

know they can walk down the street and hear somebody else's pitch and they can pick and choose. Our problem is, because the economy is so good and there are so many jobs, we are having hard times even filling the entry-level jobs.

Right now, the economy is not so good. Right now, we don't have employers who are complaining about that problem. And right now is not the time to artificially price those entry-level jobs out of the market by attempting to repeal the law of supply and demand.

Who will get hurt the most by an increase in the minimum wage? Ross Perot won't get hurt. Donald Trump won't get hurt. The people at the top won't be affected one way or the other. It is the person who is working for today's minimum wage, whose economic benefit to his employer would not justify the proposed minimum wage, who gets laid off. That is who gets hurt. It is the people at the bottom whom we are trying to help, who will, ironically, suffer the most if the minimum wage goes through.

I can take you to employers in my State who laid people off the last time the minimum wage went up. Employers said: I simply cannot justify it anymore. I would like to pay them, I would like to have them working for me. But, frankly, the economic return I get from them is not worth it when the minimum wage goes up. I am going to lay them off. I can get the same job done with mechanization or some other device, or I can simply do without it in my business. It is just not worth it to me to pay that much.

So those people walked off the job into the unemployment lines, with the cold comfort that their nominal rate was now 50 cents or 75 cents higher than it had been. They were not collecting it, but at least they had the warm feeling of knowing the Government determined that was what they were worth.

The market determines who gets hired. The market determines who gets paid. We cannot repeal the law of supply and demand.

So I say again, the Senator from Massachusetts says he wants action on this bill and he is disturbed that we are not willing to take action. I would be willing to take action, and the action I would want to take for the benefit of the people at the bottom, for the benefit of the African-American teenagers in inner cities who cannot get work, for the benefit of those who are just trying to start out, would be to say let's kill this bill, let's take care of the people at the bottom the best way we can, but one of the things we should not do is price their jobs out of the market and put them in the unemployment lines.

I yield the floor.

## ANDEAN TRADE PREFERENCE EXPANSION ACT—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, what is the matter now before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Amendment No. 3433.

Mr. REID. Is that the Reed of Rhode Island amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

AMENDMENTS NOS. 3456, 3457, 3431, AND 3432  
WITHDRAWN

Mr. REID. Mr. President, on behalf of Senators DURBIN and BOXER, I ask unanimous consent that the following amendments be withdrawn: Amendments Nos. 3456, 3457, 3431, and 3432.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. GRAMM. Reserving the right to object, Mr. President, I am sorry, we were having a conference in the cloakroom and I didn't hear.

Mr. REID. Four amendments are being withdrawn.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, not only do I not object, I concur.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 3443

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I make a point of order against the Reed of Rhode Island amendment, No. 3443, that it is not properly drafted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The point of order is well taken, and the amendment falls.

AMENDMENT NO. 3447

Mr. REID. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the next matter in order is the Byrd amendment No. 3447; is that right?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The amendment is now pending.

AMENDMENT NO. 3527 TO AMENDMENT NO. 3447

Mr. REID. Mr. President I call up amendment No. 3527, a second-degree amendment to the Byrd amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the second-degree amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], for Mr. HOLLINGS, proposes an amendment numbered 3527 to Amendment No. 3447.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide for the certification of textile and apparel workers who lose their jobs or who have lost their jobs since the start of 1999 as eligible individuals for purposes of trade adjustment assistance and health insurance benefits)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

### SEC. . TRADE ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE AND HEALTH BENEFITS FOR TEXTILE AND APPAREL WORKERS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—An individual employed in the textile or apparel industry before the date of enactment of this Act who, after December 31, 1998—

(1) lost, or loses, his or her job (other than by termination for cause); and

(2) has not been re-employed in that industry, is deemed to be eligible for adjustment assistance under subchapter A of chapter 2 of title II of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2271 et seq.).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section takes effect on the day after the date of enactment of this Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, what is the pending question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Amendment No. 3527 to amendment No. 3447.

Mr. BYRD. Is amendment No. 3447 my amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD. The pending amendment is the second-degree amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I will speak on the first-degree amendment.

Mr. President, there can be little doubt that the various agencies of the executive branch are increasingly in the driver's seat on the important matter of trade. Meanwhile, the Congress and the American people are merely being brought along for the ride.

There are many reasons for this growing inequity, not the least of which is the willingness—at times, in fact, the eagerness—of this body to give us its rights and responsibilities under the Constitution. The Constitution mandates to the legislative branch—the people's branch—authority over foreign trade matters. It cannot, however, force the institution to exercise this authority and assert itself in trade matters. That requires the will of the Members. The lessons we have learned from our most recent experiences with trade agreements should be incentive enough for us to insist on our rights with regard to trade matters. We, after all, represent communities that have lost businesses to other countries and families who have lost their jobs to foreign firms.

Yet here we are, once again, considering a measure that further ties the hands of the members of this institution in the area of trade. Perhaps even worse, we are continuing a trend of blinding ourselves to the details of the trade agreements on which we must ultimately vote. It is almost as if we don't want to know.

At the very least, we should do more to lift the veil on trade negotiations so that we have some idea as to what it is this Nation is signing up to when the agreements go into effect. But to do so we need to establish the means for Members to participate more broadly, and in more detail, in important trade negotiations, as well as to carry out the important oversight functions that our complex trade laws require.

The fast track bill now before the Senate opens that door. The bill establishes the Congressional Oversight Group to serve as an official adviser to

the U.S. Trade Representative on matters that include the formulation of specific trade objectives and negotiating strategies, the development of new trade agreements, and the enforcement of existing trade agreements.

The establishment of the Congressional Oversight Group is intended to help the legislative branch play a more substantial role in trade negotiations, but as laid out in this legislation it does not go quite far enough.

