

We support strongly your "Military Voting Rights Act of 1997" which amends the "Unformed and Overseas Absentee Voting Act". Your bill will make more explicit the right of active duty personnel and their family members to vote in federal, state, and local elections with absentee ballots as the "Soldier's and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940" has historically been interpreted by state election officials.

Any assertion that military personnel, who are serving their country, can lose their right to vote in state and local elections because of their service-connected absences is outrageous! All the brave men and women of the armed forces serving throughout the world are grateful for your prompt, decisive action to preserve their Constitutional right to vote.

Sincerely,

J.C. PENNINGTON,  
Major General, U.S. Army (Ret.),  
President.

AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION  
Arlington, VA, February 5, 1997.

Hon. PHIL GRAMM,  
Senate Russell Building,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR GRAMM: The Air Force Association strongly endorses your sponsorship of "The Military Voting Rights Act of 1997." The right of active duty military personnel and their dependents to vote in all federal, state and local elections needs to again be reemphasized to state and local election officials. Recent problems in Texas have again reminded us that the right to vote must be fought for time and time again. Your legislation, once enacted, will help to correct this inequity.

We pledge our support to assist you by seeking additional cosponsors, to inform our members nationwide of your effort and to help in any appropriate way.

Sincerely,

DOYLE E. LARSON.●

By Mrs. MURRAY (for herself, Mr. DODD, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. HARKIN, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. INOUE, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. KERRY, and Mr. AKAKA):

S. 280. A bill to amend the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 to allow employees to take school involvement leave to participate in the school activities of their children or to participate in literacy training, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

THE TIME FOR SCHOOLS ACT OF 1997

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, 4 years ago today, thanks to the hard work of Senator DODD, we passed the Family and Medical Leave Act. It was one of the first things I did as a newly elected Senator. And I am proud of its success. In fact, it is probably the single most effective law passed by Congress this decade.

Now I want to expand the scope of FMLA to apply to participation in our schools. The Time for Schools Act of 1997 will allow parents 24 hours per year to participate in activities in their child's school.

As the mother of two children—one a teenager in high school—I know how difficult and how important it is to participate in their education. I have

been lucky to have had the opportunity to be involved in their lives. But many parents do not have the time it takes to do those little things that will assure their child's success in school.

By expanding the uses of one of the most successful laws in years, I want to give parents something they don't have enough of—time.

When I tour schools in my home State of Washington, I often hear young people say, "Adults don't seem to care about me." We know that's not true, but we need to show them that adults do care. And one of the best places to start is to reaffirm the importance of their education by taking steps to help their families get more involved in schools.

These days we have many dual-income families and single parents struggling to work to make ends meet. All of these families know how important it is to be involved in their children's learning.

However, a recent study, Parents as School Partners research initiative, sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women's Center for the Child, found that a basic lack of time was one of the main barriers to more parental involvement at schools.

Educational studies have shown that family involvement is more important to student success than family income or education. In fact, things parents control, such as limiting excess television watching and providing a variety of reading materials in the home, account for almost all the differences—nearly 90 percent—in average student achievement across States.

All sectors of our communities want more time for young people. Students, teachers, parents and businesses feel something must be done to improve family involvement. In fact, 89 percent of company executives identified the biggest obstacle to school reform as the lack of parental involvement.

And, a 1996 postelection poll commissioned by the national PTA and other organizations found that 86 percent of people favor legislation that would allow workers unpaid leave to attend parent-teacher conferences, or to take other actions to improve learning for their children.

A commitment to our children is a commitment to the future. I want to make sure all young people receive the attention they need to succeed.

My legislation will allow parents time to: First, attend a parent/teacher conference; second, interview a new school for their child; and third, participate in family literacy training.

Just last week, I talked to a woman from Bellevue who has an 11-year-old special needs daughter in school. Both she and her husband work during the day, but he cannot get away for school activities. She told me my legislation would allow her husband to attend school conferences and participate in their child's education for the first time.

I look at the Family and Medical Leave Act—which has helped one in six

American employees take time to deal with serious family health problems, and which 90 percent of businesses had little or no cost implementing—and I see success. People in my State have been able to deal with urgent family needs, without having to give up their jobs.

My bill expands the uses of Family and Medical Leave to another urgent need families face—the need to help their children learn.

Now we need to grant employees the same peace of mind about preventing problems in school that can lead to bigger problems for their children later on. The time is right for the Time for Schools Act.

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 70

At the request of Mrs. BOXER, the name of the Senator from Illinois [Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 70, a bill to apply the same quality and safety standards to domestically manufactured handguns that are currently applied to imported handguns.

S. 183

At the request of Mr. DODD, the names of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. AKAKA], and the Senator from Washington [Mrs. MURRAY] were added as cosponsors of S. 183, a bill to amend the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 to apply the Act to a greater percentage of the United States workforce, and for other purposes.

S. 212

At the request of Mr. WELLSTONE, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 212, a bill to increase the maximum Federal Pell Grant award in order to allow more American students to afford higher education, and to express the Sense of the Senate.

#### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 5—RELATIVE TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY OF 1949

Mr. ROTH (for himself, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. LUGAR, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. ENZI, and Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 5

Whereas the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a community of democracies that continues to play a critical role in addressing the security challenges of the post-Cold War era and in creating an environment of enduring peace and stability in Europe;

Whereas NATO remains the only security alliance with both real defense capabilities and transatlantic membership;

Whereas the North Atlantic Council held a ministerial meeting on December 10, 1996, at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, and—

(1) decided to hold a summit meeting on July 8 and 9, 1997, during which it will extend invitations to accession negotiations to one or more countries that have participated in the process of intensified dialogue with NATO;

(2) established for the North Atlantic Alliance the goal of welcoming one or more new members by the time of the Alliance's fiftieth anniversary in 1999;

(3) announced that the Council seeks to reach agreement with the Russian Federation on arrangements that would widen and deepen the current relationship between the Russian Federation and NATO in order to enhance security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area; and

(4) announced its commitment to further developing and reinforcing a distinctive and effective relationship with Ukraine;

Whereas Congress has repeatedly endorsed, with bipartisan majorities, the enlargement of NATO through the enactment of legislation that includes the NATO Participation Act of 1994, the NATO Participation Act Amendments of 1995, and the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996;

Whereas the North Atlantic Assembly, a multinational body composed of delegations from the 16 signatory nations of the North Atlantic Treaty, has called for the Alliance to welcome new members through the adoption of resolutions, including Resolution 255 (1994) entitled "NATO Partnership for Peace and the Enlargement Process", Resolution 268 (1996) entitled "On a Wider Alliance for Enhanced Stability and Freedom", and Resolution 271 (1996) entitled "Toward the 1997 NATO Summit";

