

I would like to comment on a very important provision contained in this bill which will make higher education more affordable. For the past several years, I have worked to allow the earnings invested in State-sponsored tuition savings accounts to grow tax-free when used for higher education expenses. This bill also will cover room and board cost. These changes will help families offset the rising cost of education by rewarding those who save.

For the past several years, I have worked to eliminate the tax on education savings. In 1994, I first introduced S. 1787, to make a family's investment earnings tax-free when invested in a State tuition savings plan. Again, in the 104th Congress, I introduced a similar bill, S. 386. Both bills were endorsed by the National Association of State Treasurers and their College Savings Plan Network, which represents the individual State programs.

On July 9, 1996, Congress passed many of the reforms proposed in S. 386, as part of the Small Business Tax Relief Act of 1996. This legislation was signed into law by the President on August 20, 1996.

While we made important gains last year, we need to finish what we started and fully exempt investment income from taxation. This legislation does that. It also expands the definition of qualified education expense to include room and board. Such costs make up nearly 50 percent of annual college expenses.

The facts are clear; education costs are outpacing wage growth and have created a barrier for students wanting to attend college. According to the General Accounting Office, tuition costs at a 4-year public university rose 234 percent between 1980-94. During this same period, median household income rose only 84 percent. It is no wonder fewer families can afford to send their children to college without financial assistance.

As tuition costs continue to increase, so does the need for assistance. In 1990, over 56 percent of all students accepted some form of financial assistance.

Today, it is increasingly common for students to study now, and pay later. In fact, more students than ever are forced to bear additional loan costs in order to receive an education. In 1994, Federal education loan volume rose by 57 percent from the previous year. On top of that, students have increased the size of their loan burden by an average of 28 percent.

So, not only are more students taking out more loans, they are taking out bigger loans as well. This year, nearly half of college graduates hit the pavement with their diplomas in one hand and a stack of loan repayment books in the other.

I believe we need to reverse this trend by boosting savings and helping families meet the education needs of their children before they enter college. If we continue to ignore this problem, more and more children will be

forced to burden themselves with an increasing debt load when they go in search of their first job. This can be avoided with passage of S. 1.

Mr. President, in an effort to build on the accomplishments of last year, I look forward to working with Senator COVERDELL, the sponsor of this legislation, and the Senate Labor and Finance Committees to help families meet the rising cost of higher education.

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#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

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#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12 noon having arrived, the Senate will now go into executive session and proceed to the consideration of the nomination of Madeleine Albright to be Secretary of State.

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#### NOMINATION OF MADELEINE KORBEL ALBRIGHT, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE SECRETARY OF STATE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report Executive Calendar No. 1.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Madeleine Korbelt Albright, of the District of Columbia, to be Secretary of State.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, am I correct there is a 2-hour time agreement on the nomination?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair. I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. President, today the Senate will fulfill its constitutional duty on the nomination of Madeleine Albright to serve as Secretary of State of the United States. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations met for more than 6 hours on January 8, to consider this nomination. During that hearing, the committee heard from then Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who presented Ambassador Albright, and I think that is the first time in history that an outgoing Secretary has presented to a committee the nominee to succeed him. In any case, Secretary Christopher presented her, and the nominee, Mrs. Albright, was questioned extensively by all members of the committee on a broad range of national security issues.

At the conclusion of the hearing, it was agreed to keep the record open until the close of business on January 10, so Senators could submit written questions to the nominee. And twelve

Senators did submit more than 200 such questions, all of which were answered in writing by Ambassador Albright.

The committee still has an outstanding document request concerning Somalia, and we fully expect that the administration will cooperate and comply with that request, as the administration has promised to do.

In any case, this past Monday, January 20, after members had spent several days examining the written responses to questions, the committee met in a business meeting to consider the nomination. By a vote of 18 to nothing, unanimously, the Committee on Foreign Relations favorably reported the Albright nomination.

There are Senators who support this nomination but who, nonetheless, have honest disagreements with Ambassador Albright on major foreign policy issues. As I mentioned in the hearing myself, while I do not doubt that Ambassador Albright is sincere, on some issues I believe her to be sincerely wrong. Some of those differences were discussed during the hearing, others in private. And we will continue to discuss them after she is confirmed, which I am certain she will be.

Notwithstanding our differences, Mrs. Albright is a lady who understands Congress. She understands the important role that Congress must play in developing U.S. foreign policy. However, my support for the nominee should in no way be misconstrued as an endorsement of the administration's conduct of foreign policy. It would be insincere of me if I pretended otherwise. Many Americans, among them myself, hope that in the area of foreign policy, the next 4 years will not produce a sequel to the travail of the first 4 years.

After 12 years of Ronald Reagan and George Bush in the White House, the United States had once again become the undisputed leader of the free world. Our friends followed us, and our enemies, the enemies of freedom, thanks to Presidents Reagan and Bush, feared and respected the United States, because we were strong. The emphasis was on our constitutional requirement as a tripartite Government, to make sure that this Nation would lead the world as a strong, strong democracy.

Many of those important gains have been neutralized by a foreign policy too often vacillating and insecure; a foreign policy that has responded to world events, rather than shaping world events. And it is quite revealing when this administration, as it often does, boasts that the invasion of Haiti was a great foreign policy accomplishment.

Mr. President, sending American soldiers into harm's way on a tiny Caribbean island with no vital interest at stake to replace one group of thugs with another group of thugs does not seem to me to be much of an accomplishment. In any event, the Haiti excursion, at last count, has cost the American taxpayers more than \$2 billion.

From there the list goes on and on: from Bosnia, where the United States subcontracted to the terrorist regime in Iran our responsibilities to help the Bosnians defend against genocide; to China, where vacillation led Beijing to believe it could get away with bullying Taiwan; to Somalia, where an uncertain United States policy resulted in the tragic and unnecessary deaths of 18 American Rangers; to Iraq, where our CIA Director himself admitted that Saddam Hussein is now politically stronger than ever before.

Time and time again, during the past 4 years, a message of weakened resolve was sent around the world, and with tragic results.

History teaches us one unmistakably clear lesson, I think, Mr. President, that being that the security of the American people is always less certain when our adversaries doubt our resolve, and our adversaries very much doubt our resolve at this moment.

If confirmed, Ambassador Albright must move swiftly and decisively to reverse that trend, and we have discussed it. As I said earlier, she is a strong lady, she is a courageous lady. She has proved that, and she is going to have to continue to push for strength of the United States. She must bring strength and courage and coherence and direction and fresh ideas to America's foreign policy.

Let's face it, one of her most critical responsibilities, if confirmed—and she will be—will be that the responsibility of advising the President when and where and under what conditions to commit American forces to combat or to dangerous missions abroad. Senator CHUCK HAGEL, a distinguished veteran of the Vietnam war and one of the newest members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, properly pressed nominee Albright on this very point during the hearing, as did another distinguished Senator, JOHN ASHCROFT. I applauded these two Senators for their perseverance on this issue, because their concerns are shared by many Senators and millions of the American people.

We must make certain that never again will American troops be sent into harm's way unless and until there is a clearly defined and precise mission and exit strategy and a clear American national security interest at stake. The debacle in Somalia vividly demonstrated that assertive multilateralism is no way to promote any conceivable American national security interest.

Mr. President, Ambassador Albright, based on her testimony, and I think on her career, appears to understand that concern. We have discussed it, and I am sure other Senators have discussed it with her as well. She acknowledged to the committee that with respect to the use of U.S. troops overseas, she has, and I quote her, "learned many lessons." And I thank the Lord for that.

She further said she is "deeply regretful of the lives lost in Somalia."

Moreover, she assured the committee that she would "never advise using American forces where other means are available, where there is not the support of Congress and the people, where there is not a possibility of or where there is no exit strategy, and where there is not the likelihood or the reality of winning." End of quote, Ambassador Albright.

Actions speak louder than words, of course, and we will be watching her closely. She knows that. She expects that. We will watch her to ensure that this administration has, in fact, learned from the disasters of the past 4 years.

Another key responsibility of the next Secretary of State will be to reform and restructure the antiquated foreign policy bureaucracy. The 104th Congress passed major legislation to streamline our foreign policy apparatus and eliminate three unnecessary, bloated, and outdated Federal bureaucracies, one of which was described by its proponents in the 1960's as a "temporary" Federal agency. It is like Ronald Reagan said: Nothing is so near eternal life as a temporary Federal agency. But these agencies were promised to be in the 1950's and 1960's temporary, and they are still around spending money, in so many, many cases, unwisely.

Our plan last year, and the plan that will be submitted this year, will save the American people more than a billion dollars. Instead of endorsing that legislation last year and the year before, which was vigorously supported and endorsed by five former Secretaries of State, the administration opposed it every step of the way. In fact, the administration, while trashing our proposal, never came forward with a proposal of its own, despite promises to do so by the administration.

Vice President GORE, who served in the Senate and whom all of us like, issued a statement on January 27, 1995, promising the American people a plan to streamline the U.S. foreign policy bureaucracy and save, in his words—these are not my words, these are AL GORE's words—to save \$5 billion over 5 years.

But 2 years have passed and the distinguished Vice President has yet to put forward any such proposal. I am hopeful that Madeleine Albright will prod our friend and former colleague, AL GORE, and get to work with us on this problem, because it is a jointly realized problem.

We must work together, and I hope I have indicated already, and some of the rest of us, that we want to work together. I pledge to do that. The support for our plan has not diminished, it has grown, among the American people.

If Madeleine Albright is confirmed, I intend to schedule an early meeting with her and other key Senators for the purpose of working together and reaching agreement on a bipartisan plan to restructure our foreign policy institutions to meet the new challenges we will face in our next century.

The point is this: Republican or Democrat—it doesn't matter—none of us should be willing to stand by and allow America to enter a new millennium with antiquated foreign policy institutions built, let's face it, to fight the cold war. And mark my words, if I have anything to do with it, we will not do so.

Mrs. Albright assured the committee that she will keep an open mind as she discusses this matter, and others. I intend to hold her to that commitment to work with us, to consult with us and cooperate with us so that we can work together for the goals that she and we have discussed and mutually agreed to.

Mrs. Albright must also work with Congress to achieve serious and lasting reform at the United Nations. The selection of a new Secretary General is an important first step, but it is only one step.

I think the American people are tired of all the rhetoric from the international community and the State Department blaming the United States for the United Nations' so-called fiscal crisis. One quarter of every dollar that the United Nations receives for its budget comes from the taxpayers of the United States. Over all, American taxpayers contribute upwards of \$3.5 billion to the United Nations. By contrast, more than half of the United Nations members pay just one-hundredth of 1 percent of the United Nations regular budget. Senators must keep that in mind as we begin discussions on U.N. reform. Many countries have no incentive to reform because they gain more from the United Nations than they put into it.

So let me summarize in conclusion, Mr. President. Mrs. Albright knows that I intend to work with her. I think she understands that the entire Foreign Relations Committee intends to work with her. I intend to also work with the new Secretary-General, Mr. Annan, and with Senator ROD GRAMS, who is our congressional delegate to the United Nations, who has developed an important expertise on this issue. We will work with all of these and other Members of Congress to bring true reform to the United Nations, which is long overdue and badly needed.

I believe that on balance Mrs. Albright is well qualified for the post of Secretary of State. We have a lot of work to do. We have a lot of things on our agenda, and I look forward to working with her in moving our agenda forward.

I yield the floor.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUTCHINSON). The Senator from California is recognized to speak on the nomination under the time controlled by the minority.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. President, I would like to thank the distinguished chairman for his

comments and also for the speed with which he processed this nomination. I think it is very important and significant that he has done that, and it certainly speaks for the best interests of bipartisanship.

Mr. President, as the only woman on the Foreign Relations Committee, I consider this to be a historic appointment indeed. I rise to say that I am proud to indicate my very enthusiastic support for Madeleine Albright to be confirmed before this body as Secretary of State.

I want to commend President Clinton because he was certainly faced with an array of very qualified candidates. But I think he chose one of the very, very best. Anyone who heard her thoughtful responses to some 6 hours of questioning during her confirmation hearing would have been impressed by her knowledge, her eloquence and her skill. I fully expect Ambassador Albright to be a truly superb Secretary of State.

I look forward to working with her as various foreign policy issues come before the Senate of the United States. It is difficult to imagine a background and a body of experience better suited to the person we call on to be our Nation's chief diplomat and the President's chief foreign policy advisor. Madeleine Albright knows firsthand the "streets" of foreign policy, how actions by governments affect the lives of individuals. Her enormous intellect, her personal experience, her plain speaking, I think, will be huge assets.

As the United States approaches the 21st century, I believe it is crucial that our foreign policy be conducted in a bipartisan manner. The practice of reinventing the wheel of foreign policy every 4 years or at least with every change of administration has been difficult on our allies and weakens American credibility as the strongest nation on Earth.

Madeleine Albright holds a unique opportunity to cement a bipartisan foreign policy. If she can accomplish this, her legacy to this Nation and the world will be significant. One of the most complex issues that she will face, and the largest single area that I believe needs focused attention, is the entire Pacific rim. With 60 percent of the people of the world now living on the shores of the Pacific and American trade with the Pacific rim nations three times that of the Atlantic, the administration's No. 1 priority in foreign policy should be to maintain a strong and positive presence in Asia.

As part of this effort, the United States must build our most important, but still largely undeveloped, bilateral relationship—that with the People's Republic of China—into one of partnership and cooperation in our many areas of mutual interest.

Ambassador Albright's qualifications to be Secretary of State are unimpeachable. For the past 4 years she has served with distinction as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, a member of the President's

Cabinet, and a member of the staff of the National Security Council.

She has also headed one of Washington's foremost think tanks, served as professor of international affairs at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, and holds a doctorate from Columbia University. And, I might add, she served as a staff member for one of the true giants of the U.S. Senate, Edmund Muskie, who himself went on to serve as Secretary of State.

Beyond her professional accomplishments, her life—having fled Czechoslovakia at the dawn of the Second World War—provides a lesson in the values that we as Americans hold most dear and for the role in the world that America, at its best, can play.

As the first woman to serve as Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright's nomination will open up new doors for all women, not just in this country, but around the globe, in places unaccustomed to seeing women in high office. Whenever a woman crosses a threshold into an area that has been predominantly held by men, and performs effectively, the doors open for women everywhere.

I take particular pride in casting my vote for Ambassador Madeleine Albright. It is a tremendous step forward in our country for a woman to be named the Nation's top diplomat. As consequential as that is, in Madeleine Albright's case it is really a secondary consideration, because she is so eminently qualified for the job.

Although I am sure it is unnecessary to do so, I take pride in urging all of my colleagues to support this outstanding nomination.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor and, Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I strongly support the nomination of Madeleine Albright for Secretary of State. Ms. Albright brings a lifetime of credentials to the job. She has superb experience as a practitioner of the craft of diplomacy, and a wide knowledge of outside opinion on the range of options and potential solutions that confront us in given international situations. More than that, and most appropriate for the rather free-wheeling, often confusing international environment that we currently face, she is an initiator and an exponent of an energetic and forward-looking American leadership in world affairs.

Ms. Albright acquitted herself admirably as our most recent Ambassador to the United Nations. She is, I believe, sensitive to the role of Congress in formulating foreign policies, certainly

partly because she has served as a foreign policy staffer in the Senate to the late Senator Ed Muskie of Maine. She has served in various posts in previous administrations, and stayed active on the faculty of Georgetown University while the other party controlled the White House and foreign policy making apparatus.

At the United Nations, Ambassador Albright, as a matter of practice and of principle, put American interests first, as she should have, but also introduced overdue cost analysis as a requirement in the development of Security Council resolutions pertaining to the commitment of United Nations contingents abroad. She made the American weight felt in the Security Council, not the least in her successful effort to bring a new Secretary General to power in New York.

There were, in the early years of the first administration of President Clinton, some growing pains in sorting out the role of the United States in the disorder that we confronted in the aftermath of the cold war, particularly as it related to the proper approach for both the United Nations and the United States in peacekeeping and so-called peace enforcing operations. We all learned some lessons from the experience of our involvement in Somalia, and the administration learned some lessons, as well. Ambassador Albright moved forcefully to resolve those lessons and established a laudable and workable mechanism for frequent consultation between her staff in New York, the State Department here in Washington, and the interested Senators and committees here in the Congress. I think that she believes, as I do, that early and substantive consultations between the administration and the Congress are essential for the successful conduct of American foreign affairs, and I fully expect the early development of an effective working relationship in that regard after she is confirmed by the Senate.

I congratulate Ms. Albright for her selection as the first female nominee to be an American Secretary of State, and I look forward to working with her during her tenure at the helm of the Department of State and its far-flung operations around the globe.

I shall cast my vote for Madeleine Albright this afternoon, and I shall do it with enthusiasm and with faith in her ability to perform the job and to perform it well.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

Mr. BIDEN. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware has 45 minutes, 10 seconds remaining.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I will yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. President, let me begin, while both my senior colleagues are on the floor here, by complimenting Senator

BYRD on his ringing endorsement of Madeleine Albright. Senator HELMS and I have been around here a long while, 24 years. But that is a short time compared to the senior Senator from West Virginia. We all know that when he stands to take the floor and give his endorsement to a candidate who requires confirmation, probably more than any other Senator on this floor, the Chamber listens.

Madeleine Albright is a fine candidate, but she is also a lucky candidate today to have such strong support from the Senator from West Virginia, and, as well, she is fortunate to have the Senator from North Carolina as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. I publicly thank him for how gracious he has been and for how he has expedited this nomination. We all know he is a man of very strong convictions, and we all know that when Senator HELMS concludes that there is something moving in the Senate too swiftly, or it is something he does not support, he is, along with the Senator from West Virginia, maybe the most effective person on the Republican side of the aisle in slowing things down.

There was a lot of discussion in the press and a lot of discussion in the Cloakrooms about whether or not Senator HELMS was going to cooperate. I am here to tell you that he has not only cooperated, he has expedited it, and he has been, as always, the consummate gentleman in the way in which he has dealt with his colleagues, the new ranking member in particular, but the committee in general and the Senate as a whole. I personally thank him for doing what I never doubted he would do once he concluded he was going to get this on the floor early. I want the record to note that we are moving on one of the two most important Cabinet posts, and we are doing it before anything else has happened in this body. I thank the chairman.

Mr. President, to state the obvious, I strongly support Madeleine Albright's nomination to become the 65th Secretary of State of the United States of America. Obviously, along with others who have spoken, I commend the President for nominating her.

There was a friend of ours who doesn't always like having a quote attributed to him, but I must attribute every quote. I never want to make that mistake again. I will not use his name, but I will acknowledge that this is not emanating from me. We had a colleague who served with the Senator from North Carolina and me for some years—and I will tell him the name after I finish—who used to say, "It is great in politics when conscience and convenience cross paths."

I would suggest that Madeleine Albright's nomination to be Secretary of State meets that test like none other since I have been here. This is truly a historic occasion. I know we do not and should not think in terms of quotas and affirmative action. But the fact of the matter is this is one of two

remaining bastions where the mindset, I think, of a foreign policy establishment, the mindset of the public, the mindset of everyone, is that it is sort of the province of men. And that stereotypical notion is, in large part because of the cooperation of the Senator from North Carolina, about to end today. That does not mean that makes anyone a good Secretary of State or makes her the most qualified person. But that is where the conscience part comes in. It just so happens that the woman we are about to confirm—God willing and the creeks not rising—is also eminently qualified to be Secretary of State.

I have been here too long to use phrases like "this is the most qualified person." There are 50 people maybe in America who are qualified to do this job, and there are probably 10 as qualified, but none more qualified than Madeleine Albright.

One of the things I think that has endeared her and recommended her to Senator HELMS and to me, both of us having served on the Foreign Relations Committee for so long, is that we have encountered Madeleine Albright in our official capacities and our personal political lives on a number of other occasions, and we have found her, as professor, as foreign policy adviser, and as a politically active academic, to be extremely incisive, blunt, to the point, and honest with us in her assessments. You have no idea—maybe you do, Mr. President, but the longer you are here it will become even more apparent. I find that the hardest speak to understand is foreign policy speak. And I sometimes used to kid, after years of being the chairman or the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, I would say to the witness, "You sound like you are from the State Department." That means that you get a non-answer; never a wrong answer, but a nonanswer. Madeleine Albright is very straightforward. And it is a welcome thing. We had that in other Secretaries of State, Democrat and Republican. But it is always nice to know.

In her 4 years as our Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Albright has ably demonstrated her qualifications to carry American foreign policy into the 21st century. Her personal history, her academic research and writing, her diplomatic experience, and her political acumen make her uniquely qualified to lead this country in working with our friends and allies—and our adversaries, and there are some—to further our national interests and the ideals of freedom and democracy that we espouse as a nation.

As we all know by now, Ambassador Albright was not born an American. She and her family chose to come to these shores out of a deep appreciation of what America stands for. She was born in Czechoslovakia, which between the two world wars was the only country in Central Europe to share our commitment to freedom and democracy.

She was twice forced to flee her native land, first in the wake of the Nazi occupation, then 10 years later after a Communist coup. She has seen firsthand the two worst forms of tyranny of this century, and she vividly understands the importance of standing firm against aggressors who seek to subvert freedom.

The young Madeleine Korbel earned a bachelor's degree from Wellesley College in political science in 1959, worked briefly as a journalist, then married and raised three bright, accomplished, and lovely daughters, two of whom I have had the occasion to get to speak with and get to know a little bit better.

At the same time she was raising her family, she attended graduate school at Columbia University. In 1968, she earned her master's degree and the certificate of the Russian Institute at Columbia. She went on to receive her Ph.D. from Columbia in 1976.

