March 28, 1996

Akaka Bryan Bumpers Byrd Conrad Daschle Dodd Dorgan Exon	Feingold Glenn Harkin Hollings Kennedy Kerrey Kerry Kohl Lautenberg	Levin McCain Mikulski Pryor Reid Rockefeller Sarbanes Wellstone
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So the conference report was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

## PRESIDIO PROPERTIES ADMINISTRATION ACT

The Senate continued with the con- FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZAsideration of the bill.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

# The legislative clerk read as follows: CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the Kennedy amendment No. 3573.

Edward M. Kennedy, Paul Wellstone, Joe Biden, J.J. Exon, Chuck Robb, Carol Moseley-Braun, Christopher Dodd, Bryon L. Dorgan, Claiborne Pell, Kent Conrad, John F. Kerry, Ron Wyden, David Pryor, Russell D. Feingold, Paul Sarbanes, Patrick Leahy, Dianne Feinstein, Frank R. Lautenberg.

### VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are ordered under rule XXII.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMPSON). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—55 yeas, nays 45, as follows:

> [Rollcall Vote No. 58 Leg.]

YEAS-55				
Akaka	Ford	Moseley-Braun		
Baucus	Glenn	Moynihan		
Biden	Graham	Murray		
Bingaman	Harkin	Nunn		
Boxer	Hatfield	Pell		
Bradley	Heflin	Pryor		
Breaux	Hollings	Reid		
Bryan	Inouye	Robb		
Bumpers	Jeffords	Rockefeller		
Byrd	Johnston	Roth		
Cohen	Kennedy	Santorum		
Conrad	Kerrey	Sarbanes		
D'Amato	Kerry			
Daschle	Kohl	Simon		
Dodd	Lautenberg	Snowe		
Dorgan	Leahy	Specter		
Exon	Levin	Wellstone		
Feingold	Lieberman	Wyden		
Feinstein	Mikulski			

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Abraham	Faircloth	Lugar
Ashcroft	Frist	Mack
Bennett	Gorton	McCain
Bond	Gramm	McConnell
Brown	Grams	Murkowski
Burns	Grassley	Nickles
Campbell	Gregg	Pressler
Chafee	Hatch	Shelby
Coats	Helms	Simpson
Cochran	Hutchison	Smith
Coverdell	Inhofe	Stevens
Craig	Kassebaum	Thomas
DeWine	Kempthorne	Thompson
Dole	Kyl	Thurmond
Domenici	Lott	Warner

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote the yeas are 55, the nays are 45. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

TION ACT, FISCAL YEARS 1996 AND 1997—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate the conference report to accompany H.R. 1561, the State Department Authorization bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows: The committee on conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1561), a bill to consolidate the foreign affairs agencies of the United States: to authorize appropriations for the Department of State and related agencies for fiscal years 1996 and 1997: to responsibly reduce the authorizations of appropriations for United States foreign assistance programs for fiscal years 1996 and 1997, and for other purposes having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses this report, signed by a majority of the conferees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the conference report.

(The conference report is printed in the House proceedings of the RECORD of March 8, 1996.)

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to call off the quorum call for 5 minutes to speak as in morning business.

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

## NO GIFT BAN EXEMPTION

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, today in the Washington Post, and yesterday in the Congress Daily, there were some articles suggesting that Senator McConnell, Chair of the Senate Ethics Committee, was talking about a blanket exemption on the gift ban-and there may be changes to this,

and I hope so-for the upcoming political conventions in San Diego and in Chicago.

Mr. President, I want to speak very briefly-and I suspect that I speak on behalf of other colleagues, Senator MCCAIN from Arizona, Senator FEIN-GOLD from Wisconsin, Senator LAUTEN-BERG, Senator LEVIN—after more than  $2^{1/2}$  years of negotiations and several hard-fought battles, just as the ink is drying, for a major change like this to be proposed. I think would be a serious breach of faith with the people in our country.

