

dead and, by the grace of God and these law enforcement officers, not more—how clear a case must we have?

I repeat our policy, the United States policy:

First, make no concessions to terrorists and strike no deals.

Not only was there clemency offered here but the standards of it were made known: If you will just promise not to associate with that kind of crowd anymore and tell us you are going to be OK and you won't do this anymore, we are going to let you out. What an absurd condition, relating to people who have been convicted for international terrorism.

My point here is that the New York Times editorial is hopelessly lost because there is no way to achieve anything other than a mixed signal. If the policy is "make no concessions to terrorists and strike no deals," and the President makes a deal with 16 terrorists and says you can get out because you didn't throw the bomb, what kind of message is that? Does that mean bin Laden is some lesser problem to the United States because he did not personally throw the bomb in Kenya and Tanzania? Is he, therefore, less of a threat to the United States just because he planned it, less than the person who threw it? Would anybody in their right mind believe that?

So we do have a mixed signal. And, therefore, we need these resolutions to be adopted by the people's branch of Government that says to these terrorists wherever they are, whatever their plans, our policy is: Make no concessions and strike no deals, and if you are arrested and caught by these law enforcement officers, you are going to face the harshest form of justice. It is the only way we will be able to stabilize the threat of terrorism in the United States.

I am going to conclude by just noting that the House resolution on this subject, H. Con. Res. 180, has just been agreed to. There were 311 Members of the House who voted "aye," 41 voted "no." But here is the shocker: 72 only voted "present." That is pretty remarkable.

I have always said the best barometer of where the American people are is the House. It is a great barometer. This says the American people do not accept this incongruity in our pursuit to throttle terrorism. The message that has been sent by the President is a wrong message, and the responsibility of the people's branch is to get the message straight and fast.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative assistant proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SESSIONS. 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. SESSIONS. Mr. President, one of the key things in any pardon is that

the individual is presumed to be guilty of the offenses, and when they review a pardon or a clemency it normally does not even deal with the question of guilt or innocence. It is assumed since the jury has convicted them and the case has been affirmed—and I don't think there is any doubt about these defendants. They have never even denied their involvement in these offenses. But I would like to point out that before you have clemency for individuals, they really should renounce, clearly and unequivocally, the acts which they have done.

You would think that would mean some of these prisoners would say that violence in these circumstances was terribly wrong, I wish I hadn't done it, I am sorry for the lives, I apologize for the destruction and devastation it has caused. But that is not the case.

I am reading here from the Washington Post, a newspaper here in Washington known for its pro-Clinton leanings. This is what Michael Kelly has written about this very subject, about whether or not they have renounced their wrongdoing. He says:

... none of the 16 prisoners has ever admitted to complicity in any fatal bombings or expressed specific remorse for those bombings. No one has ever apologized to the families of those murdered. The statement signed by the 12 who have accepted commutation does renounce the use of violence, but it expresses no contrition or responsibility for past actions.

And these selected statements distributed by the White House did not fully and honestly represent the views of the 16. Not included, for instance, was a 1998 [just last year] statement by one of the FALN leaders, Oscar Lopez Rivera, in which Rivera rejected the whole idea of contrition.

I am quoting here Michael Kelly in the Washington Post:

I cannot undo what's done. The whole idea of contrition, atonement, I have a problem with that.

So I will just say that is a sad event we are now proposing, to offer clemency to persons with that type of mentality. I believe this has been a colossal error, a great stain on the integrity and consistency of the Department of Justice pardon and commutation procedures. It cannot be explained to any rational person. It represents an aberrational, unfair, and unjust act that I can only conclude was driven by some forces, probably political, outside the realm of justice. It is a terrible thing.

I agree with the Senator from Georgia, it is important that at least this branch of Government, the Senate and the House, speak out clearly and deplore it.

I thank the Senate for its time and attention and I yield the floor.

