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TEXT Sec. 524. Andrei Sakharov educational exchange program. PAGE H6944

Sec. 525. Crisis in Yugoslavia.

Sec. 526. Anglo-Irish International Fund.

'(10) any other East European country if the President has reported to the Congress that he has determined that that country is taking the steps described in section 2(b).

PAGE H6979

'(b) Yugoslavia. - Yugoslavia shall also be considered to be an eligible East European country for purposes of this Act, unless the President determines, and reports to the Congress, that Yugoslavia is not taking the steps described in section 2(b).'

(b) Conforming Amendments. -

(2) List of seed actions. - Section 3(c)(19) of that Act, as so redesignated by section 502(a) and section 511 of this Act, is amended by inserting before the period ', and participation in exchanges under the Andrei Sakharov Educational Exchange Program'.

PAGE H6983

SEC. 525. CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA.

It is the sense of the Congress that -

(1) the United States strongly supports the initiatives of the European Community to achieve a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia, including their call for agreement by all parties in Yugoslavia on a cease-fire to be observed by monitors mandated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the convening of a peace conference;

PAGE H6983

(2) all parties to the conflict must implement immediately an unconditional cease-fire in Croatia and cooperate fully with the peacekeeping steps initiated by the European Community;

(3) the use of force to solve political differences or to change the internal or external borders of Yugoslavia is not acceptable and represents a serious violation of international norms and the principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe process;

(4) those who resort to force in Yugoslavia will achieve nothing but tragedy for the peoples of Yugoslavia and themselves and will only confirm their own isolation from the international community;

PAGE H6983

(5) the legitimate concerns of all Yugoslav peoples, including Serbs inside and outside Serbia, about their future in the event of the disintegration of Yugoslavia cannot justify the use of force and repression;

(6) all peoples of Yugoslavia must resolve their future in a peaceful, democratic, and negotiated manner which will preserve the rights of all peoples in the country, particularly the full human rights of ethnic minorities living in all republics and provinces.

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SEC. 526. ANGLO-IRISH INTERNATIONAL FUND.

Claiborne Pell,
Paul Sarbanes,
Joe Biden,

PAGE H7016

Don Riegle,
Paul S. Sarbanes,

PAGE H7016

Jake Garn,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ELIGIBLE FOR SEED BENEFITS

The House bill (sec. 843) adds a new section 4 to the SEED Act which establishes as eligible for assistance Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia (unless the President determines otherwise), and any other East European country taking steps toward political pluralism, economic reform, human rights, and friendship with the United States, as determined by the President.

The Senate amendment (sec. 622) defines Eastern Europe as all nations of Europe which experienced communist rule after World War II; makes the authorities for Poland and Hungary available to other countries of Eastern Europe if the President determines (1) that those countries have taken steps toward democracy and a market-oriented economy, (2) the activity would promote democracy and a market economy, and (3) the activity would not fortify governments or organizations inimical to democracy and a market economy.

PAGE H7042

The conference substitute (sec. 524) adds to section 112(a) of the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act, which lists the elements of the Fulbright Exchange Program, and to sections 3(c)(19) and 401(a)(1) of the SEED Act, the Andrei Sakharov Educational Exchange Program for exchanges in the fields of environmental protection and health sciences.

PAGE H7045

CRISIS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

The House bill (sec. 865) expresses the sense of Congress regarding conflict in Yugoslavia. The House bill (sec. 866) also expresses the sense of Congress regarding discrimination against ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia.

The Senate amendment contains no comparable provision.

PAGE H7045

The conference substitute (sec. 525) contains a revised sense of Congress statement on the crisis in Yugoslavia.

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR IRELAND

Claiborne Pell,
Paul Sarbanes,

PAGE H7066

Joe Biden,
Don Riegle,

PAGE H7066

Paul S. Sarbanes,
Jake Garn,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

PAGE H7066

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17 LINES

PART CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (SENATE)

DATE September 27, 1991

TITLE STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

(CONTINUED)

TEXT

S. 1737

PAGE S13938

At the request of Mr. Dole, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Pell) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1737, a bill to prohibit the import from Yugoslavia of defense articles on the United States Munitions List.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 107

At the request of Mr. Moynihan, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. Sarbanes) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 107, a joint resolution to designate October 15, 1991, as 'National Law Enforcement Memorial Dedication Day.'

PAGE S13938

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 133

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1415

PAGE H7460

Sec. 222. Fulbright exchange programs enhancement.

PAGE H7460

Sec. 223. USIA cultural center in Kosovo.

Sec. 224. Conforming amendment on certain USIA scholarships.

Sec. 360. Support for new democracies.

Sec. 361. Policy regarding United States assistance to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

Sec. 362. Policy toward the release of political prisoners by South Africa.

PAGE H7461

In addition to amounts authorized to be appropriated by section 221(2) for the Fulbright Academic Exchange Programs, \$2,700,000 is authorized to be appropriated for each of the fiscal years 1992 and 1993 to increase amounts otherwise available for Fulbright Academic Exchange Programs for exchanges involving Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

SEC. 223. USIA CULTURAL CENTER IN KOSOVO.

(a) Establishment. - The Director of the United States Information Agency shall establish a cultural center in the capital of Kosovo in Yugoslavia when the Secretary of State determines that the physical security of the center and the personal safety of its employees may be reasonably assured.

PAGE H7475

(b) Report. - Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every 90 days thereafter until a center is established under subsection (a), the Director of the United States Information Agency shall submit a report to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives on progress toward establishment of a center pursuant to subsection (a), including an assessment by the Secretary of State of the risks to physical and personal security of the establishment of such a center.

(5) to view the threatened and actual use of force to suppress the self-determination of republic-level governments and Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia as an obstacle to fully normalized United States-Soviet relations.

SEC. 361. POLICY REGARDING UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND YUGOSLAVIA.

(a) Congressional Statement. - An essential purpose of United States foreign assistance is to foster the development of democratic institutions and free enterprise systems. Stable economic growth, fostered by free enterprise and free trade, is also important to the development of democratic institutions.

PAGE H7480

(b) Declaration of United States Policy. - It is the policy of the United States, to the extent feasible and consistent with United States national interest, that -

(1) assistance to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, including their

successor entities or any constituent part, shall be conditioned on significant steps toward political pluralism based on a democratic multi-party political system, economic reform based on a market-oriented economy, respect for internationally recognized human rights and a willingness to build a friendly relationship with the United States; and

(2) expanded trade with the republics in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia or their successor entities should be encouraged.

SEC. 362. POLICY TOWARD THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS BY SOUTH AFRICA. PAGE H7480

Joseph R. Biden, Jr.,
Paul Sarbanes,

PAGE H7486

Christopher J. Dodd,
Don Riegle,

PAGE H7486

Paul Sarbanes,
Jake Garn,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

The conference substitute (sec. 222) is similar to the Senate amendment, but authorizes the funds specifically for the Fulbright Academic Exchange Programs for exchanges involving Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

USIA CULTURAL CENTER IN KOSOVO

The Senate amendment (sec. 206) requires the Director of the United States Information Agency to establish a cultural center in Kosovo, Yugoslavia, 90 days after the date of enactment of this act. PAGE H7495

The House bill contains no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 223) requires the Director of USIA to establish a cultural center in Kosovo, Yugoslavia at such time when the Secretary of State determines that the physical security of the center and the personal safety of its employees may be reasonably assured. In determining that there should be a delay in establishing the center, the Department of State shall not apply stricter security standards than those governing the establishment of centers elsewhere in the world or those governing the closing of centers already operating in Yugoslavia.

CONFORMING AMENDMENT ON CERTAIN USIA SCHOLARSHIPS YUGOSLAVIAN PROGRAMMING WITHIN THE VOICE OF AMERICA

The Senate amendment (sec. 207) mandates the establishment of separate Croatian and Serbian programs within the Yugoslavia section of VOA. PAGE H7495

The House bill contains no comparable provision.

The conference substitute (sec. 360) preserves the essence of the Senate amendment but deletes the reference to support for independence for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia which is now a recognized fact. It also provides that the U.S. should shape its foreign assistance and other programs to support those republics in the Soviet Union which pursue a democratic and market-oriented PAGE H7496

course of development and demonstrate a commitment to abide by the rule of law. The requirement of an annual report on actual or threatened uses of force against Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia and Soviet republics is dropped.

POLICY REGARDING ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION AND YUGOSLAVIA
PAGE H7500

The Senate amendment (sec. 928) under the title 'Provision for Direct United States Assistance To and Trade with Democratic Governments at the Republic Level' maintains that it is the policy of the U.S. to provide foreign assistance to and encourage trade with democratic republics that are part of a federation dominated by a communist government.

The House bill contains no comparable provisions.

The conference substitute (sec. 361) establishes that it is the policy of the United States to condition assistance to the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia or their successor entities or any constituent part, on steps taken in conformity with criteria set forth in the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act as amended by the International Cooperation Act of 1991: political pluralism based on a democratic multiparty political system, economic reform based on a market-oriented economy, respect for internationally-recognized human rights, including the right to emigrate, and a willingness to build a friendly relationship with the United States. The conference substitute also provides that expanded trade with the republics in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia or their successor entities should be encouraged.

It is the understanding of conferees that the assistance provided under the 'U.S. Bilateral Science Technology Agreements' for FY 92 and 93 shall be available to Yugoslavia, its successor entity or entries or to constituent republics which are taking steps towards implementing democracy and market reforms and demonstrate respect for human rights.

POLICY TOWARD THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS BY SOUTH AFRICA

Joseph R. Biden, Jr.,
Paul Sarbanes,

PAGE H7503

Christopher J. Dodd,
Don Riegle,

PAGE H7503

Paul Sarbanes,
Jake Garn,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

PAGE H7503

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PART CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (SENATE)
DATE October 4, 1991
PAGE

PAGE S14437

TITLE FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT, FISCAL YEARS 1991 AND 1993 -
CONFERENCE REPORT

TEXT

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on H.R. 1415 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The report will be stated.

The bill authorizes \$4,311,433,000 for fiscal year 1992 for the Department of State. It provides for full repayment over the next 4 fiscal years of arrearages, in line with the President's commitment to repay all arrearages. In recognition of the enormous and pressing refugee needs worldwide, the bill authorizes \$630 million for refugee assistance for fiscal year 1992, an increase of \$140 million over the administration's request.

The bill authorizes \$1,086,670,500 for USIA for fiscal year 1992. As one who has long been an advocate of exchanges as a means of improving international understanding, I am pleased that this legislation establishes new exchange programs and provides increased resources for existing programs. These exchanges, particularly those focused on the new democracies of Eastern Europe, the Baltic Republics, and the Republics of the Soviet Union, are dollars well spent. I am also pleased that the conferees accepted a provision in the Senate bill, which I offered, mandating the establishment of a cultural center in Kosovo in Yugoslavia.

PAGE S14437

Mr. President, as many of my colleagues know, the structure of the Foreign Relations Committee was altered this year to enlarge the role and responsibilities of the subcommittees. This legislation is proof that that structure is working. The bill has enjoyed strong bipartisan support from the beginning of the process when it was marked up, for the first time, at the subcommittee level.

So, the conference report was agreed to.

PAGE S14442

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. DANFORTH. I move to lay that motion on the table.

PAGE S14442

CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE TREATY IMPLEMENTATION ACT OF 1991

We cannot afford to leave opportunities for the black market sale of such weapons to terrorist organizations, unreliable nations, and thereby set into motion nightmare scenarios of blackmail and threats that could ensue from the diversion of these weapons.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, the Senate is not in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is not in order. The Senator from West Virginia retains the floor.

I just want to say that for the record, so there will be no misunderstanding among my constituents in West Virginia. I see this as an amendment that is offered to enhance the security of the United States of America, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to usher in the day when not only the Soviet Union will be spending less money on defense, but more important, or as importantly, the day when we ourselves will be spending less money on defense and more money on infrastructure, both human and physical.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. NUNN. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. I point out, as the Senator indicated, a failure, in fact, to destroy these weapons may require us to spend more in the defense budget - well beyond this figure - than would otherwise be the case.

This is an opportunity to lower the level of armaments of our adversary and, therefore, is a very important national security measure.

As a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, I have been carefully considering the future of the Soviet Republics and the impact of events there on our intelligence and defense posture. I must say that I have become increasingly concerned about the prospects for unrest, rebellion, and even civil war among the Soviet Republics.

All of us have seen grim photographs in the papers depicting the recent fighting in Yugoslavia. I hope that this will not prove to be a portent for the future of the Soviet Republics, but the parallels are both obvious and ominous. In both cases, a patchwork quilt of ethnic and religious groups was held together for decades by an oppressive Communist regime. Now that these regimes have been discredited and lost power, long-suppressed animosities and irridentist claims are gathering momentum in an environment of instability, uncertainty, and economic hardship. As tragic as the consequences in Yugoslavia have been, the potential for a disaster in the Soviet Union is far greater. As my colleagues know, there are an estimated 30,000 nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also possesses far more chemical weapons than any

other nation. Today, the forces that control these weapons are riven by ethnic strife and torn in their loyalties between the republics in which they reside and the Soviet general staff and the central government.

The Soviet Government recognizes these problems and appears to be taking some steps to consolidate and improve security over nuclear and chemical weapons. But they have told U.S. officials - and I believe them - that when it comes to dismantling and destroying these dangerous weapons, they are lacking in both resources and expertise. This amendment does not require the President to provide assistance to Soviet authorities, but it makes available up to \$500 million of DOD funds so that he can respond to Soviet requests if he determines that it is in our national interest to do so. The amendment also stipulates, however, that such assistance can only be provided if the Soviets are themselves heavily investing in this process, are in compliance with relevant arms control agreements, and are not simultaneously engaged in nuclear weapons modernization.

The result was announced - yeas 86, nays 8, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 274 LEG.)

YEAS - 86

Adams	Baucus	Bentsen
Biden	Bingaman	Bond
Boren	Bradley	Breaux
Bryan	Bumpers	Burdick
Burns	Byrd	Chafee
Coats	Cochran	Cohen
Conrad	Cranston	D'Amato
Danforth	Daschle	DeConcini
Dodd	Dole	Domenici
Durenberger	Exon	Ford
Fowler	Garn	Glenn
Gore	Gorton	Graham
Gramm	Grassley	Hatch
Hatfield	Heflin	Hollings
Inouye	Jeffords	Johnston
Kassebaum	Kasten	Kennedy
Kerry	Kohl	Lautenberg
Leahy	Levin	Lieberman
Lott	Lugar	Mack
McCain	McConnell	Metzenbaum
Mikulski	Mitchell	Moynihan
Murkowski	Nunn	Packwood
Pell	Reid	Riegle
Robb	Rockefeller	Roth
Rudman	Sanford	Sarbanes
Sasser	Shelby	Simon
Simpson	Specter	Stevens
Thurmond	Warner	Wellstone
Wirth	Wofford	

NAYS - 8

Brown
Pressler

Craig
Seymour

Nickles
Smith

PAGE S18043

Symms

Wallop

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I want to address the issue being discussed here. The Senator from Connecticut and I stood on this floor together to fight for the extension of unemployment insurance benefits. We pointed out at that time that the President had found it in his perspective to define emergencies overseas in order to provide assistance, to meet these critical situations, but he could not declare an emergency here at home in order to help unemployed Americans.

