

Vegas is the sixth largest school district in America with 230,000 children. It was interesting. The new superintendent of schools, Carlos Garcia, who came from Fresno, said that if a child is not reading up to standard in the third grade, that kid is a good candidate for being a high school dropout. We need to make sure the children in third grade can read. That is what this is all about. That is why we need to reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. That is why we need to have fewer kids for each teacher to teach. That is what we are trying to do. That is why Senator MURRAY has worked so hard on her Class Size Reduction Act.

Unfortunately, our friends on the other side of the aisle reject our class size reduction program by failing to provide a separate dedicated funding stream. What we have done as a result of the intervention of the Clinton-Gore administration is force at year end in the omnibus bill more money for teachers. As a result of that, we have hired almost 30,000 new teachers so far under this program, directly benefiting over 1.5 million children. It has been proven, if you have smaller class sizes, these kids outperform students in larger classes. It helps teachers, and it helps the students. I repeat, our friends on the other side of the aisle reject this.

I want to talk about something very important to me, and that is high school dropouts. I mentioned briefly that if a kid cannot read in third grade, he or she is a good candidate to be a high school dropout.

Three thousand children drop out of school every day, 500,000 a year. We would be so much better off if we could do something to keep 500 of those children in school every day, or 200 of those children. We would only have 2,800 dropping out of school every day.

We have worked on this. Senator BINGAMAN and I have a dropout prevention bill which supports local school development and programs for the prevention of dropouts. We successfully included \$10 million in funding for dropout prevention in the Labor-HHS appropriations bill. We hope that stays in conference. The conference has not been held, of course, as has conferences for most appropriations bills not been held. I hope money will stay in there. It is a few dollars. We need a lot more money. If we are going to have an attack on keeping kids in school, if we are going to have lower dropouts, we need to have in the Department of Education a dropout czar, somebody in charge of making sure there are programs throughout America to keep kids in school.

We need to focus on education. We are not going to in this Congress. That is gone. We need to work on school modernization, support for disadvantaged children, afterschool opportunities. It is clear—and Senator BOXER has worked very hard on afterschool programs—that if we can keep kids occu-

ried after school, they are simply not going to get involved in things they should not do. This has been proven and shown to be accurate. We need more money in afterschool programs. Senator BINGAMAN has worked hard on school accountability. We support funding accountability provisions for failing schools; for example, putting a qualified teacher in every classroom within 4 years of this legislation.

The record should be replete with the fact that this year this Congress has spent 6 days of debate on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. That is pathetic. We are concerned about children. We should be able to debate the issue. We offered that this bill be handled in the regular course of business. Request after request has been rejected. That is too bad.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 9 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I was not intending to speak on education, but I want to respond to my friend from Nevada. I am a junior Member of this body, but the perception of what has gone on here with respect to education is utterly different than my observation.

My observation is that this side of the aisle is anxious to talk about education, not just to throw more resources at the status quo, not to put up roadblocks to real reform but to truly find out ways to make Washington less of a burden upon local education.

I have yet to go into a school district in Oregon and ask, "Where are your problems?" and they don't tell me it usually has to do with some Federal mandate. The truth is, what we are trying to do is empower local folks who understand about educating children and to lower the burden of Washington.

This idea of 100,000 teachers is great, but everyone should understand that is about sloganeering; that is about TV ads. That has nothing to do with educating kids. The truth is, we need an awful lot more than 100,000 teachers; We need 1 million teachers; but we ought to trust people locally to be able to make that judgment whether to build a school or to hire a teacher. We should not tie their hands. That is what has gone on, and the record should reflect that as well. This Republican is prepared to vote for a lot more resources, but he thinks we owe it to the parents of this country to give them reform as well.

Mr. President, I came here in morning business to try to interject myself into the debate on PNTR.

Mr. REID. Would my friend yield for a simple question?

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. I yield to my friend from Nevada.

Mr. REID. I have the greatest respect for the Senator from Oregon, but I would just a question. I think what the Senator says is right. I think we need reform. But doesn't he think we should have the ability to debate it on the

Senate floor? How are we going to get it otherwise?

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. I say to the Senator, I do think we should debate it longer than we have. I grant you that. What I have observed, as a junior Member, however, is that every time we go to focus on amendments, we can't get time agreements. We can't get agreements on some reasonable amount of time. Look, I have already taken all the gun votes. I will take them. I am for background checks. I am for things that will protect kids in the classroom. But I do not know why I should be asked to vote on them two and three and four times.

