

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

THE RUSSIAN POULTRY MARKET

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I have two comments I would like to make. I first would like to respond very briefly to a speech earlier in the day made by one of my colleagues before I discuss the foreign relations authorization bill pending before the Senate. I would like to address briefly the earlier comments of my good friend, the distinguished Senator from Arizona, regarding the President's involvement in resolving our trade impasse with Russia. The distinguished Senator suggests that it was inappropriate for the President to impress upon Mr. Yeltsin that the poultry industry is important to Mr. Clinton's home State, as well as to many other parts of America; I must say forthrightly, the single most important industry in my State.

Since Russia announced over a month ago that it was banning the import of all American poultry, I have been in daily contact with the White House, our Trade Ambassador Mickey Kantor, and our Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman, to keep this \$500 million market open to American poultry growers.

Fortunately, the hard work of the administration has paid off. Just this week the Russians announced that they are backing down. This would not, in my view, have been possible without the direct involvement of the President, the Vice President, Ambassador Kantor and Secretary Glickman.

Since 1982, Sussex County, one of our counties in Delaware, has remained the No. 1 broiler-producing county in the United States of America. The Delmarva peninsula is home to 21,000 poultry workers, and produces more than 600 million birds per year. It is a major supplier of the Russian poultry market.

Last year, for example, one major Delaware producer exported 1,300 tons of frozen poultry to Russia. Another exported \$10 million worth of poultry products.

Those of us who understand this industry know that it is under increasing competitive pressure as grain prices soar and the price of other meats fall. But, they know how to prosper in a competitive environment. That is why we can ship higher quality poultry to Moscow and Saint Petersburg and still beat their prices. In turn, it is the responsibility of this and, I believe, every administration to maintain the open international markets that they need, not only for American poultry but for all American products. Keep in mind that Russia's market was closed as recently as 1991. Now, Russia purchases \$500 million worth of poultry every

year, and the market has been growing. This is just one of the many products they purchase.

This has been a real success story for American exports. Of American exports, the agricultural community is the only real success story in American exports of continuing, year-in-and-year-out consequence.

I, for one, think it is perfectly appropriate, as a matter of fact absolutely necessary, for the President of the United States, in this case President Clinton, to let President Yeltsin know just how important these exports are. I cannot think of any better way for a President to drive the point home than to make this issue personal.

I wanted very much for the President to successfully resolve this problem of the poultry industry. As any negotiator on the floor of this Senate understands, the one way in which, on a close call, we all appeal to our colleagues ultimately is we say: This is personal to me. This is personal to me.

Mr. Yeltsin is a politician. Every world leader is a politician. Politicians in international relations react no differently than politicians on the Senate floor.

I think it was perfectly appropriate and necessary for the President to use everything in his arsenal to convince the Russians not to violate international trade agreements with regard to poultry or anything else.

Mr. President, I believe that the people who disagree with the President acknowledge he is a master communicator. You can bet Yeltsin got the message.

So let us keep the big picture in mind and not get hung up on questions of style. The results, which are keeping 500 million dollars' worth of export markets open, speak for themselves. I think this is an important achievement on President Clinton's part and an important international trade issue. Had he failed, it would have set the precedent for significant trade consequences for the United States, and not just in poultry. I think most Americans, regardless of political party, feel the President did the right thing. I know I think he did the right thing.

AGAINST BACKDOOR ISOLATIONISM

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I would now like to register my strong opposition to the question we are about to vote on, the conference report on H.R. 1561, the Foreign Relations Authorization Act.

In spite of some modifications, this report still, in my view, suffers from the fatal flaws that afflicted the Senate bill which we voted upon in December and I voted against.

This conference report would abolish three agencies that continue to serve the interests of the American people: The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the U.S. Information Agency, and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

While unwisely folding these agencies into the Department of State, it would severely cut funding for diplomatic activities, thereby further undermining our ability to carry out a coherent foreign policy.

The report also includes a sadly inadequate sum for foreign assistance, contains language that would be extremely damaging to POW/MIA identification in Vietnam, unwisely tampers with the 1982 joint communique with China, and generally attempts to give the impression that it is an internationalist piece of legislation.

Mr. President, the intent and impact of this legislation is not internationalist at all. No, the report is, in fact, yet another attempt at backdoor isolationism, in my view.