With her doctorate in hand, she came to Washington to work for one of the finest men ever to serve in this Senate—the late Senator from Maine, Edmund Muskie, who himself went on to become Secretary of State. As his chief legislative assistant, she gained an appreciation for the role of the Senate in helping the President and the Secretary of State craft American foreign policy, experience on which she will draw as we work with her in the years ahead.

Ambassador Albright left Senator Muskie's staff in 1978 to work for her former professor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, on the staff of President Carter's National Security Council. She then worked at two of the most prestigious think-tanks in Washington—the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars—before becoming a professor at Georgetown University in 1982.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the official biography of Madeleine Albright.

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

#### MADELEINE KORBEL ALBRIGHT

Madeleine Korbel Albright was appointed by President Clinton on January 27, 1993, as the United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations. President Clinton elevated this position and made the Ambassador a member of his Cabinet and a member of the National Security Council.

Prior to her appointment, Ambassador Albright was the President of the Center for National Policy. The Center is a non-profit research organization, formed in 1981 by representatives from government, industry, labor and education. Its mandate is to promote the study and discussion of domestic and international issues.

As a Research Professor of International Affairs and Director of the Women in Foreign Service Program at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, she taught undergraduate and graduate courses in international affairs, U.S. foreign policy, Russian

foreign policy, and Central and Eastern European politics, and was responsible for developing and implementing programs designed to enhance women's professional opportunities in international affairs.

In 1981-82 Ambassador Albright was awarded a fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian following an international competition in which she wrote about the role of the press in political changes in Poland in 1980-82.

She also served as a Senior Fellow in Soviet and Eastern European Affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, conducting research in developments and trends in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

From 1978-1981 Ambassador Albright was a Staff Member on the National Security Council, as well as a White House staff member, where she was responsible for foreign policy legislation.

From 1976-1978, she served as Chief Legislative Assistant to Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

Other professional experience includes Board Member of the National Endowment for Democracy, Board Member of the International Media Fund, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Presidential Candidate Michael S. Dukakis, Foreign Policy Advisor to the Mondale-Ferraro campaign, Vice-Chair of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Member of the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council of the United States, Member of the Board of Trustees of Wellesley College, Member of the Board of Trustees of the Black Student Fund, Member of the U.S. National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Member of the Board of Trustees of the Washington Urban League, Member of the Board of Directors of the Center for National Policy, Member of the Chapter of the Washington National Cathedral, Member of the Board of Trustees of Williams College, Member of the Board of Trustees of the Democratic Forum, Member of the Executive Committee of D.C. Citizens for Better Public Education, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Beauvoir School, Public Relations Staff of the Encyclopedia Britannica, and Reporter on the Rolla Daily News, Rolla, Missouri.

Awarded a B.A. from Wellesley College with honors in Political Science, she studied at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, received a Certificate from the Russian Institute at Columbia University, and her Masters and Doctorate from Columbia University's Department of Public Law and Government.

Ambassador Albright is fluent in French and Czech, with good speaking and reading abilities in Russian and Polish.

Selected writings include "Poland, the Role of the Press in Political Change" (New York: Praeger with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 1983); "The Role of the Press in Political Change: Czechoslovakia 1968" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University 1976); and "The Soviet Diplomatic Service: Profile of an Elite" (Master's Thesis, Columbia University 1968).

Ambassador Albright has three daughters. For future correspondence, the Ambassador may be reached at either her Washington, D.C. or New York, offices: Suite 6333, Department of State, 2201 C Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20520-6319, or U.S. Mission to the United Nations, 799 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York 10017.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, in the 1980's as the Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe were cast-

ing off the Soviet yoke, then-Proffessor Albright conducted research into the attitudes of the people of these countries, and she wrote about the need to assist them in their transition from communism to freedom.

That is where Senator HELMS and I and others on the Foreign Relations Committee got to see her again because she came and testified about that research and the polling data that she conducted.

Her academic and personal understanding of these issues will allow her to formulate policies to encourage the continued spread of political and economic freedom throughout the world as she attempts to implement this administration's foreign policy.

At the United Nations, Ambassador Albright successfully advanced and defended American interests and enlisted the support of others for our policies. Her straight talk and tireless commitment won her the admiration of Democrats and Republicans alike. She recognizes that while it is sometimes in America's interest to act alone, always acting alone is ineffective and an unnecessary use of our resources.

Two weeks ago, Ambassador Albright came before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and outlined a comprehensive framework for American foreign policy into the next century, one in which none of us, I think, is likely to accept wholesale. But that is the way the process is supposed to work.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that her insightful statement to our committee be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE—JANUARY 8, 1997

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, it is a great honor and pleasure to be here with you this morning. I want to begin by thanking the President for his trust in nominating me to this high and very challenging position.

I am very grateful to Secretary Christopher both for his kind words of introduction and for the opportunity he has given me these past four years to observe how a steady and determined diplomat conducts business.

And I appreciate very much the Committee's courtesy in scheduling this hearing so promptly.

Mr. Chairman, we have reached a point more than halfway between the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the start of a new century. Our nation is respected and at peace. Our alliances are vigorous. Our economy is strong. And from the distant corners of Asia, to the emerging democracies of Central Europe and Africa, to the community of democracies that exists within our own hemisphere—and to the one impermanent exception to that community, Castro's Cuba—American institutions and ideals are a model for those who have, or who aspire to, freedom.

All this is no accident, and its continuation is by no means inevitable. Democratic progress must be sustained as it was built—

by American leadership. And our leadership must be sustained if our interests are to be protected around the world.

Do not doubt, those interests are not geopolitical abstractions, they are real.

It matters to our children whether they grow up in a world where the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction have been minimized or allowed to run out of control.

It matters to the millions of Americans who work, farm or invest whether the global economy continues to create good new jobs and open new markets, or whether—through miscalculation or protectionism—it begins to spiral downward.

It matters to our families whether illegal drugs continue to pour into our neighborhoods from overseas.

It matters to Americans who travel abroad or go about their daily business at home whether the scourge of international terrorism is reduced.

It matters to our workers and businesspeople whether they will be unfairly forced to compete against companies that violate fair labor standards, despoil the environment or gain contracts not through competition but corruption.

And it matters to us all whether through inattention or indifference, we allow small wars to grow into large ones that put our safety and freedom at risk.

To defeat the dangers and seize the opportunities, we must be more than audience, more even than actors, we must be the authors of the history of our age.

A half century ago, after the devastation caused by Depression, holocaust and war, it was not enough to say that what we were against had failed. Leaders such as Truman, Marshall and Vandenberg were determined to build a lasting peace. And together with our allies, they forged a set of institutions that would defend freedom, rebuild economies, uphold law and preserve peace.

Today, it is not enough for us to say that Communism has failed. We must continue building a new framework—adapted to the demands of a new century—that will protect our citizens and our friends; reinforce our values; and secure our future.

In so doing, we must direct our energies, not as our predecessors did, against a single virulent ideology. We face a variety of threats, some as old as ethnic conflict; some as new as letter bombs; some as long-term as global warming; some as dangerous as nuclear weapons falling into the wrong hands.

To cope with such a variety of threats, we will need a full range of foreign policy tools.

That is why our armed forces must remain the best-led, best-trained, best-equipped and most respected in the world. And as President Clinton has pledged, and our military leaders ensure, they will.

It is also why we need first-class diplomacy. Force, and the credible possibility of its use, are essential to defend our vital interests and to keep America safe. But force alone can be a blunt instrument, and there are many problems it cannot solve.

To be effective, force and diplomacy must complement and reinforce each other. For there will be many occasions, in many places, where we will rely on diplomacy to protect our interests, and we will expect our diplomats to defend those interests with skill, knowledge and spine.

If confirmed, one of my most important tasks will be to work with Congress to ensure that we have the superb diplomatic representation that our people deserve and our interests demand. We cannot have that on the cheap. We must invest the resources needed to maintain American leadership. Consider the stakes. We are talking here about one percent of our federal budget, but that one percent may well determine fifty

percent of the history that is written about our era.

Unfortunately, as Senator Lugar recently pointed out, currently, "our international operations are underfunded and understaffed." He noted, as well, that not only our interests, but our efforts to balance the budget would be damaged if American disengagement were to result in "nuclear terrorism, a trade war, an energy crisis, a major regional conflict . . . or some other preventable disaster.

Mr. Chairman, we are the world's richest, strongest, most respected nation. We are also the largest debtor to the United Nations and the international financial institutions. We provide a smaller percentage of our wealth to support democracy and growth in the developing world than any other industrialized nation.

And over the past four years, the Department of State has cut more than 2000 employees, downgraded positions, closed more than 30 embassies or consulates, and deferred badly-needed modernization of infrastructure and communications. We have also suffered a 30% reduction in our foreign assistance programs since 1991.

It is said that we have moved from an era where the big devour the small to an era where the fast devour the slow. If that is the case, your State Department, with its obsolete technology, \$300 million in deferred maintenance and a shrinking base of skilled personnel, is in trouble.

If confirmed, I will strive to fulfill my obligation to manage our foreign policy effectively and efficiently. I will work with this Committee and the Congress to ensure that the American public gets full value for each tax dollar spent. But I will also want to ensure that our foreign policy successfully promotes and protects the interests of the American people.

In addition, I will want to work with you to spur continued reform and to pay our bills at the United Nations, an organization that Americans helped create, that reflects ideals that we share and that serves goals of stability, law and international cooperation that are in our interests.

The debate over adequate funding for foreign policy is not new in America. It has been joined repeatedly from the time the Continental Congress sent Ben Franklin to Paris, to the proposals for Lend Lease and the Marshall Plan that bracketed World War II, to the start of the SEED and Nunn-Lugar programs a few years ago. In each case, history has looked more kindly on those who argued for our engagement than on those who said we just could not afford to lead.

Mr. Chairman, any framework for American leadership must include measures to control the threats posed by weapons of mass destruction and terror; to seize the opportunities that exist for setting dangerous regional conflicts; to maintain America as the hub of an expanding global economy; and to defend cherished principles of democracy and law.

At the center of that framework, however, are our key alliances and relationships. These are the bonds that hold together not only our foreign policy, but the entire international system. When we are able to act cooperatively with the other leading nations, we create a dynamic web of principle, power and purpose that elevates standards and propels progress around the globe. This is our opportunity, for in the post Cold War era, big power diplomacy is not a zero-sum game.

#### THE TRANS-ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

A foremost example is the trans-Atlantic partnership.

It is a central lesson of this century that America must remain a European power. We

have an interest in European security, because we wish to avoid the instability that drew five million Americans across the Atlantic to fight in two world wars. We have an interest in European democracy, because it was the triumph of freedom there that ended the Cold War. We have an interest in European prosperity, because our own prosperity depends on having partners that are open to our exports, investment and ideas.

Today, thanks to the efforts of President Clinton and Secretary Christopher, American leadership in Europe is on solid ground.

European institutions are evolving in directions that are making the continent more free, unified and peaceful than at any time in history.

Our key bilateral relationships, albeit spirited at times, are as strong and resilient as they have ever been.

The terrible carnage in Bosnia has ended.

The Partnership for Peace has broadened cooperation on security matters.

And there is continued progress on political and market reforms within Central Europe and the New Independent States.

If confirmed, I will be returning to this Committee often to ask your support for our vision of an integrated, stable and democratic Europe.

In July, at the NATO summit in Madrid, the alliance will discuss European security, including NATO adaptation to new missions and structures, a framework for enhanced consultation and cooperation with Russia, and enlargement.

The purpose of enlargement is to do for Europe's east what NATO did 50 years ago for Europe's west: to integrate new democracies, defeat old hatreds, provide confidence in economic recovery and deter conflict.

Those who say NATO enlargement should wait until a military threat appears miss the main point. NATO is a not a wild west posse that we mobilize only when grave danger is near. It is a permanent alliance, a linchpin of stability, designed to prevent serious threats from ever arising.

To those who worry about enlargement dividing Europe, I say that NATO cannot and should not preserve the old Iron Curtain as its eastern frontier. That was an artificial division, imposed upon proud nations, some of which are now ready to contribute to the continent's security. What NATO must and will do is keep open the door to membership to every European nation that can shoulder alliance responsibilities and contribute to its goals, while building a strong and enduring partnership with all of Europe's democracies.

Building a more cooperative and integrated Europe will be one of many issues that President Clinton will be discussing with President Yeltsin during his visit here to the United States in March. A democratic Russia can and must be a strong partner in achieving this shared goal.

We know that Russia remains in the midst of a wrenching transition, but gains made during the past five years are increasingly irreversible. Despite the threats posed by corruption and crime, open markets and democratic institutions have taken hold. And last summer marked the first fully democratic election of national leaders in Russia's long history.

President Yeltsin's challenge in his second term will be to restore the momentum behind internal reforms and accelerate Russia's integration with the west. We have a profound interest in encouraging that great country to remain on a democratic course, to respect fully the sovereignty of its neighbors and to join with us in addressing a full range of regional and global issues.

Our deepening friendship with a democratic Ukraine is also fundamental to Europe's integration. Ukraine was the first of

the New Independent States to transfer power from one democratically-elected government to another. And, under President Kuchma, it has launched ambitious economic reforms that have subdued inflation and prevented economic collapse.

In our relations both with Russia and Ukraine, the binational commissions established with Vice-President Gore as the lead U.S. representative will serve as a valuable aid for setting the agenda, and facilitating cooperation across a broad range of endeavors.

Finally, the future of European stability and democracy depends, as well, on continued implementation of the Dayton Accords.

Although IFOR completed its military tasks brilliantly in Bosnia, more time is needed for economic reconstruction and political healing. SFOR's goal is to provide the time for peace to become self-sustaining.

Although the full promise of Dayton is not yet fulfilled, much has changed during the past 13 months. The fighting has stopped, peaceful elections have been held, and the framework for national democratic institutions has taken shape.

Much of this is due to American leadership. Our plan now, in cooperation with our many partners, is to consolidate and build on those gains. Our strategy is to continue diminishing the need for an international military presence by establishing a stable military balance, improving judicial and legal institutions, helping more people return safely to their homes and seeing that more of those indicted as war criminals are arrested and prosecuted.

Given the ongoing challenges, it is encouraging to note the history-making dimension of the process set in motion by the Dayton Accords.

Today, in Bosnia, virtually every nation in Europe is working together to bring stability to a region where conflict earlier this century tore the continent apart.

This reflects a sharp departure from the spheres of influence or balance of power diplomacy of the past, and an explicit rejection of politics based on ethnic identification. And it validates the premise of the Partnership for Peace by demonstrating the growth of a common understanding within Europe of how a common sense of security may be achieved.

The experience of IFOR and now SFOR in Bosnia heightens the potential for security cooperation among the full range of NATO and non-NATO European states. In Bosnia, soldiers from NATO, Russia, Poland, Ukraine, Romania and many other nations trust, defend and depend on each other. Our challenge is to extend that spirit to other joint endeavors and to keep it thriving long after SFOR concludes its work.

European stability depends in large measure on continued American engagement and leadership. And as history attests, European stability is also vital to our national interests. As a result, we will remain engaged, we will continue to lead, we will strengthen our alliances and we will continue to build with our democratic partners a Europe in which every nation is free and every free nation is our partner.

#### PROMOTING MUTUAL SECURITY AND PROSPERITY IN ASIA

Mr. Chairman, America must remain a European power. We must, and will, remain a Pacific power, as well.

Asia is a continent undergoing breathtaking economic expansion and measured, but steady, movement in the direction of democracy. Its commercial vigor reinforces our own and contributes to the vital interest we have in its security. This is, after all, an area in which America has fought three wars

during the past six decades, and in which 100,000 American Troops are based.

President Clinton has elevated this dynamic region on our agenda, and I plan to devote much of my attention to its promise and perils.

Our priorities here are to maintain the strength of our core alliances while successfully managing our multi-faceted relationship with China.

Because of our commitment to regional security, we have maintained our forward-deployed military presence in the Western Pacific. We are encouraging regional efforts to settle territorial and other disputes without violence. We are working hard to open markets for American goods and services, both bilaterally and through APEC, which the President lifted to the summit level. We are broadening our diplomatic and security ties in Southeast Asia, home to the world's fastest growing economies. And we will continue to promote respect for internationally-recognized human rights and the spread of freedom.

Our closest and most wide-ranging bilateral relationship in the region is with Japan, with whom we have strongly reaffirmed our alliance.

We consult Japan regularly on a broad range of foreign policy questions from security in Asia to development in Africa. We appreciate its generous financial support for peace efforts from Bosnia to the Middle East. And we are working with Japan and another valued ally, the Republic of Korea, to implement the Framework agreement freezing North Korean development of nuclear arms. In recent weeks, we and Seoul have worked together successfully to reduce tensions, reinforce the nuclear freeze and improve prospects for dialogue on the Peninsula.

I look forward, if confirmed, to visiting both Japan and the Republic of Korea at an early date.

I am also looking forward to the visit here soon of the Chinese Foreign Minister.

A strong bilateral relationship between the United States and China is needed to expand areas of cooperation, reduce the potential for misunderstanding and encourage China's full emergence as a responsible member of the international community.

To make progress, our two countries must act towards each other on the basis of mutual frankness. We have important differences, especially on trade, arms transfers and human rights, including Tibet. We have concerns about Chinese policy towards the reversion of Hong Kong. While adhering to our one China policy, we will maintain robust unofficial ties with Taiwan. But we also have many interests in common, and have worked together on issues including the Korean peninsula, crime, the global environment and nuclear testing.

U.S. policy towards China has long been an issue of controversy in Congress and among the American people. There are disagreements about the proper balancing of the various elements of that policy. There should be no doubt, however, about the importance of this relationship, and about the need to pursue a strategy aimed at Chinese integration, not isolation.

#### PREVENTIVE DEFENSE THROUGH THE CONTROL OF DEADLY ARMS

The Cold War may be over, but the threat to our security posed by nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction has only been reduced, not ended. Arms control and nonproliferation remain a vital element in our foreign policy framework.

With our leadership, much has been accomplished. Russian warheads no longer target our homes. Nuclear weapons have been removed from Belarus and Kazakhstan and in

Ukraine, the last missile silos are being planted over with sunflowers. Iraq's nuclear capability has been dismantled, and North Korea's frozen. The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty has been extended, indefinitely and without conditions. A comprehensive ban on nuclear tests has been approved and a chemical weapons ban will soon be in effect.

Mr. Chairman, these efforts to reduce the spread and number of weapons of mass destruction contribute to what Defense Secretary Perry has called "preventive defense". They are designed to keep Americans safe. We pursue them not as favors to others, but in support of our own national interests. But arms control and nonproliferation are works in progress, and we will need your help and that of this Committee and the Senate to continue that progress.

First, we will be asking your consent to the ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention, or CWC, before it enters into force in late April.

As this Committee well knows, the CWC was begun under President Reagan and negotiated under President Bush. It is supported by many in both parties, by the business community and by our military. The CWC is no panacea, but it will make it more difficult for rogue states and others hostile to our interests to develop or obtain chemical weapons. I hope, Mr. Chairman, that we will be able to work together to get this Treaty approved in time for the United States to be an original party.

We will also be seeking your early approval of the CFE Flank agreement, which is essential to sustain the CFR Treaty, which in turn contributes mightily to European security.

Overseas, we will be working with Russia to secure prompt ratification by the Duma of the START II Treaty, and then to pursue further reductions and limits on strategic nuclear arms.

We will also continue efforts to fulfill the President's call for negotiations leading to a worldwide ban on the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel landmines. The humanitarian problems created by the misuse of anti-personnel landmines can only be dealt with on a global basis. In September, the President told the UN General Assembly that "our children deserve to walk the Earth in safety." This will be a major arms control objective of the next four years.

Arms control and nonproliferation are closely linked to our policies toward rogue states. We have a major interest in preventing weapons of mass destruction from being obtained by regimes with a proven disrespect for the rule of law. Accordingly, we will continue working to improve the security and prevent the diversion of fissile materials. We will continue to oppose strongly the sale or transfer of advanced weapons or technologies to Iran. And we will insist on maintaining tough UN sanctions against Iraq unless and until that regime complies with relevant Security Council resolutions.

#### VIGOROUS DIPLOMACY IN SUPPORT OF PEACE

Mr. Chairman, the appropriate American role in helping to end conflicts and respond to crises overseas has been debated widely, not only in our time, but throughout American history.

Because we have unique capabilities and unmatched power, it is natural that others turn to us in time of emergency. We have an unlimited number of opportunities to act around the world. But we do not have unlimited resources, nor do we have unlimited responsibilities. If we are to protect our own interests and maintain our credibility, we have to weigh our commitments carefully, and be selective and disciplined in what we agree to do.

Recognizing this, we have a strong incentive to strengthen other mechanisms for responding to emergencies and conflicts, including the United Nations and regional organizations. We should work closely with the entire network of public and nongovernmental organizations that has evolved to predict, prevent, contain and minimize the human and other costs of natural and human-caused disaster. And we should insist that other capable nations do their fair share financially, technically and—if necessary—militarily.

The primary obligation of the United States is to its own citizens. We are not a charity or a fire department. We will defend firmly our own vital interests.

But we recognize that our interests and those of our allies may also be affected by regional or civil wars, power vacuums that create targets of opportunity for criminals and terrorists, dire humanitarian emergencies and threats to democracy. Then, as President Clinton said recently, "The United States cannot and should not try to solve every problem, but where our interests are clear, our values are at stake, (and) where we can make a difference, we must act and we must lead."

During the past four years, under President Clinton and Secretary Christopher, the United States has been steadfast in supporting the peacemakers over the bombthrowers in historically troubled areas of the globe. Our goal has been to build an environment in which threats to our security and that of our allies are diminished, and the likelihood of American forces being sent into combat is reduced.