As established by the bill, the Congressional Oversight Group will be comprised of five Senators, each of whom must serve on the Finance Committee, five Members of the House of Representatives, each of whom must serve on the Ways and Means Committee, and, on an ad hoc basis, the chairman and ranking members of the various committees of the House and Senate that would have jurisdiction over provisions in the trade agreement that is under negotiation. This select group, of perhaps as few as 10 Members of Congress, would then be given the authority, under law, to advise the U.S. Trade Representative on important matters of international commerce. Choosing members of the Finance and Ways and Means Committees was a logical move on the part of the authors of this provision. These are committees with, perhaps, the greatest degree of expertise in trade matters. But our trade negotiators, and the American people, should have the greater benefit of the breadth of expertise that can be offered by a more diverse representation of the Congress.

Mr. President, in some respects, the Senate has already gone over this territory. We have the National Security Working Group to assist the Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee with reviewing important arms control agreements. The National Security Working Group is not a replacement for those communities, but it is a useful back channel between the legislative and executive branches during the early stages of arms control negotiations, just as the Congressional Oversight Group is intended to do for trade negotiations. But the National Security Working Group has functioned well because its membership is not limited to those Senators who serve on the committees of jurisdiction. The National Security Working Group has 20 members, eight of whom serve on neither the Armed Services Committee or the Foreign Relations Committee. Indeed, one of the group's greatest strengths is that it draws its membership from the whole Senate, rather than just one committee.

The amendment I offer expands the Congressional Oversight Group to 22 members, selected from the membership of the Senate and the House of Representatives who do not serve on the Finance Committee in the Senate or the Ways and Means Committee in the House. Just as with the National Security Working Group, the leader-

ship of each House of Congress will serve on this panel. In addition, the leadership of each House will select eight additional members to complete the Congressional Oversight Group. It also authorizes expenses for Senate staff, so that the group can follow the negotiations of trade agreements on a full-time basis, not just as the schedules of the members of the group allow.

The changes that I propose to the composition of the Congressional Oversight Group as established in the fast-track bill do not in any way detract from the consultations between the administration and the congressional committees of jurisdiction. The Trade Act of 1974 established a process for consultation between the congressional committees of jurisdiction and the executive branch. At the beginning of each Congress, the President pro tempore of the Senate is directed to appoint, after consultation with the chairman of the Finance Committee, five members of that committee to work with the U.S. Trade Representative during the negotiation of trade agreements. The Speaker of the House is also directed to make appointments for members of the House committees of jurisdiction to serve in the same advisory role.

The U.S. Trade Representative is directed to keep these congressional advisors "currently informed on the trade policy of the United States," and make these advisors aware of any proposed changes to our trade policy. This is the mechanism by which the members of the committees of jurisdiction can remain informed of the progress in negotiating fast-track agreements.

My amendment prevents the congressional Oversight Group from being a redundant entity, as it currently is configured in the fast-track bill, and expands it to include a broader group of members of Congress in both Houses who are interested in trade, but do not serve on the Finance Committee or the Ways and Means Committee. The amendment does not elevate the Congressional Oversight Group above the status of the committees of jurisdiction on trade matters. In fact, my amendment specifically directs that any meetings that are open to the Congressional Oversight Group shall also be open to congressional advisers for trade policy.

Because trade agreements encompass so many issues, including labor protections and environmental standards, as well as adjustments to our own trade rules, all committees with jurisdiction should be fully consulted at all stages of negotiations on a new trade agreement. But many Senators who do not serve on the committees of jurisdiction also have great interest in our trade laws and they can offer significant contributions. These Senators should have the opportunity to receive similar consultations. The Congressional Oversight Group, as laid out by my amendment, would allow these Senators with an interest in trade matters to be fully

informed of the progress of negotiations.

The fast-track procedure for considering trade bills turns the legislative process on its head. It forbids Senators from offering amendments, even for the purpose of clarifying the intent of the agreement in question. The fast-track procedures limit the time that a trade agreement could be debated, as if Senators should not be given the time to learn what is really in the agreement.

In that case, the only Senators who would really know what a trade agreement does, and why it needs to be done, are those Senators who participate during the negotiation of those agreements. Right now, only five Senators have been appointed to be congressional trade advisors to the U.S. Trade Representative, and every one of those Senators serves on the Committee on Finance. It is all well and good to draw upon the expertise of the members of the Finance Committee, but what about the rest of us?

At what point will we, who do not serve on the Finance Committee, be made aware of the progress of trade negotiations? When will those Members of the Senate who are not on the committees of jurisdiction have an opportunity to see that the interests of our States are protected by a trade agreement? Is it when the agreement is signed, sealed, and delivered to Congress for an up-or-down vote? Or are we, as the elected representatives of the people, entitled to have our input on these trade agreements while there is still an opportunity to do so?

In an increasingly global marketplace, the ramifications of trade negotiations are undoubtedly reaching into the smallest crevices of our economy. The types of industries, the numbers of businesses, and every American's everyday concerns that are being impacted by foreign trade are real and constantly growing. The consultation of a broader number of Senators on potential trade agreements will more adequately and appropriately address the pervasive influence of foreign trade on America today. My amendment to change the composition of the Congressional Oversight Group will help end the exclusive nature of trade consultations. I urge my colleagues to support this amendment.

Mr. DORGAN. I wonder if the Senator from West Virginia will yield for a question.

Mr. BYRD. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. DORGAN. First, I ask unanimous consent that I be added as a cosponsor to this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CANTWELL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, the Senator from West Virginia has offered a very sound proposal to this so-called fast-track legislation. I was wondering if the Senator from West Virginia, who has been in this Chamber a long while, knows of circumstances where other

things have been given "fast track" treatment in ways that help ordinary folks.

