NEPA, a program in which there are studies designed to allow people to participate in decisions. Is that a good idea? Studies could absolutely go on forever.

We are faced currently, for example, with the problem in grazing. Obviously, you have a renewable resource, grass. It is reasonable to have grazing. You have that on BLM forest lands. Now we find in this case that, under BLM, you can get through the NEPA process to renew a contract, and they say: Too bad; your contract is dead, unless we can get to it, and we can't.

We are trying to change that. It is an unreasonable thing to do. If there is all of this difficulty with the agency, we ought to change that. Indeed, there is language in this year's appropriations bill to do something about it.

I think we are faced with trying to find the best way to deal in the future with public lands. In States where there is 50 percent or more of land in Federal ownership, there is no reason we can't continue to protect those resources; that we can't continue to utilize those lands in a reasonable way; that we can't involve people locally in the States in making these decisions and making shared judgments. We can do that.

Unfortunately, we find this administration moving in the other direction—moving further way from working with NEPA. We hear about all of these kinds of partnerships. A partnership means there is some equality in working together. That is not the kind of partnership we hear a lot about from the Federal agency. I am hopeful that there can be.

We are very proud of these resources: Yellowstone Park, Devil's Tower—all kinds of great resources in Wyoming. Here is where I grew up, near the Shoshone Forest. I am delighted there is a forest there. It should be, and it should continue to be there. But we need to have a cooperative management process to do that. I am committed. I am also committed to working toward that in the coming session.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRAHAM. 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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.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. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I understand we are in a period of morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you, Mr. President.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Stacy Rosenberg, a staff member of my office, be granted floor privileges for the duration of today's session.

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

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

NATIONAL PARK PRESERVATION

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, on October 31 of this year, I saw yet another example of the challenges we are facing in our National Park System.

Two weekends ago, I visited Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico, located about 1 hour west of Santa Fe.

Bandelier National Monument was claimed a national monument under the jurisdiction of the Forest Service in 1916. In 1932, it was transferred to the National Park Service.

Bandelier contains 32,737 acres, of which 23,267 acres are designated as wilderness. It is a park that is intended to preserve the cliff houses of the Pueblo Indian.

I draw your attention to this photograph taken near the entrance to Bandelier National Monument. One of the cliff homes can be seen at the base of this large cliff which forms the most dramatic signature of Bandelier National Monument. This photograph gives some idea of the magnitude of the cultural resources which are located in this park.

In addition to the preservation of the cultural resource of the monument, the outstanding superintendent at Bandelier, Mr. Roy Weaver, also contends with preservation of historical resources such as 1930s CCC buildings which were constructed in order to properly present the park to its many visitors but which have fallen into a sad state of disrepair.

Using funds from the recreation fee demonstration program, Bandelier National Monument has refurbished several of these existing structures to a functional condition. This park, as many of our Nation's parks, is faced with a degradation of its core resources. One of the significant challenges is the unnatural pace of erosion within the monument's wilderness area.

This problem is in part due to intense grazing which occurred prior to the designation of the lands as a national monument in 1916. This activity ended over 60 years ago but is still impacting the resources and the health of the park. The heavy grazing prior to 1916 reduced the underbrush, allowing the pinon tree to take over the landscape. This tree is now firmly established and has prevented the growth of other natural species in the canyon of Bandelier. Without the diverse plant species in the forest to retain the soil, erosion occurs at a much more rapid pace. This erosion is one of the principal reasons why the archeological sites for which the monument was established are now severely threatened. We are in grave danger of losing artifacts, structures, and information about a people who spent hundreds of years building a society in the Southwest.

In addition to cultural resource damage to the unnatural state of the environment at Bandelier, human behavior has also had negative impacts. One of the first areas visitors to Bandelier approach, and just off the main trail, is a series of cave dwellings. Ascending the ladder into the cave is stepping back hundreds of years into a different culture. One arrives at the cave only to find the stark realities of contemporary America by a desecration of these caves with graffiti. This photograph showing an example of that desecration speaks a thousand words about the level of respect which we as a society have paid to our national treasures over the years.

There is some hope. In 1998, the Congress and the administration established a program at the suggestion of the National Park Service. It is called Vanishing Treasures. This program was the brain child of the national park superintendents from Chaco Culture National Historic Site, Aztec Ruins National Monument, and the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument.

The Vanishing Treasure Program seeks to restore the ruins to a condition where maintenance scheduled at regular intervals rather than large-scale restoration projects will be sufficient to keep the ruins in good condition. The program also has another very significant objective: Training the next generation of preservation specialists who can perform this highly specific, complex craftsmanship of maintaining national treasures such as these caves at Bandelier National Monument.