We recognize that, in most of these situations, neither the United States nor any other outside force can impose a solution. But we can make it easier for those inclined towards peace to take the risks required to achieve it.

As this statement is being prepared, sustained U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East has helped to build a renewed dialogue between Israel and its Palestinian partners, producing significant progress on Israeli redeployment in Hebron.

While an agreement is not yet in hand, the intensive negotiations which have been conducted over the past three months—including direct discussions between Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat—have restored a sense of momentum and greater confidence between the sides. This process began during the Washington summit called by President Clinton last October and has been sustained and advanced through our active diplomatic engagement.

Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat have reaffirmed to President Clinton their determination to continue their joint efforts for peace. The United States will stand by them as they do.

Today, there remain two competing visions in the Middle East. One is focused on the grievances and tragedies of the past; the other on the possibilities of the future. An agreement on Hebron would serve as a catalyst, strengthening the supporters of peace. Under the President's leadership, we intend to press vigorously on all tracks to realize a secure, comprehensive and lasting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

Throughout, we will be guided by America's unshakeable commitment to Israel's security, and by our opposition to those who would disrupt this process through terrorism and violence.

Secretary Christopher leaves office after four years of historic progress in facilitating peace in the Middle East. While his presence will be missed, I will maintain fully the State Department's commitment to an active U.S. role in this long-troubled and strategic part of the globe.

Across the Mediterranean in Cyprus, another longstanding disagreement remains unresolved. In 1996, the parties moved no closer to a final decision on the status of the island. Moreover, disturbing incidents of violence marred the climate for negotiations, while underlining their urgency. The dispute here and related differences between our two NATO allies, Turkey and Greece, affect European stability and our vital interests. Accordingly, we are prepared in this new year to play a heightened role in promoting a resolution in Cyprus, but for any initiative to bear fruit, the parties must agree to steps that will reduce tensions and make direct negotiations possible.

In Northern Ireland, we are encouraged that multi-party talks began but we are disappointed by the lack of progress made, and strongly condemn the IRA's return to violence. We will continue to work with the Irish and British governments and the parties to help promote substantive progress in the talks. And we note that former Senator George Mitchell, who is chairing the multi-party talks, has been crucial to the forward steps that have been taken.

As we enter the 50th anniversary year of independence for both India and Pakistan, we will again consider the prospects for reducing the tensions that have long existed between these two friends of the United States.

We have a wealth of equities in this region, and a particular concern about the regional arms race and nuclear nonproliferation. India and Pakistan should both know that we will do what we can to strengthen their relations with us and encourage better relations between them, and that we expect both to avoid actions calculated to provoke the other.

Another dispute tangled by history and geography concerns Armenia, Azerbaijan and the status of Nagorno-Karabakh. The good news here is that the ceasefire has now held for more than two years. The bad news is that progress under the OSCE's Minsk process has been agonizingly slow. We have very substantial economic, political and humanitarian interests in this region, and are prepared to play a more visible role in helping to arrange a settlement. One step that Congress could take to increase our influence would be to lift restrictions on nonmilitary assistance to Azerbaijan, while maintaining support for our generous aid program in Armenia.

Finally, in Central Africa, we are striving with regional leaders and our allies to prevent a still-volatile situation from erupting into even greater tragedy. We are encouraging the repatriation of the remaining Rwandan refugees and assisting in their reintegration into Rwandan society. Through the efforts of Special Envoy Howard Wolpe, we are promoting a dialogue between the opposing parties in Burundi. And we support and end to conflict in Zaire based on recognition of Zaire's territorial integrity and full respect for human rights.

Mr. Chairman, I visited Central Africa last year. In Rwanda, in the beautiful region where they filmed "Gorillas in the Mist", there is an old stone church. By its side, American and other volunteers work with little brushes to clean and reassemble the skeletons of people slaughtered there in 1994. Among the hundreds of skeletons there, I happened to notice one in particular that was only two feet long, about the size of my little grandson.

It is said that foreign policy should not be influenced by emotion. That is true. But let us remember that murdered children are not emotions; they are human beings whose potential contributions are forever lost. America has an interest, as do all civilized people,

to act where possible to prevent and oppose genocide.

One practical step we can take is to increase the capacity of African countries to engage successfully in peacekeeping efforts within their region. That is the purpose of the African Crisis Response Force proposed by the Administration last fall. This proposal has generated considerable interest both within and outside the region. With Congressional support, it will be a priority in the coming year.

#### LEADERSHIP FOR A GLOBAL ECONOMY

The Clinton Administration has had extraordinary success these past four years in creating jobs for Americans at home by opening markets abroad. The more than 200 trade agreements negotiated have helped our exports grow by 34% since 1993 and created 1.6 million new jobs. By passing NAFTA, concluding the GATT Uruguay Round and forging the Miami summit commitment to achieve free and open trade in our hemisphere by 2005 and the APEC commitment to do the same in the Asia-Pacific by 2020, the President has positioned the United States to become an even more dynamic hub of the global economy in the 21st century.

As Secretary of State, I would do all I can to see that this momentum continues. Already, I have talked with Treasury Secretary Rubin, Commerce Secretary-designate Bill Daley and Trade Representative-designate Charlene Barshefsky. We intend, if confirmed, to function as a team—America's team. And we intend to be a very tough team.

Competition for the world's markets is fierce. Often, our firms go head-to-head with foreign competitors who are receiving active support from their own governments. A principal responsibility of the Department of State is to see that the interests of American companies and workers receive fair treatment, and that inequitable barriers to competition are overcome. Accordingly, the doors to the Department of State and our embassies around the world are open—and will remain open—to U.S. businesspeople seeking to share their ideas and to ask our help.

In the years ahead, we must continue shaping a global economic system that works for America. Because our people are so productive and inventive, we will thrive in any true competition. However, maintaining the equity of the system requires constant effort. Experience tells us that there will always be some who will seek to take advantage by denying access to our products, pirating our copyrighted goods or under-pricing us through sweatshop labor.

That is why our diplomacy will continue to emphasize high standards on working conditions, the environment and labor and business practices. And it is why we will work for a trading system that establishes and enforces fair rules.

Although we will continue to work closely with our G-7 partners, the benefits of economic integration and expanded trade are not—and should not be—limited to the most developed nations. Especially now, when our bilateral foreign assistance program is in decline, public and private sector economic initiatives are everywhere an important part of our foreign policy. We can also leverage resources for results by working with and supporting the international financial institutions.

In Latin America, a region of democracies, we will be building on the 1994 Summit of the Americas to strengthen judicial and other political institutions and to promote higher standards of living through free trade and economic integration. I am pleased that, in this effort, we will have the assistance of the

newly-designated special envoy for the Americas, Mack McLarty.

Although much poverty remains, substantial gains have been made in many parts of the hemisphere through economic reforms, increased commerce, lower inflation and higher foreign investment. We believe that further progress can be achieved that will benefit us, as well as our hemispheric partners, through agreement on a Free Trade Area for the Americas by the year 2005. We also place a high priority on the early addition of Chile to the North American Free Trade Agreement on equitable terms, and on the extension to Central America and the Caribbean of Arrangements equivalent to NAFTA.

Even closer to home, we are encouraging continued economic and political reform in Mexico, with whom we share a 2000 mile border and a host of common concerns, including crime, narcotics, immigration and the environment.

In Africa, the overall economic outlook is improving, but daunting problems of debt, strife, environmental stress and inadequate investment remain.

It is in our interest to help the region's leaders overcome these problems and to build an Africa that is more prosperous, democratic and stable.

We know, however, that the primary impetus for development here, as elsewhere, must come from the private sector.

It is encouraging, therefore, that many African governments are facilitating growth through policies that allow private enterprise to take hold, while investing public resources wisely in education, health and measures that expand opportunities for women.

If confirmed, I will place great emphasis on working with Africa's democratic leaders to broaden and deepen these trends. More specifically, we will work towards the integration of Africa into the world's economy, participate in efforts to ease debt burdens, and help deserving countries, where we can, through targeted programs of bilateral aid.

#### PROMOTING FREEDOM AND EXTENDING THE RULE OF LAW

Mr. Chairman, the representative of a foreign power said once that his country had no permanent allies, only permanent interests.

It might be said of America that we have no permanent enemies, only permanent principles.

Those principles are founded in respect for law, human dignity and freedom not just for some, but for all people.

If I am confirmed, I can assure you that the United States will not hesitate to address frankly the violation of internationally-recognized human rights, whether those violations occur in Cuba or Afghanistan; Burma, Belgrade or Beijing.

We will work with others to defeat the forces of international crime and to put those who traffic in drugs permanently out of business.

We will pursue a hard line against international terror, insisting on the principle that sponsoring, sheltering or subsidizing terrorists cannot be rationalized; it is wrong; and those guilty should not be appeased, but isolated and punished.

We will maintain our strong backing for the international war crimes tribunal for Rwanda and the Balkans, because we believe that the perpetrators of ethnic cleansing should be held accountable, and those who consider rape just another tactic of war should answer for their crimes.

And we will continue to promote and advocate democracy because we know that democracy is a parent to peace, and that the American constitution remains the most

revolutionary and inspiring source of change in the world.

#### THE ENVIRONMENTAL MAINSTREAM

One final note, Mr. Chairman. Before closing I wanted to make it clear that I intend, if confirmed, to build upon Secretary Christopher's wise decision to incorporate environmental goals into the mainstream of our foreign policy.

Over the past several years, I have traveled to almost every region of the world. I have seen the congestion caused by over-development, and the deforestation that results when expanding populations compete for shrinking natural resources. I have smelled the air of smoke-clogged cities where the environmental techniques made possible by modern technology have not yet been applied.

The threats we face from environmental damage are not as spectacular as those of a terrorist's bomb or a hostile missile. But they directly affect the health, safety and quality of life of families everywhere. We can choose to be passive in responding to those threats, and leave the hard work to our children, or we can be active and forward-looking now. I choose the latter course, and will not be shy in seeking congressional and public support.

#### CONCLUSION

Members of the Committee, I am deeply honored to appear here today. I have laid out some, but by no means all, of what I see as the principal challenges and opportunities we will face over the next four years. Clearly, we have a lot to do.

I could say to you that it had always been my ambition to be Secretary of State of the United States. But that is not true. Frankly, I did not think it was possible.

I arrived in America when I was 11 years old. My family came here to escape Communism and to find freedom and we did. My ambition at that time was only to speak English well, please my parents, study hard, and grow up to be an American.

The newspaper in Denver, where we lived, had a motto that read, "'Tis a privilege to live in Colorado."

My father used to repeat that motto on a regular basis, but he would often add a reminder: "Kids," he would say, "never forget that it is also a privilege to live in the United States."

Long after I left home, my mother would call on the Fourth of July to ask my children, her grandchildren: "Tell me, are you singing any patriotic songs?"

Senators, you on your side of the table and I on my side, have a unique opportunity to be partners in creating a new and enduring framework for American Leadership. One of my predecessors, Dean Acheson, wrote about being present at the creation of a new era. You and I have the challenge and the responsibility to help co-author the newest chapter in our history.

In so doing, let us remember that there is not a page of American history of which we are proud that was written by a chronic complainer or prophet of despair.

We are doers.

By rejecting the temptations of isolation, and by standing with those around the world who share our values, we will advance our own interests; honor our best traditions; and help to answer a prayer that has been offered over many years in a multitude of tongues, in accordance with diverse customs, in response to a common yearning.

That prayer is the prayer for peace, freedom, food on the table and what President Clinton once so eloquently referred to as "the quiet miracle of a normal life."

If with your consent, I am confirmed as Secretary of State, I will ask you to join me

in doing all we can, as representatives of the indispensable nation, and with the help of God, to answer that prayer.

Thank you very much.

Mr. BIDEN. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, Ambassador Albright possesses a rare talent for articulating the reasons why events in seemingly far away places matter a great deal to ordinary Americans.

I was with another member of this administration, Sandy Berger, today and we were talking about it. I said that I had to leave to go and deal with Madeleine Albright's nomination on the floor. And I said, "They seem to like her." I don't think this is inappropriate to suggest. There is no State secret. He said, "We were at a meeting, and she used the line that I think is great, and it captures what is going on. She said, 'It is amazing that the 1 percent of the resources of this Government may very well'—that is approximately what we spend on the whole foreign policy establishment of this Government—'1 percent of the resources of this Government will probably determine 50 percent of the future of this Nation over the next 6 to 8 years.'"

The reason I bother to mention that as an aside is that one of the things she grasped very well, as all great Secretaries of State have, is in the context in which she is operating, and the context in which the foreign policy it will be her responsibility to promote will be hers.

Ambassador Albright has made a convincing argument for the United States to remain engaged throughout the world and for this Congress to give the State Department the resources it needs to, as she said, "promote and protect the interests of the American people."

I look forward to working with Ambassador Albright to secure an adequate level of funding for her to direct American diplomacy, in order that our Foreign Service officers, our U.S. Information Service officers, and our Agency for International Development workers can be active throughout the world. We need a diplomatic corps that can react quickly and decisively to crises before they escalate and then threaten peace and stability. We cannot afford to keep the State Department so underfunded that diplomats are reduced to making calls from pay phones because our missions are so poorly equipped that even the telephones don't work.

Mr. President, there is much more to say and much that has been said. I do not want to be the one to slow up the process. Let me conclude by suggesting that I particularly look forward to working with Ambassador Albright in a number of specific areas—the ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention before it enters into force April 29, and to negotiate further arms control treaties, including a Start III accord.

I also look forward to developing a policy in Bosnia that allows us to withdraw our forces by mid-1998 without allowing a relapse into renewed fighting among the various parties there.

I also am looking forward to encouraging democracy throughout the world in places like Serbia, Belarus, Iraq, China, Burma, and Cuba, all of which are going to be daunting tasks we face. And to be sure, before NATO decides to admit new members—I hope that we will—that the enlargement will increase the security of all the countries in Europe, and, second, that the costs of enlargement are fairly allocated in a manner not unduly burdensome on the American taxpayer. And third, that a NATO charter with Russia can be concluded that allows the alliance the opportunity to consult with Moscow before making final decisions, in order to accommodate enhanced security in Europe. And also to increase our efforts at combating the scourge of international drug trafficking, which threatens so many of our neighborhoods and families.

The one thing that every Secretary of State has given lip service to is dealing with that issue. The one thing that every Secretary of State, Democrat or Republican, has promptly forgotten is a commitment I have gotten before from every Secretary that they will not forget. But I want the RECORD to note, if Madeleine Albright is listening, that I remind her I will not forget her commitment that the State Department should be involved in that testy, little, difficult item of dealing with the international drug problem. The truth of the matter is most folks at the State Department and foreign policy types think it is kind of beneath them to deal with drug policy, and I am here to tell them, now that I rank on the Democratic side, I will be a thorn in their side about increasing their attention to that issue.

Mr. President, I am enthusiastic about the prospect of working with Ambassador Albright over the next 4 years. I am confident that she will cooperate closely with the Senate to ensure that our foreign policy continues to embody American ideals and to serve the interests of the United States around the globe.

I strongly urge my fellow Senators to vote to confirm Madeleine Albright as our next Secretary of State.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.  
Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, what is the time situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire is recognized.

Mr. GREGG. Will the Chair advise me of the time situation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire has 44 minutes remaining. The Senator from Delaware has 28 minutes remaining.

Mr. GREGG. It would be my proposal then to yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Montana and then speak myself 5 minutes to try to get the time more in

line. I yield to the Senator from Montana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. BURNS. I thank the Senator from New Hampshire.

I rise today in support of the nomination of Madeleine Albright, our Ambassador to the United Nations, to be Secretary of State.

As we all know, the Ambassador is a highly intelligent woman with a solid history in foreign affairs. We have just completed visits to countries where we have a very high investment in military, and let me tell my colleagues in the Senate that we still live in a pretty tough world. Our challenges are still there.

Not only does she bring to her position experience from academia but also the administrative arm of our Government and the legislative side. So I am certain that she knows how this process works. Based on that knowledge, I think she knows how to work with this Congress and forms a solid foundation of trust and openness that is required of all of us.

Considering Secretary Christopher's introduction at the Foreign Relations Committee hearing and Ambassador Albright's testimony in which she stated, "I can assure you that I am going to tell it like it is here and also when I go abroad," I am hopeful that her relationship with the Congress will be an open one and an honest one.

By her frankness, however, there are issues which concern those of us who live in the State of Montana. We may disagree with the Ambassador in some areas. Although she has promised that "one of the major goals of this administration is to make sure that the American economic lifeline is protected," the Ambassador has also stated she is supportive of the fast track provision to include Chile into the North American Free Trade Agreement. Treaties like NAFTA have not exactly been a windfall for my State of Montana. And the mere suggestion of expanding it does not sit well when you have been impacted like we have, being a border State.

As legislators and leaders, we must ensure that free and fair trade is part of any treaty, and if it is not, then those treaties or agreements should not even be considered. I hope the Ambassador will remember this vital element when negotiating as a U.S. representative around the world.

Also, in the past, I have had great concerns about what I have perceived as her overly enthusiastic willingness to use American troops abroad just from some of the statements she has made.

I see she did in her testimony give a statement that would raise our comfort level a little more, and I think that statement is good enough for me. I have always believed that the United States should never forget that sending our troops into dangerous situations should only be done when our national

security is in jeopardy. Ambassador Albright seems to understand the gravity of this concept, and I am now assured that she will not take such action when policies face that kind of situation.

Based on that, and I know we are squeezed for time and there are many statements to be made about this wonderful lady, I hope that my colleagues will support her to be confirmed in this nomination.

I thank my friend from New Hampshire. I yield the remainder of my time, and I yield the floor.

Mr. SARBANES addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I yield myself 4 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized on the nomination in the time under the control of the minority for 4 minutes.

Mr. SARBANES. I rise in very strong and enthusiastic support of the nomination of Madeleine K. Albright to be Secretary of State.

In my judgment, Ambassador Albright is an outstanding choice for this position. Her experience, both personal and professional, as well as her demonstrated leadership ability, her steadfast adherence to the values and principles that Americans hold dear, and her vast and indisputable knowledge of the many complex issues that will no doubt confront our next Secretary of State, make it clear why President Clinton has selected her.

Ambassador Albright's work with the administration over the past 4 years testifies to her ability to excel at two very different aspects of the position for which she has been nominated. She has worked within the administration to craft effective responses to the international challenges we face—obviously a prime responsibility of the Secretary of State. She also during these last 4 years has articulated those policies in a clear and persuasive manner, building support among the American people and winning the cooperation and respect of the international community. Her capability in both the private and public arenas of policymaking is most impressive.

It is abundantly clear to those familiar with her record that she represents a very tough-minded and perceptive choice on the part of the President. She has distinguished herself in many institutions and aspects of foreign policymaking, from the executive and legislative branches to the world of academia. Over the past two decades, she has served as a staff member both at the National Security Council and in the Senate, where she worked with our former colleague, Ed Muskie, who himself then later became Secretary of State. As a scholar, she has earned respect in the academic community as a researcher and teacher, consistently drawing high praise from her students—further testimony to her ability both to come up with solutions to com-

plex issues as well as to explain them to the community at large.

As president of the Center for National Policy, a nonprofit research organization formed by representatives from government, industry, and labor, she not only gained an understanding of the nonprofit sector but worked to bring together these diverse groups in the interest of domestic and international policy.

For the past 4 years she has served in the President's Cabinet as Permanent Representative to the United Nations, where she has addressed issues ranging from economic development to peacekeeping to counternarcotics, and has dealt with conflicts that span the globe.

Under her leadership the United States gained Security Council approval for the United States-led, multinational effort to restore democracy in Haiti, for resolutions condemning human rights violations in countries including Cuba, Sudan, Burma, Nigeria, Iran, and Iraq, and for the establishment of an inspector general to crack down on waste and fraud within the U.N. system. That she accomplished these and many other important goals at a time when the United States was the world's largest debtor to the United Nations, thereby undercutting our influence in that institution, bears witness to her formidable diplomatic skills.

What Ambassador Albright will bring to this position, however, reaches far beyond the qualifications that are listed on her impressive résumé. Her own personal family history of escaping from persecution, first at the hands of the Nazis and subsequently at those of the Communists, has given her a profound understanding of the values and interests at the very heart of U.S. foreign policy. At her hearing, she eloquently reminded us that freedom and democracy can be challenged from both the left and the right of the political spectrum. She told the committee, "It might be said of America that we have no permanent enemies, only permanent principles. Those principles are founded in respect for law, human dignity and freedom, not just for some, but for all people."

Referring to the United States as "the indispensable nation," she challenged us to become "the authors of the history of our age" by seizing the opportunity to meet the demands of a new century.

I think we all agree on the importance of having the President's new foreign policy team in place as quickly as possible, and I am pleased that the Foreign Relations Committee and the full Senate are acting upon this nomination in such an expeditious manner. I understand the Armed Services Committee is also moving expeditiously to consider the nomination of our former colleague, Senator William Cohen, to be Secretary of Defense. We have before us a full and pressing agenda: the ratification of the Chemical Weapons

Convention and budgeting adequate resources for the effective conduct of our foreign policy, to mention only two. Ambassador Albright's confirmation hearing proved to all of us President Clinton's insight in selecting her for this significant and weighty assignment. He chose her for her demonstrated competence, her broad range of experience, for her consistently sound advice, and her exceptional ability to explain international issues to Americans while conveying U.S. policies and principles to the world.

I believe that Madeleine Albright is eminently qualified to become Secretary of State. I urge my colleagues to join with me in approving her nomination.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I am pleased to rise in support of Ambassador Albright's nomination as Secretary of State. I am confident she will serve our national security interests with distinction.

While she has managed a broad portfolio in her capacity as our Ambassador to the United Nations, there are two issues where I have had occasion to work closely with her and have been particularly impressed with her views and commitment.

