

men to fight and supplied the Union Armies with food and clothing. From the Civil War to the gulf war, many members of Nottingham's families have served their country proudly and honorably in all branches of our Nation's services.

Nottingham's residents today serve in professional, semiprofessional, trade, and service occupations. Though individualistic, these townspeople are family-oriented and prudent. They always strive for the betterment of their community and are willing to contribute their time and talents on behalf of their neighbors.

I congratulate all the dedicated and patriotic residents of Nottingham on this historic milestone and wish them an enjoyable year of celebration and remembrance. They all should be very proud of the town's heritage and 275 years of distinguished history. I send them my best wishes for continued success and prosperity. Happy Birthday, Nottingham.●

WE NEED THE CWC TO CONFRONT ROGUE NATIONS

● Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, with the active participation of the President and his National Security Council and other foreign policy and national security representatives, Senator BIDEN, the Foreign Relations Committee ranking Democratic member and his staff have worked diligently to remove as many of the objections and doubts about the Chemical Weapons Convention held by a number of Republican Senators as they possibly could remove. Working together, they sought to do this by providing official data and information about the convention, about Defense Department plans, and about intelligence sources and methods; by obtaining official commitments from the President; and by negotiating conditions to the treaty. This negotiating effort centered on Foreign Relations Committee Chairman HELMS and his staff and Senate Majority Leader LOTT and his staff as well as other Senators who have voiced major concerns about the treaty.

I believe the evidence is unassailable that the effort to negotiate conditions acceptable to both treaty proponents and opponents produced great progress—in fact, a degree of progress few thought was attainable when the process began. As a result, this afternoon the Senate has unanimously agreed to 28 conditions that address a sweeping range of treaty facets.

One measure of how successful this effort has been is that yesterday, former Senate majority leader and 1996 Republican Presidential nominee Bob Dole announced that, given the assurances and insurance those 28 conditions provide, he now supports the convention and believes it is in our Nation's national security interest to ratify it and participate in its ongoing efforts to eliminate chemical weapons from this Earth.

Senator Dole was clear in noting that the treaty remains imperfect in his mind, a fact that comes as no surprise to treaty proponents but still is loudly professed to be a shocking fact by some treaty opponents.

But despite the herculean effort that has resulted in agreement on 28 conditions to the treaty, Senator HELMS and some other Senators have been relentless in insisting on 5 other conditions. While the stated purpose of each of these conditions appears on the surface to be laudable, and that stated purpose could be readily embraced by virtually every Senator if not every Senator, ranging from stalwart treaty proponent to stalwart opponent, the practical effect of four of these conditions in the form in which their drafters insist on them would be to prevent the United States from ratifying the CWC, even if the Senate were to vote 100 to 0 for ratification with any of these conditions attached to the resolution of ratification the Senate approved.

For that reason, Mr. President, these proposed conditions to which treaty proponents could not possibly agree, which are contained in the substitute resolution authored by Senator HELMS along with the 28 conditions to which the agreement of both treaty proponents and opponents was secured, have come to be known among treaty proponents as the killer amendments.

This afternoon, under the terms of the unanimous-consent agreement that governs Senate action on the CWC, the Senate will take up these disputed conditions one at a time. Treaty proponents will move to strike each of them, and the Senate will vote on each of those motions to strike.

It is not possible to overemphasize the importance of these motions and the vote on them, Mr. President. Because regardless of what is said about the rationale for insisting on these disputed conditions, Mr. President, the fact is that the United States will be unable to ratify the CWC now or any time in the immediate future—and quite possibly never—if the effort to strike any one of them from the resolution fails. That is the gravity of what we will be doing on the Senate floor for the next 5 or 6 hours.

The first of the disputed conditions that we will take up is Condition 30, titled, somewhat antiseptically, Chemical Weapons in Other States. The text of this condition is quite short. Let me quote it verbatim:

Prior to the deposit of the United States instrument of ratification, the President, in consultation with the Director of Central Intelligence, shall certify to the Congress that countries which have been determined to have offensive chemical weapons programs, including Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, China, and all other countries determined to be state sponsors of international terrorism, have ratified or otherwise acceded to the Convention.

Now let me translate that text into simple English. Under the terms of that condition, were it to be attached

to the resolution of ratification and the Senate were to pass it in that form, regardless of how many votes the resolution receives, and regardless of the strong support of the President of the United States for ratification, the United States could not formally ratify the Convention or be a part of its efforts to remove chemical weapons from the Earth until and unless the President could and did certify to the Congress that all the rogue nations of the Earth had first ratified the Convention or formally agreed to abide by its provisions.