How many times do you need a vote to run a political ad against me? The truth is, I have taken the votes. Let's get on to debating education. We have done the gun debate.

Mr. REID. I just briefly say to my friend, we have stated publicly on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act we would have as few as eight amendments, with an hour time limit on each one of them, equally divided. And we haven't been able to get that agreement. That seems fair to me.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. It seems fair to me, I say to the Senator. I will certainly encourage my leadership to accede to that. What I am afraid of is the comment I read in USA Today, where Senator DASCHLE said: We are not interested in getting anything done. We are interested in obstructing this place and creating a train wreck because we think that is good politics. That really concerns me.

I have to tell you, I am always optimistic, but I am discouraged by the windup scene I am seeing develop here. We owe the American people something better than this. I think we need to get on to some reforms. I, for one, am committed to a generous and bipartisan effort in that regard.

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#### CHINA NORMAL TRADE RELATIONS

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 4444, a bill establishing permanent normal trade relations with the People's Republic of China.

I strongly believe that permanent normal trade relations will have a substantial and long-term political, economic, and national security benefit for our country. I have long maintained that as China becomes a member of the global community, its government and its people will benefit from these changes and the United States will benefit from better relations and, eventually, I believe, from a more liberal and less oppressive government.

Much of China's recent past has been marked by progression and regression, starts and fits toward economic liberalization that impact all levels of society, only to be matched by periods of oppression, when the government feels

that things are getting out from underneath its thumb. This one-step-forward, two-steps-back pace shows how truly feared the market place is in a Communist country. And I believe that if you are a true Communist, you do fear the marketplace. For it is that marketplace—the private sector—that will eventually prove to be the downfall of the Communist system in any country.

Like many of my colleagues, I am genuinely and deeply concerned about human rights abroad. For that reason, I traveled to China last year to investigate the human rights situation and to determine the state of religious freedom in that country. WTO membership and normal trade relations with China will eventually improve the human rights situation and, I believe, religious freedom in that country. The past few decades' gradual opening of trade, investment, and cultural exchanges with China have led to positive steps in the area of human rights and religious tolerance. That is not to say that all is well. There is much work to be done in the area of human rights, but on balance a "carrot and a stick" approach is better than the stick alone.

Globalization is part of "the carrot." It is globalization—the economic integration of their economy—that will introduce the Chinese people to new ideas and information. I believe that as a free market economy, we have a moral and ethical obligation to other nations to help them move toward free markets and into the global economy. Our own history shows the results of not pressing for this integration. During the late 19th century and also following World War I, our negligence in integrating both Japan and Germany had horrible results that reverberated through much of the 20th century. We must not make the same type of mistake with China.

The economic benefits to the United States of H.R. 4444 are great. Our markets to a great degree are already open to Chinese goods; this legislation will open their markets to our goods. This is good for America. And it is good for the people of my home State of Oregon. In the first year following China's membership in the global economy—economists predict trade will double with the United States. China is the sixth-largest market in the world for American agricultural products—and following WTO membership, that trade will account for one-third of the growth in exports over the next 10 years. In addition, according to the World Bank, China will spend an estimated \$750 billion in new infrastructure over the next decade.

This is wonderful for the United States, but let me take a moment and tell you what it will do for Oregon. My State is the Nation's largest producer of solid wood products and an important agricultural exporter. China's accession to the WTO and normal trade relations will benefit:

Wheat.—Oregon is a large wheat-growing State and China's grain poli-

cies will become more market-oriented. In addition, the 1999 U.S.-China bilateral trade agreement resulted in more exports of Northwest grain.

Vegetables.—Oregon is a major producer of beans, corn, and onions. Under the new agreements, tariffs on vegetables will drop by up to 60 percent.

Fruit.—Oregon grows berries, pears, cherries, and plums. China will reduce tariffs by up to 75 percent for fresh and processed deciduous fruit; and tariffs on apples, pears, and cherries will fall from 30 percent to 10 percent.

Solid wood.—China is the world's third-largest wood importer and after WTO accession, it will substantially reduce its remaining tariffs on valued-added wood products within the next 4 years.

Much has been said on the floor of the Senate in these past few weeks regarding normal trade relations with China. I have to confess that I do not think the arguments against this legislation stand on their own merit. Most of what I have heard in opposition to NTR has reflected the desire to punish China, the need to sanction China or the need to block China.