The legislation has its genesis in a deeply flawed ideological belief that no matter what the objective facts are, less Government tomorrow is better than whatever level of Government we have today. Following this simplistic logic, we have three independent agencies today so let us have two, or one, or even none tomorrow.

Never mind that all three agencies—ACDA, USIA, and AID—have all made significant strides in restructuring their activities and saving large sums of money and large sums of taxpayer dollars on their own accord.

Never mind that the missions of all three of these agencies are even more important today than they were during the cold war.

Less is more, so hack away. If this act were anything more than a numbers game, it would not blithely give the President a waiver authority to save up to any two agencies of his choice. It is like picking draft choices. I will trade you one and you pick any two you want.

It has nothing to do with anything other than the notion that less is better. For, if it were otherwise, we would say, "Mr. President, you must deal specifically with this agency or that agency." This, however, is like giving up future draft choices.

The legislation appears at first glance to have been crafted in blissful ignorance, both of what has been going on in our foreign policy apparatus for years and what it takes to conduct American foreign policy around the globe today.

How else could one explain ignoring ACDA's increasingly critical watchdog role in nuclear nonproliferation. It does not matter that the cold war is over. We now face the danger of nuclear weapons in the hands of several new countries, including rogue States like Iran and Libya.

Moreover, terrorist groups threaten to get ahold of nuclear material for the purpose of blackmailing entire cities and potentially nations. Now, more than ever, we need the proven expertise and independent judgment of ACDA.

Can we really believe that the drafters of this legislation are unaware of USIA's technologically sophisticated

efforts to bring America's message to the world? Do they also not know that American public affairs officers are often our embassies' most proactive diplomats? Can they not see that merging them into a large bureaucracy would inevitably smother their creativity?

Mr. President, is it credible to believe that the innovative public-private enterprise funds that USAID has pioneered in Central and Eastern Europe have escaped the notice of the sponsors of this legislation? Do they really not comprehend that development aid is a cost-effective way to head off crises around the world?

No, I think the answer to all these questions is clear: Less is more, so let us slash, let us slash.

It is bad enough that absorbing these agencies would rob them of their independence that has served this Nation so well for decades. But, Mr. President, this legislation adds insult to injury by denying the State Department the necessary funding to adequately carry out the new functions it will now inherit, along with its current duties as the principal vehicle for the carrying out of U.S. foreign policy.

The sponsors of this legislation would have us believe that a profligate and bloated bureaucracy needs to be cut down to size. In my view, nothing can be further from the truth.

The international affairs budget is now 45 percent lower than it was in 1984.

Altogether, it represents only 1.3 percent of Federal spending.

Over the past 3 years alone, the State Department's budget has been cut in real terms by 15 percent, at the same time the Department's responsibilities have been increased with the birth of many new countries out of the wreckage of the Soviet Union.

We see what is happening in Bosnia. We know what is happening in all the former Soviet republics, and it makes sense for us not to have a presence there? It makes sense for us not to be involved? It makes sense for us to close embassies? It makes sense for us not to open consulates?

I cannot believe that is what is motivating this legislation. It is simply this notion that we should cut and slash.

Forced to respond to these fiscal stringencies, the State Department has taken some very painful measures:

It has cut its total work force by 1,700 persons.

It has downsized the Senior Foreign Service by almost one-fifth, and, in my opinion, this measure is a thoughtless waste of a national resource.

It had to cancel, for example, the 1995 and 1996 Foreign Service examinations—in effect, a tragic waste of a future national resource, namely, the best and the brightest college and university graduates who will be unable to join our diplomatic corps and serve this Nation.

It has cut its administrative expenses by nearly \$100 million. Anyone visiting

an American embassy abroad has seen our highly trained professionals doubling- and even tripling-up in cramped office space, even as they routinely work 12 hours a day or more.

Yet, Mr. President, some politicians see fit to use the Foreign Service and other agencies as whipping boys in an attempt to fuel this mindless anti-Government feeling that afflicts some of our fellow citizens.

I regret to say that last summer, one of our colleagues and a good friend of mine castigated American diplomats for allegedly working in "marble palaces" and "renting long coats and high hats" only a few weeks after Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel, and Nelson Drew were killed on the Mt. Igman Road above Sarajevo—working not in a marble palace, but in an armored personnel carrier, and wearing fatigues, not long coats and high hats.

