

Stingers are actually very available on the international arms market. We sent about 1,000 Stingers to Afghan rebels during the 1980's. However, since the departure of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the Afghan factions have been using Stingers to raise money and barter for other weapons for their civil war.

The CIA was so alarmed by this trend that it began a program to buy Stingers back from the Afghan rebels. But this program met with limited success, since the result was that the price that Stingers could command on the international arms market doubled or trebled.

And the CIA's efforts came too late. Media reports suggest that Iran, Libya, and North Korea now have Stinger missiles. These are the rogue states that pose the most immediate threat to our security and that of our allies.

OUR ARMS BOOMERANG AGAINST US

Mr. President, if those Stingers are ever used against us, the missiles we shipped abroad will have come full circle. It will be another example of what is known as the arms trade boomerang, the tragic pattern of our troops facing enemies armed with U.S. weapons and technology.

The last four times American troops have seen significant combat—in Panama, Iraq, Somalia, and Haiti—our weapons and military know-how boomeranged against us.

For example, in the 5 years before our occupation of Panama to bring druglord Manuel Noriega back to the United States for trial, the United States accounted for 44 percent of Panama's arms imports. From 1950 through 1987, we also trained 6,700 Panamanian military officers under the Pentagon's International Military Education and Training Program.

Worse than the Panama example is the fact that international arms merchants sold Iraq \$400 million in United States-designed cluster bombs plus our technology for manufacturing howitzers. We apparently intended the cluster bombs to be used against Iranian "human wave" attacks during the Iran-Iraq war. Fortunately, our control of the airspace over Iraq during the Persian Gulf war meant that these cluster bombs were never used against American troops.

We sold Somalia 4,800 M-16 rifles, 84 106-millimeter recoilless rifles, 24 machine guns, 75 81-millimeter mortars, and land mines—the kind of weapons that Mohammed Farah Aideed's technicals would later use to kill 23 American soldiers. From 1985 to 1989, we sold Somalia 31 percent of its arms imports.

And as for Haiti, where we had the good fortune not to suffer major casualties, we had armed and trained Haiti's military. William Hartung of the World Policy Institute states that, "Total US arms deliveries to Haiti . . . from 1987 to 1991 exceeded 25 percent of total Haitian arms imports." The Duvalier regime faced no external

threat, and we had no business arming such a hated dictatorship. Yet we did it anyway.

Mr. President, that is why we need the arms transfers code of conduct. We need to exercise self-restraint in the international arms bazaar.

CODE OF CONDUCT A COMMONSENSE APPROACH

The Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers Act is a commonsense approach to conventional arms control. It aims to block the arms trade boomerang, to prevent us from arming the wrong governments and to put a lid on ethnic conflict and instability.

In brief, the code would establish criteria for governments to be eligible for U.S. military assistance or arms transfers. To be eligible, a government must:

First, promote democracy through fair and free elections, civilian control of the military, the rule of law, freedom of speech and of the press, and strong civil society;

Second, respect human rights by not engaging in gross violations of internationally recognized human rights;

Third, observe international borders, and not be engaged in armed aggression in violation of international law; and

Fourth, participate in the U.N. conventional arms registry, which provides transparency to the world arms market by listing major arms sales and transfers.

There are two exemptions for countries that do not meet these criteria. First, the President could determine that an emergency exists, and that it is vital in the emergency to provide arms and military aid to a government that does not meet all of the above criteria. This determination would waive the act's restrictions and enable the arms shipment or military aid to go forward.

Alternatively, the President could request an exemption from the Congress, certifying that it is in national interest of the United States to provide arms or military aid to a government that does not meet all of the above criteria. That exemption would take effect unless the Congress passes a law disapproving the request.

I believe that these two exemptions—the emergency waiver and the national security waiver—provide the President with appropriate flexibility.

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP NEEDED

Lastly, I would note that the code of conduct concept is an international effort that requires American leadership. The worldwide effort to control arms sales needs a positive sign from the U.S. Senate in order to come to fruition.

