

mutants. It is preying on people's fear of the unknown.

What does the future hold for the environmental movement?

We need to get out of the adversarial approach. People who base their opinion on science and reason and who are politically centrist need to take the movement back from the extremists who have hijacked it, often to further agendas that have nothing to do with ecology. It is important to remember that the environmental movement is only 30 years old. All movements to go through some mucky periods. But environmentalism has become codified to such an extent that if you disagree with a single word, then you are apparently not an environmentalist. Rational discord is being discouraged. It has too many of the hallmarks of the Hitler youth, or the religious right.

Crops modified by molecular and cellular methods should pose risks no different from those modified by classical genetic methods for similar traits. As the molecular methods are more specific, users of these methods will be more certain about the traits they introduce into plants.—National Research Council.

America leads the world in agricultural products developed with biotechnology. These products hold great promise and will unlock benefits for consumers, producers and the environment at home and around the world. We are committed to ensuring the safety of our food and environment through strong and transparent science-based domestic regulatory systems.—President William J. Clinton, statement on World Trade Organization objectives October 13, 1999.

January 13, 2000.

Hon. CHRISTOPHER S. BOND,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR BOND: The undersigned scientists support the use of biotechnology as a research tool in the development and production of agricultural and food products. We also strongly advocate the use of sound science as the basis for regulatory and political decisions pertaining to biotechnology.

Biotechnology for agriculture and the food industry is offering remarkable innovations—providing new tools for growth and development. Biotechnology has a long history of development. Its early applications produced better quality medicines and improved industrial products. Recently, products have been developed that allow farmers to reduce their input costs and increase yields while providing environmental benefits. In the near future, an ever-increasing number and variety of crops with traits beneficial to consumers will reach the market. Such traits will include improved nutritional values, healthier oils, increased vitamin content, better flavor, and longer shelf life.

The ultimate beneficiaries of technological innovation have always been consumers, both in the United States and abroad. In developing countries, biotechnological advances will provide means to overcome vitamin deficiencies, to supply vaccines for killer diseases like cholera and malaria, to increase production and protect fragile natural resources, and to grow crops under normally unfavorable conditions.

We recognize that no technology is without risks. At the same time, we have confidence in the current U.S. regulatory system provided by the USDA, EPA, and FDA. The U.S. system has worked well and continues to evolve as scientific advancements are achieved.

Considering the tremendous potential of this technology, we urge policy makers to

base their decisions on sound scientific evidence.

BANKRUPTCY REFORM ACT OF 1999—Continued

AMENDMENTS NOS. 2651 AND 2517, AS MODIFIED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, I would like to clear some amendments. Senator LEAHY is ready to do this. I ask unanimous consent that amendments Nos. 2651 and 2517, both of which have been modified, be adopted en bloc in their modified form and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I have no objection. I note that this makes 39 amendments the distinguished chairman and those of us on this side have been able to clear.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Yes. We now only have 9 amendments remaining from the 200 or 300 we started with back in late October. That is quite an accomplishment, and I thank the Senator for his cooperation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments are agreed to.

The amendments (Nos. 2651 and 2517), as modified, were agreed to, as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 2651

At the appropriate place in the bill, insert the following new section:

SEC. . PROPERTY NO LONGER SUBJECT TO REDEMPTION.

(a) Section 541(b) of title 11 of the United States Code is amended by adding at the end the following—

“(6) any interest of the debtor in property where the debtor pledged or sold tangible personal property (other than securities or written or printed evidences of indebtedness or title) as collateral for a loan or advance of money, where—

“(a) the tangible personal property is in the possession of the pledgee or transferee;

“(b) the debtor has no obligation to repay the money, redeem the collateral, or buy back the property at a stipulated price, and

“(c) neither the debtor nor the trustee have exercised any right to redeem provided under the contract or state law in a timely manner as provided under state law and Section 108(b) of this title.”

AMENDMENT NO. 2517

At the appropriate place insert the following:

SEC. . AVAILABILITY OF TOLL-FREE ACCESS TO INFORMATION.

Section 127(b)(11) of the Truth in Lending Act (15 U.S.C. 1637(b)), added by this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(K) A creditor that maintains a toll-free telephone number for the purpose of providing customers with the actual number of months that it will take to repay an outstanding balance shall include the following statement on each billing statement: ‘Making only the minimum payment will increase the interest you pay and the time it takes to repay your balance. For more information, call this toll-free number: _____.’”

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I say further to my good friend from Iowa,

we have served here for decades together. We were faced with what looked to be an impossible task when it began because of the number of amendments. I note for the record that the distinguished Senator dealt with this side in good faith. We were able, as a result, I think, to put the Senate in a position now where we are within range of being able to have a final vote, and the Senate will work its will either for or against the bill. We will actually be able to do that. It is because Senators on both sides of the aisle dealt with each other in good faith and got rid of a lot of amendments that we knew would go nowhere anyway. The Senator from Iowa and I have been able to accept 39 amendments. I think that is good progress, and I extend my appreciation to him.

Mr. GRASSLEY. I thank the Senator from Vermont and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

MEASURE READ THE FIRST TIME

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I send a bill to the desk regarding citizenship for Mr. Yongyi Song and ask for its first reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2006) for the relief of Yongyi Song.

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I ask for a second reading and object to my own request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, the procedure on the bill is, under rule XIV, to hold the bill at the desk.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for up to 15 minutes as in morning business.

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

(The remarks of Mr. SPECTER pertaining to the submission S. 2006 are printed in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, how much time remains of my 15 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Nine minutes.

TRIPS MADE OVER THE RECESS PERIOD

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I will comment briefly about two trips I made over the recess.

On December 17, 18, and 19, I traveled to Key West, FL, to observe Coast Guard operations and drug interdiction, and then on to Panama to see the immediate impact of the turnover of the canal to the Panamanian Government, and then on to Colombia, where I had an opportunity to visit with

President Pastrana. President Pastrana, coincidentally, was in Washington today and met with members of the Appropriations Committee. The text that I will submit contains a number of comments about the trip to both Key West and Panama.

I did want to make a comment or two about the pending request by the Government of Colombia for funding in excess of \$1 billion to fight the narcotics dealers in Colombia. I am sympathetic with their problems and with the grave difficulties they have encountered. I have seen these difficulties firsthand on three visits to Colombia, the first back in 1988.

I have substantial reservations about a U.S. expenditure in excess of \$1 billion to reduce the supply of narcotics into the United States. I filed a resolution years ago calling for the use of the military in drug curtailment and narcotic interdiction—but as successful as we have been in interdicting narcotics from Latin America and as successful as we have been in having hectares in Peru, Colombia or Bolivia replaced with other crops, the great demand in the United States and worldwide continues, and thus the supply comes back.

The U.S. Government spends approximately \$18 billion a year on drug control. Two-thirds of that, or about \$12 billion, is directed to activities such as interdiction and to fighting street crime in the United States. I do believe that our effort against drug selling on the streets of American cities and America's farms and rural areas has to continue, as I did when I was district attorney of Philadelphia. But the regrettable fact is that as long as the demand for drugs exists, the supply will continue, and if not from Colombia, from somewhere else. Even as many drug dealers are put in jail, as long as it is profitable, more drug dealers come to the street corners to sell drugs. So I make this cautionary comment about additional heavy investments in trying to stop the supply of drugs until we spend more money on education and more money on rehabilitation.

From January 4 until January 13, in the company of six other Senators, I traveled to Morocco, and then on to Naples, and then to Kosovo, and five Senators continued on to Tunisia and then on to Israel. That trip was very significant in finding very strong support and allies from the Governments of Morocco and Tunisia and seeing the operation of the NATO Southern Command and our strong 6th Fleet. In Kosovo, we saw the superb performance of our American military, where they have moved into a land and have constructed a military base overnight and are doing so much to try to maintain the peace in that very troubled country. My floor statement will recite in detail the findings in Kosovo, Morocco, Tunisia, and Italy.

A word or two about our trip to Israel where we visited the Golan Heights. We had an opportunity to

visit with Israeli officials—with Prime Minister Barak, and with Ariel Sharon who leads the Likud and the opposition.

I compliment both the Israelis and the Syrians for moving ahead on the peace process. It is my hope the process will reach fruition.

My own view, after having visited Syria on a number of occasions since 1984, and having seen a decisive shift in the attitude of the leadership of the Government of Syria in the intervening 15-16 years, the prospects for an agreement are reasonably good. We heard a great deal of talk about very substantial funding by the United States. I think it is important where an agreement is reached, which is a costly agreement, that the expenses be shared by the western European nations, by Japan, and by the oil-rich countries of the Persian Gulf, and that the astronomical figures not be cited broadly, which makes it more complex when the matters reach the Congress for consideration of these important funding matters.

