

of a lofty Clintonesque vision in a recent issue of *The Washington Quarterly*. Roberts extensively invoked internationalist acronyms—not just CWC, BWC and NPT, but GATT and NAFTA. Making some nonobvious connections between trade regimes and nonproliferation regimes, he argued that both must be carefully crafted to attract and enmesh a “new tier” of states recently endowed by technological evolution with the capacity to manufacture potent weapons. With all these acronyms now in a critical phase in one sense or another, 1995 could “prove a genuine turning point”; “basic international institutions will end the year either much strengthened or much weakened”—and if the latter, the prospects for a stable post-cold-war world will sharply diminish.

If President Clinton ever did decide to exert leadership on the issue of weapons of mass destruction, there is little chance that posterity would deem him alarmist. Not only are the threats he'd be addressing growing; their growth has deep and enduring roots: increasing ingenuity in the manufacture of destructive force; increasing access, via information technology, to the data required for this manufacture; wider availability, in an ever-more industrialized world, of the requisite materials; and the increasing ease of their shipment. The underlying force is truly inexorable; the accumulation of scientific knowledge and its application, via technology, to human affairs.

Every once in a while the inevitable results of these trends become apparent—in the discovery that Iraq had an extensive nuclear bomb project and enough chemical weapons to murder a small nation; in the fact that the World Trade Center bombers succeeded in a mission that, given slightly more deft personnel and better financing, could well have involved biological weapons rather than explosives; in the news that a nutty Japanese cult with an international presence was busily amassing a chemical and biological arsenal. So far none of these object lessons has been driven home at the cost of tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of lives. But as time goes by, the cost of lessons will assuredly rise. ●

#### ORDERS FOR MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1995

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 12 noon on Monday, December 11; that following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be deemed approved to date, no resolutions come over under the rule, the call of the calendar be dispensed with, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day and there then be a period for the transaction of morning business until 1 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each, and that at 1 p.m., the Senate resume consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 31.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COATS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PROGRAM

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, by a previous consent agreement, at 1 p.m., amendments will be in order to the constitutional amendment regarding

flag desecration. However, no votes will occur and all votes ordered with respect to amendments and the final vote will occur at 2:17 p.m. on Tuesday, December 12, 1995.

Also, Senators should be aware that it will be the majority leader's intention, following the flag amendment vote, to begin the debate on Bosnia, hopefully, under a time agreement.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of Senators DORGAN and DODD.

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

Mr. HATCH. I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### TRIP TO IRELAND

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, a week or so ago, I had the distinct pleasure of traveling with our colleague from the State of Florida, CONNIE MACK, along with a bipartisan delegation of 16 Members of the House of Representatives, to Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland on the occasion of President Clinton's visit there. It was a historic visit, the first time that a sitting American President visited Northern Ireland.

Allow me to say, first of all, that regardless of one's party, ideology or political persuasion, I think every American, those who were there, those who witnessed on CNN the President's historic visit to Ireland, were moved by the reception that our President received.

On three different occasions, at speeches in Derry, in Belfast, and in Dublin, the estimates of the crowds greeting the President were approximately 250,000 people. That does not include the thousands of people who lined the various roadways to welcome the President to the North of Ireland and to the Republic.

His reception was directly related to his efforts over the past 23 months to try and bring an end to the generational conflict in Northern Ireland. The last 15 of those months have been the first time in more than 25 years that there has been the absence of violence and the threat of violence that has stemmed from what the people in Ireland refer to as the Troubles.

The President deserves enormous credit for setting the stage for that cessation of hostilities. His decision to extend a visa to Gerry Adams, the president of the Sinn Féin Party, early in 1994 was the bold move that ulti-

mately resulted in the decision by the IRA to announce a unilateral cease-fire in the fall of 1994.

For more than 15 months, the peoples of Northern Ireland and Ireland, as well as people in Great Britain, have enjoyed the first period of unprecedented peace in more than a generation.