Those opposing this legislation have formed their arguments around the conclusion that NTR is really just a great plum for China and benefits only China. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As I previously stated our markets are already open to the Chinese—we already buy Chinese goods. This legislation will open up their market and it is a vast pool of consumers, to our goods. It benefits the United States economy. This debate is about advancing American values halfway around the world. Ninety-nine years ago Teddy Roosevelt, speaking at a state fair, said: "There is a homely adage which runs 'Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.'" At that time, the big stick meant America's warships and a show of American might abroad. Now the stick means America's economic might and American values. Free and fair trade is the weapon—the economic weapon of the 21st century.

It is free and fair global trade that will strengthen the forces of economic and political reform in China. It is free and fair global trade that will bring greater prosperity to both the United States and the Chinese people. It is free and fair global trade that will bolster human rights and improve religious freedom in that country. America can advance its values and help China integrate into the world economy with the help of this important legislation. I call on my colleagues to send a clean PNTR bill to the President and ask for his swift signature.

AMENDMENT NO. 4132

Mr. President, I rise to oppose the Thompson amendment which would add a sanctions mechanism and annual review regarding Chinese proliferation of nuclear and other weapons. I would like to take a moment and go over the problems with this legislation. While

the issue of weapons proliferation is a serious one, most of the elements of the Thompson legislation are already covered by current law. As many of my colleagues have noted, there are already numerous laws regarding nuclear proliferation, some of these laws include:

No. 1, the Export-Import Bank Act; No. 2, the Arms Control and Disarmament Act; No. 3, the Arms Export Control Act; No. 4, the International Emergency Economic Powers Act. This list goes on and on. Further, I have never been a great fan of unilateral actions. Multilateral programs agreements are by far the best and most effective approach.

The problem with unilateral sanctions is that they, at the end of the day, are rarely effective in achieving foreign policy goals. The history of our foreign policy is littered with a trail of ineffectual unilateral sanctions. The really harmful impact of this set of unilateral sanctions will fall on American exporters. Many of these sanctions will, at the end of the day, have the effect of blocking our export sales, by blocking U.S. credits or preventing financing. These actions will not have an effect on the underlying problem—they will only replace all sanctioned American products with foreign products. And we are not talking about military sales in many cases. The scope of this legislation is exceedingly broad and includes civilian transfers that do not actually contribute to proliferation problems.

The Thompson amendment will also tie the hands of future administrations. It will not allow any flexibility for a future President to make a decision based on contemporary issues involving the state of the Sino-American relationship at that time. And finally, as we all know, the politics of the situation dictate a clean PNTR bill. Simply put, this legislation will effectively kill this bill. If we are to pass PNTR during this Congress it is imperative we have a bill that will not require another vote in the House.

Mr. President, as I have shown up on the floor and have listened to the debate on PNTR. I have seen many people, Republican and Democrat, proposing amendments to this bill that have great appeal to me. They have great appeal to me because they advance noble principles. They advance American ideals. They advance the best of what we want to spread around the world. Economic freedom, human rights, improved labor conditions, improved environmental conditions, all of these things I support. But I fear the real motive behind some of these is to scuttle this trade agreement. I oppose that.

I also point out, as many others have, when it comes to these security issues, slavery issues, and whatnot, we already have these laws on the books to protect this country. We should not accede in this environment, in this debate, on a vote this important to scuttle this

trade agreement because to do so would shortchange the American people and certainly the people of my State.

I conclude with this story from my own life. The story is a lesson that has, frankly, governed much of my thinking with respect to trade and military security and foreign relations since I have been an adult.

I was a student at Brigham Young University, taking a class in military history. It was at the end of the Vietnam war. My professor was a retired Air Force general. There was great turmoil on the campuses of the United States. He made a comment that struck me and caught my attention. This professor's name was Phillip Flammer.

He said: We made a mistake to bomb the North Vietnamese with military armaments. That caught my attention—in a conservative place like this university, that a statement such as that would be made.

I thought: That is interesting.

He said: We should have bombed them, but we should have bombed them with Sears catalogs.

I thought: Hmm, there is a lesson I will remember.

His point was, if we want to tear down the walls of communism, we do it with our trade. We do it with our commerce. We do it with our culture. We do it with our communications to the world.

We have seen in Communist country after Communist country that when they are exposed to the miracles of the marketplace, what happens is a middle class develops. When a middle class develops, people begin to demand, with economic liberty, that they have political liberty as well.