PAGE S18052

We said the time that we supported the President when he came to us earlier in the year and said: There is an emergency overseas, and we need to provide some help.

I would respectfully suggest that the one way we are going to get a plan out of the President is when, in fact, the President knows he is authorized to do everything that has been asked for and more. And then he cannot fail to come up with a plan, because he cannot suggest that he does not have the authority to do the things we are all saying need to be done.

PAGE S18058

And lastly, if my friend from Kansas, the minority leader, will listen to this, I believe it will satisfy him a bit. I think it is time the Democrats also stop talking about whether or not the President should be involved in these foreign policy matters. What we should be discussing is the foreign policy matters. What we should be discussing is the point Senator Sarbanes made. There is much to be done abroad, much to be done that is not being done, much in which the administration should take the lead. However, there is much to be done at home.

So I ask unanimous consent that at this moment, at the end of my comments, the entire SEED II bill be printed in the Record.

So not to take advantage of the chance of a century, and maybe forever, would be the height of irresponsibility. It may be, as one Senator said to me a moment ago, that ethnic strife is too deep in the Soviet Union, they cannot make it.

PAGE S18060

Look at Yugoslavia. Most people never realized the ethnic differences that were so deep and so pervasive in Yugoslavia, and now that country is being literally destroyed before our eyes because of it.

Maybe that is what will happen to the Soviet Union. Maybe the Russians will be fighting the Ukrainians, or the Kazakhstanis will be fighting the Uzbeks.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I rise in support of the Conventional Force in Europe Treaty and its implementing legislation.

As we look back over the past decade we see concrete signs that the world is steadily moving toward democracy. Around the globe, people are resisting and peacefully overthrowing repressive governments. Nowhere has this revolution, this surge toward democracy, been more dramatic than in Europe. We have witnessed Germany's joy as the Berlin Wall fell, and that divided country reunited in a commitment to democratic principles. We are

witnessing the courage reunited in a commitment to democracy and a free market economy. We are witnessing the countries of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Albania make the same transition.

The United States is offering aid to these transitional countries. While technical advice and monetary aid is of great assistance, nothing can facilitate the rush toward democracy more than the ratification of and adherence to the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty. This treaty ends the military standoff that has existed in Europe for the last 40 years. At the height of the cold war over 80,000 tanks and 5 million ground troops faced off against each other. With the CFE Treaty, the tanks are reduced to 20,000 each.

PAGE S18061

THE HORRORS OF ETHNIC STRIFE OVERSHADOW CFE

As we vote today on the CFR Treaty, we are shadowed by the horrors of ethnic strife - some call it a new thirty years war - that is spreading throughout the lands of the country we know as Yugoslavia. We cannot take too much pride the CFR Treaty as we recall the ongoing atrocities of Vukovar and Dubrovnik.

PAGE S18061

Nothing in his treaty will heal the million families that include persons of mixed Croatian, Serbian ancestry. When one parent has to choose between remaining with spouse and child to face almost certain death or abandoning his or her family to seek refuge with fellow nationals, the surviving members of that family will never be the same. That is what is happening now in the nation we once called Yugoslavia. And there is nothing in this treaty that will necessarily end the use of conventional forces in Europe in civil war.

Implementation of the CFE Treaty may reduce the number of European tanks, artillery, planes, and warships that could be used against fellow Europeans. It could discourage the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Armenia, the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, and the Central Asian republics from following the terrible path of civil war undertaken by Serbia and Croatia. Those would be unanticipated benefits of this treaty, for it was negotiated in a bygone era.

This CFE Treaty, like the once famous Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, addresses yesterday's problems. Just as that treaty could not anticipate the aircraft carriers that dominated the Second World War, this CFE treaty does not address the use of conventional forces - much less nuclear forces - within nation states that are breaking apart. Ethnic strife, more than anything else, is today's security threat to Europe and, less directly, to the United States

PAGE S18061

The result was announced - yeas 87, nays 7, as follows:

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 275 LEG.)

YEAS - 87

Adams	Baucus	Bentsen
Biden	Bingaman	Bond
Boren	Bradley	Breaux
Brown	Bryan	Bumpers
Burdick	Burns	Byrd

Chafee
Cohen
Cranston
Daschle
Dole
Exon
Garn
Graham
Hatfield
Inouye
Kassebaum
Kohl
Levin
Lugar
McConnell
Mitchell
Nickles
Pell
Riegle
Rudman
Sasser
Simpson
Symms
Wellstone

Coats
Conrad
D'Amato
DeConcini
Domenici
Ford
Gore
Gramm
Heflin
Jeffords
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mack
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Nunn
Pressler
Robb
Sanford
Shelby
Specter
Wallop
Wirth

Cochran
Craig
Danforth
Dodd
Durenberger
Fowler
Gorton
Hatch
Hollings
Johnston
Kerry
Leahy
Lott
McCain
Mikulski
Murkowski
Packwood
Reid
Rockefeller
Sarbanes
Simon
Stevens
Warner
Wofford

NAYS - 7

Glenn
Roth
Thurmond

Grassley
Seymour

Kasten
Smith

PAGE S18063

The result was announced - yeas 87, nays 7, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 276 LEG.)

YEAS - 87

Adams
Biden
Boren
Brown
Burdick
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
DeConcini
Domenici
Ford
Glenn
Graham
Heflin
Jeffords
Kasten
Kohl
Levin
Lugar
McConnell
Mitchell
Nunn

Baucus
Bingaman
Bradley
Bryan
Burns
Coats
Conrad
Danforth
Dodd
Durenberger
Fowler
Gore
Hatch
Hollings
Johnston
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mack
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Packwood

Bentsen
Bond
Breaux
Bumpers
Byrd
Cochran
Cranston
Daschle
Dole
Exon
Garn
Gorton
Hatfield
Inouye
Kassebaum
Kerry
Leahy
Lott
McCain
Mikulski
Murkowski
Pell

Pressler
Robb
Rudman
Sasser
Simon
Stevens
Wellstone

Craig
Nickles
Wallop

Reid
Rockefeller
Sanford
Seymour
Simpson
Thurmond
Wirth

Gramm
Smith

NAYS - 7

Riegle
Roth
Sarbanes
Shelby
Specter
Warner
Wofford

Grassley
Symms

35 OF 89 140 LINES
PART CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (SENATE)
DATE May 21, 1992
TITLE STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

(CONTINUED)
TEXT BY MR. DECONCINI (FOR HIMSELF, MR. GRASSLEY, MR. ADAMS, MR. AKAKA, MR. BIDEN, MR. BOREN, MR. BRADLEY, MR. BROWN, MR. BRYAN, MR. BUMPERS, MR. BURDICK, MR. BURNS, MR. CHAFEE, MR. COATS, MR. COCHRAN, MR. COHEN, MR. CONRAD, MR. CRANSTON, MR. D'AMATO, MR. DIXON, MR. DODD, MR. DOLE, MR. FOWLER, MR. GLENN, MR. GORE, MR. GRAHAM, MR. HATCH, MR. HEFLIN, MR. HOLLINGS, MR. INOUE, MR. JEFFORDS, MR. JOHNSTON, MR. KENNEDY, MR. KERRY, MR. KOHL, MR. LAUTENBERG, MR. LIEBERMAN, MR. MACK, MR. METZENBAUM, MS. MIKULSKI, MR. MITCHELL, MR. MOYNIHAN, MR. MURKOWSKI, MR. NUNN, MR. PELL, MR. PRESSLER, MR. REID, MR. ROBB, MR. ROCKEFELLER, MR. ROTH, MR. SARBANES, MR. SIMON, MR. SPECTER, MR. THURMOND, MR. WARNER, AND MR. WELLSTONE:)

S.J. Res. 310. Joint resolution to designate August 1, 1992, as 'Helsinki Human Rights Day'; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PAGE S7234

On August 1, 1975, the leaders of 35 countries gathered in Helsinki to sign the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), also referred to as the Helsinki accords. This agreement launched a dynamic process which has contributed to the positive changes which have occurred in Europe in recent years. The Final Act, the seminal document of this process, covers major aspects of East-West relations, including military security, trade, economic Cooperation, environment, scientific and cultural exchanges, as well as human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Membership in CSCE has grown significantly in light of sweeping political developments in Europe, including the demise of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Today, 52 countries are participants in the CSCE process - 50 Eurasian states, Canada, and the United States.

Human rights is the cornerstone of the CSCE process. The participating States have recognized that human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings and that the protection and promotion of these rights is the first responsibility of government. The CSCE remains firmly committed to human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, and has encouraged peaceful change through free and fair elections.

PAGE S7234

Whereas August 1, 1992, is the seventeenth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) (hereafter in this preamble referred to as the 'Helsinki accords');

PAGE S7235

Whereas the Helsinki accords were agreed to by the Governments of Albania, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Byelarus, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy,

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, San Marino, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Uzbekistan, and Yugoslavia;

Whereas the Helsinki accords express the commitment of the participating States to 'respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion';

* Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to express my strong support for the proposal to designate August 1, 1992, as Helsinki Human Rights Day. I ask my colleagues to join with me in unanimously approving this resolution to once again demonstrate the U.S. principled and determined support for the cause of human rights, the principles of the Helsinki accords, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Many of us may have thought that the need to emphasize the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords and subsequent documents lessened with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the totalitarian Communist regimes that dominated Eastern Europe since the end of World War II and central Eurasia since 1917. Newspaper headlines and video images from what used to be Yugoslavia and from Armenia and Azerbaijan have shocked us all and dispelled that perception.

PAGE S7235

In fact, the battle of Sarajevo and the continued combat in Nagorno-Karabakh have thrown into our faces scenes of ethnic conflict in Europe we have not seen since World War II. Once again, we see images of massacred civilians, their bodies tumbled together in ditches and fields. Their only crime was living in the wrong place and trusting in the goodwill of their neighbors.

The current situations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Nagorno-Karabakh are dramatically different. We are back to basics - the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, to quote the title of principle VII of the Final Act. While these rights and freedoms were grossly violated for millions of people by totalitarian Communist governments, genocide was not a real issue - arrest, imprisonment, beatings, and other levels and types of State coercion and oppression were.

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Now, mass murder by ethnic militias not clearly under any State's control is the issue. Now, ethnic militias, supported by armies, force people from their homes at bayonet point, filling the roads of Yugoslavia and the trans-Caucuses with a flow of refugees not seen in Europe since World War II. These people are fleeing, carrying all of their worldly possessions on their backs, with no real hope that they will ever be allowed to return to their homes. They run because their friends and neighbors have been the victims of indiscriminant artillery fire, air attacks, and small arms fire as one group of people tries to subjugate - or exterminate - another group of people, just because they speak a different

language and have a different religion.

These are the rights the Helsinki accords were written to protect. The Helsinki Final Act, in principle VII, provides in part as follows:

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The participating States on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere.

These rights were restated and reinforced in the Charter of Paris for a New Europe in 1990, and in the Document of the Moscow meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE in 1991. Both Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R. were signatories to these documents.

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The parties to the conflicts in the territories of the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union are successor States to Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R. and are still bound by the political commitments made when Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union signed these documents. They do not, however, appear to take these commitments more seriously than their local military and political objectives. Indeed, these commitments are as much casualties of the fighting as are the people who have been killed by the militias and armies.

In light of this situation, it is all the more important that the U.S. Senate make clear its continuing support for the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and subsequent Helsinki process agreements, and its dedication to the cause of human rights, especially in these areas torn by ethnic and religious conflicts. Neither the EC nor the CSCE have made effective progress in bringing to a halt these conflicts or restoring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

TITLE YUGOSLAVIA SANCTIONS ACT OF 1992

TEXT The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of S. 2743, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2743) to deter and punish aggression against the newly independent countries of the defunct Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and to promote human rights within the newly constituted Republic of Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the bill is deemed read three times and the question is on passage of the bill. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The result was announced - yeas 99, nays 0, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 104 LEG.)

YEAS - 99

Adams	Akaka	Baucus
Biden	Bingaman	Bond
Boren	Bradley	Breaux
Brown	Bryan	Bumpers
Burdick	Burns	Byrd
Chafee	Coats	Cochran
Cohen	Conrad	Craig
Cranston	D'Amato	Danforth
Daschle	DeConcini	Dixon
Dodd	Dole	Domenici
Durenberger	Exon	Ford
Fowler	Garn	Glenn
Gore	Gorton	Graham
Gramm	Grassley	Harkin
Hatch	Hatfield	Heflin
Helms	Hollings	Inouye
Jeffords	Johnston	Kassebaum
Kasten	Kennedy	Kerrey
Kerry	Kohl	Lautenberg
Leahy	Levin	Lieberman
Lott	Lugar	Mack
McCain	McConnell	Metzenbaum
Mikulski	Mitchell	Moynihan
Murkowski	Nickles	Nunn
Packwood	Pell	Pressler
Pryor	Reid	Riegle
Robb	Rockefeller	Roth
Rudman	Sanford	Sarbanes
Sasser	Seymour	Shelby
Simon	Simpson	Smith
Specter	Stevens	Symms
Thurmond	Wallop	Warner
Wellstone	Wirth	Wofford

NAYS - 0

NOT VOTING - 1

Bentsen

S. 2743

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This act may be cited as 'The Yugoslavia Sanctions Act of 1992'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds:

(1) Yugoslavia, a state in existence since December 1, 1918, is dissolved;

(2) Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have voted in democratic elections to be independent nations and have achieved international recognition;

(3) Serbia and Montenegro have constituted themselves as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a state which has not achieved international recognition, and which is not the successor state to the dissolved Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia;

(4) The newly constituted state of Yugoslavia is engaged in a war of aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina;

(5) Acting through government controlled militias, paramilitary groups, and the Yugoslav Federal Army, the newly constituted state of Yugoslavia is killing thousands of residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina, is driving hundreds of thousands of residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina from their homes, is destroying the cities and villages of Bosnia-Hercegovina, including such culturally and historically important places as Sarajevo and Mostar, and is interfering with humanitarian relief efforts in Bosnia-Hercegovina;

(6) Serbia and Montenegro, prior to forming the new state of Yugoslavia, had engaged in a war of aggression against Croatia; and the new state of Yugoslavia, acting through government controlled militias and paramilitary groups, continues to occupy illegally territory of the sovereign nation of Croatia;

(7) Two million Albanians in the province of Kosova have been denied many basic human rights, are subject to Serbian imposed martial law, have been denied illegally their right to self-government, and have been subject to violence and killings by the Serbian authorities; and

(8) The international boundaries between the independent countries of the former Yugoslavia are the same as the internal borders among the constituent republics of the former Yugoslavia as specified in the 1974 Yugoslav Federal Constitution (except with regard to the border between Serbia and Montenegro) and cannot be altered without the consent of all countries concerned.

SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

As used hereinafter in this act:

(a) 'Yugoslavia' shall mean the Federation of Montenegro and Serbia constituted on April 27, 1992, a state that has not been

granted international recognition and that is not the successor to the former Yugoslavia; and

(b) 'Former Yugoslavia' shall mean the state established on December 1, 1918 and last formally known as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

SEC. 4. RESTRICTION ON ASSISTANCE TO YUGOSLAVIA.

