

as I am sure he is already aware, that absent an act of Congress, the statute makes it clear that neither the President nor any person or agency acting on behalf of the United States can vote to approve the sale of IMF gold.

Mr. ALLARD. I thank the chairman for that clarification. Would it be fair to conclude, I say to my friend from Kentucky, that you are not in a position to support legislation that would seek to have this Congress authorize U.S. approval of the sale of IMF gold?

Mr. MCCONNELL. The Senator from Colorado is absolutely correct. For the reasons I have outlined, I believe the proposal to sell IMF gold as part of the HIPC Initiative is misguided and just plain bad policy. I could not support legislation authorizing such a sale as part of this or any bill. And, I will say to the distinguished Senator from Colorado, that when I take this bill to conference with the House, we will include a Statement of Manager's language that will reiterate that the sale of IMF gold cannot go forward unless we in Congress specifically provide authorization.

Mr. ALLARD. I thank the chairman.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I rise today to express my concern about the proposed reduction of funding for the Peace Corps in this foreign operations appropriations bill—a reduction that is contrary to the will of Congress as expressed by the overwhelming, bipartisan support for the Peace Corps Reauthorization Act, which passed unanimously this session in both Houses of Congress.

I am mindful of the constraints imposed by the lower allocations to the appropriators. But Congress has spoken affirmatively on the issue of increased funding for the Peace Corps. The authorizing committee and, then, this body, supported the bill by unanimous consent. A few months earlier, the House passed the measure by a vote of 326-90. President Clinton immediately signed the bill in May.

Mr. President, as chairman of the authorizing committee for the Peace Corps, I worked with the committees' ranking Member and former Peace Corps Volunteer, Senator DODD, to sponsor the Peace Corps Act. The Act authorizes a 12 percent increase for Fiscal Year 2000 and is part of a multiyear plan to enable the Peace Corps to reach its goal of 10,000 Volunteers by 2003. Reaching this mark has been a long-standing goal of Congress—a goal set into law in 1985.

Despite the consistent endorsement of the growth plan, the Appropriations Committee has recommended a \$50 million reduction in funding from the authorized amount (and \$20 million less than the Peace Corps current budget of \$240 million). This appropriation is ill-advised. If enacted, it would deny the Peace Corps the opportunity to reach its goal of 10,000 Volunteers serving abroad. And, even worse, it would force the Agency to cut the current level of Volunteers by over 1,000 (That is, from 6,700 to 5,700) Volunteers).

I recognize the constraints under which the Peace Corps and all federal programs must operate. For that reason, I have been a close observer of the Peace Corps activities, as has Senator DODD, in exercising our oversight responsibilities. I remain confident that the Peace Corps remains the best foreign assistance program of its kind, and that it has systems in place to continue fielding Volunteers responsibly and efficiently. Part of the genius of the Peace Corps is its ability to use a relatively small amount of money to do big things. Even if the Peace Corps received full funding at \$270 million, the amount would be about 1 percent of our foreign aid budget.

Mr. President, I believe that the Peace Corps is well prepared to begin implementation of the multi-year plan. I urge the appropriators to join the Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle and in both Houses who have overwhelmingly endorsed this worthy goal.

#### U.S.-HAITI POLICY

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I have a long standing interest in Haiti. I have made seven trips to this island nation in the past four years. I have spoken often about the developments in that country here on the Senate floor. I am here today because I am extremely concerned about the tumultuous conditions in Haiti. And, I feel the United States must understand the immediacy and vast importance of the present situation in order to act in an appropriate way.

Mr. President, the serious political and financial circumstances leave Haiti at a crossroads. In order to survive, Haiti must act decisively, and the global community must respond accordingly.

It is of vital importance that Haiti holds Parliamentary elections this year, and that we respond with our technical and security resources to support and strengthen this process. In addition, the U.S. Governments' policy on limiting financial assistance, which in the past I have whole heartedly embraced and which has been effective, should now be re-thought.

Haiti has a heritage of political turmoil and unrest. To understand the present situation, one must first comprehend the series of events in the two years which have led to this unfortunate circumstance.

The seriously flawed April 6, 1997 elections, which attracted less than 5 percent of the Haitian electorate, provoked the resignation in June 1997 of Prime Minister Rosney Smarth. For twenty months, a political deadlock existed between President Rene Preval and the majority party in Parliament over the contested April 1997 elections and over President Preval's nominee for Prime Minister, Jacques Edouard Alexis. The political crisis virtually paralyzed the government and delayed millions of dollars in international aid to Haiti.

Mr. President, in January of this year, Haiti's drawn out crisis took a very troubling turn when President Preval announced that the Haitian National Assembly's term had expired and that he would proceed to install a government by "executive order." What happened in essence, of course, was that President Preval chose to ignore Haiti's Parliament and rule by decree. Tragically, President Preval effectively disbanded the Parliament and stripped them of their power.

Even though Prime Minister Alexis was approved by both Houses before the Parliament was dissolved, the new Prime Minister does not yet have any authority to govern because his cabinet has not been approved by the Parliament. And since there is no functioning Parliament, there can be no confirmation of the Prime Minister's cabinet. We have gone from a long period without a Prime Minister in Haiti to a period now without a governing Parliament.

While the political crisis in Haiti deepens, there has been some progress made. In March of this year, President Preval and the opposition political parties agreed on a Provisional Electoral Council, charge with establishing fair and equal elections. And the Council has been effective. Specifically, the Council recently made a brave and bold move by announcing the annulment of the April 1997 elections. Mr. President, I applaud this recent action. We need to support this recent overture and take it to the next level. We must urge the Haitians to have parliamentary elections.