Finally, the State Department has been forced to close a string of diplomatic posts, thereby severely hampering our ability to carry out political, economic and cultural diplomacy in an increasingly competitive world.

I come from a State where there are a number of multinational corporations. They have historically—not solely, but in part—had access and information provided to them through economic and commercial officers at our consulates and our embassies. Why are we closing them? In the name of economy, in the name of the long-term future of American economic growth? What is the reason?

From all this, any objective observer, in my view, can see that the foreign policy apparatus of the United States has already been pared down to the bone.

What does this legislation do? After mandating that the State Department assume the functions of ACDA, USIA and AID, it calls for further budget cuts of \$1.7 billion over the next 4 years.

I think this is a shell game which ends with nothing left under any one of the shells.

In effect, this legislation will also cripple our ability to head off crises around the world through diplomacy that this President and future Presidents of the United States will be faced with the stark choice of either doing nothing or sending in the military.

Let me make a truly radical suggestion, Mr. President. This year we gave the Pentagon \$7 billion more than it asked for. I have consistently supported keeping the U.S. military the strongest military in the world, and I continue to do so.

But why not give the Pentagon only \$5 billion more than it asked for and transfer the remaining \$2 billion to the international affairs budget, keep the three agencies functioning, and enable this country to get back into the big leagues of international diplomacy?

Unfortunately, with our backdoor isolationists in control of this Congress, this perfectly sensible suggestion, I believe, is totally impossible.

No, Mr. President, this conference report is a triumph of ideologically driven romanticism. It speaks to an earlier, simpler age.

Unfortunately, though, we are approaching the turn of the 21st century. The world is ever more complex, not simple, and closing our eyes will not make the complexity go away.

This bogus administrative reform, combined with purposefully punitive budget cuts, is no more than backdoor isolationism, in my view.

This conference report ought to be titled "The Smoot-Hawley Foreign Policy Act of 1996."

It is a blueprint for the affairs of an inward looking, minor nation, not the world's only remaining superpower.

As you might guess, I will cast my vote against this backdoor isolationism, and I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to do the same.

This is not a time to turn inward. This is a time to look outward. This is a time to claim our mantle, to engage in diplomacy, and to help shape a world that will make it safer and economically more viable for Americans to live in.

I thank my colleagues for their indulgence and yield the floor.

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. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further proceedings under the quorum call be dispensed with.

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

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the majority leader has suggested that in order to enable Senators to get home a few minutes earlier, that we start the rollcall vote immediately, but to run it on for there to be plenty of time for Senators to arrive. So I make that unanimous consent request.

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

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays. I thought they had already been ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question occurs on agreeing to the conference report to accompany H.R. 1561. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. LOTT. I announce that the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK] is necessarily absent.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. PRYOR], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. EXON] are necessarily absent.

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

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 44, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 59 Leg.]

YEAS—52

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

NAYS—44

Akaka	Feinstein	Levin
Baucus	Ford	Lieberman
Biden	Glenn	Mikulski
Bingaman	Graham	Moseley-Braun
Boxer	Harkin	Moynihan
Bradley	Heflin	Murray
Breaux	Hollings	Nunn
Bryan	Inouye	Pell
Bumpers	Johnston	Reid
Byrd	Kennedy	Robb
Conrad	Kerrey	Sarbanes
Daschle	Kerry	Simon
Dodd	Kohl	Wellstone
Dorgan	Lautenberg	Wyden
Feingold	Leahy	

NOT VOTING—4

Exon	Pryor
Mack	Rockefeller

The conference report was agreed to. Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the conference report was agreed to, and I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, Senator DOLE, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

COMMUNICATIONS DECENCY ACT

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I would like to make reference to this, and will ask for this to be printed in the RECORD. I notice with great interest a full-page ad in the New York Times of March 26, 1996, and the startling information here in dark type is "Does Sex Turn You off?" Then it goes on to say—this is published by Penthouse—entitled "The Facts of Life."