Still, the issues which are at the root cause of that violence remain to be addressed and resolved, Mr. President. Our former colleague, Senator George Mitchell of Maine, has been asked by the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland and the political parties in Northern Ireland to chair a commission, an international commission, to try and see if the issue of decommissioning of arms and related matters can be resolved as we proceed on a twin track, of commencing all-party talks by the end of February. It is through these twin tracks that the people of Northern Ireland can live in permanent peace, free from violence and discrimination.

The remarkable change in the North is very apparent to all who go there. President Clinton's efforts have made that possible. I would say to my colleagues that there is a deep appreciation on the island of Ireland for that effort. There was a risk involved in it. As my colleague, the Presiding Officer, will recall or remember, that the President received a lot of advice and counsel about the wisdom of extending that first visa to Mr. Adams, given the history of Sinn Féin and the IRA. Some questioned whether or not there was a sincere commitment to seek a peaceful resolution of this conflict. Even after the IRA announced its cease-fire last year some continued to question whether it would hold. I know the President heard a lot of advice, the bulk of it, in fact, recommended against extending that visa.

Our colleagues, Senator MOYNIHAN of New York, Senator KENNEDY, and others, urged the President to take the chance, to extend that visa and to test whether there was a true commitment to adopting the political track to resolve differences and whether a cease-fire might work. As a result of that, we have seen, as I described briefly, the events that unfolded over the past year or so.

Again, Mr. President, Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith and her staff, the Government of Prime Minister Bruton, Deputy Prime Minister Dick Spring, and other Irish officials, did a remarkable job, along with Sir Patrick Mayhew and the people of Northern Ireland.

I mentioned earlier Gerry Adams. This is a man who has played a very courageous part in the quest for peace for his country men and women.

There was a tremendous effort over many months that went into making this trip the tremendous success that it turned out to be.

John Hume, of Derry, whom all of us have met at one time or another in the past 20 years, is the individual who really initiated the peace effort in Northern Ireland and in Derry. What a remarkable job he and others have done in Derry to bring the two traditions together, the nationalist and unionist traditions, to try and achieve economic opportunity for people. John Hume and others have worked tirelessly to attract business and promote job growth in that community. It was truly a heartwarming sight to see the American President received by John Hume in the square of Derry, while more than 50,000 people looked on. Some of these people had lined the street since 9 a.m. in the morning, and the President arrived late in the afternoon.

In the Guild Hall the President got a the tremendous reception; when the song "The Town I Love So Well" was sung, the audience was literally moved to tears. That song describes the troubles in Derry over the past two and one half decades.

In Belfast, at the Christmas tree lighting ceremony, 100,000 people gathered in the great square in Belfast—Protestants and Catholics alike—welcoming our President to their city. This is the same city, where a few months ago, you would not have thought of sending an American President because of the violence there, and where people were fearful of that when they walked into a department store or pub that place would be the subject of attack and violence.

What was particularly historic was to see this crowd—again, presenting the great traditions of Northern Ireland—come together to express their appreciation to an American President, the American people, and to the United States Congress; it certainly was one of the great sights I have witnessed in my tenure here in the United States Senate.

And then, Mr. President, the President was warmly received by the Parliament in the Republic of Ireland. The people of Dublin also came out en masse to express their appreciation. With over 100,000 people there as witnesses, President Clinton was awarded the "Freedom of the City" credentials that have only been awarded to a handful of people in Dublin. This was truly a high honor to receive. The President made very compelling remarks during his stay in Dublin.

Certainly, the sight of those children that the President constantly referred to when he talked about the opportunities and the hopes for peace in Northern Ireland—particularly the two children at the Mackie Metal Plant in Belfast—who joined hands, one Catholic, one Protestant—representing by the clasp of hands their hopes for coming together and resolving differences so people can live in peace on the island of Ireland.

As a person of Irish descent, for me it was more than just a foreign visit, but

a visit by someone whose family, on both sides, has come from Ireland, going back well into the early part of the last century. I was deeply proud that an American President had taken the actions he has over the last couple of years and that this has made a difference in people's lives.

