

payments from where we had the acreage and payment program into a market system. We have had averaging, income averaging, just extended—that is good for farmers—and an IRA for farmers and ranchers. Of course, if you don't have any money, it does not help a lot. And that is going to have to be done. We did something about unilateral sanctions in countries so that we can have more markets overseas.

These are some things, but there need to be more. We need to do something with crop insurance to make that work. We need to open more foreign markets because almost 40 percent of our agricultural product goes into foreign trade. We need to do something about agricultural credit to help make this transition from managed agriculture to market agriculture.

So we need to work together, and we need some leadership in doing that.

Mr. President, probably again the thing that seems always to strike me, because I guess I believe it also, is that the real issue in many of the things we do is in terms of federalism—what is the role of the Federal Government? Where can we be most efficient? Where can we get the job done more easily? At the Federal level? At the State level? Should we send block grants, for example, in some instances to the States? I think so. And the delivery system is so different.

We held a couple of meetings on rural health care while I was in Wyoming. We have about 475,000 people in 100,000 square miles. Many people live in very small towns. We only have two towns that are over the 50–60,000 category. So you have to have a little different system for the delivery of health care than you do in Pennsylvania or than you do in New England, and that is an important kind of thing. Telemedicine, for example, is going to be very important to us.

So all this comes into this equation of how do you best serve the people of this country. I happen to believe, as you can imagine from what I have said already, less Federal Government is better than more. I am one who thinks that the most efficient delivery system comes when it is done at the local level. I am one who thinks that the Government closest to the people is the one that provides the kind of services that people really want.

So we need to focus, I think, on fundamentals. We need to focus on the idea that, for example, those things that are done by the Federal Government that are commercial in nature ought to be put out for bid, if that is possible, so we can do it in the private sector. It is done more efficiently that way, and it also creates more jobs in the private sector. And that is one of the fundamental things we ought to continue to focus on.

We don't have much time remaining in this session—I think something around 20 days of activity. We have lots of things to do. I am hopeful that our friends on the other side of the aisle will address these issues that need to be resolved. I think it is clear that

there are two or three issues they are going to try to insist on bringing up daily, not with the intention of completing them and finding a resolution but simply to bring them up so that they are the kinds of issues that will be involved in the campaigns that are coming up in November—patients' rights, for example. Both sides of the aisle have bills on patients' rights. Most of the elements of those bills are very similar and there is a consensus that some of those things need to be done. The leadership has offered to deal with it with a limited number of amendments so that we can get it done.

That is not acceptable to the other side of the aisle because they want to keep this issue alive as a political issue. That is too bad. I am sorry for that.

The minimum wage. We just have raised the minimum wage two times. It is a political issue that has to keep coming back. Campaign reform. Most of us want to make some changes in campaign reform. We have talked about it extensively in this session of Congress. It is kept alive as a political issue. We need to address ourselves to things that have to be resolved, those things that are important to the people in the conduct of the business of this country.

So I am just really hopeful that our leadership in the Senate and the leadership in the House and this administration will address ourselves to some of these issues and that we will, in fact, during this next month be able to resolve them, conclude them, and do them in the fashion that is most acceptable and most useful to the American people. That, after all, is our job. I think it is based largely on making some decisions as to what the Federal Government does best, how it does it, how it can be done most efficiently, how we can involve the States, how we can involve local governments. Invariably, when you go home, you see things done voluntarily, you see things done on a local level, and it reminds you, fortunately, the strength of this country lies not in its Federal Government, the strength of this country lies in the communities and the people who live there, people who give leadership to issues that affect them, people who volunteer, people who address the issues and resolve them, and that is, indeed, the strength of this country.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAMPBELL). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SANTORUM. 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. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask consent to be yielded the 10 minutes remaining under the time of Senator THOMAS.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

OVERRIDE THE VETO OF PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTION BAN

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, in conversations with the leader over the last couple of days, we have set a date for the Senate vote on the override of the President's veto of the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1997. It is going to be September 18, which is just a couple of weeks from now. I am hopeful, even though the numbers do not look good right now, that we will be able to muster sufficient support to do what the House did, which is to override the President's veto. The House voted, with I believe six or seven votes more than necessary, to override his veto. Here in the Senate we are three votes short of overriding the President's veto, of getting the 67 votes. We had 64 Senators vote in favor of the ban. We will need three more Senators to change their vote and support this act and override the President's veto.

I want to pick up on what Senator THOMAS was talking about and what is being talked about around the country, which is the President and his unwillingness to come forward with the truth, and his propensity to look at a factual situation and skew it some. Some would say lie; I would just say maybe skew it some, to put a different spin or color on what the real facts are.

I think we have maybe the first opportunity here in the Senate, since the President's admission a couple of weeks ago, to really pass judgment on the President's ability to be truthful with the American public. How many people in this Chamber are going to stand by this President when he has blatantly not told the truth about the issue of partial-birth abortion and the need for it to remain legal? He has stood behind this notion that this procedure needs to remain legal because of the potential impact on the health of women who have abortions and that this needs to be an option available to them because there may be circumstances in which women need this procedure to avoid serious health consequences. That was potentially a legitimate argument, even though I could give, and I will when the bill comes up, lots of reasons why from a medical perspective that makes no sense. We have made those arguments time and time again, and others have made those arguments, including Dr. BILL FRIST.