Mr. President, I certainly applaud those who drafted this condition for the objective they seek. There is no Senator who more fervently wishes than this Senator that Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, North Korea, China, Cuba, and Sudan—and, in fact, all nations on the Earth—will ratify the CWC and fully abide by all its provisions. Were that to be the case, Mr. President, the world would be a far, far safer, healthier, and more stable place for the human race.

Indeed, were that to be the case, the effect would be so profound that the CWC probably would no longer be needed, because we would have reached the unreachable, achieved the unachievable. We would have reached a near-Utopia.

But the hard, cold fact, Mr. President, is that while one or two or even more of these nations, some of which are often referred to as rogues, may ratify the CWC, and, if they do, we certainly hope and expect they will abide by its terms and destroy their chemical weapons arsenals and forswear the production of any more chemical weapons, it is a safe bet that several of these nations will not ratify the Convention in the foreseeable future.

That absolutely cannot come as a surprise to anyone in this Chamber. I do not believe a single Member of the Senate could look me in the eye and make a genuine claim that he or she is surprised to learn that most close observers of these nations do not believe that several of them will ratify the CWC anytime soon.

Indeed, much of the 10 years during which the Reagan administration and Bush administration negotiating teams spent in exhausting and exhaustive negotiations to develop this treaty was spent to structure sanctions that will apply to trade in chemicals conducted by nations that do not ratify the CWC, in the full expectation that some if not all of these very nations will not ratify it. Think about it, and it will be painfully apparent. The CWC was not carefully negotiated and crafted to apply principally to those nations that ratify it and genuinely want to rid the Earth of all chemical weapons, though, of course, we must hold all nations accountable. It was negotiated and crafted to apply the pressure of world opinion, diplomatic pressure, and economic pressure on recalcitrant nations whose

leaderships flaunt the civilized norm and equip themselves with these horrific weapons, and where even this pressure does not attain reformed behavior, to make it as difficult as possible for those nations to carry on their deadly efforts—to isolate them in all possible ways.

The Senator from North Carolina is absolutely correct when he says the rogue nations, or at least some of them, have these materials. In a number of cases, I am convinced they will continue to produce them, Chemical Weapons Convention or no Chemical Weapons Convention. But the issue before the Senate is how can we best try to pressure them to reform their behavior. How do we make it as difficult as possible for them to continue to do that? It is not, I assert, by means of this condition. It will not directly have that effect. And, more destructively, it will prevent U.S. participation in the CWC, period.

Plainly, Mr. President, the authors of this condition know that if the condition we now are debating is not defeated, they have succeeded via the backdoor when they could not succeed through the front door in preventing U.S. ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention. That is an outcome that must not be permitted.

This condition has other destructive consequences. Let me note a few of them.

First, this condition places control of a critical U.S. foreign policy and national security decision wholly in the hands of other nations, and not just any other nations. It places total control of whether the United States will ever ratify the CWC and participate in its vital efforts to rid the Earth of chemical weapons in the hands of the very group of nations that are led by those who are our avowed or de facto adversaries—our enemies if you will. What kind of sense does it make to give control of this key U.S. decision to any other nation, much less to any one of these nations? And yet this is the unintended consequence of action by Senators who in every other circumstance most vehemently insist that U.S. sovereignty must never be weakened or trampled.

Second, this condition either fails to recognize or ignores the reality that at midnight next Tuesday—April 29—the Chemical Weapons Convention takes effect with or without U.S. participation. The question of whether the Convention is the best that can be designed is not the salient question at this point. The principal question now relevant is whether the United States, its people, and its security interests are better served by being a part of the Convention and working from within its organization to pursue abolition of the world's chemical arsenals, or to remain outside the Convention, which already has been ratified by 74 nations and is sure to be ratified by others of the over 160 signatories.

If we fail to ratify, which emphatically will be the result of failing to

strike this killer condition, guess which nations the company of which the United States ignominiously will join? Mr. President, in bitter irony, the United States, which under Presidents Reagan and Bush initiated, animated, and led the effort to negotiate this Convention, will join the company of precisely the group of nations this condition identifies as the world's villains and rogues. Rather than continuing to provide global leadership and rallying the world's community of nations to establish a new standard of behavior which proscribes all chemical weapons and engineers effective movement toward reducing them dramatically and ultimately, we hope, eliminating them entirely, we turn a sharp 180 degrees in the opposite direction, and refuse to be a part of this critical effort. In my judgment and the judgment of other people, U.S. prestige and respect around the world will be tragically tarnished. The ability of the United States to effectively lead the community of nations in myriad ways will be severely damaged. Our national credibility will suffer a serious blow.

Third, those who insist on this killer condition have claimed that they cannot countenance U.S. participation in the CWC because they are certain that some nations will not participate in it or, if they do ratify it, they will not abide by its terms—notably, they believe, including the nations listed in this condition or at least some of them. As the Senator from Delaware noted earlier, as he quoted Secretary of State Albright, this is analogous to saying that we should have no laws because we are certain that some people will break them.

