

the detriment of the United States, our industries, and our workers.

I am in agreement with my distinguished colleague from South Carolina,

Senator HOLLINGS, in his assessment of NAFTA last week. We were told that NAFTA would create jobs in America. I have seen in my state that they were wrong.

The U.S. textile and apparel industry has been decimated by imports from the Far East as a result of the Asian "flu" and also illegal transshipments that our government does not catch and which find their way into this country in what is estimated to be an annual volume of somewhere between \$4 and \$10 billion.

For 23 years, U.S. imports have exceeded U.S. exports. Consequently, in the last quarter of the 20th century, the United States has amassed a total trade deficit of more than \$2 trillion. As a result, the United States, which entered the decade of the 1980s as the world's largest creditor nation, leaves the 1990s as the world's largest debtor country.

This is no time to further liberalize trade policy that is hurting not only the textile and apparel industry but also steel, computers, and auto parts where net imports have climbed enormously. Last year, all of manufacturing lost over 340,000 jobs.

Mr. President, when I became a United States Senator, one of my pledges to the people of Maine was that, and continues to be, that I will work to the best of my ability to ensure that their jobs are not lost because of actions taken by their government.

The administration and proponents of NAFTA told us over and over again how good the Agreement would be for creating American jobs. I now hear the same argument with this legislation and I want to say that if what has happened is considered good, then I could not imagine what poor trade legislation would do to the textile and apparel industry.

THE CLIMATE CHANGE ENERGY POLICY RESPONSE ACT AND THE CLIMATE CHANGE TAX AMENDMENTS OF 1999

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, the Climate Change Energy Policy Response Act would bring the debate on global warming and climate change out of the arena of mass speculation and back to the refuge of sound, practical science. This legislation I am cosponsoring with my colleague from Idaho, Senator LARRY CRAIG, would not only move our Nation toward a healthier environment by requiring Federal agencies to establish clear goals for addressing climate change concerns, but it also seeks to protect rural economies that are currently threatened by policies based on scare tactics developed by professional global warming special interest activists and the politicians that cater to their agenda.

One thing that should be pointed out is that for many of the people who attend global warming conferences and who circulate global warming propaganda, global warming is an occupation. This is how they make their living. I make my living by ensuring the people of Wyoming and the United States get a fair deal. Committing our Nation's valuable resources and our children's futures to policies that unduly burden our communities is, to me, not only unfair, it's unconscionable.

This bill would direct the Secretary of Energy to coordinate and establish Federal policy for activities involving climate change. It would require increased peer review of the science used to create that policy and it establishes important objectives for the science such as understanding the Earth's capacity to assimilate natural and man-made greenhouse gas emissions and to evaluate natural phenomena such as El Niño.

I also am cosponsoring companion legislation that would put the power of addressing global warming issues into the hands of those most affected by climate change initiatives. It does this by amending the Internal Revenue Service Code to provide incentives for voluntary reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and for the development of global climate science and technology. This would permanently extend a tax credit for research and development involving climate change. It also would apply tax credits for greenhouse gas emission reduction facilities. This rewards industry for investing in cleaner technology without punishing it for thinking beyond short-term profits.

Our entrepreneurs, small businesses and the employers and employees of large companies have the ability to protect and preserve the environment without sacrificing the global economy. The goals of environmental health and economic stability are not mutually exclusive. For example, voluntary, incentive-based programs, in combination with private efforts, have been largely responsible for the success of wetlands restoration. We made developing and preserving wetlands an asset instead of a burden and as a result we have more wetlands now than before we enacted the incentive-based programs. Resorting to Federal regulations, on the other hand, has produced hostility and confusion on the part of private citizens. Why? Federal regulations are typically cost prohibitive and are promulgated with a single-minded purpose that sacrifices America's ability to respond to future challenges via proactive incentives.

It is my hope that proponents of government-knows-best policy and special interest mandates will set aside their rhetoric and walk with us on the practical path of real, reasonable environmental progress.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Monday,

October 25, 1999, the federal debt stood at \$5,676,428,132,415.49 (Five trillion, six hundred seventy-six billion, four hundred twenty-eight million, one hundred thirty-two thousand, four hundred fifty-two dollars and forty-nine cents).

