

thousands of amputees who were victims of mines and lots of those folks are just children, children who were playing."

Ban proponents say they are singling out the anti-personnel mine because, unlike other implements of war, it keeps killing long after the fighting ends. In Denmark, some areas are still unusable because of mines planted there during World War II.

Many of the 200-plus types of anti-personnel mines manufactured around the world are designed to maim rather than kill because a severely wounded soldier is a bigger drain on enemy logistics and medical resources than a dead soldier. Those same mines, ban proponents argue, are transforming farmers in developing countries into financial and emotional drains on their families and communities.

Still, the Pentagon is fighting to keep the mines.

The Army does not want to give up a weapon on which its field commanders have long relied. Anti-personnel mines are the perfect weapon for defending battlefield positions, protecting economic assets such as power plants, slowing enemy advances or detouring enemy troops into "killing zones."

Worried about the effect on the Army, Senate Armed Services Chairman Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) and Sen. John Warner (R-Va.), a senior member of that panel, plotted with House Republicans to kill the ban. They intended to place a provision in the defense authorization bill giving the Pentagon veto power over the moratorium. However, Warner said, he dropped that plan after being lobbied by Leahy.

"Let him have his shot at it," Warner said.

One remaining obstacle is the difficulty congressional leaders have had getting the foreign operations bill to the White House. The House and Senate approved the bill in early November, but remain divided over a separate abortion amendment, preventing the bill from moving forward.

Momentum toward a land mine ban has been building since a year ago, when President Clinton called for the eventual elimination of land mines. Three months later, the United Nations approved a U.S. resolution urging action. Last summer, 280 members of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops meeting in Chicago issued a statement singling out land mines as an indiscriminate killer whose production should cease.

Meanwhile, hundreds of humanitarian groups have spent months—and in some cases years—cataloging land mine atrocities and lobbying for a worldwide ban on the manufacture and use of land mines.

But this fall, the push for a ban fizzled when 42 nations at a UN-sponsored conference on conventional weapons failed to reach agreement.

"I don't think there were two minutes of serious discussion * * * on a total ban on land mines," said Stephen Goose, program director of Human Rights Watch's Arms Project and a delegate to the Vienna meeting.

Contrary to Clinton's call for the elimination of mines, many anti-mine groups say, the administration is actually perpetuating the use of mines by pushing for expanded use of "smart mines" rather than backing a total ban.

"There is no technological solution" to the mine problem, Goose said. "A self-destructing or self-deactivating mine is still an indiscriminate mine. It will still deny the fields to the farmer."

Evans said he hopes Congress's action will redirect the administration.

"The President is far too cautious," Evans said. "We're encouraging them to be bolder, to demonstrate leadership in encouraging

other countries" to give up mines altogether.

But Robert Sherman, of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, defended the administration's push for advanced mines and other measures short of a ban, including requiring manufacturers to put at least eight grams of metal into each plastic mine so that they can be more easily detected. Such steps are a much more realistic way to protect civilians, he said.

"We know there will not be a total ban in 1996 or 1997 or whenever," Sherman said. "If mines are your concern, you say this is bad. If people are your concern, you say this is good."

Anti-mine advocates argue that "smart mines" often fail to self-destruct, compounding—rather than solving—what is already a daunting problem globally: detection and removal of mines.

Some anti-personnel mines sell for as little as \$2 to \$3 and hundreds of them can be planted in seconds by special artillery or trucks. In contrast, it takes 100 times longer to remove a mine at a cost of up to \$1,000 per mine. And that's if the mine can be found.

Many modern mines are as small as a can of shoe polish and made of plastic. Their only metal part is the size of a thumbtack, making detection by the 1940s-style mine-sweepers, still in use today, nearly impossible.

Also, for every mine removed, 20 more are planted. In 1993, the UN estimated that 100,000 land mines were found and removed at a cost of \$70 million. During that time, 2 million more mines were laid. Even if no more mines were planted after today, experts said, it would take decades and at least \$33 billion to clear those still in the ground.

The State Department and the Vietnam Veterans of America, in separate studies, found that mines left behind after wars have taken a devastating toll on civilians. Once fertile fields are now too dangerous to plow. Cattle are killed or maimed. Roads and major utilities hampered by mines make producing and shipping goods difficult.

