Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, what is the state of the proceedings at this point?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The minority controls the next 14½ minutes.

STRENGTHENING CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY WHILE STRENGTHENING CORPORATE INNOVATION

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the Senate accomplished two significant feats last week. First, this body took strong action to ensure that candor and accountability will be watchwords in the world of corporate accounting. We have given the Securities and Exchange Commission the tools it needs to better do its job of ensuring that financial statements tell investors, in plain English, how our nation's corporations are really doing. And we crafted 21st-century criminal statutes and tougher penalties for those corporate wrongdoers who willfully mislead investors about corporate finances, and we are still working on that language.

Second, and more important, we resisted to a great extent the temptation to turn this bill, on which Senator SARBANES and Senator GRAMM worked so hard, into a tool for demagoguery. With the continuing reports of shoddy bookkeeping at some of our biggest companies, with terrible news coming from Wall Street these past few weeks, and with continuing layoffs at major corporations, it is no wonder that many pundits across the country, and even a few of our colleagues, were tempted to cast about, looking for a bill to support—any bill at all—that could make them look tough on white-collar crime.

But the battle is not over yet. We know that here in Congress, as well as in the regulatory agencies and in State governments, there are still moves afoot to impose more rules, more regulations, and more punishments on American businesses. There are those who are predicting that this wave of corporate scandals could give rise to a new era of big government, much like the Progressive Era or even the Great Depression.

I rise today, to say that this Nation must not return down that failed path. A new era of ''re-regulation'' would, without a doubt, damage or destroy the twin engines of innovation and capital formation that have made the American people the richest people the world has ever known. A new era of re-regulation, however well-intentioned, would put us on the path that Europe and Japan have recently trod. We would be playing a constant game of catch-up with whatever country was in the economic lead. People in the leading countries would have access to new inventions today, and then, years later, citizens of the sluggish United States would finally be able to afford them. That is the kind of trickle-down we need to avoid, and that is the kind of trickle-down that the good people of Europe and Japan live with every day.

I have faith that the American people will not be led down that path. Instead, I believe that they will remember that in the late 1990s, the forces of competition gave birth to modern wonders in the fields of medicine and telecommunications while Congress cut capital gains taxes and balanced the budget. We saw the promise of venture capital unleashed, as many new start-ups tried out their new ideas in the marketplace even though we knew in advance that only a few would succeed.

And as investment and innovation increased, our workers became more productive, and higher productivity led, as always, to higher wages and better living standards. Census figures show that since 1980, the share of families earning over $100,000 per year doubled, even after adjusting for inflation. The number of people living in poverty has declined, and the only reason it has not declined faster is because this land of opportunity draws in poor immigrants from throughout the world. In many cases, however, within a generation these immigrants will rise into the middle and upper ranks of income-earners.

And, most saliently, this prosperity reached into almost every part of American life. Overall unemployment rates reached the lowest levels in 30 years, and every race and every age group saw its fortunes improve. Just as the 1980s debunked the pessimists who thought that stagflation and malaise were the waves of the future, so the 1990s, with unemployment rates getting down to 4 percent, debunked those who thought that unemployment rates below 6 percent inevitably spark inflation.

Despite the fact that the American people have endured a year of high energy prices, a painful recession, waves of corporate accounting scandals, and the horrific attacks of September Eleventh, our economy's foundations remain strong. Innovation and capital formation have continued even during the depths of the recession, to the amazement of the pessimists. Despite the many buffetings our nation has endured, America's workers are more productive today than they were just a year ago. That continued the trend of the last few years, where we saw productivity grow at an annual rate of 3.1 percent.

We have seen the unemployment rate shoot up from its 30-year low of 3.9 percent up to 5.9 percent in June. Mere numbers, of course, can never convey the real cost of losing a job. And tragically, recessions continue to hurt workers months and months after sales pick up. But clearly, this recession is like no other that we have seen: manufacturing has been hit hard, very hard, by this recession. Workers in those industries, and people who live in towns that rely on those industries, have paid a heavy price.