So if you are interested in improving human rights, improving the environment, improving access for Americans to their markets, then this vote on PNTR is perhaps the most important vote that we will cast in this Congress, or perhaps any other for the economic future of our country.

If you care about spreading American values, resist these amendments, resist voting no to PNTR because you will do more to spread American values, American democracy, and advance American security by supporting this agreement than you can ever do by trying to amend it, to kill it, or by trying to vote in opposition to it when we come to a final vote.

I do not, for a moment, question the motives of anyone who is against this. Again, I admire the ideals advanced. But I simply question this method, this bill, at this time, to scuttle this most important agreement.

So I urge my colleagues to vote for PNTR and vote against the Thompson amendment—well-motivated but misguided at this time, given the laws we already have.

America needs this. We should not cede the Chinese market to the European nations. We should be there our-

selves. They are already here. We have yet to go there.

I urge an "aye" vote on the agreement and a "no" vote on the Thompson amendment.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the time of 10 o'clock has arrived and morning business is closed.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. I request the use of leader time at this time.

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

#### LEGISLATIVE CONSIDERATIONS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I want to say, before my friend leaves the floor, how much respect I have for the Senator from Oregon and the great example he sets for everyone in the bipartisan consideration of legislation.

I do want to say, though, before my friend leaves, that one of the pleasures of my service in the Senate is that I have been able to work with Senator DASCHLE. We served in the House together. We have served in the Senate together. He is the leader. I am the assistant leader.

There are very few meetings he attends that I am not there. For example, we had a meeting yesterday with the bipartisan leadership of both Houses. At that meeting with the President of the United States, Senator DASCHLE was very clear in saying he wanted to get things done this year. He gave a list of things he thought we could accomplish.

We are so close to being able to do something on the Patients' Bill of Rights, which the Senator from Oregon has voted, I believe, the right way on many occasions.

Senator DASCHLE in that meeting said that he wanted to get things done. He gave a list of things that should be done. Senator DASCHLE, in private meetings and in public meetings, has said the most important thing we can do is complete legislation that is already before the Senate, including the 11 appropriation bills that have not been completed.

I don't know what appears in U.S. News and World Report or whatever publication my friend from Oregon mentioned. The fact is, Senator DASCHLE has continually said publicly and privately the most important thing that we can do is enact legislation for the American people.

I think the record should be very clear that there is no intent on behalf of the minority to prevent anything from going forward. We want to move legislation. First of all, let's do the appropriations bills, and if we have time left over, do the other items, which I

believe we will do, as indicated in a meeting with the President yesterday. Let's do them.

I express my appreciation to the Senator from West Virginia for his patience.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time before the scheduled votes be extended for whatever time I have used under leader time.

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

#### TO AUTHORIZE EXTENSION OF NONDISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 4444, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 4444) to authorize extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (normal trade relations treatment) to the People's Republic of China, and to establish a framework for relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

Pending:

Wellstone amendment No. 4118, to require that the President certify to Congress that the People's Republic of China has taken certain actions with respect to ensuring human rights protection.

Wellstone amendment No. 4120, to require that the President certify to Congress that the People's Republic of China has responded to inquiries regarding certain people who have been detained or imprisoned and has made substantial progress in releasing from prison people incarcerated for organizing independent trade unions.

Wellstone amendment No. 4121, to strengthen the rights of workers to associate, organize and strike.

Smith (of New Hampshire) amendment No. 4129, to require that the Congressional-Executive Commission monitor the cooperation of the People's Republic of China with respect to POW/MIA issues, improvement in the areas of forced abortions, slave labor, and organ harvesting.

Byrd amendment No. 4131, to improve the certainty of the implementation of import relief in cases of affirmative determinations by the International Trade Commission with respect to market disruption to domestic producers of like or directly competitive products.

Thompson amendment No. 4132, to provide for the application of certain measures to covered countries in response to the contribution to the design, production, development, or acquisition of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons or ballistic or cruise missiles.

Hollings amendment No. 4134, to direct the Securities and Exchange Commission to require corporations to disclose foreign investment-related information in 10-K reports.

Hollings amendment No. 4135, to authorize and request the President to report to the Congress annually beginning in January, 2001, on the balance of trade with China for cereals (wheat, corn, and rice) and soybeans, and to direct the President to eliminate any deficit.

Hollings amendment No. 4136, to authorize and request the President to report to the Congress annually, beginning in January, 2001, on the balance of trade with China for advanced technology products, and direct the President to eliminate any deficit.