The original outline of the Vanishing Treasures Program called for $3.5 million in the first year, increasing by $1 million per year until it reached $6 million in the year 2001, after which it would decrease slightly until the year 2008. We hoped during that time period to have been able to have dealt with the residue of issues such as the desecration of the caves at Bandelier.

Unfortunately, beginning in fiscal year 1998, the funding was not at the recommended $3.5 million level but, rather, was at $1 million. In fiscal year 1999, it was increased to $1.3 million. The current Interior appropriations bill, which has been passed by both the House and the Senate, contains $994,000 for the Vanishing Treasures Program.

At this level of funding distributed throughout the entire Southwest, some 41 national park sites benefit from this program. At that level of funding, we cannot possibly come close to meeting the needs for the protection of our cultural treasures in the Southwest. We are effectively making the decision that we are prepared to see these cultural and historic treasures lost before we make funds available for their preservation.

We are at a crossroads in our Nation's historical efforts to protect and preserve those national treasures which are the responsibility of the National Park Service. The history of our Nation is marked by activism on public land issues. The first full century of the United States' existence—the 19th century—was marked by the Louisiana Purchase which added almost 530 million acres to the United States, changing America from an eastern coastal nation to a continental empire.

One hundred years later, President Theodore Roosevelt set the tone for public land issues in the second full history in our Nation's history. He did it both in words and action. President Theodore Roosevelt stated:

> Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that will come after us.

Roosevelt took action to meet these goals. During his administration, the United States protected almost 230 million acres of lands for future public use. The question for us as we commence the third full century, the 21th century of the United States, is, can we live up to this example? Can we be worthy of the standards of Thomas Jefferson at the beginning of the 19th century and Theodore Roosevelt at the beginning of this century?

I have discussed today the issues I witnessed at Bandelier National Monument and the small efforts being made to rectify this situation. Estimates of the maintenance backlog throughout the National Park Service system range from $1.2 billion to over $3.5 billion, depending on the calculation method.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of my remarks an article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal of November 12 of this year entitled ''Montana's Glacier Park Copes With Big Freeze On Funds To Maintain Its Historic Structures.''

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

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. GRAHAM. The National Park Service this year requested $194 million for its operation and maintenance. In this year's appropriations process, the House and Senate had the good judgment to actually increase the National Park Service request to $224.5 million. This is a good step forward, and I commend the Appropriations Committee for having taken it.

However, if we are to prevent the existing backlog from growing, we must support periodic maintenance on the existing facilities in the Park System. I see we have now as our Presiding Officer a person who has probably studied more, thought more, and done more to deal with this problem than any Member of the Congress, the distinguished Senator from Wyoming.

I wish to take this opportunity to commend the Presiding Officer for his efforts in the program of the demonstration recreational fee in the Park System. I showed a moment ago a photo of a portion of some buildings at Bandelier National Park in New Mexico which were in serious disrepair. Largely because of the ability to direct some of those national park demonstration funds to their rehabilitation, they are now being saved and will serve for many years to come. It is a very constructive role in this national monument as well as protecting other valuable historic structures within the national monument.

I wish to thank the distinguished Senator from Wyoming for the leadership he has given in that regard.

I am sad to report that the Interior conference report, which will probably soon be before us, has recommended a reduction in the cyclical maintenance of the National Park System and repair and rehabilitation accounts. While these reductions are relatively small—$3 million in the case of cyclic maintenance and $2.5 million in repair and rehabilitation—failure to meet these basic annual maintenance requirements will only add to our backlog of unmet needs. We cannot make the progress we must make in protecting our national treasures with these Band-Aid solutions.

I suggest, building on the leadership you provided through the Demonstration National Park Fee Program, and the changes that were made in the relationship of the parks to their concessionaires, that we can go further in assuring the long-term well-being of our National Park System.

In my judgment, what the National Park Service needs is a sustained, reliable, adequate funding source that will allow the Park Service to develop intelligent plans based on a prioritization of need, with confidence the funds will be available as needed to complete the plans. This approach will allow common sense to prevail when projects are prioritized for funding.

In some cases, such as one with which I am personally very familiar, committed, and engaged—the Florida Everglades and the Everglades National Park—natural resource projects can be compared to open heart surgery. You simply cannot begin the operation, open the patient, and then fail to complete the operation if the money runs out before the surgery is finished. To do so is to assure the patient will die in the surgery suite.