Whereas the enlargement of NATO, a defensive alliance, threatens no nation and reinforces peace and stability in Europe, the enlargement of NATO would provide benefits to all nations;

Whereas NATO has extended its membership to additional nations on three different occasions since its founding in 1949; and

Whereas the new members of the North Atlantic Alliance must assume all the rights and obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty, signed at Washington on April 4, 1949; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That Congress—*

(1) regards the political independence and territorial integrity of the emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe as vital to European peace and security and, thus, to the interests of the United States;

(2) endorses the goal established by the North Atlantic Council to welcome one or more new members by the time of the fiftieth anniversary of the North Atlantic Alliance in 1999;

(3) calls upon the Alliance to extend invitations to accession negotiations to those nations who seek membership in NATO and who are ready to make a net contribution to the Alliance's security by 1999, including Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia;

(4) endorses the commitment of the North Atlantic Council further to develop and reinforce a distinctive and effective relationship between the Alliance and Ukraine;

(5) endorses the pledge of the North Atlantic Council that the Alliance will remain open to the accession of further members in accordance with Article 10 of the Washington Treaty;

(6) endorses the Alliance's decision to seek a charter with Russia that reflects the common interest that Russia and the Alliance have in reinforcing enduring peace and stability in Europe;

(7) calls upon the President to fully use his offices to facilitate the objectives and commitments described in paragraphs (2) through (6); and

(8) reserves the right of advice and consent to the ratification of treaties and pledges seriously and responsibly to review the results of accession negotiations between the North Atlantic Council and prospective NATO members.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this concurrent resolution to the President.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, one of the greatest foreign policy opportunities and challenges before the 105th Congress is the consolidation of a wider, peaceful, and democratic Europe.

The inclusion of the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe in the core institutions of the transatlantic community has been a cornerstone of American foreign policy for the last 50 years.

Its attainment remains both a strategic and moral imperative for the United States.

A key step toward this end is the inclusion of democracies from Central and Eastern Europe as full members in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO].

This is a step that has been endorsed by the U.S. Congress. It is a step that has been endorsed by the American people.

It's a step that must be taken.

I was glad to hear the President emphasize last night in his State of the Union Address that the first task of our foreign policy is to build an undivided, democratic Europe.

He is right to emphasize that a wider NATO and stable partnership between the alliance and Russia are cornerstones to this vision.

As we look to the 21st century, and the uncertainties that still threaten our vital interests and those of our allies—as we see the need to maintain an organization that is dedicated to safeguarding freedoms, promoting democracy, and supporting the rule of law—we realize that NATO is critical to our future.

It is not enough to win the cold war; we must now ensure the peace. This is NATO's commission \* \* \* a commission the alliance must continue to carry out.

Now more than ever, NATO has the opportunity to fulfill the role for which it was originally intended.

Those who know the history of the alliance understand the historic significance of this moment. With the cold war behind us, NATO is now in the position to consolidate a wider democratic Europe—the very reason for which the alliance was born.

We must welcome this.

Enlarging and strengthening the alliance is a catalyst for increased security, productive communication, enhanced cooperation, and common objectives.

An alliance that is outward-looking and inclusive provides a framework for peace that possesses infinite capabilities.

For these reasons, the North Atlantic Council recently issued an historic communique that offers a long-awaited

blueprint for building the alliance's relationship with the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe.

The communique calls for the alliance to advance its original objectives by moving toward the integration of these nations. It articulates the North Atlantic Council's intention at its July summit meeting in Madrid, to extend invitations to accession negotiations to one or more countries which have participated in NATO's intensified dialog process.

The communique establishes for the alliance the goal of welcoming new members by the time of NATO's 50th anniversary in 1999.

It also announces the North Atlantic Council's objective to reach agreement with the Russian Federation on arrangements that will widen and deepen their current relationship in order to enhance security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area.

Mr. President, NATO enlargement is not a new issue before the Congress, but it is among the most important foreign policy issues the 105th Congress will face.

The timeline established by the North Atlantic Council is both worthy and challenging.

NATO's 50th anniversary will be in April of 1999. To ensure the accession of new members into the alliance by that date, 16 parliaments or legislatures will have to ratify accession treaties.

Considering the important role the United States will have to play in ensuring success in this process, it is incumbent upon the 105th Congress to lead the ratification process.

Toward this end, I call upon my colleagues to endorse the goals and timetable established by the North Atlantic Council through a resolution sponsored by Senators LIEBERMAN, LUGAR, MIKULSKI, HAGEL, MCCAIN, COCHRAN, and myself.

I encourage my colleagues to approach this resolution with an eye toward the July summit in Madrid.

The principal theme of this summit will be enlargement, and this resolution expresses the "sense of Congress that the extension of membership in NATO to the democracies of Central and Eastern Europe is essential to the consolidation of enduring peace and stability in Europe."

The resolution we introduce today also reviews congressional support for NATO enlargement—as well as the support of the North Atlantic Assembly which represents over 200 legislators from more than 40 political parties around the world.

Most importantly, this resolution declares that Congress regards the political independence and territorial integrity of emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe as vital to European peace and security and, thus, to the interests of the United States.

Our resolution calls upon the alliance, during the Madrid summit, to extend invitations to accession negotiations to Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia.

It endorses the pledge of the North Atlantic Council that the alliance will remain open to the accession of further members in accordance with article 10 of the Washington Treaty.

It also endorses the alliance's decision to seek a charter with Russia that reflects the common interest that Russia and the alliance have in reinforcing enduring peace and stability in Europe.

Finally, this resolution reserves the Senate's right of advise and consent over international treaties. It pledges that the Senate will seriously and responsibly review the outcomes of accession negotiations between the North Atlantic Council and prospective NATO members.

Passage of this resolution prior to the Madrid summit meeting in July would reiterate and reaffirm both at home and abroad the strong bipartisan support behind NATO enlargement in the United States.

This would strengthen the President's position within the alliance on the issue of enlargement as he prepares for the July summit in Madrid.

And, it would further reinforce the groundwork that has been laid for NATO enlargement, demonstrating that the 105th Congress is ready and willing to aggressively address this important issue.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution, to send a strong and unmistakable message to our friends and allies, and to ensure that the NATO's half century of success carries well into the future.

I would also like to submit for the RECORD some important documents concerning the support for NATO enlargement I am finding in my home State of Delaware.

