

Some of my colleagues say the global markets will take care of themselves; they cannot be tamed; there is nothing we should do; this is *laissez faire* economics at its best.

I point my colleagues to the lessons of our own economic history. As we debate this piece of legislation on the floor of the Senate—and I will have an amendment that will deal with religious freedom, an amendment that deals with human rights; I will have an amendment that deals with exports from China from forced prison labor; I will have an amendment that deals with a right to organize in China; and I will have an amendment that deals with the right to organize in our own country—let Members for a moment think about this debate in an historic context. I heard my colleague, Senator BAUCUS, for whom I have great respect, say this is a very important debate. Senator MOYNIHAN, who will retire—and the Senate and our country will miss him—believes this is one of the most important votes we will cast. I agree. I think this is one of the most important debates that has taken place in the Senate.

I deal with a sense of history. One-hundred years ago, our country moved from an economy of local economic units to an industrialized economy. It was a wrenching economic transformation, a major seismic change in our economy. We were moving toward a national, industrialized economy 100 years ago, at the beginning of the last century.

As that happened, there was a coalition—some of them were evangelical, some were populist, some were farmers, some were women, some were working people—that made a set of demands. The farmers said: We want antitrust action because these big conglomerates are pushing us off the land or they were exploiting the consumers. They want a 40-hour workweek. We want the right to organize. We want some protections against exploiting children, child labor. Women said: We want the right to vote. We want direct election of the U.S. Senators. They made those demands, and nobody thought they had a chance.

The Pinkertons killed anyone trying to organize a union. All too often that happened. The media was hostile to this set of demands, by and large. Journalists followed this debate. I am not bashing all journalists, but in general the media was not supportive. And believe it or not, money probably dominated politics even more than it does today.

However, those women and men felt, as citizens of a democracy, they had the right to demand for themselves and their families all they thought was right and all they had the courage to demand. They didn't win everything, but a lot of their demands became the law of the land and their collective efforts made our country better. Their efforts amounted to an effort to civilize a new national economy.

So it is today, 100 years later. These amendments I will bring to the floor of the Senate reflect an effort on the part of people in the United States of America and others throughout the world to say, yes, we live in a new global economy, but just as 100 years ago men and women organized and had the courage to make that new national economy work for them, we make a set of demands. We bring a set of issues before the Senate. We call for votes on amendments which basically say that we need to make sure that this new global economy works for working people, works for family farmers, works for the environment, works for human rights.

Mr. President, we want to make sure we can civilize this new global economy so that it works for most of the people.

I ask unanimous consent that the next two Democratic speakers be Senator DORGAN and Senator TORRICELLI, and that Senator TORRICELLI's statement be considered a morning business statement, after Senator GORTON speaks.

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

The Senator from Washington.

Mr. GORTON. I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

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

PRIORITIES

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, after a refreshing though strenuous August recess, we are now in the home stretch not only of this session of Congress but of this Congress.

The previous speaker discussed one of the great national and international priorities, normal trade relations with China on a permanent basis. I have several other priorities, both national and regional, that I will discuss, each of which I think is vitally important for the successful conclusion of this Congress of the United States.

At the very top of my list is pipeline safety. More than a year ago, a tragic accident in Bellingham, WA, occurred with a liquid pipeline. A huge explosion snuffed out the lives of three bright young people and destroyed a magnificent and beautiful park. Ever since the date of that accident, my colleague from the State of Washington and I have focused a great deal of attention on the renewal and the strengthening of the Pipeline Safety Act and of the Office of Pipeline Safety, designed to enforce its restrictions.

We have succeeded in passing a relatively strong Pipeline Act reauthorization through the Senate Commerce Committee with certain objections, with a number of amendments that were seriously contested and closely divided in that committee. We have now worked diligently with all concerned and I believe we are on the verge of a bill that can come before this Senate and can be passed enthusiastically, and I believe unanimously, by the Senate of

the United States. It is imperative that we do so quite promptly because while the House has begun to focus attention on the issue, time is very short before the end of this Congress to actually accomplish the goals we seek in increasing pipeline safety.

A dramatic and equally tragic incident during the course of the last month with a national gas pipeline in New Mexico has illustrated most regrettably, once again, the essential nature of our improving pipeline safety standards all across the United States. I am focused particularly on giving a more significant voice in pipeline safety matters to the people who live in the vicinity of these pipelines and whose lives regrettably seem to be very much at risk with respect to either negligence or oversight on the part of those who own and operate these pipelines.

Pipelines, both for natural gas and for the transmission of liquid petroleum products, are a vitally important part of our economy. In some respects, they are safer than other forms of transportation for these commodities. However, accidents are all too frequent, and all too frequently those accidents are devastating and fatal in nature.

The importance of passing this legislation cannot be overemphasized. I am highly optimistic on this subject. I had an extensive discussion last evening with the majority leader and have his encouragement. I believe in the course of the next few days we will be able to take up this bill.

Regrettably, on another high national priority, I find myself frustrated that we have not made a sufficient degree of progress. A number of days, over a period of weeks and months, have been devoted in this body to a debate on education policy and a renewal of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. For all practical purposes, that bill is being frustrated by extended discussion, led by the unalterable opposition to providing more trust and confidence in our local school authorities on the part of the Democratic leadership and the senior Senator from Massachusetts.

An integral part of the bill, which is still before this body and which has majority support, is Straight A's. Straight A's gives State school authorities several options: One, to continue under the present system. Two, for a dozen or so States to combine a dozen or more present categorical aid programs into one system that comes to the State, is passed through with at least 95 percent of the money to individual school districts on one undertaking and one undertaking only, and that undertaking is that each State that would get this authority will sign a contract pursuant to which there will be an improvement in the skills of the students over a 5-year period; that is to say, by any objective measure that the State uses, our kids will be better educated.