Mr. President, I would like to comment further about a recent visit I made to Key West, FL, Panama, and Colombia from December 17-19, 1999, in order to gain a firsthand view on matters of concern to both my constituents in Pennsylvania and all citizens of the United States.

I departed Andrews Air Force Base on the morning of December 17, 1999, and arrived at Key West Naval Air Station where I proceeded to the Coast Guard Group Key West. I was met by Captain Rudolph, the commanding officer of Group Key West and was given an operations briefing from Lieutenant Commander Woodring. The briefing detailed the mission of Group Key West in such activities as drug interdiction, migrant operations, and search and rescue. Following the briefing, I boarded the U.S. Coast Guard Cutter (USCGS) *Monhegan* where the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Benjamin A. Cooper, and his crew, gave me a briefing of their mission. They discussed how their ability to apprehend drug smugglers could be enhanced by virtue of the Coast Guard's new use of armed helicopters, which the Coast Guard considers to be their most potent aid in capturing drug traffickers.

I informed the crew of the *Monhegan* that I had been one of the original co-sponsors of S. 2728 in 1990, a measure which clarified and expanded the authority of the armed forces to provide support for civilian law enforcement agencies. Furthermore, this legislation authorized the use of military aircraft for transportation of, and flight training for, civilian law enforcement personnel and for aerial surveillance. According to the crew, the speed of the drug traffickers boats, known as "go fast boats," has hampered their ability to get near the smugglers. The armed helicopters are one of their best weapons in chasing "go-fast boats," in their drug interdiction mission. Following

my review of the *Monhegan*, I was given a tour of the USCG Cutter *Thetis* by Commander Finch. I found Commander Finch to be an impressive officer who was forthright in his opinions of the military and its various functions. The role of the USCG Cutter *Thetis* is maritime law enforcement and search and rescue that uses electronic sensors and computerized command and control systems. The crew of the cutter *Thetis* was warm and friendly and we engaged in conversation over such issues as the role of gays in the Coast Guard, integrated gender training, and women's service aboard ships. I was pleased by the open exchange among the crew, and I was gratified to find that several of them were Pennsylvanians.

Upon leaving the cutter *Thetis*, I proceeded to the Joint Interagency Task Force (JIATF)-East which was formed as the umbrella organization to coordinate interdiction of illicit drugs in the Caribbean Basin. I was met by Rear Admiral Edward J. Barrett, Director of JIATF-East, who gave me a tour and introduced me to his staff who provided me a classified briefing on the threats faced by JIATF-East. Following the briefing, I was accompanied by Admiral Barrett and Captain Frank Klein, Director of Operations, on a tour of the classified Joint Operations Command Center (JOCC).

The following day, December 18, 1999, I traveled to Colombia. I arrived in Bogota in the early afternoon and was met by the Deputy Chief of Mission, Barbara Moore and immediately proceeded to the United States Embassy in Bogota for a classified country team briefing on the current political situation in the country. The briefing focused on narcotics trafficking, violence among the FARC and ELN and the current discussions between the Colombian Government and the guerrilla groups. We also discussed Colombia's extradition of narcotic traffickers and the resulting violence from such action. I asked the group about the cultivation of cocoa and poppy crops and the forcible eradication of the supply of narcotics. I was informed that the decreased percentages in cultivation of narcotic crops in Bolivia and Peru were offset by an increase in Colombia. I was told that Bolivia had decreased 28 percent in narcotic crop production and Peru had seen an average decrease of 50 percent in cultivation. I inquired about the current Colombian economy and was told that the economy was at rock bottom and that Colombia was currently enduring the highest unemployment rate in Latin America. However, those present felt that the current policies of President Pastrana were good and sound. I then inquired about the Colombian military and its need for United States assistance. The group felt that the lack of a military dictator in Colombia, unlike other Latin American countries, has a positive effect on the military, which currently consist of 120,000 soldiers. Furthermore, I

asked about the United States involvement in training of the Colombian military and I was assured that United States soldiers were not involved in any level of combat between the Colombian guerrilla groups.

Following this briefing, I proceeded with Deputy Chief Moore to the Presidential Palace to meet with President Pastrana. I was welcomed into the President's private office. He had just arrived at the palace from his son's 17th birthday party. President Pastrana is an impressive individual with an initial career as a journalist and his service as the mayor of Bogota. He was elected president in March 1998. I informed the President that I had watched his interview on the television show "60 Minutes" with Mike Wallace and was impressed with the way he handled himself. I informed him that Mike Wallace had done a "60 Minutes" report on prisons in the city of Philadelphia while I served as the city's district attorney. He mentioned that his interview with Mike Wallace was broadcast over C-SPAN and was seen by 60 million people. I commented on how far Mike Wallace and "60 Minutes" had come since then. We discussed his statements on his "60 Minutes" interview about the U.S. demand for drugs, which I agreed with. President Pastrana stated that while the supply of narcotics from Colombia may decrease the total supply from elsewhere will remain the same if the United States demand remains the same. He felt that the United States has not done enough to decrease the demand for illicit drugs and I agreed with him. I assured him that I was committed to searching for ways through legislation to curb the demand for drugs in the United States.

Our conversation moved on to the peace process between the Colombian Government and the guerilla group known as the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombian (FARC). According to President Pastrana, he recently introduced the idea of a peace process as a form of dialogue between both the government and the FARC because he firmly believes that people of Colombia want peace. President Pastrana assured me that both he and the FARC were committed to peace in Colombia but it will take time and compromise. I also inquired about the Colombian Judiciary system and the bombing of the Colombian Supreme Court. President Pastrana explained the problems associated with a judiciary that fears violence after extraditing a drug lord. However, the President explained that he has conveyed to his people and the guerrilla groups that he will continue to extradite convicted drug lords regardless of the threats of violence.

President Pastrana and I discussed the situation regarding the "New Tribes Mission". He explained that while the government has aggressively searched and investigated this kidnapping, he has been unable to locate

the missionaries. The only lead in the case was from a source who told the investigators that he knew that the Americans had been killed, who did it, and that he knew where they were buried. I explained to President Pastrana the great importance of this case, not only to myself, but to the people of Pennsylvania and of course to the families of those kidnaped. President Pastrana assured me that he would do everything in his power to bring these criminals to justice and to bring a conclusion to this case.

After the meeting I departed for the Bogota air terminal where I was met by Agent Jose Rodriguez and Manuel "Cookie" Aponte, both FBI Special Agents stationed in Colombia. The Special Agents are both currently working on the New Tribes Mission cases and they explained that the source that had been referred to by President Pastrana had indeed come forward in October of this year and was considered to be a FARC defector. Special agent Rodriguez explained that the source had stated that he knew where the Americans were buried and could identify the exact location. When the source was taken by investigators to the area that he had earlier identified, he informed them it was the wrong location. However, he was able to lead the team to another location down river. When the investigative team located the place he described, no bodies were recovered. Special Agent Rodriguez explained that the bodies could have been washed away because of the proximity to the river. I asked the Special Agents what was currently being done and how close they felt they were to a resolution to this case. Special Agent Rodriguez said that they needed to give a polygraph to the source in order to ascertain if he knows who kidnaped the Americans, if they were alive or have been killed, and if so, who is responsible. According to the agents, they were waiting for a response from the source and they will continue to work to bring about a resolution to this case.

When I arrived in Panama in the evening of the December 18, 1999, I was met by Mr. Robert J. Bolhm and Mr. Frederick A. Becker, the Minister Consejero for the United States Embassy to Panama. I then attend a country team meeting with representatives of the Department of Defense. I asked this group several questions in regard to the transition of the Panama Canal and national security. I expressed my concern, and that of my constituents in Pennsylvania, about the use of ports along the Panama Canal that are operated by a Chinese owned company, Hutchison Whampoa. I was informed that the operation of a port area by one of its companies does not present a national security risk, and assured me that our national security interests were fully protected. I then inquired about the drug issue and asked if there was any light at the end of the tunnel. Representatives from DEA shared my

concerns about drug trafficking and agreed with my previous statements about the need to stem the U.S. demand for narcotics. Finally, I asked the group about the structure of the Panama Canal Authority, Panama Canal Commission, The Maritime Authority, and the Port Authority and their effects on the United States. Mr. Becker felt that the two biggest problems facing the management structure of the canal were possible corruption within the leadership and general maintenance of the canal.

