

he would acknowledge it, and my Republican colleagues on the committee will tell you—I said: Here is what I will do. If there is someone who is absolutely, positively going to be a fire storm, if they are brought up, I will flag that person as soon as you name him, tell you what the problem is, and tell you there is going to be a fight. And you can decide whether you want to go forward or not go forward.

That is not the case with Bonnie Campbell. I ask the Senator a question: Has anyone come to him and said, the reason I am against Bonnie Campbell is she is incompetent, or the reason I am against Bonnie Campbell is because she doesn't have a judicial temperament, or the reason I am against Bonnie Campbell is she is just not a mainstream person? I mean, I haven't heard anybody tell me why they are against Bonnie Campbell. Have you?

Mr. HARKIN. I can tell the Senator, no one has ever said that to me. In fact, Republicans in Iowa ask me why she is being held up. Why isn't she going through? Mainstream Republicans are asking me that. Editorials are being written in Iowa papers saying the Senate ought to move on this nominee and not hold her up. No, not one person has come up to me and said she is not qualified, not one person. When you were chairman and we had a Republican President and a Democratic Senate, we had just the opposite of what we have now. Nine circuit court judges were nominated in 1992 who were confirmed the same year.

Mr. BIDEN. In fairness, 5 of those 14 judges were not confirmed. We laid out why, and there was a great controversy about it. We debated it and we laid out why.

Again, I never question the right of the Senate or an individual Senator to say, I do not want so-and-so on the bench and I will tell you why and I will fight it.

I got that. I got that. I understand that. That is what the advise and consent clause is about. But what I don't get is: Hey, you know, she is a Democrat, we are Republicans. We may win so we will not confirm anybody until we determine whether we win.

Mr. HARKIN. I don't have all the memory the Senator has.

Mr. BIDEN. I have too much of it, unfortunately.

Mr. HARKIN. I am not on the Judiciary Committee. I had my staff look this up. I did remember Mr. Carnes, who was highly controversial, a very conservative assistant attorney general who was nominated that year, a lot of civil rights groups opposed him because he was considered one of the nation's best attorneys in arguing for the death penalty. There was talk about him being insensitive to civil rights, regarding the death penalty. Even with all of that, we brought him out on the floor and he passed in September of 1992. This was a controversial candidate. But, Bonnie Campbell has bipartisan support. Senator GRASS-

LEY and I have been calling for a Senate vote on her confirmation. She also has the bipartisan support from Democrats and Republicans from my state of Iowa who worked with her when she served as Iowa attorney general.

(Mr. L. CHAFEE assumed the chair.)

Mr. BIDEN. The point that is important to make for people who may be listening is that we Democrats controlled the committee. I remember this case explicitly because I got walloped. I ran for the Senate because of civil rights, and I got walloped because I held a hearing. Every liberal group in the country castigated me for holding the hearing. And then we referred Judge Carnes to the Senate—get this—in September of the election year; we confirmed a very controversial judge.

So, again, I understand the point the Senator is making. I just think this is a terrible precedent that we are continuing to pile on here. I think there is going to be a day when the nature of this place—as my Republican friends told me: What goes around comes around. That is a nice political axiom, but it is not good for the courts. We have a fiduciary responsibility under the Constitution to deal with the third coequal branch of the Government. We are not doing it responsibly. What the Senator hasn't mentioned and won't go into because the floor staff wants me to make a request here—but that doesn't even count. The District Court judges, where there are serious emergencies that exist because they cannot try the civil cases because the criminal cases are so backed up, we have held up for over a year.

Mr. HARKIN. I thank the Senator for yielding. I apologize to my friend from Washington who wants to speak. I did want to engage in this colloquy because of the history of the circuit judges. But, more specifically, everybody is now talking about the Violence Against Women Act and how it needs to be reauthorized. That must be done. Yet everybody is falling all over themselves. The House passed it today with 415 votes in the House.

Mr. BIDEN. Isn't that amazing—415 votes? You only get that on resolutions, say, for motherhood and the flag.