We know that the present political vacuum must be filled with a credible government or else, we may risk it being filled by a de facto dictatorship. The global community has the responsibility to take action now.

First, the Haitians must have Parliamentary elections before the end of this year. A balance of power is fundamental to an effective democracy. The election of a new Parliament prior to Presidential elections in December 2000, begins establishing this foundational balance, which is in the best interest of Haiti.

The United States and the international community have the ability and resources to help in two specific ways, through technical assistance and security reinforcement. In order to ensure that the Haitians hold free, fair, open, and credible elections, the United States, in partnership with the international community, must leverage all available assets in a coordinated effort to support the election process.

The United States should provide resources in support of the election process to include the encouragement of political coalition building. The technical assistance can be coordinated by the other countries who are involved in Haiti that can also provide substantial financial help.

In addition to the technical assistance, Haiti's security must be

strengthened in order for the elections to be held in a safe environment. We must increase support to the Haitian National Police. In addition, provisions should be made so that United Nations Civilian Police—known as the CIVPOL—can continue its important mission through this election period. There should also be a large and significant presence of international observers during the six to eight weeks prior of the elections. These basic actions taken quickly and with authority will demonstrate that the United States is committed to democracy in Haiti.

Second, we need to re-assess U.S. policy on financial assistance to Haiti.

For the past several years, the U.S. Government has conditioned assistance to the Haiti due to the Haitian Government's ineptness. While the United States has tried to help Haiti sustain democracy, unfortunately, the Haitian Government has lacked political will. The Haitian Government has not taken action to resolve a number of extrajudicial and political killings in Haiti and there have been numerous human rights violations. The Government has also been extremely slow in privatization of its government owned enterprises, and it has not been accountable in maintaining government institutions through their constitutional and electoral processes.

Let me be clear when I say that the objective in our conditioning of assistance to Haiti was to urge the Haitian Government to take the necessary steps to overcome these concerns and challenges. Our conditioning of assistance has produced some positive change in Haiti. With the upcoming Parliamentary elections in Haiti, however, it is important that we provide flexibility in our assistance to assure that these very important and needed elections are transparent.

Today, Mr. President, I am suggesting that the U.S. Government focus its appropriation policy on accountability. While the Congress is not losing the opportunity to review and perform oversight of our appropriated funds to Haiti, this new language sets congressional priorities. Specifically, the top areas include: First, aggressive action to support the institution of the Haitian National Police; second, steps to ensure that any elections undertaken in Haiti with U.S. assistance are full, free, fair and transparent; third, a program designed to develop the indigenous human rights monitoring capacity; fourth, steps to facilitate the continued privatization of state-owned enterprises; and fifth, a sustained agriculture development program.

We have also incorporated reporting requirement language so that the Administration can give U.S. a detailed assessment of each benchmark. This new language was drafted by several Senators including myself and Senators HELMS, DODD, and GRAHAM.

The ideological and financial crossway that is before Haiti is of na-

tional and global importance. The U.S. national interest is served by a stable, democratic, prospering Haiti that cooperates with U.S. counter-drug efforts. We can help ensure this end through our technical and physical support of immediate Parliamentary elections and through lifting the limitations on financial assistance. Our Nation's eyes have been so focused across the Atlantic that I fear we may have forgotten our responsibility in our own hemisphere. But, now is the time to act in order that democracy may take her proper place in this hemisphere.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I thank the managers of this bill for their work on this legislation. This is not an easy bill.

I certainly commend their efforts to keep this bill within the budget caps. I regret that in trying to balance our many important priorities, international affairs spending may have suffered disproportionately.

Mr. President, national security can not be viewed solely through a defense lens, but also must comprise all the critical preventive measures offered through an active foreign affairs program. This means continuing to fight the spread of disease and drugs, providing adequate nutrition for children and families, and pursuing U.S. goals in arms reduction. We also should continue to make our full contributions to the multilateral institutions, in particular the United Nations, on which the United States relies.

I will, however, support this legislation.

However, I do wish to comment on one area of funding in particular which has suffered cuts in this legislation, and that is international peacekeeping. This bill appropriates funds for America's voluntary peacekeeping activities, which includes such things as our contributions to the Israel-Lebanon Monitoring Group, to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and to the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) in the Middle East. The voluntary peacekeeping account also funds our contributions to important peacekeeping initiatives in Africa, including through an Africa regional fund and through the Africa Crisis Response Initiative.

But Mr. President, this bill would cut the voluntary peacekeeping account by \$50 million off the President's request; that's 40% below the request. While the bill would support a slight increase from last year's appropriation for this account, I am afraid that this level is inadequate to support our peacekeeping efforts in Africa.

This voluntary peacekeeping fund is designed to support peacekeeping efforts other than assessed missions by the United Nations, which are funded separately through an account in another appropriations bill. The account funded in this bill is designed to try to anticipate needs in the peacekeeping arena, but also to be flexible and prepared to deal with unanticipated contingencies.

This morning, the chairman of the Subcommittee, the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, made the assertion that the administration's request regarding peacekeeping was, in his words, "redundant," because there is more than one account that provides funds for peacekeeping in Africa.

But, Mr. President, I would respectfully disagree with this characterization and note that the requirements for peacekeeping in Africa are such that a distinct account may be required.

At a recent hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa, Chairman FRIST and I heard testimony regarding the conflict raging in Central Africa, in which there are currently as many as nine countries involved. These wars don't get much press attention in the United States, but it is likely that more people are dying there right now than we have seen killed in Kosovo in recent months and in a number of other well publicized conflicts outside Africa.