We have seen this administration take steps in Haiti, now in Bosnia, there in Ireland, and in other places—steps that are certainly full of risks, but nonetheless I think risks worth taking, in the sense that we have been able to make a difference in people's lives.

So it was a deeply moving time for those of us who were part of this trip to have been present at a historic visit by an American President to a foreign land. For all who witnessed the reception he received, I think it makes everyone—regardless of party, ideology, or political persuasion—very proud to be an American.

#### JAVIER SOLANA—THE NEXT SECRETARY GENERAL OF NATO

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I had the privilege several days ago of meeting with the Foreign Minister of Spain, Javier Solana, who has recently been appointed the new Secretary General of NATO.

I happen to believe, Mr. President, that this is a very fine choice, a superb choice, one that I think should strengthen NATO and the political leadership of NATO in the months to come, particularly at a critical time when the issue of Bosnia and NATO's role there is going to be so very, very important.

I know that most Americans are probably not familiar with Mr. Solana as a foreign minister of Spain. There has been some criticism raised about this choice over Mr. Solana's opposition some 15 years ago to Spain's participation in NATO. As a result of his statements then, there have been those who have criticized his choice to head that organization.

I thought it might be worthwhile to share something of Mr. Solana's background and involvement when Spain was making the decision about NATO membership. I also think it would be informative for people to know about the critical role he has played in the Spanish Government over many years.

Finally, I believe my colleagues will be surprised to know of the deep sense of affection that Mr. Solana holds for our country, knowing it as well as he does. I say that because Mr. Solana is a physicist, by academic training. He, of course, received his undergraduate degree from the University of Madrid, and his Ph.D. from the University of Virginia, while a Fulbright scholar. He taught physics at the University of Chicago in this country before beginning any kind of a political career. He has published more than 30 books on the subject of physics.

Having spent such a great deal of time in our country and receiving a

good part of his education here, I know firsthand that he has a deep appreciation for our Nation, a great love for America and for Americans.

The breadth of Mr. Solana's government experience is also broad and varied. He has served in one capacity or another in every Spanish Government since 1982, in addition to maintaining a strong involvement in his chosen profession of physics. We are talking about someone of deep, long experience. He first served as the Culture Minister and simultaneously held the portfolio of Government spokesman in the early 1980s. In 1988, he became the Government's Minister of Education and served in that capacity until he was named Foreign Minister in 1992.

Mr. President, I am deeply disturbed that some of Mr. Solana's critics go back 15 or more years to talk about Mr. Solana's initial opposition to NATO, without bothering to discuss the historical context of Spain's participation in NATO.

At that time, Spain was emerging from a military dictatorship that they had been under for many years. Mr. Solana felt participation in NATO at that particular moment was probably not the wisest course to follow. What is important is what happens after that. The critics fail to disclose—as appropriate as it is to point out Mr. Solana's initial opposition—that it was also through his efforts several years thereafter, that a convincing case was presented to the Spanish people, on the wisdom of Spain's participating in NATO.

If Mr. Solana is going to be criticized for his opposition to Spain joining NATO in the first instance, I think it is also appropriate that his involvement in convincing the Spanish people about the wisdom of NATO membership be mentioned as well. Certainly, he played a pivotal role in that.

He has been described by his colleagues in the foreign affairs field as an "expert" and a "pragmatic negotiator," who has always adopted a very commonsense approach to diplomacy. Dr. Solana has remained untouched by recent allegations that have been lodged against certain Government officials, both with respect to corruption and to the so-called dirty war, alleged to have been conducted against the Basque rebels.

I believe, Mr. President, we should be extending our appreciation for Dr. Solana's willingness to accept the challenge of assuming the position of the Secretary General of NATO at this very critical juncture in that organization's history. I, for one, think he is the right man for the job. I applaud NATO members for the decision to appoint him.

Mr. President, at this point, I ask unanimous consent that a statement given by Secretary of State Warren Christopher in support of Dr. Solana's appointment and a brief biography be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.