

Frist	Jeffords	Reid
Gorton	Kassebaum	Santorum
Gramm	Kempthorne	Simpson
Grams	Kyl	Smith
Grassley	Lieberman	Snowe
Gregg	Lott	Stevens
Hatch	Mack	Thomas
Hatfield	McConnell	Thompson
Helms	Nickles	Thurmond
Hutchison	Packwood	Warner
Inhofe	Pressler	

## NAYS—48

Akaka	Feinstein	Mikulski
Baucus	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Biden	Graham	Moynihan
Bingaman	Harkin	Murkowski
Boxer	Heflin	Murray
Bradley	Hollings	Nunn
Breaux	Inouye	Pell
Bryan	Johnston	Pryor
Bumpers	Kennedy	Robb
Byrd	Kerrey	Rockefeller
Cohen	Kerry	Roth
Conrad	Kohl	Sarbanes
Daschle	Lautenberg	Shelby
Dorgan	Leahy	Simon
Exon	Levin	Specter
Feingold	McCain	Wellstone

## ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Bond

## NOT VOTING—1

Lugar

So the motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 1478) was agreed to.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I would propound a unanimous-consent request which I believe will deal with all of the outstanding amendments. I believe there are six amendments, three on each side, and it would be my intent to ask that we stack those votes so we could give our colleagues the opportunity to arrange their evening schedule. Possibly, with the concurrence of the two leaders, we can agree to time limits on all of those amendments, so we can take them up tomorrow morning and then proceed to final passage. That is my intent, to see if we can reach that agreement. I bring this up because some of my colleagues have asked what the schedule will be. If we can work out that agreement, it would be my hope that we would dispose of all of the amendments this evening and then start voting at a certain time tomorrow morning.

I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I rise to speak on the bill.

## DISTURBING EVENTS IN HAITI

Mr. COVERDELL. I wish to comment specifically on the remarks that were made earlier by the Senate majority leader and the Senator from Arizona with regard to the disturbing events we have witnessed in Haiti.

Mr. President, we have received reports that voting tally sheets were being intentionally altered and ballots

were being substituted with newly marked ballots. While widespread violence had been deterred, there has been a lack of visible security, and closed individual polls have forced Haitians to go home without casting their vote. There have been long delays in the opening of polls in many areas and a shortage of electoral material. Many ballot boxes were not sealed properly before being turned over to the regional centers. Observers found a few cases of ballot stuffing.

In short, we have a serious situation. I conferred with the majority leader with regard to these events, and want to announce to the Senate we will conduct hearings on the week we return in the subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, specifically the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee. I wanted to make that known to the Senate.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak as if in morning business.

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

## EVENTS IN HAITI

Mr. DODD. I was not in Haiti this past weekend as part of an observer group, but as I think most of my colleagues know, I have been there on numerous occasions. In fact, I lived on the border of that country for 2½ years and have a more than passing interest in the awareness of Haiti.

As I have listened this afternoon to several speeches now made about the events in Haiti over the past several days, I find it stunning in many ways. My colleagues, by their remarks, almost imply that the situation in Haiti would have been preferable had there not been an election or had there not been the decision by the administration in previous months to go back to intercede, along with the support of the international community, to try to restore the democratically elected government of that country.

This was not a perfect election in Haiti. There were serious problems. But, remember, this is a country that can count free elections on one hand—fewer fingers in fact—that they have had over the years. The last free one was 4 or 5 years ago when President Aristide was elected. And then we watched that election be ripped from the people of that country through a coup.

President Clinton, the administration, took the courageous decision to restore President Aristide to power in that country. And I recall back in those days during that debate the almost apparent disappointment that there was not more of a tragedy. We did not lose a single soldier in that effort. In fact, the President deserves great commendation, mind you, for the courage he showed in making an unpopular move. It was not popular at the time. Today, interestingly, the ma-

jority of people in this country think the President did the right thing.

