

China will become even more of a low-wage export platform or, for that matter, you will have large grain companies producing corn in China well below the cost of production for family farmers in our own country.

Wal-Marts pay 14 cents an hour. Other U.S. companies pay 5 cents and 6 cents an hour. If you should try to organize a union in China, you would wind up in prison.

So I will have three other amendments, and I will yield the floor on this. I will have an amendment that deals with forced prison labor conditions in China and says: Enough of this, if we are going to have normal trade relations. I will have another amendment that says the people in China should have the right to form independent unions and not wind up in prison. And I will have a final amendment that will basically say that in our State, our workers should have the right to organize; there should be labor law reform; no longer should it just be the company that gets to talk to employees during an organizing drive; no longer should companies be able to illegally fire workers, have it be profitable, and not have to pay stiff back penalties, back fines.

We are forever being told now that we live in a global economy. And that is true. But the implications of that statement are seldom recognized. To me that means, if we truly care about human rights, we can no longer just be concerned about human rights at home. If we live in a global economy and we truly care about religious freedom, then we can no longer just be concerned about religious freedom at home. If we are in a global economy and we truly care about the rights of organizers to organize and be able to make a decent living so they can take care of their families, then we have to be concerned not just about the rights of organizers in our country but organizers in the world. And if we truly care about the environment, then we can no longer concern ourselves with just environmental protections at home, but environmental protections in other countries as well.

Do you know that a large majority of the Senate is all for this—automatically extending normal trade relations with China or most favored nation trade status? Do you know what the polls show? The polls show Americans oppose eliminating any review of China's human rights record by 65 to 18 percent; 67 percent oppose China's admission to the WTO, although that is not what this debate will be about; and 83 percent of the people in our country support inclusion of strong environmental and labor standards in future trade agreements.

My colleague—1 minute left—my colleague from Montana, whom I enjoy, said: I am going to call on all Senators to vote against all amendments.

I am going to tell Senators a lot of these amendments are substantive and they are serious. Look at what we had happen on several of these tax bills, the majority leader came out after we had passed amendments and then introduced an amendment that wiped out all those amendments.

I am going to remind Senators of that precedent. I am going to remind Senators that you cannot go back home and explain with much credibility to the people you represent that you would not vote for the people in China to have the right to practice their religion; you would not vote for basic support for human rights; you would not vote for people to organize a union and not wind up in prison; you would not vote for labor law reform because you said: Oh, well, you see, we had to go into conference committee and we had to keep it clean and I could not vote for that.

A, that is not true; B, it is the ultimate Washington insider argument. One has to vote for what one thinks is right. One has to vote for the substance of each one of these amendments. That is the challenge I present to my colleagues. I look forward to this debate.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for up to 15 minutes.

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

Mr. BROWNBACK. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. BROWNBACK pertaining to the introduction of S. 2982 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Washington.

THE NEED FOR PIPELINE LEGISLATION

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, on June 15, under the leadership of Chairman MCCAIN, the Senate Commerce Committee passed a bill reauthorizing and amendment the Pipeline Safety Act. This bill is, in my view, the single most important piece of legislation the committee will address this session. Following a June 10, 1999, accident in Bellingham, WA, that killed three children, blackened a magnificent city park, and sent shock waves through the community and State, Senator MURRAY and I have been working in front of and behind the scenes to see

the Federal law regulating the operation of pipelines is changed; that communities and citizens are better informed about pipelines; that States can obtain a clear role in the oversight of interstate pipelines; that the Federal Office of Pipeline Safety adopts more meaningful safety standards; and that funding is increased for Federal and State pipeline safety operations.

While we are well on our way to accomplishing this last goal—the Senate has provided a significant increase in funding for the Office of the Pipeline Safety, and I have earmarked matching Federal funds for Washington State to supplement the funds appropriated by the State legislature for expanded safety activities—securing passage of the authorizing legislation has proven more difficult. I come to the floor to tell my colleagues that I will not rest in seeking the enactment of meaningful legislation this year. I am by nature a determined man, and my resolve on this issue has been strengthened by the example set by the Mayor of Bellingham, whose interest in this matter has not been half-hearted or expedient, but who has devoted and continues to devote time, resources, and thought to what we can do to make pipelines safer. I am committed to seeing that his efforts and my own are not in vain.

The bill that passed the Commerce Committee is a good one. It makes meaningful changes in Federal law. S. 2438 requires the Federal Office of Pipeline Safety to implement the recommendations of the Inspector General of the Department of Transportation by completing rulemakings that are long overdue, collecting better information to determine the causes of pipeline accidents, and providing better training to OPS inspectors. It accelerates the deadline for operators to prepare plans for training and qualifying their employees. It requires that information about pipeline incidents and safety-related conditions be made available to the public and that operators work with local communities to educate them about the location and risks of pipelines and what to do in case of an accident. The bill increases fines for violations, and explicitly provides a role for States in the oversight of interstate pipelines. It provides more funding for the Office of Pipeline Safety and direction on areas of research and development to focus on to improve safety.

In addition, the bill imposes on operators of pipelines of any length—not just longer pipelines as suggested by the administration—an obligation to conduct risk analyses and to adopt integrity management plans for high consequence areas—plans that provide for periodic assessments of pipelines' integrity. S. 2438 ensures that OPS will have easier access to operator information, and lowers the liquid spill reporting threshold to 5 gallons. It creates a

national database of pipeline events and conditions. The bill contains protections for whistle blowers. Significantly, the bill also authorizes the Secretary to create a pilot program for State safety advisory committees to allow for meaningful citizen input into safety issues of local and State concern, and to monitor the performance of the Office of Pipeline Safety.