On 19 December 1996, the Wilmington Town Council passed a resolution introduced by Council Member Bartowski endorsing Poland's membership in NATO. I ask unanimous consent that this resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Republic of Poland is a free, democratic and independent nation with a long and proud history, whose sons and daughters have played significant roles in the history of Wilmington; and

Whereas, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is dedicated to the preservation of the freedom and security of its member nations and there is now a plan for enlargement of NATO to proceed in 1997 and 1998; and

Whereas, the Republic of Poland has expressed its desire to share in both the benefits and obligations of NATO in pursuing the development, growth and promotion of democratic institutions and ensuring free market economic development and Poland may be invited to NATO membership, if criteria are met, as early as Spring, 1997; and

Whereas, Poland recognizes its responsibilities as a democratic nation and wishes to exercise such responsibilities in concert with members of NATO; and

Whereas, the Republic of Poland desires to become part of NATO's efforts to prevent the extremes of nationalism; and

Whereas, it has been observed that "when-ever Europe and the United States go separate ways, they pay a terrible price" and the security of the United States is dependent upon the stability of Central Europe, of which Poland is a vital part.

Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Council of the City of Wilmington, Delaware, That:*

1. This Council respectfully urges the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States to continue their support of the Republic of Poland's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to support the establishment during 1997 and 1998 of a timetable for such entry, partly in order that NATO may be cohesive, effective, credible and display a sense of co-responsibility for the security and stability of the whole of Europe.

2. The City Clerk is hereby directed to forward duly authenticated copies of this resolution to the President of the United States; the Presiding Officer of both branches of the United States Congress; the members thereof from the State of Delaware, including Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr. of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Robert Hunter, the U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO; Marek Lesniewski-Laas, the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Poland; and former Wilmington Mayor John E. Babiarez.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, this resolution, as well as the one that we are introducing in the Senate today, reflect the recognition, that by any measure, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been a resounding success.

It has kept the peace, reinforced geopolitical relationships, and provided the foundation upon which we were able to bring the cold war to a peaceful end.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the North Atlantic Council Communique be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, DECEMBER 10, 1996—FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. As we look ahead, the new NATO is taking shape, reflecting the fundamental changes in the security environment in Europe and the enduring vitality of the transatlantic partnership which underpins our endeavours. The broad vision of this new NATO and its role in the development of a new European security architecture was set out at the 1994 Brussels Summit and further defined at our last meeting in Berlin. The Alliance's adaptation and reform is well underway. We will take this process forward today.

The Alliance is resolved to preserve its political and military strength, ensuring its ability to carry out the full range of its missions—as IFOR and its planned successor SFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina clearly show. We have issued a separate statement in this regard. The Alliance will continue to strengthen European security by maintaining its capability for collective defence, admitting new members, expanding and strengthening cooperative relationships with all Partners, including building a strong security partnership with Russia and a distinctive relationship with Ukraine, and realising the European Security and Defence Identity within the Alliance.

The evolution of the Alliance takes place in the context of our aim to help build a truly cooperative European security struc-

ture. We welcome as a contribution the important decisions taken at the recent OSCE Summit in Lisbon and the decision by the States Parties to the CFE Treaty to begin negotiations in early 1997 with a view towards adapting the Treaty to the changing security environment in Europe.

2. Against this background, we have decided to recommend to our Heads of State and Government to convene a Summit meeting in Madrid on 8/9 July 1997 to set the course for the Alliance as it moves towards the 21st century, consolidating Euro-Atlantic security. To achieve this aim, major decisions will have to be taken by the time of the Summit concerning NATO's internal adaptation, the opening of the Alliance and its ability to carry out all its new roles and missions. The agenda for our Summit will include:

Agreeing a new command structure, which enables all Allies to participate fully, and further advancing the implementation of the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) concept, in order to enhance the Alliance's ability to carry out the full range of its missions, while preserving the capability for collective defence, based on a strong transatlantic partnership;

Finalizing, to the satisfaction of all Allies, all the necessary arrangements for the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) within NATO, which will allow for the preparation and conduct of WEU-led operations with the participation of all European Allies if they were so to choose;

Inviting one or more of the countries which have expressed interest in joining the Alliance to begin accession negotiations;

Pledging that the Alliance will remain open to the accession of further members and will remain ready to pursue consultations with nations seeking NATO membership, as it has done in the past;

Strengthening cooperative relations with all our Partners including through an enhanced Partnership for Peace (PfP) and the initiative to establish an Atlantic Partnership Council;

Intensifying and consolidating relations with Russia beyond the Partnership for Peace by aiming at reaching an agreement at the earliest possible date on the development of a strong, stable and enduring security partnership;

Further developing an enhanced relationship with Ukraine;

Enhancing our Mediterranean dialogue; Further developing our ability to carry out new roles and missions relating to conflict prevention and crisis management; and

Further enhancing our political and defence efforts against the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and their delivery means.

3. We warmly welcome the decision of the Government of Spain, endorsed by the Spanish Parliament on 14 November 1996, to take the necessary steps to participate in the Alliance's new structure. Spain's participation will further strengthen the cohesion and military effectiveness of the Alliance, as it takes on new roles and missions, reinforce the transatlantic link and help develop ESDI within the Alliance.

4. Stability and security in the whole Euro-Atlantic area are our primary goal. We want to help build cooperative European security structures which extend to countries throughout the whole of Europe without excluding anyone or creating dividing lines. Recent decisions at the OSCE Summit meeting in Lisbon on European security cooperation and the decision to adapt the CFE Treaty to the new European security environment establish a cooperative foundation for our common security. The Alliance, for its part, has developed a broad pattern of intensive cooperation with North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and PfP Partner

countries and with other international organizations and is thereby contributing to security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. With the same aim, we are now working towards opening the Alliance to new members; developing ever-closer and deeper cooperative ties with all Partner countries who so wish; building a strong, stable and enduring security partnership with Russia; strengthening our relationship with Ukraine; and enhancing our Mediterranean dialogue.

5. We reaffirm that the nuclear forces of the Allies continue to play a unique and essential role in the Alliance's strategy of war prevention. New members, who will be full members of the Alliance in all respects, will be expected to support the concept of deterrence and the essential role nuclear weapons play in the Alliance's strategy. Enlarging the Alliance will not require a change in NATO's current nuclear posture and therefore, NATO countries have no intention, no plan, and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of new members nor any need to change any aspect of NATO's nuclear posture or nuclear policy—and we do not foresee any future need to do so.

6. A number of countries have long-standing aspirations to become full members of our Alliance and have undertaken intensive and wide-ranging preparations and reforms with this aim in mind. We are now in a position to recommend to our Heads of State and Government to invite at next year's Summit meeting one or more countries which have participated in the intensified dialogue process, to start accession negotiations with the Alliance. Our goal is to welcome the new member(s) by the time of NATO's 50th anniversary in 1999. We pledge that the Alliance will remain open to the accession of further members in accordance with Article 10 of the Washington Treaty. We will remain ready to pursue consultations with nations seeking NATO membership, as we have done in the past.