Mr. President, it is easy to make generalizations about the causes of conflict in Africa, but I think its roots are not well understood.

At that hearing, I posed some important questions which I would like to repeat here on the floor.

First, what is the basis for U.S. policy in Africa? Is it to support democracy and respect for human rights? Is it to avoid genocide? Is it to encourage stability and economic development? These are some of the things I hear administration officials saying, but sometimes I am not sure our actions are consistent with these lofty goals. For example, some would question how the United States government hopes to prevent genocide, when it is often hesitant to condemn atrocities that fall short of genocide. Some also question our commitment to preventing genocide in the future when our government has so far declined to examine in any detail our own weak response during the 1994 crisis.

Second, if there were to be another "genocide"—assuming there is consensus as to the meaning of that word—what steps is the United States prepared to take to stop it? Is NATO going to start launching air strikes against the offending powers? We all know that is unrealistic, yet the crisis in Kosovo is causing a lot of people—including Members of Congress and including myself—to ask: "Why Kosovo and not Rwanda?" Why is it that the United States can spend billions of dollars trying to stop ethnic cleansing in one place, but yet wouldn't even use the word "genocide" in the Rwanda case until two months after the killing started, and thousands had been killed?

The distinguished chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, the Senator from Kentucky, also noted the Committee's intent to have Serbia designated as a terrorist state, which is mandated in the legislation. I support this designation, and I agree with my colleague that it is hard to understand

the difference, as he said this morning on the floor, "between thugs blowing up a village with a car bomb or thugs shelling and burning a village to the ground. The intent and impact are the same. In both instances, innocent civilians are the targets and the victims."

Mr. President, this is precisely my point. Only I would make this point with respect to Africa and say this: I do not understand the difference between the terror and violence that is going on in Sierra Leone and what is going on in Kosovo! In both instances, innocent civilians are the targets and the victims. Yet the bill before us today provides millions of dollars to support peacekeeping and other activities for Kosovo, and barely anything for similar activities in Africa.

I do not understand how the decision to intervene in Kosovo fits in with an overall post-Cold War American foreign policy strategy. Obviously, the tragedies and the horrors that have been perpetrated in Kosovo demand a response and that response must include a role for the United States. But as the world's only superpower, I do not believe the United States is able to act effectively only in Europe or only in our own region. We have shown our ability to project overwhelming power throughout the world. Is an accident of geography sufficient to allow inaction in Africa, while Kosovo requires a huge commitment? This question needs to be answered not so much for me but for the American people, and to some extent for the people of Africa. They do not understand, and I do not understand, why one tragedy demands our attention and our action, and another one simply does not.

Mr. President, my point here is that, given the overwhelming response to the events in the Balkans, the very least we can do in response to conflict in Africa is to support regional peacekeeping efforts, as well as do all we can on the preventive side.

The United States has been a significant contributor to existing regional efforts such as the actions of the Economic Community of West African States, or ECOWAS, and its peacekeeping force, ECOMOG in both Liberia and in the ongoing conflict in Sierra Leone. There is no doubt that ECOMOG has had its share of problems, but nevertheless, it is solely through the efforts of this regional peacekeeping force that there is even the hope of a peaceful resolution in the Sierra Leone situation.

Mr. President, we can never truly anticipate the extent of needs such as this, and I would hope we could allow the administration some flexibility in this account. We should ensure the availability of funding to provide resources to support what I hope will be a peace agreement in Sierra Leone and maybe a cease-fire agreement in the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. If these positive developments take place, the United States should be poised to provide some support. This is

no time to send a signal that we are not concerned with these crises.

Finally, just a quick word about the two Africa-related portions of this voluntary account. As I understand his remarks, the Senator from Kentucky believes it is "redundant" to have both an Africa Regional fund and monies for the Africa Crisis Response Initiative. But in my view, these two funds serve two separate purposes. The first, the Africa regional fund, represents our traditional peacekeeping functions. This is the account that has been used to provide logistical assistance to ECOMOG in both the Liberia and Sierra Leone cases. The other, the Africa Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), is different. ACRI seeks to assist African militaries to build their own capacities to conduct peacekeeping operations. It is hoped that countries which now receive training under ACRI would agree to participate in future peacekeeping operations. In this regard, ACRI represents a forward-leaning approach; call it "preventive diplomacy."

Mr. President, ACRI has been in operation for just a short while and can still be considered in its early stage. Most of the militaries that have received training through ACRI have been trained at the company or, in a few cases, battalion levels, but an important aspect of the program is also to conduct brigade level training. As envisioned, the brigade level training is key to the whole ACRI program because it would expand joint training exercises between and among participating countries and would help ensure interoperability between and among the forces of contributing nations.

Mr. President, just as the ACRI program is getting underway, I do not think we should be cutting support for it. Our efforts to build peacekeeping capacity in Africa will fail if we can not assist in preparing our partners to actually participate and conduct peacekeeping operations.

In summary, Mr. President, I believe the voluntary peacekeeping account represents an important part of our international affairs funding, and of America's ability to lead in the world, and I am concerned that the cuts to this account will have an inordinate impact on Africa.

Mr. LAUTENBERG Mr. President, I rise today first of all to thank and commend the Chairman and the ranking member of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee for their efforts to develop a bill to meet priority foreign affairs needs within the limits of the subcommittee allocation.

Mr. President, the Budget Resolution did not allocate sufficient resources for Foreign Affairs and the Foreign Operations Subcommittee frankly did not receive a sufficient allocation to maintain America's world leadership role. We need to recognize that neither isolationism nor limited engagement is an option if we want to maintain America's security and prosperity.