Has the Senator from West Virginia been aware of circumstances where, for example, legislation that affects ordinary Americans is given fast-track authority to be considered here?

Mr. BYRD. No, no.

Mr. DORGAN. How about the disputes against unfair foreign trade practices that the steel industry raises or that family farmers or textile manufacturers raise—do the disputes they deem they need to bring because they are victims of unfair trade get fast-tracked or do they get slow-tracked?

Mr. BYRD. No, they get slow-tracked.

Mr. DORGAN. I wonder if the Senator will agree that, while fast track is making new agreements and shoving them through the Congress with no amendments, efforts to correct the problems in trade that are faced by so many American workers and so many businesses cannot get any action, let alone slow-track; they get no movement at all. Is that not the case?

Mr. BYRD. That is the case, precisely.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, it is ever more important that the Senator's amendment be approved. To the extent Congress is going to provide so-called fast-track authority, we need people looking over the shoulders of those who are going to negotiate these trade agreements.

I was in a room in Montreal when the United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement was negotiated. It did not do much good, frankly. I went there and heard what the negotiator had to tell us, but it was not part of the negotiations. When I got back here, I discovered that which was negotiated behind the scenes in a secret agreement did not come out until 2 years later, much to the detriment of American farmers.

Senator BYRD is on the right track saying if fast track is going to happen—and I do not support fast track—but if it is going to happen, in future negotiations, let's have more people looking over the shoulders of those who are negotiating on behalf of our country.

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. DAYTON. Madam President, I rise as a cosponsor of Senator BYRD's amendment, and I wish to express my support for this amendment, if my voice will let me do so.

I am very proud to be a cosponsor of this amendment. It is a very important improvement to this legislation. I particularly believe those who found the Dayton-Craig amendment to be anathema should look at this very closely, welcome it, and support it, as should all of my colleagues.

It does provide, as the Senator from North Dakota just said correctly, an

ongoing involvement of the Members of both the House and the Senate in these negotiations. If we are going to be asked to approve these agreements on an expedited basis when they come to us, then I think it is essential we have this opportunity to participate.

The Byrd amendment provides us with a group, the staff, and resources necessary to make qualified judgments. That is an essential role if we are going to have a true partnership with the executive branch.

I note the Constitution of the United States, which the distinguished Senator from West Virginia knows so well, ascribes to the legislative branch the sole authority for governing trade negotiations and all aspects of trade. It does not mention the executive branch. Certainly that responsibility has been devolving to a shared relationship, but it is certainly not one this branch could responsibly cede nor would it want to cede.

I also point out that given the arrangements with the World Trade Organization, which is still expanding its breadth and its reach, once rules have been established by that body, it is my understanding they can only be changed by unanimous concurrence of all participating countries, which means that once this country has given up to the World Trade Organization any of the laws or the protections that have been established for the benefit of the American people, we cannot unilaterally take them back, which makes it even more important that the amendment of the Senator from West Virginia be passed to give the Congress that oversight and chance to anticipate ahead of time what the consequences are going to be of some of these decisions.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the distinguished Senator from Minnesota. I appreciate his willingness to cosponsor the amendment, and I value his association in the matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BAUCUS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

AMENDMENTS NOS. 3448 AND 3449

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia controls 48 minutes.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Madam President, I speak on amendments Nos. 3448 and 3449, which I offered earlier.

Madam President, for nearly 50 years I have worked to preserve the institu-

tional integrity of the Senate and the House. Throughout this long period, I have repeatedly and consistently opposed exactly the type of fast-track provisions that are contained in this bill. During my decades in the Senate, I have staunchly opposed fast-track because I believe it improperly delegates to the Executive Branch unwarranted and excessive power over the regulation of foreign commerce. I have to say, however, that upon reviewing this bill, I find its provisions are some of the most offensive to date. This bill continues the sorry trend of giving the President carte blanche to determine what will be contained in a series of trade agreements, and—except for the provisions on trade remedies exempted by the Dayton-Craig amendment—deprives the Senate of any opportunity to amend these agreements in order to either improve their provisions or correct any deficiencies they may contain.

This bill impedes the ability of the Senate to enact a resolution of disapproval against a trade agreement that it finds objectionable. Although, at first glance, the bill appears to permit a Senator to introduce a resolution of disapproval rejecting a trade agreement that is brought back to the Senate by the President, the reality is that such a resolution most probably would never come to the floor of the Senate for a vote.

This is because the bill states that, once a resolution of disapproval is introduced and referred to the Senate Finance Committee, it will not be in order for the full Senate to consider the resolution if it has not been reported by that committee. In other words, a disapproval resolution cannot be forced to the floor through a discharge of the Senate Finance Committee. The way this bill is currently written, if a resolution of disapproval is not reported out of the Senate Finance Committee, it might as well never have been introduced. The resolution simply languishes, and languishes, and languishes, and languishes.

This means that, so long as the Senate Finance Committee endorses the President's agreement, the views of the rest of the Senate are irrelevant. Enacting fast-track in this bill not only provides the President with unfettered authority to negotiate trade agreements, it also prevents the Senate from exercising its constitutional responsibility to reject or modify trade agreements that are not in the best interests of the American people.

The Constitution in Article 1, Section 8, not only provides Congress with the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises" and to "regulate commerce with foreign nations," but it also gives the Congress the authority to enact all legislation that "shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." This authority of the Congress to enact or to refuse to enact legislation

applies specifically to the trade agreements that the President seeks to negotiate under fast-track.

It is imperative that every Senator retain his or her right to introduce a resolution of disapproval that can be considered in the light of day by the full Senate. The rules of the Senate exist not only to protect the rights of its Members. In fact, it should be said that the rules and procedures exist to protect the rights of the people. This body is uniquely structured to provide a voice and power to the minority. I repeat, the minority. And I remind my colleagues in this Chamber that a minority can be right. The rules of this body, in fact, provide each individual member with leverage, and each of us has a stake in ensuring that these rules are respected, and that procedural changes of this type are only undertaken with great care and thoughtfulness.