We are satisfied with the intensified, individual dialogue which the Alliance has been conducting throughout this year with interested Partners. This dialogue has improved their understanding of specific and practical details of how the Alliance works. It has provided the Alliance in turn with a better understanding of where these countries stand in their internal development as well as in the resolution of any external issues with neighbouring countries. We have tasked the Council in Permanent Session to prepare comprehensive recommendations for decisions to be taken by the Summit on which country or countries to invite to begin accession negotiations. The process should include:

An intensified dialogue with interested Partner countries including in a "16+1" format, as appropriate;

Analysis, on the basis of further political guidance to be elaborated by the Council in Permanent Session, of the relevant factors associated with the admission of potential new members;

Preparation of recommendations on the adaptation of Alliance structures necessary to integrate new members into the Alliance;

Preparation of a plan for conducting the accession talks with one or more new members.

7. We look forward to tomorrow's meeting of the NACC, which will mark its fifth anniversary. The NACC has provided us over the years with a valued opportunity to consult regularly with our Partners on political and security issues. Through NACC and Partnership for Peace, we have achieved the development of common approaches to European security and brought the NACC countries closer together in a spirit of cooperation and a common commitment to European security.

We are committed to ensuring that the NACC goals of enhancing transparency and confidence in security matters among member states remain central to future cooperation. In order to derive maximum benefit from our NACC meetings, we want to move towards further deepening our political dialogue and giving it more focus.

8. We are pleased with the dynamic development of Partnership for Peace and the role it plays in building European security cooperation. The Partnership for Peace will continue as a permanent element of the Alliance's cooperative effort to contribute to the development of a more stable European security area and, with those Partners seeking to join NATO, will also facilitate their preparations to meet the responsibilities of membership in the Alliance. Substantial progress has been achieved in enhancing the scope and substance of our Partnership cooperation, in particular the growing range of exercises, the broadening and deepening of the PfP Planning and Review Process, the intensification of work on civil-military relations, and civil emergency planning and disaster relief. In the current IFOR operation, in which 13 Partner countries are cooperating with Alliance armed forces, the Partnership for Peace has proved its value with regard both to political commitment to joint crisis management and to military interoperability.

We want to develop on the basis of transparency ever-closer and deeper cooperative ties open to all Partner countries by making the Partnership more operational; strengthening its political consultation element, taking full account of the respective activities of the OSCE and the relevant European institutions such as the WEU and the EU; and involving Partners more in operations planning and Partnership decision-making. To this end, the Alliance has set up a Senior Level Group to develop by the time of the Summit meeting a clearly strengthened and thus more attractive Partnership for Peace. We have received an interim report on the ongoing work and agree that work should begin without delay to implement its recommendations. These include:

Enhancing the political dimension of the Partnership through increasing opportunities for political consultations;

Expanding the agreed fields of military missions within PfP to the full range of the Alliance's new missions, as appropriate, including Peace Support operations over and above previously agreed areas;

Broadening the NATO/PfP exercise programme in accordance with the expanded scope of the Partnership;

Enabling Partner countries to participate in the planning and execution of PfP activities (exercises and operations);

Involving Partners more substantively and actively in PfP-related parts of the regular peacetime work of NATO's Military Authorities;

Affording the appropriate opportunity to Partners who join future NATO-led PfP operations to contribute to the provision of political guidance for oversight over such operations, drawing on the experience gained in Operation Joint Endeavour;

Examining, together with Partners, the possible modalities for the elaboration of a political-military framework for PfP operations, building on the current work of the Political-Military Steering Committee;

Enhancing Partner participation in decision-making for PfP programmes issues;

Increasing regional cooperation within the Partnership provided it remains open to all Partners and remains an integral part of the overall PfP;

Expanding the Planning and Review Process; and

As soon as the Brussels Agreement on the Status of Missions and Representatives of Third States to NATO comes into force, offering Partners the opportunity to establish diplomatic missions with NATO.

We have asked the Council in Permanent Session to ensure implementation of these recommendations without delay and to continue the work on the enhancement of Partnership for Peace and also to review its common funding and resource implications, with a view to providing a further report by the SLG with recommendations for decisions at the time of the Spring Ministerial meeting.

9. With the rapid growth of our activities under both NACC and PfP, we have identified a need for greater coherence in our cooperation in a framework which will establish with Partners a more meaningful and productive cooperative and consultative process, building on the elements of NACC and PfP which we and our Partners deem most valuable. To this end, we have agreed to work with Partners on the initiative to establish an Atlantic Partnership Council (APC) as a single new cooperative mechanism, which would form a framework for enhanced efforts in both practical cooperation under PfP and an expanded political dimension of Partnership. We have accordingly tasked the Council in Permanent Session to draw up the modalities for such a council, in close coordination with Partners, by the time of our next meeting.

10. We affirm our support for the political and economic reform process in the Russian Federation. We welcome the landmark Presidential elections in Russia. \* \* \*

A broad process of integration and cooperation is underway in Europe; Russia is a part of it through its membership in the OSCE and the Council of Europe and its relationship with NATO as well as the European Union and the WEU. The pattern of consultations anchored by our regular "16+1" discussions, provide a firm foundation on which to build. We welcome Russia's participation in Partnership for Peace and encourage it to take full advantage of the opportunities which the Partnership offers.

We value the close and effective cooperation between Russia and NATO in IFOR. This cooperation demonstrates that NATO and Russia can collaborate effectively in the construction of cooperative security structures in Europe. We appreciate and welcome Russia's readiness to contribute to a follow-on operation to consolidate peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We look forward to continuing the experience of working closely together, which we believe will have a lasting, positive impact on our relationship.

Today, we reiterate our commitment to a strong, stable, and enduring security partnership between NATO and Russia. This partnership demonstrates that European security has entered a fundamentally new, more promising era. It constitutes an important element of the developing European cooperative security architecture to which Russia has an essential contribution to make. It will further enhance stability and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. By the time of the Summit, we aim to reach agreement with the Russian Federation on arrangements that can deepen and widen the scope of our current relationship and provide a framework for its future development. We want to ensure that NATO and Russia have a strong, flexible means to consult and cooperate as part of our evolving relationship. Agreement might be expressed in a document or could take the form of a Charter, which could encompass:

The shared principles that will form the basis of our relationship;

A broad set of areas of practical cooperation in particular in the political, military,

economic, environmental, scientific, peace-keeping, armaments, non-proliferation, arms control and civil emergency planning fields; Mechanisms for regular and ad hoc consultations; and

Mechanisms for military liaison and co-operation.

We therefore task the Council in Permanent Session to develop further guidance on these matters on the basis of which the Secretary General could explore with Russia the possibility of such agreement.

