The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1233, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1233) making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I believe we have a unanimous consent request now and some motions that we will need to make. It might take a few minutes to get through this.

First, I ask unanimous consent that Senator DASCHLE be recognized to offer his amendment relative to disaster assistance and, following the reporting by the clerk, the amendment be laid aside and Senator COCHRAN be recognized to offer his disaster assistance amendment. I further ask unanimous consent that debate run concurrently on both amendments, with the votes occurring in a stacked sequence at 2:15 p.m. on Tuesday, the first in relation to the COCHRAN amendment to be followed by a vote in relation to the DASCHLE amendment, as amended, if amended, with 2 minutes of debate prior to each vote. I further ask unanimous consent that no amendments be in order to either amendment prior to the votes.

I ask unanimous consent that following those votes, Senator JEFFORDS be recognized to offer his amendment relative to dairy and immediately following the reporting by the clerk, Senator KOHL be recognized to send a cloture motion to the desk and that cloture vote occur at 9:30 a.m. on Wednesday, with the mandatory quorum being waived notwithstanding rule XXII.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KOHL. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. LOTT. Since objection has been heard, I have no alternative other than to offer amendments. This is important because we do need to move forward with the Agriculture appropriations bill. We brought it up earlier, this past month. It became embroiled in an unrelated issue, and we had to set it aside.

The farmers in America and the consumers of America and the children of America are depending on this very important legislation going through the process. We are talking about $60.7 billion, probably more than that by the time it is completed, for agriculture in America. We need to get it completed.

I know there are some issues that cause a lot of concern: How do you deal with a disaster in America, when do you deal with it, and how would any assistance be apportioned among the farmers that were impacted by disasters in a number of ways. And also, of course, we have this very important dairy issue. I have advised Senator COCHRAN, Senator JEFFORDS, Senator KOHL, and Senator DASCHLE to make sure everybody understands what I am doing here. I am doing it because I do think it is so important that we move forward on this bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 1499

(Purpose: To provide emergency and income loss assistance to agricultural producers)

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senator DASCHLE and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT], for Mr. HARKIN, for himself, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. KERRY, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mrs. LINCOLN, and Mr. BANANES, proposes an amendment numbered 1499.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted."

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

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

The yeas and nays were ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 1500 TO AMENDMENT NO. 1499

(Purpose: To make a perfecting amendment)

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, on behalf of Senator COCHRAN and others, I send a second-degree amendment to the desk and ask for its consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT], for Mr. COCHRAN, proposes an amendment numbered 1500 to amendment No. 1499.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

(The text of the amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted."

MOTION TO RECOMMIT WITH AMENDMENT NO. 1501

(Purpose: To restrict the use of certain funds appropriated to the Agricultural Marketing Service)

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I now move to recommit the bill with instructions to report back forthwith with an amendment, and I send the motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the motion and the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] moves to recommit the pending bill to the Appropriations Committee with instructions to report back forthwith with the following amendment.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 21, between lines 10 and 11, insert the following:

None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act may be used to pay the salaries and expenses of personnel of the Department of Agriculture to implement—

(1) sections 143 or 147(3) of the Agricultural Marketing Act (7 U.S.C. 7253, 7256(3));

(2) the final decision for the consolidation and reform of Federal milk marketing orders as published in the Federal Register on April 2, 1999 (64 Fed. Reg. 16025); or

(3) section 738 of the Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1999 (Public Law 105-277; 112 Stat. 2981-30).

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the motion.

The assistant 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 pending motion regarding the dairy compact amendment:


Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I now withdraw the motion to recommit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is withdrawn.

Pending is the second-degree amendment offered by the majority leader on behalf of Senator COCHRAN.

Mr. LOTT. For the information of all Senators who may have missed a step or two there, a cloture motion was just filed on the dairy amendment. The vote on the cloture motion will occur Wednesday under Rule XXII, unless agreement can be reached to set a time certain for that vote.

I encourage Senators on all sides of the issue to communicate with each other and see if there is some accommodation that could be worked out so that both sides can find it acceptable. In the meantime, it is my hope that we can continue to debate the important disaster relief amendments.

I thank my colleagues. I am delighted to yield the floor to the distinguished Senator from Mississippi, or to

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE August 2, 1999
These payments are transition payments that were begun under the last farm bill to prepare farmers for the time when predictable subsidies under the old farm bill program are reduced and then finally eliminated. Over this 5-year period under this new farm law, the transition payments are made to help support farmers as they become accustomed to agriculture without the benefit of the old subsidy payments. Farmers are now free to make planting decisions, for example, for themselves, as indicated by the condition of the market and the likelihood of crops being produced and efficiently produced, rather than what the Government tells them they should produce under the restraints of Federal law.