The bill, in summary, substantially improves current law. Unfortunately, in its current form, I am told, the bill will be stopped by a pipeline industry that can prevent its passage by getting any single Member to place a "hold" on the bill once the committee report is filed. At another time, however, when the Senate is able to debate the measure, the reforms could be much less palatable to industry. It has already been over a year since the fatal accident in Bellingham, and the public should not have to wait longer for improvements to the federal pipeline law.

While I led the effort to defeat amendments offered in the Commerce Committee that I thought undermined this legislation, I recognized then, as I do now, that some of the issues raised by industry should be and must be addressed if we are to enact legislation this year.

I have tried, since the committee passed the bill, to understand and address industry concerns in a reasonable manner. While I think we are getting close on a number of issues, I am growing impatient, particularly with the industry's continued opposition to allowing State and local input on pipeline safety issues of local concern. At some point—and this point will come very soon after our return from the August recess—I will ask my colleagues, one by one if necessary, to join me in voting for S. 2438 and a sound manager's amendment. I trust by that time they will be satisfied that the pipeline industry has had a fair opportunity to work out a reasonable compromise and that the time has come for Congress to act in the interest of all Americans.

IMPROVING FUEL ECONOMY

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I am here to cheer the announcement by the Ford Motor Company that it will voluntarily improve the fuel economy of its fleet of sport utility vehicles by 25 percent over a period of 5 years. At a time when gas prices are skyrocketing and sales of SUVs are increasing, this announcement couldn't come at a better time. Ford's decision to make SUVs more fuel efficient is welcome news. I have long said that the industry has existing technology to allow cars to go farther on a gallon of gas and to save consumers money at the gas pump. Ford has set an example that other auto manufacturers should follow immediately. I am anxiously awaiting a response from the remaining two of the

big three and hope they will join Ford in its pursuit of cleaner, more efficient vehicles.

I hope the manufacturers, now having pledged to improve fuel efficiency, will join me in my efforts to study an increase in corporate average fuel economy standards. As my colleagues know, I have long been an advocate of raising CAFE standards and scored a breakthrough victory earlier this year that paves the way for the Department of Transportation and the National Academy of Sciences, once again, to study fuel efficiency standards and their relationship to such issues as vehicle safety and to recommend the findings to Congress by July 1, 2001. I look forward to working with the automotive industry to ensure that this study is fair and balanced.

Many constituents and colleagues are surprised to learn of my advocacy for CAFE standards. My motivation is a simple one and is based on the success of the original CAFE standards statutes. I have never been swayed by doomsday predictions from automakers that claim they would be forced to manufacture a fleet of subcompact cars if we allowed the Department of Transportation to study and impose an increase in CAFE standards. We have come a long way from absolute opposition to a study of the issue to today's major announcement by the Ford Motor Company that will be of tremendous benefit to consumers who want cleaner, more efficient SUVs. This announcement reaffirms my faith in the ability of American automobile manufacturers to produce fuel-efficient vehicles that are the envy of the world. The debate over raising CAFE standards has come a long way, and I look forward to continuing this debate when Congress returns from its August recess.

BREACHING COLUMBIA AND SNAKE RIVER DAMS

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, on a third and separate subject, during the course of this past week, four Northwest Governors, two Republicans and two Democrats—the Governors of Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon—released a framework that shows great promise toward the recovery of endangered salmon on the Columbia and Snake Rivers. They have done so without recommending that any dams on the Columbia and Snake Rivers be breached and destroyed. I agree wholeheartedly with the following statement from their plan:

The region must be prepared in the near term to recover salmon and meet its larger fish and wildlife restoration obligations by acting now in areas of agreement without resorting to breaching the four Snake River dams.

That is a reasonable statement. Unfortunately, it is not one which Vice

President GORE and the Federal agencies now concerned with salmon enhancement endorse in their countervailing recommendations of today to keep moving forward with plans to destroy those dams.

I agree with the bipartisan Governors' plan in many of its elements, including the principle that performance standards must be scientifically based, subject to scientific peer review, reasonably obtainable, and measurable. I agree with the Governors that the National Marine Fisheries Service should work together with local, State, and tribal governments and private landowners on what specific improvements are needed for recovery. I agree with the Governors that we need real leadership and that the President of the United States should appoint one official in the region who will be accountable and who will efficiently oversee Federal agency fish recovery efforts.

Over the past decade, we have squandered more than a billion dollars and commissioned dozens of studies that have done little to promote a consensus on how best to save salmon. The Governors and I agree that local salmon recovery plans that avoid Federal methods of duplication and top-down planning are a much more effective method of saving salmon. I agree with the Governors that States should move ahead to designate priority watersheds for salmon and steelhead plans that are to be developed within 1 year and that the Federal agencies should have clear numerical goals so that success may be measured in those watersheds.

The appropriations subcommittee of this Congress last year directed the National Marine Fisheries Service to provide numerical goals for all of the listed fish in the Puget Sound and Columbia River regions and a schedule for all other areas and to provide this information to Congress by July 1 of this year. Instead of fulfilling this request, those agencies have said they will not have any goals until the fall of 2001 and that they have only begun the technical recovery planning for any species of fish they seek to recover. In other words, once again the administration says what we ought to do without knowing what those steps are designed to accomplish.

I agree with the Governors and their recommendation that the Army Corps of Engineers, the National Marine Fisheries Service, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service must develop a long-term management plan to address predation by fish-eating birds and marine mammals, including seals and sea lions, and do so by the end of the year. I agree with the Governors that the National Marine Fisheries Service should work with the region to conduct an intensive study to address the role of the ocean in fish recovery and ask that the management of fish and fresh water reflect new information about the ocean as it is developed.