Mr. COCHRAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

#### RUSSIAN STATEMENTS REGARDING THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, the National Missile Defense Act makes it

the policy of the United States to deploy a limited national missile defense system as soon as the technology to do so is ready. This act was passed by large margins in both Houses. Because the Anti-Ballistic Missile or ABM Treaty prohibits such a system, that treaty must be modified.

That point was made in the debate on the National Missile Defense Act in the Senate, and it is the reason why administration officials have engaged the Russian Government in discussions on modifying the treaty. These discussions began last month in Moscow, and I am pleased that staff members of the Senate's National Security Working Group were able to attend and be briefed on the progress of those talks. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott is in Moscow for further negotiations on this and other important issues.

But I am very disturbed by reported comments of Russian officials on this subject. Today, for example, it was reported that Mr. Roman Popkovich, Chairman of the Defense Committee of the Russian Parliament, said that if the United States builds a missile defense system, Russia may respond by "developing an entirely new kind of offensive weapon." Mr. Popkovich was also quoted in this story as saying, "No anti-missile defense will be able to stop our new missiles."

His are not the first such comments we have heard about modifying the ABM Treaty. The lead Russian negotiator, Grigory Berdennikov, said the mere raising of the issue meant "the arms race could now leap to outer space." Gen. Leonid Ivashov, head of International Cooperation in the Russian Ministry of Defense, said that modifying the treaty "would be to destroy the entire process of nuclear arms control."

I don't know the motivations for such statements, but I believe they deserve a response. There should be no misunderstanding of our Nation's intentions with respect to national missile defense. We face a real and growing threat of ballistic missile attack from rogue states or outlaw nations. That threat is advancing, often in unanticipated ways. The U.S. Government has a duty to protect its citizens from this threat.

It is our policy, which is now set in law, to deploy a system to defend against limited attack by ballistic missiles as soon as technologically possible. The system we intend to deploy in no way threatens the strategic retaliatory force of Russia. The ABM Treaty, an agreement between two nuclear superpowers engaged in an arms buildup in 1972, prohibits such a system and must be modernized. I am sure Russian officials know all of this. They have been briefed repeatedly on the U.S. assessment of the threat. They have been briefed repeatedly on U.S. plans for national missile defense and know as well as we do that the system we contemplate is not directed at Russia and poses no threat to its forces.

So the statements of Mr. Popkovich and the other Russian officials essentially threatening an arms race if the U.S. does what it must do to protect its citizens are very disappointing. They sound like something from the past, an echo of the cold war that is over.

The United States has embarked in good faith in discussions about the need to modernize the ABM Treaty. We negotiated in good faith with Russia when it demanded changes to the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty in order to enable Russia to adapt to changed circumstances. It would be unfortunate if the United States were put in the position of choosing between defending its citizens and adhering to an outdated agreement because we have already determined that we will defend ourselves.

I am confident the Senate will not accept an arrangement in which the U.S. continues to be vulnerable to new threats because of a 27-year-old agreement that is so clearly out of date. What is needed now is for the rhetoric to be cooled, for threats about arms races and new missiles to be set aside, and let serious and fruitful discussions proceed. It is in not only our interest for that to happen but Russia's as well.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative assistant proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENNETT). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Wednesday, September 8, 1999, the Federal debt stood at \$5,656,209,987,935.17 (Five trillion, six hundred fifty-six billion, two hundred nine million, nine hundred eighty-seven thousand, nine hundred thirty-five dollars and seventeen cents).

One year ago, September 8, 1998, the Federal debt stood at \$5,548,700,000,000 (Five trillion, five hundred forty-eight billion, seven hundred million).

Five years ago, September 8, 1994, the Federal debt stood at \$4,679,340,000,000 (Four trillion, six hundred seventy-nine billion, three hundred forty million).

