

general of the U.N. forces in Bosnia—had made a statement that if America gets involved and sends troops over to Bosnia, we will lose more lives than we lost in the Persian Gulf war, which was 390. I asked the question to all three of these top officials representing the President of the United States. I said, "Is that mission worth the loss of 400 or more American lives?" Secretary Perry said, "Yes." Secretary Christopher said, "Yes." General Shalikashvili said, "Yes."

I think there is the honest difference of opinion, and we need to see how that opinion is shared by the American people and by both Houses of Congress.

I certainly admonish the President if, during this period of time, if the temptation comes to deploy troops, to think of the troops going over there without the American people behind them.

A HISTORIC TIME

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, this is truly a historic time. Some of us have been working on this idea of balancing the budget for many, many years. When I look over and see the two very distinguished Senators from Nebraska, I want to remind them of another great Senator from Nebraska in years past. His name is Carl Curtis.

Carl Curtis, back in 1972, came to me as a member of the Oklahoma State Senate and he said we want to get a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution passed. He said, of course if that happens we have to have the States ratify it.

He had an idea. This came from the genius from the State of Nebraska, I say to the two Senators from Nebraska. He said we should preratify a balanced budget amendment. Go to the States and get two-thirds of the States or three-fourths of the States to preratify a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

I introduced a resolution in the Oklahoma State Senate. It passed. We became the first State to preratify a balanced budget amendment.

I remember the argument at that time. At that time the total national debt was \$400 billion and there were radio and TV ads and they were stacking hundred-dollar bills up—at that time I believe the Empire State Building was the tallest building—and they were stacking \$100 bills up and they said that is the size of the national debt.

Of course we know today that was just a drop in the bucket. That is how significant this thing is. That is how long many of us have been working on it. This is truly the opportunity that we have to do it.

The Senator from Indiana just a few minutes ago made a statement that rang a bell. He said this is a moral issue. I think we should look at what we are faced with and what the President is faced with, his temptation to veto this Balanced Budget Act of 1995, to look at it as a moral issue.

I had occasion to be at the national prayer breakfast where we had several foreign visitors coming in, and one from Moldavia, a former Soviet State, came in very proud. He was smiling. He said: "Senator INHOFE, how much in America do you get to keep?"

I said, "I am sorry. I do not understand what you are saying."

He said, "Well, how much in America do you have to give the Government so you can keep something?"

Then I knew what he was talking about. He was talking about how much do we pay in taxes. I gave an answer I would be embarrassed to share on the floor because I am not sure how accurate it is, because he said in all pride they have a system over there in Moldavia where they work for about 3 months and they have to pay the Government—he said, "We pay the government 80 percent of what we make," and then with the pride showing through in this new-found democracy and free economy he thought they had, he said, "We get to keep 20 percent."

We look at that in this country, how could they be so proud of being able to keep just 20 percent? But the fact remains that someone born today, such as my three grandchildren, if we do not do something to change this course, then that person is going to have to pay 82 percent of their lifetime income just to support Government.

Mr. President, I will conclude by sharing an exciting experience I had a year ago yesterday, November 17, 1994. I was sworn in as a Member of the U.S. Senate. That happened to be my 60th birthday. I thought a year ago, how in the world could I ever top this? What do you do for an encore? You are sworn in as a Member of the U.S. Senate on your 60th birthday.

I say, what are we going to do for the 61st birthday? Yet, something much more exciting happened on my 61st birthday yesterday. We passed the Balanced Budget Act of 1995. This is the act that is going to take our kids out of bondage.

As difficult as it is, and I heard it demagogued around this Chamber that we will be slashing programs. We know we will not slash programs. We know we will be increasing Medicare, for example, at a greater rate of growth than the President himself had suggested before.

I think clearly right now the ball is in the court of the President. We have passed it in the House. We have passed it in the Senate. It is now up to the American people, because we know one thing about our President, he does listen very carefully and watch the polls. If it becomes very evident to him that this is the last opportunity we have to commit ourselves in America to a balanced budget, as I believe this is our last chance, then, I think he may not be doing as he said, and will sign the Balanced Budget Act of 1995.

I thank the Senators from Nebraska for allowing me to move ahead.

