

Record that I do not support S. 1269. I had an amendment to that bill that I thought had a good chance of being adopted if we ever got it on the floor. We never did. But I could never vote for S. 1269 as it is drafted.

Some of the other things in here are pretty good. I would say probably about 70 percent of this amendment is pretty good, and 30 percent is not too good. You have to weigh those around here.

We can all vote for it. It might make you feel good, but it doesn't do anything. This resolution doesn't do a thing to get the price up for our farmers. Why don't we just have sense-of-the-Senate resolutions around here forever, then we won't have to do anything, but it will make you feel good. If you want to feel good, you can go ahead and vote for the Grassley amendment, but I don't think it is going to do one single thing to get the price up for our farmers that is going to help them get through this next year, not one single thing. I yield the floor.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment? If not, the question is on agreeing to amendment No. 3172. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Ohio (Mr. GLENN) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 71, nays 28, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 206 Leg.]

YEAS—71

Abraham	Domenici	Leahy
Akaka	Durbin	Lieberman
Allard	Enzi	Lott
Baucus	Faircloth	Lugar
Bennett	Feinstein	McCain
Biden	Ford	McConnell
Bingaman	Frist	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Gorton	Moynihan
Boxer	Gramm	Murkowski
Breaux	Grams	Murray
Brownback	Grassley	Nickles
Bryan	Gregg	Robb
Bumpers	Hagel	Roberts
Burns	Harkin	Rockefeller
Chafee	Hatch	Roth
Cleland	Hutchison	Santorum
Cochran	Inouye	Shelby
Collins	Jeffords	Smith (OR)
Coverdell	Johnson	Stevens
Craig	Kempthorne	Thomas
D'Amato	Kerrey	Thurmond
Daschle	Kerry	Warner
DeWine	Kohl	Wyden
Dodd	Landrieu	

NAYS—28

Ashcroft	Feingold	Kennedy
Byrd	Graham	Kyl
Campbell	Helms	Lautenberg
Coats	Hollings	Levin
Conrad	Hutchinson	Mack
Dorgan	Inhofe	Mikulski

Reed	Smith (NH)	Torrice
Reid	Snowe	Wellstone
Sarbanes	Specter	
Sessions	Thompson	

NOT VOTING—1

Glenn

The amendment (No. 3172) was agreed to.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. BUMPERS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there further amendments?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. 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. LOTT. Mr. President, it is 12:15 and we have had one vote. We have dispensed with a sense-of-the-Senate resolution on the agriculture appropriations bill. Now the managers are having difficulty getting Senators to come to the floor and offer amendments. This is beyond ridiculous.

If we don't get going in the next 15 minutes or so, we are going to go live on a quorum. I am going to look, then, for the next serious action to take, because we should be through with this bill. If Senators are serious, they should be here offering their amendments. If they are not, then we are going to start having votes of another nature. We are not just going to stand in a quorum for the next hour, hour and a half. It is not fair to the managers. We will be here at midnight tonight, and I don't think anybody wants that.

So again, I call on Senators to come to the floor. Surely a Senator has an amendment, out of the 40 amendments we have pending, that could be offered. Let's dispose of it.

We will wait 15 minutes, or so, to get one going and then we will go to a live quorum.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I am in the majority leader's corner on this. This is unforgivable. Maybe there is some forgiveness in the order because most Members on our side are in a meeting with the President right now. I am hoping that somebody will have the nerve to walk out of that meeting to come over here and offer an amendment and get this show on the road.

The other thing that is mildly encouraging is that we have been going over the list of Democratic amendments, and an awful lot of them are folding, and some are going to be accepted. I only know about three or four fairly controversial amendments that

are probably going to require a rollcall vote—in the vicinity of three or four. The rest, I think, are either not going to be offered, or we are going to be able to accept them. Hopefully, we can get through here by sometime in the middle to late afternoon.

I certainly appreciate the majority leader's frustration, with all of these amendments lying around and nobody here to offer them. In all fairness, the reason nobody is over here is because they are all in a meeting with the President.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KYL. 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. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as if in morning business for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

CHINA TASK FORCE INVESTIGATION

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I was disappointed by some of the actions of the majority leader's statement the day before yesterday in which he provided an update on the Senate inquiry into U.S. policy on satellite exports to China.

In particular, some charged that the majority leader was engaging in partisan politics when he simply presented some of the things that we have learned in the 13 hearings and the numerous briefings and meetings held on that subject to date.