On the morning of December 19, 1999, I visited the Panama Canal and was met by Joseph W. Cornelison, the Deputy Administrator of the Panama Canal Commission. I was given a briefing and posed several questions to him. I first asked about the involvement of the Chinese company of Hutchison International Port Holdings, which operates two ports in the region, I relayed the concerns that my constituents in Pennsylvania have about U.S. national security and was assured by the Deputy Administrator that these ports operate similarly to warehouses and are merely for loading and unloading cargo. Furthermore, he explained that of the six ports which existed along the canal, only two were operated by Hutchison Whampoa, a Hong Kong based company. I then asked the Deputy Administrator what guidelines are being used in regards to U.S. involvement in the protection of the canal. He explained that under the scope of the neutrality treaty, there would be joint U.S. and Panamanian involvement in order to allow the United States to protect its national security interests. I then asked if there were ever talks in the 1970's of the United States selling the Panama Canal to Panama. The Deputy Administrator said that he was not aware of any such discussions. I also inquired about the structure of the canal and its governing body. The Deputy Administrator confirmed that there were 11 members of the Panama Canal Commission and that they served in staggered terms. However, the Panama Canal Authority replaced the Commission on January 1, 2000; its members were appointed by the President of Panama and confirmed by the legislature. My questions then moved to that of finances and economic competition for the canal. The Deputy Administrator explained that the canal was profit driven from fees that are charged for usage based on weight of cargo. The Deputy Administrator explained that in FY99 the canal broke even financially. Finally, I was given a tour of the Panama Canal and shown some of the lock systems. The Deputy Administrator showed me examples of the older functioning system and their newer system. He further explained that the canal would use \$200 million in maintenance and modernization in the future.

Mr. President this concludes the summary of my trip to Key West Florida, Colombia, and Panama.

Mr. President, over the recess, from January 4 through January 13, I accompanied Senator STEVENS and several other of my colleagues on an overseas trip with our primary focus on matters relating to appropriations.

Our first stop was Rabat, Morocco. Morocco is one of the United States' oldest allies, first recognizing our fledgling nation in 1787 by entering into a treaty of friendship. Initially we received a country team briefing from our very capable Ambassador Ed Gabriel and his staff. Ambassador Gabriel showed us a copy of a letter he has in his office from George Washington, thanking the King of Morocco for his support of our nascent American nation. President Washington's letter stated that although the United States was still struggling and had little to offer to the great Kingdom of Morocco, he hoped that in the future America would grow and prosper so that some day the United States could assist Morocco. Following the country team briefing, we met with Moroccan Foreign Minister Mohamed Benaissa.

Prior to his appointment as Foreign Minister, Mr. Benaissa was posted in Washington, DC, as the Moroccan Ambassador. The Foreign Minister stated that the only problem with United States-Moroccan relations was that there was no problem. The Foreign Minister was enthusiastic about the Eizenstat Initiative named for Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat. This initiative, proposed in 1998, is intended to support sustainable economic growth and development in North Africa by encouraging investment and trade with the United States and by reducing internal barriers to trade in the region.

The primary internal obstacle Morocco must address before the country can make any serious economic progress is illiteracy. It was reported that roughly 50 percent of Moroccans are illiterate. My colleague, Senator HOLLINGS, stated that when he visited Morocco in 1972 with Senator Mansfield he was quoted the same statistic by the government. Mr. President, it has been said that "knowledge is power." Since a large segment of the Moroccan population cannot read they subsequently cannot access any basic, let alone, advanced, education or training. In a world that is increasingly shrinking because of the advent of electronic commerce and the Internet, Moroccan's must improve on one of the most basic of skills—the ability to read—before they are further eclipsed by others in the fast paced global economy.

After our meeting with the Foreign Minister, we visited the mausoleum of Mohamed V and Hassan II and honored the memory of those kings by placing a wreath at their tombs. Later that evening we dined at the Ambassador's home with the Foreign Minister, as well as Mr. Jalal Essaid, President of the Chamber of Councilors, the upper body of the Moroccan Parliament and Mr. Abdelwahad Radi, President of the

Chamber of Representatives, the lower body in the Parliament.

The next day we visited with Morocco's King Mohamed VI who ascended to the throne recently with the passing of his father Hassan II. Over the course of his life, King Hassan II had established himself as a moderate leader who was willing to work for peace in the region. King Hassan II played a key role in fostering the Egyptian-Israeli contacts that led to President Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977. In 1993, after the signing of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the Palestinians here in Washington, King Hassan hosted Prime Minister Rabin in Morocco as a demonstration of support for the agreement.

The next morning we traveled from Morocco to Naples, Italy. NATO is divided into two commands and our initial stop was at one of those commands, NATO's AFSOUTH Headquarters, where we received a current operations overview. We were hosted at AFSOUTH by Lieutenant General Efthymios Petinis of the Greek Army, Deputy Commander-in-Chief for NATO Southern Command, by Lieutenant General Carlo Cabigiosu of the Italian Army, Chief of Staff NATO Southern Command, and Lieutenant General Mike Short of the United States Air Force, Commander Air Forces for NATO Southern Command. General Short's briefing was of specific interest to our group as he reviewed with us the decreased level of U.S. air assets committed to NATO which are engaged in the ongoing situation in Kosovo. General Short informed us that during the height of the air war in Kosovo hundreds of U.S. aircraft were on station flying missions, and now only 6 U.S. Air Force F-16 fighters, which were permanently stationed in Italy, were supporting the current NATO mission over Kosovo.

For our next meeting we traveled by helicopter to Gaeta, home of the U.S. Navy's Sixth Fleet. We were met by Vice Admiral Murphy, Commander U.S. Sixth Fleet who gave us a brief tour of the naval facilities at Gaeta and then provided a demonstration of a Tomahawk Land Attack Missile (T-LAM) target work-up and strike. Admiral Murphy briefed us on the wide range of missions the 16 ships and 7,200 sailors and marines are called upon to undertake in the region from a Tomahawk strike in Kosovo to an Ambassadorial evacuation and Embassy protection in Albania and Macedonia. We discussed the situation regarding Vieques Island with Admiral Murphy. He told our group that the lack of training was having a deleterious affect on combat readiness and that the current battle group deployed in the Mediterranean had to get under way without the traditional combined arms live fire exercises and gunnery. We discussed possible alternatives to Vieques. However, Admiral Murphy stated that none of the current options satisfy the Navy's critical need to live fire and conduct

operations like the Vieques range does. Admiral Murphy also discussed the proposed International Criminal Court and the impact it would have on the Sailors and Marines under his charge. Both Admiral Murphy and his aide, Captain Jan Colin, responded negatively. Admiral Murphy recounted a recent situation which such a body might be called to act upon. He explained that after ordering a carefully planned and executed Tomahawk strike of the Serbian MUP police headquarters, the initial reconnaissance photographs pictures burning civilian homes and stores around the MUP building but no damage to the MUP building itself. Admiral Murphy stated that at that point, despite meticulous target planning and diligent execution to insure no collateral damage, he believed something had gone awry. He stated that he feared the missile somehow missed the target and that he would now have to answer for the errant missile despite everyone's best efforts to minimize collateral damage. A short time later however, additional reconnaissance photographs became available which showed the MUP police themselves actually setting fire to the civilian buildings around their headquarters. Subsequent photos then confirmed that the MUP building had been destroyed by the Tomahawk.

Captain Jan Colin, a Navy pilot, recounted his experience flying a bombing mission into Libya in 1986 to strike suspected international terrorist training camps. Captain Colin said that the Chief of Naval Operations at the time, Admiral Kelso, had subsequently been indicted for war crimes by the Libyan government for ordering the strike. The handful of military officers assembled for our briefing said that in their opinions the United States, as the only remaining military superpower operating in the world, was resented around the globe. They said that even if the resentment was not overt, it was lurking just below the surface. They felt that the International Criminal Court would be too willing to participate in second guessing American military decisions abroad and the rest of the world might too readily accept charges of American wrongdoing, justified or not, as a result of the perceived American arrogance.

The next morning we departed for Skopje, Macedonia. We were met at the Skopje airport by General Montgomery Meigs, Commanding General, U.S. Army Europe and Seventh Army and Brigadier General Ricardo Sanchez, Commander U.S. Task Force Falcon headquartered at Camp Bondsteel, Kosovo. We were scheduled to travel by helicopter to camp Bondsteel however, because of the snow and fog, we could not fly and instead traveled by vehicle for roughly two hours to reach our destination. I had previously visited Camp Bondsteel this past August and the physical transformation was impressive. Hundreds of tents had been replaced by buildings and the soldiers

now had barracks, a mess hall, a phone center and physical fitness facility.

