

and economic transformations in Russia. While these radical changes have borne some difficult and unfortunate challenges both in Russia and the international arena, Russia had been on a course of reform that we embraced. We counted on President Yeltsin, whose own personal metamorphosis had apparently paralleled his nation's, to lead Russia through these challenges. But now there are troubling signs of erosion of Yeltsin's genuine commitment to reform which, if continued, could have detrimental consequences for the U.S. national interest. Our interest lies in the continuation of reform in Russia—whether led by President Yeltsin or not.

As we wait for more reform in Russia, President Yeltsin has tried to reassure the international community with positive words and uplifting promises. But some of the actions we have seen in recent weeks, including the sacking of his respected economic advisor and other Cabinet-level reformers, lend pause. The replacements have been Soviet-era hardliners resistant to reform and internationalism. Many people have voiced reservations about President Yeltsin's authoritarian tendencies, and hope that it may just be election year posturing, a response to the decidedly antireform results of last month's parliamentary elections in Russia. The question we must ask is how far on the slippery slope do we go with President Yeltsin? When do his attempts to appease hardline critics leave Russia in the same boat he claims to want to avoid?

Mr. Kovalev testified about the excessive use of force in Chechnya and I join in his condemnation of practices repugnant to human dignity. It is clear that the fighting in Chechnya is war; the combatants on both sides are committed to a cause. But even in war, there are standards of respect for human rights and for civilized conduct. These have been violated on both sides of the conflict and both deserve condemnation.

But Russia, as a sovereign state, and as a member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, has a special obligation to avoid civilian casualties during hostilities on its own territory. The practice of calling in indiscriminate airstrikes on Chechnyan villages must end, just as surely as the Chechnyan practice of terrorism must stop.

The overall slowing and, in fact, apparent retreat by Russia's leadership in human rights and reform brings into question the future direction of United States-Russia relations, as well as Russia's place in post-cold war alliances, in doubt. President Clinton and Secretary Christopher are right to do all they can to work with the new Russian officials and offer constructive support wherever we can to advance the cause of reform. But we must keep our eye on the ball: our goal is reform—democratic, economic, and military reform—and support for President Yeltsin to the extent that he will deliver those reforms.

I conclude by quoting from Mr. Kovalev's March 6 testimony to the CSCE in which he, in turn, drew on the wisdom of one of Russia's leading proponents of democracy and human rights, Andrei Sakharov:

the West should have a two-track policy (towards Russia): assistance and pressure. Assist, and effectively assist—the growing civil society and democratic movement in (our) country. Exert pressure, and strong pressure—on those forces that oppose peace, human rights and progress.●

DISAPPROVAL OF ADMINISTRATION'S CERTIFICATION OF MEXICO

● Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to further comment on a joint resolution introduced on March 5, 1996, that disapproves of the administration's certification of Mexico. I am joined by my colleagues Senator HELMS, Senator MCCONNELL, and Senator PRESSLER who are original cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 50, but were inadvertently omitted as original cosponsors upon introduction. I also urge its immediate passage.

In order to determine if a country has cooperated fully with the United States, the President must evaluate the country's efforts in several areas: their efforts to reduce cultivation of illegal drugs, their interdiction efforts, the swift, decisive action by the Government against corruption within its ranks and their extradition of drug traffickers. The results of the Government's efforts are the true indication of success. These same standards should also be used when Congress measures the accomplishments of foreign governments.

As required under the Foreign Assistance Act, the President released his list on March 1 and granted Mexico full certification. That designation is completely unacceptable, and undeserved. And for that reason, my colleagues and I are introducing this joint resolution of disapproval of Mexico's certification.

Mexico is a sieve. For the President to certify that Mexico is complying with antinarcotics efforts and curbing the export of drugs across the border is simply not supported by the facts.

Our own Drug Enforcement Agency [DEA] estimates that up to 70 percent of all illegal drugs found in the United States come from Mexico. Seventy five percent of the cocaine in the U.S. is said to have come from Mexico. Virtually all of the heroin produced in Mexico is trafficked in the United States. These numbers certainly do not sound like full cooperation to me. From these numbers alone, it seems as though the Mexican Government has failed horribly in its efforts to curb the flow of drugs into the United States. Even the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report just released by the State Department states that "no country in the world poses a more immediate narcotics threat to the United

States than Mexico." Our own State Department says this.

