

Highway and across into Canada and then to the Chicago area. That is 3,000 miles, and 1,500 miles of gathering pipelines in the area.

There is no question that this gas is absolutely needed for our future. What is the key to that future? I am back where I started. The key is steel. If we don't have steel, we cannot build a pipeline. If the steelworkers don't get that legacy fund fixed, there will not be a consolidation of steel that will make a difference for us. We need the steel industry to come back into its own and for them to be able to deliver their portion of this steel. It will take half of the world's production for a period of 7 to 10 years to build that gas pipeline. That is why we are suggesting that we marry up the needs of the steel industry and our needs, as the State that wants to pursue development of that oil in the 1002 area, the million and a half acres.

I think we should do things in the national interest. I am sad to say that it increasingly looks as if it is not going to happen. We are still going to persevere and try to continue to convince people what would be the right and just thing to do here. But, above all, I hope every Senator will examine their conscience and answer the question of whether or not, if a commitment was made to them concerning their State by the United States in a law enacted by the Congress, suggested by two colleagues in the Senate, what would their attitude be if when the time came to validate that agreement, the Senate refused to do so?

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

#### TRADE PROMOTION AUTHORITY

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, one of the pieces of legislation I thought would be on the floor of the Senate by this time is trade promotion authority. I know our majority leader has a lot of problems and issues with which he has to deal. I think he has intentions of bringing the bill up sometime, but I am trying to encourage the Senate majority leader to bring it up soon because we have so many issues before us. I want to speak about one of those issues in regard to trade and agriculture.

Trade promotion authority is so important for us to get down trade barriers that stand in the way of the successful and fair trade of our agricultural products with other countries. Without trade, there is not going to be any profitability in farming. The fact is, we produce 40 percent more on our farms than is consumed domestically. So a good trade policy is what is necessary if we are going to have full production and if we are going to have profitability in farming.

We had the pleasure of bringing up a bill that had the support by a vote of 18 to 3 of the Senate Finance Committee. That was about 4 months ago and we

still don't have any commitment from the leadership to bring this critical, bipartisan trade legislation to the floor by a date certain, so we can plan on that date and be ready for one of the most important issues to come before Congress this year and eventually vote on it.

We have had several offers: that this bill would come up sometime this spring; one time it was in March; another time, it was soon after the Easter recess; now it is maybe sometime before Memorial Day. There is a great deal of uncertainty. During this period of uncertainty, we lose opportunities for the United States to be a leader in global trade negotiation.

Remember, this is not something new for the United States. This is something that the United States has been doing since 1947 when the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was first started. Whatever success we have had until 1994, when the President's authority ran out, has been accomplished under U.S. leadership. We ought to be proud of our leadership and we ought to be looking forward to reestablishing that leadership once again after a period of about 8 years during which the President hasn't had the authority. Then we can continue the good things that happen when trade barriers are reduced.

The good things that happen are the creation of jobs. I don't want people to take my word for that. I want to repeat one of the things President Clinton has constantly said, which I agree with, and that is during his tenure as President, with a rapidly expanding economy—I think in the neighborhood of about 20 million new jobs were created during that term of office—President Clinton would say that one-third of those jobs were created because of trade.

I am not talking about trade as some abstract political theory or economic theory. I am talking about the good that comes from trade—the good of creating jobs in America, the good that it does for our consumers because of the opportunities to get the best buy for consumer goods.

President Clinton's bragging about one-third of the jobs coming from international trade was a direct result of 50 years of America's leadership in the reduction of trade barriers. Two of those major agreements were completed in the first year of President Clinton's Presidency—the North American Free Trade Agreement, as well as the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which established the World Trade Organization as a more permanent forum for the establishment of trade agreements in the future and settlement of trade disputes.

I am talking about having a better opportunity for America's economy, for creation of jobs. Again, this is not something from which just America benefits. We can look at the economies of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan. As we

know, after World War II, they were in a terrible state of affairs. They were Third World economies. Look at what those economies have done in the last 50 years through the principle of trading and through the regime that was established under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. They were able to expand their economies to the advanced economies they have today.

By having trade in the 77 countries in the world that are the most poor—Africa and other countries as well—we can help them expand their economies or, as President Kennedy said in his Presidency, trade not aid, meaning that trade was a better way of helping the developing nations to become strong economies rather than the United States just giving something that was not an encouragement for them to advance.

When I talk about trade promotion authority, I am not talking about some abstract delegation of authority to the President of the United States to negotiate certain agreements that Congress is going to control in the final analysis as we have to vote on that product that comes out of those agreements. We are talking about helping countries all over the world because we have an expanding world population, and we have to have an expanding world economic pie. If we do not, we are going to have less for more people. But with an expanding world economic pie, for sure, with an expanding world population, we are going to have more for more people, and we are not only going to be talking about a better life for those people, but we are going to talk about more social stability, more political stability and more peace around the world.

This is a very important issue that we ought to be dealing with in the Senate. Every day we delay in approving bipartisan trade promotion authority for the President is another day that the United States cannot advance the interest of our workers or, in the case of my remarks today, the interests of America's farmers, ranchers, and agricultural producers at the negotiating table as effectively as they should, as effectively as we did in the Uruguay Round starting in 1986 and ending in 1993, which resulted in a very favorable agreement or any time since 1947. It is a reality, not some theoretical point.

While month after month there has been a delay in this issue coming up, our agricultural negotiators are at the table right now in Geneva. They are fighting for better market access for our farmers, but without trade promotion authority, our agricultural negotiators have one hand tied behind their backs. There are timetables, there are goals, and there are deadlines in Geneva that have to be met if these negotiators are going to accomplish what we want them to accomplish for the good of American agriculture.