General Sanchez presented our group with an operational overview of the responsibilities of the U.S. Army's 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized) in the Multinational Brigade East area of operations, which is roughly 19 miles wide by 50 miles long. General Sanchez told us that his unit's mission was to provide and maintain a safe and secure environment and to assist in the responsible transition to appropriate civil organizations enabling KFOR forces to withdraw from Kosovo. He told us that soldiers from the 1st Infantry Division perform roughly 1700 security patrols in the area during a typical week, staff 48 checkpoints and guard 62 key facilities 24 hours a day 7 days a week. Approximately 5,430 soldiers of the 8,240 total KFOR soldiers in Kosovo are Americans, and many of those outstanding young men and woman are from Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, on December 16, 1999, a few weeks before our arrival, one of those young soldiers from Pennsylvania made the ultimate sacrifice giving his life in the line of duty.

Staff Sergeant Joe Suponic of Jersey Shore, Pennsylvania, one of America's famous Green Beret's, was stationed at Camp Bondsteel. Sergeant Suponic was on a reconnaissance patrol in the Russian sector of Kosovo when his HUMVEE struck a land mine resulting in his death. I spoke with his Commander, Major Jim McAllister, a fellow Green Beret who asked me to share with you what kind of soldier Sergeant Suponic was. Major McAllister told me that Sergeant Suponic was a great young American, who was "motivated, he loved life, his family and the Army." His fellow soldiers called him "Super", not just as an abbreviated version of his name Suponic, but because he was a "Super" soldier who was "ecstatic" to be a Sergeant in the elite special forces. Major McAllister told me the local villagers in and around Kamonica and Kololec, the area in which Sergeant Suponic worked, loved him and had nick-named him "Joey Blue Eyes." When they heard of his death, they brought flowers, gifts and condolences to the camp. After we returned to America, I spoke with his mother to give my condolences to the Suponics personally and to share with them what I had learned in Kosovo. Mrs. Suponic was gracious and told me of her son's burial at Arlington National Cemetery on December 29, 1999. America owes the Suponics a great debt. His Mother Patricia and Father Edmund, his brother Brian and his sister Andrea should be proud of their son and brother. To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln's words to a widow who was believed to have lost five sons in the Civil War: How weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile the Suponics from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to

them the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic.

During my visit to Camp Bondsteel I also had the opportunity to have lunch and visit with some of the troops from Pennsylvania who currently call Kosovo home: Second Lieutenant Amanda Belfron from Philadelphia; Sergeant Glen Fryer of Jersey Shore, who was a high school classmate of Staff Sergeant Suponic; Warrant Officer Christopher Frey of Pittsburgh; Sergeant Keith Faust of Nazbrath; Warrant Officer Andrea Carlesi Ellonsburg of Ford City; Major McGinley of Conshohocken; Lieutenant Colonel Duane Gapinski of Bernsville; and Lieutenant Colonel Kevin Stramara of Schuylkill Haven. All of those soldiers impressed me with their dedication to duty and positive outlook on the tough mission they perform. It is refreshing to be reminded of the high caliber of individuals serving on the vanguard of freedom in our Armed Forces and I salute their service to our nation.

We departed Camp Bondsteel and headed to the former Serb town of Urosevac where we were met by Lieutenant Colonel Mike Ellerbe, the Battalion Commander of the 82nd Airborne Division's, 3rd Battalion, 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment—The Blue Devils. Colonel Ellerbe's unit was assigned to provide security for the remaining Serbian population in this now Albanian dominated town. Prior to the conflict, Urosevac, a town of some 60,000, had a Serbian population of roughly 6,000. Now there are 24 Serbians living in 9 homes being protected 24 hours a day, 7 days a week by roughly 1,000 Paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne Division. Our stated objective in the town, I am told, is to insure the safety of the few remaining Serbs and protect their property so that other former Serbian villagers will return. They are provided an armed escort by U.S. soldiers to the Serbian border so that they can shop and, upon completion, are escorted back home. Their homes are protected around the clock by U.S. soldiers from being set ablaze by local Albanians. While there are many issues that can be debated regarding our presence in Kosovo, I do not believe anyone would argue with me if I say that based upon what I saw in Kosovo the United States will not be leaving anytime soon.

The next day we traveled to Tunisia which, like Morocco, is a long standing ally of the United States signing it's first treaty in 1789. Our first stop in Tunisia was the U.S. North African Cemetery and Memorial in Carthage. The American military forces led by then-General Eisenhower played a critical role in Operation Torch, the campaign that succeeded in evicting General Rommel from Tunisia in May of 1943 and ending the German occupation of North Africa. At the Cemetery there is a very large mosaic map of the region depicting the major battles that took place in North Africa. Senators

FRITZ HOLLINGS and TED STEVENS, both World War II veterans of North Africa, used the map to share with our group their stories of service in uniform on the continent. The Cemetery is the final resting place for 2,841 of our country's military dead. At the Cemetery there is also a beautiful memorial commemorating the 3,724 soldiers, sailors and airmen who gave their lives in Africa during World War II but whose remains were never recovered. My colleagues and I placed a wreath at the cemetery in honor of all those memorialized there. The inscription at the cemetery entrance eloquently echoes my feelings on my visit that morning: "Here we and all who shall hereafter live in freedom will be reminded that to these men and their comrades we owe a debt to be paid with grateful remembrance of their sacrifice and with the high resolve that the cause for which they died shall live."

After paying our respects at the cemetery, we had a working lunch and country team brief where we discussed the current economic, educational and political state in Tunisia. Ambassador Robin Raphael and I discussed the political situation in Libya. It was the Ambassador's impression that U.S. policy regarding the Khadafi Regime was in fact working, albeit slowly, and that she believed that if things continued to progress, Libya may well again join the community of nations. Later that evening Ambassador Raphael hosted a reception at her home where we met with various representatives from Tunisian business and government.

Our second day in Tunisia started by meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Habib Ben Yahia who is the former Tunisian Ambassador to the United States. The Foreign Minister, a very capable representative of the Tunisian Government, discussed with us Tunisia's upcoming assignment on the United Nations Security Council. The Foreign Minister shared with us his recent discussion with Saddam Hussein where he encouraged Saddam to cooperate more fully with the United Nations and it's weapons inspections program. The Foreign Minister recounted that Saddam's future cooperation was doubtful as Saddam was convinced that the West, via the U.N., was determined to destabilize and "Balkanize" the nation of Iraq.

Following our meeting with the Foreign Minister we boarded Tunisian Air Force helicopters and were transported to the Tunisian air base of Sidi Ahmed at Bizerte where we received briefings and demonstrations of the operational capabilities of the 15th Air Groups F-5's. Following the visit to the air base we moved to the nearby naval base where we toured and were briefed aboard a naval oceanographic vessel that had been transferred by the U.S. to the Tunisian Navy. The military personnel at both the air and naval facilities we visited demonstrated a high degree of professionalism and competence. At the conclusion of our visit

to Bizerte, we once again boarded Tunisian Air Force helicopters and returned to Tunis to meet with the Minister of Defense. Mr. Mohamed Jegham, the Minister of Defense, told us that while Tunisia had good relations with the other countries in the region, the continuing regional problems in Algeria and the Western Sahara were cause for some concern. The Defense Minister told us that Libya was not a problem for Tunisia because of Tunisias' long relationship with the country and with Colonel Khadafi.

Following our meeting at the Defense Ministry we met with Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. The President told us how he would like to attract more investors and business from the United States. As in Morocco, the Eizenstat Initiative was a point for discussion and because of his country's stability, security and educational achievements, the President contended that Tunisia was the perfect location for foreign businesses looking to locate in Africa. On the topic of Middle East peace, President Ben Ali concluded it was his sense that all parties to the negotiations were hopeful. President Ben Ali, who has close ties to PLO Chairman Arafat because of Arafat's residence in Tunis for 12 years, was of the opinion that the peace process needed to conclude soon as the aging Arafat and Syrian President Assad were perhaps the primary forces uniting and solidifying both their peoples resolve in this matter. Following our meeting with the President we met with Tunisian Parliamentarians at the Chamber of Deputies after which, the Minister of Foreign Affairs hosted us for a working dinner.