11. We continue to support Ukraine as it develops as a democratic nation and a market economy. The maintenance of Ukraine's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty is a crucial factor for stability and security in Europe.

Ukraine's development of a strong, enduring relationship with NATO is an important aspect of the emerging European security architecture. We greatly value the active participation of Ukraine in the Partnership for Peace and look forward to next year's exercise near Lviv. We also value Ukraine's co-operation with European institutions such as the EU and the WEU. Ukraine has made an important contribution to IFOR and UNTAES, and we welcome its commitment to contribute to a follow-on operation to consolidate peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We welcome the continued development of our broad cooperation beyond PfP. We note with satisfaction the recent meeting between the Alliance and Ukraine on issues related to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We welcome the progress made towards establishing a NATO information office in Kyiv, and look forward to its opening in the near future. We welcome Ukraine's active interest in further enhancing its relations with the Alliance. We are committed to the development in coming months, through high level and other consultations, of a distinctive and effective NATO-Ukraine relationship, which could be formalised, possibly by the time of the Summit, building on the document on enhanced NATO-Ukraine relations agreed in September 1995, and taking into account recent Ukrainian proposals.

12. We support the Middle East peace process, and urge all participants to remain firmly committed to it.

We reaffirm our conviction that security in Europe is closely linked with security and stability in the Mediterranean, and that the Mediterranean dimension is consequently one of the various components of the European security architecture. In this regard, as part of the adaptation of the Alliance, we will work towards enhancing our relations with non-NATO Mediterranean countries through our dialogue.

The dialogue complements other international efforts, such as those undertaken by the Barcelona process, the OSCE and the WEU without creating any division of labour. We welcome the report of the Council in Permanent Session on the progress of and recommendations for future steps to develop the dialogue with Mediterranean countries through political dialogue and other activities agreed by the Alliance. Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia have reiterated their interest in the development of our relations. We have decided to enhance our Mediterranean dialogue in a progressive way and have tasked the Council in Permanent Session to report at our next meeting on the implementation of the activities foreseen in the report as well as on the scope for further development.

13. We are carrying forward the process of the Alliance's internal adaptation, with the fundamental objectives of ensuring the Alliance's military effectiveness, maintaining the transatlantic link, and developing the ESDI within NATO. In keeping with the de-

cisions taken by NATO Heads of State and Government at the 1994 Summit Meeting and by the Ministerial meetings in June this year in Berlin and Brussels and with a view to preparing for the Summit next year, our primary focus has been on three closely linked issues: the development of a new command structure for the Alliance; the implementation of the CJTF concept; and the development of the ESDI within NATO.

14. We welcome the progress made in the development of the future command structure, noting that two structural alternatives have been selected by the Military Committee for future assessment and subsequent political consideration and agree the proposed way ahead. We urge the Council in Permanent Session and the Military Committee to complete the work as quickly as possible. Once approved, this new command structure will help ensure the Alliance's military effectiveness so that it is able, in the changing security environment facing Europe, to perform its traditional mission of collective defense and through flexible and agreed procedures to undertake new roles in changing circumstances and to provide for increased participation by Partner countries. It will constitute a renovated, single multinational command structure, reflecting the strategic situation in Europe and enabling all Allies to participate fully.

15. We welcome the progress made towards realizing the CJTF concept, on the basis of the Overall Politico-Military Framework approved by us last June. We direct the Council in Permanent Session and the NATO Military Authorities to pursue vigorously their work on this concept, bearing in mind its importance for future Alliance operations, including the possible involvement of development of ESDI.

16. We are pleased with the progress made in developing the appropriate arrangements for ESDI within NATO, as decided at the Brussels Summit and at our meeting last June in Berlin. The newly created Policy Coordination Group has contributed significantly to this process.

17. We note in particular the steps taken towards implementing the concept of separable but not separate capabilities:

The decisions of the Council in Permanent Session on political guidance concerning the elaboration of European command arrangements within NATO able to prepare and conduct WEU-led operations;

The decisions of the Council in Permanent Session regarding the arrangements for identifying NATO capabilities and assets which might be made available to the WEU for a WEU-led operation;

The progress to date on arrangements for the release, monitoring and return or recall of Alliance assets and capabilities;

The decision of the Council in Permanent Session with respect to modalities of co-operation with the WEU;

The progress on work regarding planning and conducting exercising for WEU-led operations, following receipt of illustrative profiles for WEU missions.

18. We have directed the Council in Permanent Session to submit to the Spring 1997 Ministerial meetings a report on the adaptation of Alliance structures and procedures related to the future command structure, on the implementation of the CJTF concept, and on further progress with recommendations for decisions in the development of ESDI within the Alliance.

19. We welcome the close and intensifying cooperation between NATO and the WEU. At their meeting in Ostend on 19 November 1996, WEU Ministers agreed that it would be valuable for WEU to become actively involved in the Alliance's defense planning process and expressed their readiness to participate.

Early agreement is now being sought in the WEU on the participation of all European Allies in WEU-led operations using NATO assets and capabilities, as well as in planning and preparing for such operations. This would be a key contribution to the development of ESDI within the Alliance. We have tasked the Council in Permanent Session to develop the NATO-WEU relationship further in order to ensure effective cooperation in preparing for possible WEU-led operations.

20. We are pleased with the successful outcome of the OSCE Summit in Lisbon and, in particular, the adoption of a declaration on security as a result of work on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for the 21st Century. The Lisbon Summit has created a security framework in which all European states can participate on an equal footing. The Security Model adopted in Lisbon is a comprehensive expression of the endeavour to strengthen security and stability. It complements the mutually reinforcing efforts of NATO and other European and transatlantic institutions and organisations. We attach great importance to the role of the OSCE as a primary instrument in preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, post-conflict rehabilitation and regional security cooperation, as well as to the enhancement of its operational capabilities to carry out these tasks. We believe the OSCE, as the only pan-European security organisation, has an essential role to play in European peace and stability. We are committed to supporting its comprehensive approach to security. The principles and commitments on which the OSCE is built provide the standards for the development of a comprehensive and cooperative European security structure.

We commend the OSCE for its essential contribution to the implementation of civil aspects of the Peace Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in supervising the preparation and conduct of the elections, in promoting and monitoring human rights and in overseeing the implementation of agreed confidence—and security—building measures and sub-regional arms control agreements. The OSCE thereby demonstrates its central role in contributing to regional stability and security.

We are pleased with the support given by IFOR to the OSCE in carrying out its tasks. The cooperation between OSCE and IFOR is a good example of our concept of mutually reinforcing organisations. The practical assistance given by NATO to the OSCE in helping to establish measures to verify the confidence-building and arms control agreements of the Dayton Accords testifies to a growing cooperation between NATO and the OSCE. We reiterate our readiness to further develop the cooperation between the two organizations.