The newly elected Labor government in the United Kingdom has taken the first step by announcing on May 22 its intent to restrict arms sales. However, Britain's arms manufacturers are crying foul, because no other country has yet followed Britain's lead. British defense firms are losing out in the international arms market because Britain is out in front on this issue. We need to stand shoulder to shoulder with the United Kingdom on this critical issue.

It is important to note that if the U.S. Congress were to approve the code, the European Union would likely follow. The United States and the European Union between them account for at least 75 percent of the international arms market each year. Codes of conduct for American and European arms sales would go far toward establishing a worldwide conventional arms sales regime.

That is what Oscar Arias, Elie Wiesel, the Dalai Lama, and 12 other Nobel Peace Prize winners are working towards. A number of delegations to the United Nations, Germany's foremost among them, have been working toward a U.N. General Assembly vote on a code of conduct. This is an international campaign, but it needs American leadership to succeed.

Last year the Senator from Massachusetts offered a second-degree amendment to my Code of Conduct amendment making this very point. The code of conduct must be a multilateral effort for it to succeed. Otherwise, our defense firms will simply see foreign defense contractors grab our market share.

LET US SET A STANDARD THE WORLD CAN FOLLOW

In summary, I would like to congratulate the Senator from Massachusetts for his leadership on this matter. With his usual vision on arms control matters, has grasped a fundamental point. We must try to extend the concept of arms control to the international conventional arms market. The code of conduct is the right legislation for a world that has seen the end of the cold war.

Passing the code of conduct bill will help us save taxpayer dollars, protect the lives of American troops, prevent American weapons from going to repressive regimes, and safeguard innocent civilians from military violence.

Let us set a standard the world can follow. Let us show the European Union that we can exercise restraint—that we will not sell conventional arms to any government that asks for them. Once America leads, the nations will follow—to a safer world, for all of us.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Thursday, July 24, 1997, the Federal debt stood at \$5,368,881,340,728.99. (Five trillion, three hundred sixty-eight billion, eight hundred eighty-one million, three hundred forty thousand, seven hundred twenty-eight dollars and ninety-nine cents)

One year ago, July 24, 1996, the Federal debt stood at \$5,173,226,000,000. (Five trillion, one hundred seventy-three billion, two hundred twenty-six million)

Five years ago, July 24, 1992, the Federal debt stood at \$3,989,786,000,000. (Three trillion, nine hundred eighty-nine billion, seven hundred eighty-six million)

Ten years ago, July 24, 1987, the Federal debt stood at \$2,300,013,000,000.

(Two trillion, three hundred billion, thirteen million)

Twenty-five years ago, July 24, 1972, the Federal debt stood at \$434,436,000,000 (Four hundred thirty-four billion, four hundred thirty-six million) which reflects a debt increase of nearly \$5 trillion—\$4,934,445,340,728.99 (Four trillion, nine hundred thirty-four billion, four hundred forty-five million, three hundred forty thousand, seven hundred twenty-eight dollars and ninety-nine cents) during the past 25 years.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:49 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2160. An act making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 709. An act to reauthorize and amend the National Geologic Mapping Act of 1992, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1226. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to prevent the unauthorized inspection of tax returns or tax return information.

The enrolled bills were signed subsequently by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

At 2:48 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 123. Concurrent resolution providing for the use of the catafalque situated in the crypt beneath the rotunda of the Capitol in connection with memorial services to be conducted in the Supreme Court Building for the late honorable William J. Brennan, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The message also announced that the House disagrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1119) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1998 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for the such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes, and agrees to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon; and that the following Members as the managers of the conference on the part of the House:

From the Committee on National Security, for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. SPENCE, Mr. STUMP, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. KASICH, Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania,

Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. BUYER, Mrs. FOWLER, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. TALENT, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. WATTS, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mr. RILEY, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. SISKI, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. ORTIZ, Mr. PICKETT, Mr. EVANS, Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. MEEHAN, Ms. HARMAN, Mr. MCHALE, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. BLAGOJEVICH, Mr. SNYDER, and Mr. RODRIQUEZ.

As additional conferees from the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, for consideration of matters within the jurisdiction of that committee under clause 2 of rule XLVIII: Mr. GOSS, Mr. LEWIS of California, and Mr. DICKS.