We need to realize that we cannot conduct effective foreign policy solely

by having a strong military. In fact, by limiting funding for other tools of diplomacy we increase our reliance on threats and use of military force.

This bill fails to fulfill the President's request in numerous areas.

I am deeply concerned that the Wye aid package for Israel, the Palestinians, and Jordan requested by the President has not been fully funded. The fact that it could not be accommodated within the subcommittee allocation without drastically cutting important programs around the world merely reinforces my previous point.

In the near future, we are going to have to step up to the responsibility of funding aid to help implement the Wye River Memorandum. I hope the Chairman will agree that we will need to find a way to fund this aid outside the confines of this bill. This is a small price to pay for continued and renewed efforts to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The bill does not include the \$60 million I sought for tuberculosis prevention programs. We need much stronger programs to combat tuberculosis now. Tuberculosis kills more people worldwide than AIDS and malaria combined, yet receives substantially fewer aid dollars.

TB is spread easily and each active case leads to many more, so concerted global action to bring TB under control, now estimated to require \$1 billion, becomes more expensive the longer we wait. We need to find more resources to begin to confront the challenge of TB this year.

I hope we will also be able to find an additional \$20 million for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). UNDP has made great strides in cutting costs and improving coordination among UN agencies in the field to more effectively deliver essential assistance and promote sustainable economic development.

Unfortunately, we're penalizing the poor in many countries by following the Administration's lead and failing to restore funding for UNDP to \$100 million.

I am also concerned that the bill significantly underfunds debt relief for the poorest countries.

Funding for the Peace Corps is reduced from the requested level, when it should have been increased to make progress toward the President's goal of fielding ten thousand Peace Corps Volunteers.

Even counter terrorism programs have not been adequately funded.

Having raised these concerns, let me reiterate my commendation to the subcommittee Chairman and Ranking Member for making a real effort to achieve a balanced bill while remaining within an allocation nearly \$2 billion below the President's request.

I would also like to thank the subcommittee chairman and ranking member for including many important programs. In particular, Seeds of Peace contributes to reconciliation in the

Middle East by bringing together young people from throughout the region, including Israelis and Palestinians and other Arabs.

Carelift International, which is largely funded by the private sector, improves health care in transition and developing countries at low cost by sharing refurbished American medical equipment.

Senator MCCONNELL has also put some real dollars behind the rhetoric supporting regional integration in Southeast Europe. We need to aid the Kosovars to rebuild their shattered lives and help the countries and peoples of this troubled region to overcome their differences and their history and truly become a part of the new Europe.

I do hope we will be able to restore funding requested by the Administration for regional programs under the SEED Act, including programs to combat trans-national crime.

I am not offering amendments to increase allocations to unfunded or underfunded programs because I think it would be very difficult to do so without reducing funding for other priorities.

I voted for this bill in the subcommittee and committee because I think Senators MCCONNELL and LEAHY have done a good job with the limited resources available to them. I will likely vote for the bill in the Senate as well, but not without deep reservations about the overall funding level and priorities which have not been funded adequately.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, United States national security and economic well-being is closely tied to our ability to formulate and execute foreign policies that both protect our interests and reflect our ideals. It is the responsibility of the Congress to pass legislation on foreign policy consistent with those interests and ideals. We may differ about the means, but we seldom disagree about the goal: political stability and economic prosperity in every region of the globe. Sometimes we employ political and economic sanctions in pursuit of our objectives; sometimes we resort to the use of military force. These responsibilities are considerable, and they are real. And we owe it to the American public to handle them responsibly.

I do not wish to exaggerate the implications of the questionable spending that is included in the bill before us. Clearly, the wasteful and unnecessary spending provisions, as well as the numerous earmarks, threaten neither our national interest nor our economic well-being. They do, however, detract from the integrity of the process by which the federal budget is put together, and they do undermine our credibility with the public. The net result is to diminish our ability to contribute substantially to this nation's national security and economic policies. Frivolous items placed in major spending bills for parochial or personal

reasons is a serious disservice to the institution to which we belong, and to the public that we serve.

It is for this reason that is so discouraging to read the foreign operations appropriations bill and find that, once again, it includes \$5 million to establish an International Law Enforcement Academy in Roswell, New Mexico. To see that provision once again placed in the bill is to reaffirm the notion that fiscal prudence and operational requirements are alien concepts to some members of this body. Similarly, language in the report accompanying the bill recommending that the Agency for International Development spend as much as necessary on such worthwhile projects as research on pond dynamics strikes me as representing a seriously misplaced sense of priorities. And should we really be earmarking more than \$1 million in additional funds so that a Minnesota job training program can shift its dependence to private sector funding? In a foreign aid bill? I have to question the wisdom of provisions like these.

Mr. President, as United States military forces take up positions in Kosovo while others continue their peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia and soldiers serve unaccompanied hardship tours on the demilitarized zone of the Korean peninsula, what kind of message are we sending about our role in the foreign policy process when we pass a bill that directs the Agency for International Development to study and, almost certainly, fund research on protea germplasm in South Africa? With all the problems around the world demanding our attention, do we really need to focus on the future welfare of the Waboom tree? I think not. And, of course, the bill provides the usual absurd amount—specified as “at least” \$4 million—for that oldie but goodie, the International Fertilizer Center in Alabama. I have to believe, Mr. President, that if the Department of State or the Agency for International Development agreed with the need to spend so much annually out of the foreign operations budget for research on fertilizer, it would probably include such an item in its budget request.

Israel and Hawaii collaborating on research regarding the competitiveness of the tropical fish and plant global market sounds contrived, but I'll allow for the possibility that there's more to that program than meets the eye. When viewed alongside the report's language “urging” AID to allocate \$500,000 for the Pacific International Center for High Technology Research, a pattern begins to form, but I won't elaborate further.