To this end, I am introducing two amendments to require that, upon introduction, any resolution of disapproval—including an extension resolution of disapproval—will be referred not only to the Senate Committee on Finance, but also to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. After all, it is the Rules Committee that is charged with making the rules and procedures that govern this institution, and its expertise is essential to guarantee that the commitments undertaken by our trading partners in the trade agreements we negotiate are enforceable under U.S. law.

Under these amendments, each of these committees will be required to report the resolution of disapproval that has been referred to it within 10 days of the date of its introduction and, if either of these committees fails to report the resolution of disapproval within that time, either of these committees shall automatically be discharged from further consideration of the resolution. The resolution shall then be placed directly on the Senate Calendar. Once the disapproval resolution is placed on the Senate Calendar, any Senator may make a motion to proceed to consider that resolution, and the motion to consider the resolution shall not be debatable.

The language in this bill and its accompanying report prohibiting a resolution of disapproval from being discharged from the Finance Committee constitutes a sharp distortion of the Senate's rules that would dramatically impede the rights of the 79 Members of the Senate who happen not to serve on the Senate Finance Committee. In other words, almost four-fifths of the Senate will have no say regarding whether what the President has negotiated is right or wrong.

If enacted as currently written, this bill would effectively cut a majority of Senators out of the trade regulation process, preventing them from correcting sweeping changes in trade law that could unfairly affect the lives of their constituents who rely on the Sen-

ate to protect their interests. It is not as if Senators, in recent years, have had much of a say in trade matters. They have not. And what little voice they have had has been suppressed, if not silenced, on too many occasions by this gimmick called fast-track, a gimmick now renamed "trade promotion authority." This legislation goes beyond fast-track in its impairment of the Senate's prerogatives.

I cannot support surrendering the rights and prerogatives, the duties and responsibilities of the Senate to any president of any political party. We in the Congress have an obligation to strike down trade agreements that adversely affect the American people. But it is impossible for us to do so if we do not provide ourselves the opportunity to adequately review, debate, amend, or reject their provisions as we are rightly empowered to do under the Constitution of the United States. These amendments ensure that we retain the power to modify or reject trade agreements that are not in the best interests of the majority of the people of the United States and, in so doing, protect the economic well-being of the Nation and of the people we represent.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. Madam President, I support giving the President trade promotion authority, as the bill now before the Senate would do. It is essential that we work with President Bush to ensure that we break down barriers and promote the sale of U.S. goods and services and agricultural commodities in other countries.

Export markets are absolutely necessary to assure the profitability of American agriculture. America's farmers are producing more but exporting less.

Last year, exports of U.S. farm products amounted to just over \$50 billion. That is a decrease from 5 years ago when we reached a high of \$60 billion in foreign exports.

For our country to prosper, we must have access to foreign markets. These markets not only help farmers; they help create jobs in processing industries, as well as transportation.

Tariffs in other countries against our farm products are too high. They can be reduced through aggressive negotiation by our President. The tariff on U.S. agricultural products averages over 60 percent compared to under 5 percent on other domestic goods. If the President had the authority to negotiate international trade agreements, farm receipts would go up and not down as has been our recent experience.

One out of every three acres planted by farmers across America is intended for export. But because we aren't selling all we produce, commodity prices are going down, and the agricultural sector is having a very hard time making ends meet.

One of my State's biggest exports is poultry. The Mississippi broiler industry, which is one of the largest in the Nation, accounts for 40 percent of all farm receipts in my State. That industry especially benefits from trade agreements that prohibit quotas and reduce tariffs.

As a result of breaking down trade barriers on poultry, my State's exports to the Philippines, for example, have risen over 600 percent. This is a clear reminder of the positive result we can obtain through free trade agreements.

Throughout the world, there are about 150 different trade agreements among other countries. The United States is only partner to three of them. For every market that is opened through country-to-country negotiations, an opportunity is lost for America.

I urge the Senate to approve this trade promotion authority legislation.

I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DAYTON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 3543 TO AMENDMENT NO. 3401

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order at this point that I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of myself and Senator VOINOVICH, an amendment to the Baucus substitute.

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

The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN], for himself and Mr. VOINOVICH, proposes an amendment numbered 3543 to amendment No. 3401.

On page 228, line 21, insert after "exports" the following: "(including motor vehicles and vehicle parts)".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I offer an amendment with Senator VOINOVICH, my fellow co-chair of the Senate Auto Caucus and Senator STABENOW. Our amendment would include in one of the listed principal negotiating objectives of the United States to reduce trade barriers in other countries to U.S. motor vehicles and vehicle parts. Increasing access for our products to markets which are closed or partially closed to us surely should be the objective of all of us.

Other countries have full access to our market for their autos and auto parts. The fast track provision we are considering makes it a principal negotiating objective to expand trade and reduce barriers for trade in services, foreign investment, intellectual property, electronic commerce, and agriculture, and other sectors. Yet the biggest portion of our trade deficit is in

autos. In 2001, our automotive deficit made up over 31 percent of our total trade deficit with the world. In 2001, our automotive deficit was 59 percent of our total trade deficit with Japan and 53 percent of our total deficit with Korea.

No omnibus trade bill should leave the Senate without addressing barriers to our products which are the largest contributors to our trade deficit. We can start by making opening foreign markets for U.S. automotive products one of our principal negotiating objectives.

