

CAPITOL HILL SECURITY

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, first of all, I have been speaking about the security of the Capitol Hill police. I made a commitment to myself, much less to others, that I would continue to speak on it. I always start with the service for Officers Chestnut and Gibson and a commitment I am absolutely sure we made to the Capitol Hill police that we would do everything possible to assure security for them, much less the public.

One of the things we have to do—and we have to do it today; if not today, tomorrow; but I don't think we should let time go by—is make whatever kind of policy change and whatever kind of commitment of resources need to be made to assure that at every post there are two officers.

Again, a lot of the posts have many people entering. If there is one officer with lots of people coming through a door and, God forbid, somebody deranged enters with the intention of committing an act of violence, it would be very difficult for that single officer to deal with such a person.

I again call on all Members to do better by these police officers and to live up to this commitment. I am sure Republicans and Democrats all agree, but I will focus on this until I am sure we have followed through on a commitment we made because I don't think we have followed through on it yet.

CHECHNYA

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, yesterday I met with members of the Chechen Government. They discussed the horrific conditions currently facing their homeland. It is clear that the Russian Government must move to immediately allow into Chechnya and neighboring Ingushetia an international monitoring force to monitor and report on the humanitarian situation. It must also immediately move to assist those persons who have been displaced from Chechnya as a result of this conflict and to allow representatives of the international community access to those persons in order to provide humanitarian relief.

As many of you know, the Russian assault on the Chechen capital Grozny is only one more campaign in a long series of Russian military offensives in Chechnya. In September I expressed my concerns to Boris Yeltsin and Putin about the humanitarian tragedy that was—for the second time—unfolding in Chechnya. It is hard to imagine that after the use of force in Chechnya from 1994–1996—which left over 80,000 civilians dead—the Russian leadership could again see the use of force as enhancing the prospects for a durable settlement to this conflict. Nonetheless, the Russian leadership has again chosen to use force and the current tragedy has now reached unimaginable heights.

Russian forces have used indiscriminate and disproportionate force in

their bombings of civilian targets. This has resulted in the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians and displaced over 200,000 others. But the suffering is not limited to Chechnya. The neighboring province of Ingushetia has been flooded with refugees. Mr. President, I remind you of the recent snow storm that swept the east coast. I need not remind you of how it compares to a Russian winter. A humanitarian crisis equal to that within Chechnya itself is beginning in Ingushetia.

I implore President Putin to hold firm to his commitment made to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Group last month to allow into Ingushetia an international monitoring presence to determine what is happening—to determine the best means of getting some immediate relief to the refugees and those trapped in Chechnya. And I urge the Russian Government to lift its press restrictions so that the citizens of the Russian Federation see the truth for what it is. For there is no doubt that if the people knew the full story of human suffering in Chechnya—on both sides of the conflict—they would devote every effort to its peaceful resolution.

Russian authorities maintain a virtual ban on access to Chechnya by international and local journalists. Groups—such as the Soldiers' Mothers Committee can only monitor Russian casualties through their own sources, through word of mouth, and struggle to determine the fate of their sons in Chechnya. In the past few weeks Russia's main commercial television station was kicked out of the military's journalist pool for showing an interview with a Russian military officer describing troop losses, and Russian officials arrested Andrei Babitsky, a 10-year-veteran reporter for the U.S.-sponsored Radio Liberty, who had been reporting from the capital Grozny. The Russian Government then exchanged the journalist for Russian soldiers held by Chechen rebels yet as of today, the journalist has not been seen or heard from.

The stories of the refugees fleeing Chechnya are horrific: incidents of widespread looting, summary executions, detentions, and rape.

Three weeks ago the Russian Commander for the North Caucasus Group of Forces blamed Russian "mistakes" on their "soft-heartedness." He then ordered that only children under 10, men over 60, and girls and women would be considered refugees. Although the order was eventually repealed, teenage boys and civilian men had been in effect sentenced to die. Orders such as these are intolerable and must be condemned. It is fundamentally unacceptable to deny any civilian the right to flee the fighting—to trap them in this dangerous war. And where will these trapped civilians go? Into detention camps? No one needs to be reminded of the systematic torture that took place in detention camps set up to detail Chechens in the 1994–96 Chechen

war. That event stains the memory of the Chechen people—and its happening again. Today adolescent boys are being ripped from their mothers arms at the border as they try to escape. Mothers remain in the war zone because they refuse to leave without their sons.