Now, over the weekend, they had an election. It is a poor country with a tremendous level of illiteracy and staggering economic problems. So it did not look like a perfect election in this country. But it is an effort of poor people to get out and freely choose its leadership, literally hundreds and hundreds of candidates for local office and national office in that country. And rather than castigate and denounce the effort for the shortcomings that certainly were obvious and apparent, why are we not applauding the fact that this country was trying to embrace democracy and do so in a noble way?

Granted they had problems with ballot boxes and people abused the process. Votes were not counted. There were shortcomings, to put it mildly, in the process. All of that I accept. But instead of picking this process apart, there ought to be at least some underlying statements that indicate that we support this effort. We hope it is not just a one-time effort, but that in coming months and years we will see democracy take hold in this poor, little country to our south.

And so I have been disappointed. It is just a continuum of almost the disappointment people expressed over the last year over the President's decision to go in and restore President Aristide, which was a success. It seems to be a continuation of that. I am disappointed by these remarks. This is working. It is not perfect. We have watched what happened in other countries, including what we are watching in the former Soviet Union, the New Independent Republics. Countries that are struggling to find their democratic feet do not do so instantaneously. It takes time.

So I commend President Aristide and commend the people of Haiti for the courageous attempt to have a free and fair election. I am terribly disappointed it did not meet our high standards of a perfect election. But rather than spend our time denouncing the imperfections, we ought to take a moment out and commend these people. Some people walked literally miles and miles to get to a polling place in order to exercise their rights. Most of them are illiterate, cannot read or write. They have to vote by looking at colors or symbols on a ballot in order to choose their party or candidates. And to watch people get out with, I think, the returns somewhere around 60 or 70 percent—in our elections in 1974 we had 38 percent that turned out to vote.

So with all its imperfections, I think the people of Haiti deserve our applause, our commendation for their efforts. And certainly the Government of Haiti does, as well, for conducting this election. And albeit with its shortcomings, my hope is in coming years we will see better results and less imperfections in the process. But they do not deserve to be denounced, in my

view, for the significant efforts they have made.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MCCAIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. I listened with interest to the statement just made by my friend from Connecticut. And all I can say is it is *deja vu* all over again. I remember the criticism that the Senator from Connecticut leveled at the election in El Salvador that was attended by me and others. And, Mr. President, he might have missed the thrust of my remarks. And that is, that this election, according to the same group, the IRI, that has observed some 48 elections around the world, did not meet high standards. They did not meet minimum standards, I say to the Senator from Connecticut.

I applaud the effort of the people of Haiti for wanting to be involved in the electoral process. I applaud the efforts that have been made by many people. But the fact is, by objective judgment, this election was chaos—chaos.

And, Mr. President, the report of our observers—I will be brief because I know the Senator from New York gets understandably impatient with this issue impeding the progress of the pending legislation. But this is the report of the objective observers, these same observation teams that, as I say, observed 48 other elections throughout the world and judged by the same standards, not high standards, Mr. President, the same standards. Here's what they said:

General: Total breakdown in reception of ballots and tally sheets to counting centers; total abandonment of materials; zero supervision of materials; counting of ballots occurring without supervision.

Tally Sheets: Tally sheets being destroyed deliberately; tally sheets have been created/replaced; tally sheets with opposition parties leading have been destroyed in front of observers; tally sheets and other electoral records are being thrown out as garbage—and trash is being removed from site.

Ballots: Ballots have been burned, both used and unused; ballots have been substituted with newly marked ballots; unused ballots by the hundreds of thousands are readily accessible at counting sites.

Let me repeat that. Perhaps the Senator from Connecticut feels it is a real high standard not to expect unused ballots by the hundreds of thousands readily available at counting sites.

Unused ballots being mixed in with marked ballots; new ballots clearly being marked at counting sites; crumpled ballots, registration materials, and ballot boxes accumulating in trash heaps, inside and outside counting sites.

Ballot Boxes: Ballot boxes universally unsealed; ballot boxes being sealed at counting sites with serial numbered seals that may not correspond to actual voting site number; sealed ballot boxes are being thrown away.