As usual, the foreign operations appropriations bill includes a long list of earmarks for specific American universities, the very kind of budgeting that ensures the American taxpayers get the least value for their dollar. A competitive process wherein funding is allocated according to which project, if any, is the most meritorious is a pre-

ferred process for allocating financial resources, but this bill goes far in the opposite direction. As a leader in the effort at developing normal economic relations with Vietnam, I applaud projects designed to facilitate the establishment of a market economy in that country; whether Boise State University deserves a \$3 million earmark to establish a business school there, however, strains credulity.

There is much that is good in this bill in terms of genuine efforts at improving health care in less developed countries. I continue to be troubled, however, by the Committee's tendency to specify precisely which organizations it believes should be the recipient of foreign aid dollars. That is a practice that deserves closer scrutiny than heretofore has been the case. I would like to think that such determinations are solely merit based following a competitive process and that parochial considerations play no part. Skepticism, though, is warranted.

In closing, I am a strong supporter of maintaining an active U.S. role in global affairs. United States foreign aid programs are an essential instrument of our national security policy. Even with the vast number of troubling items in this bill, I will support its passage. But I would be remiss in my responsibilities were I to ignore what I firmly believe is an imprudent budgeting process that has a self-defeating tendency to squander foreign aid dollars that we can ill-afford to waste. I will continue to hope for improvements in the process by which these bills are assembled.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the accompanying list be printed in the RECORD.

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

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000 (S. 1234)—DIRECTIVE LANGUAGE AND EARMARKS

#### REPORT LANGUAGE PROVISIONS

Overseas Private Investment Corporation: Directs the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to support establishment of a new \$200 million Maritime Fund using United States commercial maritime expertise. Earmark is included as Section 539 in the bill text.

University Development Assistance Programs: The Committee annually earmarks or “recommends” funding for specific universities around the United States without benefit of competitive analytical processes to determine the value of the activity and whether it can best be done in an alternate manner. The following universities are expected to continue to receive such funds:

University of Hawaii, to train health care and social workers;

University of Northern Iowa, to incorporate democratic concepts and practices into schools and teachers education programs;

Washington State University, for water research in the Middle East;

Purdue University, for water research in the Middle East;

South Carolina University, for water research in the Middle East;

Mississippi State University, at least \$500,000 for water research in Turkey;

George Mason University, for health care in developing countries;

San Diego University Foundation Middle East Development Program, to promote dialogue among Middle Eastern experts on water planning;

Boise State University, \$3 million to establish a business school in Vietnam;

University of Idaho, \$300,000, to train engineers in Guatemala in water management;

Utah State University, to establish, with \$2.1 million, a World Irrigation Training Center;

University of South Alabama, \$1 million to monitor birth defects in Ukraine;

Auburn University, \$450,000 to continue its relationship with Osmania University in India;

University of Louisville, Spalding University, University of Indiana/Purdue, University of Wisconsin, University of Maine and Notre Dame, to continue to support the establishment of an American University in Jordan;

St. Thomas University, Miami, Florida, \$5 million to continue to encourage and promote democratic principles in Africa;

University of Idaho, at least \$485,000 for the university's Post Harvest Institute for Perishables under the Collaborative Agribusiness Support Program;

Montana State University-Bozeman, \$1 million for soil management, recommended to be conducted at MSU-Bozeman; and

Washington State University, AID is expected to work with WSU to establish small business development centers in Romania and Russia.

Maintenance of Protea Germplasm: Directs AID to consider and fund if meritorious a joint proposal from the South Africa and United States protea industries.

Tropical Plant and Animal Research Initiative: AID is urged to consider a joint application from Israel and Hawaii to collaborate on research regarding the competitiveness of the tropical fish and plant global market.

International Fertilizer Development Center: "at least" \$4 million is earmarked for the center.

Pacific Islands Renewable Energy Demonstration: AID is urged to allocate \$500,000 for the Pacific International Center for High Technology Research.

Soils Management Collaborative Research Support Program: The Committee recommends that AID fund the program for as much as is necessary for the achievement of the goals of all approved projects.

Opportunities Industrialization Centers, International: at least \$1 million is earmarked to enable OIC International in Minnesota to continue its transition to private sector funding.

U.S. Telecommunications Training Institute: earmarks \$500,000 for the USTTI.

Mitch McConnell Conservation Fund: earmarks \$500,000 for the Charles Darwin Research Station and the Charles Darwin Foundation to support research on the Galapagos Islands.

Johns Hopkins University's centers in Bologna, Italy, and Nanjing, China [the Committee directs that at least \$600,000 be provided the Nanjing center, noting its disappointment with AID for not being sufficiently attentive to that institution's funding.]

Medical Relief: \$7 million is earmarked for Carelift International, Philadelphia, to continue and expand its operations in needy countries.

Orphanages: \$4 million is recommended for improving orphanage facilities in Russia, the funding to be provided through Rotary Inter-

national, the Anchorage Interfaith Council, and the Municipality of Anchorage.

#### BILL LANGUAGE

International Law Enforcement Academy for the Western Hemisphere, Roswell, New Mexico: The bill earmarks \$5 million for establishment of an International Law Enforcement Academy for the Western Hemisphere, to be located at the deBremmond Training Center in Roswell, NM.

Global Environment Facility: the bill earmarks \$25 million as the U.S. contribution to the Global Environment Facility.

