

timely, given the precipitous calls to expand NAFTA further. I share Senator DORGAN's suspicions, supported by the initial data, that U.S. participation in NAFTA may not have benefited the United States and, in fact, may have harmed the economy of the United States.

I did not vote for NAFTA. I do not regret having voted against it.

The U.S. trade deficit with our NAFTA partners, Canada and Mexico, reached \$16.7 billion in just the first 6 months of 1995. In 1993, before NAFTA, the United States had a small trade surplus with Mexico. Given the rule of thumb that each net export of \$1 billion in goods creates 16,500 jobs, a trade deficit of \$16.7 billion therefore translates roughly into 275,500 U.S. jobs lost as a result of NAFTA.

To be sure, the Mexican peso crisis earlier this year is partly to blame for the sudden shifts in trade with Mexico. With the devaluation of the peso, Mexican exports to the United States are cheaper than ever, while Mexican citizens can no longer afford to purchase U.S.-made products.

The Treasury Secretary's report to Congress for August 1995 indicates that consumer good imports in Mexico fell 29 percent in the first quarter of 1995 and 49 percent in the second quarter of 1995, compared to 1994. Unemployment and underemployment in Mexico grew from 4.5 million in the first half of 1994 to 7 million in the first half of 1995; only employment rates in the low-wage, export-oriented maquiladora sector increased—only in that one sector. Additionally, the number of workers in Mexico who earned less than the Mexican minimum wage rose to almost 11 percent of the work force in May 1995. Decreasing already low wages only encourages further job flight from the United States to Mexico.

Passage of NAFTA was supposed to be in recognition of Mexico's strong economic performance over the last decade. But the economic crisis this year suggests that Mexico was not ready to participate in a "predictable commercial framework for business planning and investment," as NAFTA purported. The Mexican crisis has also pointed out some flaws in the NAFTA that Senator DORGAN's bill attempts to correct. NAFTA must be renegotiated in order to correct for large trade deficits; it must be corrected to adjust for currency distortions; and it must be adjusted to prevent unfair displacement of agricultural products. These changes will help to make this flawed agreement less disadvantageous to the United States.

Additionally, Mr. President, Senator DORGAN's bill requires a number of certifications from the President and members of his Cabinet regarding a number of issues. These certifications provide a review of NAFTA and its effects on the U.S. economy and its effect on U.S. workers. They include issues like job losses and gains, U.S. purchasing power, trade flows, environ-

mental and safety standards, the drug trade, and democratic reforms in Mexico. These are reasonable standards by which to measure the costs and benefits of continued U.S. participation in NAFTA. If NAFTA is not providing all the benefits that its sponsors promised, we should know that and we should act accordingly, even to the extent of withdrawing from an agreement that does not meet our needs. We certainly should not consider expanding this agreement until we have concluded that it provides more good than harm.

Mr. President, I congratulate my colleague, Mr. DORGAN, on his foresight in introducing this legislation. I am glad to be a cosponsor of it. I hope that it will receive the careful consideration of the Senate and that the Senate will act accordingly in view of the needs for action.

I yield the floor.

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

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

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, was leaders' time reserved?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

THE MONEY TRAIN

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, thousands of concerned citizens all across America are now joining the chorus of voices speaking out against an entertainment industry that too often glorifies mindless violence, and peddles its harmful wares relentlessly to our children. These citizens understand, as I do, that images of senseless violence—repeated over and over again and showing murder in ever more graphic detail—debase our culture and affect people's attitudes and conduct, especially the attitudes and conduct of our impressionable young.

Regrettably, a shocking incident reported in today's New York Daily News, New York Post, and New York Times seems to confirm the accuracy of this observation.

This past Sunday, two men squirted a bottle of flammable liquid into a token booth at a subway station in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood. They then lit a match, igniting an inferno that blew the token booth apart and sprayed broken glass and splintered wood throughout the subway station. Trapped inside the token booth at the time of the explosion was its operator, 50-year-old Harry Kaufman, who miraculously survived with his life but who nonetheless suffered second- and third-degree burns over nearly 80 percent of his body. Mr. Kaufman normally works only weeknights, but made the fateful deci-

sion to work the overtime shift on Sunday because he was trying to save money to send his son to college.