America's domestic auto industry is the largest manufacturing industry in the United States. The domestic auto industry alone contributes almost 4 percent to the total U.S. Gross Domestic Products. Our domestic auto manufacturers operate 52 manufacturing and assembly facilities in 19 states around the country, and when auto parts manufacturers are included, there is an automotive manufacturing presence in almost every state. The Big 3 automakers directly employ over 500,000 people in automotive-related jobs in the U.S. That number grows by an additional 2 million jobs when you count automotive suppliers and other related industries.

The auto industry is also a hi-tech manufacturing industry. It is one of the largest users of computers and the advanced technologies. It also spends nearly \$20 billion annually on research and development, more than any other industrial sector in America. The U.S. auto industry contributes mightily to our economic well being. Yet we continue to neglect it when it comes to insisting on fair market access for exports of autos and auto parts.

The U.S. passenger vehicle market is the most open and competitive in the world. But when we go to sell our autos and auto parts in foreign markets, we face significant trade restrictions. Some of the most egregious practitioners of unfair trade in autos and auto parts are Japan and Korea. The sale of American vehicles and auto parts in Japan has been blocked by protectionist measures such as government regulations dealing with vehicle certification, inspection, and repair. In Korea, restrictions include a tax system that discriminates against imported vehicles by making them prohibitively expensive, discriminatory practices such as labeling foreign vehicles as "luxury goods," and the perception that the purchase of a foreign vehicle will trigger a tax audit.

Since 1990, the U.S. automotive trade deficit with Japan has averaged 55 percent of our total trade deficit with Japan. A 5 year market opening agreement in autos and auto parts that was largely a failure. The U.S. automotive trade deficit with Korea has grown significantly since 1995 despite two automotive market opening agreements with Korea.

Japan and Korea want it both ways. They want to keep a sanctuary auto-

motive home market that is protected from competition while they export a significant portion of production to the United States.

We have been trying to open Japan's automotive markets for decades to no avail. In the mid-1980's we engaged in 8 years of Market Oriented Sector Specific, MOSS, talks with Japan to try to open Japan's auto parts market. During that time, our auto parts deficit with Japan rose from \$3.3 billion in 1985 to nearly \$11 billion in 1992 despite modest increases in sales by U.S. parts makers to the Japanese. The MOSS talks were followed by Framework talks in autos and auto parts which led to a 1995 U.S.-Japan Automotive Trade Agreement with the goal of increasing market access in Japan for U.S. autos and auto parts. That goal has not been achieved. Despite that fact, the Administration has allowed the Agreement to expire. Meanwhile, the U.S. trade deficit with Japan in autos and auto parts has gotten worse. The auto and auto parts trade deficit was \$32.9 billion in 1995. By the end of 2000 when the Agreement was allowed to expire, it was \$44.2 billion, more than 60 percent of the overall U.S. trade deficit with Japan and 10 percent of the worldwide U.S. trade deficit.

The U.S. government, in its annual Trade Barriers Report, acknowledges that it is disappointed with the access of North American-made vehicles and parts to Japan.

When it comes to automotive trade between the United States and Korea, the numbers speak for themselves. South Korea has the most closed market for imported cars and trucks in the developed world. While foreign vehicles account for only 1/2 of one percent of its total vehicle market, Korea depends on open markets in other countries to absorb its auto exports. Korea exports half of all the passenger vehicles it produces, with many of those vehicles coming to the U.S. Last year, Korea imported only 7,747 vehicles from the United States and exported over 600,000 to our country.

This imbalance exists despite two separate automotive trade agreements between the United States and Korea which were supposed to open Korea's market: the first in 1995 and the second in 1998. This imbalance is unfair to America and its workers and only threatens to get worse if we do not act immediately.

The amendment Senator VOINOVICH and I have introduced attempts to address the gross inequities in market access for U.S. autos and auto parts among some of our major trading partners. Our amendment would make market access for motor vehicles and vehicle parts a principal negotiating objective of the United States. The underlying bill includes 14 principal negotiating objectives and the Senate voted overwhelmingly to add textiles to that list. Since autos and auto parts are the largest part of our deficit, it is unacceptable that foreign trade barriers

that exclude U.S.-made passenger vehicles and auto parts from certain markets are allowed to exist. We must act to get rid of those barriers.

Our amendment would make it a principal negotiating objective to expand competitive market opportunities for U.S. motor vehicles and vehicle parts and to obtain fairer and more open conditions of trade by reducing or eliminating tariff and nontariff barriers.

The current trade situation in autos and auto parts is unfair to America. We simply want access—to compete—no guarantees, just access. Every nation in the world strives to have a successful automotive industry and fights for that industry. We should do the same. The nearly 2.5 million men and women working in our nation's largest manufacturing industry deserve nothing less.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? If not, without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

The amendment (No. 3543) was agreed to.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. GRASSLEY. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LEVIN. If there is no one else who seeks recognition at this point—

Mr. GRASSLEY. I would like to have recognition on another matter, on the Byrd amendment.

Mr. LEVIN. If I may take 2 minutes.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Yes, go ahead.

I thank my friend, Senator GRASSLEY, for helping us to work out this matter. As always, he is a gentleman and is accommodating. Again, we are very grateful for the effort he made to make this possible.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 3447

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, is the regular order the Byrd amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The regular order is the Hollings second-degree amendment to the Byrd amendment.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Would I be in order to speak on the Byrd underlying amendment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I am strongly opposed to this amendment, for two reasons.

First, the amendment would disrupt the bipartisan balance we achieved in the Finance Committee on Trade Promotion Authority. Republicans and Democrats looked carefully at all the issues, especially the issues relating to Congressional notification and consultation, and approved a bill that, overall, goes farther in terms of congressional oversight and consultation than we have ever gone in fast-track legislation.

The second reason I oppose this amendment is that it would essentially

strip the Finance Committee of much of its traditional authority and jurisdiction over the trade policy oversight function.