PAGE S7100

(a) Restriction on Assistance. - Unless the conditions of section 7(a) are certified by the President to have been met, no United States assistance (including funds appropriated before the date of enactment of this Act) may be furnished to Yugoslavia.

(b) Definition. - For the purposes of this section, the term 'United States assistance' means assistance of any kind that is provided by grant, loan, lease, credit, guaranty, or insurance, or by any other means, by any agency or instrumentality of the United States Government to any foreign country, including -

SEC. 5. SUSPENSION OF MULTINATIONAL ASSISTANCE.

Unless the conditions of Section 7(a) are certified by the President to have been met, the Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct the United States executive directors of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Development Association to vote against any loan or other utilization of the funds of their respective institutions to Yugoslavia.

PAGE S7100

SEC. 6. SUSPENSION OF AIR TRAVEL.

(a) In General. - Unless the conditions of Section 7(a) are certified by the President to have been met -

(1) the President shall direct the Secretary of Transportation to revoke the right of any air carrier designated by the Government of the former Yugoslavia under the air transportation agreement between the United States and the former Yugoslavia to provide service to Yugoslavia.

PAGE S7100

(2) the Secretary of State shall terminate so much of that agreement as relates to Yugoslavia in accordance with the provisions of that agreement;

(3) upon termination of those provisions, the Secretary of Transportation shall prohibit any aircraft of a foreign air carrier owned, directly or indirectly, by Yugoslavia from engaging in air transportation with respect to the United States; and

(4) the Secretary of Transportation shall provide for such exceptions from the prohibition contained in paragraph (3) as the Secretary considers necessary to provide for emergencies in which the safety of an aircraft or its crew or passengers is threatened.

PAGE S7100

(a) The conditions referred to in Sections 4, 5, and 6 of this act are:

PAGE S7100

(1) that Yugoslavia is not waging a war of military aggression against any other country;

(2) that Yugoslavia is not supporting directly or indirectly, any military unit, militia, or paramilitary organization in any other

country;

(3) that Yugoslavia is not occupying any territory of another country and is not assisting forces occupying the territory of another country;

PAGE S7100

(4) that Yugoslavia recognizes as international borders the borders of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia as specified in the 1974 Yugoslav Federal Constitution and as existed on December 31, 1984;

(5) that Yugoslavia or forces loyal to or controlled by Yugoslavia are not interfering with United Nations peacekeeping operations or with international observer missions or with humanitarian relief efforts; and

(6) that Yugoslavia is not engaged in a pattern of systematic violations of human rights within its borders.

PAGE S7100

(b) Whenever the President determines that the conditions of subsection (a) have been met, he shall so certify in writing to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

SEC. 8. POLICY ON SUCCESSION.

The independent countries of the former Yugoslavia shall be severally and collectively the heirs to the assets and liabilities of the former Yugoslavia. Treaties and other international agreements between the United States and the former Yugoslavia shall be deemed applicable to the independent countries of the former Yugoslavia, except where the President determines otherwise.

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SEC. 9. POLICY ON RECOGNITION.

It is the sense of the Congress that the President should not recognize Yugoslavia until it has met the conditions in Section 6, and that the President should enter into negotiations with the independent countries of the former Yugoslavia to insure an equitable distribution of the diplomatic property in the United States among all the successor states.

SEC. 10. MULTILATERAL SANCTIONS.

PAGE S7100

The Congress urges the President to negotiate comprehensive multilateral sanctions pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter, including an embargo on the shipment of oil, against Yugoslavia as long as Yugoslavia is supporting acts of military aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Congress further urges the President to oppose Yugoslavia's aggression in all appropriate international fora.

SEC. 11. SANCTIONS ON OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

The President shall apply the sanctions contained in Sections 4, 5 and 6 to any other independent country of the former Yugoslavia which he determines is engaged, directly or indirectly, in military aggression against a neighbor for the purpose of changing its boundaries.

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SEC. 12. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

TITLE AUTHORIZATION OF MULTILATERAL ACTION IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

TEXT However, I do believe that it is time for the nations of the world to act, to use collective force if necessary.

Mr. President, we have been discussing legislation that authorizes nearly \$274 billion in spending for our Armed Forces. Our allies in Europe spend similar amounts on their own military forces. It has been said during debate on this resolution that there is nothing Western forces can do short of a full-scale invasion of Yugoslavia. We are reminded of the 37 German divisions that were pinned down by Balkan fighters.

Mr. President, I find it hard to believe that our military experts, working with the international community, cannot devise some plan, some type of action, should all other avenues for relief be closed.

The result was announced - yeas 82, nays 13, as follows:

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 185 LEG.)

YEAS - 82

- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Adams | Akaka | Baucus |
| Bentsen | Biden | Bingaman |
| Bond | Boren | Bradley |
| Breaux | Bryan | Bumpers |
| Burns | Chafee | Cochran |
| Cohen | Conrad | Craig |
| Cranston | D'Amato | Danforth |
| Daschle | DeConcini | Dixon |
| Dodd | Dole | Domenici |
| Durenberger | Ford | Fowler |
| Garn | Glenn | Graham |
| Gramm | Grassley | Harkin |
| Hatch | Heflin | Inouye |
| Jeffords | Johnston | Kassebaum |
| Kasten | Kennedy | Kerry |
| Kohl | Lautenberg | Leahy |
| Levin | Lieberman | Lugar |
| Mack | McCain | Metzenbaum |
| Mikulski | Mitchell | Moynihan |
| Murkowski | Nickles | Nunn |
| Packwood | Pell | Pressler |
| Pryor | Reid | Riegle |
| Robb | Rockefeller | Roth |
| Sanford | Sarbanes | Sasser |
| Shelby | Simon | Simpson |
| Stevens | Symms | Thurmond |
| Wallop | Warner | Wellstone |
| Wofford | | |

NAYS - 13

- | | | |
|-------|--------|----------|
| Brown | Byrd | Coats |
| Exon | Gorton | Hatfield |

Hollings
McConnell
Wirth

Kerrey
Rudman

Lott
Smith

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1993

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I am pleased to offer this amendment with the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Pell. This amendment provides \$20 million in humanitarian and other relief for the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosova.

The Appropriations Committee has wisely provided assistance for refugees from the former Yugoslavia, but we believe that there is an urgent need for those in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosova who have not been forced from their homes and are beginning to confront winter. Winters in that region of Europe are extremely harsh; there is already snow in the mountains above Sarajevo. Yet, in both Bosnia and Kosova there is little, if any, heating fuel. Furthermore, in Bosnia's cities most buildings are seriously damaged - few buildings have any windows left.

Therefore, this amendment specifies that fuel, construction materials, portable heating units, and food are to be sent to the two regions. We hope that these critical supplies will be sent as soon as possible. Today's New York Times reported that the CIA estimates that 147,000 deaths could occur in Bosnia-Herzegovina this winter from hunger and exposure alone. Some officials at the United Nations have estimated that the number of deaths could be three times as high as the CIA estimate. These people won't die from bullets or bombs, but from starvation and exposure.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with the distinguished minority leader in introducing an amendment to assist the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosova as they head into the winter season. Under normal circumstances, winter in those mountainous regions is difficult, but with war raging in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and potentially, in Kosova, this winter will be life-threatening.

A provision already exists in the underlying legislation to provide \$25 million in assistance for refugees in Bosnia, Croatia, and Slovenia - and I welcome and support that provision. The amendment we are offering will provide assistance to other victims of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbian occupation of Kosova. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, many civilians are living in homes that have been reduced to rubble in the ethnic cleansing campaign. There is little or no access to fuel or food.

I believe that our amendment is both timely and necessary. Today's New York Times reports that United States intelligence experts estimate that 147,000 people could die in Bosnia-Herzegovina this winter due to hunger and exposure to the elements. This figure is one of the more optimistic predictions because it assumes the winter will be a normal one. If the winter is harsh, the figure will most surely climb, our intelligence experts tell us. The U.N. High Commissioner on Refugees warns that under worst case conditions, the figure could reach 400,000.

Mr. President, these figures are appalling. The amendment that

Senator Dole and I are offering would help in alleviating the suffering that winter will surely bring to the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Our amendment provides that \$5 million of this emergency assistance be used in Kosova, where the people are in desperate need of food, fuel and other supplies. The repressive policies of Serbia, the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the economic sanctions imposed on Serbia by the United Nations are taking their toll on the Albanians of Kosova. Many of us fear that the success that Serbia has had in ethnically cleansing Bosnia will lead it to set its sights on Kosova, where Albanians made up 90 percent of the population.

The provision of emergency assistance is important not only for its humanitarian, but for its political implications. In targeting assistance to Kosova, we send a strong message to the Serbian Government that ethnic cleansing is as unacceptable to us in Kosova as it is in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I would also argue that the Albanians of Kosova are as entitled to determine their own future without threat of violence as are the other peoples of the defunct Yugoslavia.

PAGE S15797

Mr. President, I would urge my colleagues to support this important amendment. I would hope that the funds will be obligated quickly, and that desperately needed supplies be allowed to reach the beseiged cities and towns of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Kosova.

REPORT LANGUAGE

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Mr. KASTEN. Mr. President, I wish to enter into a colloquy with the distinguished Democratic manager of the Foreign Operations bill, Senator Leahy. In the committee report, there is a reference to the Kosova region of Serbia. I would like to clarify the intent of this language to state that Kosova is a region of the former country of Yugoslavia. It was in no way our intent as drafters of this report to imply that Kosova is by any definition a part of Serbia.

Mr. LEAHY. I thank the Senator. I also agree that it was never our intent to refer to Kosova as a region of Serbia. I, too, wish to clarify that the intent of this language is to state that Kosova is a region of the former country of Yugoslavia.

AMENDMENT NO. 3335, AS MODIFIED, TO AMENDMENT NO. 3334

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(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 251 LEG.)

YEAS - 40

Bond	Breaux	Brown
Burdick, Jocelyn	Burns	Chafee
Cochran	Conrad	Craig
Danforth	Domenici	Durenberger
Garn	Gorton	Gamm
Grassley	Hatch	Hatfield
Helms	Inouye	Johnston
Kasten	Leahy	Lott
Mack	McCain	McConnell
Murkowski	Nickles	Packwood
Pressler	Roth	Seymour

Shelby
Symms
Warner

Smith
Thurmond

Stevens
Wallop

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NAYS - 56

Adams
Bentsen
Boren
Bumpers
Cohen
Daschle
Dodd
Ford
Graham
Hollings
Kennedy
Kohl
Lieberman
Mikulski
Nunn
Riegle
Rudman
Simon
Wirth

Akaka
Biden
Bradley
Byrd
Cranston
DeConcini
Dole
Fowler
Harkin
Jeffords
Kerrey
Lautenberg
Lugar
Mitchell
Pryor
Robb
Sarbanes
Simpson
Wofford

Baucus
Bingaman
Bryan
Coats
D'Amato
Dixon
Exon
Glenn
Heflin
Kassebaum
Kerry
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moynihan
Reid
Rockefeller
Sasser
Wellstone

NOT VOTING - 4

Gore
Specter

Pell

Sanford

(a) Congress finds as follows:

(1) the United Nations has imposed an embargo on the transfer of arms to any country on the territory of the former Yugoslavia;

(2) the federated states of Serbia and Montenegro have a large supply of military equipment and ammunition and the Serbian forces fighting the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina have more than one thousand battle tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery pieces; and

PAGE S15810

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I will be brief. I do not think it will take more than 5 to 10 minutes to explain my amendment.

Mr. President, the need for enhanced institutional preparedness for collective military action is underscored by the ongoing disaster in Yugoslavia. There a barbarism, unexpected in modern Europe, has unfolded, and it has unfolded in the face of outside disbelief and growing recognition of the world's unreadiness, even after the gulf war, to act decisively with collective military force.

The unabated slaughter in Bosnia instructs on several points, Mr. President.

PAGE S15810

Of these principles, none is more fundamental than the imperative that the international community not turn its back to ruthless and barbaric aggression.

The amendment that I have offered is designed to empower and encourage the President of the United States to lead the international community in providing the assistance by which the people of Bosnia can at least defend themselves against one of this

century's most wanton acts of inhumanity. The amendment speaks of the perverse effect of the current U.N. embargo against the Republics of the former state of Yugoslavia, an embargo that has achieved no other purpose than to leave the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina unarmed against a ruthless and heavily armed enemy.

PAGE S15810

The amendment provides the following authorization: that at such time as the United Nations takes the collective action needed to lift the embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina, the President may, in conjunction with other allied nations, provide military assistance to that government through a drawdown of up to \$50 million in Defense Department stocks of military weapons and equipment.

Are we prepared to adjourn, Mr. President, having done nothing at all to deal with this issue?

I have no more desire than General Powell or any other American to see United States ground troops in combat in the former Yugoslavia. But that goal does not require self-imposed blindness or irresponsible actions; or, I should be more precise, irresponsible inaction, which is what we have been undertaking.

Mr. President, it has for sometime been taken as a given that the Bush administration's strong suit is foreign policy. But mere acquaintance with foreign leaders, accompanied by status in the realm of action, is not a foreign policy. Indeed, if a sound foreign policy is one that comprises coherent initiatives and response in the world arena directed at promoting well-conceived national interests, then the Bush administration is perilously close to being without a foreign policy.

PAGE S15810

(a) Congress finds as follows:

(1) the United Nations has imposed an embargo on the transfer of arms to any country on the territory of the former Yugoslavia;

PAGE S15811

(2) the federated states of Serbia and Montenegro have a large supply of military equipment and ammunition and the Serbian forces fighting the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina have more than one thousand battle tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery pieces; and

It is very straightforward, Mr. President.

PAGE S15811

In conclusion of my remarks, Mr. President, when Yugoslavia disintegrated, and the world, including the United States, recognized the existence of independent countries made up of the former Yugoslavia, the group that was left with the Yugoslavian military, which was considerable, with the guns and ammunition, supplies, and personnel, were the Serbians. And, Mr. President, the Bosnians were not.

So when the embargo was placed, the end result was, one side has an overwhelming supply in hand, the other side has nothing with little or no possibility of getting anything. We are seeing the effects of that unfortunate, well-intended but devastating, decision on the part of the Bosnians to be able to defend themselves against the naked aggression and ethnic cleansing undertaking of their Serbian neighbors.

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

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I believe the Senator from Delaware has hit the nail on the head with this amendment. We face a situation in what used to be Yugoslavia in which a conflict which is part civil war and part slaughter is occurring by reason of the aggression of Serbian forces. The former Yugoslavia army was almost entirely composed of Serbians. The arms industries in that country are located in Serbia. Serbians with tanks and armored personnel carriers and artillery have been engaged in sieges and slaughters in Bosnia and in Croatia for more than a year, in a way which shocks the conscience of humanity. Their leaders have agreed on numerous occasions to engage in ceasefires, to place their artillery under U.N. observation, to allow refugees to leave. And without exception they have broken those agreements.

PAGE S15811

The United Nations and the United States at the same time have sought to end the conflict by an arms embargo against all parties. That arms embargo, however, has no real impact on the Serbian and quasi-Serbian forces which are well armed and have a steady supply of arms. It has, however, greatly penalized those who are fighting for their own independence and territorial sovereignty.

