

the President and have the President sign it. Then this critically needed assistance can flow to people of our region. It will be, I think, a very proud moment for all of Congress. I hope that will be the case in the coming days.

FAST-TRACK TRADE AUTHORITY

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I want to mention quickly two other subjects. The first is a letter that I have sent to the President with my colleague from Maine, Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE, about the issue of fast-track trade authority, and then, second, I would like to offer a comment about the budget agreement.

First, on the issue of fast-track trade authority, Mr. President, Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE and I have sent a letter to President Clinton indicating to him that we do not believe it is appropriate to extend fast-track trade authority and that we would oppose the extension of fast-track trade authority.

This may not mean much to a lot of folks. Fast-track trade authority is a kind of inside baseball term, I suppose, for Members of Congress. What is fast-track authority? Fast track is a trade procedure by which the Congress says to an administration, any administration, you go out and negotiate a trade agreement with some other country or group of countries, and then the trade agreement is brought back to the Senate or the House and must be considered on something called fast track. This means the Senate and House must vote on it up or down with no opportunity to amend it. Fast track means no opportunity to amend it. You bring it to the Senate. The Senate votes yes or no, and that is the end of it.

We do not use fast-track authority on the arms control agreements. We did not have fast-track authority on the chemical weapons treaty that this Senate passed a couple of weeks ago. Only on trade agreements do we have what is called fast track. It is fundamentally undemocratic, in my judgment.

The reason I do not support fast track and the extension of fast-track authority is fast track has been the wrong track for this country. I urge my colleagues to take a look at our trade deficit. We talk about eliminating the budget deficit, and there is great merit in that, and I am going to be supportive of that.

What about the other deficit? What about the trade deficit, which is the largest merchandise trade deficit in the history of this country right now? This is the largest merchandise trade deficit in the history of this country, and you do not hear a word about it, not a word. We have had trade agreement after trade agreement, and guess what. After every trade agreement, we have greater hemorrhaging of red ink and greater trade deficits.

This is a chart that shows those trade deficits. We had the Tokyo round in 1981. That year we had a \$28 billion

merchandise trade deficit. Then we went out and we added the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement, and that year we had a \$115 billion trade deficit. Then there was NAFTA. Then it was the Uruguay round. Every time we have a new trade agreement, our trade deficit increases.

I would like to get the names and pictures of those folks who are negotiating these things and ask them, by what standard do you view success? Is it successful to have successive trade agreements that mean this country goes deeper into merchandise trade debt? I do not think so. That is not how I would define success.

This is a chart which shows what has happened with our two neighbors. First we had the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement. Then we had the North American Free-Trade Agreement, called NAFTA, with Canada and Mexico, and the Mexico Free Trade Agreement.

Guess what has happened. Before we had the trade agreement with our neighbors, we had a trade surplus with Mexico. Then we go off and negotiate a trade agreement with the Mexicans and the Canadians. Now we have a combined deficit that totals nearly \$40 billion.

Look what has happened to the trade deficit with Mexico and Canada. We had a \$2 billion surplus with Mexico in 1993. Now we have a \$16 billion deficit. We had all these economists who said, if we would just do this, we would get 250,000 new jobs. Well, guess what. In fact, the major economist who pledged the 250,000 new jobs said, "Whoops, I was wrong. I guess there are no 250,000 new jobs; there is more trade debt."

Harry Truman once said: I want to get a one-armed economist. I am getting tired of economists saying "on this hand" and "on the other hand." We do not need economists who give us this kind of advice.

What about the trade deficit? Where is this trade deficit? Well, 92 percent of the trade deficit is with six countries. First there is Japan. Then there is China, and this one is growing to beat the band, by the way. Then we have Canada and Mexico where the deficits have been growing substantially. Finally, there are Germany and Taiwan.

I want to remind those who want to extend fast track about the Constitution. The Constitution of the United States, article I, section 8, says "The Congress shall have the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations." It does not say anything about fast track. It does not say anything about handcuffs or straitjackets. It does not say anything about having some nameless negotiator run off to foreign shores someplace and negotiate a bad agreement and then come back to the Congress and say, by the way, vote on this, and you have no opportunity to amend it.