According to this proposed provision, none of the proposed eight members of the Congressional Oversight Group may be members of the Senate Finance Committee.

Under this amendment, more than twenty percent of the Senate would be shut out from direct oversight of how trade negotiations subject to fast-track procedures are being conducted.

In that regard, this is a very radical amendment.

It strikes me as extremely unusual, to say the very least, that the Finance Committee, which wrote and passed the bipartisan trade promotion authority bill in the first place, would be given almost no role whatever in the oversight process once trade promotion authority becomes law.

I say almost no role, because some Finance Committee members—those few who are congressional advisers for trade policy—would apparently have some limited role, in that the cochairs of the Congressional Oversight Group are required to meet with them “regularly”.

Mr. President, this is not the way that oversight of trade policy should be conducted.

I don't believe that any member of a Senate Committee—especially the Finance Committee—should be automatically excluded from the entity that the Senate establishes to review and monitor trade negotiations.

But that is exactly what this amendment does.

Do the proponents of this amendment mean that we can't trust Members of the Finance Committee to do the job the jurisdiction of their committee confers on them?

It appears that is exactly what this means.

This is not just bad policy.

Specifically excluding Senators from serving in any oversight capacity would also set a terrible precedent.

The congressional oversight process that Senator BAUCUS and I designed in the bipartisan trade promotion authority bill is a good one, and it should be preserved.

Mr. President, I strongly urge my colleagues to reject this amendment.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, hopefully, tomorrow, after a few rollcall votes on a few remaining amendments, we are going to have an opportunity to pass this bipartisan trade promotion authority act of 2002. I would like to

address the issue of the bill for a few minutes while we are waiting for final action by the Senate on how we proceed tomorrow.

This bill provides the President with the flexibility he needs to negotiate strong international trade agreements on behalf of U.S. workers and farmers while maintaining Congress's constitutional role over U.S. trade policy. It represents a thoughtful approach to addressing the complex relationships between international trade, workers' rights, and the environment, without undermining the fundamental purpose and proven effectiveness of trade promotion authority procedures.

Specifically, this bipartisan act gives the administration the authority to negotiate and bring back trade agreements to Congress that will eliminate and reduce trade barriers relating to manufacturing, services, agriculture, intellectual property, investment, and e-commerce.

The legislation supports eliminating subsidies that decrease market opportunities for U.S. agriculture or unfairly distort markets to the detriment of the United States, with special emphasis on biotechnology, ending unjustified barriers not based on sound science, and fair treatment for import-sensitive agriculture.

The legislation preserves U.S. sovereignty while engaging new trade agreements that will create solid economic growth, improve efficiency and innovation, create better, high-paying jobs for hard-working Americans that on average pay 15 percent above the average wage, and increases the availability of attractively priced products into the U.S. market for the benefit of our consumers.

The legislation adds a trade negotiating objective on labor and the environment—very important provisions for many Members of this body. This is done to ensure that a party to a trade agreement does not fail to effectively enforce its labor and environmental laws through a sustained or recurring course of action or inaction, recognizing a government retains certain discretion.

It strengthens, under the labor and environmental provisions, the capacity to promote respect for core labor standards and to protect the environment, to reduce or eliminate government practices or policies that unduly threaten sustainable development, and it seeks market access for U.S. environmental technologies, goods, and services.

The legislation adds a new negotiating objective on enforcement, giving labor and environment disputes covered by the agreement parity with other issues in the trade agreement.

It sets forth other Presidential priorities not covered by trade promotion authority, including greater cooperation between the World Trade Organization on the one hand, and the International Labor Organization on the other hand, and consultative mecha-

nisms among parties to trade agreements to strengthen the capacity of U.S. trading partners to promote respect for core labor standards and the environment, technical assistance on labor issues, and reporting on the child labor laws of U.S. trading partners.

The legislation directs the President to take into account legitimate health, safety, essential security, and consumer interests. It directs the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative to preserve our ability to enforce vigorously U.S. trade remedy laws and avoid agreements which lessen the effectiveness of U.S. antidumping or countervailing duty laws.

The legislation contains negotiating objectives on investment to increase transparency for the dispute settlement process, calls for standards of expropriation and compensation that are consistent with U.S. legal principles and practice, and eliminates frivolous claims.

The bill expands and improves consultations between the administration and Congress before, during, and after trade negotiations and particularly in the development of implementing legislation.

The Bipartisan Trade Promotion Assistance Act provides trade promotion authority until June 1, 2005, with a possibility of a 2-year extension. I point this out because there is a misunderstanding that Congress is going to give all of its power to the President. We have the consultation I talked about. Most importantly, whatever is agreed to by the President has to be passed by Congress as a law before any agreement can become effective. But we also do not give this power away to the President forever. This is the year 2002, almost June 1. So we are talking about the next 3 years with the possibility of a 2-year extension.

I happen to believe we ought to have standing trade negotiation authority for the President, and we should not have these lapses that we have had since 1994, but obviously the extent to which we give it for shorter periods of time ought to satisfy more Members of this body that we are not giving up our congressional power, which is a specific grant in our Constitution that Congress shall regulate interstate and foreign commerce.

The Bipartisan Trade Promotion Authority Act also contains unprecedented procedures that ensure prompt, meaningful, and extensive consultations with the Congress throughout the negotiating process. In other words, Members of this body and the other body are going to have ample opportunity while the President is doing all this negotiating to have reports given to us, feedback and, obviously, if Congress has to pass a final product, the President, in negotiating a position for the United States, is going to have to take into consideration the views of Members of Congress if the President wants to reach an agreement that will eventually pass by a majority vote in both the House and Senate.



