

protect antitank mines, "it seems entirely common-sensical to us" to call them antihandling devices.

Said Bell: "This was not a case of us trying to take mines and then define the problem away."

EXHIBIT 2

[From the Rutland Daily Herald, Sept. 19, 1997]

CLINTON'S STUMBLE

Sen. Patrick Leahy is charitable to President Clinton in his statement, printed below, about the treaty negotiated this week in Oslo, Norway, banning anti-personnel land mines.

Leahy says he is convinced Clinton wants to see land mines eliminated and that Clinton's commitment is real.

But his statement also contains a damning account of Clinton's pusillanimous surrender to the Pentagon and his incompetent, eleventh-hour effort to negotiate a compromise. Leahy, a champion of the international effort to ban land mines, covers up his scorn for Clinton's effort with the barest fig leaf of decorum.

The land mine negotiations are an excellent lesson in why the U.S. Constitution ensures that control of the military remains in civilian hands. In a democracy, the U.S. military is an instrument of the people, not a separate warrior caste. Thus, it is up to the civilian government to institute the humanitarian standards and the political boundaries that reflect the people's values. Clinton chickened out.

Clinton used Korea as an excuse, but in doing so he failed to make the necessary calculation; the marginal difficulty of reconfiguring our defenses in Korea weighed against the daily carnage the land mine treaty is designed to prevent.

About 100 nations have signed on to the treaty, which forbids them to use, produce, acquire, store or transfer anti-personnel land mines. They have also agreed to destroy current stocks and to remove any mines they have in place. Further, they have agreed to assist in the care of land mine victims.

The treaty represents an extraordinary response, outside the usual bureaucratic channels of the United Nations, by the governments of the world to a popular demand for change.

U.S. participation is necessary, however, if the ban is to become a true worldwide ban. That's because there is no chance those nations who have not signed will join the ban until the United States does. These include China, Russia, India, Pakistan and Israel, all of which could continue to serve as sources for land mines for terrorist organizations.

Thus, Leahy is holding to his goal of making the United States a signatory of the treaty. A bill of his that has 60 co-sponsors would have established a ban on use of land mines by the United States in 2000. The prospect that that bill might pass goaded the Clinton administration into joining the Oslo talks in the first place.

Now Leahy plans to consult with participants in the Oslo talks, including the Canadians who have led the treaty movement, plus Clinton and members of Congress, to determine how best to move the United States toward signing the treaty. Pushing the Leahy-Hagel bill, which includes an exception for Korea under some circumstances, is one option.

It is clear Clinton needs to be reminded he was elected by the people, not by the Pentagon, and that the people believe progress in ending use of this barbaric weapon is important. Leahy scoffs at the notion that the most powerful nation in the world requires this primitive weapon to protect itself. The message to policymakers in Washington

must be that it is shameful the United States has failed to join a worldwide effort to make the world a safer and more civilized place.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I see my distinguished friend from Georgia back on the floor. So I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 1997

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now resume consideration of S. 25, the campaign finance reform bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will report the bill.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 25) to reform the financing of Federal elections.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Lott amendment No. 1258, to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Lott amendment No. 1259 (to amendment No. 1258), in the nature of a substitute.

Lott amendment No. 1260 (to amendment No. 1258), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Lott amendment No. 1261, in the nature of a substitute.

Lott amendment No. 1262 (to amendment No. 1261), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Rules and Administration with instructions to report back forthwith, with an amendment.

Lott amendment No. 1263 (to instructions of motion to recommit), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Lott amendment No. 1264 (to amendment No. 1263), in the nature of a substitute.