"Without a clear statement by the U.S. that demonstrates that we are opposed to their use, other nations will continue to sell and deploy them," Evans said. "This legislation, like the moratorium on exports, calls a 'time out' and puts us in the leadership position to challenge other nations to work with us and solve this global crisis."

Mr. LEAHY. 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. DORGAN. 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. DORGAN. Mr. President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes, sir, we are.

Mr. DORGAN. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. DORGAN pertaining to the introduction of S. 1427 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

THE RECONCILIATION BILL

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, the current Presiding Officer has spent substantial amounts of time on the floor

talking about reconciliation, and he feels passionately and strongly, I believe, that we ought to balance the Federal budget. I share that with him. There is not disagreement in this Chamber about the goal.

I said back home last week—and I have said here—that in my judgment the Republicans deserve some praise for pushing and pushing for a balanced budget. I commend them for that. I do not commend them for the priorities on how they would get there. But, frankly, all of us ought to have more inertia to try to put this country's books in order. And the question is not whether. The question is, How are we going to balance the budget in 7 years? Negotiations will begin today or tomorrow between the Republicans in the Congress and the Democrats in the White House on how to do that in 7 years. I would simply ask the American people, and my colleagues in the Senate, to think through these priorities some because it is not just let us do it in 7 years and never mind the consequences. It is, let us do it in 7 years. Let us do it the right way, and the smart way for this country. Let us make the right choices for this country's future. It is not the only job in front of us. We should balance the budget. We must, and we will balance the budget. But we also must make sure that those who are disadvantaged in this country are not ignored. We must make sure that our education system works, and we must make sure that our air is clean and our water is clean. Those are other priorities as well.

But in the terms of choosing priorities by which we balance the budget, I would like to once again demonstrate that there is substantial difference and a legitimate difference in what we think will enhance our country's long-term interests. I happen to think that there is nothing more important in this country than investing in building the best education system in the world. I want, when all of this is said and done, for us to be able to say our generation, this group of Americans, made a commitment that we want to have the finest schools in the world. We want our kids to be the best they can be because they went to the best schools in the world. There is a little provision in the reconciliation bill, and the continuing resolution that was passed a week and a half ago, a tiny little issue called Star Schools.

It is a tiny little program, but it is designed to try to lift and enhance those schools that are focusing on math and sciences to bring our children up to international levels in math and sciences, to be competitive. This little Star Schools Program was cut 40 percent—40 percent.

Now, there is a bigger program, a kind of a giant tumor over in the Defense Department called star wars or national missile defense or SDI, depending on what name you want to call it. Because this proposal has a space-

based component, I have heard it called star wars, but nonetheless it is a program that, in its infancy, costs hundreds of millions of dollars a year, and it is going to grow to billions of dollars a year and eventually cost \$48 billion. The star wars program was increased in this process this year by 100 percent.

Now, the point is Star Schools you cut by 40 percent, star wars you increase by 100 percent. The question is, What do you think is worthy of a star here, schools or corporations that want to build a \$48 billion star wars program, because that is what this is. This is about special interests that want to build a weapons system the Secretary of Defense did not order, did not ask for, and says he does not need. The priority is clear: Star Schools or star wars. Cut Star Schools 40 percent, increase star wars 100 percent. If you think that enhances America's future, then that is what you do. I do not think it enhances America's future. I think it is exactly the wrong choice.

I use that example as I have before simply to say the question is not whether, but how, do we balance the budget.

Two other tiny little issues. I offered an amendment, and it was defeated on a party line vote, regrettably. It is an issue that I think also describes the how in terms of what we believe in. We have in the Tax Code in this country a perverse, insidious, little tax incentive that says, move your plant overseas. Close your plant in America, move it overseas to a tax haven country, and we will give you a tax break. I offered an amendment that said let us reduce the deficit by getting rid of this insidious little tax break that says move your plant and jobs overseas and we will give you a break. I lost on a party line vote.

In terms of priorities, the priority, it seems to me, in balancing the budget is to do what works to help create jobs and opportunities in our country. How better to help create jobs and opportunities than to shut off the faucet on a tax break that encourages plants to shut down in America and relocate overseas and take the jobs that used to be U.S. jobs and turn them into jobs in a tax haven country.