In regard to this negotiation process and consultation therein, the bill establishes a congressional oversight group which is a broad-based, bipartisan, and permanent institution to be accredited as though official advisers to the U.S. delegation to consult with the U.S. Trade Representative and provide advice regarding formulation of specific objectives, negotiation strategies and positions, and development of the final trade agreement.

This congressional oversight group would maximize bipartisanship and input from Members from a broad range of committees comprising the chairman and ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, three additional committee members, and also the chairman and ranking member, and their designees, of each committee with a jurisdiction over any law affected by trade agreements being negotiated.

The Bipartisan Trade Promotion Assistance Act also requires development of a written plan by the U.S. Trade Representative for consulting with Congress throughout the negotiations. That plan must include provisions for regular and detailed briefings of the congressional oversight group throughout the negotiations, access to documents relating to negotiations by members of the congressional oversight group, and their designated staffs. There would be very close cooperation between the congressional oversight group and the U.S. Trade Representative at all critical periods of the negotiations, including at negotiation sites, after the agreement is concluded, consultations regarding ongoing compliance and enforcement of commitments under the agreement, and finally, transmittal of a report by the Secretary of Commerce to Congress on U.S. strategy for correcting World Trade Organization dispute settlement reports that add to obligations or diminish rights of the United States.

It also provides that the President provide Congress with a written notice of intent to enter negotiations 90 days before initiating negotiations, or as soon as feasible after enactment of trade promotion authority; for negotiations already underway, including the intended date for entering negotiations, specific U.S. objectives and statement of whether seeking new agreements or changes in the existing agreement; and that the President and the U.S. Trade Representative consult with Congress before initiating or continuing negotiations on agricultural products, fish and shellfish trade, textiles and apparel products.

Before and after negotiations begin, the President and U.S. Trade Representative must consult with Congress regarding the negotiations, and particularly the U.S. Trade Representative must consult with all committees with jurisdiction over laws that would affect an agreement.

Before and after negotiations begin, if a majority of the members of the

Congressional Oversight Committee request a meeting, the President himself must meet with the group regarding the negotiations.

I have used the word "consult" many times. It is all reflected in the legislation that Congress is very carefully guarding its constitutional power to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, and we are having a contract with the President of the United States, but that contract is not a blank check to the President of the United States. He keeps in constant touch with us as the words "consulting" and "consultation" and "consult" imply, legally binding that he do that.

So I hope it is very clear we are not willy-nilly delegating some power to the President. Not at all. We are going to be a part of this process.

Now, people might ask why, if Congress is going to be a part of the process, are we having this contract with the President to negotiate for us? It is because of the impossibility, and it ought to be very obvious, 535 Members of Congress not having the ability to be in Geneva or someplace else negotiating with 142 other countries on the issue of some trade agreement. So we ask the President to do it.

I hope the emphasis upon consulting and Congress demanding that the President sit down at certain points during this process indicates that, in fact, we are very selfishly guarding congressional responsibility.

There is another part of notice and consultation that is required before actually entering into final trade agreements by the President, before it is actually signed in other words, because immediately after initiating an agreement the U.S. Trade Representative must consult closely with appropriate congressional committees, including the congressional trade advisers, the congressional oversight group, and the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture.

The President is required, at least 90 days before entering an agreement, to formally notify Congress of his intent to enter into an agreement and publish notice of such intent in the Federal Register. At this time, the President must also notify the appropriate congressional committees of certain amendments proposed to be included in the implementing bill and then provide the International Trade Commission with details of the agreement so the ITC can prepare and submit an assessment of the likely impact of the agreement on the U.S. economy and specific industry sectors.

Before entering into an agreement, the President must consult with the appropriate congressional committees and the congressional oversight group regarding three matters: The nature of the agreement; the extent to which the agreement meets congressional objectives as outlined in the bill before Congress right now; and the implementation of that agreement.

Both Houses of Congress have the ability, in the final analysis, as we all

know and as has been the practice for the last 25 years, to disapprove an agreement by passing separate disapproval resolutions if the administration fails or refuses to notify or consult with Congress in accordance with the bill that is before Congress right now that hopefully we will vote on tomorrow.

Another example of notice and consultation after a trade agreement is entered into: After the President signs it, as soon as practical after entering into an agreement, the President must submit a copy of the agreement to Congress along with statements or reasons that he had for entering into that agreement. The President is required, at least 60 days after entering an agreement, to submit to Congress a description of the changes to existing laws that would be needed to comply with the agreement.

The President is also required to submit to Congress the final text of the agreement and provide an explanation of how the bill implementing the agreement would change existing law, how the agreement makes progress at achieving the Trade Promotion Authority Act's objective, and also he must submit an implementation plan.

When that is all done, we then have to have notice and consultation on an ongoing basis. The President must report to the appropriate congressional committees on the mechanisms created among parties in the agreement to promote respect for core labor standards and to develop and implement sound environmental and health standards.

The President must also report on the required reviews of the impact of future trade agreements on the environment and U.S. employment. Congress may withdraw a trade promotion authority for failure to consult. Disapproval resolutions can be introduced by any Senator and may cover multiple agreements. Grounds for disapproval include failure to make progress in achieving the objectives that the bill has laid out.

Obviously, as I have stated before, none of this happens unless Congress gives approval by majority vote in both the House and the Senate to approve or disapprove these agreements negotiated under this bill that hopefully will pass tomorrow.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. REID. I ask unanimous consent that the time until 10:30 a.m., May 23d, tomorrow, count against the time provided under the cloture.

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

## MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business, with Senators allowed to speak therein for not to exceed 5 minutes each.