Bilateral Economic Assistance: Note: The report accompanying S. 1234 uses the influence of the Appropriations Committee to ensure that funds go to specified organizations without regard for alternative means of accomplishing desired objectives, which in most cases are inarguably worthwhile:

Tuberculosis: Specifies the American Lung Association and the American Thoracic Society as nongovernmental organizations that should be supported.

Maternal Health: Encourages AID to provide \$4 million to Maternal Life International to reduce maternal mortality and provide health care for HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Iodine Deficiency: Recommends that AID provide \$2 million in Child Survival funds to Kiwanis International via UNICEF.

Polio Eradication: Provides \$25 million and encourages the provision by AID of funds for Rotary International.

Vitamins for At-Risk Women, Infants and Children: Encourages provision by AID of \$2.8 million to Magee Womancare International to develop a program for children in orphanages.

Hepatitis: Encourages AID to support the Ramses Foundation in its work in Egypt.

Orphans, Displaced, and Blind Children: Recommends AID provide at least \$1 million through Helen Keller International for its work with displaced children and orphans.

American Schools and Hospitals Abroad: The Appropriations Committee regularly allocates funds for specific institutions, usually the same institutions every year, under the American Schools and Hospitals Abroad program. The following are specified as deserving of further support:

American University in Beirut;  
The Lebanese American University (formerly Beirut University College)

Hadassah Medical Organization  
Feinberg Graduate School of the Weizmann Institute of Science, Israel

University College Dublin: AID is requested to consider funding the establishment of a Center of American Studies at the Dublin center.

Lebanon: earmarks minimum of \$4 million for the American University of Beirut, Lebanese American University and International College and recognizes the "commendable efforts" of the YMCA of Lebanon.

India: \$250,000 for healthcare in the Sringeri region of India should be administered by the Sharada Dhanvantari Charitable Hospital.

Tibet: AID is urged to support development projects sponsored by the Bridge Fund.

Promoting Economic Growth: Supports \$9 million to fund the International Center for Economic Growth's Global Stability Project to implement a "third generation" macro-economic model.

Patrick Leahy War Victims Fund: Recommends that \$10 million be allocated for activities carried out by the Patrick Leahy Fund.

Palestinian-Israeli Cooperation Program: The Committee recommends \$600,000 for the program, which seeks to facilitate the establishment of cooperative projects in medicine, science, the arts, and children's activities.

Distance Learning Technology: AID is urged to maintain funding for programs oriented toward legal reform in Central and Eastern Europe, including through the Central and Eastern European Law Institute.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, the foreign operations appropriation bill is a crucial bill. It is integral to all of our assistance programs overseas. The bill's importance to American foreign policy cannot be over emphasized. This bill provides funding for development aid to poor countries, funds to combat terrorism and proliferation of nuclear weapons overseas, and monies for all of the multilateral financial institutions which lend to needy countries.

As I see it, the bill before the Senate has two major problems. First, the bill as a whole is significantly underfunded. The amount dedicated to our nation's foreign operations is almost \$2 billion below the President's request for funding.

I understand that some of this is due to the caps placed on expenditures as part of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997; however, we in the Senate cannot hide behind that piece of legislation every time we want an excuse for why the administration's appropriations requests are under funded. I am not saying that this is not a legitimate reason for not granting the President's entire request, but \$2 billion is an enormous shortfall.

In addition to inadequate funding overall, there are particular programs and foreign policy initiatives which are either funded at a level which is drastically reduced from the President's request, or which have not been funded at all.

Mr. President, the administration in its statement of policy with respect to this bill has clearly stated that "A bill funded at this level would be grossly inadequate to maintain America's leadership around the world. It would inevitably require severe reductions from previously enacted levels for programs managed by the Departments of State and Treasury, the Agency for International Development and other agencies."

The statement quite clearly states that if the significant funding and language problems in this bill as reported are not resolved that "the President's senior advisors have no choice but to recommend that he veto the bill."

I wish to speak to several very important aspects of this bill that must be addressed in conference. First, the bill fails to provide the \$500 million requested by the President to support the Middle East Wye River Agreement.

Second, it fails to fund the administration's Expanded Threat Reduction Initiative, so important to our ability to reduce the proliferation threat and continue the elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

Third, this bill imposes new onerous conditions on U.S. funding for the 1994 Agreed Framework, the cornerstone of our North Korea policy.

I also have very strong concerns with respect to two provisions in the bill relating to Kosovo and our ongoing relationship with Russia.

Unfortunately, by withholding critical support for Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority, this bill would have us renege on the commitments that made the Wye River agreement possible. The leaders of Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, and Israel have taken great risks for peace. We pledged to stand with them as they took these risks.

In the months ahead, we will undoubtedly be called upon to play a lead role in the peace talks. But by refusing to fund one penny of the President's request for the Wye River agreement, this bill calls into question our commitment to Middle East peace just as there is renewed hope for accelerated progress.

Some may argue that the Middle East gets enough assistance as it is. Relative to other accounts that may be true, but the levels of assistance to the Middle East are a reflection of the strategic and moral issues at stake.

The funds requested by the administration are in keeping with our commitment to Israel's security. They will help wage battle in Palestinian areas against the greatest enemy of peace—namely, the poverty and despair that provides a fertile breeding ground for extremism. They will help bolster Jordan—a close ally whose peace with Israel should serve as a model for others in the region.

I am convinced that the sums requested by the administration to support peace pale in comparison to the costs we would incur if conflict and turmoil returned to the Middle East.

One of the most disturbing elements of this bill is its failure to fund the Expanded Threat Reduction Initiative that helps reduce the threat of weapons of mass destruction. Technically the cuts are to the larger budget lines for aid to the Newly Independent States and for Nonproliferation and related programs. But report language calls the funding of Expanded Threat Reduction Initiative programs "ill advised," and they will bear the brunt of these cuts.