I wonder how many in this Chamber know what kind of tariff exists on a T-bone steak you send to Tokyo. I bet

not many. Not too many years ago we negotiated with Japan, with whom we have a very large, abiding continual trade deficit. We negotiated a beef agreement. We wanted to get more United States beef into Japan. So our negotiators went out on behalf of our beef producers and others and negotiated with Japan.

All of a sudden one day in the newspapers we see in a big headline that we have reached agreement with Japan on a beef agreement. They were having a day of feasting and rejoicing. You would have thought all these negotiators just won the gold medal in the Olympics. Then we find out that, yes, we have a new agreement with Japan and, yes, we are getting more American beef into Japan. But, guess what? Try sending a T-bone steak to Tokyo. What is the tariff to get T-bone into Tokyo? It's up to a 50-percent tariff on beef to Japan.

Would that be considered successful in any area of the world in international trade? No. That would be defined as a colossal failure in every set of circumstances except when our negotiators are negotiating an agreement with Japan. They define that as success. They line up to get their blue ribbons.

It's like they had a steer at the county fair and had just won blue ribbons and want to get congratulated for it. Yes, we got more beef in Japan. Just think what we take into our marketplace from Japan in exchange for that. And we hit a 50-percent tariff.

I could talk about potatoes from Mexico, I could talk about Durum wheat flooding our markets from Canada. I could talk forever about these trade problems. I don't want to do that today. I only want to say this to the President, to the administration, and to the Members of Congress: Don't talk about fast track until we have straightened out the trade agreements that we have had in recent years that have put our producers and our workers at a disadvantage. Don't talk about fast track until you have negotiated the problems dealing with Canada and grain.

I was in a little orange truck going up to the Canadian border one day with 200 bushels of Durum wheat. That little orange truck couldn't get over the border into Canada. Do you know why? They stopped us at the border and said you couldn't take Durum wheat into Canada. All the way up to the border we found truck after truck, semi-loads, dozens of them, hauling Canadian grain south, but we couldn't get a harmless little orange truck north.

In fact, one North Dakotan couldn't get a grocery sack of wheat into Canada. She married a Canadian and was back home visiting, and wanted to take a grocery sack of wheat into Canada to grind it and make whole wheat bread, and guess what, they wouldn't let her take a grocery sack of wheat north. All the while, hundreds of semi-trucks full of Canadian wheat come south.

That is just one example. I say, Mr. President, and others, if you want fast-track authority? Then straighten out the trade problems that now exist. Yes, straighten out the problems with Canada and Mexico and Japan and others and I will be the first to line up and say let's talk about new trade authority. But until we solve the vexing and difficult problems of trade agreements that have now resulted in the largest trade deficit in the history of this country, we ought not be moving towards fast-track trade authority.

Before I finish that subject, let me put in a word about Charlene Barshefsky, our new Trade Ambassador. I like Charlene Barshefsky. She has some spunk and she has some life. She is out there, trying to say to our trading partners that we expect reciprocal trading policies. If we open our market to your goods you have a responsibility to open your market to ours. She has been in Canada, telling the Canadians what you are doing with Canadian grain is wrong and it abrogates the treaty.

In fact—just one more point about the Canadian grain—when the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement passed the House Ways and Means Committee, and I was on the committee, the vote was 34 to 1. That "1" was me. I said at the time I felt that treaty was going to result in a serious problem for us. And it has.

Clayton Yeutter, the Trade Ambassador at that point, said, "No, no, no. Your concerns about an avalanche of Canadian grain flooding the United States market and undercutting American farmers, that is nonsense. That will not happen."

I'll tell you what he said. Mr. Yeutter said, "I'll tell you what, I will give it to you in writing. I will make the promise in writing." And he wrote it down. He said that his agreement with the Canadians was with the understanding that good faith would be subscribed to by both sides by not dramatically changing the quantity of grain coming across the border. That was his agreement. So he wrote it down. That was good faith. That was his understanding. That is what he negotiated. However, it was not worth the paper it was written on.

The second the ink was dry and the minute the treaty was done, what we saw was an avalanche of grain come south. At the same time you couldn't take a grocery sack full north. It undercut our markets in Durum wheat especially, and cost our farmers massive amounts of lost income.