On Burma, Ambassador Albright has consistently delivered a tough message to the ruling junta: We expect improvements on human rights, we expect a serious effort to be made to combat the scourge of narcotics trafficking.

She has recognized that the key to progress in both areas is to restore democracy to Burma.

To the supporters of Aung San Suu Kyi and her legitimately elected Government of Burma, robbed of their victory in 1991, Albright has been the sole voice of support and hope in this administration.

Following the International Conference on Women in Beijing, she traveled to Rangoon and met with Aung San Suu Kyi.

This may not seem to be exceptional, but Ambassador Albright is the only senior official in the administration to meet with Aung San Suu Kyi and has been alone yet unflinching in her outspoken support for the advancement of Burma's freedom from the thugs who currently rule.

A few weeks ago, after several hundred students and citizens were arrested for calling for political change, Ambassador Albright spoke out forcefully and in clear terms at the United Nations that this oppression must come to an end.

Last year, during consideration of the foreign operations bill, we included language which established criteria for imposing economic sanctions against SLORC.

Specifically, we required sanctions be applied if there was large scale repression against the opposition or if any action was taken to harm or rearrest Aung San Suu Kyi.

Since the bill passed, the administration continues to be in a holding pat-

tern claiming our policy is under review, a review which has been going on for several years.

In the meantime, more than 500 people have been arrested when Aung San Suu Kyi ventured from her compound several weeks ago, her car was stoned and smashed by thugs as SLORC police looked on. Since then she has been under undeclared house arrest.

Given her past support I am hopeful Ambassador Albright will finally take the necessary steps to position this administration squarely in support of democracy and its most eloquent, dignified advocate Aung San Suu Kyi.

Let me comment briefly on one other area where I believe Ambassador Albright has already made a difference.

During the administration's recent consideration of the level of support for the foreign affairs account she has been unflinching and unapologetic about the need to provide adequate resources to administer American foreign policy and assistance programs.

I share her view that we have reached a crisis point—we cannot afford to compromise our financial support for our embassies and programs abroad based on a misguided notion that further reductions will actually make a difference in balancing the budget.

The 150 account is already less than 1 percent of Federal spending—further cuts will not make any meaningful contribution to controlling our budget deficit and, in fact may actually make it worse.

Cutting back on America's presence overseas has a direct impact on American commercial interests—without export promotion programs to launch and support them in critical but risky new markets, American business men will lose long term access and share—and as we all know, exports are the key to both American income and 11 million jobs.

It's not just our economy that is affected, our presence abroad has a direct affect on protecting our interests in combating terrorism and narcotics trafficking, direct threats to our communities and families.

American leadership has paid a premium in peace and prosperity but it comes at a price. Madeleine Albright has courageously and clearly defended the importance of making that down payment.

I am confident that she will bring the same frank, smart, and tough approach to her new responsibilities that we have seen her exercise in her current position.

I ask unanimous consent that Ambassador Albright's statement at the United Nations be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN BURMA, DECEMBER 12, 1996

The United States strongly supports this resolution on the human rights situation in

Burma, and I congratulate my colleagues from Sweden for the skill and commitment with which they authored and gained agreement to it.

This resolution reflects the consensus view of the members of the United Nations, a view premised on the ideals of the UN Charter and the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It reflects the hard-earned wisdom of the international community that every government of every society should be held to certain minimum standards of respect for the rights and freedoms of its own people.

Regrettably, the current government of Burma is not meeting these minimum standards. It has subjected democratic forces to a kind of rolling repression in which small steps forward alternate with crackdowns and episodes of intimidation and violence.

The Burmese authorities, known as the SLORC, have refused to enter into a meaningful dialogue with the leader of the National League for Democracy, Aung San Suu Kyi, or with other democratic leaders and representatives of the major ethnic groups. They have continued to deny to their citizens the fundamental political freedoms of expression and assembly. And they have engaged in torture, forced labor, forced relocations and summary executions.

It is increasingly clear that the failure of Burmese authorities to respect civil and human rights is causing unrest within the country.

Recent student demonstrations, although non-political in nature, have been harshly repressed. The Government has periodically curtailed the right of Aung San Suu Kyi to address her supporters in public and even to leave her home. Last November, her motorcade was attacked by a mob that could only have acted with official authority and blessing. As we speak, the restrictions on her movements and activities are the most severe since her release from "house arrest" in July, 1995.

Although the SLORC professes a desire to move Burma in the direction of democracy, it has not done so. The Constitutional Convention it established to create the illusion of a national political dialogue is a sham—fully controlled and orchestrated by the government. As a result, the Convention has been a source not of reconciliation, but of further division.

Finally, the Government of Burma has refused to cooperate with the UN Special Rapporteur and with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

The Burmese authorities would like the world to believe that its harsh policies are necessary in light of Burma's turbulent history and the multi-ethnic nature of Burmese society. But as the Resolution approved today shows, the world does not accept that excuse. The right of people to participate freely in a democratic political process is an ally—not an enemy—to national unity and social peace.

Experience tells us that the kind of stability that may be achieved through repression is sterile, superficial and temporary. It is a stability maintained by fear, in which the human resources of a society are held back and beaten down.

Lasting stability, economic prosperity and a rich cultural life come when people are free to make use of their full talents and abilities. A society blossoms when those who govern respect those who are governed, and when the people have confidence in those they have chosen to make and enforce their laws.

For Burma, the path to that kind of future is outlined in this resolution.

In it, we call upon the government to cease abusing human rights, to empty their cells

of those detained for political reasons, to permit UN representatives to visit; and to begin a genuine dialogue with democratic and ethnic leaders.

The more time elapses before these steps are taken, the more the pressure will build, the more divided Burma will become, and the more difficult it will be for Burma to achieve a peaceful transition to democratic rule.

The international community would like to see Burma develop into a stable, prosperous and democratic society. We would like to remove Burma from the list of nations about which we annually express concern.

But as long as repression remains the government's chosen means of conducting business with its own people, we will continue to meet our own responsibility to speak up; and to assert the validity in Burma of the universal and cherished principles by which all nations have agreed to live, and without which, no nation can fulfill its potential.

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise to speak, along with my colleagues, on the good counsel, good decision the President has made in choosing Madeleine Albright. I think it also is appropriate at this time to acknowledge the extraordinary effort and the extraordinary commitment of service that was made by Secretary Christopher during his term as Secretary of State. He was a patient and tireless pursuer of peace around the world. I may not have agreed with all his policies, but certainly in a number of areas his successes are considerable and I point specifically to the Mideast.

Equally important, he was an individual totally committed to raising up the standard of living and of support for members of his team, his Foreign Service team and their families, something I am also committed to, that, as chairman of the appropriations committee which has jurisdiction over the State Department, I feel very strongly we must continue to pursue. So I congratulate him on his efforts.

Ambassador Albright is someone I have had a chance to work with, relative to her time at the United Nations. I know she will bring to the office of Secretary of State a great deal of integrity and a great deal of energy. Of course she has a unique personal background that I think will be a tremendous asset to the President, as he and she develop international policy.

But, as we address the issue of Madeleine Albright's nomination I think we need to go beyond the person. I intend to vote for her and vote with enthusiasm for her, but I do believe very strongly that we need to raise the issue of policy, as to how this administration is pursuing the decisions of foreign policy in a number of arenas because there are some problems and I have significant reservations, as I know many of my colleagues do. I know there has been some discussion on the issue of Bosnia, and the question as to how the administration acted and is going to continue to act there, the fact that basically neither the Congress nor the American people were told fully of the

policies there, and in fact were really misled as to the decisions that were made there, as to the removal of American troops. But rather than focusing on that issue, that I know some of my colleagues were talking about, I want to focus on two other issues I think are critical and about which this administration's policies need to be reviewed with considerable intensity.

The first issue is how we deal with the United Nations. It is my understanding the administration will be sending up a supplemental request or some other form of request for an appropriation to fully fund the arrearages that are due to the United Nations. I happen to be a supporter of the United Nations, its goals and purposes. But I also am realistic enough to know that body has not functioned very effectively and that body has spent a lot of money ineffectively and has had a significant track record of patronage, of misuse of funds, and in some instances of actual abusive use of funds.

The question becomes how should we pay these arrearages? Should we just do it in a carte blanche manner or just do it in an orderly manner that allows the United States to assert financial interests of the integrity within the institution, of its management of day-to-day operation, and of its delivery of services? To date we have not had a great deal of success in that area. There has been a lot of talk about it. The United Nations has claimed that it is now funding a no-growth budget, something which is very suspect even though the State Department has certified it. It is very suspect because there are \$154 million worth of reductions in spending which they claim they are going to make, but which have not been identified. Yet we see the State Department accepting them at face value, which is something I think this Congress should have a great deal of problems doing for any American agency.

In addition, we hear the United Nations is aggressively pursuing reform within itself. But that reform does not seem to be broad. It also does not seem to be willing to be subject to significant review. An inspector general has been appointed, but that inspector general's portfolio has been significantly limited.

We, as a Congress, have also been significantly circumscribed in our ability to determine how the dollars are being spent.

Why is it important that we look at this? Well, because 25 cents of every dollar that the United Nations spends comes from the American taxpayer, and we have to go back to our constituents and say those dollars are being spent effectively.

I personally have no problem funding the United Nations at a level that is reasonable, but I do have a great deal of problem funding some group of individuals simply sitting at a desk who got those jobs out of patronage or because they happened to know some-

body or related to somebody and are not pursuing and accomplishing a great deal, either to the benefit of the United Nations or the world. Yet, there appears to be a significant amount of that going on.

I had one U.N. spokesperson say to me, "But we have 290 countries looking over our shoulders making sure every cent is spent appropriately." The fact is, just a few nations are actually paying for the spending. Most of the nations that participate in the United Nations either contribute very little or, in some cases, nothing to general coffers, and they are not looking over their shoulders to determine how the money is being spent effectively. In many instances, they are looking over the shoulders to see how much money they can get spent on them.

So, really, it is the United States role in the exercise of reviewing the United Nations that we be much more aggressive in financial review and management of that institution.

This is something I do not think this administration has pursued aggressively enough. Ambassador Albright, to her credit, tried to pursue it aggressively, but I think that once we take off the lever of the arrearages issue and simply sign a blank check for arrearages, we lose our capacity to effectively pursue United Nations reform in its own house, and that is something that I will be very resistant to doing.

I believe Congress should put a strong fence around any funds for the United Nations, and before those moneys can be spent for arrearages, there must be a hard account—a hard account—of how the reforms have occurred and whether or not they are going to be effective.

Second, this administration's actions in the area of terrorism, which is a core issue of foreign policy—in fact, there is no greater threat to this country today than the act of a terrorist, either orchestrated by a foreign power or orchestrated by an international group of individuals directed at our country—there is no greater threat to our country today.

We came out of the cold war where the threat was two nations confronting each other with nuclear armament into a world where we have innumerable factions around the world who, for whatever reasons—whether they are religious, whether they are personal, whether they are just economic—have decided to make the United States the target of their concerns and, in many instances, these are fanatics.

We, as a nation, must be much more aggressive in addressing the issue of terrorism. To do this, we have to have a coordinated effort that starts with the President and involves the core agencies at the Federal level, including the State Department, the CIA, the Defense Department and the Justice Department, and especially the FBI in the Justice Department.

I have been concerned and have spoken on this floor a number of instances

about the fact that although we have leadership in those Departments who have raised the issue of terrorism to a high standard within their Departments, and although those leaders talk to each other—Secretary Christopher was aggressive in talking to other agency heads, the Defense Department, CIA, and Justice—we do not yet have in place a systematic process for pushing down through the agencies the cooperation which is necessary in order to have a coordinated effort. In fact, we still have in the field significant resistance from the State Department to FBI agents being placed overseas for the basic purpose of law enforcement, and we have a real lack of communication, in many instances, between the FBI, CIA, and the field people who do the work for the State Department.

Until we put in place a systematic process of developing information and getting it back to a central group in this country who can use that information effectively, we will be continuing to blind ourselves as a nation as to the threat of terrorism and our ability to respond to it.

This has to come from the top. It has to come from the President. The President has to have the leadership of the agencies sit with him on a regular basis and develop a plan which is then communicated down through the various levels of the different Departments. But it has not occurred yet. To be honest, I do not think there is a sense of urgency expressed yet within this administration to do that. So, once again, I have a strong concern and hope that they will take this issue on.

So those are two public policy issues which I think this administration has yet to adequately address, and I hope the new Secretary of State, Ambassador Albright, will pursue them. They are put on the table by myself as a matter of a caveat item of concern that, as chairman of the committee which has jurisdiction over the State Department and the Justice Department, I intend to continue to push and to which I hope this administration will respond.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. KERRY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I rise to strongly support the nomination of Madeleine Albright to be Secretary of State. I thank the majority leader for moving so rapidly to schedule both this debate as well as the vote.

I believe the overwhelming vote—probably unanimous—in favor of Madeleine Albright is going to properly reflect the confidence and esteem in which she is held by the U.S. Senate.

I think the President should be greatly commended for this nomina-

tion. Obviously, he has chosen not only someone who is eminently qualified to be Secretary of State, but he has made a wonderful statement to the world about the possibilities in the United States of America. It is something we often talk about, but Madeleine Albright will be a living example, an Ambassador, even as Secretary of State, of the opportunities in this country for an immigrant as well as for women. I think all of us should be very proud of that.

She brings a remarkable amount of knowledge and practical experience to this job. She is an academic with recognized expertise in the politics and policies of Russia, Central and Eastern Europe.

During her tenure as our representative at the United Nations, she has shown herself to be a remarkably forceful and effective diplomat. Of particular importance to us here, she understands the Hill, she understands the Congress, she understands the constitutional prerogatives thereof, and she has worked as well with the executive branch as she has with the legislative branch of our Government.

During her 4 years at the United Nations, she established an impressive record of accomplishments on behalf of our country. Thanks to her determination, the United States was able to hold the line on U.N. sanctions against Libya and Iraq and to gain the Security Council's approval for the United States-led multinational effort to restore democracy in Haiti, an effort, I might comment, met with significant resistance in this country, that represented both a gutsy, courageous decision and one which has made an enormous difference, ultimately, for the people of Haiti and, I think, also, one might say, to our country because of what we accomplished and also because of the practical things that we avoided with respect to the forced immigration and difficulties we were facing with refugees coming to Florida.

In addition to that, her very strong personal advocacy led to the establishment of the War Crimes Tribunal for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia and for the fulfillment, really, of Eleanor Roosevelt's proposal for the establishment of a new position, the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

In the very difficult area of U.N. reform and management, which is an area Senator GREGG referred to, and other Senators have expressed a great deal of concern about, particularly those of us on the Foreign Relations Committee, Ambassador Albright's determined and personal efforts have led to the establishment of an inspector general, the adoption for the first time in history of a no-growth budget. As suspect as Senator GREGG says some of the promises may be, it is in place and I believe we are in a position to help leverage that now for the first time, and also, most important, the election of a new Secretary General who understands the paramount need for continued reform.

Those of us who know Ambassador Albright were not at all surprised by her deft handling of the nomination process itself, the way in which she impressed both the public and the Senators who were part of that confirmation process earlier this month.

As the former chairman and now ranking member of the International Operations Subcommittee, I was particularly pleased that Ambassador Albright shares my concern about two important issues. They are not the only things we share, but two that I want to just spend a moment on.

One is the need to ensure that the State Department has adequate resources to conduct our diplomacy in this increasingly complex world. I think it is vital for us in the Congress not to balance the budget of the United States on the great international interests we have, to nickel and dime many of those vital interests as we go forward in this far more complex world.

Many of my colleagues spend a lot of time extolling the virtues of the end of the cold war, and well we should. But the end of the cold war does not mean the end of the need for personal diplomacy or for vigilance or for American presence. I would respectfully submit that it means the need for more, not less. And the new kind of conflicts that we see, conflicts that emerge out of nationalism, out of fundamentalism, the problems of terrorism and working on treaties and various agreements, and legal agreements to exchange law enforcement and information, all of these things really demand more personal diplomacy than ever before.

Indeed, the extraordinary confrontations we face internationally on issues of resource allocation, refugees, human rights require the United States of America, the preeminent leader on these issues in the world, to be able to make our presence felt.

Mr. President, that means people talking to people. It does not mean closing every mission or closing every outpost in the world. It frankly means a greater presence, not a lesser presence. I believe that that will return to us in so many hundreds of thousands of ways, some of them immeasurable, but most of them measurable, that it is well worth the investment of this country.

The second area, I believe, is the importance of developing a multilateral strategy to combat the increasing threats positioned by international crime. Without such a strategy, we will find ourselves increasingly threatened in the face of a growing global criminal network that tears at the fabric of our society and jeopardizes our relationships with other nations.

In the coming months we have to address a host of important issues in the Senate: arms control and foreign policy issues, including the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Nuclear Safety Convention, the future of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the U.N. funding

and reform, and the question of resources for international affairs, agencies and programs. So I look forward to working with the new Secretary of State on those issues.

Mr. President, many of us have had the honor of working with Ambassador Albright for the last 4 years. We know she has a remarkable grasp of the issues that we face and a determination to confront the challenges. We should remember that she brings a very important additional quality to this job—it is a special quality, and I think particularly important in this time—and that is the ability to connect with the American people and to help define to the American people the complexities of our interests in foreign policy and to do so in a way that all Americans can understand and appreciate.

When we visited in my office prior to her confirmation hearing, Ambassador Albright said to me that her first objective was to make the American people understand what we are trying to accomplish, how we are trying to accomplish it, and their stake in what we are trying to accomplish in their name. Like any smart politician, she understands that no foreign policy can be successful ultimately without the support of the American people. I am confident that she will engender that support in her new role as Secretary of State.

So today we have an opportunity to help make history in the U.S. Senate by confirming a remarkably talented person who happens to also be a woman as the next Secretary of State. I am pleased to cast my vote along with others for Madeleine Albright. I know she will undertake her new job with great thoughtfulness and creativity and with a zest that will make us proud.

I reserve the remainder of time for our side of the aisle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. ASHCROFT addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

Mr. ASHCROFT. Thank you very much. I thank the Senator from North Carolina for this opportunity to speak.

I am delighted to have an opportunity to participate in the discussion of the confirmation of the President's choice for Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright.

Generally, Mr. President, I respect the Executive's prerogative to choose Cabinet officers whom the President believes will faithfully and diligently execute the Administration's policies. However, in our federal system, the Senate plays an important role in the confirmation process through the constitutionally granted power to "advise and consent." It is this duty—the duty to advise and to grant consent—which brings me before you today, for I have grave concerns regarding the conduct of U.S. foreign policy under the Clinton administration.

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, I had the privilege

and the responsibility to question Ambassador Albright concerning her strategic vision for the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. Ambassador Albright is a capable and forceful advocate of the Clinton administration's agenda. I am confident that she will serve the President with honor and distinction. Unfortunately, I am equally confident that Ambassador Albright will continue to promote the same misguided Clinton foreign policy that we have had for the past 4 years.

We need our foreign relations to be conducted at the highest level of integration and coordination, and the highest level of representation of the sovereign interests of this country and the American people. We must ensure that our influence is used to advance the national interest and to ensure respect for American leadership abroad. National prestige is reinforced and enhanced when we operate with a coherent, concise, and understandable foreign policy. As the world's only remaining superpower—we must enhance our capacity to deliver military, economic, and moral leadership with clarity.

To date, the Clinton administration has reacted to foreign policy developments, but has failed to develop a foreign policy. The administration has lurching from managing one crisis to another, but never articulated the national interest in accordance with a core philosophy. Instead of consistently safeguarding and promoting our values abroad, the Clinton administration has acted on an ad hoc basis according to the exigencies of the moment, confusing our allies and emboldening rogue nations. China was emboldened to conduct missile tests off the coast of Taiwan; North Korea was emboldened to further the development of their nuclear weapons capabilities; Saddam Hussein was emboldened to strengthen his position in northern Iraq.

Mr. President, in her confirmation hearing Madeleine Albright said, quoting the President of the United States, "Where our interests are clear, our values are at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must act and we must lead." This formula for deploying American forces is one which is so broad and so vague that it sends signals which might confuse other players in the international arena.

"Where our interests are clear"—I suppose we could have an interest anywhere—and "where our values are at stake"—I am sure the values we hold dear are at stake in every situation around the world—and "where we can make a difference." Well, the truth of the matter is, no one would think that we would send our troops where we could not make a difference.

I remain concerned that if we deploy troops in too many instances just because there are interests and there are values at stake and we can make a difference, there may come a time when our troops will be so occupied that

they will not be available to protect strategic national interests where we must make a difference.

It is important that we ask the Secretary of State-designate and this administration for a well-defined set of guidelines for how we deploy the strength of the United States around the world. The absence of such a policy, I think, could be disastrous in terms of our own interests and could be confusing and send the wrong signals to the international community. In that respect I send to the desk for inclusion in the RECORD an editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 13, 1997, regarding this matter and the hearing and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATECRAFT—AFTER MADELEINE ALBRIGHT SKATES TO CONFIRMATION, IT'LL BE PERFORMANCE, NOT RHETORIC, THAT COUNTS

During her confirmation hearings for secretary of state last week, Madeleine Albright was asked when America should intervene abroad.

She quoted a high-sounding but vague statement by President Clinton: "Where our interests are clear, our values are at stake, and where we can make a difference, we must act and we must lead."

Sen. John Ascroft, a Missouri Republican, asked with understandable perplexity, "How do we set those priorities? Are there ever times where we don't act where we could make a difference because we need to reserve our capacity to act where we *must* make a difference?"