Mr. HARKIN. You know what 415 votes says to me? It says that the House has given Bonnie Campbell an A-plus for her job in implementing the provisions of the Violence Against Women's Act, since it became law in 1994. If you had somebody who had done a terrible job and given a bad impression of what the law was about, no, you would not have had 415 votes. It is obvious to all that Bonnie Campbell has run that office in an exemplary fashion, in a professional manner, and has brought honor to the judiciary, to the Department of Justice, and to this law that we passed here. Yet people are falling all over themselves today talking about how the Violence Against Women Act needs to be reauthorized. It makes sense to put someone on the federal bench who understands this impor-

tant law because she helped write it and implement it.

Mr. BIDEN. When she was attorney general, she helped write it.

Mr. HARKIN. She can help make sure that the law lives, that the Violence Against Women Act is enforced by the courts by being on the Eighth Circuit. Yet she is being held up here. I will tell you, it is not right. I hope when we take up the Violence Against Women Act, which I hope we do shortly, I will have more to say about this sort of split personality that we see here. They say: Yes, we are for the Violence Against Women Act, but, no, don't put a woman on the circuit court who is widely supported, who has headed this office and did it in an exemplary fashion.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I understand the passion the Senator feels. It is particularly difficult to go through this kind of thing when it is someone from your home State being so shabbily treated. I empathize with him. I might say parenthetically, Bonnie Campbell—and we are not being colloquial calling her Bonnie. People might be listening and saying, well, if this were a male, would they call him Johnny Campbell? Bonnie Campbell is what she is known as. So we are not making up pet names here. This is Bonnie Campbell.

This is a woman who has been an incredible lawyer, a first-rate attorney general in one of the States of the United States. She has run an office that, at its inception, didn't have a single employee, didn't have a single guideline, didn't have a single penny when she came in. She has done it in a fashion, as the Senator said, that the ABA thinks she is first rate. Coincidentally, this will cause controversy, but we seem to hold up people of color and women for the circuit court. They tend to get slowed up more than others around here. It simply is not right. This is a woman who is as mainstream as they come, who is well educated. If anybody has a judicial temperament, this person has it.

Mr. HARKIN. Absolutely.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I will join the Senator in whatever way he wants, as many times as he wants. I can't say enough good about Attorney General Campbell, and I have known her for a long time.

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—S. 3107

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I understand that S. 3107, introduced earlier today by Senator GRAHAM of Florida, is at the desk. I ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the bill for the first time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 3107) to amend title 18 of the Social Security Act to provide coverage of outpatient prescription drugs under the Medicare Program.

Mr. BIDEN. I now ask for its second reading and object to my own request. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, what is the business before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. S. 2045.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business, using such time as I may consume.

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

PIPELINE SAFETY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 2000

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, earlier this afternoon, the distinguished chairman of the Commerce Committee, Senator MCCAIN, and my distinguished colleague, Senator MURRAY, and I believe others on both sides of the partisan divide, came to the floor to speak about the Pipeline Safety Improvement Act of 2000. That bill was passed by the Senate unanimously. It resulted from a broad, bipartisan coalition that worked over a period of more than 1 year here in the Senate. It was sparked by my colleague and myself as a result of a terrible tragedy—an explosion in a gasoline pipeline in Bellingham, WA, that snuffed out the lives of three wonderful young men, destroyed a magnificent park, and left physical damage that will be years in repair.

No individual involved in this debate got every single element in that bill that he or she wished. Liquid and natural gas pipelines are vitally important to the Nation and the transportation of fuels.

Some thought renewal of the act would be somewhat weaker than the present statutes. Others, myself included, wanted considerable strengthening, particularly with respect to local input into the way in which such pipelines are managed in communities near homes, schools, parks, and the like.

The net result, however, is a pipeline safety renewal that is a considerable and significant improvement over the present act. There will be more notice. There will be more severe penalties. There will be greater opportunities for local comment and local participation.

But in spite of all of this work, in spite of the passage of this bill, little is happening in the House of Representatives.

The Bellingham Herald, the daily newspaper in the community subjected to this tragedy, pointed out just a little bit more than a week ago that the passage of the Senate bill means nothing if it is not passed by the House.