As a member of the task force appointed by the leader, I can state conclusively, Mr. President, that this investigation is driven by a desire to safeguard our Nation's security, and it is not motivated by partisan politics.

Let's examine the five main points that the leader raised in his remarks.

Point one: The Clinton administration's export controls for satellites are inadequate and have not protected U.S. security.

Many of us have been dismayed at the lax implementation and the irregular application of safeguards during launches of American satellites in China. For example, the Clinton administration has failed to require Defense Department monitors for every Chinese launch of U.S. satellites. Monitors are typically Air Force officers who are required to be present at all meetings with the Chinese launch service provider and the American satellite exporter. The monitor's presence is necessary because sensitive know-how can be inadvertently disclosed.

Chinese officials make no secret of their desire to obtain high-tech information, and the incentive for an American company to provide information

necessary for a successful launch of a multimillion-dollar satellite is great, therefore a monitor can be extremely helpful in reducing the amount of information that is shared with Chinese engineers and scientists.

Although Clinton administration officials routinely note the importance of monitors in testimony and briefings, under the current system, monitors are not required by statute, regulation, or international agreement. In fact, during three satellite launch campaigns conducted in China since 1995, monitors have not been present at any stage of the process. In three other launch campaigns in China, though not required by the government, monitors have been present only for the launch, but not the important technical exchange meetings dealing with mating the satellite to the launch vehicle and ensuring that it survives the stressful launch environment and is delivered intact to the intended orbit.

The majority leader's point that export controls on satellites are inadequate is not merely endorsed by the members of the task force. As the New York Times said in an editorial on the issue on May 26, "In its eagerness to improve relations with Beijing and expand American commerce in China, the White House has been careless about enforcing security protections." One month later, the New York Times again commented on the subject in another editorial on June 19 which stated,

Evidence keeps mounting that the Chinese Army is exploiting flawed American export controls to acquire sophisticated satellite communications technology for military and intelligence use. The Pentagon and State Department are now questioning the pending sale of a Hughes communications satellite whose upgraded design would let Chinese authorities eavesdrop on mobile telephone conversations at home and abroad. President Clinton should suspend this sale and the licensing of any more satellite deals with China until export control rules are tightened. In particular, he needs to put the State and Defense Departments back in charge of export approvals and diminish the role of the Commerce Department.

That is the New York Times speaking. That is not the majority leader. It is obviously a sentiment he shares.

This sentiment is shared on a bipartisan basis. During a hearing of the Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on International Security, Senator CLELAND criticized the administration for shifting responsibility for regulating satellite exports from the State Department to the Commerce Department stating, "I've got more and more concern about Commerce becoming the lead dog here. I'd rather hedge my bets and put national security first and commerce second."

The second point made by the leader day before yesterday was that in violation of stated United States policy, sensitive technology related to satellite exports has been transferred to China.

Mr. President, this is also an accurate, objective statement that is wide-

ly shared. Additional hearings will be necessary to continue to gauge how much damage has been done to United States national security, but several launches have occurred in China without the necessary safeguards and at least two analyses conducted by American companies of failed launches have been sent to China without first being reviewed by the State or Defense Departments.

As the Washington Post said on May 31,

There is little dispute that some American know-how inevitably seeped across to the Chinese, despite strict rules covering what technology United States companies could share with the Chinese and despite the monitoring of contracts by United States Air Force specialists. The argument is over how much seepage occurred and whether any of it helped China improve its military rockets.

Again, the majority leaders' comments are vindicated by the press.

The third point made by the leader day before yesterday was that China has received military benefit from United States satellite exports.

Additional information in this regard may be uncovered as the Senate's inquiry continues, but some key information has already come to light. Last month, in a front page story published on June 13, the New York Times broke the news that,

For the past two years, China's military has relied on American-made satellites sold for civilian purposes to transmit messages to its far-flung army garrisons, according to highly classified intelligence reports. The reports are the most powerful evidence to date that the American Government knew that China's Army was taking advantage of the Bush and Clinton Administrations' decisions to encourage sales of American high technology to Asian companies.

Again, the majority leader was not wrong. He is right.

The fourth point made by the majority leader was that the administration has ignored overwhelming information regarding Chinese proliferation and has embarked on a de facto policy designed to protect China and United States satellite companies from sanctions under United States nonproliferation law.