Lott amendment No. 1265 (to amendment No. 1264), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk on the pending Lott amendment No. 1258 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby

move to bring to a close debate on the pending amendment No. 1258 to Calendar No. 183, S. 25, the campaign finance reform bill:

Trent Lott, Don Nickles, Jon Kyl, Slade Gorton, Mitch McConnell, Connie Mack, Larry E. Craig, Strom Thurmond, Gordon H. Smith, Kay Bailey Hutchison, Jesse Helms, Christopher S. Bond, Thad Cochran, Rick Santorum, R. F. Bennett, Bob Smith.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I now send a cloture motion to the desk to the bill S. 25.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on Calendar No. 183, S. 25, the campaign finance reform bill:

Trent Lott, Rick Santorum, Jon Kyl, Don Nickles, Mitch McConnell, Connie Mack, Larry E. Craig, Strom Thurmond, Gordon H. Smith, Kay Bailey Hutchison, Jesse Helms, Christopher S. Bond, Thad Cochran, R. F. Bennett, Bob Smith, Ted Stevens.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, we now have two cloture motions pending to the campaign finance reform bill. I anticipate the first cloture vote, that being a vote to limit debate on the amendment referred to as the Paycheck Protection Act to occur after lunch on Tuesday October 7. If cloture is not invoked on the paycheck protection amendment, then the Senate would immediately proceed to a cloture vote on the campaign finance reform bill.

I ask unanimous consent the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived and the cloture votes occur at 2:15 on Tuesday, October 7.

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1998

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now resume the D.C. appropriations bill.

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

The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1156) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Coats modified amendment No. 1249, to provide scholarship assistance for District of Columbia elementary and secondary school students.

Graham-Mack-Kennedy amendment No. 1252, to provide relief to certain aliens who

would otherwise be subject to removal from the United States.

Mack-Graham-Kennedy modified amendment No. 1253 (to amendment No. 1252), in the nature of a substitute.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the Mack second-degree amendment No. 1253 to Calendar No. 155, S. 1156, the District of Columbia appropriations bill:

Connie Mack, Mike DeWine, Barbara Boxer, Bob Graham, Conrad Burns, Wayne Allard, Paul Coverdell, James M. Inhofe, John H. Chafee, Richard G. Lugar, Ted Stevens, Larry E. Craig, James M. Jeffords, Gordon Smith, R.F. Bennett, D. Nickles.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived and the cloture vote occur at a time to be determined by the majority leader after notification of the Democratic leader but not before 4 o'clock p.m. on Tuesday October 7.

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. COVERDELL. I ask unanimous consent there be a period for morning business with Senators to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL GUTOWSKI

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I want to take a moment to remark on the passing of a valued friend of the U.S. Senate, Michael Gutowski, a specialist in private health insurance issues at the General Accounting Office. Michael died suddenly and unexpectedly on September 23 at the age of 53. He was stricken during a meeting with Labor Department officials while gathering information for a report on the implementation of the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act that I requested.

Over the past 10 years, Michael directed a remarkable series of studies, almost 50 in all. Many focused on gaps in private health insurance coverage, gaps that make affordable coverage under reasonable terms unavailable to many groups and individuals. Michael's reports were remarkable in a number of ways. First, they succeeded in keeping the Congress up-to-date on the evolution of the private health insurance market. Second, the reports, while based on thorough and often innovative data collection techniques, were not

just a tabulation of statistics. Michael had a remarkable gift for weaving data into a clear and articulate story, one that was immediately comprehensible and compelling.

During my tenure as chairman, the reports, testimony, and briefings Michael developed for the Labor and Human Resources Committee have consistently informed our deliberations on health care policy. We have benefited from the research he led regarding employer strategies in purchasing health insurance, children's health insurance, the role of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act and State insurance regulation, and the implementation of the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996. In all these areas, he drew on his wide knowledge of the real world insurance marketplace. I know that his contribution to other congressional committees and Members on a diverse range of housing, health policy, economic, and workers compensation issues both at GAO and the Congressional Budget Office have been equally valued. In 1995, Michael received the Assistant Comptroller General's award for studies related to health care reform.

Michael was an economist by training but a humanitarian by heart, warm and generous with an unquenchable sense of humor. Michael was very devoted to his wife Lois, and his children Laura and David. In extending condolences to his family, I want them and his colleagues at the General Accounting Office to know that we, too, in the Senate will miss him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a list of GAO reports by Michael Gutowski be placed in the RECORD.

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

REPORTS DIRECTED BY MICHAEL GUTOWSKI

Private Health Insurance: Continued Erosion of Coverage Linked to Cost Pressures (July 1997).

Retiree Health Insurance: Erosion in Employer-Based Health Benefits for Early Retirees (July 1997).