Five years ago, October 25, 1994, the federal debt stood at \$4,711,435,000,000 (Four trillion, seven hundred eleven billion, four hundred thirty-five million).

Ten years ago, October 25, 1989, the federal debt stood at \$2,876,559,000,000 (Two trillion, eight hundred seventy-six billion, five hundred fifty-nine million).

Fifteen years ago, October 25, 1984, the federal debt stood at \$1,599,358,000,000 (One trillion, five hundred ninety-nine billion, three hundred fifty-eight million).

Twenty-five years ago, October 25, 1974, the federal debt stood at \$480,139,000,000 (Four hundred eighty billion, one hundred thirty-nine million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,196,289,132,415.49 (Five trillion, one hundred ninety-six billion, two hundred eighty-nine million, one hundred thirty-two thousand, four hundred fifty-two dollars and forty-nine cents) during the past 25 years.

FULL DISCLOSURE ON CHILE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the National Security Archives recently released an additional selection of declassified documents from the State Department, Defense Department, and the CIA on U.S. relations with Chile between 1970 and 1973, when the democratically-elected government of President Allende was overthrown by General Pinochet. The release of these documents is part of the Administration's ongoing "Chile Declassification Project," an effort begun following the arrest of General Pinochet last year. According to the President's directive, U.S. national security agencies are directed to "review for release * * * all documents that shed light on human rights abuses, terrorism, and other acts of political violence during and prior to the Pinochet era in Chile."

On October 24, the Washington Post carried two articles which emphasized the need for full disclosure by the CIA of its documents related to its covert operations in Chile during this period. The release of these documents will facilitate a full understanding of this period in U.S.-Chile relations. I believe that these articles will be of interest to all of us in Congress concerned about this issue, and I ask unanimous consent that they may be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 24, 1999]

STILL HIDDEN: A FULL RECORD OF WHAT THE U.S. DID IN CHILE
(By Peter Kornbluh)

As Augusto Pinochet continues to fight extradition from England to face charges of

crimes against humanity, the historical record of U.S. support for the former Chilean dictator remains *desaparecido*—disappeared—like so many victims of his violent regime. Unless President Clinton ensures that the record is brought to light, a singular opportunity to find answers to unresolved cases of atrocities against Chileans and Americans, and to fully understand the role U.S. Government played in this Cold War tragedy, will be lost.

In the wake of Gen. Pinochet's stunning arrest in London one year ago, the Clinton administration has been conducting a special "Chile Declassification Project." On Feb. 1, U.S. national security agencies were directed "on behalf of the president" to begin searching their archives "and review for release . . . all documents that shed light on human rights abuses, terrorism, and other acts of political violence during and prior to the Pinochet era in Chile."

What began as a precedent-setting exercise in official openness, however, has devolved into an example of government censors holding history hostage. The "securocrats" of the national security bureaucracy are blocking the release of virtually all documents that chronicle the full extent of the U.S. role in Chile. The result, so far, is a public record skewed by omission, open to charges of fraud and a coverup.

Chile holds a special place in the annals of American foreign policy. During the mid-1970s, the country that poet Pablo Neruda described as "a long petal of sea, wine, and snow" became the subject of international scandal. News reports revealed that the CIA had conducted massive clandestine operations to undermine the democratically elected socialist government of Salvador Allende and help bring the military to power in 1973. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's embrace of the Pinochet regime, despite its ongoing atrocities, prompted Congress to pass the very first laws establishing human rights as a criterion for U.S. policy abroad.

The CIA's covert operations and the debate over U.S. policy toward Pinochet generated a slew of secret documents. So, too, did the 1973 murder in Chile of two U.S. citizens, freelance writers Charles Horman and Frank Teruggi, as well as the brazen 1976 car bombing in Washington that killed former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier and his American associate, Ronni Karpen Moffitt. The Clinton administration's special review carried the promise of finally declassifying these records and answering the outstanding questions that haunt this shameful era.