Mr. President, a friend and former Senator, Eugene McCarthy, who. by the way, will be 80 this weekend, has joked with me about being a "Calvinist" on congressional gift rules, but the reason many of us Senators worked very hard on this reform is that we want people to have more confidence and more trust and more faith in the political process. I just want to say that I really think if there is any kind of blanket exemption here, it would be a terrible mistake.

I can see the headlines now: "Members of Congress Take a Holiday from New Ethics Rule;" or "Pressed By Special Interests, Members Backslide to Provide Access;" or another headline, "Safe Harbor From Ethics Rules Members Let Their Hair Down at the Conventions."

Mr. President, I just want to make it clear to colleagues that we would be making a terrible mistake. It is one thing if there are specific issues that have to be resolved, specific problems where maybe there could be minor clarifications. I say just maybe because I think this gift ban legislation is very reasonable.

But, quite frankly, people do not want to see us go into these conventions and having special interests pay for our hotels or having them pay for various kinds of outings or having them pay for fancy dinners. It is just simply out of the question, Mr. President.

We have a \$50 limit on a gift. You can take one up to \$50. I say if somebody is thinking about eating more than \$50 worth of shrimp at a gathering, this is becoming more a health care issue, not an issue of gift reform.

I do not mean to be just talking about this with a twinkle in my eye, but I want to say to colleagues, I do not know what was intended by these comments, but those who worked very hard on this certainly would be out on the floor. If there was any broad or blanket exemption, we would oppose it with all our might. And, more importantly, people in this country would not stand for it.

Mr. President, let me just say one more time: The ink is barely dried on these new gift rules, and some are now proposing to relax them. All of a sudden we hear about possible exemptions from the gift rules while Members are at the conventions. For Democrats and Republicans alike-let me be bipartisan—it would be a huge mistake to go

back on the very reform law that we passed a few months ago. We must not do it.

There should not be any broad exemptions for these political conventions. We ought to live up to the law of the land that we passed. We ought to live up to this reform. We all ought to go by very high standards. I think people want us to.

I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZA-

TION ACT, FISCAL YEARS 1996 AND 1997—CONFERENCE REPORT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the conference report.

Mr. HELMS. Now, Mr. President, will the Chair review for me the unanimous consent in terms of time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The agreement is 2 hours under the control of the Senator from North Carolina, Senator HELMS, or his designee; 2 hours under the control of Senator KERRY or his designee; 2 hours under the control of Senator NUNN; 3 hours under the control of Senator JOHNSTON; and 1 hour under the control of Senator FEINSTEIN.

Mr. HELMS. That makes 2 hours on our side. That is a total of 10 hours.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ten hours.

Mr. HELMS. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. President, the Senate now has before it the conference report accompanying H.R. 1561, which, of course, is the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for fiscal year 1996 and 1997.

This bill authorizes \$6.5 billion for the operation of the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for 1996 and 1997. That represents a \$500 million cut from fiscal year 1995 spending.

After 1996, the bill authorizes funding for the State Department and requires the President to abolish at least one of the three anachronistic foreign affairs agencies: Either the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the U.S. Agency for International Development, or the U.S. Information Agency.

During the course of this debate, some may attempt to portray this legislation as isolationist. I hear that all the time. But you better not go out and ask the taxpayers of America what they think of it, because they do not agree with these people who cry isolationism.

These people who oppose this bill and have opposed it will not ever, of course, mention that the Secretary of State,

Warren Christopher, himself proposed the abolishment of not one but all three of these agencies. The fact is likely to be ignored, as well, that such prominent isolationists as Henry Kissinger, George Shultz, Larry Eagleburger, General Al Haig, and Jim Baker, all five being former Secretaries of State, support this, testified on behalf of it, and urged that we pare back these anachronistic, bloated foreign affair agencies. Of course, the media did not say much about that. They never do.