But our economy's resilience and flexibility is amazing, and this resilience shows in our labor markets, where our nationwide average unemployment rate of 5.9 percent, while still too high, would have been hailed during most of the 1980's and 1990's. And if Congress acts to restore the economy to its potential, enacting policies that encourage innovation and capital formation, we can continue to improve our standard of living, get the unemployment rate back down, and make our economy more resistant to the inevitable economic shocks of our modern world.

As Chairman Greenspan noted last Tuesday, Congress can strengthen our economy's long-run potential through strong fiscal discipline, so that more of our economy's resources are in the hands of our innovating private sector. And since capital formation and technical innovation are keys to productivity growth, we should move aggressively toward expensing capital equipment and finally making the research and development tax credit permanent.

The accounting reform bill we passed last week is a good bill, and once it comes out of conference, I hope it is even better. The Senate bill reduces the potential for conflicts of interest between auditing and consulting services. It ensures that the government will vigorously scrutinize audits to ensure that the balance sheet is telling the real story. And it modernizes the criminal codes to deal with the corrupt few who knowingly break the rules outright.

But once the final version of this bill becomes law, that is by no means the end of the story. Once the regulators get ahold of the final bill, it will, once again, become a target for anti-corporate activists, those who distrust bigness, who distrust success, and who distrust the competitive spirit of the American people. They will seek to pressure the SEC and the Financial Accounting Standards Board to enact rules that express their hostility toward corporate America. And however well-intentioned the goals of these activists, they could have disastrous consequences.

Let us consider an example that sounds reasonable enough. I started off by noting that the Sarbanes bill would ensure that financial statements tell investors, in plain English, how our nation's corporations are really doing. There are good reasons for reporting financial statements in language that ordinary investors can understand, and the SEC has done a good job encouraging corporations and financial services companies to avoid unneeded jargon in their official statements. But at the same time, we need to remember that while corporate finance is not rocket science, it is not that far from it.

Some issues will be hard to understand, and they should stay that way. If we insist that every financial dealing be completely understandable to the average investor, then you know what we will end up with. Corporations that the average investor would not want to invest in. Investors want their companies to be run by people who know more about finance than they do, just as they want our homes built by people who know more about construction than they do. Sure, it is good to know the broad outlines about how a house is built. But we expect construction workers to use their specialized knowledge, knowledge that is difficult to convey to a layperson.

The same holds true in the world of corporate management. Even after these accounting reforms are up and running, accounting is still going to sound like a foreign language to most people, and plenty of run-of-the-mill business decisions are going to sound complex to outsiders. Critics will accuse anything with a footnote of being a loophole, just another example of ''crony capitalism.'' They will put pressure on America's businesses to simplify their businesses so that it can be ''transparent'' to outsiders. But we cannot give in to the urge to insist that corporate finance be intelligible to high-school students, and we cannot allow pressure groups to dictate how to organize a business.

We have seen unjustified awards destroy the careers of many good doctors who can no longer get malpractice insurance just because juries end up being swayed by emotion and genuine human suffering rather than by the difficult medical issues at hand. We cannot let the same thing happen to corporate America.

Finally, I want to address an overarching question: Do we really live in a world where a couple of crafty and unscrupulous executives can destroy an entire Fortune 500 company? Is our market economy really a house of cards that needs the ever-present support of the Federal Government to keep from falling down? I do not believe the evidence supports these pessimistic conclusions. The companies that have been in the news made bad business decisions generated by what Chairman Greenspan called ''infectious greed,'' which they covered up with accounting chicanery. It was the bad business decisions that were the root cause here, made far worse by the fact that the mistakes were successfully covered up for so long.

By tightening the auditor's scrutiny of business decisions, we expect that in the future, bad decisions will be uncovered sooner, before too much damage is done to the company and to its stock price. But business decisions will continue to be made, both good and bad, and companies will continue to rise and fall as customers and shareholders vote with their dollars. That, as Secretary O'Neill noted, is the ''genius of the market.''