But, just prior to the vote last year here in the Senate, the American Medical Association came out with a letter that said that a partial-birth abortion is never medically necessary to protect the life or health of a woman. And this is an organization, by the way, that supports abortion rights. This is not a right-wing, radical, pro-life organization—take your pick, right-wing, radical, or pro-life, or all of the above. It is

none of those. It is an organization that in principle supports abortion rights, but came out and said that there is no medical necessity here. It is not necessary. Yet the President, just weeks after this letter was released—and by the way, there are hundreds if not thousands of obstetricians who have come forward and said the same thing—the President stood up and said I need to veto this bill because—I think it was on a Friday night he vetoed it, so not too many people were around to watch the veto—this is medically necessary to protect the health of women, when we have experts upon experts and the definitive body representing physicians in this country saying that it is not necessary and that, in fact, the President is not telling the truth to the American public or to Members of Congress.

So we are hiding behind a lie. I guess the question I have is how many Senators are going to continue to hide behind Bill Clinton's lie on the issue of partial-birth abortion? Many Senators—many Members of his Cabinet, many people—were apologists for Bill Clinton for the past several months because he told them one thing and we found out later that it was not true. And a lot of people were hurt by that, burned by that, the fact that the President wasn't coming clean with the American public. We have another instance right here where the President has not come clean with the American public on this issue. How many people are going to continue to go out and defend this President and his veto on a bill where his rationale for vetoing it is not true? Hopefully: Fool me once, shame on you. If Senators allow this President to fool them twice, shame on them.

I yield the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORTON). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

TREASURY AND GENERAL GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1999

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, I now ask unanimous consent the Senate resume consideration of S. 2312, the Treasury and general Government appropriations bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2312) making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the United States Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies,

for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

McConnell amendment No. 3379, to provide for appointment and term length for the staff director and general counsel of the Federal Election Commission.

Glenn amendment No. 3380, to provide additional funding for enforcement activities of the Federal Election Commission.

Graham/Mack amendment No. 3381, to provide funding for the Central Florida High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area.

Campbell (for Grassley) amendment No. 3386, to protect Federal law enforcement officers who intervene in certain situations to protect life or prevent bodily injury.

Harkin amendment No. 3387, to provide additional funding to reduce methamphetamine usage in High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas.

Kohl (for Kerrey) amendment No. 3389, to express the sense of the Senate regarding payroll tax relief.

AMENDMENT NO. 3379, AS MODIFIED

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator MCCONNELL, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order for me to send a modification to the desk for amendment No. 3379.

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

The amendment, as modified, is as follows:

At the end of title V, add the following section:

SEC. . PROVISIONS FOR STAFF DIRECTOR AND GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION.

(a) APPOINTMENT AND TERM OF SERVICE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 306c(f) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437c(f)) is amended by striking paragraph 1 and inserting the following:

“1 (A) The Commission shall have a staff director and a general counsel who shall be appointed by an affirmative vote of not less than 4 members of the Commission. Subject to exception in subparagraph (D), the staff director and general counsel shall, beginning January 1, 1999, serve for terms of 6 years and such terms may be renewed by an affirmative vote of not less than 3 members of the Commission.

“(B) The staff director and general counsel may serve after the expiration of his or her term until his or her successor has been appointed.

“(C) An individual appointed to fill a vacancy occurring other than by the expiration of a term of office shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the staff director or general counsel he or she succeeds.

“(D) The term of any individual appointed prior to and serving on the date of enactment of this act as general counsel shall be until January 1, 2008 and shall not be subject to renewal under subsection (A) until such date.”

(b) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION REGARDING AUTHORITY OF ACTING STAFF DIRECTOR OR GENERAL COUNSEL.—Section 306(f) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 437c(f)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit any individual serving as an acting staff director of the Commission from performing any functions of the staff director of the Commission or any individual serving as an acting general counsel of the Commission from performing any functions of the general counsel of the Commission.”.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, I know of no further debate on the pending McConnell amendment, and I ask unanimous consent that the yeas and nays be vitiated, and for the Chair to put the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to vitiating the yeas and nays?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the McConnell amendment.

Mr. LEVIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, we have negotiated this modification in the McConnell amendment so that it is no longer targeted at the sitting general counsel of the Federal Elections Commission. That was my objection to it, my very strong objection to it. This amendment has been modified now so it has no effect on the current general counsel until the year 2008. He is eligible to retire at that date in any event.

And even then, the amendment has now been changed so that three of the six members of the Federal Elections Commission can renew the appointment of the general counsel or staff director. It would not take four of the six to renew the appointment of a general counsel or staff director.

So in effect we have grandfathered the current general counsel. And with respect to future general counsels and staff directors, we have provided that once they are appointed, which of course will take a majority vote of the Commission, they shall serve for 6 year terms and their terms can be renewed by a vote of three of the six members of the Federal Elections Commission. This is a very significant change that makes this perfectly acceptable to me.

I want to thank Senator MCCONNELL for working with us on this. With that, I support the amendment.

After this is concluded, I understand that we will then be offering and there will be general support for an amendment of Senator GLENN, if I understand what we worked out here correctly.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I say to my friend from Michigan, as he well knows, his side of the aisle was in the position to scuttle the whole Treasury-Postal bill over this issue. Under those circumstances, this agreement was reached.

I gather the Glenn amendment will be adopted on a voice vote, which is acceptable to me.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the McConnell amendment, as modified.

The amendment (No. 3379), as modified, was agreed to.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent all previous yeas and nays ordered on other amendments be vitiated.

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

Mr. CAMPBELL. It is my understanding that the other amendments