Even efforts to end police corruption have failed because the drug trade has infiltrated the Mexican law enforcement community. Robert Gelbard, Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs in a congressional hearing, stated that "we have always been aware—and acknowledge—that law enforcement corruption in Mexico is a deeply entrenched, serious obstacle to bilateral antinarcotics cooperation." The State Department, in their 1996 Strategy Report, while acknowledging some efforts by the Mexican Government, indicates the continuation of official corruption by stating that, "endemic corruption continued to undermine both policy initiatives and law enforcement operations."

It is time that the Mexican Government takes aggressive action against drug traffickers. Promises are no longer adequate. Among other steps that should be taken, Mexico should be arresting and extraditing more of its cartel leaders. Mexico must comply with the 165 outstanding requests for extradition by the United States. That would be real cooperation.

The Mexican Government should also swiftly enact legislation stemming the growing problem of money laundering and enforce its anticorruption laws. There are no reporting requirements if an individual walks up to an exchange center with suitcases filled with cash. This should be adequate evidence that Mexico needs reporting requirements of large cash transactions. Action to identify and prosecute officials that interfere with the investigation, prosecution, or have assisted in the drug trade, must occur with greater frequency if government officials are to be trusted.

For the President to claim that Mexico has been fully cooperating to end the scourge of drugs is beyond belief. I hope that the Senate will now closely analyze and debate the extent of Mexico's participation in the illegal drug trade. Then we should ask ourselves, "Is the Mexican Government taking actions that actually slows the flow of drugs?" It seems as though it has not.

The Mexican Government must do more to fight the narcotics industry that has permeated the lives of the Mexican people and the economy of Mexico. The drug trade is worth tens of billion of dollars to Mexico. No wonder Mexico is having difficulty decreasing the flow of drugs from their country into ours. There is too much money involved.

Mexico is now being used to store cocaine from Colombia for shipment into the United States. The cartels may be storing as much as 70 to 100 tons of cocaine in Mexico at any one time. With a developing narcotics infrastructure and its close proximity to the United States, Mexico has proven to be an asset that the cartels do not want to lose. And now there are reports that

the Mexican gangs may soon take over the drug trafficking from the Cali cartel. It is ironic then that Colombia, the source country, was decertified while Mexico was fully certified.

I must also add that I have heard that some foreign officials believe our certification process is illegitimate. This is the height of arrogance. What is illegitimate about placing conditions on our foreign aid and requiring the recipient to curb the flow of drugs?

The certification process has the net effect of bringing the drug problem to the forefront, not only for the United States but also for Mexico. It seems as though only when a government is forced to confront the problem as difficult as the drug trade will a solution be found.

As a result of the amount of drugs that are found to have come into the United States through Mexico, we know that Mexico has failed to stem the international drug trade. If this administration does not want to recognize Mexico's failure, then it is up to Congress to do so. Again, I encourage my colleagues to join us in this effort.●

RECOGNIZING THE ODELSON FAMILY

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, the late Sam and Rose Odelson of Chicago had 13 children, 8 of whom served in the United States Armed Forces during World War II. Their contributions should be recognized.

Four sons served in Europe, three in the Pacific, and one in the States. Two were injured in combat, and altogether, they earned 20 battle stars.

Oscar served in the United States Army in Italy. Sidney, an Army veteran who landed at Omaha Beach served in France and Germany. Joe was also in the Army, serving near the tail end of the war in southern France. Julius was 89th Airborne, Roy was in the Army Air Corps, Ben served with the 13th Air Force in the South Pacific for over 2 years, and Mike was an MP in the Philippines.

All the eight Odelson boys returned home after the war. A few stayed in Chicago, the others moved out to sunny California to work in the insurance, furniture, or restaurant business.

With the recent commemoration of the 50th anniversary of World War II, it is fitting to recognize the achievements of this family. I salute these brothers and their family for their selfless commitment to our country.●

CONDEMNING THE CAMPAIGN OF TERROR AGAINST ISRAEL

● Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, in a statement last week I condemned two terrorist bombings which took place in Jerusalem and Ashkelon 12 days ago. I did not think that it would be so soon that events would bring me once again to this floor to condemn another pair of cowardly attacks against innocent people, including young children.