Mrs. Albright, who served in Clinton's first term as ambassador to the United Nations, replied that such choices are policymakers' most difficult task. But that is precisely the mountain she must move if the Clinton foreign policy is to gain coherence. As Americans struggle to find the line between isolationism and global gendarme, Mrs. Albright still hasn't clarified where she stands.

Her confirmation hearing was a lovefest, in part because she charmed conservatives by bashing Cuba and former United Nations chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in part because she will be the first woman to hold such high office. But she didn't resolve the contradictions in her political and diplomatic track record of interventionism.

As a child of refugees from Hitler and Soviet communism, Mrs. Albright says her thinking was molded by Munich rather than Vietnam (that is, she sees U.S. intervention as good, not evil). But it has often seemed her litmus test for U.S. intervention was more a hope of doing good, than a pursuit of vital U.S. interests.

On taking her U.N. post, Mrs. Albright called for "assertive multilateralism," meaning America should lead, but work through international organizations like the United Nations. But she dropped that idea after the U.N. and American peacekeeping debacle in Somalia (for which she bears much responsibility).

Now Mrs. Albright talks about a pragmatic "doability doctrine." She said America isn't the world's policeman. But she never answered Sen. Ascroft's question.

The lack of clues to an Albright doctrine wouldn't be so worrisome had she demonstrated a firmer grip of strategy over the past four years. Instead, she became known more as the queen of the TV sound bite, coining punchy foreign policy phrases to

compensate for the taciturn Warren Christopher. Pundits praise her "passionate" approach, but in her new job it will be strategy and performance that count, not rhetoric. Perhaps she can avoid her boss' history of confusing the two.

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, during her confirmation hearing Ambassador Albright stated that "we are not the world's policeman, nor, . . . are we running a charity or a fire department." However, she failed to recognize that the combination of her so-called "assertive multilateralism" and a "do-ability doctrine"—whereby the United States acts "in the places where our addition of action will, in fact, be the critical difference"—places the United States, as a practical matter in the position of being the world's policeman, of running a charity or a fire department.

For the past 4 years, the pursuit of the United States' national interests has been obscured by an overriding reliance on multilateral action. The administration's embrace of 'assertive multilateralism' has resulted in both the abdication of our responsibilities and the misguided projection of our power. For example, instead of applying the Reagan Doctrine to Bosnia by equipping and training the Bosnian forces in spite of our allies' objections, the Clinton administration subcontracted our role of arming the Bosnians to a terrorist regime in Iran, allowing fundamentalists to gain a foothold in the heart of Europe and thus unnecessarily endangering the lives of U.S. troops. In contrast, the administration's attempt at nation building in Somalia sacrificed the lives of 19 brave Rangers without regard to whether such action advanced our vital national interests. When this administration acts according to the exigencies of the moment instead of according to an underlying philosophy, the country lurches from paralysis to mission creep without regard to the national interest.

Recently, there has been discussion of the possibility of reworking our entire military force structure—which is presently based on the capacity to fight two simultaneous major regional conflicts—in order to enable us to commit U.S. troops to an ever-growing number of multilateral peacekeeping missions. I am concerned that we may sacrifice our vital national security interests in order to be able to participate in peripheral endeavors. We should not be shortsighted. We should not lose sight of what we must do in order to accomplish what we can do. Our military should be used to protect our national security interests, not provide peacekeeping in areas without strategic significance.

We need to continue to very closely monitor the foreign policy of the Clinton administration in terms of the national security interests of the United States. We must be vigilant about the deployment of U.S. troops around the world, including deployments that

might include an attempt to place U.S. troops under the command of individuals who are not U.S. citizens and who do not have the kind of values to which we are committed.

Mr. President, in this era of hegemonic stability, with the proliferation of fissile materials and missile delivery systems to rogue nations we must be constantly vigilant to security threats. We must ensure that adherence to Russia's narrow and one-sided interpretation of the ABM Treaty does not jeopardize the safety of the American people. Russia should not have veto power over developing a defensive system to protect the American people from missile attack. Ambassador Albright supports the administration's goal to develop a theater missile defense system that will protect our allies and our troops abroad—but not to develop a system to protect our own territory and citizens at home in the near term. I find this position to be untenable.

Mr. President, we must not only protect the physical security of the United States and the American people. We must also safeguard our sovereignty—our State and local laws and customs from international review. I am troubled by Ambassador Albright's assertion that "there is no such thing anymore as just a purely domestic issue or a purely foreign issue." She says there are only "intermestic" issues, meaning international and domestic issues combined. I think there are some issues of sovereignty that need to be reserved directly and appropriately, not only to the purview of our country, but to its citizens—to individuals and to families. I am concerned about her support of international treaties which could infringe upon the parental and religious rights Americans now enjoy.

I am concerned that we closely monitor the extent to which the United States from time to time by treaty cedes the sovereignty of the American people to international organizations. Madeleine Albright, the Secretary of State-designate, for instance, signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Britain, which has ratified the treaty, is now being called on the carpet because they allow moderate corporal punishment of children by parents. I simply do not think we need to look to the United Nations or international organizations to tell us whether moderate spanking of children is allowed in the United States. Inasmuch as she was an individual who signed the treaty on behalf of the United States, I think it behooves us, given her commitment to the so-called "intermestic" nature of all issues, that we ask her to be especially careful about the sovereignty of the United States and the prerogatives of individuals in specific States. Ambassador Albright stated that "the promotion and protection of international human rights may require that domestic state and local policies in certain areas be open to international scrutiny. We have no reason to fear it." I would sug-

gest that any threat to our sovereignty, any threat to our State and local laws, any threat to the sanctity of the family, is a reason to be vigilant.

In order to safeguard the national interest, we must reorganize our foreign policy apparatus. This Nation is still saddled with an unwieldy cold war foreign policy bureaucracy in which many of the functions of AID, ACDA, and USIA could be better handled by the State Department. I was hoping that Ambassador Albright would come forward in support of this effort, as did Secretary of State Christopher—however fleetingly. The American people not only want our Government to reflect their wishes abroad, but they want it to do so coherently, concisely, and clearly. If we have a single voice in foreign policy representing the administration, be it Republican or Democrat, that single voice is most likely to get the job done, rather than the cacophony of voices from competing fiefdoms which undercut the authority of the Secretary of State.

For example, currently there is a "good-cop, bad-cop" approach to foreign policy, whereby the entities who hand out U.S. foreign aid maintain good relations with client nations, while the Department of State essentially holds the line in protecting U.S. interests. We should not be handing out foreign aid to a country at a time when that very country is clearly acting against our interests. When we distribute foreign aid, it should be with an understanding that the United States agency or department asking for coordination and cooperation from a country in one arena is the same agency or department that will be delivering assistance to that country.

We must prioritize our expenditures. There are those in this country, like Ambassador Albright, who think that there cannot be any cuts at all in the foreign relations area. The Clinton administration has actually asked for over \$1 billion more in funding over last year's level. Lobbyists for more foreign aid kept trawling the Halls of Congress last year with their buttons saying "Just 1 percent." I just want to point out that the "Just 1 percent" is actually about \$18 billion. Ambassador Albright is convinced that we have made "the most out of that (foreign aid) money." I am not so sanguine. We have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into countries over the years with little effect, because we have not tied that aid to internal changes in many countries which would make that aid meaningful and eventually unnecessary.

I am not in favor of abolishing foreign assistance, but I am in favor of sending a signal around the globe that when American citizens are tightening their belts, and exercising fiscal responsibility, there will be some ripple effects in terms of our aid. We need to send a clear signal that the shared sacrifice here at home should be matched by a certain degree of sacrifice around

the world. There is a direct correlation between the world. There is a direct correlation between our international prestige and the fiscal health of this country. If we do not have the ability to put our financial house in order, we will not be respected by countries around the world. If we continue to race down the road to bankruptcy, our influence will not be substantial. It is my sense that our stock will rise on the exchange of the world's international community, when we demonstrate our intent to address seriously our responsibilities.

However, the United States is not alone in the need to downsize its bureaucracy and eliminate waste. The United Nations must do the same. To her credit, Ambassador Albright has been an outspoken critic of waste, fraud, and abuse in the United Nations. She was instrumental in initiating an oversight process. However, I am disturbed that she supports the payment of arrears by the United States. The Congress withheld those funds in order to exert leverage for reform. Those funds should not be released until there is tangible evidence that those reforms have been enacted as required by Congress.

I am casting my vote for Ambassador Albright with grave reservations. For I want to make clear that my vote for Ambassador Albright to ascend to the position of Secretary of State is not an endorsement of the Clinton administration's foreign policy. As I noted, I take my "advise and consent" responsibilities very seriously. I also take my oversight responsibilities very seriously. I pray that over time, my concerns that we are in store for 4 more years of an ad hoc foreign policy will prove to be unfounded. Ambassador Albright is an honorable, committed, and distinguished public official. She is eminently well qualified to be our 63d Secretary of State. It is a privilege to be able to cast the historic vote for the first woman to be nominated for this office. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, I look forward to working with her in the future to protect America's interests abroad.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I have a housekeeping matter and ask unanimous consent that the time not be charged to either side.

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

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HELMS. Second, Mr. President, following his remarks on the nomination, Senator DODD has requested a couple of minutes in morning business. I ask unanimous consent that that be granted and not charged to either side.

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

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask for 10 minutes.

Mr. BIDEN. How much time does the minority control?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority has 12 minutes 21 seconds.

Mr. DODD. I will make it briefer than that then.

Mr. BIDEN. If the Senator needs 10, go ahead.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, let me thank Senator BIDEN and also my colleague from North Carolina for his understanding. I also thank him and Senator LOTR for the expeditious manner in which this nomination has been treated. Finally, I thank my colleagues on the committee as well, who engaged in a long day of testimony by Madeleine Albright, under an arrangement that allowed us to move this nomination out of our committee on the day of the inauguration. Now, it will allow us to vote here today in the full Senate.

Mr. President, I believe that today's bipartisan cooperation on this nomination will help to forge the kind of working relationship between Republicans and Democrats in the Senate that should make it easier to get the American people's business taken care of here in Washington. I commend the leaders of both sides of the aisle for their efforts in that regard.

To be honest, Mr. President, reaching consensus on this nomination was not difficult at all. That's because the nominee we are considering today is so highly respected by everyone in the U.S. Congress—by Democrats and Republicans, liberals, moderates, and conservatives.

During her nomination hearing on January 8, Ambassador Albright demonstrated a profound understanding of the foreign policy issues confronting the United States as we prepare to enter the 21st century. In her opening statement on that day, she laid out very effectively, in my view, and succinctly why all Americans should care about foreign policy. I would like to quote her:

Do not doubt,—

Speaking of foreign policy interests.

Those interests are not geopolitical abstractions, they are real.

It matters to our children whether they grow up in a world where the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction have been minimized or allowed to run out of control.

It matters to our families whether illegal drugs continue to pour into our neighborhoods from overseas.

It matters to Americans who travel abroad or go about their daily business at home whether the scourge of international terrorism is reduced.

It matters to our workers and business people whether they will be unfairly forced to compete against companies that violate fair labor standards, despoil the environment or gain contracts not through competition but corruption.

And it matters to us all whether through inattention or indifference, we allow small wars to grow into large ones that put our safety and freedom at risk.

Mr. President, I believe that summarizes very well why what happens outside of our borders is important to each and every American.

I know that time is limited and many of my colleagues wish to speak on this

fiscal health of this country. I would like to have the brief points here, if I can. I certainly would not want to allow the time to pass without making some personal observations about Madeleine Albright.

Obviously, Ambassador Albright's nomination is historic for a number of reasons, and those reasons have been outlined by the chairman of the committee, the Senator from North Carolina, as well as others, over the last several hours. She will be the first woman to hold the position of Secretary of State. Without a doubt, Madeleine is eminently qualified to discharge the duties of this office. She has the expertise, academic background, and leadership qualities that will make her an excellent Secretary of State. I may also point out, Mr. President, that Madeleine Albright speaks, I believe, four or five languages fluently—which will be a first, I think, for anyone to ever hold this position—including her native language of Czech, as well as Russian, Polish, French, and obviously English. This will provide an invaluable tool for the United States, to have a Secretary of State with such a proficient ability to communicate with leaders throughout the world.

I have known Ambassador Albright for many years. Our families have been close. My brother, Tom, was a colleague of Madeleine's at Georgetown University for many years, where they both taught.

Madeleine is also no stranger to the Congress and she keenly understands the need to return to a bipartisan consensus on American foreign policy. In fact, Mr. President, if I were asked what is the single-most important foreign policy issue facing this country today, I would say getting the Congress and the legislative branch to work together. I think that is No. 1. Every other issue you can mention is obviously important, but unless we figure out a way to return to a time when there was comity in the foreign policy agenda, it is going to be very difficult to deal with any foreign policy issue.

I happen to think Ambassador Albright is eminently qualified because she knows all of this so well. We have dealt with her, we know of her and her competence, and we have confidence in her. That is a very important step in allowing us to work together on behalf of shared goals. I've heard my chairman speak about this subject matter and I have a great deal of confidence that we are going to have great success under his leadership and the leadership of Ambassador Albright in that regard.

Madeleine has also worked closely with both Chambers over the past 4 years as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. She has been a voice of wisdom and reason at the United Nations during the course of the many debates that have occurred there—on Bosnia, on Iraq, on Haiti, on Cuba, and on the need for institutional reform within that international body.

Why has Madeleine been so effective at representing U.S. interests? Perhaps

because her own life story, which may not be well known to many people, is the epitome of what makes this country great.

Becoming the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations was something of a homecoming for Ambassador Albright. She had, after all, been at the United Nations once before. Madeleine first came to the United States in 1948, at the age of 11, when her father was appointed as the Czech Ambassador to the United Nations.

Little did her family realize at that time that their stay in the United States would be more than the usual ambassadorial rotation. Soon after their arrival, the free Czechoslovakia they had left behind was under the grip of totalitarian rule. It had fallen to the dictatorship of communism.

I happen to know about that so well, because during that very brief time when Czechoslovakia was a free government, my father was fortunate to receive the Order of the White Lion, which was the highest honor that Czechoslovakia could give to a non-Czech, at the end of World War II. We still prize it as one of my father's most memorable moments in his life. So from that relationship, my family got to know Madeleine's family.

It is perhaps because of these unique personal experiences that Ambassador Albright has been such an effective U.S. spokesperson at the United Nations. Whatever the topic, Madeleine is able to speak out passionately—from the heart—about the importance of democracy and respect for human rights across the globe.

Even before going to the United Nations, Ambassador Albright already had a distinguished career of public service and academic achievement. She is a graduate of Wellesley College and Columbia University. She was a fellow at both the Woodrow Wilson Center and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. As I mentioned earlier, she was a professor of international relations at Georgetown University and president of the Center for National Policy.

Her public service is equally distinguished—as a staff member to the late Senator Edmund Muskie, then as a member of the National Security Council in the Carter administration and most recently Ambassador to the United Nations. Mr. President, I believe the same qualities that made her so effective in these positions will make her particularly effective as the next Secretary of State.

Heads of state and foreign ministries around the globe already know that our next Secretary of State is highly respected in the United States and internationally and that she can go toe to toe with the most seasoned diplomats and foreign leaders. But, they should also know that she has the full confidence of both the President and the U.S. Congress.

Mr. President, Madeleine Albright is uniquely qualified, at this moment in

history, to be America's voice abroad. I am confident that she will be a superb Secretary of State and I urge all to join me in supporting her nomination.

I thank our colleague from Delaware and our chairman for moving this along. This is the way we ought to be able to do business around here. I commend him and thank the majority leader, as well.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition today principally to lend my support to the nomination of the Honorable Madeleine Albright to be Secretary of State.

It is a historic and fitting occasion that this will be the first vote in the U.S. Senate in the 105th Congress. I have come to know Ambassador Albright in her work at the United Nations, and have a very high regard for her competency. And I am pleased that the President has made this historic appointment because she is the first woman who will have this very important position.

She has an extraordinary record in academia: president of the Center for National Policy; a professor of international affairs at Georgetown University; a senior fellow in Soviet and Eastern European affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; served on the National Security Council staff; has excellent academic credentials from Wellesley; also a masters and doctorate from Columbia University; and, perhaps most importantly is a graduate of the Senate family, having served as chief legislative assistant to Senator Edmund Muskie.

I had occasion to work with Ambassador Albright on a number of matters. One of the most important was working with her on the War Crimes Tribunal, where the United States has played an active role in bringing to justice the international criminals from Bosnia and Rwanda. She accompanied me in a meeting which I had several years ago with then Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and there has been really good cooperation from the U.S. Government on that important matter. I have had an occasion to visit the War Crimes Tribunal on two occasions; to visit with our staff there, and also the judges. She has played a very important role in promoting the War Crimes Tribunal.

It is my hope that Secretary of State Albright will pursue an activist foreign policy and will lend the prestige and the power of the United States to solve complex international problems, one which I refer to—and only one for the brevity of time—which involves the efforts to bring conciliation between the Governments of India and Pakistan.

About a year and a half ago Senator Brown and I were traveling in India and met with Prime Minister Gowda, who commented about his interest in having the subcontinent nuclear free. We then discussed the matter with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan. The ministers of those two

countries have not met. Senator Brown and I wrote to the President urging that he invite them to the Oval Office.

I mention that only as an illustration of what I am hopeful Secretary of State Albright will activate on U.S. policy.

I think it is important for the United States to remain active internationally. She has an extraordinary background having been born in Czechoslovakia and having come to this country at the age of 11, and is also known to be fluent in four languages.

So I am pleased to lend my support to her nomination today.

Ms. MIKULSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Ms. MIKULSKI. I thank the Chair.

Today, indeed, is a historic day. We gather on the Senate floor to be presented both to ourselves and the American people the nomination of Dr. Madeleine Albright to be Secretary of State—Madeleine Albright, the very first woman to be nominated Secretary of State; Madeleine Albright, the very first refugee to be nominated Secretary of State.

What a wonderful, historic opportunity we have to confirm her nomination and to make history as well as to help carry out President Bill Clinton's foreign policy, to make the world a better and safer place.

I know Dr. Albright well. We have been friends and colleagues for many years, and I am so enthusiastic about her nomination because of her skills, her experience, her character, her values. She is a woman of honor, integrity and extraordinary patriotism.

As President Clinton was making his decision, I called him. I called him to urge that he consider Dr. Albright. I said there are three important reasons why I felt Madeleine Albright is the best person to serve as Secretary of State in this new millennium. First, she is a woman of great competence in the area of foreign policy and demonstrated skills in that area as our Ambassador to the United Nations.

Second, her remarkable personal history is the story of America.

And third, she has a great and unusual ability to communicate our foreign policy to the American people and to the world.

First, she would bring great competency and experience to the post. Foreign policy is her life's work and her life's passion. In addition to her dazzling intellectual ability and scholarship, Ambassador Albright has diplomatic skills and the understanding of what this new world order is all about.

She has a proven record. As our Ambassador to the United Nations, she showed brains and backbone asserting U.S. policy. We do not need to question whether she can deal with China, different cultures or with dictators. She has already done it. She is respected by our allies and by our foes. She has proven that she is firm, fair, and tenacious.

For the past 4 years, she has defended our values and interests at the United Nations, and she has done more to bring fiscal responsibility to the United Nations. She stood up to dictators and stood by our friends.

As Secretary of State, Ambassador Albright will do something else. She will bring a story of America to people from the old world order as well as the new and emerging one. I discussed with President Clinton her personal story, that she is the daughter of the last Ambassador from a free Czechoslovakia until the end of the cold war. While her father was in this country, Czechoslovakia fell to a dictatorship. He defected so that he could serve Czechoslovakia by being a good American and by being a spokesman in this area. She comes from a history and tradition where patriots are willing to make sacrifices. She knows what it means to lose a home to dictatorship and therefore she reaches out to others who experience the same pain. She will understand those who labor tirelessly in exile to reclaim their freedom, and will support them.

And, as new immigrants, Madeleine Albright and her family used America's great opportunity structure so they could rebuild their lives, based on opportunity, merit, and hard work. Where else in the world could a refugee rise to become the highest ranking woman in our history?

She has also been involved in the social movements of our time, whether the civil rights movement or the women's movement, or those social movements that help create a democracy. The world is not just transformed by treaty and law, but cultural and social transformations often occur through democratic social movements, institutionalized in a positive way. And Albright will do that.

As a child whose family fled from Europe as the Iron Curtain was raised and slammed down on the people of Central Europe, she stood up. She knows what this is all about. As a member of an immigrant family making a start in a new country, she will work to ensure that our foreign aid is used to foster opportunity around the world.

Mr. President, the third reason Ambassador Albright will be an extraordinary Secretary of State is she has an unusual talent for communication. She has already demonstrated her capacity to articulate the President's policy and agenda, not only to the world, but also to the American people. She will enable people to understand our American policies. This is essential to mobilize support for these policies, both at home and abroad. Even if our policies are not supported, they should be understood and respected. No one does a better job of explaining American foreign policy to the American people than Madeleine Albright. Most people are understandably concerned about their jobs, their children, their security. It is a lot to ask them to focus on Bosnia, Haiti, Chechnya, human rights,

China. And after paying billions of dollars to win the cold war, many Americans wonder why we must continue that burden of leadership.

We cannot solve every problem in the world and we should not try. But we must act where we can make a difference, where American values and interests are at stake. With Dr. Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State, we will continue to have a foreign policy that reflects our values, that serves our interests, in consultation with Congress, and with mobilized American support.

Mr. President, let me conclude by saying this. There is an added bonus to Dr. Madeleine Albright's nomination. The Senate is about to confirm this highest ranking woman in American history. As the first woman elected by my own party to serve in her own right, and as the senior woman in the Senate, I must say this is truly a historic occasion. This is a moment for all of us to take pride in, in the opportunity and fairness of our country.

