

And take the state trading enterprises, the Canadian Wheat Board, the Australian Wheat Board. We still have not solved that problem.

We will face a huge problem, too, in the coming years with respect to Europe. Europeans are getting on their high horse about genetically modified organisms. It is going to be a huge problem with Europe. To make matters even worse, Europe is starting to feel its oats. I think it is kind of upset with the United States because they see the United States as this big country. I think the war in Yugoslavia has exacerbated things a little bit because the European defense establishment did not provide the sophisticated materiel that was needed there. So now they want to build up their defense establishment. It is wrapped up in an awful lot of issues.

And it is OK for Americans to criticize the Europeans for their failure to be straight and have a level agricultural playing field. I might add, for example, their export subsidies are out of this world. European export subsidies are about 60 times American export subsidies for agriculture—60 times. Our EEP is about \$300 million, \$200 million—I do not think it is ever used—whereas their export subsidies are gargantuan.

Do you think Europeans, out of the goodness of their heart, are going to lower their export subsidies? No way. No way. We know that no country altruistically, out of the goodness of its heart, is going to lower their trade barriers. The only way to lower trade barriers is when there is a little leverage. So we have to find leverage in the usual way.

What I am saying is we have a huge challenge ahead of us; that is, to try to figure out—hopefully, in a noncombative way—how to deal with Europe. There are many issues with Europe, and they are just getting more and more complicated—whether it is Airbus or whether it is air pollution rules. They will not take our planes now because they say our airplanes pollute Europe. They are just huge issues. Basically, they are economic issues. And the economic issues are also very heavily agricultural.

We have to figure out a way. It takes leadership from the President. It takes some cool-mindedness in the House and the Senate, on both sides of the aisle, to try to figure out some way to crack this nut. It is going to be a very difficult nut to crack, but it has to be if it is going to help our farmers because right now our farmers are being taken advantage of by the Europeans—pure and simple. Nobody disputes that.

It is up to us to try to figure out a way to solve that one. I know that the more we criticize Europe, the more it makes us feel good, but it probably causes Europeans to dig their heels in a little more, and I do not know how much it will get the problem solved. We have to find leverage and some commonsense way to go about it and deal with this issue.

The leverage I suggest is the WTO “trigger,” as I call it, the export subsidy trigger. This legislation I have introduced essentially provides that if the Europeans do not reduce their agricultural subsidies by 50 percent in a couple years, then the United States is directed to spend EEP dollars in a like amount. If they do not eliminate them in another year, then the United States is directed to spend several billion dollars in EEP directed and targeted exactly at European producers, the European countries. So that is one bit of leverage.

I am also going to introduce legislation soon. It is agricultural surge legislation, to prevent farmers from suffering so much from import surges from other countries to the United States. We need action such as that and then to sit down calmly and coolly to talk with the Europeans, talk with the Chinese and the Japanese and the Canadians, to find a solution.

There are a lot of other things we need to do to help our farmers. Many have talked about the concentration of the beef packing industry, and they are right; there is way too much concentration of the beef packing industry, which is hurting our producers. There is labeling in this bill that helps.

There is one big omission. Seventy Senators voted to end the unilateral sanctions on food and medicine. The conferees disregarded the views of 70 Senators. They took that out. I do not know why. It does not make any sense why the conferees took that out of this conference report, particularly when 70 Senators, on a bipartisan basis, said, hey, we should not have unilateral sanctions on medicine and food; it should not be there. I wish they had not done that. Clearly, we have to find a way to get that passed.

I will stop here, Mr. President, because I see a lot of other Senators on the floor who wish to speak. But I strongly urge a heavy vote for this conference report and in a deeper sense—because obviously it is going to pass—calling upon us to back off from the partisanship. Let's start to think as men and women, as people. We are supposed to be educated. We are supposed to be smart. We are supposed to be leaders in a certain sense. Let's do it. Let's act as grownups, adults, problem solvers. That is all I am asking. It is not a lot. Over the recess, I hope we think a little bit about that, so when we come back next year, we can start to solve some problems.

COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST-BAN TREATY

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, on one other matter, although I told the Senator from Mississippi I would not address this subject, I am going to do so very briefly. That is the other matter before the Senate today, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty.

This is a no-brainer. It is an absolute no-brainer. It makes no sense, no sense

whatsoever, for the Senate to disregard the views of the President of the United States to bring up the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty knowing it is going to fail. It makes no sense. It is irresponsible. It is tragic. I cannot believe the Senate will let that happen. I cannot believe it because of the obvious signal it is going to send around the world.

What is that signal? The signal is: The United States is abrogating its leadership. The United States is sticking its tail between its legs and running away. It is leaving the scene. It is not being a leader. I cannot believe the Senate will allow that treaty to come up knowing it is going to be a negative vote.

I do not know what planet I am on—Mars, Pluto, Jupiter—to think of what the Senate could possibly do today. It is outrageous.

While I am on that point, let me speak toward bipartisanship just briefly. It used to be when the President of the United States had a major foreign policy request of the Congress, politics would stop at the water's edge. Politics would stop because it would be such an important national issue, and the Congress—Republicans and Democrats—would work together on major foreign policy issues.

There is plenty of opportunity for politics in the United States. There is plenty of opportunity—too much. It is highly irresponsible for the Senate to stick its thumb in the eye of the President of the United States when the President of the United States requests that there not be a vote on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, whatever his reasons might be, and say: We don't care what you think, Mr. President; we're going to vote anyway because we want to knock this thing down.

I just cannot believe it. It is just beyond belief.

I very much hope that later on today and in future days, Senators will think more calmly about this, exercise a little prudence, and do what Senators are elected to do; that is, be responsible and do what is right, not what is political.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2000—CONFERENCE REPORT—Continued

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUNNING). The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the conference report on the fiscal year 2000 Agriculture appropriations bill. I regret very much having to do this because I appreciate the fact that all across our country, farmers are in need of assistance. I recognize that it is important to try to get some of these programs out to them. But I am very frank to tell the Senate that I think the conference