That is a priority we ought to pursue. Again, it is not whether, it is how do you balance the budget. Let us balance the budget by getting rid of this little tax break that is wrong for our country, that weakens our country, that says let us move jobs out of our country. That does not make any sense to me.

The smart choice is, yes, Star Schools, education, investment in the future. It is, yes, jobs, shutting off tax breaks that persuade people to move out of the country, and it also is, yes, choosing between a tax cut for the very wealthiest of Americans and a cut in Medicare reimbursement for some of the poorest of Americans.

That amendment also was offered, and I hope that will be reconsidered in

a reconciliation conference in the next week or two. What we said was very simple. Those of the upper income strata in this country have done very, very well. They have garnered a substantial portion of the income, regrettably, at the expense of the bottom portion of the income earners in our country. What we said with the amendment was very simple. We said, let us at least limit the tax break to incomes of a quarter of a million dollars or less, and then let us use the savings from that limitation to see if we cannot reduce the cut in Medicare that is going to affect some low-income elderly folks.

Once again, we lost, but again it is choices—what is important and what is not. Is it important to give the wealthiest people in our country a significant tax cut? Gee, I do not think so. It seems to me, if you look at the statistics, you will find that they have done very, very well, much better, with income growth that is substantial.

In fact, the top percent in our country have seen income growths on a real basis of something like 70 percent real income growth in a period of a decade, and the bottom 60 percent now sit down for supper at night at the family table and talk about their lot in life. What they discover is that they are working harder and earning less than 20 years ago when you adjust for inflation.

Our point is that we do not think it makes any sense to give big tax cuts to those at the upper one-half of 1 percent of the income earners at the same time that we are saying we cannot afford Medicare for some of the poorest of the elderly. And, again, it is a question of priorities.

I think that we are now on a track in the next week or two with respect to the reconciliation bill that will be constructive for this country.

I mentioned these three areas only because I think there are differences in priorities that are legitimate differences. On the other hand, it seems to me if Republicans and Democrats can sit down together in the next couple of weeks and if the President can sit down with Congress, out of the glare of the spotlights, a lot of agreement can result, and we can in fact balance this country's budget and put this country on solid financial footing for the years ahead.

This country, it seems to me, will be advantaged in a world in which we see increasingly competitive, shrewd, tough trade allies and others if we find some way to work more together, and I do not think that is an impossible circumstance. I know there is a lot of controversy floating around, and I get involved in it from time to time. I hear what the Speaker of the House says, and I may respond. But the fact is that with all of the controversy which circulates, we are still all on the same team. Our interest is the American economy. Our interest is American jobs and opportunities in the future.

It seems to me, even though we may belong to different political parties,

our country will be advantaged if we can find a thoughtful, sober, reflective way of choosing the right priorities that all of us think will move this country ahead and build a better economy and a better future.

My hope and my expectation is that maybe, just maybe, as we approach the Christmas season, more of a spirit of cooperativeness will exist. We put this question behind us of whether, and the question now is how to balance the budget. And although these are not easy questions to answer, I think people of good will can get together and do what is right for this country.

Mr. President, I see no other speakers waiting. I yield the floor, and I make a point of order that a quorum is not present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHCROFT). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. THOMAS. I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for a few minutes in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

BALANCING THE BUDGET

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, the Senator from North Dakota spoke just a few minutes ago about balancing the budget. And I was interested and pleased with his remarks. Certainly I agree with him that probably one of the most important issues that we have before us, and have had for this entire year, is the notion of becoming financially and fiscally responsible in this body and in this country, and doing so by balancing the budget.

It seems to me that there is a great deal involved with balancing the budget. It is more than a function of arithmetic; it is a function of determining the direction we take in this Government.

It is a function of dealing with spending. There are a number of ways to balance the budget. One of them, which President Clinton choose last year, was to raise taxes and continue to spend, and I suppose you could do that. You could balance the budget by continuing to spend and increasing taxes.

I think that is not what the American people said in 1994. They said we have too much Government, the Government is too large, it costs too much, and we need to balance the budget, but we need to balance the budget by reducing the growth in spending. Therein lies one of the differences.

The Senator said we ought to balance the budget. I agree with that. We have not done it in 30 years. It is fairly easy to say we ought to balance the budget. The evidence is that it is very easy to say that and more difficult to do it.