This is another objective observation about what we have learned from the hearings conducted so far. And again I turn to reports in the media in confirmation of the majority leader's point. As the Washington Post reported on June 12,

The former chief of the Central Intelligence Agency's weapons counter-proliferation efforts told a Senate committee yesterday that the Clinton Administration's determination not to impose economic sanctions on China led it to play down persuasive evidence that Beijing sold nuclear-capable M-11 missiles to Pakistan. "There's no question in my mind" that China sold 34 M-11 missiles to Pakistan in November 1992, Gordon Oehler, former director of the CIA's Nonproliferation Center, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Intelligence agencies are "virtually certain" the sale occurred he said, but "intelligence analysts were very discouraged to see their work was regularly dismissed" by Clinton aides.

Yet despite this overwhelming evidence, the Clinton administration has

not imposed sanctions and as a result of the transfer of authority over satellite exports from the State Department to the Commerce Department, satellite exports have been shielded from the effects of sanctions. Prof. Gary Milhollin made this point in testimony to the Armed Services Committee on July 9, stating,

One of the main effects of this transfer has been to remove satellites from the list of items that are subject to U.S. sanctions for missile proliferation. In effect, the transfer has given Chinese firms a green light to sell missile technology to Iran and Pakistan. Chinese companies can now sell components for nuclear-capable missiles without worrying about losing U.S. satellite contracts.

The administration has been interested in shielding China from the effects of United States nonproliferation sanctions for some time. According to a classified National Security Council memo reprinted in the Washington Times in March, the administration believed one of the benefits of United States support for China's membership in the Missile Technology Control Regime would be "substantial protection from future U.S. missile sanctions."

And again what the majority leader said is on the record. It is vindicated. It is not wrong.

The fifth and final point made by the majority leader day before yesterday was that new information has come to light about China's efforts to influence the American political process and that the Attorney General should name an independent counsel to investigate.

I serve on the Intelligence Committee which recently received classified testimony from the Attorney General and the Director of Central Intelligence on this subject. While obviously I will not comment on that testimony here, I simply point out that over the past few months a great deal of troubling information has been published on the subject in the press. As the Senate investigation proceeds we may uncover additional information in this area, but in my view the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate these allegations is already long overdue.

As I have tried to demonstrate today, attempts to portray the majority leader's statement or the work of the task force as partisan politics are simply invalid. The protection of our nation's security has been—and should be—our only concern. I urge my colleagues to examine the RECORD before leveling such charges. Although the Senate investigation will continue, it is clear that we must change the way we handle export controls on sensitive technology or risk further jeopardizing America's security.

The bottom line, Mr. President, is that when the majority leader made his controversial remarks, he was right and the record needs to reflect that.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1999

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I am going to begin discussing the amendment that we have been working on, on a bipartisan basis here, for a number of days, awaiting final determination from the Budget Committee on the question of a budget point of order. That is being discussed now by their legal people and the chief of staff of the Budget Committee. While we are awaiting that determination, I would like to take this opportunity to talk about the circumstances we find ourselves in and why the amendment that we have been discussing is needed.

The basic idea is that we have enormous economic distress out across farm country. Certainly, in my own State, we have seen a triple whammy of bad prices, bad weather, and bad policy. The result has been collapsing farm income, and the result of that is thousands of farmers being forced off the land.

This chart shows North Dakota farm incomes being washed away in 1997. According to the Government's own figures, from 1996 to 1997, farm income reported to the Commerce Department, reported by the Labor Department, went down 98 percent in North Dakota from 1996 to 1997. We all know there are many factors here. Low prices are a chief culprit. In addition to that, dramatically reduced production as a result of unusual weather patterns that have led to a massive outbreak of disease, so-called scab, which is really a fungus, which cost us a third of the crop in North Dakota last year.

Let me just say it is not just North Dakota that is affected. USDA has informed us that many States would benefit by such an indemnity payment; that North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota would be key beneficiaries, but so, too, would Texas, Oklahoma, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and the State of Idaho, and many other States as well. In a few moments I will show a map of the United States and show the States affected.

What is happening is, in addition to all of those things, the so-called Asian flu is costing us our most important export market. And on top of that, our own Government is sanctioning other countries and, as a consequence of those sanctions, removing us from being able to sell into those countries. So the fundamental problem is a dramatic loss of income in many States in the country.