Such questions include:

What role did the United States play in the violent coup that brought Pinochet to power?

Why was Horman, whose case was made famous in the Hollywood movie "Missing," detained and executed? Did U.S. intelligence somehow finger him, as recently declassified documents suggest, for the Chilean military?

What support did the CIA provide to Pinochet's notorious secret police, the DINA?

Could the United States have prevented the assassination of Letelier and Moffitt on American soil?

Since the White House ordered declassification, the agencies' review has yielded almost 7,000 documents—a major feat given the usual snail's pace of the national security bureaucracy. On June 30, the administration released some 5,800 records, covering the most repressive years of Pinochet's bloody rule, 1973 to 1978. Significantly, however, 5,000 of those were from the State Department; the CIA released only 500 documents—a fraction of its secret holdings on that period.

On Oct. 8, approximately 1,100 documents were declassified in a second phase that was

supposed to cover the years of Allende's presidency, 1970 to 1973. Based on the accumulated evidence of U.S. involvement in Chile during that period, that figure is a meager percentage of the true record.

To be sure, some of the documents that were declassified contain extremely detailed information on the Pinochet regime, and they undoubtedly will prove useful to future efforts within Chile to hold Pinochet's military officers accountable for human rights violations.

But while Chileans are learning about their dark history from the U.S. documents, American citizens are learning almost nothing about their own government's actions. Among more than 25,000 pages released to date, there is not a single page of the thousands of CIA, National Security Council (NSC) or National Security Agency (NSA) records on U.S. policy and operations to bring down Allende and help Pinochet consolidate his rule. This documentation includes the files of the CIA's covert "Task Force on Chile," planning papers from the Nixon White House, records of U.S. material support for the DINA, and intelligence documents on the Horman and Letelier-Moffitt cases.

That such records exist is beyond dispute. As the subject of repeated controversy over the years, the U.S. role in Chile has generated congressional inquiries, murder investigations, criminal prosecutions and civil lawsuits—not to mention hundreds of requests under the Freedom of Information Act. These have yielded extensive information (which I have spent almost 20 years compiling and analyzing) about what still is hidden.

A close reading of two detailed Senate reports published in 1975, for example, shows that the CIA station in Santiago sent a number of cables about its "liaison relations" with the Chilean DINA after the coup. Justice Department files on the prosecution of former CIA head Richard Helms for lying to Congress about covert operations in Chile reveal that the agency filed daily progress reports on "Track II"—the code name for U.S. efforts to foment a coup against Allende. An aborted lawsuit filed by the Horman family against Kissinger produced references to classified records containing information about Charles Horman's death. But while President Clinton clearly intended these cables, files and records to be released, none of them have been.

The Horman case is a classic example of the cult of secrecy. As the movie "Missing" suggests, his family has long suspected that the U.S. intelligence community knew far more than it admitted about how and why he was singled out by the Chilean military after the coup. But it took 26 years for the U.S. government to acknowledge that State Department officials shared the family's suspicion. "U.S. intelligence may have played a part in Horman's death. At best, it was limited to providing or confirming information that helped motivate his murder. . . ." according to a passage in an Aug. 25, 1976, State Department memorandum released this month—a document that Horman's widow, Joyce calls "close to a smoking pistol." (When the same document was released to the family in 1980, this critical paragraph was blacked out.) And although Clinton's order explicitly directed agencies to declassify documents on Horman, neither the CIA nor the NSA has released a single record relating to his case.

Hundreds of documents have also been withheld on the Letelier and Moffitt assassinations—albeit with the explanation, wholly unsatisfactory to their families, that these records are material to an "ongoing" investigation into Pinochet's possible role.

As coordinator of the Chile Declassification Project, the NSC bears responsibility for failure to comply with the president's directive. Under its watch, countless documents have been blocked from release.

The CIA, which has the most to offer history but also the most to hide, has refused to conduct a full file search of its covert action branch, the Directorate of Operations. After I sent a comprehensive list of documents missing from the first release to the CIA's declassification center—the address of which is classified—an official informed me that the agency was "not legally obliged" to search such file because it had never "officially acknowledged" covert operations in Chile. (President Gerald Ford's public admission in 1974 that the CIA had covertly intervened in Chile apparently doesn't count.)