Almost immediately, however, after the passage of the Senate bill, a number of Members of the House of Representatives began to place roadblocks in the way of the passage of the Senate

bill, claiming it wasn't strong enough and it didn't do this, or it didn't do that, or it didn't do something else.

The House of Representatives has had exactly the same opportunity to deal with this issue as the Senate.

After a brief hearing a month or so after the accident took place, literally nothing at all took place in the House of Representatives. Many of us here were led to believe that if the Senate bill were passed in its ultimate form, it would be taken up and easily passed in the House of Representatives—until these last-minute critics began to point out what they consider to be the facts.

Talk is cheap. But talk doesn't create safer pipelines in the United States. Those who oppose this bill have proposed nothing with the remotest chance of passage by the House of Representatives, much less the Senate of the United States.

We have only a short time left. Those who criticize the bill as being too weak would do far better to pass the reforms that we have and attempt to build on them later than to destroy a bill which, if it does not pass within the next few weeks, will have to begin its process all over again next year, with highly questionable prospects.

Believing that accomplishment is better than demagoguery and that a bill beats oratory any day, I come here to join with both Republican and Democratic colleagues to plead with the Members of the House of Representatives to take up the Senate bill, to debate it to the extent the House wishes to do so, and to pass it so we can get it signed by the President and enacted—which, incidentally, I am confident would take place if the House were to pass the bill.

PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I wish to speak on a subject in a happy vein.

Yesterday, the President sent a letter to the Speaker and to our majority leader on the subject of prescription drugs. In that letter he said:

I urge you to send me the Senate legislation to let wholesalers and pharmacists bring affordable prescription drugs to the neighborhoods where our seniors live.

That proposal was passed by the Senate a couple of months ago as an amendment to the appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture. It was sponsored by my colleague from Vermont, Senator JEFFORDS, and by Senator DORGAN of North Dakota on the other side of the aisle, others, and myself. It is one of two or three ways that I have determined to be appropriate to reduce the cost of prescription drugs—not just to some Americans, not just to seniors, not just to low-income seniors, but to all Americans—by ending, or at least arresting, the outrageous discrimination that is being practiced by American pharmaceutical manufacturing concerns that are benefiting from American research

and development aspects, benefiting from the research paid for by the people of the United States through the National Institutes of Health, but still discriminating against American purchasers by charging them far more—sometimes more than twice as much—for prescription drugs than they do for the identical prescription drugs in Canada, in the United Kingdom, in Germany, New Mexico, and elsewhere around the world.

The proposal by Senator JEFFORDS and others to which the President referred at least allows our pharmacies and drugstores to purchase these drugs in Canada or elsewhere when they can find identical prescription drugs at lower prices than the American manufacturers will sell them for to these American pharmacists, and to reimport them into the United States and pass those savings on to our American citizens.

I don't often find myself in agreement with President Clinton, but I do in this case. I believe he is entirely right to urge the Speaker and the majority leader to include this proposal in the appropriations bill for the Department of Agriculture or, for that matter, any other bill going through the Senate and the House of Representatives, so that we can take this major step forward to slow down, at least, this unjustified discrimination in the cost of prescription drugs to all Americans.

In this case, I join with the President in asking both the Speaker and our majority leader to use their best efforts, as I believe they are doing, to see to it that this overdue relief is in fact offered.

MICROSOFT APPEAL

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, the Supreme Court, with eight of nine Justices concurring, has just agreed with Microsoft that the notorious prosecution of Microsoft by the Department of Justice should go through the normal process of appeal and should be determined and should be examined by the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals before any possible or potential appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

This was a correct decision for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the complexity of the case and the length of the record which, under almost any set of circumstances, would go through the normal appeals process.

The district court judge who decided the case and who has determined, I think entirely erroneously, that Microsoft must be broken up, wished to skip the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals, stating that this matter was of such importance that it should go directly to the Supreme Court. The real motivation of the lower court, I suspect, however, was the fact that one of the vital elements of the district court's decision is directly contradictory to a decision of just about 2 years