This Nation has had a long history, most recently in Afghanistan but in many other nations in the world, of allowing arms to be sold and supplied to those who are fighting for the liberty and for the liberation of their own country. Such arms will not be of any help if the Bosnians do not wish to fight for their own liberties. All indications, however, are that they are so inclined.

And if we are unwilling - and I believe we should be unwilling - to send our own troops, or other Western troops into the morass which is the former Yugoslavia, at the very least we ought to allow those who wish to fight for their own freedom to do so effectively.

PAGE S15811

This resolution will do so. I commend the Senator from Delaware for offering it, and I offer it my most hearty and complete support.

In calling for an end to the arms embargo against Bosnia, and in authorizing the President of the United States to transfer up to \$50 million of military stocks to Bosnia, we are fulfilling here a moral responsibility. And we are correcting a perverse effect that a well-intentioned act had.

PAGE S15812

The arms embargo against the nations of the former Yugoslavia was designed with the loftiest of motives, and that was to prevent the spread of violence. That goal, sadly, has been beyond our reach. And the embargo, as a result, has had a contorted and perverse effect. It has prevented the Bosnians, who are the victims here, from adequately defending themselves against Serbian aggression.

We have effectively left a people defenseless, without the right or the means to defend themselves against aggression. In that sense, the embargo, unintentionally, has contributed to the horrific slaughter which unfolds before the eyes of the world each day.

I congratulate and thank the Senator from Delaware for taking the leadership in offering this amendment.

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Mr. President, the Senate addressed this crisis in Yugoslavia before we left in August, and did so in a strong and bipartisan fashion as is appropriate to the case. But we also expressed, I think, there, and responded to what is a quandary both in the United States and in the community of civilized nations as to how, in the post-cold war world, we will respond to ethnic and national conflicts of this kind, the worst kind, that we are seeing here - aggression approaching in some cases genocide against the Moslem population of Bosnia.

The nations of the world agitate and equivocate, complain, as they do understandably in Europe, about the flood of hundreds of thousands of refugees that are moving West and yet they are unwilling to take action to stop that flood by bringing the conflict to some kind of closure.

This amendment responds in a way that is real and forceful to that dilemma, and attempts to ease the pain of the worst consequences of the world's unpreparedness to deal with this kind of post-cold war crisis.

PAGE S15812

In fact we are being challenged by what is happening in Yugoslavia today to come to some conclusion about whether we are prepared to act where our interests in a specific strategic sense are limited but the moral outrage is absolutely unlimited and clear; whether in fact we are prepared to use our muscle where there is no oil involved, no other clear national strategic interest involved, but just the overpowering legal and moral principle that people are being slaughtered because of their religion - in this case Moslem - and whether we are prepared to act in that case.

Mr. President, as the Senator from Delaware indicated, the extent of the disaster in Bosnia becomes clearer everyday and is much clearer today than it was when he adopted the resolution in August.

Nor is this wave of cruelty against people because of their religion in this region, this northwestern region of Bosnia, abating. According to international relief workers, a campaign of violence has escalated in recent weeks against the hundreds of thousands of Moslems who still inhabit the region.

Mr. President, the human tragedy of Bosnia cries out for a firm international response. We must act because it is our moral responsibility to act. And we must do so, also I believe, because we have an interest in preventing and stemming the tide of Serbian aggression in Bosnia. Because if we do not it will only encourage Serbian aggression in Kosovo, and it will inspire nationalists throughout what was the former Soviet Union to believe that violence yields more fruit than diplomacy and negotiation.

The gasoline of ethnic hatred lies in puddles throughout much of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and the Serbian aggression is the lighted match. Unless we snuff it out, it will lead to fires that will well be beyond our control.

PAGE S15812

(FOOTNOTE 1) World Development Report 1992, World Bank (Oxford University Press); Sivard, L. Ruth; World Military and Social Expenditures 1991, 15th edition (1991). Cross References: The State of the World's Children 1992, UNICEF (Oxford University Press).

McNamara S. Robert; 'Reducing Military Expenditures in the Third World,' Finance & Development, Volume 3, (September 1991). McNamara S. Robert; The Post-Cold War and its Implications for Military Expenditures in the Developing Countries, - Paper prepared for the World Bank's Annual Conference on Development Economics, March 1991.

(FOOTNOTE 2) Countries that spend more on their military than on health and education combined. Discrepancies in data may arise from under reporting. Data is also unavailable for several countries, such as Yugoslavia and the newly independent states in the former Soviet Union.

1. Mozambique (FOOTNOTE 2)

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(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 252 LEG.)

YEAS - 38

Baucus	Bond	Boren
Breaux	Brown	Bryan
Bumpers	Burns	Byrd
Coats	Conrad	Craig
Daschle	DeConcini	Ford
Fowler	Garn	Glenn
Gramm	Hatch	Helms
Hollings	Kasten	Lott
McCain	McConnell	Murkowski
Nickles	Nunn	Pressler
Pryor	Reid	Roth
Seymour	Smith	Symms
Thurmond	Wallop	

NAYS - 58

Adams	Akaka	Bentsen
Biden	Bingaman	Bradley
Burdick, Jocelyn	Chafee	Cochran
Cohen	Cranston	Danforth
Dixon	Dodd	Dole
Domenici	Durenberger	Exon
Gorton	Graham	Grassley
Harkin	Hatfield	Heflin
Inouye	Jeffords	Johnston
Kassebaum	Kennedy	Kerrey
Kerry	Kohl	Lautenberg
Leahy	Levin	Lieberman
Lugar	Mack	Metzenbaum
Mikulski	Mitchell	Moynihan
Packwood	Riegle	Robb
Rockefeller	Rudman	Sarbanes
Sasser	Shelby	Simon
Simpson	Specter	Stevens
Warner	Wellstone	Wirth
Wofford		

PAGE S15819

NOT VOTING - 4

D'Amato	Gore	Pell
Sanford		

Mr. WARNER. I thank the distinguished manager of the bill and the

Republican leader.

I have now had the opportunity to speak with the Acting Secretary of State Eagleburger. We must appreciate the fact that he has had but a few minutes to reflect on this amendment. Incidentally, he knows the general subject very, very well, primarily because at one time he was the United States Ambassador to the former nation of Yugoslavia and has taken an intense interest in trying to foster negotiations to resolve this tragic conflict.

PAGE S15824

He advised me that at this time the administration, given that they have not had the opportunity to consider the amendment in detail, would have to oppose the amendment but would have no objection if it is voice voted at this moment, so that the matter can be carefully considered in conference. But, again, the Secretary pointed out to me basically what I have already stated in my earlier remarks. It is the judgment of many, be they military, diplomatic, or others, that this conflict cannot be resolved without incredible amounts of bloodshed if military force is used, and that the hope of the nations of the world, indeed, the hope of the vast majority of the citizens of the former nation of Yugoslavia, irrespective of their cultural background, is that negotiations can prevail some day and in some manner and in some form that can bring about a cessation of the hostilities. To inject more arms in under this formula as laid down in the amendment or from other sources would only exacerbate the problem, and it would not likely foster that environment in which the negotiations could take place.

Having said that, Mr. President, I indicate my objection to the amendment, but I understand it is to be voice voted, and therefore, at the moment I see the proponent of the amendment.

2 OF 89

21 LINES

PART CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (HOUSE)

DATE October 5, 1992

PAGE PAGE H12184

TITLE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 3489, OMNIBUS EXPORT AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1992

TEXT Alan Cranston,
Paul Sarbanes,
Jake Garn,

PAGE H12197

The conference substitute is the same as the House position.
HUMAN RIGHTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

PAGE H12200

The Senate amendment (sec. 208) expresses the sense of Congress with respect to the abuse of human rights in Yugoslavia and requires a report by the President on why the Ex-Im Bank should not restrict its activities with respect to Yugoslavia.

The House bill contains no comparable provision.
Alan Cranston,

PAGE H12201

Paul Sarbanes,
Jake Garn,

1 OF 89
PART
DATE
TITLE

71 LINES
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (SENATE)
October 8, 1992
THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE'S RECORD IN THE 102D CONGRESS AND
ITS AGENDA FOR THE 103D

TEXT

In 1991, the committee moved expeditiously to dispose of its regular legislative responsibilities. Under the leadership of Senators Kerry and Brown, we enacted authorizations for the State Department, USIA, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Board for International Broadcasting. This legislation contains many important innovations, and I am proud of our role in the creation of the Voice of American Kurdish service and in strengthening educational exchange programs. More recently, just last week in fact, the committee, acting on the advice of a prestigious advisory commission, approved legislation to create a Radio Free Asia to broadcast to China, Tibet, Vietnam, and Burma. The 102d Congress was not able to act on this legislation, but it will be a priority objective to enact it in 1993.

PAGE -----

In 1991, the Senate also passed under the leadership of Senators Sarbanes and McConnell foreign assistance legislation originating in the Foreign Relations Committee. This legislation revised and streamlined foreign assistance authorizations and began the process of adapting the foreign assistance program to the new imperatives of the post-cold-war world. Although House and Senate conferees agreed on a conference report, which the Senate passed, the House rejected it; so the many important provisions that should have become law did not. But we will take up the cudgels again next year.

The 102d Congress was also a time of great change, even upheaval, in Europe. In Eastern Europe democracy took hold, but in Yugoslavia the promise of a new world order turned into the terror of an old world disorder. The most extraordinary event of the last 2 years, and certainly the most hopeful, was the democratic revolution that brought about the dissolution of the Soviet Union, freedom for the Baltic nations, independence for the other 12 republics, and true democracy in Russia for the first time in its 1,000-year history.

The Foreign Relations Committee met frequently and spent many hours considering and assessing the implications for the United States of developments in what was the Soviet Union - developments that literally changed the world as we had known it since 1945.

PAGE -----

Mr. President, earlier I talked about the high hopes for a new world order that we all had when this Congress began 2 years ago. The Soviet Union was beginning to pass into history along with the cold war, Germany was consolidating its peaceful and democratic reunification, and in Eastern Europe democracy took hold after more than four decades of Communist enslavement.

In Yugoslavia, however, the disintegration of that country produced a political and humanitarian nightmare. The war in Croatia ended in January only to be replaced by the much bloodier conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a wider Balkan war looms just over the horizon.

PAGE -----

If the carnage in Bosnia-Herzegovina is to end and a wider war prevented, effective U.N. action spurred by U.S. leadership will be required. The Foreign Relations Committee has been seized of the Yugoslavia situation for over 1 year. In August, the Senate adopted a resolution originating in the Foreign Relations Committee calling for the use of force if necessary to relieve the suffering in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The administration has responded to that call, and the United States is now exercising the kind of leadership that is critical to the restoration of peace in the Balkans.

The situation in the Balkans and the experience of the Gulf War have pointed up the need to establish an effective collective security mechanism under the aegis of the United Nations to deal quickly with threats to international peace and security. Article 43 of the U.N. Charter provides such a mechanism - and I am proud to have worked on that article as a member of the secretariat at the San Francisco conference in 1945 - but cold war politics prevented it from being activated.

11 OF 24 980 LINES
PART CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (SENATE)
DATE March 24, 1993

PAGE S3549

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEARS 1994-98
DEMOCRATS (41 OR 93%)

Baucus, Bentsen, Biden, Bingaman, Boren, Bradley, Bumpers,
Burdick, Byrd, Chiles, DeConcini, Dixon, Dodd, Eagleton, Exon,
Ford, Glenn, Hart, Huddleston, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy,
Lautenberg, Leahy, Levin, Long, Matsunaga, Melcher, Metzenbaum,
Mitchell, Moynihan, Nunn, Pell, Proxmire, Pryor, Randolph, Riegle,
Sarbanes, Sasser, Stennis, Tsongas.

NAYS (9)

REPUBLICANS (6 OR 11%)

PAGE S3554

The result was announced - yeas 52, nays 47, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 57 LEG.)

YEAS - 52

Akaka	Baucus	Biden
Bingaman	Boren	Boxer
Bradley	Breaux	Bryan
Bumpers	Byrd	Campbell
Conrad	Daschle	Dodd
Dorgan	Exon	Feingold
Feinstein	Ford	Glenn
Graham	Harkin	Hollings
Johnston	Kennedy	Kerrey
Kerry	Kohl	Lautenberg
Leahy	Levin	Lieberman
Mathews	Metzenbaum	Mikulski
Mitchell	Moseley-Braun	Moynihan
Murray	Nunn	Pell
Pryor	Reid	Riegle
Robb	Rockefeller	Sarbanes
Sasser	Simon	Wellstone
Wofford		

NAYS - 47

Bennett	Bond	Brown
Burns	Chafee	Coats
Cochran	Cohen	Coverdell
Craig	D'Amato	Danforth
DeConcini	Dole	Domenici
Durenberger	Faircloth	Gorton
Gramm	Grassley	Gregg
Hatch	Hatfield	Heflin
Helms	Jeffords	Kassebaum
Kempthorne	Krueger	Lott
Lugar	Mack	McCain
McConnell	Murkowski	Nickles
Packwood	Pressler	Roth
Shelby	Simpson	Smith
Specter	Stevens	Thurmond
Wallop	Warner	

PAGE S3559

The result was announced - yeas 67, nays 32, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 58 LEG.)

YEAS - 67

Akaka	Baucus	Biden
Bingaman	Boren	Boxer
Bradley	Breaux	Brown
Bryan	Bumpers	Byrd
Campbell	Chafee	Cohen
Conrad	Daschle	DeConcini
Dodd	Dorgan	Exon
Feingold	Feinstein	Ford
Glenn	Graham	Gregg
Harkin	Hatfield	Heflin
Hollings	Jeffords	Johnston
Kassebaum	Kennedy	Kerrey
Kerry	Kohl	Krueger
Lautenberg	Leahy	Levin
Lieberman	Lugar	Mathews
Metzenbaum	Mikulski	Mitchell
Moseley-Braun	Moynihan	Murray
Nunn	Packwood	Pell
Pressler	Pryor	Reid
Riegle	Rockefeller	Sarbanes
Sasser	Shelby	Simon
Specter	Warner	Wellstone
Wofford		

NAYS - 32

Bennett	Bond	Burns
Coats	Cochran	Coverdell
Craig	D'Amato	Danforth
Dole	Domenici	Durenberger
Faircloth	Gorton	Gramm
Grassley	Hatch	Helms
Kempthorne	Lott	Mack
McCain	McConnell	Murkowski
Nickles	Robb	Roth
Simpson	Smith	Stevens
Thurmond	Wallop	

PAGE S3566

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

PAGE S3568

Mr. SARBANES. I thank the distinguished chairman of the committee for yielding me time.

Madam President, this is an interesting amendment. It does deserve some careful consideration. It does reflect some very important differences.

Mr. SASSER. When the Senator says public investment, what does the Senator mean?

Mr. SARBANES. I am essentially talking about infrastructure. This is physical capital, not human capital, not education, which is another important criterion. If I had a chart on that, again we would have problems compared to other countries. But this is physical capital. The United States is far behind on public investment and low on productivity growth.