Ten years ago, September 8, 1989, the Federal debt stood at \$2,855,859,000,000 (Two trillion, eight hundred fifty-five billion, eight hundred fifty-nine million) which reflects a doubling of the debt—an increase of almost \$3 trillion—\$2,800,350,987,935.17 (Two trillion, eight hundred billion, three hundred fifty million, nine hundred eighty-seven thousand, nine hundred thirty-five dollars and seventeen cents) during the past 10 years.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

##### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting a treaty and sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following joint resolution was read the second time and placed on the calendar:

S.J. Res. 33. Joint resolution deploring the actions of President Clinton regarding granting clemency to FALN terrorists.

#### 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-5082. A communication from the Acting Director, Office of Sustainable Fisheries, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Closes Bering Sea Subarea of the Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands Management Area for Pollock Allocated to the Inshore Component," received September 2, 1999; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-341. A resolution adopted by the Board of Tipler Township, Florence County, Wisconsin relative to the Nicolet National Forest; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

POM-342. A resolution adopted by the House of the Northern Marianas Commonwealth Legislature relative to the Kyoto Protocol; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

##### HOUSE RESOLUTION No. 11-176

Whereas, the United States is a signatory to the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Global Climate Change (FCCC); and

Whereas, a protocol to implement the goals of the FCCC was negotiated in December 1997 in Kyoto, Japan (the Kyoto Protocol), which, when ratified, will require the United States to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases by seven percent below 1990 levels by the year 2012; and

Whereas, the world's leading climate scientists have warned that rising concentrations of carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse gases" in the atmosphere threaten to increase average global temperatures at unprecedented rates; and

Whereas, climatic alternations will have a dramatic, if not catastrophic, effects on

human health and well-being, severe weather event, agricultural productivity, and other resource industries; and

Whereas, a National Academy of Sciences study concludes that the United States can reduce energy consumption by twenty percent or more, thereby reducing greenhouse gas emissions at a net economic benefit to the country; and

Whereas, increased United States energy efficiency and technological development will improve United States competitiveness in world trade; and

Whereas, past greenhouse emissions have already committed the world to a future rise in global temperatures, thereby making immediate action imperative to protect the health, welfare and security of the American people: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved, by the House of Representatives, Eleventh Northern Marianas Commonwealth Legislature, That the Senate of the United States be urged to ratify the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and that the United States Congress be urged to take the lead in lowering greenhouse gas emissions; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the Speaker of the House shall certify and the House Clerk shall attest to the adoption of this resolution and thereafter transmit copies of this resolution signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives be forwarded by the clerk to the President of the United States Senate, the CNMI Governor, Chair, CNMI 902 Consultation Team, and to the CNMI Washington Representative.*

POM-343. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Texas relative to the McGregor Range at Fort Bliss, Texas; to the Committee on Armed Services.

##### SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 38

Whereas, Future military threats to the United States and its allies may come from technologically advanced rogue states that for the first time are armed with long-range missiles capable of delivering nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons to an increasingly wider range of countries; and

Whereas, The U.S. military strategy requires flexible and strong armed forces that are well-trained, well-equipped, and ready to defend our nation's interests against these devastating weapons of mass destruction; and

Whereas, Previous rounds of military base closures combined with the realignment of the Department of the Army force structure have established Fort Bliss as the Army's Air Defense Artillery Center of Excellence, thus making McGregor Range, which is a part of Fort Bliss, the nation's principal training facility for air defense systems; and

Whereas, McGregor Range is inextricably linked to the advanced missile defense testing network that includes Fort Bliss and the White Sands Missile Range, providing, verifying, and maintaining the highest level of missile defense testing for the Patriot, Avenger, Stinger, and other advanced missile defense systems; and

Whereas, The McGregor Range comprises more than half of the Fort Bliss installation land area, and the range and its restricted airspace in conjunction with the White Sands Missile Range, is crucial to the development and testing of the Army Tactical Missile System and the Theater High Altitude Area Defense System; and

Whereas, The high quality and unique training capabilities of the McGregor Range allow the verification of our military readiness in air-to-ground combat, including the Army's only opportunity to test the Patriot missile in live fire, tactical scenarios, as well