Weapons of mass destruction dwarf the other threats to our national security. If we fail to help Russian experts find nonmilitary employment, we may foster Iran's nuclear weapons, or Iraq's biological weapons, or Libyan missiles. Even a single use of such weapons against the United States, U.S. forces, or our allies would be a terrible tragedy—especially if we failed to prevent it.

The failure to fund the Expanded Threat Reduction Initiatives means no funds—not even the levels appropriated last year—for helping Russian biological weapons experts find new careers. This is a vital program that has enabled biological weapons experts to resist offers from Iran and other rogue states. We should be expanding this program, rather than cutting it.

The Threat Reduction cut means no funds for the International Science and Technology Centers in Russia and Ukraine that have helped over 24,000 former weapons scientists since 1994. The Science Center program has been very successful. It has been praised for its tight management, under board chairman Ron Lehman, a former official in Republican administrations whom we all know to be a true patriot. Science Center support for Russian scientists is exempt from Russian taxes. We should be expanding this program, too, rather than cutting it.

The Threat Reduction cut means no funds—not even last year's levels—for the Civilian Research and Development Foundation, which gives vital training to Russian former weapons scientists who are trying to form viable businesses. We tell Russian weapons experts to adapt to a market economy. But they will never achieve that, if we don't give them the training. And if they fail, they will be ripe for the plucking by rogue states who would buy their weapons expertise.

The Threat Reduction cut means no funds—not even last year's levels—to assist customs officials in Russia and the rest of the former Soviet Union. The customs officials whom we assist are our most reliable allies in stopping the flow of nuclear and weapons of mass destruction materials.

For example, it was customs officials in Azerbaijan who stopped a shipment of specialty steel to Iran that would have been used for missiles. This bill also contains only \$5 million—out of \$15 million requested—for world-wide assistance to customs services. This is the program that aids border control agencies in the Baltic states, where we have seen Russian nuclear smuggling efforts in the past. It makes no sense to provide only \$5 million for this vital function.

These cuts even wipe out the border security assistance to Georgia that Senator McCONNELL instituted last year.

The Threat Reduction cut means no funds to assist in removing Russian troops from Moldova—a longstanding objective of the United States and of the Congress. Do we suddenly want the Russian troops to stay longer in a country that does not want them? Do we no longer care whether this exacerbates ethnic conflict in Moldova?

The Foreign Operations Subcommittee made these cuts without prejudice. But it makes no sense to let us guard our national security only by cutting important programs to support democracy, free media, and the rule of law in the former Soviet Union.

I am very pleased that the managers have accepted a sense of the Senate amendment I offered urging that the Threat Reduction funds be restored in conference to the level requested by the President.

I urge the managers of this bill to do their utmost to achieve this, and I wish them complete success in that important effort.

On the eve of South Korean President Kim Dae Jung's visit to Washington, and just as former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry is completing his comprehensive Korea policy review, this bill places the Agreed Framework in grave jeopardy.

The bill not only provides inadequate funding for heavy fuel oil deliveries to North Korea—deliveries the United States is obligated to arrange under the 1994 Agreed Framework—it also effectively prevents the appropriated funds from being expended by requiring the President to certify the uncertifiable with respect to North Korea's conduct.

Under existing law, the President must already certify that North Korea is in full compliance with the Agreed Framework and its confidential minute in order to expend monies appropriated for heavy fuel oil deliveries to the North. This a reasonable requirement. But if the North is fulfilling its side of the bargain, we should fulfill ours rather than dream up new requirements on the North.

Do we have other serious concerns about North Korea, in addition to its nuclear ambitions? Of course we do. But these other concerns—missile development and export, narcotics trafficking, armed provocations along the DMZ—cannot be addressed successfully if we abandon the Agreed Framework.

For all of its imperfections, the Agreed Framework has served our national interest well, reducing the risk of war and capping the North's ability to produce fissile material for nuclear bombs. Five years ago, North Korea was on the verge of withdrawing from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and acquiring the capacity to build dozens of nuclear weapons every year. Today, with the Agreed Framework intact, the North's nuclear facilities stand idle.

The spent fuel from its research reactor has been canned and placed under round-the-clock monitoring by the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Agreed Framework has also given us unprecedented access to North Korea, even to sensitive military sites, as demonstrated by the recent successful U.S. visit to the Kumchangni underground facility.

These are not insignificant accomplishments, and we should think twice before we risk turning back the clock.

By underfunding the Korean Energy Development Organization and unilaterally imposing new obligations on North Korea, this bill could precipitate a crisis on the Peninsula and distance us from our key ally, South Korea.

In addition, I have two serious problems with sections of the bill relating to Kosovo. First, \$20 million shall be available "for training and equipping a Kosova security force." Mr. President, this language conveys the impression that we want to train something like a national guard or an army. In the real world, most people would see this as our training and equipping a KLA Army.



U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999), which gives international sanction to KFOR, is not specific about the future status of Kosovo. Any future Kosovo national guard or army presupposes an independent Kosovo.

Aside from that being counter to United States policy, it is completely irrelevant to this bill. For the duration of fiscal year 2000, security in Kosovo will be guaranteed by the heavily armed, NATO-led KFOR. There is absolutely no need for any kind of an indigenous "security force" other than a civilian police force.

The final legislation should make it crystal-clear that the appropriation will be used to train and equip a police force, not an army.

My second Kosovo-related objection concerns the requirement that the Secretary of State certify that the Russians have not established a "separate zone of operational control" and are "fully integrated under NATO unified command and control arrangements."

