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House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, June 6, 1995, at 12 noon.

Senate

MONDAY, JUNE 5, 1995

The Senate met at 10 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Gracious Father, Your loving kindness draws us to You. Your faithfulness opens our hearts before You, and Your omniscience motivates us to seek wisdom from You. We know that it is in a relationship of complete trust in You that revelation of Your will is released. You have called the women and men of this Senate to give dynamic leadership in a troubled, contentious, strife-filled world. National problems pile up and international issues intensify. Especially, we ask for Your guidance in the continuing discussion and vote on the antiterrorism legislation and for direction for the extent of our Nation's involvement in the crises in Bosnia. Grant the Senators a special gift of sagacity and strength.

May we all press on to the challenges of this week with the grateful memory of the decisive and visionary leadership of Margaret Chase Smith. Thank you, Father, for her life and courage. We seek to live this day with the same measure of devotion to You and commitment to excellence that she exemplified. So, today we will attempt great things for You and humbly receive great power from You. In Your holy name. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. BURNS. Mr. President, the leader time has been reserved this morning, and there will be a period of morning business until the hour of 11 a.m., with Senators allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

At the hour of 11 a.m., the Senate will resume consideration of S. 735, the antiterrorism bill. The majority leader has announced there will be no rollcall votes prior to 5 p.m. today.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The 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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.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 (Mr. DEWINE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein.

The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

AMERICAN TROOPS IN BOSNIA

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, this morning I want to talk briefly about two subjects in morning business.

The first is the issue of Bosnia. I believe that President Clinton has made the right decision in the last couple of days with respect to the introduction of American troops into Bosnia. I know there was discussion by the White House and others about the potential of committing American troops under certain circumstances, particularly if United Nations peacekeepers need to redeploy within Bosnia. However, in the last few days the administration has been saying that they have no intention of introducing American troops into Bosnia under that circumstance.

Frankly, I think the moving of United States troops to Bosnia would be a very serious mistake. It is true that the war in Bosnia is an international tragedy. It is also true, I think, that sending American troops to Bosnia will do very little, if anything, to resolve that tragedy. This country's support of the efforts by the United Nations in Bosnia has been significant. It has included flyovers and logistical support and other things. We should continue that kind of support. But I think the support should not include the sending of American troops to Bosnia. I believe it poses enormous risks to our troops and our country with the potential of very few gains for Bosnia.

We should expect, I think, that the Europeans, through NATO, will play a significant role in responding to the issue of Bosnia. It is not as if this issue does not matter and it is not as if our country should be isolationist. We are not isolationist, and what is happening in Bosnia does matter. But under the term of internationalism, it ought not

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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be suggested that this country must send troops everywhere in the world.

Bosnia is in the European neighborhood. We have spent a great deal of money and offered a great deal of support over the years to NATO. It seems to me that under the aegis of NATO and in the European Community we should be able to expect a substantial commitment from the Europeans to try to resolve the issue of the current role in Bosnia. I notice that is essentially what is now happening. The European countries are committing more and are getting involved in a more aggressive way to respond to this, and I appreciate that because I think that is the way this needs to be resolved.

I most especially do not think it is wise or appropriate to send United States troops to the ground in Bosnia. I think a couple of centuries of history in the Balkans ought to tell us that foreign powers attempting to achieve certain goals in that region of the world have generally paid a terrible cost and with none of their goals achieved.

So, Mr. President, I think the President of the United States has made the right decision in the last couple of days. I support that decision, and I hope that will remain the decision of the administration as the months go by.

I do hope and pray for the sake of the people in that region that somehow and some way this war can be stopped. As I have said, I think the United States has participated and will participate in an appropriate way to the logistics and equipment, overflights, and other approaches under the aegis of the United Nations.

I think war is a tragedy always, but in this circumstance—I have been to what was formerly the country of Yugoslavia. I recall, in fact, when I was there, there was a forest fire in the country. I recall the people of that region coming together, as people do in crisis situations, and working together to try to respond to a natural disaster.

It occurred to me that people of the then Yugoslavia are very much like the people I grew up with in North Dakota, like the people of the United States—good, wonderful, hard-working people. Yet that society has split apart, and we see in that former Yugoslavia now unspeakable horrors of war visited upon so many families and innocent people. I hope and pray that one day there will be peace in that region.