The next morning we departed for Incirlik Air Base, Turkey to discuss the situation in Turkey and to review to U.S. participation in Operation Northern Watch. Incirlik is home to the U.S. Air Force's 39th Wing, which is comprised of roughly 1400 U.S. Air Force personnel. We were met at the airfield by Brigadier General Bob Dulaney, U.S. Air Force Commander of the Combined Air Forces at Incirlik. General Dulaney and his staff provided us with an overview of the types of missions that our outstanding pilots and aircrews were flying during Operation Northern Watch. We were able to get a close look at the British Jaguar, a tactical reconnaissance aircraft, as well as an American EA-6B, an electronic warfare aircraft and an American F-16, an aircraft used in an air-to-air and air-ground combat role.

The allied pilots of Operation Northern Watch fly in the no-fly zone which was created in 1991 after the Gulf War to protect Iraqi Kurds. Iraq has never accepted the validity of either the Northern no-fly zone or of the Southern no-fly zone, which was designed to protect Shiite Muslims in the South. Allied jets patrolled the zones virtually unmolested by Iraqi defenses for more than seven years. However, that soon ended after the four day air offensive of

Operation Desert Fox in December 1998, which was designed to punish the Iraqi government for refusing to allow continued U.N. inspections of the Iraqi nuclear, biological and chemical weapons programs. Iraq thereafter declared the flights of Northern and Southern Watch as violations of its sovereign air space. Now, virtually every patrol flown by allied pilots is challenged by Iraqi anti aircraft artillery or surface-to-air missile fire.

Our next stop after Incirlik was Israel. When we left the U.S., Prime Minister Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister were in Shepardstown, West Virginia, discussing possible peace in the region. Upon our arrival in Jerusalem we attended a working dinner hosted by Mr. Dan Meridor, a member of the Knesset and the Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. The next morning we had a working breakfast with Aaron Miller, deputy to Ambassador Dennis Ross, who provided us with an update on the discussions in Shepardstown between Israel and Syria. After breakfast we boarded an Israeli Air Force helicopter at the Knesset and flew to Palmachim Air Base to review the progress of the Israeli Arrow Missile Project which is designed to combat theater ballistic missiles, such as the Scuds fired at Israel by Iraq during Operation Desert Storm.

We were joined by Major General Uzi Dayan, the Israeli Defense Force Deputy Chief of Staff and cousin of late Moshe Dayan, and once again boarded the helicopter for a flight to the Ben Tal overlook in the Golan Heights. At the Ben Tal overlook, General Dayan pointed out the places and towns in the valleys below where he fought the Syrians in 1973 and explained to us the obvious strategic importance of the Golan. Our second stop in the Golan found us at Nimrod's Castle, where we were able to get a better view of the Jordan, Ammund, Wabadai and Haman Rivers the four tributaries which flow into the Sea of Galilee and supply Israel with 40% of it's water. Our final stop in the Golan was Carlucci Point named for former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci. We were met and briefed by the Commander of the Northern Command, Major General Gaby Ashkenazi. From our vantage point General Ashkenazi pointed out Southern Lebanon and a nearby Israeli town, which, because it's large size and close proximity to the Lebanese border, is the frequent target of Hezbollah Katyusha rocket attacks.

We departed the Golan via helicopter and headed back to Jerusalem for a meeting with Prime Minister Barak. The Prime Minister was in good spirits. He had just returned from Washington and the negotiations with the Syrians only the night before. Prime Minister Barak reported that the negotiations with the Syrians were progressing slowly. The primary concerns of Israel during these talks, he explained, were security, early warning, normalization

of relations with Syria and water. Prime Minister Barak shared that the United States had prepared a document which outlined the concerns of both Syria and Israel. He told us the document was a useful tool as it put the otherwise abstract negotiations in concrete terms. The Prime Minister thought that while there was some movement in certain areas of the Syrian position, as nothing was final until the whole process was final, the movement may have been simply a negotiating tactic. Prime Minister Barak was hopeful that there would soon be peace discussions with Lebanon. He felt that such talks would encourage the people of Israel concerning Syria's position and allow them to hope for a comprehensive regional peace.

As members of the Appropriations Committee, we discussed the cost of peace with Syria with the Prime Minister. My colleagues and I cautioned him that the media was questioning us regarding the reports that the price for such peace was going to be in the \$10-60 billion range. We discussed the difficulty of finding consensus in Congress to fund the Wye River Agreement and advised the Prime Minister to keep the Congress informed as the process progressed. Prime Minister Barak told our group that it was his hope that other countries, such as Japan and various other G-7 nations, would contribute to whatever sum eventually emerged. The Prime Minister said that the Camp David Accord laid the cornerstone for peace in the region, the Wye River Agreements built upon that foundation, and he was now hopeful that the discussions with Syria would produce the keystone which could be put in place to allow the full weight of regional peace to come to rest.

Discussing other security issues in the region, the Prime Minister told us that he is "deeply disturbed" by both Iran and Iraq's drive to acquire nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Barak told us that he believed that unless UNSCOM inspections begin again, Iraq would have nuclear weapons within 5-7 years and that Iran was similarly positioned.

The next morning our delegation had a working breakfast with Mr. Avraham Shohat, the Minister of Finance. Our discussion once again focused on the cost of any peace with Syria. The Finance Minister, like Prime Minister Barak, was hopeful that other countries would contribute in addition to the United States. We departed later that morning from Israel and returned to Andrews Air Force Base later that evening after nine long, but informative days abroad.

I thank the Chair. I thank my distinguished colleague from Iowa for yielding the time.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate as if in morning business.

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

VISIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I thank the distinguished Senators for their indulgence in permitting me to make this statement. I feel very strongly about what I am about to say, and I wish to share some views with my colleagues.

Last Friday, I had the opportunity to participate in a historic mission to the United Nations. It embraced a series of events, led by the distinguished chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On Friday, I was privileged to join the chairman and, the distinguished ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and other members of the committee for this historic occasion. I appreciated very much the opportunity to join the Foreign Relations Committee. For it was the first time in history that the U.S. Foreign Relations Committee conducted a hearing out of Washington, DC. I think it was most appropriate that the hearing was conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. Our distinguished Ambassador to the United Nations, Ambassador Holbrooke, facilitated these series of meetings. I commend him highly for his participation.

The Foreign Relations Committee events at the United Nations began on Thursday afternoon when Chairman HELMS became the first Member—very interesting, Madam President—the first Member of the Congress of the United States to address the U.N. Security Council.

The chairman's statement to the Security Council was tough, but those of us who have known Senator HELMS and who have had the privilege of working with him through these many years know him to be a very tough and resolute and forthright man. He spoke with candor, but, in my view, his statement was carefully measured. His objectives were constructive. In my view, he accurately portrayed the concerns of many Americans with regard to the United Nations—an important organization.

As I said last Friday, to the Secretary General at lunch—I spoke again to a large group of Ambassadors—and then in the course of the hearing, the world is dependent upon the existence of the United Nations to bring member nations together, and to try to work on a variety of problems throughout the world.

One of those problems of great concern to me is peacekeeping, which is becoming a greater and greater challenge. I do not in any way disparage the U.N. We came as a group to constructively give our viewpoints and to indicate the willingness of those of us who came and others to try to make the U.N. work more efficiently in the cause of world peace and to lessen human suffering throughout the globe. But that organization is in need of reform.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator HELMS' statement to the U.N. Security Council be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my re-

marks, as well as a brief description of the events at the United Nations that the committee attended.

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

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I urge all of my colleagues to take a look at this statement of the distinguished chairman. I will address momentarily some troublesome criticism directed at Senator HELMS. I put his statement in the RECORD so all Americans can read it. Make up your mind for yourself with regard to the contents of his statement and the statements of others at that historic meeting, because I think we have to join together to try to help the U.N. become a more efficient, constructive organization.

I would like to also call the attention of my colleagues to the statement made on Monday by the Secretary of State, Mrs. Albright. I quote that statement because I find it very troubling, and it prompts me to come to the floor today.

Secretary Albright said:

Let me be clear. Only the President and the executive branch can speak for the United States.

I say to the Secretary, for whom I have a high, professional regard, and out of respect for the very important office which she holds: Madam Secretary, you are mistaken.

I will not deliver a speech on the formation of our Government, but it is so basic that the Founding Fathers created three independent branches of government, coequal—I repeat: coequal—in authority. The President does not have sole authority in the area of foreign affairs.

I could go into detail regarding the checks and balances in the Constitution and specific reference to the responsibility of the Congress and those of the President, but clearly Congress, through its advice and consent role, deals with treaties. A treaty cannot go forward without the advice and consent of the Senate. We have seen this most recently with the comprehensive test ban treaty, a highly controversial treaty. No Ambassador can go forth from this land to represent this Nation without the advice and consent of the Senate, and no program initiated by a President requiring funding of taxpayer dollars can be implemented without the authorization of those funds by the Congress of the United States.