Many farmers are beginning to make these decisions and shift from one program cropl to another, without running the risk of losing Federal Government support. In order to show that the economic conditions and the market conditions have been so severe as to cause farmers not to enter crops profitably under the new transition payment system, that payment is doubled under the Cochran amendment. And so instead of receiving $5,000 as a transition payment, a person who is entitled to that benefit under existing law this year will get twice that amount as an economic assistance payment from the Federal Government. A total of $35.54 billion will be paid to agriculture producers for market transition payments under the Cochran amendment. This is a 100 percent increase in a producer’s 1999 payment under the existing farm bill.

Other benefits that are available to agriculture producers under this amendment would include $500 million in direct payments to soybean and oilseed producers; $350 million in assistance to livestock and dairy producers, to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture. The amendment would also suspend the budget deficit reduction assessment on sugar producers for the remainder of the farm bill, as long as no Federal budget deficit exists.

There will be a direct payment provided in this amendment to producers of quota and non-quota peanuts, equal to 5 percent of the current loan rate. The Cotton Step Two Export Program is reinstated in this amendment. There is an increase in the current loan deficiency payment limit from $75,000 to $150,000. There is, additionally, a provision in this bill that expresses the sense of the Congress, encouraging the President to be more aggressive in strengthening trade negotiating authority for Agriculture and expressing the Congress’ objectives for future agriculture trade negotiations. The amendment also requests that the President evaluate and make recommendations on the effectiveness of our existing export and food aid programs.

If you add up all of the direct benefits that are payable, they have been scored by the Congressional Budget Office as amounting to a total of $6.67 billion for fiscal year 2000. The added cost over the next 3 years, from 2000 to 2004, would add another $309 million to the cost of the bill, for a total of $6.979 billion in total cost from fiscal year 2000 to 2004, as scored by the Congressional Budget Office.

Madam President, Senators will remember that when we first brought this bill from the committee to the floor of the Senate, there was a great deal of concern about whether or not there should be a disaster program included in a title of the bill. We had asked the administration to submit a budget request for any funds that were expected to be needed. We have had no response whatsoever from the administration to that request. We attached that, an omnibus amendment, to the Committee on Appropriations. We discussed it on the floor of the Senate when this bill was before the Senate earlier, and I am very distressed that we have yet to hear any request made by the administration for this assistance. So in spite of the absence of cooperation in trying to identify and work together on a program that would be sensitive to the problems in production agriculture, we are moving to suggest to the Senate that this is a program that ought to be adopted.

I have additional comments to make. I will be glad to respond to questions that may arise from Senators on the content of this legislation to try to answer any questions that others may have. But I know we will soon have a vote that is scheduled to occur on another bill that was debated in the Senate earlier today. In an effort to accommodate friends who have asked for time to talk on their amendment, I will yield the floor at this time so other Senators may speak.

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, I wonder if the Senator will yield. I would like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. COCHRAN. I would be happy to respond to the Senator.

Mr. HARKIN. I didn’t get a copy of the amendment. What is the bottom line? What is the total package?

Mr. COCHRAN. The Congressional Budget Office has scored the items I discussed at $6.67 billion for fiscal year 2000, and the total cost during fiscal years 2000 to 2004 is scored at $6.979 billion.

Mr. HARKIN. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, today all across America most people are doing pretty well. Unemployment is at its lowest rate in years. The stock market keeps going up. Our gross national product is going up at a great rate. As we now know, we have a surplus for the first time in almost 30 years in the Federal budget. We just
had a lengthy debate last week on what we are going to do with that surplus. Our friends on the other side want to take it away from the farmers; it is a tax break, to people mostly in the upper-income brackets.

If you just looked at that, you would think we shouldn’t be worried too much about what is happening in America; things look pretty good.

Out of the glare of Wall Street, far from the floor of the New York Stock Exchange, sort of silently and quietly, American farmers and ranchers are losing their businesses. They are at the end of their rope. Our small towns and communities that dot our countryside are facing a bleak winter, with the prospect that things will get even worse after the harvest is in and the snow falls.

The situation facing American agriculture today— according to bankers, farm economists, and agricultural economists from many of our universities—is the worst it has been since the Great Depression. We have to respond. We have to respond in a way that is meaningful. That is what our first-degree amendment does.