I yield the floor.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Oklahoma for his history lesson on Nebraska politics. My colleague from Nebraska and I know a great deal about the history of politics in the State of Nebraska.

I simply say to him one of the great experiences of my lifetime has been service in the U.S. Senate with Henry Bellmon, two times elected Governor of his State. Some of the lessons that I have learned were at the knee of Henry Bellmon when I came here as a freshman after two terms, 8 years as Governor of the State of Nebraska, so I also know something about the political history of that State.

THE BALANCED BUDGET

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I have been listening with great care to the speeches that have been made here. I noticed on two occasions my Republican colleagues have brought the name of Thomas Jefferson into the discussions.

It was somewhat amusing to me. I do not know what position Thomas Jefferson would take if he were on the floor of the U.S. Senate today, but as the founder of the Democratic Party I suspect that he might not appreciate too much the Republicans invoking his name in the support of the proposals that they are making.

Facetiously, it kind of reminded me, Mr. President, of my own dad. As a very young lad, brought up in a very traditional Democratic household with Franklin Roosevelt the new President of the United States, whom my mother and father and grandfather thought was an outstanding individual, and I was thoroughly brought up in the Democratic traditions.

After going to school one day, I came home and I told my dad we had studied a President by the name of Abraham Lincoln, and I asked my dad what he thought of Abraham Lincoln. I did not tell dad that I discovered that Abraham Lincoln was a Republican.

My dad said, "Jim, Abraham Lincoln was one of the greatest Presidents that this Nation ever had or probably ever will have. He was a truly outstanding American."

I said, "Yes, dad, but he was a Republican."

Dad paused for a moment, and he said, "Well, yes, Jim, but if Abraham Lincoln were alive today he would be a Democrat."

Now, maybe that is the reverse of what my Republican colleagues are arguing today. But at least I loved my dad and my dad said that to me in jest.

So when we start instituting the names of great leaders, Presidents, political leaders of the past, sometimes we take license that probably we are not entitled to.

Mr. President, there has been a lot of talk about balancing the budget here. I hear the Republican cry today and I think they are talking about saving the children and saving the grandchildren.

Mr. President, although there may be some that can top me, I have three children and I have eight grandchildren, and I am just as much concerned about their futures as any other Member in this body. But to indicate, by inference at least, that if I do not go along with their draconian budget proposals, that I think are unwise and unfair, I am not concerned about my children and grandchildren, is just a little bit too much for me to swallow.

I was Governor of Nebraska for 8 years. As Governor, I balanced the budget each and every year, as did my colleague, Senator KERREY, from Nebraska, who is on the floor, who followed me by a few years. He balanced the budget each and every year. So I simply say, probably, from the standpoint of history, I was balancing budgets in government before some people had ever been elected to public office.

I follow that up by saying I think the record of this Senator has been very clear. All the time I have served the public of Nebraska and all the time I have had the opportunity to serve the people of Nebraska and the people of the Nation as a whole as a U.S. Senator, I have put forth many, many efforts, of which the latest was to vote for the Republican-sponsored constitutional amendment to balance the budget in 7 years. While I agree with that principle, that does not mean, nor should anyone necessarily construe anything, just because I voted for a constitutional amendment to balance the budget that was primarily supported and advanced by the Republicans with the help of nearly enough Democrats to pass it. I think my credentials of being a dedicated conservative with regard to fiscal policy are well established.

I, too, listened with great interest to the remarks made by the President of the United States today. I did not, strangely enough, come away from listening to those remarks with the same conclusions as my friend and colleague from Indiana. I thought the President of the United States today laid it on the line. I may concede that possibly he may have gone a little too far in his rhetoric, but compared with some of the rhetoric I have heard from the other side of the aisle on the Senate floor in the last few days, I would excuse the President for any oversteps that he had made in that regard.

I think it is clear to say, though, that the President of the United States said today that during his term of office he has essentially cut the annual deficit in half. That is more than has been done for a long, long time. So, at least in our criticisms of the present President of the United States, for whatever reason, we should realize and recognize that, under his leadership, we have cut the deficit and not continued to raise it.