HELP FOR THE FAMILY FARMERS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, last week, when the Senate was not in session and we had no votes, I was in North Dakota. In part of my visit to North Dakota, I visited my home county of Hettinger County, a relatively small county in southwestern North Dakota. It is down in ranching country, and there are also small farms. They raise a substantial amount of wheat.

I was reminded of the circumstances of rural America again. My home county lost 20 percent of its population in the 1980's, and it lost another 11 percent of its population in the first half of the 1990's. The fact is that rural counties—and, yes, Hettinger County, ND—is shrinking like a prune.

The farm bill that we have in this country to try to help family farmers is not working. At least it is not working to keep family farmers on the farm and make a decent living doing so. We are losing ground in rural America.

It is a paradox that our cities are more crowded and exhibit all of the problems of overcrowding at the same time that my home county, and virtually every rural county throughout the Farm Belt, is losing population.

We are told that this is a global economy and that there are these dislocations. In a global economy, we are told, there are some winners and there are some losers, and rural areas are losers. I do not understand why a global economy means that the big get bigger and the rich get richer and the rest somehow get hurt; the small do not make it. I do not understand that. That is not an economy that makes sense to me. That is not an economy that equates reward with effort.

It seems to me that we ought to have an economy that rewards less speculation and rewards more real production. Yet, the economy does not seem to do that. It is a high time these days on Wall Street, as all of us know, but it is hard times on Main Street of Hettinger County and small towns trying to make a go of it.

We have in a global economy the spectacle of American jobs going overseas, and those jobs that are left here are jobs paying less with fewer benefits. It is, we are told, a function of the global economy, the economy of economic realities.

Well, it is not an economic reality which I am prepared to accept. I do not think the people of the Farm Belt are prepared to accept it either.

We learned long ago in this country that just like the wagon trains that forged west, you do not move ahead by leaving some behind. That was a good lesson from the wagon trains because it is the only way they could survive, and it is still a good lesson for our country today. We cannot, as a country, move ahead while leaving some behind.

I think that as we discuss this year the construction of a new 5-year farm bill, we ought to think about that, what works to give family farmers in America a decent opportunity to make a living so that we do not see this exodus of the family farm to the major cities where overcrowding already exists.

Well, the farm bill will be written now in the next 60 or 80 days, and the question is: What will it be? If it is like the last two farm bills, it will be the same but less of it. So it will be less of the same. So you take something that simply does not work and say let us do less of it. It is a concept that does not make much sense to me.

The farm bill ought to be a farm bill that cares about family farmers and, if it does not, we ought not to have a farm bill at all; we do not need it. The U.S. Department of Agriculture was founded under Abraham Lincoln in the 1860's with nine employees. That behemoth now has over 100,000 employees. In the last 15 years, we had about a 25-percent decrease in farm population—that is, the number of people living on farms—and about a 28-percent increase in the number of people running the farm program. It not only does not work, it is so frightfully complicated that nobody in this country fully understands it.

So why do we not do it differently and construct a new farm program that has as its preamble one central tenet, which is that we have a farm program in this country to try to give an opportunity to family-size farms to make a living.

Why is that necessary? Well, corporate agrifactories can farm successfully because they have the economic strength to withstand two risks that farmers face. The first is the risk that you may not get a crop. You might have excessive rain or hail or insects. You might plant a crop and get nothing.

The second risk is, if you get the crop, you may not get a price, because, in the meantime, international grain prices for wheat or barley may have plummeted, and so you have a crop but no price. Those two risks are risks that the big agrifactories can stomach and can overcome, but family-size farms do not have the financial strength to do so.

So if we want in this country family farms producing our food, then we must have some kind of a farm program. It is that simple.

Now, should the farm program be one that rewards the big folks at the expense of the little folks? I do not think so. We have had a fundamental disconnection in the kind of farm program that we have had in this country.

We have believed that we can control the supply of grain and therefore increase price. In order to do that, you want all of the farmers in the country in the farm program, which means you especially want the big farmers. If you get the big farmers in the farm program, you spend most of your money on the big farmers. So most of the money for the farm program has gone to the big farmers.

The fact is that we have not controlled supply and we have not affected price. Why? Because we plant less in this country and Canada plants more, Argentina plants more, the French plant more. So, it is a fundamentally flawed strategy.

We should decide now to disconnect from it and not do any of that. We should decide that the farm program ought to be a mechanism by which we will provide decent prices to the output of a family-size farm.