This bill, of course, does not cut the muscle out of our foreign affairs apparatus. What it does do is cut the fat a little bit of it—by making deep and necessary reductions in the current bloated and unwieldy Federal bureaucracy that says it is dedicated to foreign affairs.

This bill cuts \$500 million from the 1995 spending level. I have already said that. I do not think that is isolationism. If it is isolationism, Mr. President, let us make the most of it, because if I could have my full way, we would cut even more deeply across the board and save the taxpayers billions upon billions of dollars, not only in terms of the State Department but all across this bloated Federal bureaucracy.

This bill is simply a recognition that the U.S. Government wants too much money and desperately needs to reduce the \$5 trillion Federal debt that has been piled up and will be dumped on the backs of young people. Simply put, the State Department can and must do more with less, and the greatest advocates of that have been the present Secretary of State, before he was instructed to take a hike, and five former Secretaries of State, who stood up and said. "This needs to be done."

Most important, in agreeing to this conference report, the Senate has an opportunity to send to the President of the United States a bill to disestablish at least one anachronistic Federal agency and, thereby, save the American taxpayers \$1.7 billion. It was my intent, when I embarked on this legislation, to do far better than that, but the distinguished Presiding Officer knows what happened all of last year, and for most of this year-it was filibustered. There were instructions from the White House to delay and obfuscate and not to let this bill pass because it will cost some bureaucrats their jobs. So they filibustered. And only when the Senator from North Carolina said, "All right, if you are going to filibuster this bill, you are not going to get any more ambassadors, and you can tell your President that." Pretty soon, they said, "Let's make a deal." When they made a deal, they got the ambassadors. But if they had not made a deal, at least to have a vote on this legislation, those ambassadors would still be sitting twiddling their thumbs.

Let me remind all involved that Republicans were elected in 1994, in the majority of both the House and Senate,

to cut the size of the Federal Government and to eliminate waste by the Federal Government. And this is the first piece of legislation to be sent to the President of the United States which will result in one agency—one anachronistic Federal agency—being abolished.

I sat at home the night that the President delivered his State of the Union Address. I would rather be with Dot Helms than go to any State of the Union Address. She is a lot better company. I heard the President say over and over again—it was a great show, by the way—"The era of big Government is over." Do you remember him saying that? Some people cheered, including the few conservatives who were sitting down there. Well, the President will soon have the opportunity to prove that he meant that. But, already, the White House is sending word that the President is going to veto this bill, minimal as it may be.

Mr. President, after months of footdragging and calculated delays, our friends on the other side grudgingly allowed our reform efforts to be voted on in the Senate and went into a conference committee with the House of Representatives. Mr. President, I have participated, during my nearly 24 years in the Senate, in a lot of conferences. But this conference was one of the most peculiar I have ever seen or heard about, let alone participated in. Prior to the convening of the conference between the House and the Senate, the Democrat Senators made three demands, and I believe the majority made every possible good-faith effort to meet those demands. First was on the question of funding levels. This conference report is consistent with the Commerce, State, Justice appropriations bill on nearly every account. The funding levels contained in this bill are the best that the President of the United States is going to get from a Republican Congress.

Second, despite receiving no input whatsoever—not a syllable—a bipartisan attempt was made to work out an acceptable compromise on population funding. That not being possible, the entire issue was then set aside for later consideration.

Finally, the Democrats demanded that no more aid provisions be included in the final conference agreement. the majority agreed and Again, obliged. Except for the Peace Corps and some antinarcotics funding, there are no foreign aid authorizations in this bill. Important provisions necessary to bring peace in Ireland and to end the embargo of Armenia are included. What do you know? Despite all of these concessions that we made, when the conference began, not one Senate Democratic conferee—except for JOHN KERRY of Massachusetts, with one brief visit by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island, Senator PELL-attended any meeting of the conference. Senator PELL just visited briefly one time, and JOHN KERRY was there for a while.