I would simply point out, I want to share and be one of the workhorses in cooperation, in full cooperation, when I can, with my colleagues on the Republican side of the aisle to do something

about the skyrocketing national debt of the United States of America. I am fearful all too few of our citizens fully understand the difference between the annual deficit and the national debt, the latter being, of course, with additions each and every year, the shortfall we have been going through here, unfortunately, for a long, long time with regard to spending more than we take in.

In that regard, though, a little history might be in order. The last Democratic President of the United States that we had before the present occupant of that high office was former Governor Carter of the State of Georgia. I would cite—and I think the record will back me up—when President Carter left office the national debt of the United States was under \$1 trillion.

What happened in the intervening years when we had Republican Presidents of the United States? From 1980, when President Carter left office and the debt was under \$1 trillion, some 12 years later, when President Clinton took office, the national debt had skyrocketed fivefold, from under \$1 trillion to \$4.5 trillion.

Some would argue during most of that time there was Democratic control of both Houses of the Congress, and that is true. But the facts of the matter are, had those Republican Presidents in the years 1980 to 1992 stood up and exercised their veto, as this President has stood up strongly and said he will exercise his veto, the national debt would not have taken the jump and be as troublesome as it is today.

The problem we are in today is not all the responsibility of the Democrats or all the responsibility of the Republicans. Certainly, the Democrats, I think, are, by our traditions, by the record that we have established, as much concerned about the children of America in the future as anyone else. I happen to think you will see a growing portion of both Democrats and Republicans in the U.S. Senate—and hopefully in the House of Representatives—anxious to come to some workable understanding, some framework where we can, indeed, balance the Federal budget in 7 years.

I am continuing to work toward that end. Meanwhile, back at the ranch, I hope once again we can contain our rhetoric just a little bit and give the leadership of the House and Senate an opportunity to come to some resolution of the crisis which faces us today.

I yield the floor.

ANWR PROVISION OF THE RECONCILIATION BILL

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, with the passage of the conference report on the reconciliation bill last night I thought there should be an explanation of the provision on the leasing of the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge for oil and gas exploration and production. The Sen-

ate and the House versions of the budget reconciliation had responsible provisions for the leasing of the area. However, there was a substantial difference in the approach and language in the two measures. As chairman of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee I thought it would be important to outline the intent of the conferees on the ANWR provision. I ask unanimous consent that a section-by-section analysis which provides a detailed description of the ANWR provision, and other material, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 5312. Short Title.

This section adopts the chapter from section 5201 of the Senate bill. The purpose of this section is self-explanatory.

Section 5322. Definitions.

This section adopts the language of section 5203 of the Senate bill with minor modifications. The intent of this section is self-explanatory.

Section 5333. Leasing Program for Lands Within the Coastal Plain.

Subsection 5333(a). Authorization.

Subsection 5333(a) adopts the language in section 5204(a) of the Senate bill with minor modifications. This subsection directs the Secretary and other appropriate Federal officers and agencies to take such actions as are necessary to establish and implement a competitive oil and gas leasing program that will result in an environmentally sound program for the exploration, development, and production of the oil and gas resources of the Coastal Plain. In doing so, the Secretary is to ensure receipt of the fair market value of the mineral resources to be leased. The subsection requires the Secretary to ensure that activities will result in "no significant adverse effect on fish and wildlife, their habitat, and the environment." Operations on the Coastal Plain must also be conducted using the "best commercially available technology for oil and gas exploration, development and production."

This "environmental standard" is based on the provisions of Title VII of S. 1220, authored by Senator Johnston and reported by the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committees on June 5, 1991. This is the strongest standard ever imposed on Federal oil and gas activities. The companion provision of the House bill was based on the 1981 oil and gas leasing authorization for the National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska. Oil and gas leases have been issued under this authorization and standard. It has worked well to protect the environment, land and fish and wildlife on the North Slope.

In making its decision to authorize and direct an oil and gas leasing program in the Coastal Plain, the Conferees find that oil and gas activities authorized and conducted on the Coastal Plain pursuant to the chapter so as to result in no significant adverse effect on fish and wildlife, their habitat, and the environment, are compatible with the major purposes for which the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge was established. No further findings, decisions or reviews are required to implement this Congressional authorization. The Conferees specifically find that no further determination of compatibility by the Secretary under the National Wildlife Refuge System Administration Act is necessary to implement this Congressional authorization and direction. The Conferees believe the