Madam Secretary, I say to you most respectfully: Reconsider that statement. I urge you to revise, as we say in the Congress, that statement in the context of the exact authority given by the Constitution to the Congress, and out of respect for the Members of the Congress who, Madam Secretary Albright, have respect for you and want to work with you, but not in the face of such a defiant proclamation as that.

My primary purpose in attending the hearing at the United Nations last Fri-

day was to give my views on what I view as the tragic situation developing in Bosnia and Kosovo. Together with my senior staff on the committee, Colonel Brownlee, Mrs. Ansley, and in the company of General Clark, commander in chief of our forces in NATO, commander in chief of U.S. forces in Europe, and his deputy, Admiral Abbot, I toured both Kosovo, Bosnia, and, indeed, spent time in Macedonia.

I am gravely concerned. I have had a long association, as have many Members of this Chamber, with the conflicts in that troubled region. I was the first Senator to go to Bosnia, in September of 1992, in the middle of the war, arriving in the historic city of Sarajevo and seeing for myself the tragedy of war unfolding right before my eyes in the shelling of that city and the killing of innocent civilians. It was a very dramatic experience for me.

It motivated me to dedicate much of my time since then to that conflict and to try to do what I could, together with others, to alleviate the human suffering. I am concerned that not enough is being done in either Bosnia or Kosovo.

Let's look at a little history. Since NATO troops were first deployed to Bosnia in December of 1995, the United States has spent almost \$10 billion to support our military commitment of troops to that nation. We are but one of many nations committing troops and funds to Bosnia. In addition, we have spent an additional \$5 billion in Kosovo for the air campaign and the deployment of United States KFOR troops. Again, we are one nation, with more than 30 other nations, contributing military forces. The price tag for these military commitments of U.S. troops is roughly \$1.5 billion each year for Bosnia and \$2 billion a year projected for Kosovo. Those are very significant sums of money.

Apart from the significant sums of money is my concern for the safety and the welfare of the young men and women of the United States Armed Forces and, indeed, those of other nations who every single day march through the frozen streets of Bosnia and Kosovo, subjecting themselves to risk. The fighting still goes on in small, largely ethnic, conflict—particularly in Kosovo. Our military personnel could be caught in the crossfire tomorrow.

We experienced a tragic loss in Somalia—again, when the world had taken its attention away from Somalia. We had the best of intentions when we went in to relieve the human suffering in that nation. Then we drifted into nation building, and tragedy befell our Armed Forces in Somalia. A comparable tragedy could befall the Armed Forces of our country and those of other nations in either Bosnia or Kosovo tomorrow.

Why are our troops still in Bosnia over four years after they were first deployed? Why is no end in sight in Kosovo? The reason for that is that the

United Nations, together with other international organizations, are not doing their job.

We went into these military operations in both Bosnia and Kosovo with a clear understanding that if the troops performed their mission, which they have done in both countries, then the United Nations and other organizations would take the necessary steps to rebuild Bosnia and Kosovo—which is still not a sovereign nation, with no plans to make it a sovereign nation at this time; it is part of Serbia. Nevertheless, they would restore law and order and enable the people to live their lives in peace. The military has done their mission. The United Nations is failing.

In the course of the hearing we had in New York City, Ambassador Holbrooke, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, recounted how the United Nations had failed in its peacekeeping operations in Somalia, in Rwanda, and other areas. He said we cannot fail again. The Presiding Officer in the Chamber at this time was present during that hearing. He will remember I said that the United Nations is on the brink of failure in both Bosnia and Kosovo unless the U.N. steps up the pace of the fulfillment of its obligations, together with organizations that likewise have a commitment to provide an infrastructure of government and a rebuilding of the economy.

There have been positive actions; for instance, the recent elections in Croatia. Still, we are so far behind in the fulfillment of commitments to rebuild civilian administrations in both Bosnia and Kosovo. We have to move with swiftness. Otherwise, we are guilty of letting the men and women of our Armed Forces and other armed forces take on jobs for which they were never trained but which they are carrying out—jobs of being policemen, jobs of trying to bring some civil structure of life to these little villages, all kinds of jobs for which they are not trained as military people, but to their credit they are carrying out well.

We have to keep the pressure on the U.N. and the other organizations to do their job. There has been much discussion that the U.N. should take on enlarged obligations in Africa. We all recognize Africa is crying out for help. It has a measure of human suffering almost beyond comprehension. It has a measure of disease—primarily AIDS—beyond human comprehension. However, the problem is that until the U.N. can first fulfill its missions in Bosnia and Kosovo, I caution them not to take on additional peacekeeping actions of the magnitude of those contemplated for Africa. We have all been taught: Finish what you start before you take on a new task. I made those remarks, and I stand by them.

In consultation with the members of the Armed Services Committee, I will initiate a series of hearings to provide this Senate and others with an up-to-date report on the situations in Bosnia and Kosovo. Proudly, the first part of

that report is that the military has done its job—the militaries of our Nation and other nations. Sadly, our report will show that the United Nations is falling behind daily in fulfilling its commitments, together with other international organizations.

I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT I

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JESSE HELMS, CHAIRMAN, U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, JANUARY 20, 2000

Mr. President, Distinguished Ambassadors, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Thank you for your welcome this morning. It is an honor to be here today, and to meet with you here in the Security Council.

I understand that you have interpreters who translate the proceedings of this body into a half dozen different languages. It may be that they have an interesting challenge today. As some of you may have detected, I don't have a Yankee accent. I hope you have a translator here who can speak Southern, someone who can translate words like "y'all" and "I do declare."

It may be that one other language barrier will need to be overcome this morning. I am not a diplomat, and as such, I am not fully conversant with the elegant and rarefied language of the diplomatic trade. I am an elected official, with something of a reputation for saying what I mean and meaning what I say. So I trust you will forgive me if I come across as a bit more blunt than those you are accustomed to hearing in this chamber.

I am told that this is the first time that a United States Senator has addressed the United Nations Security Council. I sincerely hope it will not be the last. It is important that this body have greater contact with the elected representatives of the American people, and that we have greater contact with you.

In this spirit, tomorrow I will be joined here at the U.N. by several other members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Together, we will meet with U.N. officials and representatives of some of your governments, and will hold a Committee "Field Hearing" to discuss U.N. reform and the prospects for improved U.S.-U.N. relations.

This will mark another first. Never before has the Senate Foreign Relations Committee ventured as a group from Washington to visit an international institution. I hope it will be an enlightening experience for all of us, and that you will accept this visit as a sign of our desire for a new beginning in the U.S.-U.N. relationship.

I hope—I intend—that my presence here today will presage future visits by designated spokesmen of the Security Council, who will come to Washington as official guests of the United States Senate and the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee which I chair. I trust that your representatives will feel free to be as candid in Washington as I will try to be here today so that there will be hands of friendship extended in an atmosphere of understanding.

If we are to have such a new beginning, we must endeavor to understand each other better. And that is why I will share with you some of what I am hearing from the American people about the United Nations.

Now I am confident you have seen the public opinion polls, commissioned by U.N. supporters, suggesting that the U.N. enjoys the support of the American public. I would caution that you not put so much confidence in those polls. Since I was first elected to the Senate in 1972, I have run for reelection four times. Each time, the pollsters have confidently predicted my defeat. Each time, I

am happy to confide, they have been wrong. I am pleased that, thus far, I have never won a poll or lost an election.

So, as those of you who represent democratic nations well know, public opinion polls can be constructed to tell you anything the poll takers want you to hear. Let me share with you what the American people tell me. Since I became chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, I have received literally thousands of letters from Americans all across the country expressing their deep frustration with this institution.

They know instinctively that the U.N. lives and breathes on the hard-earned money of the American taxpayers. And yet they have heard comments here in New York constantly calling the United States a "deadbeat." They have heard U.N. officials declaring absurdly that countries like Fiji and Bangladesh are carrying America's burden in peacekeeping.

They see the majority of the U.N. members routinely voting against America in the General Assembly. They have read the reports of the raucous cheering of the U.N. delegates in Rome, when U.S. efforts to amend the International Criminal Court treaty to protect American soldiers were defeated. They read in the newspapers that, despite all the human rights abuses taking place in dictatorships across the globe, a U.N. "Special Rapporteur" decided his most pressing task was to investigate human rights violations in the U.S.—and found our human rights record wanting.

The American people hear all this; they resent it, and they have grown increasingly frustrated with what they feel is a lack of gratitude.