In cases such as Bandelier National Monument and the Ellis Island National Monument, another great national treasure, which I visited on September 27 of this year, we are in a race to complete a known cure before the patient is lost. Bandelier's superintendent, Roy Weaver, is taking every effort he can to preserve the resources in his park. He is focusing the park entrance fees on repairing and maintaining historical structures. He is using funds available through the Vanishing Treasures Program to restore the multitude of cultural resources in the monument.

Mr. Weaver is a superintendent whose knowledge of the history of the people who resided in this area of the country hundreds of years ago and whose desire to preserve their culture are evident even in a brief visit. Mr. Weaver's enthusiasm and dedication embody the conservation ethic of President Theodore Roosevelt and the National Park Service. It is our responsibility to give Mr. Weaver and his colleagues across America the tools they need to put their enthusiasm to work. It is time to take the next step.

Earlier this year, with Senators REID and MACK, I introduced S. 819, the National Park Preservation Act. This act would provide dedicated funding to the National Park Service to restore and conserve the natural resources within our Park System. This legislation seeks to address the long-term efforts required to truly restore and protect our natural, cultural, and historic resources in the National Park System. This legislation would allocate funds derived from the use of a nonrenewable national resource—offshore drilling in the Outer Continental Shelf for oil and gas—to a renewable resource, restoration and preservation of natural, cultural, and historic resources in our National Park System.

At the beginning of this century, in a time of relative tranquility, President Theodore Roosevelt managed to instill the Nation with a tradition of conservation. He did so with this simple challenge: Can we leave this world a better place for future generations?

We are at the end of this century and at the end of the first half of the 106th Congress. As we embark on the third century of our Nation's adventure and the second half of the 106th Congress, let us keep the vision of Theodore Roosevelt in mind. Let us take action to protect our National Park System.

In the words of President Theodore Roosevelt:

> The conservation of natural resources is the fundamental problem. Unless we solve

that problem, it will avail us little to solve all others.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Wall Street Journal, Nov. 12, 1999]

MONTANA'S GLACIER PARK COPES WITH BIG FREEZE ON FUNDS TO MAINTAIN ITS HISTORIC STRUCTURES

(By John J. Fialka)

GLACIER NATIONAL PARK, MONT.—Few places on earth are as legally protected as this park. The United Nations deems it a ''World Heritage site.'' Under U.S. law, 350 buildings in the park are registered historic structures. Four hotels and the road spanning this spectacular, million-acre chunk of America are ''national historic landmarks.''

So why are many of these buildings and the road literally falling apart?

Over the past 30 years, as lawmakers and park officials have heaped praise and protected status on Glacier, they have consistently failed to provide the money to maintain it. The current bargaining between Congress and the White House on the shape of the next budget doesn't seem likely to change that. The upshot: Much of the man-made part of this mountainous park has evolved into a kind of dangerous national antique.

Among the park's most endangered attractions:

Many Glacier Hotel. It may look the same as it did when it was built in 1915, but underneath its newly painted wooden facade, tired old timbers are beginning to shift. That makes hallways bend this way and that, windows that won't open and doors that won't close. The steam heating system, unaccustomed to such action, springs six leaks a night.

Going-To-The-Sun Road. An engineering marvel, built to cross the park and climb the Continental Divide in 1932, is now marvelous to engineers because it hasn't yet succumbed to the force of gravity. But two-inch cracks are appearing in its pavement. Many of its retaining walls lean recklessly out into space. Melting snow is washing away the road's foundation, creating odd voids that need filing.

The ''Jammers.'' The park's much-loved fleet of buses, built in the late 1930s to ply the road, were condemned in August. Their engines, brakes and transmissions had been replaced, but metal fatigue and cracks in their frames raise new safety and liability problems.

''This is the oldest fleet of vehicles in the world,'' says Larry Hegge, the chief mechanic for the buses, who discovered the cracks. Now the 34 red buses with shiny, chrome-toothed radiators and pull-off canvas tops sit nose-to-tail in a damp, dimly lit shed. Mr. Hegge worries that the termites there are eating upper parts of the jammers' frames, which are made of oak.

NO SOLUTION IN SIGHT

At the moment, no one knows how to fix these problems. Glacier Park Inc., the park's main concessionaire, owns the buses and the hotels. It's questioning a variety of experts to see what might be done and at what cost. The departing park superintendent, David A. Mihalic, recently apointed a 17-member committee to advise him about the road.