Moreover, with the acquiescence of the NSC, the intelligence community has taken the position that policy and planning documents are "not responsive" to the president's directive. Under this narrow interpretation, the deliberations of Nixon, Kissinger, Helms and others in plotting and financing political violence in Chile will not be considered for declassification—severely distorting the historical record.

Consider one example: The CIA has released one heavily blacked-out cable reporting on the October 1970 kidnapping and murder of Chilean Gen. Gene Schneider, who opposed a military move against Allende. But the agency did not even submit for review the dozens of secret "memcons" (memorandums of conversations), meeting minutes and briefing papers showing that the White House and the CIA covertly orchestrated this operation in an aborted attempt to instigate a coup in Chile.

To the surprise of the intelligence community, the National Archives Records Administration (NARA) found such documents among Nixon's papers. In compliance with Clinton's order, these records were submitted to the Chile Declassification Project, but CIA and NSA officials objected to their release. Since the documents deal with the Allende era, they should have been made public on Oct. 8. They weren't.

It is unclear how many, if any, will be included in the third and final declassification, now scheduled for April. Under the media spotlight, the CIA recently said it will review some records related to covert action. But it is unlikely that the credibility of this important project can be salvaged unless the president explicitly orders full cooperation and maximum disclosure.

There are compelling reasons to do so:

Abroad, Washington's reputation as a standard-bearer on human rights is at stake. It will prove far more difficult to encourage Chileans to undergo a process of truth and reconciliation if Washington is unwilling to admit its own involvement in their history. Indeed, the credibility of U.S. diplomatic efforts to press other nations, from Germany to Guatemala, to acknowledge and redress their mistakes of the past will be undermined by this flagrant attempt to hide our own.

At home, the American public has the right to know the full story of U.S. policy toward Chile and Pinochet's brutal regime. And his victims' families deserve to be able to lay this painful history to rest. Clinton's directive said the declassification project responded, in part, "to the expressed wishes of the families of American victims." But an incomplete review, as Joyce Horman wrote recently, would be "little more than an exercise in hypocrisy."

At least rhetorically, Clinton appears to agree: "I think you're entitled to know what happened back then and how it happened," he recently told reporters. We are indeed.

But only if he takes concrete action to support his words will Americans finally learn what was done in Chile—in our name, but without our knowledge.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 24, 1999]
THE 'JEWELS' THAT SPOOKED THE CIA
(By Vernon Loeb)

President Clinton's order to declassify all U.S. government documents on human rights abuses and political violence in Chile has forcefully recalled the most painful period in agency history.

It is a cautionary tale of secrets and lies, burned deep into the CIA psyche. It begins on Feb. 7, 1973, with the question that Sen. Stuart Symington put to former CIA director Richard Helms before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"Did you try in the Central Intelligence Agency to overthrow the government of Chile?"

"No, sir," Helms replied.

The facts told a different story, and three months later, after an order came down asking all CIA employees to report any evidence they had of any unlawful acts, someone at Langley questioned the truthfulness of Helms's response.

His prevarication found its way into a 693-page compendium of CIA misdeeds that was being compiled by the new director of central intelligence, William Colby—a document that came to be known as "the Family Jewels."

The Family Jewels told all: of plots to assassinate foreign leaders, overthrow government, bug journalists, test psychedelic drugs on unwary subjects. And, of course, of the agency's efforts to destabilize the socialist regime of Chilean President Salvador Allende.

Colby shared the Family Jewels with Congress, the White House and, to a lesser extent, the news media. He hand-delivered a chapter to the Justice Department that directly led to Helms facing criminal charges over his Chile testimony. And Colby's revelations prompted the creation of the Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, known as the Church Committee after its chairman, Sen. Frank Church.

Once the committee issued its final report, the CIA's ability to do pretty much as it pleased without telling anyone was over: Both houses of Congress created standing select committees to oversee the CIA as a full-time pursuit.