Registration Cards: Registration records in total disarray; registration records being jettisoned into the trash in large quantities; unused registration cards (remember one million missing) found in large quantities.

This is not a result of underdevelopment nor simple mis-

management; this is orchestrated chaos.

Mr. HARKIN. Would the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MCCAIN. I would be glad to.

Mr. HARKIN. You mentioned—I do not know who IRI is.

Mr. MCCAIN. The International Republican Institute, which was there monitoring this election, as they have some 48 elections throughout the world. I say to my friend from Iowa, there are certain standard procedures used in judging any election, whether it be Russia, El Salvador, Haiti, anywhere else. These minimum standards are what an election is judged by.

Mr. HARKIN. If I could ask another question.

It is the International Republican Institute. I did not know that.

Second, in this institute, did they monitor the elections that were held in Haiti about, if I am not mistaken, a little over 2 years ago when the junta, the military, was in charge and there was an election there?

I am wondering whether they monitored that election and if they drew any comparisons between this election and that election. I only ask that question because—

Mr. MCCAIN. My answer is, as you know, that that election was so fraudulent there was no international observer groups allowed there. But in the words of other people who observed the 1990 election, this was far worse than the 1990 election conducted in Haiti which was observed by international organizations.

Mr. HARKIN. May I ask one more question? Does the Senator know how much money the United States or other nations may have provided and support that we may have provided in order to help that electoral process in Haiti, being a poor country? I just wonder if there are any figures on how much we did in terms of monitoring assistance to help them do the things that the Senator has pointed out were shortcomings in that election.

Mr. MCCAIN. I respond to my friend from Iowa, I do not know the amount of money. I do know what the commitment on the part of the American Government was. But I know the election should have met certain minimum standards. Otherwise, there is no sense in holding an election. And the observers who came in to observe this election and others did not believe those standards were met. I mean, the front page of the Washington Post this morning, "chaos" and other descriptions along those lines clearly indicate that if we did spend money, and I am sure we did, that it was either misplaced or improperly used or something.

The real point here, I say to my friend from Iowa, is I do not know how much money was spent. I know money was spent, but I know that these are trained observers who observe election after election after election around the world and judged the election in Russia

to be overall fair, the election in El Salvador to be fair, the election in Nicaragua to be fair, the recent election in Chile to be fair. This is the first time they have judged this election not to be, that I know of, one which was fair and open. But they certainly did not judge the previous election to be in any way acceptable. They did not even go to see it because everybody knew what that election was all about.

Mr. HARKIN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MCCAIN. I thank my friend. I always appreciate this dialog with my friend from Connecticut. I think he may have misunderstood the point when I made my statement. I also admire the tenacity, desire, the will of the Haitian people to obtain freedom. They are people who deserve, if any one group of people in this hemisphere deserves our assistance and help, and they deserve a freely elected government after all they have suffered through.

I am just saying to my friend from Connecticut that there are certain standards that must be observed, that must be adhered to in any election; otherwise, the people do not have that precious right, and that is to choose their own leadership.

It is not clear to me yet what all the reasons behind this failure were but, in my view, it has been a significant failure.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GRAHAM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, it had been my intention at this point to offer an amendment, but I ask unanimous consent for time as in morning business.

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

#### OBSERVATIONS ON ELECTIONS IN HAITI

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I was in Haiti on Saturday and Sunday of this weekend, and I would like to share with my colleagues some of my observations. I intend to submit a more formal statement later, but for this afternoon, I would like to talk about some of the things that I saw.

Frankly, to my good friend from Arizona, who was represented in Haiti, he and the IRI, by another good friend, Congressman PORTER GOSS of my State of Florida, I was concerned about my first experience in Haiti this weekend. I got off the plane Saturday morning at approximately 11 o'clock, and at the foot of the plane were several U.S. reporters, including a representative of one of the major networks. The first question that was asked was what did we think about the report that had been issued a few hours earlier on Saturday morning—this is the day before the election—by the IRI criticizing the election that had not yet taken place?

Obviously, we were in no position to comment on a report that we had not