Mr. President, I want to note what three of our most respected voices in this country with respect to national security affairs have said in agreeing that the United States should ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention and specifically addressing the linkage of our actions on the CWC to those of the outlaw states that is made by Condition 30.

Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of United States and coalition troops in Desert Storm, said, "I am very, very much in favor of the ratification of that treaty," referring, of course, to the CWC. "We don't need chemical weapons to fight our future warfares. And frankly, by not ratifying that treaty, we align ourselves with nations like Libya and North Korea, and I just as soon not be associated with those thugs in this particular manner." I think that is a pretty strong statement about precisely what this condition would do.

Gen. Colin Powell, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who served in that role during the Bush administration and during the Desert Storm operation, has already been quoted by my colleague. He, too, made it very clear that we should insist on this linkage.

Former Assistant to President Reagan and Secretary of State James A. Baker III said:

[S]ome have argued that we shouldn't commit to the treaty because states like Libya, Iraq, and North Korea, which have not signed it, will still be able to continue their efforts to acquire chemical weapons. This is obviously true. But the convention, which . . . will go into effect in April whether or not we have ratified it, will make it more difficult for these states to do so by prohibiting the sale of materials to non-members that can be used to make chemical weapons. . . . It makes no sense to argue that because a few pariah states refuse to join the convention the United States should line up with them rather than with the rest of the world.

Mr. President, that is not company that I want our Nation to be in. It would be a step that would have precisely the opposite effect of that sought by its authors. Our failure to ratify the CWC will give any nation in the world all the cover it needs to fail to ratify. One need not have a great imagination to know what will result. When those nations that have ratified seek to point the finger of opprobrium at nonparticipants, very few will fail to respond that the United States has determined that it does not support this treaty or what it is designed to accomplish.

Accepting this killer condition is playing right into the hands of the rogue nations that want no limits on their macabre chemical activities. I would think that reality would send shivers up and down the spines of all who recoil at the idea of troops from one or more of these rogue nations employing an instantly fatal gas against American troops, or an aerosol compound that leads to the slow, wretched, excruciating death of thousands of American service men and women.

If we in the Senate do not remove this killer condition, we will be knowingly driving a stake through the heart of the first successful effort in human history to declare that manufacture or possession of chemical weapons is illegal under international law and to put unrelenting pressure on those nations. Over time, if the United States puts its full weight behind the CWC effort as an active participant, the nations that refuse to participate will be shut out of the market for many dual use chemicals that can be used to make both chemical agents and commercial products as harmless as writing ink. Such nations will find it considerably more difficult to produce or acquire chemical weapons. This will produce cumulative pressure to join the community of nations by ratifying the treaty and living up to its requirements.

To those who say that is not sufficient, or that it will happen too slowly, or that there will be cheaters in the treaty as well as nonparticipants, I say what is your alternative that will work more surely or more rapidly? The reality is that those who are insisting on this killer amendment have no alternative, much less one that will work more surely or rapidly.

It must be remembered that currently it is not even illegal to make or stockpile chemical weapons, and there is no other effort on the horizon to make these actions illegal or to effectively halt them. If the United States chooses not to ratify this treaty after leading the world to it, you can rest assured the community of nations will not be running to us to seek our leadership in some new effort to do that.

In addition to all the reasons I have cited for rejecting this killer condition, it is both appropriate and accurate to add every reason advanced by dozens of Senators of both parties during yesterday's and today's sessions for ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention. Because the only practical effect of this condition is to make it impossible for the United States to ratify. Everything else that is said to justify accepting this condition is eyewash, window dressing, camouflage.

Only one thing about this condition matters, I say to all my colleagues. If this condition is not defeated, the ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention is.

There can be no hiding from this central truth. Reasonable people can differ on substantive or policy grounds. Some Senators, albeit for reasons I believe are not meritorious or even logical, may conclude that they do not believe the United States should ratify the CWC. Presumably those Senators, whose number I hope is very, very small, will vote against the resolution of ratification. But no Senator can claim with veracity that he or she wants the United States to ratify the CWC now or in the foreseeable future, and participate in its vital activities to rid the world of chemical weapons, while voting to retain this condition. The two are mutually inconsistent, mutually incompatible. To place it in the vernacular, that does not compute.

I urge all my colleagues to consider and understand the gravity of the vote we are about to take. Those who support the CWC must vote to strike this condition.●

RABBI IRWIN GRONER AND ADAM CARDINAL MAIDA

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to two notable religious leaders from my home State of Michigan, Rabbi Irwin Groner and Adam Cardinal Maida. Rabbi Groner and Cardinal Maida are the recipients of the 1997 Dove Award, sponsored by the Ecumenical Institute for Jewish-Christian Studies.