To this day, Helms—who pleaded no contest in 1977 for failing to testify fully to Congress, was ordered to pay a \$2,000 fine and was given a two-year suspended sentence—remains one of the most revered figures in the secrecy-based CIA culture. (At 86, he is currently working on his memoirs.) But Colby, who died in 1996, is deeply resented by many for what is seen as betrayal.

"The first principle of a secret intelligence service is secrecy," Thomas Powers wrote in his 1979 biography of Helms, "The Man Who Kept the Secrets."

"It was bad enough this ancient history was being raked up at all, but to have it raked up in public, with all the attendant hypocrisy of a political investigation conducted by political men . . . This, truly, in Richard Helms' view, threatened to destroy the agency he and a lot of men had spent their lives trying to build."

Whether a new spirit of openness prevails at the CIA remains to be seen, at least when it comes to Clinton's declassification order on Chile. No covert action documents relating to CIA operations in Chile have yet been made public. But CIA spokesman Mark Mansfield said their release is only a matter of time.

"We're still very much in the middle of this, and we are going to be as forthcoming as possible," Mansfield said, "consistent

with protecting legitimate sources and methods."

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 sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

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

A DRAFT OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION RELATIVE TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 68

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following messages from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for your immediate consideration a legislative proposal entitled the "Strengthen Social Security and Medicare Act of 1999."

The Social Security system is one of the cornerstones of American national policy and together with the additional protections afforded by the Medicare system, has helped provide retirement security for millions of Americans over the last 60 years. However, the long-term solvency of the Social Security and Medicare trust funds is not guaranteed. The Social Security trust fund is currently expected to become insolvent starting in 2034 as the number of retired workers doubles. The Medicare system also faces significant financial shortfalls, with the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund projected to become exhausted in 2015. We need to take additional steps to strengthen Social Security and Medicare for future generations of Americans.

In addition to preserving Social Security and Medicare, the Congress and the President have a responsibility to future generations to reduce the debt held by the public. Paying down the debt will produce substantial interest savings, and this legislation proposes to devote these entirely to Social Security after 2010. At the same time, by contributing to the growth of the overall economy debt reduction will improve the Government's ability to fulfill its responsibilities and to face future challenges, including preserving and strengthening Social Security and Medicare.

The enclosed bill would help achieve these goals by devoting the entire Social Security surpluses to debt reduction, extending the solvency of Social Security to 2050, protecting Social Security and Medicare funds in the budget process, reserving one-third of the non-Social Security surplus to

strengthen and modernize Medicare, and paying down the debt by 2015. It is clear and straightforward legislation that would strengthen and preserve Social Security and Medicare for our children and grandchildren. The bill would:

—Extend the life of Social Security from 2034 to 2050 by reinvesting the interest savings from the debt reduction resulting from Social Security surpluses.

—Establish a Medicare surplus reserve equal to one-third of any on-budget surplus for the total of the period of fiscal years 2000 through 2009 to strengthen and modernize Medicare.

—Add a further protection for Social Security and Medicare by extending the budget enforcement rules that have provided the foundation of our fiscal discipline, including the discretionary caps and pay-as-you-go budget rules.

I urge the prompt and favorable consideration of this proposal.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, October 26, 1999.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:20 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hanrahan, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 754. An act to establish a toll free number under the Federal Trade Commission to assist consumers in determining if products are American-made.

H.R. 915. An act to authorize a cost of living adjustment in the pay of administrative law judges.

H.R. 2303. An act to direct the Librarian of Congress to prepare the history of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3111. An act to exempt certain reports from automatic elimination and sunset pursuant to the Federal Reports Elimination and Sunset Act of 1995.

H.R. 3122. An act to permit the enrollment in the House of Representatives Child Care Center of children of Federal employees who are not employees of the legislative branch.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the following resolution:

H. Res. 341. Resolution expressing the condolences of the House of Representatives on the death of Senator John H. Chafee.

The message further announced the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 194. Concurrent resolution recognizing the contributions of 4-H Clubs and their members to voluntary community service.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

At 2:36 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 2367. An act to reauthorize a comprehensive program of support for victims of torture.