It says:

It is a touchy subject. But an important one. Especially if you're a marketer who wants to reach men. If you've never experienced the satisfaction of advertising in Penthouse, there are some facts you should know. Facts that help explain why Penthouse is a savvy business decision, and why it performs as well as it does. For starters, Penthouse's efficiency far surpasses Playboy, GQ, Sports Illustrated and Esquire. We also reach a higher concentration of 25 to 49 year old men. And at newsstands, where a full purchase price helps gauge a magazine's true value to readers, Penthouse's sales are routinely on top.

What's more, study after study has found that the more involved readers are with a magazine's editorial, the more they're involved with its advertising. And no magazine's readers are more involved than Penthouse's. The appeal and leadership of Penthouse extends beyond print, however. On site on the Internet —<http://www.penthousemag.com>—attracts over 80,000 people daily (not hits, people.) This not only makes Penthouse one of the Internet's most popular sites, it enables us to guarantee advertisers an audience of 2.4 million people every month. This proposition is encouraging more and more marketers to take advantage of both Penthouse Magazine and Penthouse Internet. If you're an advertiser who wants the special stimulation Penthouse offers, contact Ms. Audrey Arnold, Publisher, at 212-702-6000.

And it says down here:

Penthouse, The Facts Of life.

Mr. President, when Congress considered the Communications Decency Act, commonly called the CDA, as part of the telecommunications bill, opponents of the Communications Decency Act raised all kinds of concerns that passage of the Communications Decency Act would restrict free speech of adults and end the commercial viability of the Internet.

Let me repeat that last part again: And end the commercial viability of the Internet.

The Washington Post in this regard printed an editorial that the Exon Communications Decency Act would interfere with the matter of making money on the Internet.

I have only cited the article that appeared in a full-page ad in the New York Times and intend to make these remarks tonight to thank the Penthouse magazine for printing that full-page ad, which is their right—pretty expensive but it is their right, and obviously they are a pretty good free enterprise, money-making concern. But I think it points out more than anything else how all of the opponents to the Communications Decency Act are way off base.

The recent full-page ad in the New York Times both refutes and makes meaningless the claims of the elimination of free speech of adults and the end of commercial viability on the Internet. Penthouse Magazine, which until enactment of the Communications Decency Act, offered free adult fare to Internet users of any age, was one of the first purveyors of sexual material to take steps to comply with the new law. That law is clearly working

and has already been instituted to create a great success story.

Before our law was introduced and before it was passed, there was thunderous silence, thunderous silence, Mr. President, from both the industry and those loud voices that are now hammering away at the Communications Decency Act.

Published reports have indicated that Penthouse and Hustler Internet sites, referencing great numbers in the wording from the ad that I just read, and maybe some others now require, after passage of the act, a card to access these offerings.

Like it or not, Mr. President, this is the type of electronic pornography that is legal and constitutionally protected for adults. If their actions are as reported of requiring a credit card before you can access this particular part of the Internet that is widely, widely used according to Penthouse, if they have indeed instituted the procedure of having a credit card, then Penthouse and Hustler and their like appear to be in compliance with the new law, and I applaud them for that.

Adult material remains available then to adults but children are not provided pornography. This is precisely what the Communications Decency Act was designed to do, and it is working. The fully anticipated court challenge that is now underway apparently is not aware of this fact or it would be a defense on its face to some of the constitutional challenges that are being made.

The fear that keeping pornography away from children on the Internet would destroy this great medium and all of those charges that have been made are erroneous, they are unfounded, and it is nonsense.

During the year the Communications Decency Act was fully debated, Internet use doubled, and Internet growth has continued since the passage of the bill. Already, AT&T, MCI, and several local telephone companies have announced plans to offer easy Internet access and the Internet is coming to help other media as well and will come as I understand it to cable and satellite television.

Penthouse boasts, as I have just read, that it attracts over 80,000 people daily to its Internet site and an audience of 2.4 million each month. The ad's enthusiasm for the Internet is in keeping with the Communications Decency Act. We know that great system called the Internet that provides information and help to a lot of people is not only important but I simply say that the scare tactics that continue to be used by the Communications Decency Act's opponents are not well founded. It is not censorship, the word opponents of the Communications Decency Act throw around at will, to responsibly protect our children from pornography and, I might add, pedophiles.

The Communications Decency Act was fully debated, extensively negotiated and carefully designed to strike