Zura, a mother of three, told human rights monitors at the border that guards prevented a 59-year-old man from crossing over, and that two boys, aged 12 and 13, made it past border guards only by concealing themselves on the bus. Russian leadership are obligated under humanitarian law to do everything to avoid civilian casualties and allow civilians to flee to safety.

Then there are the numerous reports of rape. In the Chechen town of Shali a six-months pregnant 23-year-old woman was raped and murdered. Her mother-in-law was executed in the same incident. And Mr. President, many incidents of rape and sexual abuse go unreported. For many women in towns and villages all over Chechnya the shame is simply too great—they won't come forward to report these horrible crimes. Chechnya's culture and national traditions made it difficult to document cases of rape and sexual abuse—unmarried women who are raped are unlikely to be able to get married, and married women who are raped are likely to be divorced by their husbands. The effects of these rapes on Chechen society will be profound and long lasting. I remind the Russian leadership that rape is war crime.

President Putin must move quickly to resolve this situation in a manner consistent with Russia's obligations to the international community. I urge my colleagues to join me in full condemnation of the use of indiscriminate force against the civilians in Chechnya and to remind the Russian leadership that the world is watching. The Russian Government must move to immediately allow into Chechnya and Ingushetia an international monitoring force to determine what is happening. It must immediately move to assist those persons who have been displaced from Chechnya as a result of this conflict and to allow representatives of the international community access to those persons in order to provide humanitarian relief. And the Russian leadership must begin now to investigate and prosecute those responsible for human rights abuses in Chechnya—it promised to do this after the last Chechen War but failed to do so. Those responsible for human rights abuses in Chechnya must be held accountable.

President Putin must end this conflict and must devote every effort, including the acceptance of third party mediation offers made months ago by the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, to its peaceful resolution.

THE BUDGET

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I have not read his article today in the

New York Times, but I congratulate former Secretary Robert Reich for a piece he wrote. I have only had it summarized, but he raises questions about this budget the President submitted. Without having even read the piece, I think I understand his framework.

I say to the administration and to Democrats, I find a little unbelievable, with the economy booming and such flush economic times, when one actually looks ahead over the next decade, the nonmilitary discretionary spending and where we are going to be making cuts. I hear the Democrats talking about how we will reduce the debt, but I hear precious little about the investment.

What I worry about is a disconnect between the words we speak and the budgets we present. The President said he had a budget that was all about making sure there would be health care coverage for every citizen, that he had a budget which would be about ending child poverty in America, that he had a budget which would be about making sure every child would come to kindergarten ready and able to learn, that he had a budget which would provide economic security for senior citizens. But looking at the investment in this budget, it is not there. I worry about that.

I think one of the reasons people become disillusioned is that they think they will make a difference. I gave an example today at our luncheon meeting. My parents both had Parkinson's disease. We hear discussion that there will be economic security for senior citizens, there will be a commitment to long-term care, and then we see a tax credit that amounts to a particular amount of money; maybe for an individual family it would be \$2,000 a year. For a family faced with long-term care needs, trying to figure out a way of staying at home and to have people help one stay at home, \$2,000 a year is not going to do it. It is not going to even come close.

I am troubled sometimes to hear my Senate colleagues, whom I love, taking the position that discretionary spending is actually staying below the cost of living. We are really keeping it down. We are adding no new dollars.

But why is that good if, in the first place, some of our spending—I will say that, or investment—is inadequate? We should be a major player in pre-K, pre-kindergarten. That is where the Federal Government can make the biggest difference, getting the money and the resources down to the communities and neighborhoods so we can make a commitment to early childhood development, so we can make sure the men and women who want to work in this field are professionals who get decent salaries, rather than getting paid \$7 an hour with no health care benefits; making sure families can afford this if both parents work or a single parent works; making sure this child care is not custodial but it is developmental and really helps children. We are going to have to spend a lot of money. It cannot be done on the cheap.