Mr. President, the American people will not have to worry about Madeleine Albright's service. When she was nominated, she said this to her daughters, "When you were little girls I often used to worry where you were and what you are doing. Now you will wonder where your mother is and what she is doing."

But, you know, the American people will not have to worry. Whether it is in Cyprus, Singapore, China, she will be defending American values and interests. She will be one of the best Secretaries of State we have ever had.

Mr. President, that concludes my remarks. I would like to extend my appreciation to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee for the way he conducted the hearing and the nomination process, with the fairness and civility and the expeditious way he does it.

I, and I know Dr. Albright and her entire family who support her, appreciate the courtesy and expeditious nature in which the distinguished Senator from North Carolina has dealt with this.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I am pleased to rise in support of the nomination of Madeleine K. Albright to be Secretary of State. We stand at the end of a century of European conflict: two world wars followed by a cold war. In the wake of this hundred years' war it is hugely important that the President has nominated a woman, born in Europe amidst this turmoil, to be his Secretary of State to lead us into the next century.

The first point I would like to make, a point that deserves to be stressed by every Senator, is that when Ambassador Albright is confirmed, she will become the 64th Secretary of State, and the first woman ever to hold that office. No woman has ever held a higher office in the executive branch. I congratulate both the President and his

distinguished nominee on this milestone.

Ambassador Albright came to the United States at the age of 11, having experienced herself the realities of this hundred years' war. Most recently she comes to us from Turtle Bay, NY, where she has served as our Permanent Representative to the United Nations. As the only Ambassador-Senator, and having served in the same post at the United Nations, I feel it incumbent upon me to inform my colleagues that for her to have endured 4 years of mind-numbing addresses at the United Nations is no small feat.

As Ambassador, she has earned the respect of many. Not the least of which are the editors of the *New Republic* who wrote in a December 30, 1996, editorial:

The good news about Albright, in sum, is that she is a creature of the twentieth century. For this reason, she understands how appallingly similar to this century the next century is likely to be. A person whose primal scene was Nazism and then Stalinism is not likely to get drunk on talk of a new millennium. She is likely to know, rather, that evil is never permanently retired, and certainly not by technological change. Albright recognized early that the most pressing order of business for Clinton's foreign policy in its first term was not protectionism, it was genocide. And a person whose primal scene was not Vietnam will know that there is only one way to stop genocide, and this is the harsh, airborne way.

As I said at the beginning of my remarks, we find ourselves at the end of a century of conflict. We began the century trying to stay out of the affairs of Europe. That lasted only through Wilson's first term. Now we end the century having played a pivotal role in the events which shaped it. This is an occasion on which we recall the great hopes that Franklin D. Roosevelt had for the United Nations. We can now use the fruit of our century-long labors, most importantly the United Nations Charter, to realize the hopes of Roosevelt, Truman, Marshall, and Acheson.

Nowhere is the importance of the Charter more pronounced than in Bosnia. I have spoken in this chamber many times on the subject of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Had we invoked the charter early in the conflict and its provision for demonstrations under article 42, by "air, sea, or land forces, [to] restore international peace and security," much of the genocide that followed could have been prevented. We had the tools, but waited too long to use them.

The Bosnian conflict is far from over. Though the Dayton agreement and NATO forces have achieved relative stability over the past 13 months, there are still many important issues to be resolved.

None is more important, or pressing, than the work of the International Criminal Tribunal. Today 75 persons have been indicted for war crimes. It is appalling to report that 68 of them remain at large. Not because they cannot be found, but because pressure has not

been brought to bear on countries to deliver indicted war criminals to The Hague.

This is an issue that cannot afford delay. I would ask the Secretary-designate to seek to address this important problem at the earliest possible date. She has made such a pledge during her testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee and I look forward to working with her to achieve these goals.

I say this with the deepest respect for Ambassador Albright, who, having spent 4 years at the United Nations, is keenly aware of the importance of these issues. I wish her well on her historic appointment.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I believe that most Americans realize the world in which we live has changed dramatically over the last decade. The world which had been divided into two hostile yet stable camps since the end of World War II entered a new era when the Soviet Union ceased to exist. When the Berlin Wall fell the divide between the East and West did as well, and we entered a new era.

Today, democracy is spreading around the globe and our international priorities which once focused on strategic arms reduction treaties can now focus on other issues such as improving relations with democratic countries in South America, Asia, and Eastern Europe that have burgeoning market economies.

These tremendous changes, however, come hand in hand with new challenges. Fighting international terrorism and crime is important to law abiding citizens everywhere. Fighting international drug traffickers is of particular importance to the citizens of New Mexico since approximately 70 percent of all illegal drugs entering the United States comes across our southern border with Mexico.

Helping Russia emerge as a stable democracy with a growing economy is, also, very important. A strong, democratic Russia would be a stabilizing influence in Asia and could help prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In fact, the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico is already working with Russia to safeguard its nuclear weapons and ensure that nuclear materials do not fall into the wrong hands.

Another important challenge is helping China emerge as a peaceful, responsible world power. A friendly China with its strong economic growth, huge population, and vast resources would be both a valuable partner in trade and a valuable ally in Asia. An aggressive China, however, could become a destabilizing influence in a region that is vital to our national interests.

The United States faces a number of other important international challenges. Among them are: arriving at an agreeable method to allow Eastern European and central Asian countries to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], resolving the dispute

between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus, finding a lasting political solution to the problems of the Korean Peninsula, and securing the peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina and bringing the young men and women of the United States armed services home safely.

With all of the changes of the last decade, one might view the world as unstable. In fact, facing such a list of daunting tasks, one might consider these challenges insurmountable. I view them as an opportunity.

With strong leadership, and clearly defined and consistent international policies, the post-cold-war era could be one of even greater American prosperity. I believe Madeleine Albright, as Secretary of State, will provide such leadership.

Madeleine Albright spent 2 years working here, in the U.S. Senate, when she served as chief legislative assistant to Senator Muskie from 1976 to 1978. Her intelligence and competence were recognized when, in 1978, she moved to the National Security Council and the White House to handle foreign policy legislation. Many foreign policy professionals might consider being on the National Security Council the pinnacle of a career, but Madeleine Albright was just getting started. In 1981 she was awarded a fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian. She became a professor of international affairs, and the director of the women in foreign service program at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown. She served as president of the Center for National Policy. In 1993, she was appointed U.S. Representative to the United Nations, and made a member of President Clinton's Cabinet.

Madeleine Albright is living proof of the American dream. Having fled Czechoslovakia and both the Nazis and Communists, Madeleine Albright came to the United States, studied hard, worked hard, and has now been nominated for the office of United States Secretary of State. Madeleine Albright, once a persecuted immigrant, is now the first woman in United States history to be nominated to the highest office in the State Department. Not since Margaret Thatcher governed Britain has a woman occupied a position on such a scale of international influence. As Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright will negotiate with the world's most powerful leaders.

Mr. President, Madeleine Albright has done a superb job as Ambassador to the United Nations. She has worked to make the United Nations more efficient and more responsive to U.S. interests. She prevailed in urging the NATO bombing in Bosnia, which she argues eventually led to the Dayton Peace Accord last year. She condemned Cuba when it shot down two unarmed civilian airplanes over international air space. She has fought for the freedom and the rights of people around the world. For these reasons and others, I believe Madeleine Albright will

provide the strong leadership necessary make the post-cold-war era one of opportunity, cooperation, and American leadership. It is my honor to support Madeleine Albright for the position of U.S. Secretary of State.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I rise to voice my strong reservations about the administration's foreign policies as we debate the confirmation of Ambassador Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State.

Following President Clinton's direction, Ambassador Albright signed the United Nations Rights of the Child Convention, a document which I believe is seriously flawed. As a nation, we hold our children dear. We have established laws on a national level and local levels to adequately protect our children and the rights of our families. The idea that a foreign state or an international federation knows better than we how to raise our children is abhorrent to our very essence.

We have engaged in diplomatic and physical conflict with other nations throughout our entire history over just such an issue. The root of all autocratic regimes has been that the state knows best. We cannot, we must not let that idea insinuate itself into how we conduct ourselves as a nation. I am concerned that Ambassador Albright through her vote in the United Nations, may have done just that.

Her support of policies which have come dangerously close to relinquishing command of our own troops to United Nations commanders who may or may not share the democratic ethic of our command authority concerned me in the past and concerns me today.

The rules under which our troops conduct themselves while assigned to duties with the United Nations places them under extraordinary pressure. Our soldiers are required to make judgments as to appropriateness of orders received by U.N. authorities not only as to their legality but as to whether the commands are in concert with United States policy. We should never place them in such a position, ever. Currently, if the policy of the United States comes into conflict with U.N. orders, it becomes incumbent upon the individual soldier to recognize the conflict and make the proper choice as to whether to follow the order or not. Recently though, to complicate that soldier's responsibility further, U.S. policy shifts have occurred during ongoing operations; peacekeeping mutating to nation building, embargo enforcement un-enforced. Ambassador Albright must not let this happen on her watch.

As Secretary of State, Ambassador Albright will be responsible for directing and implementing our foreign policy. I hope that if our stated policy for instance, is to impose an arms embargo on a war torn region that she would neither tacitly approve nor be a part of a plan to approve the introduction of inflammatory religious extremists and the weapons they chose to introduce into the region while hiding that fact

from this body, the rest of the Congress or the American people.

As Secretary of State she must realize that the sovereignty of the United States can never be made secondary to any country, entity or organization.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is a special honor for all of us who know and respect Madeleine Albright to vote for her confirmation as Secretary of State. This is an historic moment for the country, and I know that she will serve with great distinction as the first woman in our history to hold that high office.

Over the years, Madeleine Albright has always been an excellent source of wise advice to many of us in Congress on matters of foreign policy. I have always valued her counsel and respected her leadership, and the President's decision to nominate her as Secretary of State is a well-deserved honor.

In the course of her extraordinary career, she has skillfully combined public service and academic pursuits, and these abilities make her especially well-suited for the challenges she will face as Secretary of State. Many of us first came to know her when she was an able assistant to our former colleague Senator Edmund Muskie, and later as a member of President Carter's National Security Council. And all of us were proud of her brilliant service in recent years as our Ambassador to the United Nations.

Academically, she has served as a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, as a professor at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, and as president of the Center for National Policy.

Her personal history of fleeing Hitler and Communism as a child from her home in Czechoslovakia and her rise in this country to the position of Secretary of State is one of the great American success stories of our time and a vivid symbol that the American dream is alive and well in our day and generation.

I commend her for her nomination, and I look forward to working closely with her in the years to come. I ask unanimous consent that a list of the 64 persons who have served as Secretary of State, including Madeleine Albright, be printed in the RECORD.

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

SECRETARIES OF STATE 1789-1977

Name	When appointed	President
1. Thomas Jefferson	Sept. 26, 1789	George Washington.
Do	Mar. 4, 1793	Do.
2. Edmund Randolph	Jan. 2, 1794	Do.
3. Timothy Pickens	Dec. 10, 1795	Do.
Do	Mar. 4, 1797	John Adams.
4. John Marshall	May 13, 1800	Do.
5. James Madison	Mar. 5, 1801	Thomas Jefferson.
Do	Mar. 4, 1805	Do.
6. Robert Smith	Mar. 6, 1809	James Madison.
7. James Monroe	Apr. 2, 1811	Do.
Do	Feb. 28, 1815	Do.
8. John Quincy Adams	Mar. 5, 1817	James Monroe.
Do	Mar. 5, 1821	Do.
9. Henry Clay	Mar. 7, 1825	John Quincy Adams.
10. Martin Van Buren	Mar. 6, 1829	Andrew Jackson.
11. Edward Livingston	May 24, 1831	Do.
12. Louis McLane	May 29, 1833	Do.
13. John Forsyth	June 27, 1834	Do.

SECRETARIES OF STATE 1789-1977—Continued

Name	When appointed	President
Do	Mar. 4, 1837	Martin Van Buren.
14. Daniel Webster	Mar. 5, 1841	William H. Harrison.
Do	Apr. 6, 1841	John Tyler.
15. Abel P. Upshur	July 24, 1843	Do.
16. John C. Calhoun	Mar. 6, 1844	Do.
17. James Buchanan	Mar. 6, 1845	James K. Polk.
18. John M. Clayton	Mar. 7, 1849	Zachary Taylor.
19. Daniel Webster	July 22, 1850	Millard Fillmore.
20. Edward Everett	Nov. 6, 1852	Do.
21. William L. Marcy	Mar. 7, 1853	Franklin Pierce.
22. Lewis Cass	Mar. 6, 1857	James Buchanan.
23. Jeremiah S. Black	Dec. 17, 1860	Do.
24. William H. Seward	Mar. 5, 1861	Abraham Lincoln.
Do	Mar. 4, 1865	Do.
Do	Apr. 15, 1865	Andrew Johnson.
25. Elihu B. Washburne	Mar. 5, 1869	Ulysses S. Grant.
26. Hamilton Fish	Mar. 11, 1869	Do.
Do	Mar. 17, 1873	Do.
27. William M. Evarts	Mar. 12, 1877	Rutherford B. Hayes.
28. James G. Blaine	Mar. 5, 1881	James A. Garfield.
29. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen.	Dec. 12, 1881	Chester A. Arthur.
30. Thomas F. Bayard	Mar. 6, 1885	Grover Cleveland.
31. James G. Blaine	Mar. 5, 1889	Benjamin Harrison.
32. John W. Foster	June 29, 1892	Do.
33. Walter Q. Gresham	Mar. 6, 1893	Grover Cleveland.
34. Richard Olney	June 8, 1895	Do.
35. John Sherman	Mar. 5, 1897	William McKinley.
36. William R. Day	Apr. 26, 1898	Do.
37. John Hay	Sept. 20, 1898	Do.
Do	Mar. 5, 1901	Do.
Do	Mar. 6, 1905	Theodore Roosevelt.
38. Elihu Root	July 7, 1905	Do.
39. Robert Bacon	Jan. 27, 1909	Do.
40. Philander C. Knox	Mar. 5, 1909	William H. Taft.
41. William Jennings Bryan.	Mar. 5, 1913	Woodrow Wilson.
42. Robert Lansing	June 23, 1915	Do.
43. Bainbridge Colby	Mar. 22, 1920	Do.
44. Charles Evans Hughes	Mar. 4, 1921	Warren G. Harding.
Do	Feb. 18, 1925	Calvin Coolidge.
45. Frank B. Kellogg	Feb. 18, 1925	Do.
46. Henry Lewis Stimson	Mar. 5, 1929	Herbert C. Hoover.
47. Cordell Hull	Mar. 4, 1933	Franklin D. Roosevelt.
48. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.	Nov. 30, 1944	Do.
49. James F. Byrnes	July 2, 1945	Harry S. Truman.
50. George C. Marshall	Jan. 8, 1947	Do.
51. Dean G. Acheson	Jan. 19, 1949	Do.
52. John Foster Dulles	Jan. 21, 1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower.
53. Christian A. Herter	Apr. 21, 1959	Do.
54. Dean Rusk	Jan. 21, 1961	John F. Kennedy.
Do	Jan. 21, 1969	Lyndon B. Johnson.
55. William P. Rogers	Jan. 21, 1969	Richard M. Nixon.
56. Henry A. Kissinger	Sept. 21, 1973	Do.
Do	Sept. 21, 1973	Gerald R. Ford.
57. Cyrus Vance	Jan. 21, 1977	Jimmy Carter.
58. Edmund S. Muskie	May 8, 1980	Do.
59. Alexander Meigs Haig, Jr.	Jan. 22, 1981	Ronald Reagan.
60. George P. Shultz	July 16, 1982	Do.
61. James A. Baker III	Jan. 27, 1989	George Bush
62. Lawrence S. Eagleburger.	Dec. 10, 1992	Do.
63. Warren Christopher	Jan. 22, 1993	William J. Clinton.
64. Madeleine Korbelt Albright.	Jan. 22, 1997 (confirmed by Senate).	Do.

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I have known Madeleine Albright for many years and consider her extraordinarily well qualified for the important post of Secretary of State. She has the knowledge, experience, intelligence, candor, energy, and strength of will necessary for this difficult job. I will support her confirmation with enthusiasm.

By now most Americans have heard the compelling story of Madeleine Albright's family flight from first fascism, and then communism. After coming to the United States, Madeleine Albright compiled an impressive academic resume, including a B.A. from Wellesley College and a masters and doctorate from Columbia University. Her subsequent career has been devoted to international affairs and government—from Capitol Hill, to the National Security Council, to the challenging post of United States U.N. Ambassador. She served as a professor at the Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and a scholar at both the Smithsonian's Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and the Center for Strategic and Inter-

national Studies. Prior to her appointment to the U.N. post, Ambassador Albright was president of the Center for National Policy, a nonprofit research institution.

By any measure, the job of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations is a most demanding one and Ambassador Albright handled it with great skill, earning praise from across the political spectrum. During Ambassador Albright's tenure at the United Nations, I had the pleasure of working with her to promote the establishment of an inspector general within the U.N. system. Ambassador Albright worked long and hard—and eventually successfully—to build a consensus among the member states for this U.S. initiative.

The cold war no longer provides the overarching architecture for U.S. foreign policy. And I doubt that any similarly comprehensive substitute will evolve in the near future. U.S. foreign policy now has several more or less equal priority objectives. Balancing these objectives one against the other and moving them all forward in today's complex international environment is a challenging task. I am confident that Ambassador Albright has not only the intellect to meet this challenge but also—and equally importantly—the ability to clearly articulate for the benefit of the American people the national interest involved in the foreign policy challenges we face and the choices we make.

I am pleased that someone of Madeleine Albright's character and ability has been chosen, and has agreed, to serve this President and this Nation as our primary representative to the world. I congratulate her on her imminent confirmation and look forward to working with her in the future.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, today is indeed a historic milestone for our Nation. For the majority of this country's history, a full half of our citizens were left without the right to vote therefore they were left without a voice, without a collective voice in the direction of domestic affairs or international affairs for our country.

With the passage of the 19th amendment in 1920, this flawed policy was corrected, however since that time progress and change in this area has come, but very slowly. Today we take a great step forward for our country and the world in approving the nomination of Secretary of State designee Madeleine Albright.

Although there is little controversy surrounding our vote today on this confirmation we should take a moment to note the historical significance of this occasion.

There was a time not long ago when the nomination of any woman regardless of how qualified or experienced to lead our Nation's foreign policy would have been at the least controversial, and at the most unthinkable. Today, that time is over.

Ambassador Albright's confirmation is all but certain in just a few moments

with the vote of this Senate. She is a tribute to her gender, but it is not to her gender that this accomplishment is due, it is through her exemplary career in foreign service.

To be here today on the floor of this historic Chamber to cast my first vote as a U.S. Senator is in itself a exhilarating experience, but to be able to cast that vote for Madeleine Albright the first woman ever to serve as Secretary of State of this great Nation makes it even more memorable.

Thank you Mr. President for the opportunity to share these thoughts.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, the occasion of Ambassador Albright's imminent confirmation as Secretary of State raises some deep concerns regarding this administration's foreign policy.

While I believe there is much to be admired about Ambassador Albright—she has a reputation as a frank and forthright speaker, who is able to articulate forcibly her views—I have deep reservations about what I believe is her flawed philosophy of the role of U.S. forces in the conduct foreign policy.

As our U.N. Ambassador over the last 4 years, Mrs. Albright has consistently articulated an alarming vision of post-cold-war foreign policy. It is one which designates the United Nations as the world's guarantor of peace and in so doing seeks to subjugate United States' interests to this world body.

In June 1993, she articulated the concept of assertive multilateralism as a way of responding to internal political and economic turmoil, defiant regimes, and failed societies in countries around the globe.

The United States would act primarily as a part of the United Nations to respond to crises throughout the world.

Fundamental to this premise is the belief that every conflict, every disaster will eventually impact the United States and is therefore in our interests to intervene, militarily, to intervene.

The United Nations as the instrument of this collective security calls the shots and the United States responds by sending troops. The United States participating with other nations would be able to right the wrongs in the world. This is faulty in concept and dangerous in execution.

Consider some of the statements she has made:

Our goal is to foster the development of a community capable of easing, if not terminating, the abominable injustices and conditions that still plague civilization, because only in such a community can America flourish.

We are also facing increased ethnic and subnational violence. Wherever we turn, someone is fighting or threatening someone else. These disputes may be far removed from our borders but in today's global environment, chaos is an infectious disease.

The role of the United States is then to "reform or isolate the rogue states that act to undermine the stability and prosperity of the larger community and \* \* \* to contain the chaos and ease

the suffering in regions of greatest humanitarian concern."

There is an obvious and immediate danger to this type of thinking. The reality is there are many problems in the world which we simply cannot resolve. In exerting great effort to accomplish impossible goals we endanger the lives of our troops, damage U.S. leadership and prestige, squander valuable resources, and destroy the will of the American people to intervene when our own interests are indeed threatened.

The first year of the Clinton administration was dominated by behind the scenes effort to develop a document which would serve as the Clinton policy initiative on multilateral action. The consistent theme of this Presidential Review Directive [PRD-13] was to upgrade the U.N.'s military capabilities and to increase—even institutionalize—the U.S. involvement with U.N. peacekeeping operations.

Ambassador Albright's comments reveal the lines that PRD-13 would follow.

We favor substantial enlargement and reorganization of the peacekeeping headquarters staff and the creation of a permanent foundation for rapid 24-hour communication, intelligence, lift, recruitment, training, and the full spectrum of in-theater logistical support.