Without trade promotion authority, it will not be the United States that will shape the negotiating agenda of

these talks. It will be the countries that want to shield their markets from competition that will shape the agenda and the timing of these negotiations.

This would be a devastating situation for America's export-dependent farm economy, and it will cost virtually every farming family in America. Without greater access to world markets, America's family farmers and ranchers will pay more in the form of higher tariffs or taxes than will our competitors. As a result, our farmers will have lower prices, lower income, and lost opportunity.

I thought I would bring to the attention of the Senate a letter that is shown on this chart in its entirety. I am not going to read the letter in its entirety. It is from a constituent of mine. He also happens to be a person I know well, not because I socialize with this person, but because he is an outstanding agricultural leader in my State and, in that capacity, I get to know some of these people who are outstanding farmers, outstanding civic leaders.

I received this letter from Glen Keppy and brought it with me so my colleagues can see how a third generation pork producer from Davenport, IA, looks at the issue of trade and the relationship between trade and the profitability in farming and, more importantly, the strength of the institution that we refer to as the family farmer.

If I can explain what I mean by a family farmer because some think that might be 80 acres or 500 acres. I am not talking about the size of the farm. I am talking about an institution where the family controls the capital, they make all the management decisions, and they provide most or all of the labor. That is a family farm. That can be a 30-acre New Jersey truck garden; that can be an apple ranch in the Presiding Officer's State of Michigan; that can be a ranch, with cattle on thousands of acres, in Wyoming where it takes 25 acres of grass to feed one cow and calf unit.

Mr. Keppy wrote to me about the huge foreign tariffs that are on pork, averaging in some instances close to 100 percent. He also wrote about other foreign trade barriers that hamper his and other farmers' ability to export overseas.

According to Glenn, and I am going to read the first sentence that is highlighted:

The only way our family operation will survive over the long term is if we can convince other nations to lower or remove their barriers to our pork exports.

That comes from some experience. We have learned from some reductions of tariffs going into Mexico since the North American Free Trade Agreement. We are sending more pork into Mexico. As a result of agreements with Japan, more beef is going into Japan. A lot of agreements that were made in the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade proved that as well.

Mr. Keppy knows that where barriers have gone down, it has created opportunities for the American farmer. What he is talking about is that we need to continue opening markets, and trade promotion authority is the tool that we give to the President to negotiate. We give to the President our constitutional power under certain short periods of time with restrictions so the President can sit down at the table and negotiate because, quite frankly, it is not possible for 535 Members of Congress to negotiate with the 142 different countries that are members of the World Trade Organization.

So we give the President this authority. We have done it in the past. It has been very successful. We control the end products because if we do not like it, we do not vote for it, it does not pass, it does not become law.

We also control the process through consultation that we require of the President of the United States. We limit some areas where he might be able to negotiate or not negotiate. We instruct the President to emphasize some things over other things. So we are not giving away any constitutional power. We are asking the President, as a matter of convenience, to negotiate for Congress in the exercise of our constitutional control over interstate and foreign commerce.

I remember in the Senate at the beginning of this debate on trade promotion authority there were some who said it really was not necessary to pass trade promotion authority right away. These critics were wrong then. They are wrong now.

To show how one of my constituents feels about this, this is what this family farmer who emphasizes and specializes in pork production, Mr. Keppy, says, and I would read another sentence:

To the American farmer, despite the pressing need to improve export prospects and consequently, the bottom line for American farmers, no timetable for considering TPA legislation on the floor of the Senate has been set.

That is his way of saying that is not a very good environment for agriculture at the negotiating table as we are right now in Geneva.

He also says in another place in these letters:

To farmers like my two sons and myself, trade is not a luxury. It is a vital ingredient to our success.

"It is the key," Mr. Keppy says, "to our survival."

There are a lot of Glen Keppys whose survival as family farmers depends on trade. So it matters a lot to Mr. Keppy and to all the farmers in America like him when the Senate leadership delays month after month in bringing legislation that is vital to the survival of family farmers to the Senate.

Saying one is for the family farmer and then ignoring or delaying legislation that is vital to the farmers' survival is beyond most farmers' ability to understand. Glen Keppy, his two sons

who work with him, and all the family farmers like them whose survival depends on trade hope the Senate Democratic leadership is listening and will schedule this bill for debate. More importantly, the family farmers of America hope we act on this bill.

Again, I know this has been on Senator DASCHLE's list of important things to get done. I know he knows the importance of it because he is one of the 18 who voted to bring this out of our Senate Finance Committee, but it is something we have to get done, even if it takes working extra hours, as we are not tonight. I am not complaining about not working nights because none of us want to work at night, but sometimes we might have to do it to get the job done.

I welcome that opportunity and I thank Senator DASCHLE for his consideration of my request.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### AMENDMENT SUBMITTAL

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, in deference to the majority, it will be my intent to send an amendment to the desk. I ask that the amendment be laid over until the appropriate time. This is an amendment that involves sanctions on Iraq.

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

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I do not want to preclude it, but I am not sure as to whether or not it would be necessary to set aside the existing amendment, which is the Iraqi oil import ban. I filed this some time ago.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On what measure is the Senator proposing to add the amendment?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. It is a specific ban on imports from Iraq.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To which bill is the Senator proposing to add the amendment?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. It would be an amendment to S. 517.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That measure is not pending at this time.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I ask unanimous consent to submit this amendment as if it was in order as a pending amendment.

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

Mr. MURKOWSKI. My understanding is tomorrow morning is somewhat open because the majority had indicated they were not going to be taking up the boundary issue, and there was some question of taking something else up. So I simply offer this amendment. Obviously, it is going to be up to the leaders if they want to take it, but it would