The Dove Award was created in 1994 to recognize Christian and Jewish religious leaders who work to promote closer relationships between the two communities. I have worked closely with both men throughout my career, and have been grateful for their advice, guidance, and friendship.

Rabbi Groner leads Congregation Shaarey Zedek in Southfield, MI. An internationally recognized spiritual

leader, Rabbi Groner serves as the president of the Michigan Board of rabbis and is a member of the board of governors of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit and the Rabbinic Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal. His writings on spiritual and social issues are published monthly in the Jewish News and appear regularly in periodicals of the Conservative Jewish Movement. From 1990 to 1992, Rabbi Groner served as the president of the Rabbinical Assembly, an international association of 1200 conservative rabbis. He was the first clergyman to be named to the Judicial Tenure Commission of Michigan.

Adam Cardinal Maida arrived in Detroit in 1990 as archbishop of the Archdiocese of Detroit. In 1990, he was elevated to the College of Cardinals by Pope John Paul II. Cardinal Maida has put commitment to youth into action by joining Baptist, Episcopalian, and Lutheran leaders in creating cornerstone schools, which offer interdenominational educational programs to children in Detroit. Cardinal Maida has continually attempted to break down the walls which exist in our society, emphasizing the importance of voluntarism, reaching out to Detroit's Hispanic community and working with political leaders to craft solutions to a number of social problems.

In 1992, Rabbi Groner, Cardinal Maida, and Episcopal Bishop R. Stewart Wood founded the Religious Leaders Forum, which encourages Christian, Jewish, and Muslim leaders to share their views on issues of concern. Activities like this have not only provided Rabbi Groner and Cardinal Maida with opportunities to work together, but they have cemented a personal friendship as well. Together, they are building bridges for people of the Christian and Jewish faiths to cross.

It is a real honor to recognize the achievements of these remarkable men. I know my colleagues join me in congratulating Rabbi Irwin Groner and Adam Cardinal Maida as they receive the 1997 Dove Award from the Ecumenical Institute.●

TRIBUTE TO DR. PAUL KAMINSKI

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, for the past 2½ years, members of the Senate Committee on Armed Services have been privileged to work with Dr. Paul G. Kaminski, who is serving as the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology. Dr. Kaminski has led the Department of Defense through the most significant reform of the Nation's defense acquisition system in 50 years. I believe it is appropriate for the Senate to recognize the outstanding service rendered the Nation by Dr. Kaminski on the occasion of his retirement from Federal service later this spring.

During his tenure as the Defense Acquisition Executive, Dr. Kaminski established the broad outlines of the technologies and systems that will

form the cutting edge of this Nation's defense capabilities well into the next century. His scientific counsel and leadership were instrumental in charting a course ahead for a system of systems including this Nation's national security space systems, heavy bomber force, air mobility force, ballistic and cruise missile defense, tactical air forces, and attack submarine fleet.

Dr. Kaminski ushered in a new era—a renaissance—in armaments cooperation with our friends and allies around the world. His vision, foresight and diplomacy have provided this Nation and our international partners with a broad spectrum of collaborative efforts and opportunities that include cooperation with Germany and Italy to develop a medium extended air defense system; cooperation with France, Germany, Italy, and Spain to develop, produce, and field an interoperable multifunctional information distribution system; and cooperation with the United Kingdom, Norway, and the Netherlands on the development of a revolutionary new joint strike fighter.

As steward of the Nation's defense acquisition system, Dr. Kaminski has guided the defense acquisition establishment through a period of revolutionary change and reform. He has changed the way our acquisition system supports America's soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. Through establishment of integrated product teams—composed of war fighters, testers, trainers, doctrine writers, acquirers, and their industry contractors—Dr. Kaminski has dramatically improved the way weapon systems are developed, produced, and fielded. Perhaps Dr. Kaminski's greatest accomplishment is the pride and professionalism he has reinvigorated in the acquisition work force supporting our war fighters. The American people can take comfort in the fact that the U.S. defense acquisition work force is the very finest in the world. Our people are willing to think "out-of-the-box" and pushing hard to be better.

Dr. Kaminski has been responsible for initiating a wholesale re-engineering of the DOD logistics system. He recognized that for the revolution in U.S. military affairs to proceed—the DOD needed a new, compatible logistics support concept. His approach was to substitute information and fast transportation for inventory. As a result of his leadership and vision, logistics response times have improved significantly and inventories have been reduced dramatically.

His reputation is well known in Congress—to those who have worked directly with him and even many who have not. He is highly respected as an individual of integrity, vision, scientific brilliance, and that rare trait of objectivity about what he is involved in. His work will continue to have a very profound and lasting impact upon the Nation's security for many years to come. The Nation owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Kaminski. It has been my