It is a dramatic change. It is a change from process accountability, the form of accountability we have at the present time—that is to say: Did you fill out the forms correctly?—to results accountability: Are our children better educated? I am convinced and a majority of this body is convinced that by providing more trust and confidence in parents and teachers and principals and school board members—the people who know our children's names—that the students' education will improve. There is still time to pass such a bill. I regret the opposition even to a test, optional to each State, is so great it seems unlikely that this vitally important education reform will be passed.

Just last week I spoke to the junior and senior classes at Bridgeport High School, a rural school in Washington State, a very small school, not more than 100 students and faculty combined. They do not need more Federal rules and regulations. They don't need to be told they should use the newest Federal program to hire roughly half a teacher, which is what they get under that program. They need our trust and confidence in the dedicated nature of those teachers and administrators and parents in that community, who know better than we do here in Washington, DC, what the students of Bridgeport, WA, need. The same thing is true of 17,000 other school districts across the United States.

I also note present on the floor today my distinguished friend and colleague from North Dakota. He and I are joined in at least two other priorities with which we are dealing this year. One is the opportunity to end unilateral boycotts against the export of food and medicines from the United States. We represent, I am convinced, a substantial majority of the Members of the Senate, as well as the House of Representatives. We have a termination to those boycotts in the Agriculture appropriations bill that is now before our conference committee. I know he joins with me in believing that it is absolutely essential, and long overdue, that we end those agricultural boycotts at the present time and provide additional markets to American farmers and agricultural producers as at least one modest step toward returning prosperity to the agricultural sector of our economy.

We are also joined in believing that Americans are overcharged for prescription drugs, that we have a system under which American pharmaceutical companies—who benefit from very large subsidies, both indirectly from the National Institutes of Health, and directly through tax credits for the development of prescription drugs—that when those companies charge Americans twice as much or more than twice as much for those drugs as they charge, for all practical purposes, almost anyone outside the United States, that something is absolutely wrong. Again, we have passed in this body at least a significant step in the direction of correcting that injustice. I think it is very

important that the appropriations bill to which that important matter is attached be passed and we make at least a significant step, a genuine step forward toward fair and nondiscriminatory treatment of all Americans in the cost of the prescription drugs that are so important to their health.

On two other subjects, this body has passed a bill attempting to ensure the reliability of our electrical transmission system and the supply of electricity to all the people of the United States. We have had unwarranted price hikes. We have had both the existence and threat of brownouts in various parts of this country this year. That situation is only going to get worse until we do something about it. A non-controversial but vitally important electricity reliability bill has passed this body. I urge my colleagues in the House of Representatives to do the same.

Finally, on a regional issue, the great issue in the Pacific Northwest is the future of our hydroelectric dam system on the Columbia and Snake Rivers, and particularly the four dams on the lower Snake River. Many in this administration have pursued the foolish goal of removing those dams in order, the administration asserts, to save salmon. Nothing could be less cost effective as against the many absolutely first rate programs that are going on in the Pacific Northwest directly to that end, programs that not at all incidentally have been remarkably successful if we measure them by this year's return of spring chinook salmon to the Columbia River system.

The administration and the Vice President have blinked in this connection, knowing the proposal is as unpopular as it is absurd in the Pacific Northwest. One group in the administration said it would be off the table for 8 years. However, the chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality was cited in the course of the last month saying that moratorium will only be for 3 years, and the Vice President is not guaranteeing 3 years but just, "as long as it [the present system] works." My own view is that that is until after the November election.

So to the best of my ability to do so, the administration will be given the opportunity to put its money where its mouth is with a prohibition against its using any money in the appropriations bill for fiscal year 2001, not only for removing the dams but for any step or purpose on the road to removing those dams. The debate over salmon recovery, a universal goal in the Pacific Northwest, will be far more constructive and far more productive when that particular view is taken off of the agenda in its entirety.

Finally, as the Senator responsible for the management of the Interior appropriations bill, we must, of course, deal with the remaining fires across the United States in our forests and on our rangelands, and particularly again

in the Northwest part of the United States from which my State has not been entirely free but with which it has not been afflicted to the extent that Montana, Idaho, and certain other States have been. Whatever our concerns about the causes of those fires, the expenditures that have been made and are to be made in connection with their suppression are a genuine emergency and will be included in the conference committee report on the Interior Department bill as an emergency. At the same time, due to the very hard work of my friend and colleague, the senior Senator from Idaho, there are dramatic changes in fire prevention policies which will also be included in that bill that are vitally important to see to it that we do not soon have a repetition of the disastrous fires that have consumed so many hundreds of thousands, even millions of acres of our public and private lands during the course of this summer.

Mr. President, that is an ambitious agenda, but I believe it to be a vitally important agenda, not only for my own constituents but for the people of the United States as a whole.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUTCHINSON). Under the previous order, the Senator from North Dakota is to be recognized.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from New Jersey be recognized for 10 minutes, following which I will be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. TORRICELLI. I thank my friend, the Senator from North Dakota, for his consideration.

TELEVISED POLITICAL ADVERTISING

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, I want to address the Senate today on the question of the national elections and the rising interest by the American people in campaign finance reform. There is no better time to debate the intricacies of how we are financing and conducting national elections than in the midst of the very contests themselves.

Over the next 8 weeks, candidates for Federal office will spend more money than at anytime in American history to attempt to persuade the American people in the casting of their votes. There is one simple, compelling reason for this spiraling increase in campaign expenditures, and that is the cost of televised political advertising, the cost of being on the national television networks.

This Congress has tangentially dealt with some of the campaign finance problems. It is obviously positive that Congress tightened regulations for the disclosure of contributions for section 527 organizations. It was a small victory.