Mr. President, if anyone stops and thinks about it, most people would realize that we need to make investments for the future strength of the country. People do that. They save money to send their children to college and get an education.

The next 8.7 percent will come from those making between \$100,000 and \$200,000. So, if you add those figures together, 75 percent of them is coming from those in the upper income brackets and almost 65 percent of the revenues are coming from those who make over \$200,000 a year.

Mr. SARBANES. Madam President, now we are getting to the heart of this issue.

Mr. SASSER. Yes, we are.

Mr. SARBANES. Yes, we are. Now we are getting to the heart of the issue.

The President says: 'I want to have an investment strategy to build America for tomorrow. We want to invest in our children. We want to invest in our working people. We want to give business incentives to build new plant and equipment. We want to upgrade our infrastructure. We want to increase funding for research and development. And we want to bring the deficit down. We are going to try to accomplish all of these imperative objectives.'

What President Clinton seeks to do to finance this investment program is to raise on the top 1 percent the effective tax rate to 33.1 percent, still slightly below where it was in 1979, I say to my friend from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. I appreciate that very much. I think that the chart the chairman has shown is a very important chart and it fits right in with this one.

This is a little complicated. I am going to take a moment to describe it. The top 1 percent over the last 15 years has raised their pretax income from \$305,000 per family a year, to \$566,000. Their taxes have gone up from \$108,000 to \$163,000. So their pretax income has gone up 85 percent. Their taxes have gone up 50 percent, reflecting the cut in the rates and their aftertax income, which is this large block here, this red block has gone up 105 percent.

Mr. RIEGLE. Madam President, will the Senator yield for a question on this chart that he laid out?

Mr. SARBANES. Certainly.

Mr. RIEGLE. Would it not be fair to say when you show the change in income distribution, all the money was running up to the top 1 percent of the income scale and people down the income scale were losing a large share of income?

We have to break that. And the way to break it is to stop this business where more and more of our national wealth is accumulating in the top 1 percent and see to it that the rest of the people of this country have a chance to participate and have a chance to get a job.

Senator Sarbanes talks about a jobless recovery. It is the most extreme thing we have seen at any point since the end of World War

II.

This chart right here reflects that fact. If you look, as he said, at what has happened since the trough of the recession, if you look at previous recessions, we ought to be up here right now with respect to job recovery after this recession. That is what the last seven recessions have looked like.

PAGE S3570

They talk about how they are going to cut spending. The proposed spending cut is infinitesimal, the little bitty blue line down here. Yet, over the 5-year period this red bar represents the total proposed Government spending. As you can see, it goes way up. We are talking about trillions of dollars. The Government plans to spend over \$8 trillion over the next 5 years.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield?

PAGE S3572

Mr. LOTT. I only have 4 minutes. I apologize. We will get some more time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I want to say with all due respect to my colleague from Texas who has been leading the opposition to this amendment that if this were not serious business, I would have to say that some of the comments he just made were laughable. I make this point with respect to his comments that we have to do it all in the private sector and yet he has been the champion on this floor of the superconducting super collider, which is public money, public money to help build our scientific infrastructure.

PAGE S3573

Some think we should not have it and some think we should. The Senator from Texas is a champion of thinking we ought to have it. But it is public money. And then the space station. Ah, we get all this beating of the chest about the private sector. Then the Senator turns around and champions the space station. That is public money.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 1 additional minute.

PAGE S3573

Mr. SARBANES. And then the S&L's. The operators of those S&L's took the provision in the law that said you could get Federal deposit insurance but your powers would be governed by State law. These are State chartered institutions whose deposits were covered by Federal insurance. Texas then had a law which allowed them to engage in the widest indeed wildest sort of activities. They would engage in speculation that would make a prudent person blush.

So they went out and did it, my distinguished colleague's constituents, the operators of these S&L's and then it all fell apart. We had to honor the deposit insurance. We are now going to do that to the tune of about \$130 billion, and about half of that is going to go for these practices on the part of S&L's in Texas.

The result was announced - yeas 55, nays 44, as follows:

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 59 LEG.)

YEAS - 55

Akaka
Bingaman

Baucus
Boren

Biden
Boxer

Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Heflin
Kennedy
Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Wofford

Breaux
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Hollings
Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wellstone

NAYS - 44

Bennett
Burns
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Helms
Kempthorne
Mack
Murkowski
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Brown
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Jeffords
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

PAGE S3576

The entitlement caps under this amendment would create great mischief; as I said earlier, it would harm some of our neediest and frailest senior citizens.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. SASSER. I am pleased to yield.

PAGE S3591

Mr. SARBANES. I think the Senator is making a very important point when he says this amendment harms some of our neediest citizens. What happens is you get the concept up to such a level of generality that people do not understand what is really being done. They say we are going to put on an entitlement cap. Once you start working through the proposal, you realize that means you are going to cap Medicare and Medicaid spending.

Mr. SASSER. That is right.

Mr. SARBANES. The President wants to do health care reform because the costs of medical care are significantly outrunning the consumer price index. He wants to try to address that problem. That is the rational way to try to do it because he is talking about doing it in a context in which you are going to have

universal health care coverage.

PAGE S3591

But what this proposal will mean, when it works its way down, is that senior citizens, and the poor, are going to need health care and are not going to be able to get it. Make no mistake about it. That is what entitlement cap means, once you have worked all the way through it, especially in the dimensions which they are talking about in this proposal.

And what the distinguished Senator from Maryland is saying is, if these entitlement caps go into place, you are going to see more and more doctors saying: We are not taking any Medicare patients here, because Medicare is not paying enough. More and more hospitals are going to say: No Medicare patients here, no Medicaid patients here; we want the patients that have Blue Cross/Blue Shield, high option, or we want the wealthy patients, and the old and the poor need not apply.

PAGE S3591

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I have a college roommate who is a pediatrician in a small town of about 40,000 people. He is the only pediatrician in that town who will take the Medicaid payment. Under Medicaid, you are required, if you render certain services, to take the standard Medicaid fee. All of the other doctors have opted out of it, because they do not make any money out of it.

This dear friend of mine does not make any money out of it either, but he feels that someone has to serve this population, and he is prepared to try to do it. He actually ends up putting in very, very long hours because there is no one else in town. He and his son are the only two in town prepared to serve people on Medicaid. They practice together.

Let me tell you what Dr. Alan Greenspan, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, appointed by Ronald Reagan - -

PAGE S3592

Mr. SARBANES. And reappointed by George Bush.

Mr. SASSER. The Senator is quite correct.

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 60 LEG.)

YEAS - 42

Bennett
Burns
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Helms
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

Bond
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Brown
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kempthorne
Mack
Murkowski
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

PAGE S3601

NAYS - 57

Akaka
Bingaman

Baucus
Boren

Biden
Boxer

Bradley
Bumpers
Chafee
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Jeffords
Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

Breaux
Byrd
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Heflin
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wellstone

Bryan
Campbell
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Hollings
Kennedy
Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Wofford

NOT VOTING - 1

Inouye

The result was announced - yeas 62, nays 37, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 61 LEG.)

YEAS - 62

Akaka
Bingaman
Boxer
Bumpers
Campbell
Conrad
DeConcini
Durenberger
Feinstein
Gregg
Hollings
Kerry
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pressler
Riegle
Sarbanes
Smith
Wellstone

Baucus
Bond
Bradley
Burns
Chafee
D'Amato
Dodd
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Jeffords
Kohl
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nickles
Pryor
Rockefeller
Sasser
Specter
Wofford

Biden
Boren
Bryan
Byrd
Cohen
Daschle
Dorgan
Feingold
Graham
Hatfield
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Reid
Roth
Simon
Stevens

NAYS - 37

Bennett
Coats
Craig
Domenici
Gorton
Hatch
Johnston
Kerrey
Lugar

Breaux
Cochran
Danforth
Faircloth
Gramm
Heflin
Kassebaum
Krueger
Mack

Brown
Coverdell
Dole
Glenn
Grassley
Helms
Kempthorne
Lott
McCain

PAGE S3602

McConnell
Packwood
Simpson
Warner

Murkowski
Robb
Thurmond

Nunn
Shelby
Wallop

The result was announced - yeas 96, nays 3, as follows:

PAGE S3602

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 62 LEG.)

YEAS - 96

Akaka
Biden
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Campbell
Cochran
Coverdell
Daschle
Dole
Durenberger
Feingold
Glenn
Gramm
Harkin
Heflin
Johnston
Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Lugar
McCain
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nickles
Pell
Reid
Rockefeller
Sasser
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Baucus
Bingaman
Boxer
Brown
Burns
Chafee
Cohen
Craig
DeConcini
Domenici
Exon
Feinstein
Gorton
Grassley
Hatch
Helms
Kempthorne
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mack
McConnell
Mitchell
Murkowski
Nunn
Pressler
Riegle
Roth
Shelby
Smith
Thurmond
Wellstone

Bennett
Bond
Bradley
Bryan
Byrd
Coats
Conrad
D'Amato
Dodd
Dorgan
Faircloth
Ford
Graham
Gregg
Hatfield
Hollings
Kennedy
Kohl
Leahy
Lott
Mathews
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Murray
Packwood
Pryor
Robb
Sarbanes
Simon
Specter
Wallop
Wofford

NAYS - 3

Danforth

Jeffords

Kassebaum

The result was announced - yeas 93, nays 6, as follows:

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 63 LEG.)

YEAS - 93

Akaka
Biden
Boren
Brown
Burns
Chafee
Cohen
Craig
DeConcini

Baucus
Bingaman
Boxer
Bryan
Byrd
Coats
Conrad
D'Amato
Dodd

Bennett
Bond
Breaux
Bumpers
Campbell
Cochran
Coverdell
Daschle
Dole

Domenici
Exon
Feinstein
Gorton
Grassley
Hatfield
Hollings
Kassebaum
Kerrey
Krueger
Lieberman
Mack
McConnell
Mitchell
Murkowski
Nunn
Pressler
Riegle
Sarbanes
Simon
Stevens
Warner

Dorgan
Faircloth
Ford
Graham
Harkin
Heflin
Jeffords
Kempthorne
Kerry
Leahy
Lott
Mathews
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Murray
Packwood
Pryor
Rockefeller
Sasser
Simpson
Thurmond
Wellstone

Durenberger
Feingold
Glenn
Gramm
Hatch
Helms
Johnston
Kennedy
Kohl
Levin
Lugar
McCain
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nickles
Pell
Reid
Roth
Shelby
Specter
Wallop
Wofford

PAGE S3603

NAYS - 6

Bradley
Lautenberg

Danforth
Robb

Gregg
Smith

I think that is what the White House is saying. The distinguished Senator from West Virginia is much more knowledgeable in health care issues than I and, frankly, I would like to defer to his wisdom on this matter.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Three minutes have expired. The vote now occurs on the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

PAGE S3617

The result was announced - yeas 95, nays 4, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 64 LEG.)

YEAS - 95

Akaka
Biden
Boren
Breaux
Bumpers
Campbell
Cochran
Coverdell
Daschle
Dole
Durenberger
Feinstein
Gorton
Grassley
Hatch
Hollings
Kassebaum

Baucus
Bingaman
Boxer
Brown
Burns
Chafee
Cohen
Craig
DeConcini
Domenici
Exon
Ford
Graham
Gregg
Hatfield
Jeffords
Kempthorne

Bennett
Bond
Bradley
Bryan
Byrd
Coats
Conrad
D'Amato
Dodd
Dorgan
Feingold
Glenn
Gramm
Harkin
Heflin
Johnston
Kennedy

Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Lugar
McCain
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nickles
Pell
Reid
Rockefeller
Sasser
Simpson
Stevens
Wellstone

Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mack
McConnell
Mitchell
Murkowski
Nunn
Pressler
Riegle
Roth
Shelby
Smith
Thurmond
Wofford

Kohl
Leahy
Lott
Mathews
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Murray
Packwood
Pryor
Robb
Sarbanes
Simon
Specter
Warner

PAGE S3617

NAYS - 4

Danforth
Wallop

Faircloth

Helms

The result was announced - yeas 51, nays 47, as follows:

PAGE S3617

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 65 LEG.)

YEAS - 51

Akaka
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Jeffords
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pryor
Rockefeller
Simon

Baucus
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Heflin
Johnston
Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Reid
Sarbanes
Wellstone

Biden
Breau
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Hollings
Kennedy
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Pell
Riegle
Sasser
Wofford

PAGE S3618

NAYS - 47

Bennett
Brown
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Kassebaum
Lott
McCain
Nickles

Bingaman
Burns
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kempthorne
Lugar
McConnell
Nunn

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Helms
Kerrey
Mack
Murkowski
Packwood

Pressler
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Robb
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Roth
Smith
Thurmond

YEAS (66)
DEMOCRATS (50 OR 93%)

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Adams, Akaka, Baucus, Bentsen, Biden, Breaux, Bryan, Bumpers, Burdick, Byrd, Conrad, Cranston, Daschle, DeConcini, Dodd, Exon, Ford, Fowler, Glenn, Gore, Graham, Harkin, Heflin, Hollings, Inouye, Johnston, Kennedy, Kerrey, Kerry, Kohl, Lautenberg, Leahy, Levin, Lieberman, Metzenbaum, Mikulski, Mitchell, Moynihan, Pell, Pryor, Reid, Riegle, Rockefeller, Sanford, Sarbanes, Sasser, Shelby, Simon, Wellstone, Wofford.

REPUBLICANS (16 OR 40%)

Mr. SASSER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a 10 minute rollcall vote on - -

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Mr. SARBANES. Give 15 minutes on the first one.

Mr. SASSER. Fifteen. I withdraw the request.

The first vote is going to be a 15-minute roll call under the ordinary rules because we do not know where all Senators are or how much notice they had. Following that, I will make a determination on how best to proceed.

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Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. SARBANES. If the regular order is invoked is the regular order now the presentation of the amendment, a reading of the amendment, and a 15-minute vote?

PAGE S3625

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That would be the order.

Mr. SARBANES. That would be the regular order.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Montana.

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The result was announced - yeas 54, nays 44, as follows:

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 66 LEG.)

YEAS - 54

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Hollings
Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Reid

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Kennedy
Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pryor
Robb

Rockefeller
Simon

Sarbanes
Wellstone

Sasser
Wofford

NAYS - 44

Bennett
Burns
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Heflin
Kempthorne
Mack
Murkowski
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Brown
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Jeffords
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

The result was announced - yeas 69, nays 29, as follows:

PAGE S3625

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 67 LEG.)

PAGE S3626

YEAS - 69

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Chafee
D'Amato
DeConcini
Dorgan
Feingold
Glenn
Harkin
Hollings
Kennedy
Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murkowski
Packwood
Reid
Rockefeller
Shelby
Stevens

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Coats
Danforth
Dodd
Durenberger
Feinstein
Gorton
Hatfield
Jeffords
Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Murray
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Simon
Wellstone

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
Conrad
Daschle
Domenici
Exon
Ford
Graham
Heflin
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nunn
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Specter
Wofford

NAYS - 29

Bennett
Burns
Coverdell
Faircloth
Gregg
Kempthorne
Mack

Bond
Cochran
Craig
Gramm
Hatch
Lott
McCain

Brown
Cohen
Dole
Grassley
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell

Nickles
Simpson
Wallop

Pressler
Smith
Warner

Roth
Thurmond

The result was announced - yeas 55, nays 43, as follows:

PAGE S3627

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 68 LEG.)