This chart shows that farm income has dropped in a majority of the States. We can see those that are over a 40-percent drop are in red. That is North Dakota, at 98 percent; Missouri, I think their loss is in the 40-percent range. You can see New York, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia. These States have all suffered very dramatic income declines in the agricultural sector.

In addition to that, in orange are those States that have seen a 20- to 39-percent reduction in farm income: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Maine and Connecticut are in that category, as well as Washington, Nevada and Utah out West. Those that are in the zero to 19-percent decline: Montana, Idaho, South Dakota, Iowa, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont.

Farmers are suffering in silence. It has not gotten a lot of attention, but it is nonetheless real and it is nonetheless urgent. We can see the change in income by major industry from 1996 to 1997. All of these major industries saw increases with one exception—agriculture saw a \$3.4 billion decline. But we saw increases in mining—theirs were modest; in forestry and fishing, in transportation and public utilities, in construction, in wholesale trade, in government services, in retail trade, in finance, insurance and real estate, in manufacturing and services. Services, by the way, saw an enormous increase of over \$100 billion as we move increasingly towards a service economy.

One of the key reasons that we have seen the steep drop in North Dakota and some of the other States is these very unusual weather patterns. In Texas and Oklahoma it is drought. In North Carolina it is hurricanes. In North and South Dakota and Minnesota it is overly wet conditions.

This is a picture of the North Dakota farm country. This picture, if you can see it, shows not the kind of dry landscape one would associate with North Dakota, but one sees water everywhere. We are swamped in North Dakota. When I say farm income has been washed away, that is exactly what has happened. Farmland can't be planted. That which has been planted is drowned out. That which isn't drowned out is suffering from a massive outbreak of disease that has cost a third of the crop last year, to this dreadful scab outbreak.

I wish we could say it was restricted to scab, but in addition to that we have white mold, now, attacking the canola crop. That will affect not only our State but Minnesota, Montana, and South Dakota as well.

These are an extraordinary set of circumstances with which our farmers are dealing, and it is forcing them off the land. We anticipate losing 2,000 farmers in North Dakota this year out of 30,000. The Secretary of Agriculture came to

North Dakota 3 weeks ago and he had a disaster team that briefed him before the meetings. They told him, "You could lose 30 percent of the farmers in North Dakota in the next 2 years"—30 percent. If that is not a disaster, I don't know what is.

It is not just North Dakota, although we are one of the hardest hit, but certainly Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana, and the other States I mentioned, Oklahoma and Texas, all were hard hit by drought, continuing drought; of course Florida with their fires, North Carolina with hurricanes, and we saw other States affected as well.

This is another picture of North Dakota. Again, everywhere you look—water. I was just in the southeastern part of our State, six counties. I met with a young farmer there. He had planted corn twice this year. Both times it drowned out. For mile after mile, we saw land under water, land that is not going to be planted again this year, land that has been not planted for 2 or 3 years. In that particular farmer's case, he had land he hasn't been able to farm for 4 years.

These exceptionally wet conditions in North Dakota, Minnesota, and parts of South Dakota are leading to perfect conditions for the breeding of this fungus disease—scab. That is not only reducing the production—as I indicated, we lost a third of the crop last year—but in addition to that, what you do harvest is then badly discounted when you go to the elevator to sell.

It is this combination of factors that is putting such a crunch on North Dakota agricultural producers. Again, as I say, it is not just our State but other States as well. It is very much related to a collapse in prices, very much related to natural disasters, very much related, in addition to that, to what is happening abroad. The collapse of the Asian financial markets is reducing demand for our products. That is where we sell most of our agricultural production. That is the fastest growing market for the United States, in Asia, and they don't have the funds to buy. As a result, we are seeing sharp reductions, sharp restrictions in agricultural exports.

This chart, I think, tells the story very well. It shows a 50-year pattern of spring wheat prices. These are all stated in 1997 dollars so we are comparing apples to apples. You can see we are about at an all-time low at the end of 1997. You see a long-term trendline of wheat prices coming down, but we are now at virtually an all-time low. If you then look at 1998, you see the pattern continuing. By June of this year, we are at a 50-year low for spring wheat prices. Wheat prices in North Dakota are now about \$3.20 a bushel. To put that in some perspective, it costs about \$4.50 to produce wheat, so you have an invitation to lose money if you are planting wheat.

Of course, the upper Great Plains are dominated by wheat production. It is not just wheat. We see exactly the