I listened to my friend from Mississippi describe this amendment. I guess my response basically would be, “Nice try.” Would it help farmers? Would the Republican amendment help farmers? Why, sure. Any little bit would help. Does it get to the underlying problem? Does it really help get our farmers through this winter and into next year? The answer is no. It is hopelessly too short.

While I appreciate the effort by my friends on the Republican side to come up with a last-minute amendment to perhaps put out a smokescreen on what is really happening in agriculture and what we need to do to respond to the crisis, it is a nice effort, but it really doesn’t do it. Our hard-working, dedicated, progressive farmers and ranchers across this country don’t just need a little bit of a handout that the Republican amendment will give them. What they need is a package of help that will not only get them through this summer and this fall but through next winter so they can get back on their feet again next year.

You will hear a lot of talk about how one of the problems is our lack of exports. I just want to point out that even though the United States has a trade deficit, one sector that earns us money and that has a positive trade balance is agriculture. But there are those who would have you believe it is because of the lack of exports that our farmers are in such bad shape. Here is the chart that puts the lie to that.

For wheat, rice, corn, and soybeans—the most commodities we export—the exports are fully up this year over what they were in the previous couple of years. We are exporting more. If we are exporting more, what is the problem? The problem is, there is no price and farmers aren’t getting anything for their commodities. Here is what happened to soybeans just in my State of Iowa since the fall of 1997: Basically about a 45-percent decrease in the value of that crop. The same is true with corn. There have been precipitous drops just in the last year alone. It is not a lack of total exports. It is a lack of the money and the price that farmers are getting.

While we need to get an emergency package of money out to farmers, we need to do it now. We also have to be about changing the farm policy. We cannot go on another year under the Freedom to Farm bill and be back here again next year looking at another package of several billion dollars. The Freedom to Farm bill has failed miserably. It has failed our Nation. It has failed our farmers. It has failed our rural communities.

I have an article that was in the Kansas paper back in 1995 when we passed the Freedom to Farm bill by my friend from Kansas, Senator ROBERTS. He said:

Finally, Freedom to Farm enhances the farmer’s total economic situation. In fact, the bill results in the highest net farm income over the next seven years of any proposal before Congress.

I hate to say it to my friend from Kansas, but net farm income in key farming areas is down dramatically. For the principal field crops, net farm income is going to be down about 29 percent this year from the average of the last 5 years. That is why we are facing one of the greatest depressions in agriculture since the 1930s. That is why halfhearted measures are not going to work. That is why the bill we have come up with really does address the magnitude of the problem. It is deep, and it is a very large problem and one that has to be addressed efficiently.

The amendment that Senator DASCHLE and I, along with Senator DORGAN, Senator KEHRER, Senator JOHNSON, Senator CONRAD, Senator BAUCUS, Senator DURBIN, Senator WELLSTONE, Senator LINCOLN, and Senator SARBANES have just sent to the desk provides for a total of $10.79 billion to farmers and ranchers for this next year.

There is a great gulf of difference between what the Republicans have set up and what we are proposing. First, the Republicans are proposing that we send all of this money out in a direct payment to farmers; an AMTA payment, it is called, a market transition payment. Our payments go out in support—what farmers actually produced this year, not what they did 10 or 20 years ago. In that way, it is more fair and it is more direct to the actual farmers this year. We include $2.6 billion for disaster assistance.

We include a number of other measures, such as $212 million for emergency conservation. We have had a lot of floods and a lot of damages in a lot of States. We need to repair the damage to farm and ranch land and enhance our conservation. For emergency trade provision, we have $976 million for purchases of commodities for humanitarian assistance. We have people starving all over the world. We have a Public Law 480 food assistance program and related programs. Our bill provides about $1 billion to take the surplus food we have and send it around the world to starving people. The Republican proposal does not include that.

We include money for emergency economic development for our rural towns, small towns, and communities that are hit hard. Our package of $10.79 billion addresses the magnitude of the problem. It is that big.

I say to the people who think $10.79 billion is a lot of money, we passed a tax break bill last week for $792 billion, most of which goes to upper-income people in this country. Very little will ever go to our farmers and our ranchers around America.

This point in time is going to decide what happens to rural America this winter. That is why it is so important to act now. That is why it is so important that we get the money out that is needed—not some halfhearted measure in a way that doesn’t address the real and devastating economic problems that farmers have all over America.

I will have more to say about my amendment later.

Mr. COCHRAN. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARKIN. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. COCHRAN. My colleague asked me whether the Congressional Budget Office had scored the amendment that I just introduced. I ask my same question: What does the Congressional Budget Office say the amendment that the Democratic leader has offered will cost the American taxpayer over the next few years?