YEAS - 55

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Hollings
Kennedy
Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wofford

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Johnston
Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Pryor
Robb
Sasser

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Kassebaum
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Packwood
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

NAYS - 43

Bennett
Burns
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kempthorne
Mack
Murkowski
Roth
Smith
Thurmond
Wellstone

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Heflin
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Brown
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Jeffords
Lugar
McConnell
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

The result was announced - yeas 54, nays 44, as follows:

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 69 LEG.)

YEAS - 54

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Hollings

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Johnston

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Kennedy

Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wellstone

Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Wofford

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NAYS - 44

Bennett
Burns
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Heflin
Kempthorne
Mack
Murkowski
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Brown
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Jeffords
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

The result was announced - yeas 52, nays 46, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 70 LEG.)

YEAS - 52

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Hollings
Kerrey
Krueger
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Wofford

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Johnston
Kerry
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Kennedy
Kohl
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wellstone

PAGE S3629

NAYS - 46

Bennett
Burns
Cochran
Craig
Dole

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici

Brown
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger

Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Gorton
Gregg
Heflin
Kempthorne
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

Gramm
Hatch
Jeffords
Lautenberg
Mack
Murkowski
Pell
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

'(B) a return to nondemocratic government in the Republic of Russia;

PAGE S3629

'(C) a substantial deployment of United States military forces in support of humanitarian or international peacekeeping or peacemaking missions, including in the former Yugoslavia; or

'(D) the establishment of a government hostile to the interests of the United States in a nation now or in the future possessing the capability to deliver nuclear weapons upon the United States, the armed forces of the United States, or a treaty ally of the United States.'

The result was announced - yeas 50, nays 48, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 71 LEG.)

YEAS - 50

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Glenn
Hollings
Kerrey
Lautenberg
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Reid
Sarbanes
Wellstone

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Graham
Johnston
Kerry
Leahy
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Pell
Riegle
Sasser
Wofford

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Harkin
Kennedy
Kohl
Levin
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pryor
Rockefeller
Simon

NAYS - 48

Bennett
Burns
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Hatfield
Kassebaum
Lieberman
Mack

Bond
Chafee
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Heflin
Kempthorne
Lott
McCain

Brown
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Jeffords
Krueger
Lugar
McConnell

Murkowski
Packwood
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

Nickles
Pressler
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Nunn
Robb
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

PAGE S3629

The result was announced - yeas 54, nays 44, as follows:

PAGE S3630

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 72 LEG.)

YEAS - 54

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Chafee
DeConcini
Exon
Ford
Heflin
Johnston
Kerry
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Graham
Hollings
Kennedy
Kohl
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wellstone

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Harkin
Jeffords
Kerrey
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Wofford

NAYS - 44

Bennett
Burns
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Glenn
Grassley
Hatfield
Krueger
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Bond
Coats
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gorton
Gregg
Kassebaum
Lautenberg
Mack
Murkowski
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Brown
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Gramm
Hatch
Kempthorne
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

The result was announced - yeas 55, nays 42, as follows:

PAGE S3631

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 73 LEG.)

YEAS - 55

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Chafee
DeConcini

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Conrad
Dodd

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
Daschle
Dorgan

Exon
Ford
Harkin
Johnston
Kerry
Lautenberg
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Wofford

Feingold
Glenn
Hatfield
Kennedy
Kohl
Leahy
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

Feinstein
Graham
Hollings
Kerrey
Krueger
Levin
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wellstone

NAYS - 42

Bennett
Burns
Coverdell
Danforth
Durenberger
Gramm
Hatch
Kassebaum
Lott
McCain
Nickles
Roth
Smith
Thurmond

Bond
Cochran
Craig
Dole
Faircloth
Grassley
Heflin
Kempthorne
Lugar
McConnell
Packwood
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

Brown
Cohen
D'Amato
Domenici
Gorton
Gregg
Jeffords
Lieberman
Mack
Murkowski
Pressler
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Mr. SASSER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to. PAGE S3631

Mr. SARBANES. I move to lay that motion on the table. The motion to lay on the table was agreed to. PAGE S3631

The result was announced - yeas 51, nays 47, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 74 LEG.)

YEAS - 51

Akaka
Bingaman
Bradley
Bumpers
Conrad
Dodd
Feingold
Graham
Johnston
Kohl
Leahy
Mathews
Mitchell
Murray
Reid
Rockefeller
Simon

Baucus
Boren
Breaux
Byrd
Daschle
Dorgan
Feinstein
Harkin
Kennedy
Krueger
Levin
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Pell
Riegle
Sarbanes
Wellstone

Biden
Boxer
Bryan
Campbell
DeConcini
Durenberger
Ford
Hollings
Kerry
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mikulski
Moynihan
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Wofford

NAYS - 47

Bennett	Bond	Brown
Burns	Chafee	Coats
Cochran	Cohen	Coverdell
Craig	D'Amato	Danforth
Dole	Domenici	Exon
Faircloth	Glenn	Gorton
Gramm	Grassley	Gregg
Hatch	Hatfield	Heflin
Jeffords	Kassebaum	Kempthorne
Kerrey	Lott	Lugar
Mack	McCain	McConnell
Murkowski	Nickles	Nunn
Packwood	Pressler	Roth
Shelby	Simpson	Smith
Specter	Stevens	Thurmond
Wallop	Warner	

Mr. SASSER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. SARBANES. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

PAGE S3632

EXTENDING LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX PROVISIONS

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I would like to address a question to the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee. My question concerns the resolution's assumptions with respect to the extension of certain tax incentives for affordable housing.

PAGE S3644

The low-income housing tax credit and the mortgage revenue bond programs are integral elements of Federal housing policy. Since its enactment, the tax credit has contributed to the development of more than 420,000 rental apartments for families earning less than 60 percent of median income. The mortgage revenue bond program has provided low-cost financing to more than 1.4 million families earning less than 115 percent of median income, allowing those families to purchase their first homes. Both of these programs have the dual benefit of creating jobs in the construction industry as well as expanding housing opportunities for low- and moderate-income families. I was quite pleased that the President's economic package called for permanent extension of these two valuable programs.

Twice last year Congress provided permanent extension of these tax provisions in bills subsequently vetoed by President Bush. I too am pleased that the new administration has supported permanent extension, and I plan to work with our colleagues on the Finance Committee to secure permanent extension, once and for all, in this year's tax bill.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Tennessee for his remarks and look forward to working with him to secure permanent extensions of these programs.

PAGE S3644

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, the Clinton proposal, as we all know, imposes a tax of nearly 26 cents per million Btu's on fossil

fuels. While I strongly oppose this unfair tax, that is not what I am here to discuss. What I am here to discuss is the additional 34 cents per million Btu's surtax on oil alone. I am most concerned about the people in New Hampshire and the Northeast corridor who use oil to heat their homes. Oil now accounts for 45 percent of residential heating consumption in New Hampshire. Imposing a total tax of nearly 60 cents per million Btu's tax on oil will force some people in New Hampshire to make a choice between putting food on the table or keeping their children warm.

10 OF 24 216 LINES
PART CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (HOUSE)
DATE March 29, 1993

PAGE H1671

TITLE IN CELEBRATION OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY: A NATIONAL DAY OF
CELEBRATION OF GREEK AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

TEXT I believe the United States Government can play a meaningful role in achieving a just and lasting solution to the problems on Cyprus. Therefore, today, I would like to formally ask the new administration to keep a settlement on Cyprus as a front-burner issue.

Also, Mr. Speaker, Greece itself confronts a crisis of its own today. A long-simmering crisis inflamed by the recent break up of Yugoslavia. The southern most region of Yugoslavia has decided to use the Greek name 'Macedonia' to identify themselves. Mr. Speaker, the use of this Greek name to identify this region is unacceptable. Some may not appreciate the very real dangers in this, so I would like to explain them.

PAGE H1671

Over the past few months my office has been presented with material from various organizations explaining why the name Macedonia should not be used to identify this region. The American Hellenic Institute has put out a list of 25 reasons why it is not in the interests of the United States to recognize the Skopje Regime under the name of Macedonia. I would like to mention just a few of them.

The first is the usage of Macedonia as a nationality. This was an invention of Marshal Tito in 1944. Tito, the Communist dictator of Yugoslavia, created a false Macedonian ethnic consciousness among his South Slavic citizens for a number of reasons, including his campaign against Greece to gain control of Greece's province of Macedonia and the major port city of Salonika.

Second, the Balkan region seems always to have been a troubled one. During Greece's civil war, one should not forget that Tito's and Stalin's action in this region resulted in the deaths of more than 50,000 Greeks. Some 685,000 Greeks were left homeless, not to mention the 25,000 children that were kidnapped. The Skopje regime, which is still in power today, and its communist leadership were in the forefront of Tito's efforts against Greece.

PAGE H1671

This included commemorative bank notes depicting the famous White Tower, a Greek monument located in Salonika. Also, maps of Macedonia were published there, maps encompassing one-fourth of mainland Greece.

While the current conflict in the Balkans has brought this situation to national attention, Skopje's propaganda long precedes the breakup of Yugoslavia. In August 1992, its parliament voted to appropriate the Vergina star - a uniquely Greek symbol - as its emblem.

Mr. Speaker, this issue runs even deeper than just the historical importance of a name, though. Names can have a powerful significance - they can be used for territorial claims and interference in the internal affairs of one's neighbors. This is the fear of Greece and other nations in the Balkans.

The Greek people have a long tradition of friendship with the United States. Although today we recall a joyous occasion, I would also take this opportunity when the world's eyes are once again on Greece to urge the administration and this Congress to pay added attention to the thorny issues with which the Greek people need and deserve our help.

First, we must renew efforts to end the tragic and illegal Turkish occupation of Cyprus. And second, the United States must make it clear to the leaders of Skopje in former Yugoslavia that the name Macedonia is Greek, and no other nation-state dare find itself masquerading under that name.

Again, congratulations to the people of Greece and Greek-Americans on the occasion of their revolution and of the rebirth of democracy in their native land.

I would like to pay special tribute to the Greek-Americans in my congressional district. Many Greeks who immigrated to the United States in the early 1900's settled in my congressional district in New York City where the Greek community, in Washington Heights, was incorporated in 1931. Tsolainos Goulandris Greek Orthodox School of Saint Spyridon was established in Washington Heights in 1933. It is the center for the Greek community and runs the Greek Independence Parade, which will take place on Sunday, March 28.

Greek-Americans have been very successful not only in my congressional district, but throughout the United States. Among those who have distinguished themselves in the political arena are: U.S. Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland, Congresswoman Olympia Snowe of Maine, Congressman George Gekas of Pennsylvania, Congressman Michael Bilirakis of Florida, former Members of Congress John Brademas of Indiana, Nick Galifianakis of North Carolina, Peter Kryus of Maine, Gus Yatron of Pennsylvania, Nick Mavroules of Massachusetts, and former U.S. Senator and Presidential candidate Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts.

As we join the Greek-American community in celebrating this momentous occasion, we are honoring not just a day, but the Democratic ideals that have made both our countries great.

America owes a great debt to the Greek people. The ancient Greeks enriched our culture in the fields of art, philosophy, science, and law. The modern theory of democracy, which we have seen triumph over communism and tyranny, has its roots in ancient Greece. In fact, the term 'demokratia' was coined in the middle of the fifth century B.C. by the Greek historian Herodotus.

Today, Greek-Americans continue to play an important role in building this country. To cite but one example, Maryland Senator Paul Sarbanes, son of Greek immigrants, is one of the most respected and thoughtful Members of the U.S. Senate.

Mr. Speaker, as the Representative for the Third Congressional District of Maryland - an area that proudly boasts a large Greek-American community - I join in celebrating Greek Independence Day. Let us all salute the Greek people for the contributions they have made to freedom and democracy the world over.

The legacy of Greek democracy has contributed greatly to our Nation's freedom. The ties that bind our two peoples are strong and lasting. The English word 'democracy,' of course, comes from the Greek word 'demos.' Yet our debt to the Greek culture goes much deeper than that, for it is the ancient Greeks that first demonstrated much of what constitutes modern-day American democracy. Americans will never forget the great impact the Greek culture has made upon our judicial system and democracy.

As a long-time supporter of Greece, I know that Greece has been a close friend and reliable ally of the United States. The United States must work to strengthen this relationship. For instance, the United States must support Greece on the contentious issue of independence for the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The issue at hand is a Balkan Republic of 1.9 million, which is petitioning for independence and insists upon calling itself Macedonia. This Republic lies on the northern border of Greece, and its own province of Macedonia. The Greek Government is willing to recognize the new Republic, whose capital is Skopje, but only if Macedonia appears nowhere in its name. We must support the Greek people on this issue. The Greek people remember all too well the civil war of 1946-49, when the Greek and Yugoslav Communists banded together in an attempt to unite the Macedonians together in Marxist Yugoslavia. Rooted in bitter history, this Macedonian issue has united Greeks and Greek-Americans like few issues in recent years.

There are sound geopolitical reasons to support Greece in this matter. For one, Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis is a courageous and energetic leader who has gone out of his way to help America work for a more peaceful world.

The Greek people continued their struggle against the threat of totalitarian regimes well into the 20th century. At the height of World War II, when Nazi forces appeared ready to soon overrun Europe, the Greek people fought courageously on behalf of freedom at a cost of a half a million lives. Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared: 'In ancient days it was said that Greeks fight like heroes; now we must say that heroes fight like Greeks.'

Greece continued to withstand many conflicts. President Harry Truman recognized Greece's commitment to democracy when it fought Yugoslavia's Communist regime under Marshall Tito inciting the 1946-49 Greek civil war. In 1952, Greece joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which offered the country protection from future political strife. Eight years later, Greece's commitment to freedom and democracy was again tested when Russia threatened to pulverize the Acropolis unless Greece abandoned the NATO alliance. Greece stood firm.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, when Kuwait endured a hostile takeover of its peaceful nation, and the United States sought assistance from our allies to oust Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, Greece firmly enforced the United Nations embargo against Iraq and sent troops to assist the coalition.

The relationship between Greece and the United States has been positive since the founding of the United States when Greek

philosophy inspired the American Declaration of Independence. Plato said, 'Democracy is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a kind of equality to equals and unequals alike.' Hence, Thomas Jefferson said, '* * * to the ancient Greeks * * * we are all indebted for the light which led ourselves (American colonists) out of Gothic darkness.' The United States has had a successful system of government because it was founded on a philosophy inspired by the Greeks. In addition, Greece has been inspired by the American Revolution. Greek intellectuals translated the United States Declaration of Independence and used it as their own in 1821.

We should also appreciate modern Greek and American relations. During the 1900's many immigrants to the United States were from Greece. The cultural compatibility of Greece and America has enabled those in America of Greek descent to become extremely successful. Among those today are George Stephanopoulos, President Clinton's communications director; Congresswoman Olympia Snowe; Congressman Michael Bilirakis; Senator Paul Sarbanes; presidential candidates Paul Tsongas and Michael Dukakis; actors Olympia Dukakis, Telly Savalas, and Alex Karras; and Dr. George Papanicolaou, who developed the Pap test for cervical cancer, to name a few.