We are going to have to dig into our pockets and make an investment. With all due respect, I appreciate some money for refundable child care tax credits, but when I look at this overall budget, the investment is not there. I am glad we are putting more money into Head Start, but we are not putting in anywhere near enough money to make sure every child who could benefit from Head Start will be able to benefit. We are certainly not putting the investment into affordable child care.

I would argue the most important national goal for our country would be to make sure all children—no matter income or color of skin or rural or urban or boy or girl, by the time they go to kindergarten, through a combination of public sector investment, private sector help, volunteers—have been read to widely, all these children know the alphabet and know colors and shapes and sizes, and they know how to spell their name and they have been challenged and there have been people to nurture them and to support them.

We are not doing that. So I say to the Chair—he is a Republican—I am actually being more critical of Democrats. I am starting to think the policy debate goes like this. Republicans say when it comes to the most pressing issues of working families' lives, like affordable child care, the President says we want health care coverage for citizens—but this budget does not provide that. It does not take us anywhere near universal health care coverage. So Republicans say universal health care coverage, affordable child care, investment in children—listen, when it comes to these issues, there is not that much the Government can or should do.

I understand that. That is a legitimate ideology or point of view. Although, frankly, I think it works best for people who own their own large corporations and are wealthy. I don't think it works for most of the people.

The President says: No, we care about children. We are going to invest in children. We are going to have universal health care coverage. We are going to have economic security for the elderly. We are going to make sure no child is in poverty. But then what we say is: But, politically, we cannot make the investment because then it will look as if we are spending too much. In which case, frankly, the differences between the two parties don't make a heck of a lot of difference to a lot of our most vulnerable citizens.

So I wanted to come to the floor, first of all, to congratulate former Secretary Bob Reich for raising questions about the priorities of the President's budget and all the money that is being put into debt reduction. You can and should put some money into debt reduction. But do you know what else? It would seem to me we also want to make sure we do well for children right now. In the next century, we are going to be asking them to carry an awful lot

on their shoulders. We know there are a lot of children we are not doing very well by. My question is, in the words of Rabbi Hillel, his third century admonition: "If not now, when?"

If we Democrats do not start speaking up for children and talk about the need to invest in children and to invest in pre-K and get it right by way of developmental child care—which should be huge, it should be all over the country and there should be resources—if we do not speak up for children, Democrats, and for investment in early childhood education, then who will?

"If not now, when?"

I think I have run out of time. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MURKOWSKI). The Senator from Nevada.

CAPITOL HILL POLICE SECURITY

Mr. REID. Before the Senator from Minnesota leaves the floor, I would like to have a brief colloquy with the Senator.

I say to my friend, I have watched very closely your public statement regarding law enforcement on Capitol Hill. I want to be as direct and forthright as I can be in underscoring the work you have done. I think I am the only U.S. Senator who has served as a Capitol policeman. I worked, when I went to law school, on the night shift and went to law school in the daytime. I think I have some familiarity with what the Capitol Police go through.

I have to acknowledge and admit the work they do today, compared to when I was a Capitol policeman more than 30 years ago, is much more dangerous, much more terrorist threatened. They face many more dangers than I have. I said on many occasions the most dangerous assignment I had was directing traffic. But the fact of the matter is, I carried a gun and was responsible for maintaining the safety and security of the U.S. Capitol. I am very proud of that. I still have my badge that I carried. I still have that in my office in the Hart Building.

The Senator from Minnesota has recognized that these men and women work in harm's way every day. What the Senator from Minnesota has stated is when we have these doors, and these men and women are there alone, it is dangerous. Two of our law enforcement officers were killed as a result of a terrorist act, the act of a madman. I think the people who maintain the Capitol Police should come to us. We are in an appropriations cycle. If they need more money, let them tell us they need more money. We are in a period of time where we need to get the real facts.

I say also to my friend from Minnesota, I am very concerned we have waited all these many years and we still do not have a visitors center.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Yes.

Mr. REID. We have taxpaying people who come to the U.S. Capitol and spend hours standing in the cold and the heat waiting to get in, without the opportunity to use a bathroom. There are no