Now I won't delve into every point of frustration, but let's touch for just a moment on one—the "deadbeat" charge. Before coming here, I asked the United States General Accounting Office to assess just how much the American taxpayers contributed to the United Nations in 1999. Here is what the GAO reported to me:

Last year, the American people contributed a total of more than \$2.5 billion dollars to the U.N. system in assessments and voluntary contributions. That's pretty generous, but it's only the tip of the iceberg. The American taxpayers also spent an additional eight billion, seven hundred and seventy nine million dollars from the United States' military budget to support various U.N. resolutions and peacekeeping operations around the world. Let me repeat that figure: eight billion, seven hundred and seventy nine million dollars.

That means that last year (1999) alone the American people have furnished precisely eleven billion, two hundred and seventy nine million dollars to support the work of the United Nations. No other nation on earth comes even close to matching that singular investment.

So you can see why many Americans reject the suggestion that theirs is a "deadbeat" nation.

Now, I grant you, the money we spend on the U.N. is not charity. To the contrary, it is an investment—an investment from which the American people rightly expect a return. They expect a reformed U.N. that works more efficiently, and which respects the sovereignty of the United States.

That is why in the 1980s, Congress began withholding a fraction of our arrears as pressure for reform. And Congressional pressure resulted in some worthwhile reforms, such as the creation of an independent U.N. Inspector General and the adoption of consensus budgeting practices. But still, the arrears accumulated as the U.N. resisted more comprehensive reforms.

When the distinguished Secretary General, Kofi Annan, was elected, some of us in the

Senate decided to try to establish a working relationship. The result is the Helms-Biden law, which President Clinton finally signed into law this past November. The product of three years of arduous negotiations and hard-fought compromises, it was approved by the U.S. Senate by an overwhelming 98-1 margin. You should read that vote as a virtually unanimous mandate for a new relationship with a reformed United Nations.

Now I am aware that this law does not sit well with some here at the U.N. Some do not like to have reforms dictated by the U.S. Congress. Some have even suggested that the U.N. should reject these reforms. But let me suggest a few things to consider: First, as the figures I have cited clearly demonstrate, the United States is the single largest investor in the United Nations. Under the U.S. Constitution, we in Congress are the sole guardians of the American taxpayers' money. (It is our solemn duty to see that it is wisely invested.) So as the representatives of the U.N.'s largest investors—the American people—we have not only a right, but a responsibility, to insist on specific reforms in exchange for their investment.

Second, I ask you to consider the alternative. The alternative would have been to continue to let the U.S.-U.N. relationship spiral out of control. You would have taken retaliatory measures, such as revoking America's vote in the General Assembly. Congress would likely have responded with retaliatory measures against the U.N. And the end result, I believe, would have been a breach in U.S.-U.N. relations that would have served the interests of no one.

Now some here may contend that the Clinton Administration should have fought to pay the arrears without conditions. I assure you, had they done so, they would have lost. Eighty years ago, Woodrow Wilson failed to secure Congressional support for U.S. entry into the League of Nations. This administration obviously learned from President Wilson's mistakes. Wilson probably could have achieved ratification of the League of Nations if he had worked with Congress. One of my predecessors as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Henry Cabot Lodge, asked for 14 conditions to the treaty establishing the League of Nations, few of which would have raised an eyebrow today. These included language to insure that the United States remain the sole judge of its own internal affairs; that the League not restrict any individual rights of U.S. citizens; that the Congress retain sole authority for the deployment of U.S. forces through the league, and so on.

But President Wilson indignantly refused to compromise with Senator Lodge. He shouted, "Never, never!", adding, "I'll never consent to adopting any policy with which that impossible man is so prominently identified!" What happened? President Wilson lost. The final vote in the Senate was 38 to 53, and League of Nations withered on the vine.

Ambassador Holbrooke and Secretary of State Albright understood from the beginning that the United Nations could not long survive without the support of the American people—and their elected representatives in Congress. Thanks to the efforts of leaders like Ambassador Holbrooke and Secretary Albright, the present Administration in Washington did not repeat President Wilson's fatal mistakes.

In any event, Congress has written a check to the United Nations for \$926 million, payable upon the implementation of previously agreed-upon common-sense reforms. Now the choice is up to the U.N. I suggest that if the U.N. were to reject this compromise, it would mark the beginning of the end of U.S. support for the United Nations.

I don't want that to happen. I want the American people to value a United Nations that recognizes and respects their interests, and for the United Nations to value the significant contributions of the American people.

Let's be crystal clear and totally honest with each other: all of us want a more effective United Nations. But if the United Nations is to be "effective" it must be an institution that is needed by the great democratic powers of the world.

Most Americans do not regard the United Nations as an end in and of itself—they see it as just one tool in America's diplomatic arsenal. To the extent that the U.N. is an effective tool, the American people will support it. To the extent that it becomes an ineffective tool—or worse, a burden—the American people will cast it aside.

The American people want the U.N. to serve the purpose for which it was designed: they want it to help sovereign states coordinate collective action by "coalitions of the willing," (where the political will for such action exists); they want it to provide a forum where diplomats can meet and keep open channels of communication in times of crisis; they want it to provide to the peoples of the world important services, such as peacekeeping, weapons inspections and humanitarian relief.

This is important work. It is the core of what the U.N. can offer to the United States and the world. If, in the coming century, the U.N. focuses on doing these core tasks well, it can thrive and will earn and deserve the support of the American people. But if the U.N. seeks to move beyond these core tasks, if it seeks to impose the U.N.'s power and authority over nation-states, I guarantee that the United Nations will meet stiff resistance from the American people.

As matters now stand, many Americans sense that the U.N. has greater ambitions than simply being an efficient deliverer of humanitarian aid, a more effective peacekeeper, a better weapons inspector, and a more effective tool of great power diplomacy. They see the U.N. aspiring to establish itself as the central authority of a new international order of *global* laws and *global* governance. This is an international order the American people will not countenance.

The U.N. must respect national sovereignty. The U.N. serves nation-states, not the other way around. This principle is central to the legitimacy and ultimate survival of the United Nations, and it is a principle that must be protected. The Secretary General recently delivered an address on sovereignty to the General Assembly, in which he declared that "the last right of states cannot and must not be the right to enslave, persecute or torture their own citizens." The peoples of the world, he said, have "rights beyond borders." I wholeheartedly agree.

What the Secretary General calls "rights beyond borders," we in America we call "inalienable rights." We are endowed with those "inalienable rights," as Thomas Jefferson proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence, not by kings or despots, but by our Creator.

The sovereignty of nations must be respected. But nations derive their sovereignty—their legitimacy—from the consent of the governed. Thus, it follows, that nations can lose their legitimacy when they rule without the consent of the governed; they deservedly discard their sovereignty by brutally oppressing their people.

Slobodan Milosevic cannot claim sovereignty over Kosovo when he has murdered Kosovars and piled their bodies into mass graves. Neither can Fidel Castro claim that it is his sovereign right to oppress his people. Nor can Saddam Hussein defend his oppres-

sion of the Iraqi people by hiding behind phony claims of sovereignty.

And when the *oppressed* peoples of the world cry out for help, the free peoples of the world have a fundamental right to respond.

As we watch the U.N. struggle with this question at the turn of the millennium, many Americans are left exceedingly puzzled. Intervening in cases of widespread oppression and massive human rights abuses is not a new concept for the United States. The American people have a long history of coming to the aid of those struggling for freedom. In the United States, during the 1980s, we called this policy the "Reagan Doctrine."

In some cases, America has assisted freedom fighters around the world who were seeking to overthrow corrupt regimes. We have provided weaponry, training, and intelligence. In other cases, the United States has intervened directly. In still other cases, such as in Central and Eastern Europe, we supported peaceful opposition movements with moral, financial and covert forms of support. In each case, however, it was America's clear intention to help bring down Communist regimes that were oppressing their peoples,—and thereby replace dictators with democratic governments.

The dramatic expansion of freedom in the last decade of the 20th century is a direct result of these policies. In none of these cases, however, did the United States ask for, or receive, the approval of the United Nations to "legitimize" its actions. It is a fanciful notion that free peoples need to seek the approval of an international body (many of whose members are totalitarian dictatorships) to lend support to nations struggling to break the chains of tyranny and claim their inalienable, God-given rights.

The United Nations has no power to grant or decline legitimacy to such actions. They are inherently legitimate. What the United Nations can do is help. The Security Council can, where appropriate, be an instrument to facilitate action by "coalitions of the willing," implement sanctions regimes, and provide logistical support to states undertaking collective action.