And that brings me to my final point. If auditors uncover a serious problem with a company's books, who will fix it? Surely, in most cases, the board of directors will act aggressively to sack the problem executives and install a new team that will work hard to put things right. Especially with the incentive of stock options and stock ownership, the new management team, facing auditor scrutiny, will have strong reasons to do the best they can to boost shareholder value. The punishments dealt by the stock market are already giving corporations a strong incentive to reform, as stockholders press for clarity and boards of directors interrogate their CEOs and demand answers.

But what about those occasional situations where the directors are either incompetent or out of touch? In practice, it is very difficult for shareholders to replace directors on their own. There are sometimes millions of individual shareholders, each of whom has little incentive to put in the time and effort of replacing their directors. It is almost always easier to sell the badly-performing stock than it is to replace incompetent directors. At this point, our last best hope is that much-maligned character from the 1980s, the hostile takeover artist.

The Sarbanes bill uses the phrase ''protection of investors'' over 20 times. But who protects investors better than someone who invests a large sum of cash into a failing company, kicks out the old, ineffective, perhaps even corrupt management, and installs new leaders dedicated to maximizing long-run shareholder value? But while we have seen numerous large mergers over the last decade, why have we not seen as many genuinely hostile takeovers? The answer, of course, is legislation. In this case, it was not federal law but state laws that stemmed the tide of hostile takeovers, as laws made it easier for sloppy management to fend off takeover advances. So even if improved audits uncover corporate incompetence or worse, shareholders could still be left with bad managers and worthless investments.

The accounting reform legislation on which we have worked will break new ground in the realm of investor protection. It will increase transparency and punish wrongdoers. But that is only half the battle against corporate mismanagement. The second half of the battle comes when directors and shareholders take action to purge the ineffective executives and restore the profitability of their investments. In time, I hope Congress takes action to assist them. The combined calls by the President and the Senate for directors with greater independence is a strong step in that direction.

In closing, I want to draw attention again to the true foundation of our nation's prosperity—our nation's workers, the most productive in the world. Whether they work in a factory, behind a desk, or on a farm, the American worker can produce more in an hour than any other worker in the world. That is because they have access to better tools, better knowledge, better education, and in particular, better organizations. From old-economy stalwarts such as Ford to new-economy innovators like Intel to our ever-modernizing agribusiness sector, our economy's large organizations help to coordinate the activities and innovations of countless numbers of people so that we can accomplish more with our scarce time. The quality of American automobiles, the speed of American-designed microprocessors, and the produce of America's farms keep increasing each and every year. I am confident that our accounting reforms, if enforced prudently, will help to strengthen the American corporation's ability to innovate. And by doing so, all Americans will reap the rewards.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business is closed.

GREATER ACCESS TO AFFORDABLE PHARMACEUTICALS ACT OF 2001

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 812, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 812) to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to provide greater access to affordable pharmaceuticals.

Pending:

Reid (for Dorgan) amendment No. 4299, to permit commercial importation of prescription drugs from Canada.

Hagel Amendment No. 4315 (to amendment No. 4299, as amended), to provide Medicare beneficiaries with a drug discount card that ensures access to affordable outpatient prescription drugs.

AMENDMENT NO. 4315

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. LANDRIEU). Under the previous order, there will now be 120 minutes for debate on the Hagel amendment No. 4315, with 60 minutes each under the control of the Senator from Nebraska, Mr. HAGEL, or his designee, and the Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. KENNEDY, or his designee.

Who yields time?

The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, I will yield myself such time as I might use.

Madam President, yesterday we had a very important debate, and we also had the Members of the Senate voting on two important measures for the prescription drug program. I am a strong supporter of the proposal that was offered by the Senator from Florida, Mr. GRAHAM, and Senator MILLER from Georgia. That amendment achieved 52 votes in the Senate. A majority of the Members voted in favor of a program based upon the Medicare system, a program that closes the great loophole that is part of our Medicare system, which so many of our seniors are faced with every single day.