Today, Israelis are justifiably shocked, disgusted, and angry. To bring home just what Israel is experiencing, let me provide a vivid comparison. On a proportional basis, the number of people killed by terrorists in Israel over the past 12 days would be equivalent to over 3,000 Americans killed. Imagine what our reaction would be if over 3,000 Americans were murdered in terrorist attacks in such a short period.

I dare say that our fundamental sense of stability and security as a nation would be shaken to its very core. That is what Israelis are feeling today.

As difficult as it is in this moment of grief and anger, we have to recognize the motive of those behind these dastardly attacks. Their single-minded aim is to end the peace process cold.

We cannot let them have the satisfaction of that kind of victory. We must resist the urge of our raw emotions in the wake of these outrageous attacks. We must not discard the remarkable achievements of the past 3 years, for that would play directly into the hands of the terrorists.

Last week, I urged that the peace process continue. I believe that even more firmly now.

The terrorists can be defeated through a two-pronged strategy. First, there must be intensified efforts to destroy the infrastructure and network that are ultimately behind terrorist actions. In that regard, I commend President Clinton for offering technical assistance to the Israelis and Palestinians in the war against terror. Second, we must prove to the terrorists that their actions are not producing the desired results. That means moving forward undaunted with the peace process.

Last week, I appealed to the Palestinian majority that supports peace to join the battle against terror with renewed vigor because it is their future that is most at stake. I renew that call today. If these attacks continue, then the Palestinian experience with self-government could become a fleeting memory.

Mr. President, in my remarks today I have used the term "war"—the same term Prime Minister Shimon Peres has used to describe the state of affairs between Israel and Hamas. It is an appropriate term to use, and unlike many wars this one is a clear-cut conflict between good and evil.

A victory by the pro-peace majority of Israelis and Palestinians could lead the way to a thriving, vibrant, and cooperative Middle East. A victory by Hamas and its extremist allies on both sides will mean conflict, bloodshed, and division long into the future.

In this war, as in all of Israel's wars, the United States will stand by Israel and do whatever it takes to ensure victory.

Mr. President, Israel has endured much suffering in its short history, and it has shown remarkable fortitude in the face of terrorism and other at-

tempts to destroy it. The Israeli people have always thwarted the designs of those who have tried every means to eliminate their country. I have no doubt that they will prevail in their present struggle against those who have declared war against Israel, the peace process, and, indeed civilization itself.●

REPORT OF SENATE DELEGATION'S TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, in February, I led a congressional delegation on a trip to Jordan, Syria, Israel, and Cyprus. I was pleased to be joined on this trip by the distinguished Senators from Virginia and Oklahoma—Senators ROBB and INHOFE.

On our trip, Senator INHOFE, Senator ROBB, and I focused primarily on the Middle East peace process, including prospects for a peace treaty between Israel and Syria, as well as the implementation of Israel's peace agreements with Jordan and the Palestinians. During our stop in Cyprus, we examined the conflict between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the likelihood of a peaceful, negotiated settlement.

Since our return, the Middle East—and specifically Israel—has been wracked by an unimaginable wave of violence and terror. The murder of scores of innocent Israelis, as well as Palestinians, Americans, and other civilians, has cast an unmistakable pall over the peace process. To be frank, I am not sure that any supporter of the peace process, be they in Israel, the Palestinian autonomous zone, or the United States, has a clear idea of what the future holds.

My own hope is that the process can survive this unspeakable assault. Our recent trip reaffirmed for me the clear fact that the terrorists are the enemies of peace. If the terrorists succeed in destroying the peace process, then they will be rewarded for their depravity. I do not think such an outcome would be right or fair.

Mr. President, the Senate already has responded to some of the terrorist bombings in Israel. Scarcely a week ago, the Senate passed a resolution to condemn the perpetrators, to commiserate with the victims, to express continued support for our ally, Israel. In a shocking indication of how frequent these incidents have become, however, the Senate will soon consider yet another resolution that condemns two more bombings that have occurred since the passage of the last resolution.

Above and beyond these resolutions, I would expect that there may be some deep soul searching in both the Congress and the administration about the American role in coordinating the peace process. In this regard, I thought it might be useful to share with my colleagues the report that our Senate delegation made on its recent trip to the Middle East. As I said a moment ago, our trip preceded the recent wave