only redistributes it—mostly from the poor to the rich, and often the rich are not even local people. A good study would provide the details.

But the signs are obvious. In the subway, and advertisement for the lottery portrays a pastel rainbow with a pot of gold at the end. Right next to it is a public service announcement describing how to apply for food stamps. The striking thing is that the two messages are addressed to the same audience: People who can't even afford to buy their own food without government help are encouraged by the government to throw what little they do have at a mirage.

Lotteries may turn out to be the most regressive form of state gambling. One of the few arguments for them other than the revenue they raise is that they closely mimic the illegal numbers games that have thrived in many communities, therefore drawing money away from organized crime.

Casinos raise additional concerns. Successful ones do provide jobs, and some older cities have looked to casinos as potential saviors. New Bedford is as good an example as any. With textiles and other industries gone and fishing on the wane, people in New Bedford are desperate for help. They voted nearly 3-1 for a casino this month. And they argue that half the cars in the Foxwoods lot are from Massachusetts anyway, so the state is exporting the gambling dollar needlessly.

Yet other casino towns have found not only that crime and vice rise rapidly with gambling but that the net effect on the economy is not salutary. Local restaurants and other retail businesses suffer; the problem of addiction to gambling, including among young people, grows; and in many places population drops. Also, the casino sometimes drives out better options. In Bridgeport, for instance, city officials said last week they would dust off a waterfront development plan—one that might provide stronger economic stimulation in the long run than gambling. The plan had been sidetracked by the casino proposal.

A solid study would give substance to all these questions.

Those selling New Bedford on a casino may be no different from the hucksters touting the pot of gold at the end of the pastel rainbow. What provides the spice, as with all gambling, is the fact that someone, sometime, actually wins the gold. But many cities and states have found the odds are no better for them than for the gamblers whose pockets they empty.●

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME—S. 1438

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I understand that S. 1438, introduced today by Senator DOLE, is at the desk, and I would ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the bill by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows.

A bill (S. 1438) to establish a commission to review the dispute settlement reports of the World Trade Organization, and for other purposes.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I now ask for its second reading, and I would object to my own request on behalf of Senators on the Democratic side of the aisle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The bill will be read the second time on the next legislative day.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 1833

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I ask unanimous consent that at 4 p.m. on Monday, December 4, the Senate turn to the consideration of Calendar No. 249, H.R. 1833, the partial-birth abortions ban, for debate only.

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

Mrs. HUTCHISON. And for the information of all Senators, debate will begin on the partial-birth abortion ban at 4 p.m. on Monday. However, no votes will occur during Monday's session of the Senate.

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1995

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 3 o'clock p.m. on Monday, December 4; that following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be deemed approved to date, no resolutions come over under the rule, the call of the calendar be dispensed with, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and there be a period of morning business until the hour of 4 o'clock p.m., with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SNOWE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mrs. HUTCHISON. For the information of all Senators, at 4 p.m. on Monday, the Senate will begin consideration of H.R. 1833 regarding partial-birth abortions. There will be no rollcall votes during Monday's session of the Senate.

Also, as a reminder to all Senators, under a previous consent agreement, at 9:30 a.m., Tuesday, the Senate will begin debate on the conference report to accompany H.R. 1058, the securities litigation bill. Senators can therefore expect rollcall votes during Tuesday's session.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 3 P.M. MONDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1995

Mrs. HUTCHISON. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order following my remarks.

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

SENDING UNITED STATES TROOPS TO BOSNIA

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I wish to say briefly that I have just heard the majority leader, Senator DOLE, and Senator MCCAIN state that they would be introducing a resolution—I am sure a bipartisan resolution—to support the President's efforts to send troops to Bosnia.

Madam President, there are no two people I know in the Senate that I respect more, and certainly no two people in the Senate who have given more in the military service of our country than Senator MCCAIN and Senator DOLE. I respect them, and I know that they are coming to this decision in a way that is very thoughtful and statesmanlike.

I am very sad that this is going to happen because I disagree totally with the conclusions they have reached. I think every Member is going to have to really search his or her conscience to decide what is the responsibility of a Senator or a Member of Congress in this type of action. I know all of us are going to vote our conscience. I do not think anyone will come to their conclusion based on anything except what they think is right.

I am sure debate will be heated, but I think it is very important that we have an alternative to the resolution introduced by the majority leader because many of us feel that this is the wrong decision and that for us to exercise our responsibility as Members of the Senate, we must speak out against deploying troops to Bosnia. So there will be an alternative and I hope we will be able to vote on a clear alternative, and that is a resolution to disapprove this deployment of our troops.

We will go into debate more in the next week, and I do appreciate the fact that we are going to have the opportunity next week, rather than some later time after it is too late to try to have an impact on the President's decision.

I have read the Constitution. It is very clear to me that the Founders of our country were specific in not giving the war powers to the President alone.

In fact, in The Federalist Papers, both Mr. Madison and Mr. Hamilton specifically said this is not a monarchy, therefore, the President alone should not be able to wage war. So the question becomes, what is a war? Are we sending our troops into a hostile situation in which they will be in harm's way? And does that mean that they are in a war?

I believe sending troops into a situation in which we believe there is a good chance for fatalities must be done by the President and Congress together, not by the President alone. I think it is most important, and I think it was part of the balance of powers, that the founders of our country were very careful to put in our Constitution that this kind of decision not be made by one person.

I am very concerned that we are also setting a precedent for our troops to be deployed on the ground in border conflicts, in ethnic conflicts, in civil wars that were never contemplated when we signed on to in the NATO Treaty. Nowhere in the NATO Treaty does it say