So, why am I a little sore about some of those things? I am angry because we have negotiated trade agreements that have undercut our producers and we ought not do that. I am for free trade. I am for expanded trade. But I am for fair trade. If it is not fair, than the agreement is not right.

Charlene Barshefsky is a breath of fresh air and she is trying. She can only do what any administration al-

lows her to do. I urge the President and others to understand that in order to have trade negotiating authority of anything resembling fast track, they first must address the serious problems in the previous agreements that have been negotiated. Until that happens, at least a number of us, including Senator SNOWE and I, based on the letter we have sent to the President, do not support the extension of fast track for all the reasons I have mentioned previously.

THE BALANCED BUDGET AGREEMENT

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I would like to talk about one other topic today. It is a subject that is in the paper this morning—the balanced budget agreement.

Mr. President, I do not know all of the details of the agreement. I know the outline and the skeleton of the balanced budget agreement that has been reached through a substantial amount of negotiation. I expect, were I to negotiate a balanced budget agreement, it might be different than that which was negotiated and that which I read about this morning. I have been party to many briefings, including the most substantial briefing yet on what has been negotiated, but I confess, like most Members of the Senate who have not been in the room during all the negotiations, I may not know all the provisions of this agreement.

However, I have said repeatedly during the debates that we have had on a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, and in many other circumstances, that I support balancing the budget. I think there is merit in fiscal discipline. I think we should balance the budget. And I think we should work together to do that.

In 1993 I voted for a deficit reduction act that was a very controversial piece of legislation. And we passed that by one vote. It happened to be the Vice President's vote. My party voted for it, the other party didn't. I am not going to make judgments about that today. I suppose that's the time for a political discussion.

We paid, in my party, a significant price for that vote in 1993, because it was not popular. I said at the time, and I have said repeatedly since, I am glad I voted the way I did. It wasn't easy. It cut some spending. It raised some taxes. It wasn't a very easy vote, but I am glad I voted the way I did because I believe that it was the first significant step in deciding we are going to do the tough thing to reduce the budget deficit.

What happened since that time? We have had year after year of declining budget deficits. The unified deficit has come down, way down—not just down a bit, but way down, by 75 percent. But the job is not yet done. And that is why there have been negotiations between the President and Members of Congress about how to finish the job.

I think we will find that the agreement that has been negotiated will receive fairly substantial support in the Senate and the House. I want to vote to finish the job. I voted to start the job and I want to vote to finish it. I think we ought to tell the American people there is fiscal discipline in this place. There is merit in a balanced budget. And there is no difference in desire on either side of the aisle about wanting to live within our means. That is not a political question between the two parties. I think that is demonstrated by what we did in 1993. I hope it will be demonstrated by what we all do this year.

Now, is part of this agreement smoke? I think so. I mean, I can describe certain areas of it where I think it is a fair amount of smoke, or fog.

But is some of it real? Is it moving us in a bipartisan way in the right direction? I think so. Importantly, it does it the right way. What we have said for a long time is there is a right way to do things and a wrong way to do things. I have said on the floor there is a big difference between deciding to invest in star wars or star schools. I am not saying one is all right and one is all wrong, but I am saying they are very different. Because it suggests one believes education is critically important and the other says no, the priority is over here in defense.

My point is what we have done, I think, in these negotiations is to decide, yes, let us balance the budget, but let us preserve the priorities that are important. Let us as a nation decide that education is still at top of the national agenda and there is not anything much more important in our country than making sure all our kids in this country, every young boy, every young girl, have the opportunity to be everything they can be. And that we will invest in their lives, starting, yes, at Head Start, and going all the way through college. We will invest in their lives, to decide that all of our children should become whatever their talents will allow them to become; whatever hard work and opportunity will allow them to be, as Americans. A major part of that is our decision to make a significant investment and attachment to education as a priority. And this budget agreement does that.

This President said I will not be a part of the budget agreement and I won't sign a budget bill unless it retains the priority of education. And this budget agreement contains room for new investments in education, which is critically important.

The agreement also has room for new investments in health care. It says that 5 million kids, about half of the population of kids without health care, 5 million can be insured. There is room here so we can insure you, provide insurance for health care for 5 million kids.

There is room here to continue to make progress on issues in the environment. The President said, "I won't sign