says the people in China should have the right to form independent unions and not wind up in prison. And I will have a final amendment that will basically say that in our State, our workers should have the right to organize; there should be labor law reform; no longer should it just be the company that gets to talk to employees during an organizing drive; no longer should companies be able to illegally fire workers, have it be profitable, and not have to pay stiff back penalties, back fines.

We are forever being told now that we live in a global economy. And that is true. But the implications of that statement are seldom recognized. To me that means, if we truly care about human rights, we can no longer just be concerned about human rights at home. If we live in a global economy and we truly care about religious freedom, then we can no longer just be concerned about religious freedom at home. If we are in a global economy and we truly care about the rights of organizers to organize and be able to make a decent living so they can take care of their families, then we have to be concerned not just about the rights of organizers in our country but orga-

nizers in the world. And if we truly care about the environment, then we can no longer concern ourselves with just environmental protections at home, but environmental protections in other countries as well.

Do you know that a large majority of the Senate is all for this—automatically extending normal trade relations with China or most favored nation trade status? Do you know what the polls show? The polls show Americans oppose eliminating any review of China's human rights record by 65 to 18 percent; 67 percent oppose China's admission to the WTO, although that is not what this debate will be about; and 83 percent of the people in our country support inclusion of strong environmental and labor standards in future trade agreements.

My colleague—I minute left—my colleague from Montana, whom I enjoy, said: I am going to call on all Senators to vote against all amendments.

I am going to tell Senators a lot of these amendments are substantive and they are serious. Look at what we had happen on several of these tax bills, the majority leader came out after we had passed amendments and then introduced an amendment that wiped out all those amendments.

I am going to remind Senators of that precedent. I am going to remind Senators that you cannot go back home and explain with much credibility to the people you represent that you would not vote for the people in China to have the right to practice their religion; you would not vote for basic support for human rights; you would not vote for people to organize a union and not wind up in prison; you would not vote for labor law reform because you said: Oh, well, you see, we had to go into conference committee and we had to keep it clean and I could not vote for that.

A, that is not true; B, it is the ultimate Washington insider argument. One has to vote for what one thinks is right. One has to vote for the substance of each one of these amendments. That is the challenge I present to my colleagues. I look forward to this debate.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for up to 15 minutes.

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

Mr. BROWNBACK. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. BROWNBACK pertaining to the introduction of S. 2982 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The Senator from Washington.

THE NEED FOR PIPELINE LEGISLATION

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, on June 15, under the leadership of Chairman MCCAIN, the Senate Commerce Committee passed a bill reauthorizing and amendment the Pipeline Safety Act. This bill is, in my view, the single most important piece of legislation the committee will address this session. Following a June 10, 1999, accident in Bellingham, WA, that killed three children, blackened a magnificent city park, and sent shock waves through the community and State, Senator MURRAY and I have been working in front of and behind the scenes to see the Federal law regulating the operation of pipelines is changed: that communities and citizens are better informed about pipelines; that States can obtain a clear role in the oversight of interstate pipelines; that the Federal Office of Pipeline Safety adopts more meaningful safety standards; and that funding is increased for Federal and State pipeline safety operations.

While we are well on our way to accomplishing this last goal—the Senate has provided a significant increase in funding for the Office of the Pipeline Safety, and I have earmarked matching Federal funds for Washington State to supplement the funds appropriated by the State legislature for expanded safety activities—securing passage of the authorizing legislation has proven more difficult. I come to the floor to tell my colleagues that I will not rest in seeking the enactment of meaningful legislation this year. I am by nature a determined man, and my resolve on this issue has been strengthened by the example set by the Mayor of Bellingham, whose interest in this matter

has not been half-hearted or expedient, but who has devoted and continues to devote time, resources, and thought to what we can do to make pipelines safer. I am committed to seeing that his efforts and my own are not in vain.

The bill that passed the Commerce Committee is a good one. It makes meaningful changes in Federal law. S. 2438 requires the Federal Office of Pipeline Safety to implement the recommendations of the Inspector General of the Department of Transportation by completing rulemakings that are long overdue, collecting better information to determine the causes of pipeline accidents, and providing better training to OPS inspectors. It accelerates the deadline for operators to prepare plans for training and qualifying their employees. It requires that information about pipeline incidents and safety-related conditions be made available to the public and that operators work with local communities to educate them about the location and risks of pipelines and what to do in case of an accident. The bill increases fines for violations, and explicitly provides a role for States in the oversight of interstate pipelines. It provides more funding for the Office of Pipeline Safety and direction on areas of research and development to focus on to improve safety.

In addition, the bill imposes on operators of pipelines of any length—not just longer pipelines as suggested by the administration—an obligation to conduct risk analyses and to adopt integrity management plans for high consequence areas—plans that provide for periodic assessments of pipelines' integrity. S. 2438 ensures that OPS will have easier access to operator information, and lowers the liquid spill reporting threshold to 5 gallons. It creates a national database of pipeline events and conditions. The bill contains protections for whistle blowers. Significantly, the bill also authorizes the Sec-

retary to create a pilot program for State safety advisory committees to allow for meaningful citizen input into safety issues of local and State concern, and to monitor the performance of the Office of Pipeline Safety.

The bill, in summary, substantially improves current law. Unfortunately, in its current form, I am told, the bill will be stopped by a pipeline industry that can prevent its passage by getting any single Member to place a "hold" on the bill once the committee report is filed. At another time, however, when the Senate is able to debate the measure, the reforms could be much less palatable to industry. It has already been over a year since the fatal accident in Bellingham, and the public should not have to wait longer for improvements to the federal pipeline law.

While I led the effort to defeat amendments offered in the Commerce Committee that I thought undermined this legislation, I recognized then, as I do now, that some of the issues raised by industry should be and must be addressed if we are to enact legislation this year.

I have tried, since the committee passed the bill, to understand and address industry concerns in a reasonable manner. While I think we are getting close on a number of issues, I am growing impatient, particularly with the industry's continued opposition to allowing State and local input on pipeline safety issues of local concern. At some point—and this point will come very soon after our return from the August recess—I will ask my colleagues, one by one if necessary, to join me in voting for S. 2438 and a sound manager's amendment. I trust by that time they will be satisfied that the pipeline industry has had a fair opportunity to work out a reasonable compromise and that the time has come for Congress to act in the interest of all Americans.

NOTICE

Incomplete record of Senate proceedings.

Senate proceedings will be continued in the next issue of the Record.