The democratic and economic development, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states are essential factors for stability and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. We commend the OSCE for its mediation efforts in a number of regional conflicts through its various missions, and recognize the valuable work of the High Commissioner on National Minorities. We support the efforts of the Minsk Group to achieve a political settlement of the conflict in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

The OSCE acquires in the field of disarmament, arms control, and confidence- and security-building measures continues to contribute significantly to political and military stability. We consider the full implementation, the further development, and if necessary, the adaptation of these measures to be indispensable elements in our effort to further enhance the European security architecture. We welcome the recent adoption by the Forum for Security Cooperation of the

Framework for Arms Control and its Future Agenda.

21. The CFE Treaty is a fundamental cornerstone of security and stability for all in the Euro-Atlantic area. We are committed to maintain and strengthen it. Consistent with our broader goal of enhancing political cooperation and military stability in a Europe without dividing lines, we welcome the decision of the 30 States Parties to the CFE Treaty on 1 December 1996 in Lisbon to launch negotiations to adapt the Treaty to the changing security environment in Europe. We look forward to beginning negotiations in the Joint Consultative Group in Vienna in January 1997 on the basis of the scope and parameters (Terms of Reference) document agreed on Lisbon.

Our common goal is to enhance security for all States Parties, irrespective of whether they belong to an alliance, and preserve their right to choose and change their security arrangements. Within the broader political context of enhanced security for all, this process should strengthen the cooperative pattern of relationships between States Parties, based on mutual confidence, transparency, stability and predictability. Committed, like the other States Parties, to adapting the Treaty by developing mechanisms which will enhance the Treaty's viability and effectiveness, we will pursue steps to review the Treaty's group structure, to adapt the Treaty system of limitations and to enhance its verification and information provisions. To that end, the members of the Alliance will develop and table proposals for the negotiations in Vienna.

We reaffirm our support for the CFR Flank Agreement, reached at this year's Review Conference in Vienna. We urge all States Parties who have not yet done so to approve this Agreement before the end of the extended provisions application period efforts directed at resolving outstanding implementation issues.

The members of the Alliance reaffirm the commitment made at Lisbon to exercise restraint during the period of negotiations as foreseen in the document in relation to the current postures and capabilities of their conventional armed forces—in particular, with respect to their levels of forces and deployments—in the Treaty's area of application. As decided in Lisbon, this commitment is without prejudice to the outcome of the negotiations, or to voluntary decisions by the individual States Parties to reduce their force levels or deployments, or to their legitimate security interests. We believe that the CFE Treaty must continue to play a key role in ensuring military stability into the 21st century, and are committed to adapting it expeditiously in order to take account of new security challenges.

22. We emphasize the importance of the START Treaties for international stability and security. We note with satisfaction the progress made by the United States and the Russian Federation in the implementation of START I. We urge the Russian Federation to follow the United States in ratifying the START II Treaty.

We welcome the successful conclusion and signing by the great majority of UN members of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and we urge all other nations to sign this important international arms control agreement. We look forward to the early start of negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty.

We are pleased that the Chemical Weapons Convention will soon enter into force and we look forward to its early implementation. We welcome the fact that States Parties to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention have at the Fourth Review Conference in Geneva in December 1996 again solemnly

declared their recognition that effective verification could reinforce the Convention.

Recognizing the heightened concern of the international community of the suffering and casualties caused by anti-personnel mines, we support the vigorous pursuit of an effective, legally binding international agreement to ban the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of antipersonnel mines and, as an important step to this end, support the early ratification of the Treaty on Open Skies by those states which have not already ratified.

23. Proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and their delivery means continue to be a matter of serious concern to us. Progress in expanding and intensifying NATO's political and defense efforts against proliferation, as directed by NATO Heads of State and Government in January 1994, is an integral part of NATO's adaptation to the new security environment. These efforts also contribute to NATO's ability to conduct new roles and missions. We remain committed to preventing proliferation in the first place, or, if it occurs, to reversing it through diplomatic means. The Alliance is improving its capabilities to address the risks posed by proliferation. We welcome further consultations and cooperation with Partner countries to address the common security risks posed by proliferation. We note with satisfaction the report of the Alliance's Joint Committee on Proliferation on the activities of the Senior Political-Military Group on Proliferation and the Senior Defence Group on Proliferation and direct them to continue their vital efforts.

We attach particular importance to a solid preparation of the first preparatory committee of the strengthened review process of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), scheduled for April 1997. This process will significantly contribute to the further strengthening of the NPT, which is the cornerstone of the global non-proliferation system.

24. We reaffirm our commitment to the Alliance's common-funded programmes.

We note with appreciation the progress made in moving existing resources to the highest priority programmes, such as Partnership for Peace and the support of enhanced information activities in Moscow and Kyiv. We have directed the Council in Permanent Session to keep under review the allocation of resources in order to ensure their optimal use. We have also directed the Council in Permanent Session to identify the implications of adaptation for NATO's common-funded budgets and to make appropriate recommendations for dealing with these.

25. We continue to support all efforts to combat terrorism, which constitutes a serious threat to peace, security and stability.

26. The Spring 1997 meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Ministerial Session will be held in Sintra, Portugal, on 29 May.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I thank my friend and colleague from Delaware, not, of course, simply for yielding, but for his continuing leadership on this vital question of whether or not NATO will be enlarged.

Mr. President, this is one of those moments in history when we are presented with an extraordinary opportunity to do something that will shape the course of the coming decades. So often so much happens in our professional lives, our personal lives, that it is hard to distinguish between the important and the very important. This, in my opinion, is a very important resolution, beginning as it does the con-

sideration by the 105th session of Congress of the critical question of whether the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will extend memberships beyond its current role.

This resolution reaffirms the shared commitment expressed repeatedly by strong bipartisan majorities in the Congress to the continued viability of our transatlantic alliance and to its irreplaceable contribution to peace and stability in Europe, and therefore to the vital strategic and economic and moral interests of our own country.

Mr. President, we are at a moment which, while the details may differ, is not unlike the time after the Second World War when enlightened leaders of both parties in this country, learning the lessons of their departure from the field of international relations after the First World War, came together and supported the reconstruction of post-World War II Europe, building not just the strength of those countries, the economic might that followed, but building therein great democracies that have become once again our best friends and allies.

We are at such a moment after another war, the cold war, has ended. The question is whether we will see forward boldly and honorably to understand that whether or not we will accept the nations that lived under Soviet domination into the community now of free nations will have a substantial effect on our security and our economic strength and our moral vitality for decades to come.