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

## BRIGADIER GENERAL STEPHEN G. WOOD, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AIR FORCE LEGISLATIVE LIAISON

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to an exceptional officer in the United States Air Force, an individual that a great many of us have come to know personally over the past few years—Brigadier General Stephen G. Wood. General Wood, who currently serves as Deputy Director of the Air Force Office of Legislative Liaison, was recently nominated for promotion to Major General and selected for assignment as Commander of the Air Warfare Center, Air Combat Command, at Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada. During his time in Washington, and especially with regard to his work here on Capitol Hill, General Wood personified the Air Force core values of integrity, selfless service and excellence in the many missions the Air Force performs in support of our national security. Many Members and staff have enjoyed the opportunity to meet with him on a variety of Air Force issues and came to deeply appreciate his character and many talents. Today it is my privilege to recognize some of General Wood's many accomplishments, and to commend the superb service he provided the Air Force, the Congress and our Nation.

General Wood entered the Air Force through the Reserve Officer Training Corps program at the University of Washington, Seattle. He served in various operational and staff assignments including duty as an F-4D pilot, AT-38 instructor pilot, F-16 weapons instructor and squadron operations officer. A command pilot, the general has more than 3,300 flying hours in the F-4, T-33, AT-38 and F-16, including 49 combat missions during Operation Desert Storm.

Throughout his distinguished career, General Wood's exceptional leadership skills were always evident to both superiors and subordinates as he repeatedly proved himself in numerous select command positions. He served as F-16 Operations Officer and Commander of the 10th Tactical Fighter Squadron at Hahn Air Base, Germany; and as Squadron Commander of the 389th Fighter Squadron at Mountain Home Air Force Base in Idaho. He was subsequently selected as Chief of Joint Training Teams at Headquarters, U.S. Atlantic Command, in Norfolk, Virginia. Following this assignment, General Wood was chosen as Commander of the 8th Operations Group in Kunsan Air Base, South Korea; and later as Commander of the 35th Fighter Wing at Misawa Air Base, Japan.

General Wood is best known to us, however, because of his two Air Force assignments involving liaison to the Congress. Many here will remember that from June 1997 until November 1998, General Wood was assigned as Chief, House Liaison Office, of the Office of the Secretary of the Air Force. He excelled in this position, bringing qualities of integrity and professionalism that greatly enhanced relations between the Air Force and the Congress. He was selected in May 2000 to return as Deputy Director of Air Force Legislative Liaison for the Secretary of the Air Force.

In his many years of working with the Congress, General Wood has provided a clear and credible voice for the Air Force while representing its many programs on the Hill, consistently providing accurate, concise and timely information. His integrity, professionalism and expertise enabled him to develop and maintain an exceptional rapport between the Air Force and the Congress. The key to his success, I believe, was his deep understanding of Congressional processes and priorities and his unflinching advocacy of programs essential to the Air Force and to our nation.

I am very pleased that General Wood has been nominated for his second star and I am sure that the Senate will soon concur in that promotion. I offer my sincere congratulations to General Wood for his nomination and for his new assignment as Commander of the Air Warfare Center. On behalf of the Congress and our great Nation, I thank General Wood and his entire family for the commitment and sacrifices that they have made throughout his military career. I know I speak for all of my colleagues in expressing my heartfelt appreciation to General Wood for a job well done. He is a credit to both the Air Force and the United States. We wish our friend the best of luck in his new command.

## HONORING DOLORES HUERTA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, few people have done as much for America's workers as Dolores Huerta. She is a preeminent labor and civil rights leader who has worked tirelessly and skillfully to enhance and improve the working conditions for farm workers and their families for more than 40 years. She is the heart and soul—and the muscle—of the farm worker labor movement. And I join those in lauding her for all she has accomplished. No injustice and no wrong is too big or too small for Dolores's attention. And we are all so proud of all she does so well.

Born in Dawson, NM, on April 10, 1930, Dolores Huerta was raised, in Stockton, CA, in the San Joaquin Valley. Growing up, she saw first-hand the poverty that local farm workers endured. She also saw the generosity that her mother showed in providing free food and housing to local farm workers.

Dolores earned a teaching degree from Stockton College, but she left the profession because she could not stand to see her students the children of farm workers come to school hungry and without shoes. Convinced that she could be more helpful to their children by organizing farm workers, she founded the Stockton Chapter of the Community Service Organization in 1955, a Latino association to educate and assist these families.

In 1962, Dolores Huerta joined Cesar Chavez in founding the National Farm Workers Association which eventually became the famous United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

As a co-founder of UFWOC, Ms. Huerta's efforts have led to wide-ranging reforms for farm workers and their families. For example, Ms. Huerta negotiated a contract which established the first health and benefit plan for farm workers. In addition, her consumer boycotts resulted in the enactment of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the first United States law that granted workers to collectively bargain for better working conditions. Ms. Huerta also fought hard against toxic pesticides which were destructive to farm workers and the environment, and negotiated agreements to ensure that dangerous pesticides were not used in the fields.

Ms. Huerta has already been recognized by many for the groundbreaking work that she has done. She has received several honorary doctorate degrees and was honored as one the "100 Most Important Women of the 20th Century." In addition, Ms. Huerta was recently named one of six Women Sustaining the American Spirit. We here in the Senate thank Ms. Huerta for her passion and commitment to children, women and farm worker families. All workers deserve fair treatment and safe working conditions. The American people are better off today because of all she has done, and it is a privilege to be able to offer her this tribute from the United States Senate.

## THE FARM BILL

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise to discuss the recent enactment of H.R. 2646, the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002, and to explain why I made the very difficult decision to vote against it. First, I wish to express my sincere thanks to the members of the House and Senate Agriculture Committees and the conferees for their very hard work in producing this farm bill. I have no doubt that their aim was the good of America's farmers and of rural America.

There are a number of important provisions in the farm bill that will have a positive impact on our family farms. I am pleased that significantly more funds will go to conservation programs and to help livestock producers and feedlot operators to better protect the environment. I am especially proud of language included in the farm bill that