Health Insurance: Management Strategies Used by Large Employers to Control Costs (May 1997).

Medicare HMO Enrollment: Area Differences Affected by Factors Other Than Payment Rates (May 1997).

Uninsured Children: Estimates of Citizenship and Immigration Status, 1995 (May 1997).

Employment-Based Health Insurance: Costs Increase and Family Coverage Decreases (Feb. 1997).

Children's Health Insurance, 1995 (Feb. 1997).

Children's Health Insurance Programs, 1996 (Dec. 1996).

Private Health Insurance: Millions Relying on Individual Market Face Cost and Coverage Trade-Offs (Nov. 1996).

Health Insurance Regulation: Varying State Requirements Affect Cost of Insurance (Aug. 1996).

Medicaid and Uninsured Children, 1994 (July 1996).

Health Insurance for Children: Private Insurance Coverage Continues to Deteriorate (June 1996).

Medicare HMOs: Rapid Enrollment Growth Concentrated in Selected States (Jan. 1996).

Medicaid Section 1115 Waivers: Flexible Approach to Approving Demonstrations Could Increase Federal Costs (Nov. 1995).

Health Insurance Portability: Reform Could Ensure Continued Coverage for up to 25 Million Americans (Sept. 1995).

Employer-Based Health Plans: Issues, Trends, and Challenges Posed by ERISA (July 1995).

Health Insurance Regulation: Variation in Recent State Small Employer Health Insurance Reforms (June 1995).

German Health Reforms: Changes Result in Lower Health Costs in 1993 (Dec. 1994).

Medicaid Long-Term Care: Successful State Efforts to Expand Services While Limiting Costs (Aug. 1994).

Access to Health Insurance: Public and Private Employers' Experience with Purchasing Cooperatives (May 1994).

Health Care Alliances: Issues Relating to Geographic Boundaries (April 1994).

Health Insurance: California Public Employees' Alliance Has Reduced Recent Premium Growth (Nov. 1993).

Managed Health Care: Effect on Employers' Costs Difficult to Measure (Oct. 1993).

German Health Reforms: New Cost Control Initiatives (July 1993).

Medicaid Estate Planning (July 1993).

Health Care: Rochester's Community Approach Yields Better Access, Lower Costs (Jan. 1993).

Emergency Departments: Unevenly Affected by Growth and Change in Patient Use (Jan. 1993).

Employer-Based Health Insurance: High Costs, Wide Variation Threaten System (Sept. 1992).

Access to Health Care: States Respond to Growing Crisis (June 1992).

Access to Health Insurance: State Efforts to Assist Small Businesses (May 1992).

Canadian Health Insurance: Estimating Costs and Savings for the United States (Apr. 1992).

Health Care Spending: Nonpolicy Factors Account for Most of State Differences (Feb. 1992).

Health Insurance: Problems Caused by a Segmented Market (July 1991).

Long-Term Care: Projected Needs of the Aging Baby Boom Generation (June 1991).

Canadian Health Insurance: Lessons for the United States (June 1991).

AIDS-Prevention Programs: High-Risk Groups Still Prove Hard to Reach (May 1991).

Trauma Care: Lifesaving System Threatened by Unreimbursed Costs and Other Factors (May 1991).

Health Insurance Coverage: A Profile of the Uninsured in Selected States (Feb. 1991).

Budget Issues: Effects of the Fiscal Year 1990 Sequester on the Department of Health and Human Services (Aug. 1990).

Health Insurance: Cost Increases Lead to Coverage Limitations and Cost Shifting (May 1990).

Health Insurance: A Profile of the Uninsured in Michigan and the United States (May 1990).

AIDS Education: Public School Programs Require More Student Information and Teacher Training (May 1990).

AIDS Education: Programs for Out-of-School Youth Slowly Evolving (May 1990).

In-Home Services for the Elderly: Cost Sharing Expands Range of Services Provided and Population Served (Oct. 1989).

U.S. Employees Health Benefits: Rebate for Duplicate Medicare Coverage (March 1989).

HONORING THE BENDERS ON THEIR 70TH WEDDING ANNIVERSARY

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, families are the cornerstone of America.