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Greece and the United States share a common bond; they have both worked hard to become democracies. America is an example of a dream of freedom to which the Greeks aspired when they fought their revolution, and Greece was a symbol to the founders of the United States. Mr. Speaker, this is a celebration of democracy, of freedom, and of the struggle of humankind to attain freedom. We cannot overlook this important day.

PAGE H1677

Greece is one out of only seven nations in the world that remained allied with, and fought on the side of the United States in every major international conflict this century. In fact, over 600,000 Greek citizens, approximately 9 percent of the country's population, died fighting on the side of the Allied forces during the Second World War.

Of the very many American citizens of Greek descent with national and international prominence, I would like to call attention to a number whom I feel that we as Americans owe particular gratitude to. They include: His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America; Dr. George Papanicolaou, inventor of the Pap test for cervical cancer; former presidential candidate, Paul Tsongas; former Presidential nominee, Michael Dukakis; the Brooklyn-born soprano, Maria Callas; and my colleagues in the House of Representatives, Olympia Snowe of Maine, George Gekas of Pennsylvania, Michael Bilirakis of Florida as well as Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland.

I am confident that my colleagues will join me in expressing our sincerest gratitude to the ancient Greek society as well as all Greek-Americans. I could not agree more with the sentiment expressed by our Forefather, Thomas Jefferson, when he claimed, 'to the ancient Greeks we are all indebted for the light which led ourselves out of the Gothic darkness.'

TITLE SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1993
TEXT

This amendment responds to the concerns of some members who believed that defense and domestic discretionary spending should abide by the same offset requirements.

Members must understand that the commitment of United States military forces to Somalia, to Yugoslavia, or other potential peacekeeping sites is not a free good.

There is no allowance in the Defense budget for operations on the scale of Restore Hope in Somalia. If the military is to be engaged in these sorts of missions, we must be prepared to add funds during the year to pay those costs.

I am troubled by these cuts in programs that I feel still have great merit. The overriding need to protect the vital O&M funds for the Department make it the most sensible decision at this point of the fiscal year.

I think Members should remember that the commitment of U.S. military forces to Somalia, to Yugoslavia, and other peacekeeping sites is not free. There is no allowance in the defense budget for operations on the scale of Restore Hope in Somalia. If the military is to be engaged in these sorts of missions in the future, I think we must be prepared to add funds during the years to pay for these costs.

The sacrifice of American military personnel and their families in performing these missions should not be compounded by the cuts in critical health care, morale, and quality of life programs on which those families rely. But in this case, this amendment responds to the concerns of the Members who believe that the defense and domestic discretionary spending should abide by the offset requirements that apply to all programs, and I am pleased to agree to this amendment.

The result was announced - yeas 95, nays 0, as follows:
(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 159 LEG.)

YEAS - 95

Akaka	Baucus	Bennett
Biden	Bingaman	Bond
Boren	Boxer	Bradley
Breaux	Brown	Bryan
Bumpers	Burns	Byrd
Campbell	Chafee	Coats
Cochran	Cohen	Conrad
Coverdell	Craig	D'Amato
Danforth	Daschle	DeConcini
Dodd	Dole	Domenici
Dorgan	Durenberger	Exon
Faircloth	Feingold	Feinstein
Ford	Glenn	Gorton
Graham	Gramm	Grassley
Gregg	Harkin	Hatch

Hatfield
Hollings
Jeffords
Kempthorne
Kerry
Leahy
Lott
McCain
Mikulski
Moynihan
Nickles
Pell
Reid
Rockefeller
Sasser
Stevens
Wellstone

Lugar
Specter

Heflin
Hutchison
Johnston
Kennedy
Kohl
Levin
Mack
McConnell
Mitchell
Murkowski
Nunn
Pressler
Riegle
Roth
Shelby
Thurmond
Wofford

NOT VOTING - 5

Simpson
Wallop

Helms
Inouye
Kassebaum
Kerrey
Lautenberg
Lieberman
Mathews
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Murray
Packwood
Pryor
Robb
Sarbanes
Simon
Warner

Smith

2 OF 24
PART
DATE
TITLE

161 LINES
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (SENATE)
July 13, 1993

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS
(CONTINUED)

TEXT BY MR. DECONCINI (FOR HIMSELF, MR. GRASSLEY, MS. MIKULSKI, MR. RIEGLE, MR. ROCKEFELLER, MR. WELLSTONE, MR. SASSER, MR. LAUTENBERG, MR. JEFFORDS, MR. DODD, MR. FEINGOLD, MR. KERRY, MR. GRAHAM, MR. PELL, MR. KENNEDY, MR. MOYNIHAN, MR. HOLLINGS, MR. HEFLIN, MR. MITCHELL, MR. BURNS, MR. COATS, MR. THURMOND, MR. PRESSLER, MR. LUGAR, MR. COCHRAN, MR. GLENN, MR. DOLE, MR. WOFFORD, MR. LEVIN, MR. METZENBAUM, MR. MATHEWS, MR. SIMON, MR. D'AMATO, MR. MURKOWSKI, MR. MACK, MR. REID, MR. BIDEN, MR. LOTT, MR. BINGAMAN, MRS. BOXER, MR. BREAUX, MR. BRYAN, MR. BUMPERS, MR. CAMPBELL, MR. EXON, MRS. FEINSTEIN, MR. FORD, MR. INOUE, MR. JOHNSTON, MR. LIEBERMAN, MS. MOSELEY-BRAUN, MRS. MURRAY, MR. PRYOR, AND MR. SARBANES):

S.J. Res. 111. A joint resolution to designate August 1, 1993, as 'Helsinki Human Rights Day'; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PAGE S8631

On August 1, 1975, the leaders of 35 countries gathered in Helsinki to sign the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), also referred to as the Helsinki accords. This agreement launched a dynamic process which has contributed to the positive changes which have occurred in Europe in recent year. The Final Act, the seminal document of this process, covers major aspects of East-West relations, including military security, trade, economic cooperation, environment, scientific and cultural exchanges, as well as human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Membership in CSCE has grown significantly in light of sweeping political developments in Europe, including the demise of the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. Today, 53 countries are participants in the CSCE process - 51 Eurasian States, Canada, and the United States.

Human rights remains the cornerstone of the CSCE process. The participating States have recognized that human rights and fundamental freedoms are the birthright of all human beings and that protection and promotion of these rights is the first responsibility of government. The CSCE remains firmly committed to human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, and has encouraged peaceful change through free and fair elections.

PAGE S8631

Over the years, the CSCE has inspired individuals and groups to speak out on behalf of those denied their human rights. It has also served as a useful forum in which individual human rights cases could be raised. Hundreds of political prisoners have been released and thousands of families reunited as a result of pressure brought to bear within the framework of the Helsinki process. It has also been successful in chipping away at the barriers which artificially divided Europe for decades. We can be proud of our record of strong support for the CSCE.

Today, Europe is attempting to liberate itself from the legacy of

the past, though problems persist. Of particular concern is the threat posed by ethnic strife in Nagorno-Karabakh, Moldova, the former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. The CSCE can play an instrumental role in addressing this issue and others which have serious consequences for the future of Europe. In addition, it can further contribute to the political and economic transition taking place in much of East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The resolution we introduce today reaffirms our commitment to the Helsinki Accords and the vital importance of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in advancing security and cooperation in Europe.

PAGE S8631

It would be more of a pleasure if the human rights principles set forth in the Helsinki accords and subsequent documents were being faithfully respected in and by all participating states. Clearly, this is not now the case.

The most dramatic violations of human rights have occurred and are still occurring in the former Yugoslavia. In fact, the brutal violation of human rights has been so widespread and flagrant that the United Nations has authorized the creation of an international war crimes tribunal for the first time since the end of World War II to try those accused of committing war crimes during the course of the Yugoslav conflict.

The Yugoslav situation is different in kind from the problems the Helsinki process faced when I served as Chairman in the mid-1980's. Then, our task was to press the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies to respect the commitments they made when they signed the Helsinki accords. While difficult, this was a task we knew how to accomplish. Through unrelenting public diplomacy and adroit private diplomacy, we made gains and had a real positive impact.

PAGE S8631

Once communism's moral authority was destroyed, so was its political legitimacy. After that, all that was left inside the hollow shell of the Communist utopian dream was the machinery of totalitarian oppression and a fundamentally flawed economic system, grinding down to collapse.

The Bosnia and Herzegovina chapter of the Yugoslav conflict is different from that situation in almost every important way. The principal violators of human rights are not the organs of an established totalitarian state, working to keep its subjects under control. In contrast, in the former Yugoslavia, the worst violators, to the extent that media reports are accurate, appear not to be army or police forces of any of the successor states to the Yugoslav Republic. Instead, they appear to be loosely organized ethnic militias, the worst of which are reportedly no more than organized criminal gangs operating under the color of virulent ethnic partisanship in or on the edges of zones controlled by their sponsoring states' more formally organized forces.

PAGE S8631

Of course, the sponsoring states claim they do not control the militias, which allegedly arose spontaneously to defend their homes and families in the intercommunal war now raging there. They claim they do not contenance or participate in the abuses we've all seen

reported in the media. I do not believe their claims.

In fact, I will predict that the international community is repeating a historic mistake - appeasing a conqueror because it is too hard to confront him. Slobodan Milosevic will not be deterred from creating Greater Serbia by world acceptance of the dismemberment by armed force of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, it will merely encourage him.

If the world would not come to the armed assistance of Bosnia, a declared and internationally recognized independent state, how will the world respond to pleas for help from Kosovo, a province of Serbia, when its ethnically Albanian majority, which comprises approximately 90 percent of the population, is driven from its homes or killed by ultranationalist Serbs? The United States will find itself in a particularly difficult position. President Bush declared that the United States would not accept the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo, and President Clinton has declared his agreement with that statement of U.S. policy.

PAGE S8631

Once the world tolerates genocide and ratifies the facts on the ground these war crimes created, it is hard to find a circumstance that would drive the world to consensus in support of armed intervention in Kosovo to halt more ethnic cleansing. Then, the United States could be left either to intervene unilaterally, a task that is becoming more difficult with every closed base and disestablished military unit, or to find words to retreat from a policy we won't back with military force.

The world community appears to be treating the negotiations to finally end the Bosnian conflict - son-of-Vance-Owen - as the end of the Yugoslav conflict. They appear to believe that once the disputes between the Moslems, Croats, and Serbs are settled in the around Bosnia, the world can relax.

Unfortunately, the CSCE can do little more than send observers to affected areas. The tools we used against the Soviets and their allies in the mid-1980's, public diplomacy and private pressure, don't appear to apply here - people actively engaged in genocide don't embarrass or pressure easily. We can't shame them before the world community and threaten to cut off trade and other international intercourse with them. In this case, because of the conflict, the United Nations has already authorized almost every possible step short of armed attack on Serbia, and it has not stopped them.

Now, the Serbs have refused to renew the mandate for CSCE observers to remain in Kosovo and has said that it wants them out. They have not yet left. I believe the CSCE signatory states should make as public an effort as possible to press Serbia to renew the observers' mandate. Once they are gone, one of the few remaining barriers, flimsy as it is, to the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo will be removed, and the Balkans will be one step closer to a wider war.

I spoke earlier this year on the consequences a wider Balkan war could have for the United States. The consequences are all bad. Rather than whistling past the Balkan graveyard, as we are doing with son-of-Vance-Owen, we should be actively and very publicly working to prevent an expanded war.

PAGE S8631

1 OF 24 481 LINES
PART CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (SENATE)
DATE July 28, 1993

PAGE S9604

TITLE DEPARTMENTS OF COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED
AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1994

TEXT So my efforts will continue, and I will be seeking an appropriate legislative vehicle and an appropriate move with the House to see if we cannot bring effective legislation which will impose the death penalty on terrorists, and which will enable us to move ahead, to proceed with the indictments which are now present.

One addendum - I told the distinguished Senator from Oregon I would speak 12 minutes, and I think I have about a minute to go, although I am not under a time constraint - is the efforts to have an international criminal court, a matter which this Senator has brought to the floor on a number of occasions. It appears now, as a result of the despicable acts in Yugoslavia, that world sentiment is rising for an international criminal court. It may be appropriate to have action by an international criminal court against those despots and murderers in Somalia.

It would be ideal if that international criminal court could be constructed so the United States would not have to act in a unilateral action. But we have taken the action on the indictments against the Libyan terrorists, and I believe we are going to have to take a much stronger stand than we have in order to protect American citizens against the potential problems from terrorism.

PAGE S9607

The yeas and nays resulted - yeas 75, nays 25, as follows:

PAGE S9619

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 221 LEG.)

YEAS - 75

Baucus	Bennett	Biden
Bingaman	Bond	Boren
Boxer	Bradley	Breaux
Brown	Bryan	Bumpers
Burns	Byrd	Campbell
Coats	Cochran	Conrad
Coverdell	Craig	D'Amato
Daschle	DeConcini	Dodd
Dole	Domenici	Dorgan
Exon	Faircloth	Feinstein
Ford	Gorton	Graham
Gramm	Grassley	Gregg
Hatch	Heflin	Helms
Hollings	Hutchison	Johnston
Kassebaum	Kempthorne	Kerrey
Lieberman	Lott	Lugar
Mack	Mathews	McCain
McConnell	Mikulski	Moynihan
Murkowski	Nickles	Nunn
Packwood	Pressler	Pryor
Reid	Riegle	Robb
Rockefeller	Roth	Sarbanes
Sasser	Shelby	Simpson

Smith
Wallop

Stevens
Warner

Thurmond
Wofford

NAYS - 25

Akaka
Danforth
Glenn
Inouye
Kerry
Leahy
Mitchell
Pell
Wellstone

Chafee
Durenberger
Harkin
Jeffords
Kohl
Levin
Moseley-Braun
Simon

Cohen
Feingold
Hatfield
Kennedy
Lautenberg
Metzenbaum
Murray
Specter

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 222 LEG.)

YEAS - 77

Akaka
Bond
Brown
Byrd
Cochran
Coverdell
Danforth
Dole
Exon
Glenn
Gramm
Hatch
Hollings
Jeffords
Kempthorne
Kerry
Leahy
Mack
McConnell
Nickles
Pressler
Riegle
Roth
Simpson
Stevens
Warner

Baucus
Bradley
Bryan
Chafee
Cohen
Craig
Daschle
Domenici
Faircloth
Gorton
Grassley
Heflin
Hutchison
Johnston
Kennedy
Kohl
Lieberman
Mathews
Moynihan
Nunn
Pryor
Robb
Sasser
Smith
Thurmond
Wofford

Bennett
Breau
Burns
Coats
Conrad
D'Amato
Dodd
Dorgan
Ford
Graham
Gregg
Helms
Inouye
Kassebaum
Kerrey
Lautenberg
Lott
McCain
Murkowski
Packwood
Reid
Rockefeller
Shelby
Specter
Wallop

NAYS - 23

Biden
Boxer
DeConcini
Feinstein
Levin
Mikulski
Murray
Simon

Bingaman
Bumpers
Durenberger
Harkin
Lugar
Mitchell
Pell
Wellstone

Boren
Campbell
Feingold
Hatfield
Metzenbaum
Moseley-Braun
Sarbanes

PAGE S9628

So the amendment (No. 703) was agreed to.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Arizona (Mr. DeConcini), for himself, Mr. D'Amato, Ms. Mikulski, Mr. Glenn, Mr. McCain, Mr. Daschle, Mr.

