

of living—the standard of living experienced by American workers—is not advancing.

The American people are tired of that. They want a change in economic circumstances. And we, one day soon, must have a real, interesting, and thoughtful discussion about these economic policies. Now, more than ever, this country needs a full-scale policy debate about economic strategy and what kind of strategy, including trade strategy and other strategies, results in advancing America's economic interests—not just America's corporate interests, not just America's investors' interests, but the interests of all Americans.

That is a debate we have not had. We did not have it during NAFTA. We did not have it during GATT. You could not have it, in fact. The major newspapers of this country—the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Wall Street Journal—would not even give you open access to an opportunity to discuss these things. It is interesting, with NAFTA, we counted the column inches on the editorial and op-ed pages “pro” and “anti.” It was 6 to 1 pro-NAFTA, pro-GATT—6 to 1.

These are areas where you ought to expect there to be freedom of speech and open debate. But it is not so. And the economic interests that propel that sort of imbalance in our major newspapers in our country, when we have these kinds of discussions, is the same economic interest that prevents the discussions even from getting any momentum in a Chamber like this. One day soon, I hope, that is going to change. And the sooner the better, if we are interested in providing some satisfaction for American workers whose only interest, it seems to me, is to work hard, have opportunity, and progress with an increased standard of living.

#### REGULATIONS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me turn to the question of regulations. We, on the floor of the Senate, are going to be discussing regulatory reform. It has been of great interest to me to see what has happened on the issue of regulations. It has become a cottage industry, and certainly a political industry, to decide that government is evil, and government regulations are inherently evil, and what we need to do is wage war against government safeguards and standards.

Let me be the first to say that there are some people who propose and write regulations that make no sense at all and that make life difficult for people. That happens sometimes. I realize that. What we ought to do is combat bad regulation and get rid of it. Bad government regulations that do not make any sense and are impossible to comply with—we ought to get rid of them. I understand and accept that.

But I am not one who believes we ought to bring to the floor of the Senate initiatives that say, “Let’s step back from the substantial regulations that made life better in this country for dozens of years.”

We have had fights in many different venues to try to decide: When should we put an end to polluting America’s air? How long should we allow America’s kids to breathe dirty air because the captains of industry want to make more profit? When should we decide you cannot dump chemicals into our rivers and streams? When should we decide we want environmental safeguards so the Earth we live on is a better place to live?

We made many of those decisions already. We made fundamental decisions about worker safety. We made decisions about the environment. We made decisions about auto safety. Many of those decisions were the right decisions and good decisions. If we bring to the floor of the Senate, under the guise of regulatory reform, proposals that we decide we ought to retreat on the question of whether we want clean air in this country, then we are not thinking very much.

I do not know whether many Members of the U.S. Senate or many of the American people fully understand how far we have come. Do you know, in the past 20 years, we now use twice as much energy in this country as we did 20 years ago and we have less air pollution? We have cleaner air in America today than we did 20 years ago, yet we use twice as much energy.

Why do we have cleaner air? Is it because someone sitting in a corporate board room said, “You know, what I really need to do, as a matter of social conscience, is to stop polluting; what I need to do is build some scrubbers in the stacks so there are fewer pollutants coming out of the stacks and that way I will help children and help people and clean up the air”? Do you think that is why we cleaned up America’s air? The job is not done, but do you think that is why America’s air is cleaner now than 20 years ago, because the captains of industry in their paneled boardrooms decided to give up profits in exchange for cleaner air?

Not on your life. Not a chance. The reason the air in this country is cleaner than it was 20 years ago is bodies like this made decisions. We said, “Part of the cost of producing anything in this country is also the cost of not polluting. You are going to have to stop polluting. Is it going to cost you money to stop polluting? Yes, it is. And we are sorry about that. But you spend the money and pass it along in the cost of the product, because the fact is we insist that America’s air be cleaner. We are tired of degrading America’s air, and having men, women, and children breathe dirty air that causes health problems and fouls the Earth we are living on.”

What about water? Do you know now there are fewer lakes and streams with

acid rain; that we have fewer acid rain problems, we have cleaner streams, cleaner lakes in America now than 20 years ago?

Why is that happening? Is it because somebody decided that they would no longer dump their pollutants into the stream? No. It is because the people in this country through their government said we want to stop fouling the streams. We had the Cuyahoga River catch on fire. The Cuyahoga River in Cleveland actually started burning one day. Why did that happen? Because the manufacturers and others in this country were dumping everything into these streams and thought it was fine. It was not fine. We decided as a matter of regulation that it was not fine.

There are some people who say, “Well, that is inconvenient for corporations. It costs too much to comply with all of these. Let us back away on some of these restrictions.”

I want you to know that we are going back a ways. I have told this story before. I am going to tell it again because it is central to this debate. All government regulations are not bad. Some of them are essential to this country’s health.

Upton Sinclair wrote the book in the early 1900’s in which he investigated the conditions of the meatpacking houses in Chicago. What he discovered in the meatpacking plants of Chicago was a rat problem. And how did they solve the rat problem in a meatpacking plant in Chicago? They put out slices of bread laced with arsenic so the rats could eat the arsenic and die. Then the bread and the arsenic and the rats would all be thrown down the same hole as the meat, and you get your mystery meat at the grocery store. The American people started to understand what was going on in those meatpacking plants, and said, “Wait a second. That is not what we want for ourselves and our kids. It is not healthy.”

The result, of course, was the Federal Government decided to pass legislation saying, We are going to regulate. What would you rather see stamped on the side of a carcass of beef—“U.S. inspected?” Does that give you more confidence? It does for me. It means that carcass of beef had to pass some inspection by somebody who looked at it not with an economic interest, but who looked at it, and said, “Yes. This passes inspection, and it is safe to eat.”

Or do you want the meatpacking plants—the captains of industry in the meatpacking business who in the year 1900 would have been running a plant in which they were trying to poison rats in the same plant and mixing it with their meat? Well, I know who I would choose. I would choose to have a food system in this country that is inspected so the American consumer understands that we are eating safe food.

Let me talk about one other regulation that I am sure is inconvenient. In fact, I was involved with some of these