For unless we close our eyes to history, we must recognize that we are vitally interested in what goes on in Europe. We are connected. Our pasts and our futures are linked economically, politically, culturally, and militarily. Those ties did not break away with the fall of the Berlin Wall. Indeed, they will become more complex and more compelling and more productive over time. Over time, NATO has proved itself the most enduring guarantee that we and our allies in Europe are brought together in peace and freedom, not in tyranny and war.

NATO remains today the world's single most effective partnership of like-minded countries, sharing the burdens of international security and preserving the conditions in which open societies and free markets flourish.

Enlarging NATO means enlarging the transatlantic sphere of peace and stability, of peace and prosperity. It means honoring our promise made repeatedly throughout the cold war that we would be there when that cherished moment arrived to support the new independent nations of Central and Eastern Europe in their struggle for democracy and a better life. It means helping to ensure that those countries will continue their democratic development and take their place peacefully in the expanding community of freedom. And it means expanding the family of



nations that will share with us Americans the burden of protecting the stability and peace of the world and expanding the family of free peoples of the world.

Mr. President, this resolution expresses, in very strong and very clear language, our conviction across party lines that NATO enlargement is the best way to ensure a peaceful, stable, free future in Europe. It also makes clear that we must work with Russia, which is inherently and, of course, part of the European community and critical to the future stability of Europe. We must work with Russia to reach common ground on European security.

Proceeding steadfastly with our plans to enlarge NATO, I think, will make that task easier. For where we leave doubt, there will be further doubts created. Where we are uncertain, there are those who will take advantage of our uncertainty.

The fact is that NATO is today and has always been a defensive alliance. It poses no threat to its neighbors. Instead, it offers the confidence of secure borders and stable relationships. And by making it clear that the NATO enlargement process is ongoing and open to other countries as they qualify, it alleviates the threat of future conflict between competing blocs. NATO does not seek to target nations for exclusion. It seeks to engage nations on the high ground of democracy and free market economics and to become partners with them.

Mr. President, this week there is a remarkable statement of opinion in *Newsweek* magazine, the February 10, 1997, issue, written by Andre Kozyrev, former Foreign Minister of Russia. The title is "NATO Is Not Our Enemy." I will read briefly from the article.

The Russian people [former foreign minister Kozyrev says] must be told the truth. And the truth is, NATO is not the enemy. Indeed, fighting the West's proposal to admit Central European countries to NATO is self-defeating [for Russia], because Russia has no means of stopping it. The vital Commonwealth of Independent States alliance would surely fall on hard times if it is burdened with opposition to NATO. What member-nation [of the CIS] would remain part of such a group, when the NATO seal of approval often brings investment, advancement and economic enhancement? As foreign minister, [Kozyrev writes] I found that every Eastern European leader who wanted NATO membership saw it primarily as an economic move, not a military one. Opposing that will weaken our [that is to say the Russian] economic position in Central Europe.

The West must recognize this as a domestic-policy crisis, [which is to say a domestic policy crisis in Russia] resist capitulation to the old guard and deal with it in a balanced fashion. An entirely new generation of leaders in our country [Russia] is waiting for this policy shift. To accomplish it, NATO's member-nations must take very difficult and challenging steps. The practical way for Russia to transform NATO is to cooperate with the alliance—and vice versa.

End of quote from Mr. Kozyrev's remarkable and, I think, very powerful statement.

Mr. President, NATO enlargement is moving forward thanks to the leader-

ship of President Clinton, the support of a strong bipartisan group here in Congress, the very effective advocacy of NATO Secretary Solana, and so many others around the world.

We in Congress can play a very important part in this remarkable historical achievement. This resolution which Senator ROTH has brought before the Senate today, and which I am proud to cosponsor with him, will provide the President with the support to work with our allies to create the mechanisms by which new members will be welcomed into the alliance and the broad-based bipartisan support with which to go forward to develop a strong NATO-Russia security relationship.

As its 50th anniversary approaches, the Atlantic alliance remains at the core of America's global strength and at the core of global peace and security. The reach of this alliance should now be extended to those whose histories and policies justify it, just as America's own strategic interests and moral imperatives require it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, I rise today in strong support of expanding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to help ensure stability in Central and Eastern Europe. I am proud to be an original cosponsor of this resolution to encourage the NATO expansion process and to put the 105th Congress on record in support of bringing Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia into the alliance.

I believe restructuring Europe's post-cold-war security architecture and securing lasting peace and stability throughout the continent constitute one of the great foreign policy challenges of our time. From two world wars to the former Yugoslavia, history has shown that Europe's security problems eventually become America's. Time and again, we have found ourselves confronted with only two options: Choosing to lead and help shape events in Europe, or waiting for events to overtake us as they certainly will.

Americans are well-served when America chooses to lead.

For half a century, the NATO alliance has been the foundation of European security. It has been the most meaningful multinational security framework in history. NATO will continue to be that foundation for the next half century—but only if America helps lead the alliance to adapt to the new reality in Europe after the end of the cold war.

The new reality is that the nations of Central and Eastern Europe are free from oppression and many yearn to align themselves with the West.

The new reality is that instability in the lands one author called "Between East and West" has replaced invasion from the East as the most likely threat to our allies and to our own interests in Europe.

The new reality is that America, Russia, and Europe will all benefit if

the nations of Central and Eastern Europe are anchored in the peaceful security that NATO can offer.

I am convinced that we must move swiftly to expand the NATO alliance and to rethink our commitment to European security. More than 7 years after the Berlin Wall fell, NATO has yet to take in new members.

Congress has consistently supported NATO expansion and has enacted legislation to prepare the nations of Central and Eastern Europe for membership in the alliance. The resolution we are introducing today is designed to push ahead once again. It encourages the President to move quickly. It endorses the idea of embracing new members by the alliance's 50-year anniversary in 1999. It makes plain our belief that our alliance must reach out to work with Russia as friends rather than antagonists. And it names Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovenia as nations whose membership would contribute to the alliance's security.

Those of us who support NATO expansion must be prepared to make the case that it serves America's long-term security interests. This is a debate that must reach far beyond the Halls of Congress. NATO expansion, when it does occur, will require the consent of the Senate. And that will require the support of the American people.

It is time for this debate to begin.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I am proud to join my colleagues in introducing this resolution in support of NATO enlargement.

I support NATO enlargement because it will make Europe more stable and secure. It means that the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe will share the burden of European security. It will mean that future generations of Americans might not have to fight and die for Europe.

America has fought and won three wars in Europe:

World War I, when an assassination in Yugoslavia led to years of bloodshed

World War II, the bloodiest war in history—when thousands of young Americans left factories and farms to fight on the battlefields of Europe

And the cold war—when Soviet expansionism forced us to prepare to defend Western Europe—and when the captive nations of Eastern Europe were forced behind the Iron Curtain.