But complete candor is imperative: The Security Council has an exceedingly mixed record in being such a facilitator. In the case of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait in the early 1990s, it performed admirably; in the more recent case of Kosovo, it was paralyzed. The U.N. peacekeeping mission in Bosnia was a disaster, and its failure to protect the Bosnian people from Serb genocide is well documented in a recent U.N. report.

And, despite its initial success in repelling Iraqi aggression, in the years since the Gulf War, the Security Council has utterly failed to stop Saddam Hussein's drive to build instruments of mass murder. It has allowed him to play a repeated game of expelling UNSCOM inspection teams which included Americans, and has left Saddam completely free for the past year to fashion nuclear and chemical weapons of mass destruction.

I am here to plead that from now on we all must work together, to learn from past mistakes, and to make the Security Council a more efficient and effective tool for international peace and security. But candor compels that I reiterate this warning: the American people will never accept the claims of the United Nations to be the "sole source of legitimacy on the use of force" in the world.

But, some may respond, the U.S. Senate ratified the U.N. Charter fifty years ago. Yes, but in doing so we did not cede one syllable of American sovereignty to the United Nations. Under our system, when

international treaties are ratified they simply become domestic U.S. law. As such, they carry no greater or less weight than any other domestic U.S. law. Treaty obligations can be superceded by a simple act of Congress. This was the intentional design of our founding fathers, who cautioned against entering into "entangling alliances."

Thus, when the United States joins a treaty organization, it holds no legal authority over us. We abide by our treaty obligations because they are the domestic law of our land, and because our elected leaders have judged that the agreement serves our national interest. But no treaty or law can ever supercede the one document that all Americans hold sacred: The U.S. Constitution.

The American people do not want the United Nations to become a "entangling alliance." That is why Americans look with alarm at U.N. claims to a monopoly on international moral legitimacy. They see this as a threat to the God-given freedoms of the American people, a claim of political authority over America and its elected leaders without their consent.

The effort to establish a United Nations International Criminal Court is a case-in-point. Consider: the Rome Treaty purports to hold American citizens under its jurisdiction—even when the United States has neither signed nor ratified the treaty. In other words, it claims sovereign authority over American citizens without their consent. How can the nations of the world imagine for one instant that Americans will stand by and allow such a power-grab to take place?

The Court's supporters argue that Americans should be willing to sacrifice some of their sovereignty for the noble cause of international justice. International law did not defeat Hitler, nor did it win the Cold War. What stopped the Nazi march across Europe, and the Communist march across the world, was the principled projection of power by the world's great democracies. And that principled projection of force is the only thing that will ensure the peace and security of the world in the future.

More often than not, "international law" has been used as a make-believe justification for hindering the march of freedom. When Ronald Reagan sent American servicemen into harm's way to liberate Grenada from the hands of communist dictatorship, the U.N. General Assembly responded by voting to condemn the action of the elected President of the United States as a violation of international law—and, I am obliged to add, they did so by a larger majority than when Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was condemned by the same General Assembly!

Similarly, the U.S. effort to overthrow Nicaragua's Communist dictatorship (by supporting Nicaragua's freedom fighters and mining Nicaragua's harbors) was declared by the World Court as a violation of international law.

Most recently, we learn that the chief prosecutor of the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal has compiled a report on possible NATO war crimes during the Kosovo campaign. At first, the prosecutor declared that it is fully within the scope of her authority to indict NATO pilots and commanders. When news of her report leaked, she backpedaled.

She realized, I am sure, that any attempt to indict NATO commanders would be the death knell for the International Criminal Court. But the very fact that she explored this possibility at all brings to light all that is wrong with this brave new world of global justice, which proposes a system in which independent prosecutors and judges, answerable to no state or institution, have unfettered power to sit in judgment of the foreign policy decisions of Western democracies.

No U.N. institution—not the Security Council, not the Yugoslav tribunal, not a future ICC—is competent to judge the foreign policy and national security decisions of the United States. American courts routinely refuse cases where they are asked to sit in judgment of our government's national security decisions, stating that they are not competent to judge such decisions. If we do not submit our national security decisions to the judgment of a Court of the United States, why would Americans submit them to the judgment of an International Criminal Court, a continent away, comprised of mostly foreign judges elected by an international body made up the membership of the U.N. General Assembly?

Americans distrust concepts like the International Criminal Court, and claims by the U.N. to be the sole source of legitimacy" for the use of force, because Americans have a profound distrust of accumulated power. Our founding fathers created a government founded on a system of checks and balances, and dispersal of power.

In his 1962 classic, *Capitalism and Freedom*, the Nobel-prize winning economist Milton Friedman rightly declared: "[G]overnment power must be dispersed. If government is to exercise power, better in the county than in the state, better in the state than in Washington. [Because] if I do not like what my local community does, I can move to another local community . . . [and] if I do not like what my state does, I can move to another. [But] if I do not like what Washington imposes, I have few alternatives in this world of jealous nations."

Forty years later, as the U.N. seeks to impose its utopian vision of "international law" on Americans, we can add this question: Where do we go when we don't like the "laws" of the world? Today, while our friends in Europe concede more and more power upwards to supra-national institutions like the European Union, Americans are heading in precisely the opposite direction. America is in a process of reducing centralized power by taking more and more authority that had been amassed by the Federal government in Washington and referring it to the individual states where it rightly belongs.

This is why Americans reject the idea of a sovereign United Nations that presumes to be the source of legitimacy for the United States Government's policies, foreign or domestic. There is only one source of legitimacy of the American government's policies—and that is the consent of the American people.

If the United Nations is to survive into the 21st century, it must recognize its limitations. The demands of the United States have not changed much since Henry Cabot Lodge laid out his conditions for joining the League of Nations 80 years ago: Americans want to ensure that the United States of America remains the sole judge of its own internal affairs, that the United Nations is not allowed to restrict the individual rights of U.S. citizens, and that the United States retains sole authority over the deployment of United States forces around the world.

This is what Americans ask of the United Nations; it is what Americans expect of the United Nations. A United Nations that focuses on helping sovereign states work together is worth keeping; a United Nations that insists on trying to impose a utopian vision on America and the world will collapse under its own weight.

If the United Nations respects the sovereign rights of the American people, and serves them as an effective tool of diplomacy, it will earn and deserve their respect and support. But a United Nations that seeks to impose its presumed authority on the

American people without their consent begs for confrontation and, I want to be candid, eventual U.S. withdrawal.

Thank you very much.

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE EVENTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Senator Helms scheduled two days of events at the United Nations in New York. On Thursday, January 20, 2000, Senator Helms met with Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, the United States' Permanent Representative to the United Nations. This meeting was followed by a private discussion with United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan. At the conclusion of the Kofi Annan meeting Senator Helms proceeded to the chamber of the United Nations Security Council where he delivered a speech to the members of the Security Council. In addition to the fifteen members of the Security Council, the speech was attended by representatives of most countries in the United Nations. Senator Helms was later the guest of honor at a luncheon hosted by Ambassador Holbrooke at which Senator Helms and several U.N. ambassadors continued the discussion on United Nations reform and the future of U.S.-U.N. relations.

On Friday, January 21, Senator Helms was joined by four other Senate Foreign Relations Committee members (Senators Biden, Hagel, Grams, and Feingold) and Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator John Warner, for another full day of meetings on U.S.-U.N. relations. The schedule started with a meeting between the Senators and Ambassador Holbrooke. This was followed by a meeting with the Secretary General of the United Nations. The Secretary General was joined by his top deputies responsible for U.N. management and peacekeeping. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Senators attended a luncheon at the United Nations hosted by Ambassador Holbrooke. Representatives of nearly every one of the 188 nations represented at the United Nations were invited, and it appeared that most showed up. The day concluded with an afternoon hearing at which three panels of witnesses spoke on a wide range of issues related to the United Nations including the state of reforms, peacekeeping in the Balkans and Africa, efforts to inspect WMD programs in Iraq, and the U.S.-U.N. relationship.

On Friday evening, a dinner hosted by Mr. Erwin Belk, a U.S. Public Delegate to the United Nations, was held in honor of the U.S. Presidency of the U.N. Security Council during the month of January. The dinner was attended by Senators and many United Nations representatives.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMS). The Senator from Iowa.

BANKRUPTCY REFORM ACT OF 1999—Continued

Mr. GRASSLEY. As everyone knows, we have started with the new Congress what we hope will be the final 2 days of the bankruptcy bill that we started sometime during the last 2 weeks of the session last year. We hope to finish by next Tuesday or Wednesday. We have the number of amendments down to about nine, with limits on debate on most of those amendments. It looks as if we can see the end of the debate and what I hope will be final passage. I think I can predict final passage because we did pass this legislation with only one or two dissenting votes during