Clinton's foreign policy team sought to expand the United Nations to a sort of global police force and equip it to carry out effectively this unrealistic job. The draft document included a rapid expansion of U.N. military capability as well as the idea of putting U.S. forces under U.N. command. This elevated peacekeeping philosophy is illustrated by events in Somalia.

During President Clinton's first year, he turned over the Bush limited food-delivery mission in Somalia to the United Nations. Over the next few months, United States troops were used to hunt down Somali warlord Aideed and participate in what became known as "nation-building" activities in order to—in Madeleine Albright's words—"promote democracy in that strife-torn nation." Ultimately 18 U.S. Rangers were killed by Aideed's men. The last American soldiers left Somalia in March 1994—100,000 troops were sent to Somalia; 30 died and 175 were wounded and at a cost of \$1.5 billion. Since our departure, fighting erupted and today Somalia is no more better off for our misguided nation-building experience.

The tragedy of losing United States troops in Somalia forced the administration to back away from some of the aims of PRD-13. PRD-13, when finally signed as PDD-25, had undergone a number of changes. Madeleine Albright now couched the document in terms of fixing U.N. peacekeeping not expanding it. But the underlying premise of the policy still had not changed: greater emphasis on the United Nations for resolving conflict. In justifying use of force there was a shift in definition of national security interest.

In 1993, Ambassador Albright said:

We have a national security interest in containing and, wherever possible, resolving regional conflicts \* \* \* the cost of runaway regional conflicts sooner or later comes home to America. [June 1993.]

Her viewpoint—not unique to this administration—fundamentally shifts what previous Presidencies defined as a national security interest and consequently where the President would use American force. This significant alteration of U.S. interests has the profound impact of justifying greater and more diverse missions for our troops. Under the rubric of peace operations, U.S. forces have found themselves in almost every conceivable type mission: delivering food and medicine; building bridges; training police; hunting down warlords.

Colin Powell's comments in his autobiography further illustrate Madeleine Albright's thinking. He describes a meeting at the White House when she asked him "What's the point of having this superb military you're always talking about if we can't use it?"

The practical effects of this doctrine have led to our military involvement in Haiti, Bosnia, Central Africa, and other areas only peripherally in our interests.

What I fear Ambassador Albright has yet to understand is that there are serious costs to using force when our vital interests are not at issue. None of these interventions carried out or contemplated by the Clinton administration were in our security interests. And yet, great numbers of troops have risked their lives and we have spent billions of dollars.

In Somalia, our forces left, humiliated and at great cost, with the turmoil on the ground basically unchanged. In Haiti, we intervened to restore democracy but prospects for its survival are very much in question, despite our military contribution of \$1.2 billion. After 2 years of gradual escalation of United States intervention in Bosnia, the President committed 20,000 of our forces to serve a year to enforce a separation between the warring factions. U.S. troops now extended for 18 months have the task of ensuring that civilian reconstruction proceeds. No one knows what will happen in Bosnia once our troops are removed.

The military has borne great expense because of these missions. And in an era of declining military budgets, there is a growing anxiety about our capability to deal with future national security threats. Last year military testimony before the Armed Services Committee revealed serious strains in our military planning and budgeting.

The President's proposed budget for defense was \$10 billion lower than what was appropriated the previous year. And yet testimony after testimony by the CINC's and Service Chiefs indicated strong concerns with levels of spending. Readiness, modernization, quality of life were all areas needing focus and

funding. The services altogether indicated their desire for more than \$15 billion in increases.

While the administration has failed to provide adequately for our defense needs, it continues to deploy our troops in more and more missions around the world. In recent years our forces have been seriously overextended. We are asking our forces to do more but have drastically cut force structure by 30 percent. General Reimer, the Army Chief of Staff, testified that requirements on the Army have risen 300 percent. Today, more than 41,000 U.S. soldiers are deployed on nearly 1,700 missions in 60 countries.

And while the President failed to provide adequately for the military—to meet their current and future warfighting needs—he requested a separate budget for contingency operations—a clear indication that the trend toward greater peacekeeping missions will continue.

I am deeply concerned that the growing use of our forces in areas of peripheral interest will have a long lasting and detrimental impact on our military—and ultimately on the ability of the United States to protect our vital interests. The views of Ambassador Albright confirm her belief in using troops in this way. While the Armed Services Committee can take steps to provide our forces with the funding they need, there is little we can do to reign in how our troops are being used. These essential foreign policy decisions are made by the President, who is both Chief Executive and Commander in Chief. It is my fervent hope that extraordinary caution and wise deliberation will be exercised during the next 4 years in determining how to use American forces to further the foreign policy goals of this administration.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I rise in strong support of the nomination of Madeleine Albright to become our Nation's 64th Secretary of State. I have been privileged to know and work with Ambassador Albright for nearly two decades and I am confident that she will be a determined, effective voice for American interests as we face the foreign policy challenges of the 21st century.

This is a historic nomination. With this vote, Madeleine Albright will become the Nation's first woman to hold the office of Secretary of State. But it's clear that this nomination was not based on gender—but on qualifications. Madeleine Albright has been an outstanding leader for America and an outspoken advocate for freedom.

Today Madeleine Albright steps out in front and breaks a longstanding barrier. But that's no surprise because she has made a life of doing just that. From the time her family broke from the barriers of totalitarianism in Czechoslovakia and the brutal grip of Hitler and Stalin, Madeleine Albright has dedicated her life to spreading freedom and promoting international understanding.

She did it as a member of President Carter's National Security Council, as a noted scholar and professor at Georgetown University, as the president of the Center for National Policy, and—most recently—as America's Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

As in all her other work, Madeleine Albright brought energy and vitality to the job of U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. And her plain spoken determination helped restore democracy in Haiti, prosecute war criminals in the former Yugoslavia, and make headway in achieving a comprehensive nuclear test ban. She also led the charge to achieve much needed reforms in the United Nations—by advocating lower budgets, more accountability, and a streamlined bureaucracy.

Madeleine Albright has rightly observed that the United States is the world's indispensable nation. But I would add that she herself has been an indispensable part of the foreign policy achievements of the Clinton administration over the past 4 years and she will continue to be in the years to come.

Finally, Mr. President, I look forward to working with Secretary Albright on an issue that I have long championed—ending abusive and exploitative child labor around the world. I hope that she will use the office of the Secretary of State to focus attention on this deplorable practice as she meets with leaders in government and commerce around the world. Working together, I know that we can finally end the curse of child labor.

Mr. President, I believe that Madeleine Albright is an excellent choice to become our Nation's top diplomat and I am proud to cast my vote in support of her nomination.

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I would like to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in supporting the confirmation of Ambassador Madeleine Albright to be our Nation's 63d Secretary of State.

Many have commented on the historic nature of Ambassador Albright's nomination to be the first woman Secretary of State, the highest ranking of all Cabinet officers. But this would be just one more of a long history of ground-breaking roles in Madeleine Albright's distinguished career.

For instance, over the past 4 years, she has been the only woman serving as a U.N. Ambassador on the Security Council. In the first Clinton administration, she was the only woman to serve in a national security capacity on the President's Cabinet. She was also the first woman to serve as the top foreign policy advisor to a Presidential candidate, a role she served in 1988 to Gov. Michael Dukakis.

Ambassador Albright will bring a superb background to the job of Secretary of State. I would note that she began her rise in the foreign policy field as the top foreign affairs advisor to our former colleague, Senator Ed-

mund Muskie when he was a senior member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Then after serving on the staff of the National Security Council in the Carter administration, she worked for over a decade as professor at Georgetown University and in various centers for public policy research.

Since 1992, Madeleine Albright has served ably as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and has been a formal member of the President's Cabinet. This is a rare recognition granted to a U.N. Ambassador, and she was the first U.N. Ambassador to serve in this role since Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick in the first Reagan administration.

At the United Nations, Ambassador Albright became known and respected as a fierce defender of American interests and values. She took the administration's lead role 1 year ago in denouncing Cuba's unprovoked murder of two American pilots who were flying unarmed civilian aircraft over international waters near Cuba. She emphasized the importance of this outrageous act of cowardice by Fidel Castro's totalitarian government with characteristically direct language that helped focus the attention of the world.

She also worked diligently—and successfully—in maintaining comprehensive economic sanctions on the repressive regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Despite the call by some nations of the world to lift those sanctions, she has succeeded in keeping them in place until the Government of Iraq ends its threats to its neighbors, shows greater respect for the human rights of its own people, and totally dismantles all weapons of mass production programs. These actions are called for not only in a series of Security Council resolutions enacted at the end of the 1991 gulf war, but also in obligations Iraq itself accepted in the cease fire agreement that ended that war.

Most recently, Ambassador Albright insisted on the replacement of U.N. Secretary Gen. Boutros Boutros-Ghali because of his inadequate attention to necessary reform of the U.N. system. She refused to bow to pressure from other countries—on the first Security Council vote on this issue the United States was opposed 14 to 1—and insisted on the election of a new reform-minded Secretary General as a matter of principle. With the recent successful election of the new U.N. Secretary Gen. Kofi Annan, there now is an opportunity for revitalizing this important international institution and restoring a bipartisan consensus on the United Nations in the Congress and among the American people.

As shown in just these few examples, Madeleine Albright is a strong advocate for U.S. foreign policy and is more than willing to take the tough and principled stands. It is my hope that she will help to restore American leadership and assertiveness in the international community.

In addition to her strong qualifications for the job, Madeleine Albright

also brings a compelling personal experience and family background to this job. The daughter of a Czech diplomat, her family came to the United States as refugees after World War II. In fact, in the preceding years, her family had twice fled the forces of totalitarianism: first escaping the advancing armies of Nazi Germany, and again the Iron Curtain's descent on her homeland of Czechoslovakia, a country that had previously had the most vibrant economy and democratic system in central Europe.

During her confirmation hearing, Ambassador Albright discussed how her parents instilled in her a deep love for the United States and the ideals upon which our Nation was founded. Others have noted Ambassador Albright's strong views on such questions as human rights, democracy, and individual liberty. I have no doubt that her family's experiences have contributed to her evident devotion to these very American ideals.

If confirmed by the Senate, Ambassador Albright will become Secretary Albright and will move to a larger stage for the conduct of American foreign policy. Under the Clinton administration, the United States has been searching for a more unified vision and greater consistency in our Nation's foreign policy with the end of the cold war. A number of challenges will immediately confront her, and I hope and expect that she will be able to rise to these challenges.

For example, the international community is watching the rising world power of China, but for 4 years the Clinton administration has had difficulty maintaining a consistent foreign policy in relation to this increasingly important country. Tension between the important bilateral interests of human rights, trade, national security, and nonproliferation has too often led to confusion and vacillation in our Nation's policies. It is my hope that Madeleine Albright will rectify this weakness by bringing her temperament of toughness and consistency, combined with her strong grounding in long-term strategic thinking.

Another challenge awaits U.S. policy in the critically important region of the Middle East. There is no doubt that recent negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority have been difficult, though thankfully last week's agreement over the redeployment of Israeli forces in Hebron shows that the peace process remains intact.

But over the next 2 years, the negotiations will become even more important and vastly more challenging. It is in this period that negotiations over a final status for the Palestinian entity are supposed to be reached, and the Palestinians' challenge against Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem must be resolved. Ambassador Albright has long been acknowledged as a very strong friend of Israel. But she also has developed a very constructive working relationship with the Palestinian author-

ity. In the world of international diplomacy, it is worth noting that two of the earliest congratulations she received for her nomination came from Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy and Palestinian Liberation Organization Chairman Yassir Arafat.

Mr. President, I have had the honor and the privilege to become personally acquainted with Ambassador Albright over the past 4 years from my position on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the 104th Congress, and as a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee during the 103d Congress. While we have occasionally disagreed on policy issues, I have always found Ambassador Albright to be a forceful, effective, and persuasive advocate of administration policies. She has a true skill for explaining the purpose behind American foreign policy, and I am certain that she will use that skill to advance U.S. interests throughout the world.

I would like to again express my support for confirming Ambassador Madeleine Albright to be the 63d Secretary of State. I urge my colleagues to join with me in approving her nomination for this highest of all confirmable executive branch posts.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, while many of my colleagues have already addressed vital foreign policy issues during the consideration of Madeleine Albright to be the next Secretary of State, I would like to use this opportunity to address some equally vital management issues. I hope to use the confirmation process to elevate management issues that tend to get swept under the carpet during high-minded policy debates. When discussing policy goals, we must be careful to determine whether these goals are affordable and that the resources spent provide the best value for the taxpayers' investment.

Congress has laid the groundwork for significant Government management reforms with the passage of laws such as the Government Performance and Results Act, which requires agencies to measure the results of their efforts, the Chief Financial Officers Act, which requires agencies to shore up their financial recordkeeping, and recently enacted information management and procurement reforms. These laws apply commonsense approaches to the business of government to reduce inefficiencies and get real cost savings for taxpayers. It is questionable whether these new laws will be taken seriously and fully implemented without extensive congressional oversight—there are reports that agencies do not believe Congress is serious about the effective implementation of these laws. I am hereby serving notice that they would be seriously mistaken in that belief.

The State Department, which Ambassador Albright will head, has served this country admirably since its founding in 1789. But I wonder if Thomas Jefferson, the first Secretary of State, could have imagined that the Depart-

ment would grow to a staff of approximately 24,500 with a departmental budget of about \$3.9 billion, part of an even larger \$19.2 billion international affairs budget. Maintaining the infrastructure necessary to support 160 embassies and 100 consulates worldwide, costs this nation over \$2 billion a year. The Department buys over \$500 million in goods and services each year and is responsible for \$12 billion in property. Effectively managing these resources would be a daunting challenge for any Fortune 500 company, but the State Department must do it at the same time that it is carrying out its primary functions—performing its diplomatic and foreign policy missions, protecting and assisting American citizens traveling abroad, and providing the interagency coordination necessary for conducting foreign policy in an increasingly complex and dangerous world.

With a multitude of difficult missions to perform, management problems risk being ignored due to the exigencies of the day. The new Secretary will no doubt be consumed by critical foreign policy issues and crises from Bosnia to Korea that will demand a great deal of her personal attention. However, determining whether taxpayers are getting the best value for their multibillion dollar international affairs investment also must be one of the Secretary's highest priorities.

In times of fiscal austerity, we all have to do more with less. I do not advocate performing critical missions "on the cheap," but we must strive for the most efficient and effective use of our limited resources. The Government Performance and Results Act, for example, can be an effective tool to make Government work better by measuring the success or failure of Government programs and using this information to support budget decisions.

The effects of belt tightening are painful as is illustrated by the \$300 million backlog in deferred maintenance, obsolete technology and shrinking base of skilled personnel at the Department of State. The Congress will no doubt be asked to provide more resources to State and in the international affairs budget to counteract some of these negative effects. On first glance, this seemingly makes sense. However, the spending for State Department operating expenses has increased in both actual and constant dollars since 1985. Therefore, I question whether the Department has done all it can. Has it cut to the bone and ignored the fat in order to generate a compelling case before Congress for more money? I have to say that I don't know, and we will not know the true story from the Department anytime soon because the detailed supporting financial information does not exist.

This is because the State Department does not have adequate financial and information systems to effectively manage and prioritize its programs. In the information age, the Government is increasingly dependent on good information—and yet this is what we are

lacking. We need adequate information upon which to base sound decisions, otherwise we are making decisions in a vacuum. A good first step in developing this information would be for the Department to meet its responsibilities under the Chief Financial Officers Act and prepare an audited financial statement.

Good financial data relies upon the development of effective computer systems. Government computers are crucial to the State Department's ability to meet its foreign policy missions and business needs. In recent years, the Department has obligated over \$300 million annually on computer systems. Yet, the State Department has had a poor history of managing these systems and, as a result, is struggling with aging computers that do not adequately meet the Department's needs. This has resulted in critical information shortfalls, as well as interruption of operations. Obviously, the Department needs to do a better job. Legislation Congress passed last year to establish a Chief Information Officer at the Department of State should help in focusing attention on this longstanding problem.

The Department has yet to change its business practices to reflect the new information age. In September 1994, the State Department launched a Strategic Management Initiative to identify its highest priority functions and products, as well as activities which were no longer necessary. However, GAO states that the State Department "has been reluctant or unable to significantly reduce its overseas presence and the scope of its activities or to substantially change its business practices." I would hope in the future that the Department will not continue to conduct business as usual and then complain it does not have the resources to fulfill its mission.

The State Department, like many other Federal agencies, is confronted by serious management problems that impede its ability to carry out its mission efficiently and effectively. GAO and inspector general reports have shown that in the past, top level attention has not been given to the stewardship of taxpayer resources. I am encouraged by Ambassador Albright's answers to my questions during her confirmation process. She assured us that she will be very much a hands-on manager and recognizes that the ability to conduct quality foreign policy depends upon attacking directly these management issues. Ambassador Albright stated at her confirmation hearing that she would work with Congress "to ensure that the American public gets full value for each tax dollar spent" and that she "is committed to making improvements in the Department's structure and operations that will produce a more efficient and effective use of our resources." I am hopeful that Ambassador Albright will provide the leadership necessary for the State Department to meet its management chal-

lenges of the next century. I look forward to working with her to achieve those objectives in the coming Congress and to effectively implement the bipartisan management reforms passed by Congress.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, today the Senate votes to confirm the nomination of Madeleine Albright to be Secretary of State.

As many others will say today, this is a historic occasion, as the secretary-designate will soon become the highest ranking woman ever to serve in the United States Government. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, it was my distinct honor to approve her nomination at the committee level on Monday. And I am honored to vote for her again today on the floor of the Senate.

Back in the 1980's, I had the pleasure of meeting the distinguished nominee in Wausau, in my home state of Wisconsin, while I was a member of the Wisconsin State Senate. At the time, I was introduced to her as the future Secretary of State. I have since been impressed at how she has excelled—in domestic politics, as well as in foreign policy—to allow her to achieve this great honor, the nomination to be the President's chief foreign policy adviser.

In more recent days, I have observed her both in private, and at her confirmation hearing before the Foreign Relations Committee on January 8 of this year. And I was again impressed at how articulately and gracefully she responded to questions that literally spanned the globe.

Upon confirmation, Ambassador Albright will take on a position that, in my view, is one of the most challenging positions in public service. On the one hand, she will have a tremendous opportunity to affect world events because of the leadership role that the United States plays in so many conflicts around the world. But on the other hand, she will have awesome responsibilities.

Just a quick glance at the range and scope of the various bureaus at the State Department remind us that the job of Secretary of State is far-reaching. Not only will she be in charge of all the regional and administrative bureaus, but she will also be responsible for the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, the Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, the Bureau for International Organization Affairs, Bureau of Oceans and International Scientific Affairs and the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.

This list underscores the fact that many of the problems that challenge us today are ones that belie traditional ways of looking at the world through regional, or even strictly political, lenses. Increasingly, we are faced with issues that transcend national borders and fly in the face of old political alliances. Concerns over drug trafficking, refugees, disease, and the environment have changed the way we define the national interest.

Of particular interest to me is the promotion of human rights worldwide. I strongly believe that the United States has a moral responsibility to put human rights at the top of our foreign policy agenda. I also believe that—although we might disagree on the manner in which we should raise human rights concerns with other governments—Ambassador Albright agrees with my basic premise here. In my view, it is incumbent upon U.S. diplomats to incorporate our views about human rights in bilateral discussions on other issues. For example, we have many interests in Indonesia, but we must never forget that its government continues to sustain a brutal military occupation of East Timor. Similarly, concerns over human rights abuses in Tibet and over the impending transition in Hong Kong must be pillars of our many-pronged China policy.

Ambassador Albright has, in the past, exhibited superior knowledge of human rights issues and of these other transnational problems. And, I hope she will guide the Administration to propose creative solutions to some of these problems.

Of particular regional concern to me is the African continent, which—too often—is left at the end of the priority lists of policymakers in this country. But Africa—a continent of 48 countries south of the Sahara—supports a population of nearly 620 million people. Its land mass stretches over one quarter of the Earth's surface.

While we often focus upon areas where crises evolve, as in Liberia or in the Great Lakes region, we also must actively support some of the successes in Africa, such as the stunning transition to majority rule in South Africa, Eritrean independence, or the fact that more than 30 democratic elections have taken place on the continent since 1989. The United States can play an important role in all these events.

Finally, I wish to note that in addition to Ambassador Albright's many qualifications in the field of foreign policy, she also is especially prepared to work with Members of Congress. She spent nearly 2 years as the chief legislative assistant to Senator Edmund Muskie, who himself went on to be Secretary of State. She understands well the intent of the Constitution regarding the separate responsibilities and prerogatives of the legislative and executive branches of our Government. This is of particular concern to me where the deployment of American men and women to combat is involved. I trust Ambassador Albright will take the advice and consent role of the Senate seriously, and will consult fully with the Congress in all matters of troop deployment.

Ambassador Albright never shied away from speaking frankly with us and with the American people in her previous capacity as the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations. I look forward to future open and candid dialog with her on all of these

issues, and expect to work closely with her.

Mr. President, the job of Secretary of State is indeed a challenging one. I salute President Clinton for his superb choice, for it is my view that this nominee is more-than-qualified to take on the challenges of the position under consideration.

I also commend the honorable Senator from North Carolina for expediting the confirmation process.

In summary, Mr. President, I am honored to cast my vote in favor of the nomination of Madeleine Korbelt Albright to be Secretary of State.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I am honored today to express my strong support for Madeleine Albright's nomination to be the next U.S. Secretary of State. Long after I leave the United States Senate, I will recall fondly the day I voted to confirm Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State; our 63d and first female Secretary of State.

Madeleine Albright is a spectacular nominee; I've worked closely with her since I came to the Senate, particularly on the 1995 United Nations Conference on Women. I do speak personally of the great respect she's earned from many on Capitol Hill. And I know that same respect has been earned in Capitals around the globe throughout her distinguished career. There will be no on-the-job training for this public servant. In recent times, no Secretary of State has assumed the post with the breadth of experience and bipartisan support that Madeleine Albright will bring to the State Department.