As additional conferees from the Committee on Commerce, for consideration of sections 344, 601, 654, 735, 1021, 3143, 3144, 3201, 3202, 3402, and 3404 of the House bill, and sections 338, 601, 663, 706, 1064, 2823, 3136, 3140, 3151, 3160, 3201, and 3402 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. BLILEY, Mr. SCHAEFER of Colorado, and Mr. DINGELL.

Provided, That Mr. OXLEY is appointed in lieu of Mr. SCHAEFER of Colorado for consideration of sections 344 and 1021 of the House bill and section 2823 of the Senate amendment:

Provided further, That Mr. BILIRAKIS is appointed in lieu of Mr. SCHAEFER of Colorado for consideration of sections 601, 654, and 735 of the House bill, and sections 338, 601, 663, and 706 of the Senate amendment:

Provided further, That Mr. TAUZIN is appointed in lieu of Mr. SCHAEFER of Colorado for consideration of section 1064 of the Senate amendment.

As additional conferees from the Committee on Education and the Workforce, for consideration of sections 374, 658, and 3143 of the House bill, and section 664 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. GOODLING, Mr. FAWELL, and Ms. SANCHEZ:

Provided, That Mr. RIGGS is appointed in lieu of Mr. FAWELL for consideration of section 658 of the House bill and section 664 of the Senate amendment.

As additional conferees from the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, for consideration of sections 322 and 3527 of the House bill, and sections 1068, 1107, 2811, and 3527 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. BURTON, Mr. HORN, and Mr. WAXMAN.

As additional conferees from the Committee on House Oversight, for consideration of section 543 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. THOMAS, Mr. NEY, and Mr. GEJDENSON.

As additional conferees from the Committee on International Relations, for consideration of sections 1101-111, 1202, 1204, 1205, 1207, 1210, and 1231-1234 of the House bill, and sections 1009, 1013, 1021, 1022, 1056, 1057, 1082, and 1085 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. GILMAN, Mr. BEREUTER, and Mr. HAMILTON.

As additional conferees from the Committee on the Judiciary, for consideration of sections 374, 1057, 3521, 3522, and 3541 of the House bill, and sections 831, 1073, 1075, 1106, and 1201-1216 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. HYDE, Mr. SMITH of Texas, and Mr. CONYERS.

As additional conferees from the Committee on Resources, for consideration of sections 214, 601, 653, 1021, 2835, 2901-2914, and 3404 of the House bill, and sections 234, 381-392, 601, 706, 2819, and 3158 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. TAUZIN, and Mr. MILLER of California:

Provided, That Mr. HEFLEY is appointed in lieu of Mr. SAXTON for consideration of section 3404 of the House bill.

Provided further, That Mr. DELAHUNT is appointed in lieu of Mr. MILLER of California for consideration of sections 2901-2914 of the House bill, and sections 381-392 of the Senate amendment.

As additional conferees from the Committee on Science, for consideration of sections 214 and 3148 of the House bill, and sections 234 and 1064 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. SENSENBRENNER, Mr. CALVERT, and Mr. BROWN of California:

Provided, That Mr. ROHRBACHER is appointed in lieu of Mr. CALVERT for consideration of section 1064 of the Senate amendment.

As additional conferees from the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, for consideration of sections 345, 563, 601, 1021, 2861, and 3606 of the House bill, and section 601 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. SHUSTER, Mr. GILCREST, and Mr. BORSKI.

As additional conferees from the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, for consideration of sections 751, 752, and 759 of the House bill, and sections 220, 542, 751, 752, 758, 1069, 1074, and 1076 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. BILIRAKIS, and Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following measure was read the second time and placed on the calendar.

S. 1065. A bill to amend the Ethics in Government Act with respect to the appointment of an independent counsel.

The following measure was read the first and second times by unanimous consent and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 2160. An act making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-2598. A communication from the Director of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services" (RIN0720-AA36) received on July 24, 1997; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2599. A communication from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting a notice of a retirement; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2600. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (Civil Works), transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule received on July 24, 1997; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2601. A communication from the Administrator of the U.S. General Services Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of an alteration prospectus; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-2602. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Performance Improvement 1997: Evaluation