Mr. HARKIN. I answer to my friend from Mississippi that all of the items in our amendment are direct appropriations for next year. The only items that are not are the Cotton Step Two Export Program, and that is scored by CBO at $499 million for 3 years, and the adjustment to the payment limitations.

Mr. COCHRAN. Does that mean that the exact dollar amount set aside for each of the programs such as the Wetlands Restoration Program, the EQIP program—which is an emergency conservation program—emergency watershed program, all total $212 million in the bill?

Mr. HARKIN. That is the amount of money provided for those items.
August 2, 1999

Mr. COCHRAN. Emergency trade provisions, humanitarian assistance, cooperator program, for a total of $898 million; is that what the Senator is saying the CBO has verified the cost to be?

Mr. HARKIN. That is the amount of money we specifically provide in the amendment.

Mr. DORGAN. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. HARKIN. I am delighted to yield, and I want to thank the Senator from North Dakota with whom I serve on the agriculture appropriations subcommittee. I appreciate the very strong help in putting this package together. It has been a very difficult year for farmers in North Dakota as well as Iowa and I can say without fear of contradiction the Senator from North Dakota has been one of those people in actually putting this package together. I appreciate the support.

Mr. DORGAN. I want to address the question to the Senator from Iowa. The discussion we had about income support for farmers in the nature of a disaster program being income support in the form of a transition payment or AMTA, the whole notion of a transition payment is to transition farmers out of a farm program into the free market.

This chart shows what has happened to the price of wheat since 1996. This chart is similar to the corn chart and the price of corn which the Senator from Iowa shared. This is what has happened to the so-called “free market” for wheat. The price of wheat has collapsed. The notion of a transition was philosophically by those in this Chamber who said let’s transition people out of a farm program. Isn’t that the base of an AMTA payment?

Mr. HARKIN. As I read the debate and all the talk on the Freedom to Farm bill when it passed, the idea was that we would transition out of farm programs with AMTA payments.

Mr. DORGAN. This is the right subject and the right time; we are debating the right issues. The Senator said it well. We have an economy that is growing and prospering, more people are working, fewer people are unemployed, fewer people in welfare, inflation is down. So many good things are going on in this country, but in rural America family farmers are in desperate trouble through no fault of their own.

If any group of Americans found their income had collapsed, or if the salary for Members of Congress had fallen where income for family farmers had fallen, we would have dealt with this immediately and a long time ago. The same is true with corporate earnings.

However, we are here through no fault of the family farmers but because they are trying to do business in a marketplace where prices have just collapsed. If we don’t take action soon, we won’t have many family farmers left across the bread basket of the country.

Mr. HARKIN. The Senator is absolutely correct. The Freedom to Farm bill was premised that we would put farmers on the free market. As the Senator from Kansas said, they would have high net income for the next several years. However, Freedom to Farm ripped the safety net out from agriculture.

As I pointed out, our exports are up. We are exporting more of our key commodities, but there is no price. The safety net has been taken out from underneath agriculture. Farmers all across America recognize that Freedom to Farm has been a total and absolute disaster when it comes to protecting farm income, and it has to be changed. That is why the first thing we need to do is get the emergency package, but then we have to address the end-of-the-line problem of Freedom to Farm.

Mr. WELSTON. Madam President, I have a question.

Mr. HARKIN. I yield for a question.

Mr. WELSTON. Madam President, I actually have three quick questions. First of all, dealing with the urgency of now, is it not true that the Senator from Iowa and other Democrat Senators have tried to pass an emergency assistance package and we have been working on this for some time? Would the Senator from Iowa give a little bit of a historical background? I think farmers are wondering how much more has to happen to them before there is some assistance.

Mr. HARKIN. I thank my friend from Minnesota. I also thank him for his help in putting this package together.

The Senator is right. We started this spring, in the emergency supplemental appropriations bill, trying to add some money. We got beat on a nearly straight party-line vote. All but one Republican voted no; Democrats voted yes.

We then came back, as the Senator from Minnesota knows, and tried it again in the subcommittee on this bill. We again lost on a straight party-line vote.

Now we are on the floor. I will say we are making some progress. At least now our friends on the other side recognize there is a problem. At least they are willing to address it somewhat. The amendment that the Senator from Mississippi sent to the desk is better than nothing, but it is not going to do enough to help get our farmers through this winter. It is only a little more than half of what is needed.

Mr. WELSTON. If I might ask my colleague from Iowa, is it important to be clear about what is at stake—we will all have a chance to speak later. My colleague from Iowa says that what the Senator from Mississippi intro-