If NATO doesn't enlarge—the Iron Curtain returns—and the unnatural division of Europe into two parts will live on longer than the Soviet Empire did.

As a Polish American, I know that the Polish people did not choose to live behind the Iron Curtain. They were forced there by the Yalta Agreement, by Potsdam, and because they and the Baltic States and the other captive nations were sold out by the free world.

But my support for this resolution is based on the future—not the past. I support this resolution because NATO enlargement will mean a future in which the newly free and democratic

countries will take their rightful place as members of Europe.

NATO played an important part in securing this freedom. It has been the most successful defensive alliance in history. It is an alliance that helped us win the cold war. It deterred war between the super powers, and it helped prevent confrontations between member states.

But if NATO is to survive, it must adapt to meet the needs of the post-cold-war-World—or it will become irrelevant.

NATO has evolved since we created it in 1949. We have enlarged NATO on three different occasions. Each new member strengthened NATO and increased security in Europe.

Today, we are facing very different threats to security and stability in Europe. We have hot spots caused by ethnic and regional tensions. We have civil wars—as in Bosnia. And we have international crime, drugs, and terrorism. NATO must change and expand to meet these new threats.

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe want to help us address these new threats. How many times has the Senate discussed burden sharing in Europe? How often have we complained that European countries were not willing to pay their fair share for their own defense?

Now we have countries that are asking to share the burden. They are asking to pledge their troops and equipment for the common defense. They are asking to share the burden of peacekeeping—in fact they are doing it right now in Bosnia where thousands of troops from Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, the Baltics, Ukraine, and others are helping to secure the peace.

These countries are not asking for a handout. They are not asking for our protection. They are asking to be full partners in the new Europe. By transforming their countries into free market democracies, they have earned this right.

Mr. President, NATO is moving toward enlargement. In July President Clinton will join the leaders of our NATO partners in naming the first countries to be asked to join NATO.

This resolution states that the U.S. Senate stands with our President as he leads our effort to prepare NATO for the 21st century. I urge my colleagues to join us in supporting this resolution.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 50—RELATIVE TO COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS

Mr. ROTH (for himself and Mr. MOYNIHAN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

S.RES. 50

Whereas the final report of the Senate Finance Committee's Advisory Commission to Study the Consumer Price Index, chaired by Professor Michael Boskin, has concluded that the Consumer Price Index overstates

the cost of living in the United States by 1.1 percentage points;

Whereas Dr. Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, has testified before the Senate Finance Committee that "the best available evidence suggests that there is virtually no chance that the CPI as currently published understates" the cost of living and that there is "a very high probability that the upward bias ranges between ½ percentage point per year and 1½ percentage point per year";

Whereas the overstatement of the cost of living by the Consumer Price Index has been recognized by economists since at least 1961, when a report noting the existence of the overstatement was issued by a National Bureau of Economic Research Committee, chaired by Professor George J. Stigler;

Whereas Congress and the President, through the indexing of Federal tax brackets, Social Security benefits, and other Federal program benefits, have undertaken to protect taxpayers and beneficiaries of such programs from the erosion of purchasing power due to inflation;

Whereas Congress and the President intended the indexing of Federal tax brackets, Social Security benefits, and other Federal program benefits to accurately reflect changes in the cost of living; and

Whereas the overstatement of the cost of living increases the deficit and undermines the equitable administration of Federal benefits and tax policies: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that all cost-of-living adjustments required by statute should accurately reflect the best available estimate of changes in the cost of living.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, today, my friend PAT MOYNIHAN and I are submitting a sense-of-the-Senate resolution regarding the accuracy of the Consumer Price Index. Last week the Finance Committee kicked off our first hearings of the 105th Congress with a very distinguished panel of experts in the field of economics and Dr. Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

Mr. President, probably the most significant issue that faces Congress this year is the accuracy of the Consumer Price Index, and I believe that Congress and the President need to seriously address the economic ramifications of an accurate CPI.

One of the roles in government is to protect American families from inflation. In doing so, it is important that we are able to precisely measure inflation.

I cannot emphasize too greatly—that is what these discussions are all about—the accurate measurement of inflation. If the index is too high, it overcompensates retirees and others and undertaxes many taxpayers. If it is too low, it undercompensates retirees and overtaxes the taxpayer. What we want in fairness to all is as accurate an index as possible.

Obviously, this is a very sensitive issue, affecting retirees and taxpayers directly as well as wage earners and others.

In the spring of 1995, the Senate Finance Committee appointed a blue ribbon commission, headed by Dr. Michael Boskin, to study the methodology used

to compute our current measure of inflation, the CPI. The panel also included leading experts in the field of price indexes, they include:

Dr. Dale Jorgenson, Harvard University; Dr. Ellen Dulberger, IBM Personal Computer Company; Dr. Zvi Griliches, Harvard University; and Dr. Robert Gordon, Northwestern University.

In their interim report, released in September 1995, the Boskin Commission concluded that the upward bias using changes in the Consumer Price Index to estimate changes in the true cost of living is about 1 percentage point per year.

Dr. Boskin and the other four commission members have now completed their final report and have concluded that this critical government statistic is not as accurate as possible. Since this report suggests that the Consumer Price Index has an annual upward bias of about 1.1 percent, clearly this is a significant finding and should be taken seriously.

Dr. Boskin and his colleagues have also suggested to the Finance Committee that a new measure of the true cost of living may be needed.

Inaccurate government statistics—particularly one as important as the CPI—are unacceptable. Steps should be taken to change the procedures so that the measure of the CPI is as accurate as possible.

I want to stress that any action we take on this report must be broadly and deeply bipartisan.

We must also have the full cooperation of and leadership by the Clinton administration. I hope the President will not miss an opportunity to address this issue in his fiscal year 1998 budget he submits to the Congress this week. Clearly this reform will not be successful without the President's leadership.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, might I first take the opportunity to congratulate the chairman for this initiative. It is characteristic of his leadership of the Finance Committee, which is bipartisan whenever that is possible, which is factual, which seeks evidence and answers.

This sense-of-the-Senate resolution recognizes the mounting evidence that, contrary to the intent of the Congress and the President, Federal tax provisions, Social Security benefits, and other Federal program benefits are being overadjusted for inflation.

The resolution expresses the sense of the Senate that:

\*\*\* all cost-of-living adjustments required by statute should accurately reflect the best available estimate of changes in the cost of living.

In its final report issued on December 4, 1996, the Advisory Commission to Study the Consumer Price Index—the Boskin Commission concluded that:

While the CPI is the best measure currently available it is not a true cost of living index. . . .

The Boskin Commission concluded that the CPI overstates the cost of living in the United States by 1.1 percentage points.