This incident—committed by two men whose depravity is beyond description—is remarkably similar to incidents depicted in a new movie called "The Money Train," produced by Columbia Pictures. Although I have not personally seen "The Money Train"—and after Sunday's subway attack I have no intention of patronizing it—the movie apparently contains two scenes that occurred nearly identical to the one that occurred in Brooklyn on Sunday. In the movie, a pyromaniac named "Torch" squirts flammable liquid through the slot in the token booth and then ignites the booth. Unlike Mr. Kaufman, the fictional token-booth operator escapes unscathed from the ensuing explosion.

Are "The Money Train" scenes and the real-life tragedy in Brooklyn just a coincidence? Perhaps. But, apparently, this is not the view of New York City Police Commissioner William Bratton, who says, "There seems to be some connection between the movie and the explosions." Or as Alan Kiepper, the head of New York's Transit Authority, points out: "We know from experience that when you get movie and television depictions of criminal activity, it is often copycatted."

Copycat or no copycat, the individuals who committed this unspeakable act must be held accountable for their crimes. We are all responsible for our actions. To say that a movie caused this senseless act in Brooklyn gives it a logic and dignity it does not deserve and cannot have. There can be no excuses for criminal behavior, whatever the motivation may or may not be.

But, at the same time, those who work in Hollywood's corporate suites must also be willing to accept their share of the blame. For those in the entertainment industry, who too often engage in pornography or violence as a way to sell movie tickets, it is time for some serious soul-searching. Is this how they want to make their livelihoods? Is this their contribution to society?

Those who continue to deny that cultural messages can and do bore deep into the hearts and minds of our young people are deceiving themselves and ignoring reality. They are ignoring what happened this past June when a group of teenagers killed a Massachusetts man claiming they were natural born killers. And, yes, they are ignoring the senseless act that occurred this past Sunday morning in Brooklyn.

In fact, news reports indicate that transit authority officials had reviewed "The Money Train" script before the movie was filmed and had objected to the token-booth arson scenes. The film's producers decided to create the scenes anyway—on Los Angeles soundstages. We may never know the true impact of this decision.

Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to convey my thoughts and

prayers to Mr. Kaufman and his family. We wish him a speedy recovery. And we wish the New York City Police Department every success in their efforts to track down the vicious thugs who have committed this cowardly act.

The American people have a right to voice their outrage, and they can do so not through calls for government censorship, but by derailing "The Money Train" at the box office.

Just so you get a better picture of what happened, this is the Daily News, the front page of the Daily News. It is just entitled "Torched." So, when you put a flammable liquid into that little token booth and light a match to it, with no real way to escape, this is what happens. The front page says, "Attack mimics the hit movie 'Money Train,' Token clerk firebombed in booth, Family and (transit authority) assail film thriller."

Then in the New York Post pretty much the same. "Torched! Gun-toting firebombers steal scene from movie to blow up token booth." I know, if there is any—maybe the paper is wrong. Maybe I am wrong. Maybe most Americans are wrong. But if someone out there is watching a movie and is taken by it and excited by it and says, "I would like to try it," and then goes out to try it in real life, this is the result—burns over 80 percent of his body. Keep in mind he was working the overtime shift so he could earn a little extra money to send his son to college.

The same coverage is in part B of the New York Times, same kind of coverage, same broad coverage. But on the inside page here it says, "TA Worker Hurt In Booth Inferno." "Two are sought in 'movie' stunt." "Train film's on fast track."

It is all about what happens when people are mad and depraved or whatever. This is what happens. So I would just say to my colleagues, outrage is a powerful weapon. It is covered by the first amendment. The movie industry will tell you and the TV industry and all the others, "Oh, this is the first amendment, right of free speech."

We have also a right under the first amendment called "outrage." And if the American people express their outrage, in my view, good things will happen. We do not need to pass legislation. We do not need censorship. We just need to alert the American people and to ask some of those—in this case Columbia Pictures—to accept some corporate responsibility, to be a good corporate citizen.