Secretary of State is an enormously important job. One of Secretary Warren Christopher's final public statements underscores the importance of the job performed by the Secretary and the American citizens who work at the State Department and in postings around the world. Secretary Christopher, describing his tenure and accomplishments, said, "Russia's democracy was in crisis; its economy was near collapse. The nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union was scattered among four new countries with few safeguards. The war in Bosnia was at the peak of its brutality and threatening to spread. North Korea was developing nuclear weapons. The Middle East peace process was stalemated; negotiations were stymied. Repression in Haiti was pushing refugees to our shores. NAFTA's passage was in serious doubt." Certainly, Secretary Christopher's tenure was marked by many other difficult issues that met varying degrees of success. My point is to use Secretary Christopher's words to emphasize the enormity and the importance of the task ahead for Madeleine Albright.

Madeleine Albright will confront a similar list of issues important to our future economic and security interests. China and Asia as a whole have moved to the forefront and many have written that the President will make this important region of the world a "legacy

issue" for his second term. I certainly support an activist U.S. role in Asia; from the Russian Far East which is increasingly linked to my State of Washington to South Asia where the threat of nuclear escalation will require careful diplomacy. Hong Kong is on the verge of a return to Chinese sovereignty, and numerous territorial disputes throughout Asia threaten to become military flashpoints. The United States is and must continue to be the stabilizing force in Asia that fosters peace and our economic growth in the region. Numerous regional groupings from APEC to the ASEAN Regional Forum will require U.S. leadership and vigilance. This region, with more than one-half of the world's population, must be a priority of the new Secretary. And I am sure Madeleine Albright will represent the ideals we cherish; the ideals we share with the world through an activist, engaged foreign policy.

Europe and the former Soviet states must also remain a priority issue. NATO expansion will be difficult. And international trade issues with the European Community will continue to be difficult as we seek to gain greater market access, end subsidized competition in manufacturing and agriculture, and continue to press for protection of U.S. intellectual property rights. Madeleine Albright, an immigrant from Prague, is uniquely qualified to represent U.S. interests in this region of mature and growing political and economic relationships.

Latin America is finally emerging from the throes of the cold war. El Salvador and Guatemala are continuing on important paths to peace and reconciliation. Virtually every Latin American country is now under some form of democracy; the United States must continue to foster this democratic development and reconciliation. NAFTA expansion to Chile and beyond will require a respected leader to negotiate agreements beneficial to the United States and to educate and understand the concerns of a skeptical public. Again, I believe Madeleine Albright will do a fabulous job for the American people in this region of the world.

Problems in Africa continue to go largely unnoticed in our country. Children throughout the world continue to suffer the evils of disease and malnutrition. Radical changes may come to Cuba and North Korea in the near future. All of these issues, and many more unforeseen events, will require a person like Madeleine Albright.

Finally, following her confirmation, I want to urge the new Secretary to be a voice for the State Department and its family of employees, many of whom are scattered around the world in service to our country. I find it refreshing that Ambassador Albright during her confirmation hearing freely talked about the difficulties of conducting foreign relations, on the cheap.

As a member of the Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, I

look forward to working closely with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I rise in support of Madeleine Albright's nomination to take the helm of the U.S. Department of State. I believe she is well qualified and has displayed a unique steadiness and pragmatism during her tenure as our Ambassador to the United Nations. From her difficult beginnings and throughout her life, she has proudly embraced this country. She has served America with dignity and patriotism. In her new position, I hope she will continue to sensibly promote our Nation's best interests.

All of these qualities are attested to by a very dear friend of mine, Edward Gnehm, our former Ambassador to Kuwait. He now serves as Deputy Assistant Ambassador under Madeleine Albright at the United Nations. I met Skip Gnehm in 1962, when we began 4 good years together at the George Washington University. I have always valued Skip's friendship and his insight—particularly in matters of foreign affairs.

Skip and I have recently discussed the changing role of the United States in global politics. We agree that, as a nation, we live in a rapidly changing part of the 20th century. World politics is no longer dominated by the tense United States-Soviet detente that defined United States foreign policy for so many years. Gone is our old familiar enemy, the Russian bear, growling on the horizon. But we have also lost the political stability Soviet hegemony provided in the region. No one here would argue for the return of a Communist-controlled Soviet empire, but in the wake of glasnost, we are left with a political minefield that demands careful attention.

Our foreign relations are more fragile than ever and demand increasing precision. The State Department, our eyes and ears abroad, is our country's first line of defense. Without an effective and supported foreign service, we will have little capability in combating today's imminent threats to American lives. Dangers such as international terrorism and nuclear proliferation among rogue nations truly pose a greater threat to our national security than Russia ever did.

In light of these facts, I am discouraged by the increasing trend toward isolationism. We cannot turn our eyes inward and ignore the problems of our neighbors. Like it or not, our world is interconnected, interdependent, and international. Today, we send e-mail on the internet across the globe with the push of a button. A phone call can bridge thousands of miles between family and friends. Businesses move money electronically across borders in the blink of an eye. A drought in Kansas can raise the price of bread in Moscow. It is true that domestic peace and prosperity in America are important, but you can't sustain peace and prosperity on an island in a global sea of discord.

So, I am using this opportunity to speak in support of Madeleine

Albright's nomination, but also to voice my concern about the lack of direction and coordination in our foreign policy. We need to identify our goals and be very clear in our message. As the world's only superpower, we cannot stand around watching—simply reacting to random global events.

I believe Ambassador Albright has demonstrated her exceptional abilities as a diplomat and in offering thoughtful counsel to our President. I would now encourage her to utilize her proven diplomatic skills and her new high-profile job to bring some change in the President's Cabinet room. We need to introduce strategic planning into our foreign policy and she is the person to do it. With well-defined goals, a properly managed administration and a little enthusiasm, our State Department and Foreign Service could again receive the respect they deserve—both at home and abroad.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER] asked me to submit his statement in support of Madeleine Albright for Secretary of State. He is necessarily absent for the vote today because of responsibilities he has in leading a trade mission from his State of West Virginia to Asia. He regrets not being here to cast his own vote for Ms. Albright, and asks that his enthusiastic support for this outstanding individual be noted.

(At the request of Mr. DASCHLE, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

• Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I am submitting this statement to express my strongest support for the nomination of Madeleine Korbelt Albright to be the Secretary of State of the United States of America. Unfortunately, I am necessarily absent from the Senate, and am unable to cast my vote for Ms. Albright. Because of plans that had to be scheduled long ago, I am presently leading a group of more than 30 West Virginians on a trade mission to Japan and Taiwan that is called Project Harvest II.

This trade mission, the second I have led to Asia, is vitally important to the long-term economic vitality of my State. Since the first Project Harvest Trade mission in 1995, tens of millions of dollars in contracts, and many new jobs have flowed back to West Virginia. That first trip also served as a key step in bringing companies like Sino-Swearingen and Toyota to West Virginia—international investments that have changed the face of West Virginia's manufacturing profile.

The globalization of the economy is the greatest force shaping international relations in the last years of the millennium, and the kinds of relationships that West Virginia is developing around the world are a key unifying factor in this new world order. Trade missions like Project Harvest can be an extension of America's international interest in fostering peace, stability, and prosperity across the globe.

I personally regret, however, that I am missing a chance to vote on the nomination of Madeleine Albright. Mr. President, I don't think President Clinton could have made a wiser choice in selecting Madeleine Albright for this central post in his administration. I have known Madeleine Albright for many years, and have rarely seen such a combination of intelligence, skill, experience, principle, values, and, Mr. President, patriotism, in all my days.

Madeleine Albright brings all these things to the service of her adopted nation. A daughter of Central European strife, she has a unique world view that brings into clear focus some of the most difficult and compelling challenges we face as the world's last true military and economic superpower.

Of course the world today is a remarkably different place than the one we faced 50 years ago, 15 years ago, and even 5 years ago. I am further struck by the fact that we are defining this time by what it is not, that is the cold war—rather than by what it is—a transition time in the world's history where one historic power, Europe, is struggling to define itself; and another, China, is struggling to assert its place in the world. It is into this breach that Madeleine Albright has been tasked to define and promote America's global interests.

Traditionally, American foreign policy has had Europe and the Atlantic as its focal point. While we must continue making Europe a priority, we also see Asia growing in importance in economic, military, and other terms. This means that geographically, strategically, and economically, the United States sits astride both worlds.

Because of my own long-time involvement in United States-Japan relations and Asia issues generally, I want to voice my confidence that Secretary of State Albright will provide the needed leadership, insight, and attention to the Pacific region in her role as the Clinton Administration's chief of international diplomacy and as a key part of his national security team. She understands the challenges we face together as Pacific neighbors; she appreciates the differences and complexities that are presented; and she will be a clear and forceful advocate for America's peaceable interests and the goals we share with our allies and the people of nations worldwide.

Mr. President, I believe that Madeleine Albright is a superb choice for Secretary of State. I ask her forgiveness that I am unable to stand and vote for her today, and I pledge to work with her in every way possible. •

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I am proud to support the nomination of Madeleine K. Albright for Secretary of State. Ambassador Albright is extremely well-qualified for this important post and will make a tremendous leader of the Clinton administration's foreign policy team.

This nomination is truly historic. Ambassador Albright is the first

woman ever nominated to be Secretary of State. She will not only become the most senior female appointee in this administration, but the highest ranking in the history of the United States. I am so very proud that today Madeleine Albright is shattering a glass ceiling that many thought would never be broken.

Ambassador Albright will also be the first refugee to hold this important post. Having fled totalitarianism herself, Ambassador Albright is especially sensitive to the needs of newly emerging democracies. She is a beacon of hope to the hundreds of millions of people around the world who have recently shed the shackles of authoritarian government.

Over the last 20 years, Ambassador Albright has worked tirelessly to promote a safer, more stable world. After working as a foreign policy advisor to the late Senator Edmund Muskie, she taught foreign policy at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. As U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, she earned a reputation for toughness, fairness, and the tireless advocacy of American interests.

Madeleine Albright is a diplomat, scholar, and a role model for the Nation's young people—especially our young women. I am confident that she will make an excellent Secretary of State and I proudly support her nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREGG). Who seeks recognition? Who yields time?

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. WARNER. Could I ask for a minute and a half?

Mr. HELMS. If you want, more than that.

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized for a minute and a half—5 minutes. The Senator from Virginia is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I commend first the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee for the manner in which he expedited the hearing on this very important, most senior of our Cabinet positions.

Also, I wish to commend the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Our committee just completed its hearing on Senator Cohen, and we anticipate that today the Senate is likely to turn to that nomination also for a vote.

So that under the leadership of the majority leader, with the cooperation of the distinguished Democratic leader and the chairmen, we have, I think in record time, accomplished the very careful and thorough screening of two Cabinet posts and providing the President with that advice which he needs.

I have had the privilege of knowing the distinguished Ambassador, the nominee for the post of Secretary of State, for many years. Ambassador

Albright has come before the Senate Armed Services Committee, over the 18 years I have been privileged to serve on that committee, on a number of occasions as an expert witness, which is a difficult role to carry out. But she has always done it in a very careful and well-informed manner. Early on, she gained the respect and admiration of both sides on our committee, as she worked her way up through a number of important posts before going to the United Nations as our Ambassador. And now I think the President is to be commended in selecting her for this assignment, which I anticipate she will discharge with equal if not greater wisdom and skill than her previous assignments.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suggest we let a quorum call be charged equally.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield just a moment?

Mr. HELMS. Certainly. Certainly.

Mr. STEVENS. Is there time left, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina has 19 minutes.

Mr. THURMOND. Are we going to vote, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska is recognized.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I hope we will agree to vote as quickly as possible, but I do want to say that I welcome this nomination. Madeleine Albright at the United Nations as our Ambassador helped to make the world realize how important it is we conserve the oceans. She assisted in many ways with those of us who are trying to really protect the oceans. I welcome her coming to the Department of State now where I think she can carry on the same fight and help us really deal with the overwhelming problem of assuring that the oceans of the world continue to produce the food that mankind needs.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time? If no time is yielded, time will be charged to both sides.

The Senator from North Carolina.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I believe we are prepared to complete the debate on the nominee to be Secretary of State.

I commend the committee members for the way they have handled this matter. Obviously, it was expeditious and a very pleasant experience. I thank

the chairman for the way he has handled it. If he says the nominee is OK, that is very powerful in this institution. I thank the Senator from Delaware for his efforts also.

Mr. President, today is a historic day for the Senate, for the Department of State, and for the United States. Today, we will confirm America's 63d Secretary of State. Madeline Albright will be the first woman to hold our country's highest diplomatic post.

Most of our Members are aware of Ambassador Albright's compelling personal history. As a child, she was forced to flee her native Czechoslovakia from the century's two great tyrannies: Nazi Germany and Soviet Communism. First-hand, she learned that freedom is not free, and that resistance to aggression is imperative.

Ambassador Albright is an American by choice. She has served her adopted land with distinction—at the National Security Council in the Carter administration, in politics and in the academic world, and most recently as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

When I met with Ambassador Albright last week, we had a good discussion about a range of issues. I expressed my concern over the gradual decline of the role of Congress in foreign policy—at least that is the way Congress is sometimes treated by administrations—a trend that is not in keeping with my reading of what the framers of the Constitution intended.

Ambassador Albright told me she taught a course on "Congress and Foreign Policy" and that she very much understands and respects the role of the Congress in our power of the purse, our sole power to declare war, and the Senate's co-equal role in treaty making.

As secretary of State, Ambassador Albright will face many difficult issues. Perhaps her greatest challenge will be articulating a vision of America's role in the post-cold-war era—a vision that is readily understood and supported by the American people and their elected representatives.

Our leadership role in the world depends on the power of our ideals and the purpose to defend our interests. And it depends on the support of our citizens for a leadership role. I believe the American people know America must remain engaged in the world, and that they will be willing to support our engagement because it is ultimately to the benefit of each and every American.

In just the coming months, Ambassador Albright will have a very full agenda—on Capitol Hill and around the world. There are continued concerns about Russia's future, the threats posed by rogue regimes from Iran and Iraq to Libya and North Korea, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, international crime, and narcotics trafficking, the United States relationship with Asia's emerging giant—China, pursuit of a lasting and secure peace in the Middle East,

and serious attention to the problems and potential of our own hemisphere.

Each of these will demand a very experienced and committed Secretary of State. The Ambassador's skills and wisdom will be challenged every day.

Secretary Albright, assuming she is going to be confirmed here momentarily, will also need to spend much more time with the Congress. We have pledged to do what we can to move America ahead in a nonpartisan or bipartisan fashion. We will try to work together on arms control issues. We expect the administration to respect the Senate's role in providing advice and consent to the significant modifications they propose to the 1972 ABM Treaty.

The administration has tried to make a case for more money for the United Nations and for international affairs spending in general. I do not believe in measuring American leadership by how many taxpayer dollars we send to the United Nations or to AID contractors—especially when our defense and intelligence capabilities have felt the impact of far more severe budget limitations.

We are also awaiting the administration's request for funding their decision to extend the American troop presence despite the promise of a 1-year only deployment in Bosnia. On all budget issues, we will try to work together on funding the administration's priorities and our priorities in a manner consistent with the move toward a balanced budget.

I expect to work closely with Secretary Albright to prepare the Senate and the American people for the historic expansion of the most successful alliance in history—NATO. We will work to support the historic progress toward peace in the Middle East, made possible because the enemies of Israel know that American support for our democratic ally is unswerving.

Today, with what I expect will be an overwhelming vote, the Senate will confirm Madeline Albright as Secretary of State. The confirmation process moved rapidly and cooperatively, and I think it is indicative of what we can do in the months and years ahead.

I want to offer my congratulations to Secretary-to-be Albright, her family and her friends on this historic occasion. I believe President Clinton made a sound choice, and I believe Secretary Albright will serve America honorably.

With that, Mr. President, I have been asked to yield back time on both sides. I believe we are prepared to vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of Madeleine Korbelt Albright, of the District of Columbia, to be Secretary of State? The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 99, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 1 Ex.]

YEAS—99

Abraham	Faircloth	Lieberman
Akaka	Feingold	Lott
Allard	Feinstein	Lugar
Ashcroft	Ford	Mack
Baucus	Frist	McCain
Bennett	Glenn	McConnell
Biden	Gorton	Mikulski
Bingaman	Graham	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Gramm	Moynihan
Boxer	Grams	Murkowski
Breaux	Grassley	Murray
Brownback	Gregg	Nickles
Bryan	Hagel	Reed
Bumpers	Harkin	Reid
Burns	Hatch	Robb
Byrd	Helms	Roberts
Campbell	Hollings	Roth
Chafee	Hutchinson	Santorum
Cleland	Hutchison	Sarbanes
Coats	Inhofe	Sessions
Cochran	Inouye	Shelby
Collins	Jeffords	Smith Bob
Conrad	Johnson	Smith Gordon H
Coverdell	Kempthorne	Snowe
Craig	Kennedy	Specter
D'Amato	Kerrey	Stevens
Daschle	Kerry	Thomas
DeWine	Kohl	Thompson
Dodd	Kyl	Thurmond
Domenici	Landrieu	Torricelli
Dorgan	Lautenberg	Warner
Durbin	Leahy	Wellstone
Enzi	Levin	Wyden

NOT VOTING—1

Rockefeller

The nomination was confirmed.

Mr. HELMS. I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume legislative session.

The Chair suggests the absence of a quorum. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

ANOTHER RECORD FOR ROBERT C. BYRD

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, so far, January has been quite a month for our highly esteemed colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia. On January 8, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD observed the 50th anniversary of the day he entered public service as a member of the West Virginia House of Delegates.

To commemorate this significant event, Senator BYRD returned to the West Virginia State capitol on January 11 to join hundreds of grateful West Virginians and other friends in the unveiling of a bronze statue.

This likeness of Senator BYRD, prominently placed in the capitol's ro-

tunda, will serve to remind future generations of his service to his State and to his country.

Just 2 days after the Charleston, WV, ceremony, ROBERT BYRD achieved another major distinction. On January 13, 1997, he became the fourth longest serving U.S. Senator in the history of our republic, with a service record of 38 years and 10 days.

Think of it, Mr. President. Of the 1,843 past and present senators, only three have served longer than ROBERT C. BYRD. In another 3 years, SENATOR BYRD will exceed the 41-year service record of my immediate predecessor from Mississippi, John C. Stennis.

After that, Senator BYRD's only challengers will be the current record holder, Carl Hayden of Arizona—41 years and 10 months, and the current second longest serving member, our highly regarded colleague from South Carolina, STROM THURMOND.

I shall have more to say about Senator THURMOND in May of this year, when he breaks Senator Hayden's record.

Each of us in this body, from the most junior to the most seasoned, would do well to pay close attention to ROBERT C. BYRD—a man of great historical knowledge. When ROBERT C. BYRD speaks about the role of the Senate in American Government, he deserves our most careful attention.

On behalf of all Senators, I commend Senator BYRD for his long service to our country.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, momentarily, we hope to propound a unanimous-consent agreement about the time and how we will handle the nomination of our colleague, former Senator Bill Cohen. We are working on the final preparation and notification on that, and then we will ask for an agreement at that time.

AUTHORIZING SENATE LEGAL COUNSEL REPRESENTATION

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Senate Resolution 21, submitted earlier today by myself and Senator DASCHLE.

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

The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 21) to direct the Senate legal counsel to appear as amicus curiae in the name of the Senate in *Sen. Robert C. BYRD, et al. v. Franklin D. Raines, et al.*

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, the resolution directs the Senate legal counsel to appear as amicus curiae, as friend of the court, in the name of the Senate in

a case pending in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, and ask for its immediate consideration.

Mr. President, on April 9, 1996, President Clinton signed into law the Line Item Veto Act. This act was the product of years of legislative consideration and much protracted debate.

Beginning January 1 of this year and through the year 2004, the Line Item Veto Act provides the President with the authority, under a set of carefully circumscribed limitations, to cancel particular items of appropriation, direct spending or limited tax benefit in any bill.

The President must report any such cancellation to Congress by special message within 5 days after his approval of the bill containing such spending or tax provisions. Congress then has the opportunity to decide whether to pass a law disapproving the President's cancellation and mandating the spending or tax benefit.

As I have stated, this Act was passed after much consideration and debate understanding the potential Constitutional implications. In the end, Congress determined to empower the President in this manner in recognition of the fact that strong tools are necessary if we are to achieve our goal of finally getting the Federal budget in balance.

Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from West Virginia, Mr. BYRD, and three other of our colleagues, the former senior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Hatfield, the senior Senator from Michigan, Mr. LEVIN, and the senior Senator from New York, Mr. MOYNIHAN, joined by two Members of the House of Representatives, have filed an action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia challenging the constitutionality of the act. They assert in their lawsuit that the act violates the lawmaking provisions of article I of the Constitution by authorizing the President to nullify the effect of portions of recently enacted laws.

The lawsuit at issue was commenced pursuant to a special judicial review provision, section 3 of the act, authorizing the filing of an action by any Member of Congress to seek declaratory or injunctive relief on the ground that the act violates the Constitution.

This judicial review provision also gives each House of Congress the right to intervene in the suit in defense of the act. Further, the law provides for direct appeal from any decision of the district court to the Supreme Court and requires both courts to expedite their handling of the action.

The Department of Justice will represent the defendants in the lawsuit, namely the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Secretary of the Treasury. As such, there appears to be no need for the Senate to intervene formally in the suit as a party defendant.

Nonetheless, title VII of the Ethics in Government Act authorizes the Senate