Wofford, Mr. Sarbanes, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Moynihan, Mr. Feingold, Mr. Byrd, and Mr. Dodd, proposes an amendment numbered 704.

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

PAGE S9628

I urge my colleagues to support this amendment as a demonstration of our continued concern over this important issue. Its timely adoption will send a signal to Moscow that it is high time that it get its troops out of the Baltics once and for all.

This is cosponsored by the Senator from New York, Senator D'Amato, the Senator from Maryland, Senator Mikulski, the Senator from Ohio, Senator Glenn, my distinguished colleague from Arizona, Senator McCain, the Senator from South Dakota, Senator Daschle, the Senator from Pennsylvania, Senator Wofford, the Senator from Maryland, Senator Sarbanes, the Senator from Michigan, Senator Riegle, and Senator Moynihan of New York.

I understand it has been cleared.

PAGE S9628

So this issue is more than just some fuzzy-headed idea to go out and support some ideal. It has practical implications, as well.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield for a question? As I understand it, Oscar Arias, the Nobel Prize winner, is in support of the activities. Is that correct?

PAGE S9640

Mr. DODD. That is correct. In fact, the Senator from Arizona read a quotation from Oscar Arias in strong support of NED.

Mr. SARBANES. How do we square that with this letter? I am going to address this letter that was sent to us by some of our colleagues, because you are intended to get one impression from the letter; and then when you start checking behind the impression, you discover that in fact this is just to the contrary.

The letter seems to be making a point, saying that they funded opponents of Oscar Arias, President of Costa Rica, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. That is in the letter. I understand what happened is that one of the grantees supported a think tank on whose board was a person who later ran against Oscar Arias for President of Costa Rica - the democratic process, if I may say so, clearly. And Oscar Arias at least appears to recognize that it is the democratic process because, contrary to the impression the letter gives to you, written by the people bringing these amendments now to the floor, Arias supports NED.

PAGE S9640

So it is an extremely worthwhile point to make, because the letter certainly leads one to believe that a Nobel laureate, if he were here on the floor of the Senate today, would vote for the Bumpers amendment.

PAGE S9641

Mr. SARBANES. That is right. They said before this amendment, NED funded some program that was against Oscar Arias. As it turns out, first of all, when you understand what it was, it seems a perfectly legitimate sort of activity, and Oscar Arias, to his credit, who really is a true democrat, supports NED and its activities.

Mr. MCCAIN. I have one additional comment in response. He is exactly right. This is an example among others of the

disingenuousness of the opposition. They said NED supported organizations in Britain and France. They supported exile organizations that had to be in Britain and France because the exiles could not go back to their own country. They also said they supported programs in New Zealand. There is no record of that. The opposition at times has been disingenuous.

It describes what happened in the House of Representatives, and it lays out - -

Mr. SARBANES. If the Senator will yield, I wish the Senator will read further from that headline. What it says is not only 'No Good Deed Unpunished'; It also says:

PAGE S9641

The NED 'had a proven track record and a tiny budget.' It united Republicans and Democrats, business and labor in helping small groups abroad in their struggle for democracy. So the House killed it.

I ask my colleagues something: I would like to hear just for a moment on this floor, and I hope I will shortly, why at a time when everybody says we have to cut spending you come to the floor with this program and ask for a 17 percent increase.

PAGE S9642

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DORGAN. When I have finished, I will yield.

PAGE S9642

Mr. DORGAN. The Senator from Massachusetts is telling me that a 17-percent increase is really not what he wanted; he wanted a 300-percent increase. He wanted to go from \$15 million to \$50 million. I do not understand this. The Foreign Relations Committee really wanted to triple this.

Mr. SARBANES. What he told the Senator was cut by \$500 million. That is what he told you.

PAGE S9643

Mr. DORGAN. I did not yield to the Senator. I will later.

I yield to the Senator from Maryland for a question.

Mr. SARBANES. Let me say to my colleague, first of all, I agree with what he said at the outset, that this is a serious issue. I think it is a serious issue. I certainly do not contend differently. I think the Senator has raised an important issue and it needs to be addressed in a serious manner.

PAGE S9643

Second, I want to say to my colleague, I am not prepared to give an inch for my concern for the people here at home. I support the NED Program. But I am not prepared to give an inch to him or to anyone else in this body about my concern for social justice here at home and building democracy here in America. I want to be very emphatic on that particular point.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton.

PAGE S9644

Mr. SARBANES. I quote from the letter:

Supporting the world-wide movement toward democracy is one of the best investments we can make in our own national security. NED has been one of our most important and effective instruments for supporting democracy abroad.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in

the Record, as follows:

U.S. Agency for International Development,
Washington, DC, July 23, 1993.

Hon. Paul S. Sarbanes,

PAGE S9644

U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

Dear Mr. Sarbanes: As the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development and Director of the United States Information Agency, respectively, we are writing to urge you to support full funding of the President's Fiscal Year 1994 budget request for the National Endowment for Democracy. This item is included in the State Department Authorization and Appropriations bills, which the Senate will consider soon.

Democratic development is an essential part of economic development and the preservation of peace, and a natural concern of the American people. We believe that the NED fulfills a distinctive and a critical role in promoting democratic development and building free societies.

PAGE S9644

Director, Information Agency.

PAGE S9644

Mr. SARBANES. They make the point that the 'NED fulfills a very distinctive and a critical role in promoting democratic development and building free societies.'

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would advise the Senator from Maryland that he was yielded to for a question.

Mr. SARBANES. I am leading to my question. I need to make this point to lead into my question to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota.

PAGE S9644

Mr. DORGAN. I would say to the Senator from Maryland, Senator Brown has been on his feet for some long while. I would appreciate the question and I would be happy to respond.

Mr. SARBANES. Has the Senator seen the letter from Atwood and Duffey?

Mr. DORGAN. I do not know if I have seen that specific letter.

PAGE S9644

Mr. SARBANES. I just wanted to quote this. If all of this is duplicative, then there is something to your chart. But if it is not duplicative, I would ask the Senator to consider this.

We would also remind you there are some nations where assistance is desired, needed, and can have a measurable effect, but where restrictions in law bar activities by U.S. AID and USIA. The NED often is the only organization that can establish a presence in such countries.

We have been through five of the arguments that those people who want to retain NED have made. I think a fair, objective analysis of the facts will show that they do not hold water; that is, unless you are one of the people in the world who thinks we really ought to set up an international political action committee fund to fund elections around the world.

PAGE S9647

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROWN. I will be happy to yield when I finish. If you are in

that group, you see a need for NED. Absent that group, I suspect you have a different view of it.

PAGE S9647

We have a unanimous consent that we can propound listing the Senators for the times required at the end of which, of course, the distinguished Senator from Arkansas would move to table the committee amendment.

I will make that request: Senator Lugar, 15 minutes; Senator Gramm, 10 minutes; Senator Domenici, 10 minutes; Senator Mack, 15 minutes; Senator Sarbanes, 10 minutes; Senator Hatch, 15 minutes; Senator McCain, 10 minutes; Senator Hollings, 10 minutes; and Senator Bumpers, 10 minutes.

PAGE S9652

How much more time does the Senator from Massachusetts require?

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following Senators be recognized to speak for the following time limitations: Senator Kerry of Massachusetts for 5 minutes; Senator Lugar for 15 minutes; Senator Gramm for 10 minutes; Senator Domenici for 10 minutes; Senator Mack for 15 minutes; Senator Sarbanes for 10 minutes; Senator Hatch for 15 minutes; Senator McCain for 10 minutes; Senator Hollings for 10 minutes; and at the conclusion of these speeches, Senator Bumpers be recognized to speak for 10 minutes, at the conclusion of which he will make a motion to table the committee amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Robb). Is there objection?

PAGE S9652

One of the extraordinary things that might have occurred - and NED tried very hard to bring it about - would have been support of a candidate in the recent election for President of Serbia. There was a suggestion today that we ought not to be involved in such endeavors or that some people would be unhappy if other people were involved in our elections.

But it was suggested by the NED that it would be helpful, as a matter of fact, that a state-controlled television, now controlled by President Milosevic, might be countered by television programs that offered an objective view of what was happening in Serbia; specifically, that Serbians were at war in Bosnia and that they were potentially at war in Kosovo. The suggestion came that, in fact, even independent papers being published in Serbia might be given an audience among Serbian Americans in the United States.

One of the strange things, Mr. President, is that others play this game somewhat more adeptly than we do. Right now, Serbian broadcast networks supporting Milosevic are heard for 12 hours a day in the United States of America by many Serbians who believe that is the truth in Serbia, when the Serbian paper Borba, the independent press, cannot be sold in the United States because the international embargo prevents the sale of products of Yugoslavia in the United States. Things are topsy-turvy.

PAGE S9652

The National Endowment for Democracy gets interested in those kinds of nitty-gritty issues, Mr. President, issues that have everything to do with how our foreign policy might work out.

I yield the floor.

Mr. SARBANES addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Maryland has 10 minutes.

Mr. SARBANES. Madam President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized for 8 minutes.

Mr. SARBANES. Madam President, I have to confess I am puzzled by some of the debate that took place here in the Chamber today and some of the animus that seem to exist toward the National Endowment for Democracy.

Earlier we heard a statement to the effect, well, there is a way for the powerful and the privileged to escape the rules.

The Senate next month has a chance to undo the damage and keep the United States on the side of building democracy in the world.

Mr. SARBANES. To the credit of the chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee, the distinguished Senator from South Carolina, he brought NED forward in his bill at a \$35 million figure. The President asked for \$50 million. The President actually wanted to take it up.

People ask, 'How can you take it up when we are cutting spending?' The President himself, in his budget submission, was cutting spending very deeply in many places. Listen to what the President says about this particular program, and this investment:

Looking at the budget for peacekeeping, it is like drinking water out of a fire hydrant. I can tell you, it has gone up from less than \$100 million to over a billion and it is going to cost billions more.

What are we doing in the front line of this turmoil that we have in the former Yugoslavia? The National Endowment for Democracy, a little fledgling leadership entity, is supporting the democratic movement there. Formerly, I would call NED a dilettante, palavering, and partying group that has now sobered up and become one of the most useful citizens - it is doing the finest work in the democratic cause that I know of, the world around, in all of these opportunity countries.

Yes, it has gone up from \$18 million to \$35. I wish it could go up from \$18 million to \$180 million. I can tell you that right now. We do not have that kind of infrastructure. We do not have that many volunteers from the chamber of commerce, from the AFL-CIO - incidentally they have been criticized. I will categorically say in my experience I have learned, in travel over this world, that there has been none better in the cause of freedom than the labor movement here in the United States. The labor movement has helped organizations like Solidarity in Poland and other countries that have come forward with free societies.

Writing from his Arizona refuge in support of NED, dissident Fang

Lizhi noted that 'it would be wonderful if democracy did indeed grow automatically out of economic development, but history gives us, unfortunately, no such guarantees.' The publisher of the Vietnamese magazine Que Me noted that through NED funding the periodical made 'real headway in bringing a flow of information and democratic ideas which was totally denied in Vietnam.' Vytautas Landsbergis, Lithuania's opposition leader, called the democracy endowment's work 'crucial.' Elena Bonner wrote that cutting NED was 'penny wise, pound foolish.'

What escapes the endowment's opponents is the miraculous economy of NED-style programs. Had the West spent a few tens of millions producing some effective propaganda for the airwaves around Belgrade during the 1980s, for example, Slobodan Milosevic likely would never have gained his Orwellian stronghold on the minds of Serbian nationals. Radio Free Europe never made it into Tito's Yugoslavia because U.S. lawmakers deemed the nation 'relatively democratic.'

PAGE S9672

This week promises to bring some interesting news on the foreign aid front: Joe Biden has threatened to filibuster to save the life of another effective information vehicle, Radio Free Europe. Since Congress knocked NED off its version of the budget legislation in June, the agency has received numerous letters of support. NED also has some White House friends who could be of help: until his recent ascendancy, David Gergen sat on NED's board.

(ROLLCALL VOTE NO. 223 LEG.)

YEAS - 23

Bingaman	Boxer	Breaux
Brown	Bryan	Bumpers
Campbell	Conrad	Daschle
Dorgan	Exon	Faircloth
Feingold	Feinstein	Grassley
Gregg	Leahy	Murray
Nickles	Pryor	Reid
Sasser	Warner	

PAGE S9674

NAYS - 74

Akaka	Bennett	Bond
Boren	Bradley	Burns
Byrd	Chafee	Coats
Cochran	Cohen	Coverdell
Craig	D'Amato	Danforth
DeConcini	Dodd	Dole
Domenici	Durenberger	Ford
Glenn	Gorton	Graham
Gramm	Harkin	Hatch
Hatfield	Heflin	Hollings
Hutchison	Inouye	Jeffords
Johnston	Kassebaum	Kempthorne
Kennedy	Kerrey	Kerry
Kohl	Lautenberg	Levin
Lieberman	Lott	Lugar
Mack	Mathews	McCain
McConnell	Metzenbaum	Mikulski

Mitchell
Murkowski
Pell
Robb
Sarbanes
Simpson
Stevens
Wellstone

Moseley-Braun
Nunn
Pressler
Rockefeller
Shelby
Smith
Thurmond
Wofford

Moynihan
Packwood
Riegle
Roth
Simon
Specter
Wallop

NOT VOTING - 3

Baucus

Biden

Helms

I urge adoption of the amendment.

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Mr. SARBANES. If the Senator will yield. As the Senator will recall, this was an issue that was discussed in the Foreign Relations Committee when the State Department authorization bill was being marked up. In fact, the Senator from Massachusetts, Senator Kerry - who is the chairman on that subcommittee on which you are the ranking member - and you had worked out language on this issue which was included in the markup bill, and later you offered further language.

I guess my question is whether this amendment the Senator is offering is the same amendment that was offered in the markup and not accepted by the committee, or is it different?

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In all of our Federal Government departments, we have an inspector general. Indeed, the U.S. attorneys can find fault with any public official in this country. That is not true of U.N. officials. Even if a U.N. audit finds that there is stealing, there is no action frequently taken against that person.

Mr. SARBANES. This is an amendment, I take it, that sort of moves down the path of establishing an advisory committee to examine this issue; is that right?

Mr. PRESSLER. That is correct. I hope it will be a major step in getting an inspector general who can punish wrongdoing in the United Nations.

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I might say that I commend the Republican Senator from New Mexico's language that withholds arrearage payments if an inspector general is not created. I hope that language stays in this bill. I hope things are not taken out in conference. I have agreed not to have a rollcall vote, which I think we can win overwhelmingly, with the hope this is not taken out in conference.

Mr. SARBANES. If the Senator will yield, I am happy to have the Senator's explanation. I have looked at it. My real question was whether it was a repeat of the amendment about which we had some rather extended debate and, frankly, against which I thought there were reasonable arguments; although there were reasonable arguments for it. I am satisfied this is not that amendment.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.