I noted that Time Warner—we recently talked about that—has decided to sell off and has sold off Interscope, which is producing some of the CD's that you could not repeat anywhere, privately or in public or anywhere else. They were available to young people 10, 11, 12 years of age or younger, walking into any of these stores and buying the CD's.

Those are the things that, in my view, I think make you wonder, where do you draw the line on profit? When

does profit become greed? When does it stop, if it is harmful to society, particularly young people in America?

BOSNIA

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, just quickly on another matter, I will just say that tonight the President of the United States is going to deliver a very important message to the American people. He will attempt to persuade the American people that the United States, as a member of NATO, has a responsibility to commit 20,000 Americans to keep the peace or to enforce the peace—I think there is some confusion of exactly what it might be at this point—in that part of the world.

The President talked to me, called me yesterday from Camp David. We had a good discussion. I said, "Mr. President, you need to persuade the American people if you are to persuade Congress." I must say that it is difficult, particularly when this administration virtually sat on its hands the past 30 months while many of us talked about lifting the arms embargo. I still believe had we done that—and we had the debate on the Senate floor a number of times. We had strong bipartisan votes, Democrats joining Republicans, Republicans joining Democrats. The President indicated his opposition to that legislation. He said he would veto it.

Now, it is always easy to second-guess. I am not trying to second-guess the President of the United States. But it seems to me, and many who are experts, that had we lifted the arms embargo 6 months, a year ago, we would not be talking about sending American forces to that part of the world, to Bosnia, to Tuzla, wherever the Americans will be stationed.

Now, in my view the President has the authority and the power under the Constitution to do what he feels should be done regardless of what Congress does. But we also have a responsibility to our constituents and, I think, to the President of the United States to give him our best advice. So, I would guess that after the President makes his remarks and after the American people respond and after we finally have a signing of the peace agreement on December 15, is my understanding, that then the Congress will take some action. I am not certain what action that would be, because I think we need to consult with one another.

I remember when President Bush asked a previous Congress to authorize the use of offensive force in the gulf crisis, not a single Member of the Democratic leadership in either the House or the Senate would support the President of the United States. But, fortunately, in the Senate there were 11 Democrats who stood with President Bush, and by a narrow margin, after the President rolled the dice, we prevailed.

One thing I recall from that debate and the positive response after the vote

was that the American people, once the Congress had given their—I do not say their stamp of approval, but at least authorized or backed up the President of the United States—as I recall, public approval for the operation rose rather significantly.

So, I will just say to the President, I wish you well tonight. I think you have a difficult job. I think the rest of us should keep an open mind—not an empty mind, an open mind—an open mind, assuming we had the same responsibility, keeping in mind that those in the armed services are now volunteers. They are volunteers. And I assume when they volunteer they know that the good and the bad can happen. But they are still young and still Americans and they still have a right, perfectly understandably, as do their families, to know what risks will be taken, how long they may be there, what the costs may be, is there a vital national security interest and American national security interest, do we have an exit strategy, how long will they stay, how many, and many other questions on which I think we should focus.

I will just say, it seems to me if I pick out one thing where I think the President can make a case, it is all these people came to America and they went to Dayton, OH, and they stayed there for a couple of weeks or longer, and they finally hammered out a fragile peace agreement and initialed it—it has not been signed yet—and initialed it, all under the auspices of American leadership—the President, the Secretary, the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Holbrook, and others—and all this was premised on the fact that there would be 20,000 Americans there.

So it seems to me the President may have at least laid some foundation, and there may be some obligation—some obligation—obviously that we follow through on that agreement. But the agreement has not been signed finally. We have not heard from the American people. We have not heard from Congress. We have heard from the House where they, by a pretty good margin, indicate they want to cut off all funds. That bill has not yet been taken up in the Senate and it may not be taken up this week.

I only hope that all of our colleagues will understand this is a very important decision all of us must make, and it must not be made just for today, but for next year and the next year and the next year. It is a question of Presidential authority, Presidential power, constitutional responsibility, and the responsibility of the Congress of the United States.

So I look forward to listening carefully to the President tonight and wish him success.

Mr. THURMOND addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.