

shut down the Iraqi pipeline in 1990, at the request of the United Nations, after Saddam invaded Kuwait. Turkey has continued to keep this pipeline shut down, a great economic loss to Turkey and her people. We forget that. Thus, the development of Caspian Sea region oil is an opportunity to repay Turkey and help her stabilize her economy at the same time that America can develop a new and secure supply of this vital resource. Mr. President, I believe the United States must make an aggressive, fresh commitment to securing new oil supplies, a commitment equal to that we have made in responding to military aggression in the Middle East. The two efforts should go hand in hand. They are part of the same geostrategic calculation and interest. We need to move ahead now to reduce our dependency on vulnerable Middle East oil. A major new government-industry partnership to develop the promising Caspian region is long overdue and has the potential of a great energy payoff for the United States of America.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

WHY AFRICA MATTERS

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I have been speaking a number of times on why Africa matters to the United States. I spoke before the recess on infectious disease and environmental concerns and how what is happening in Africa can affect the rest of the world, and the United States as well.

Today, I would like to address a broader point about environmental issues—what happens to the natural world in Africa holds consequences for Americans. Even as we struggle to find reasonable, responsible solutions to domestic environmental problems, we must remember that our future is closely intertwined with the preservation and sound management of the environment around the world—particularly in Africa.

Today much of Africa today is caught in a cycle of environmental degradation, poverty and humanitarian crises. Battles over scarce resources can lead to political conflict, which in turn results in forced migration, and further environmental destruction. As a result, the international community feels the effects of not only global environmental changes, but also refugee flows, instability, and sagging trade revenues.

Mr. President, the evidence of environmental degradation on the African continent is overwhelming. From deforestation to land degradation, the shrinking diversity of African plant

life to the increasing number of endangered species, the African environment affects the United States.

DEFORESTATION

Let me begin with the most shocking of all the environmental problems sweeping the continent—deforestation. Consider the following:

In 1900, forests accounted for 40 percent of the highlands in the Horn of Africa. By 1990, only 4.4 percent of these forested highlands remained.

In 1961, as much as 60 percent of the west African nation of Sierra Leone was covered by primary rainforest. Today, that figure has dropped to 6 percent.

These are but two examples of what is an all-too-familiar pattern on the continent. And because Africa's population is projected to increase by over 50 percent as early as 2010, the pressures on remaining forest lands are likely to grow as people seek new land to live on, new fields to cultivate, and new sources of firewood for cooking and heating.

The immediate consequences of deforestation are soil erosion and flooding. Combined with other forms of land degradation, these trends lead to food shortages and massive displaced populations. Some experts believe that severe desertification will affect more than 100 million people on the continent by 2010. Already, food shortages threaten 22 million people in sub-Saharan Africa. Trapped in a cycle of poverty and need, these people will continue to destroy their natural environment in a desperate effort to survive.

Unless we recognize the larger environmental factors that create and exacerbate crises, the United States will continue to operate in a reactive mode, addressing tragic and costly emergencies and famines after they occur, and watching potentially strong societies and markets descend into disaster.

The consequences of ignoring environmental issues in Africa extend beyond humanitarian and economic concerns. Africa's forests, like those in South America, act as carbon sinks—absorbing harmful carbon emissions. As global population rates grow, rural-to-urban migration continues, and more and more people drive cars, our capacity to manage air pollution here in the United States and around the world may depend on the survival of these forests.

BIODIVERSITY

Mr. President, in addition to these disturbing trends in land quality, biodiversity depletion in Africa also impacts our future—particularly in the field of medicine. Over and over again, researchers have found highly effective cures in the forests of Africa:

Some may smile at this. But this is scientific research that shows, as a matter of fact, that the rosy periwinkle that grows in Madagascar is highly effective in treating Hodgkin's disease and leukemia.

Bark from the African plum tree has proven successful in treating enlarged

prostate glands. Yet, in the 1980's, environmental mismanagement in west Africa brought the region's plum trees dangerously close to extinction.