The numbers they're looking at aren't encouraging. It could cost at least $100 million to restore four major wooden hotels. Estimates for rebuilding the road start at $70 million and climb steeply. The park's annual budget is $8 million. ''Glacier has never had the money to keep up with maintenance and repair,'' shrugs John Kilpatrick, the park's chief engineer.

For Superintendent Mihalic, who has just been transferred to Yosemite, running Glacier has been an eerie flashback to 1972, when he took his first job there as a park ranger. He came back as superintendent in 1994 to find ''nothing had changed. We had the same old sewer systems, the same roads, the same hotels, the same visitor accommodations.''

USING A 'FACADE'

Mr. Mihalic had to resort to what some park experts call ''management by facade.'' Visible things get fixed. Less visible things get deferred. ''If we're having trouble getting the money to just fund the big-ticket items, like roads and sewage and water systems, a lot of public services, such as trail maintenance and back-country bridges, never make it to the top of the list,'' he says.

To be sure, Mr. Mihalic isn't the only park superintendent to wrestle with this. The Interior Department's U.S. Park Service places the bill for deferred maintenance and construction needed to fix time-worn facilities in its 378 parks at around $5 billion. ''Culturally, we try to hide the pain in the Park Service,'' explains Denis Galvin, the service's deputy director.

The day is coming when hiding the pain here may no longer be possible. Last year the Park Service proposed that the cheapest and quickest way to deal with the crumbling, much-patched Going-To-The-Sun road would be to close it for four years and rebuild it. That produced a furor among people in the business community surrounding the park.

They're now part of the advisory committee struggling to come up with ways to keep it open and fix it at the same time.

RULES FOR RESTORATION

As for the Many Glacier Hotel, the latest estimates are that it would cost $30 million to $60 million to bring it back to the glory days when guests arrived by railroad and received world-class accommodations. ''We could never recover that. You would be talking about renting rooms for $400 to $500 a night,'' says Dennis Baker, director of engineering for the concessionaire Glacier Park, a subsidiary of Phoenix-based Viad Corp. Park rules currently limit hotel room rates to $120. The park's season lasts only about 100 days.

As for Mr. Hegge, keeper of the park's bus fleet, he's looking for experts to tell him how to refit his buses with new chassis or to build replicas. Because they are federally registered historic landmarks, the road and the hotels also must be restored to the way they were with the same materials, adding many millions more to the cost.

Just where the millions will come from to fix Glacier and many other maintenance-starved parks is, of course, the biggest question. Democratic Sen. Bob Graham of Florida has introduced legislation to earmark $500 million a year from federal offshore oil royalties for buying park land and fixing parks.

Over time, he's sure it would save money, ''That would allow them to plan more than a year ahead. They could let contracts for multiple buildings at a time,'' explains the senator, who says support for the measure has been slow but is growing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative assistant proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

WTO ACCESSION OF CHINA

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I congratulate Ambassador Barshefsky and the administration on reaching an agreement this week with China on WTO accession. This demonstrates that a policy of ''engagement with a purpose'' works. I believe the Chinese leadership, in particular Premier Zhu Rongji and President Jiang Zemin, have shown foresight, courage, and vision in making the commitments necessary to conclude this bilateral agreement. I am also glad President Clinton worked so diligently over the last several months to finalize the arrangement.

I believed in April that the April 8 arrangement with China was a good one. My preliminary evaluation of this week's agreement is that it goes beyond the April 8 agreement and provides further benefits to American economic interests.

There are still several steps before China can accede to the WTO.

China must complete other bilateral agreements, in particular with the European Union. Next, the protocol of accession must be completed. Then, the focus of attention will turn to us in the Congress.

In order to receive the benefits we negotiated with China, the United States has to grant China permanent normal trade relations status. To do this, Congress has to amend the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

I am confident that a majority in both Houses will vote to amend Jackson-Vanik. But it will take a lot of work. The administration, the agriculture, manufacturing, and service industries, and those of us in the Congress who have followed these negotiations and the U.S.-China relationship closely over the years, must educate and explain to our colleagues about the benefits of the agreement reached this week and the advantages to the United States of having China in the WTO.

As we in the Congress begin to think about this issue and deliberate on it next year, I see four principal benefits to the United States.

First, this week's agreement opens up new markets in China, with its population of 1.3 billion, for American farmers, manufacturers, and service industries. This will help sustain American economic growth.

Second, the agreement gets China into the global trading system, which forces them to play by the rules of international trade.

For perhaps the first time in history, China will be accountable for its behavior to the outside world. The dispute settlement system at the WTO is