This requirement has been overtaken by events. The Military-Technical Agreement between NATO and Russia found a formula to include Russian peacekeepers in KFOR. This formula has been accepted by our government, by all other 18 NATO members, and by the United Nations.

I have no doubt that Secretary Albright could broadly construe words like "operational control" and "fully integrated" and thereby make the required certification.

But what would we get by retaining this language and forcing her to do so? I'll tell my colleagues. We would be gratuitously sticking our finger in the Russians' eye at the precise moment we are trying to involve them in KFOR and in the entire reconstruction effort in Kosovo.

To sanitize a phrase used by an esteemed former President of the United States, I would rather have the Russians inside our tent looking out, than outside our tent looking in.

I would like to remind my friend Senator MCCONNELL that when the two of us recently appeared on the Sunday Fox Television News talk-show he said with regard to the Russians in Kosovo—and I quote; "I don't know that we need to threaten foreign assistance."

Apparently he has changed his mind. I agreed with Senator MCCONNELL that day on television. I wish he had held to his position.

It is important that these problems be addressed in conference, and that a way be found to increase the overall funding levels.

At this time I will reluctantly vote to send this legislation to conference. However, I reserve the right to vote against it should these problems not be addressed in the final conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays are ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Florida (Mr. MACK), is necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 97, nays 2, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 192 Leg.]

YEAS—97

Abraham	Feingold	Lugar
Akaka	Feinstein	McCain
Allard	Fitzgerald	McConnell
Ashcroft	Frist	Mikulski
Baucus	Gorton	Moynihan
Bayh	Graham	Murkowski
Bennett	Gramm	Murray
Biden	Grams	Nickles
Bingaman	Grassley	Reed
Bond	Gregg	Reid
Boxer	Hagel	Robb
Breaux	Harkin	Roberts
Brownback	Hatch	Rockefeller
Bryan	Helms	Roth
Bunning	Hollings	Santorum
Burns	Hutchinson	Sarbanes
Campbell	Hutchison	Schumer
Chafee	Inhofe	Sessions
Cleland	Inouye	Shelby
Cochran	Jeffords	Smith (OR)
Collins	Johnson	Snowe
Conrad	Kennedy	Specter
Coverdell	Kerrey	Stevens
Craig	Kerry	Thomas
Crapo	Kohl	Thompson
Daschle	Kyl	Thurmond
DeWine	Landrieu	Torricelli
Dodd	Lautenberg	Voinovich
Domenici	Leahy	Warner
Dorgan	Levin	Wellstone
Durbin	Lieberman	Wyden
Edwards	Lincoln	
Enzi	Lott	

NAYS—2

Byrd Smith (NH)

NOT VOTING—1

Mack

The bill (S. 1234), as amended, was passed.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote, and I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. President, I commend first the occupant of the Chair for an extraordinarily effective debate on the issue that dominated today's discussion in the foreign operations appropriations bill. I think the Senator from Kansas did an outstanding job.

I also want to thank my staff. Robin Cleveland has done work on foreign policy matters for some 15 years now, and I thank Robin for, as usual, outstanding work; and Billy Piper, with whom I have worked 5 or 6 years, has done an absolutely superb job; and his assistant, Jon Meek, from my personal staff; as well as Jennifer Chartrand, a new member of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. All of those folks are on the majority side; and of course Tim Rieser and Cara Thanassi from the minority staff, with whom we always enjoy working, and Steve Cortese and Jay Kimmitt from the full committee.

I say to my friend, PAT LEAHY, I enjoy our annual collaboration on this bill, and I look forward to working with the Senator in conference.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I commend the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky for the alacrity with which he moved this bill. Those who have reached that level of knowledge know we Senators are constitutional impediments to our staffs.

I compliment Robin Cleveland, who has worked so hard at trying to balance the competing interests of so many Senators on both sides of the aisle, as well as Billy Piper and Jennifer Chartrand; and on my side, the indefatigable Tim Rieser, a man who has not slept since it was announced we might go to this bill a month or so ago. He has, again, maintained the remarkable Rieser filing cabinet, which is primarily in his head, knowing all the ins and outs of this bill and handling it so well.

He was ably assisted by Cara Thanassi. Ms. Thanassi began a few years ago on our staff. She has grown enormously in talent and ability and was absolutely essential in this work.

In working with the Senator from Kentucky, we have tried to accommodate each other on issues, even though on some issues we obviously have a different philosophy. We have respected each other and accommodated each other and tried to make sure a bipartisan piece of legislation came through. I think the resulting vote today shows that bipartisanship on foreign policy was maintained.

I yield the floor.

#### TRIBUTE TO AMBASSADOR JIM SASSER

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to Ambassador James Sasser, our former colleague from Tennessee, who served in this body as a distinguished chairman of the Senate Budget Committee. He is returning from his post in the People's Republic of China where he has been the U.S. Ambassador since 1995. He has done an outstanding job during a challenging period in our relations with China.

Having had the honor to serve with Jim for 18 years in the Senate, I know him to be a man of great insight, intellect, and integrity, a highly respected public servant. While he served in the Senate, his interests and work covered a broad range of domestic and foreign policy issues. As Senate Budget Committee chairman, his keen grasp of financial and budgeting issues enabled him to handle that assignment with tremendous skill under very difficult circumstances. Jim constantly showed great resolve in addressing measures to reduce our deficit. He was instrumental in helping lead our country on to a path which is reflected in today's budget surplus.

This dedication and commitment has characterized Jim's lifetime devotion to our country. His interests in public service began long before he was elected to the Senate. Jim's father, a public servant himself, instilled in Jim the principles of public service at an early