We cannot know what other cures may be contained in Africa's rapidly disappearing forest lands—and never will unless more is done to combat the environmental destruction sweeping the continent.

Mr. President, just as environmental degradation puts the future of medical research at risk, we cannot begin to guess at what agricultural breakthroughs may never occur as the diversity of African crops is lost to environmental crises. For example, we have already learned:

Germplasm from African crops may help the rest of the world to adjust to climate changes by breeding drought-resistant varieties of grain.

Researchers at the National Academy of Sciences have identified pearl millet, which grows mainly in west Africa, as a potential jewel for genetic research, due its natural genetic diversity, robust nature, and quick maturation.

The African Continent may be home to other, lesser known agricultural breakthroughs that will contribute to global well-being, provided they do not fall victim to the environmental devastation.

Mr. President, in recent years, the international community and Africans have become increasingly concerned about threats to animal kingdom diversity. Poaching, human encroachment on animals' natural habitats, and ineffective wildlife management continue to endanger several unique species. While African elephants appear to be making a comeback, black rhinos remain in danger, as do cheetahs, mountain gorillas, and other magnificent species of wildlife. A basic respect for life and an appreciation for its diverse forms demands that we recognize and address the problem of endangered species on the African Continent.

Mr. President, all of these trends, as well as the relationship between environmental upheaval and emerging diseases that I discussed earlier, make the case for a thoughtful and engaged foreign policy toward Africa.

Responsible and creative environmental policies in Africa—including land management, agroforestry initiatives, pollution reduction, and biodiversity preservation—serve U.S. national interests. With patience and engagement, we gain new cures for painful diseases and new crops to feed our children into the 21st century. We preserve the magnificent diversity of animal life for our grandchildren. And we help bring stability, development and economic growth to the African Continent.

We can't do this all by ourselves. That would not be successful policy in and of itself. But we should be mindful of the fact that it does influence the United States and other nations and other continents around the world. And that is why we should be concerned.

Both Africans and Americans have a great deal to lose—and perhaps even more to gain—by addressing environmental issues on the African Continent. These are not easy issues, but we must proceed as we would with any long-term security concern—with sensitivity, determination, and wisdom. If we do so, generations of Africans—and Americans—will benefit from a sustainable, diverse, and thriving natural world.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and appreciate the opportunity to speak on this issue at this time.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 20 minutes in morning business.

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

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR KASSEBAUM

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I likely will not have an opportunity to take the floor of the Senate again while the Senator from Kansas is in the Chamber. She just finished a discussion on a foreign policy issue, but I did want to say while I am in the Chamber and she is in the Chamber that this institution is going to miss her service.

There is a lot of discussion these days about the bickering between Republicans and Democrats, and the American people do not like to see that; they want to see a Congress that serves the interests of the American people. They want to see Democrats and Republicans think through ideas and work together to find the right course for our future.

Senator KASSEBAUM is one of those people in Congress, recognized by everyone serving here as an extraordinary Senator who cares a great deal about this country and has contributed immensely to this country's betterment. I for one have felt privileged to serve with her in the Senate while I have been here, and I will miss her.

A COMPETITION OF IDEAS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I mention the issue of ideas. It is a Presidential year. The Constitution of our country, drafted a couple of hundred years ago in a little room over in Constitution Hall by the Framers of the Constitution, described that every even-numbered year in our country the American people would grab the steering wheel and have an election and the American people would decide in which direction this country moved. It was not going to be a decision by a bunch of elitists, a bunch of big business folks, a bunch of labor people, a bunch of investors. It was going to be a decision by the American people to grab the American steering wheel with their vote and decide which way this country would move. It was quite an extraordinary

thing. The late Claude Pepper used to call it the miracle in the Constitution every even-numbered year.

What I expect the Framers of this democracy hoped would be is that in these elections we would have a competition of ideas, ideas advanced by different candidates from different positions, saying this is what we believe will advance the interests of our country. This is what we believe will improve America.

Regrettably, American politics and American elections have become much less a competition of ideas than a competition of slash and burn, 30-second ads telling the American people or people in a State or district how awful someone might be, how terrible someone has been, instead of what are my ideas, what do I think will improve this country.

I hope this election will be different. I guess there is no reason to believe it will be different until the American people decide to change elections in this country by saying to those who wage negative campaigns that we will not vote for you.

The minute negative campaigns do not work they will not be used. People use what works. Negative campaigns work, and they are used extensively, with great devastating effect in our country these days.

There was a debate about 2 years ago in a congressional district that I read about that I thought was quite fascinating. The two candidates for Congress came to the debate and were told by the debate organizers, by the way, we have a very simple, unusual rule that you will have to adhere to. The rule is in this debate between two people aspiring to be Members of Congress, you may not mention your opponent. You may not be critical of the other person in the debate, requiring therefore in this debate for you to spend your time telling the people what it is you stand for, what it is you intend to fight for, what you believe in.

I understand it was a fascinating discussion because it moved from a debate about which is the worst candidate to a debate about ideas, a competition of ideas and issues. I would like to see if we cannot get our political system back to a description of that kind of politics.

Having said all that, I am going to talk a little about the tax cut proposal offered by Senator Dole, not because I think Senator Dole is a bad candidate. I do not. I disagree with the ideas he is proposing, and I am going to describe why. Then I am going to talk about the ideas I think ought to be proposed to make this a better country.

I have said many times and will again now that Senator Dole was a remarkable Senator and contributed a great deal to this country in his public service. I happen to think Jack Kemp was an excellent public servant and has contributed a lot to this country. It is a credible team competing for the Presidency. I happen to disagree with

the central idea on which they are running. I am going to talk a little about it and then talk about what I think we ought to be discussing.

The proposal that is advanced first and foremost is an across-the-board tax cut. It is, 2 months from the election, a proposal that says vote for us because we propose a 15-percent across-the-board tax cut.

That sounds attractive, and if we were not bound by issues like you should not increase the Federal deficit, I would propose a 25- or 50-percent tax cut. Why settle for 15? Why not propose a 50-percent tax cut or 75-percent tax cut? But we are bound by something else. We are bound by a requirement that we have a fiscal policy that is in some reasonable balance.

We are told that a proposal for a 15-percent across-the-board tax cut will result in a substantial benefit to all Americans and a balanced budget as well—a deficit that is coming down to a balance.

I was thinking about that last evening, and I thought I would show my colleagues what some feel is believable in our country.

I receive a lot of mail, as do all Americans. You open your postal box these days, and it is full of all kinds of unsolicited mail. Here is a letter I got from Dorothy Addeao. I do not know Dorothy Addeao from a cord of wood, never met her, never heard of her before. But she wrote to me to say this: "It's my pleasure to be the bearer of glad tidings. In just 5 weeks, we are scheduled to announce Byron L. Dorgan"—that is me—"is the winner of the 1995 \$10 million super prize in Publisher's Clearing House."

Now, it was not that she just wrote to me and said that they were going to announce that I had won \$10 million, the super prize. She also sent me a certificate, and it is stamped, has my name right here. It says, "\$10 million." My number by the way was 00016780.

Then she signed it.

That was not all. I mean, that is pretty improbable, I suppose, that someone would write to me and tell me I won \$10 million.

But I got another letter. This one was from Sweepstakes Priority. They told me that BYRON DORGAN wins a Hawaiian vacation and a new Lexus automobile. They have a number on it, and they said the Lexus automobile is set aside for my use, mine free. I thought that is pretty improbable—you win \$10 million and then a trip to Hawaii and a Lexus.

Then I got a letter from Time magazine, down in Tampa, FL. It says, "The results are in. Byron L. Dorgan"—that is me again—"has won one of our two latest \$1,666,675.00 prizes." And then underneath it says, "Byron L. Dorgan, winner, \$1,666,675.00," and then it says, "payment ready. Elizabeth Matthews." I do not know Elizabeth Matthews from a cord of wood; never met her. But out of the blue she tells me I won \$1.6 million.