

of mine, many years ago, reasoned that we could pass major civil rights legislation if we could only find a way to benefit builders, construction unions, and the oil and gas industry by doing so.

The modalities of discourse—always addressing another member through the Chair, for example, never saying “you”, never letting it hang entirely out—seem contrived and unnatural to many Members, and it shows. But like manners in society, these traditions make it possible for people to rise above the harsh, wounding animosities of partisan conflict. They mask the red fangs, and make communal life, particularly in a spot-lighted commune like the Senate, more bearable.

This cartoon figure is not an attractive one, and there are a number of senators who would not see themselves in it. Some have friends across the aisle, with whom they work amiably, and in complete, mutual trust; two partners of mine, Bob Dole and George Mitchell, had such a relationship when they were party leaders. Some Members long for a more thorough deliberation of major issues; many of them wish for the means of developing friendships—more especially, building trust—with other Members. Several senators spoke appreciably of the prayer breakfast meetings, in which senators have been known to remove their togas for formal respectability, and reveal the needy human beings within. I recalled a meeting with a midwestern Democrat years ago, in which he told me that the members of his smaller prayer group—six senators, evenly divided by party—meant more to him than any other association he had; he said the others often voted with him, and he with them, because of that bond. It would have been hard to find the cause of that voting pattern in the usual statistical models. The ties that bond other senators to one another are easier to discover: combat service in World War II, for example, is a shared and unforgettable experience for Dan Inouye, Bob Dole, and Ted Stevens, and it has always shown.

The most interesting model of what the Senate could be, the wished-for example most frequently referred to in my conversations, was the experience of meeting, speaking, and listening to one another in the Old Senate chamber, the Old Supreme Court. There was no TV coverage; no reporters at all. And the subjects—in one case national security, in another, the impeachment of a President—were grave indeed, worthy of the fixed attention of any man or woman.

It's too late to undo television coverage of the Senate. The prayer group is not for everybody. Big government is over, the President said, so there aren't many big mountains of governmental effort to conceive, or to seek to tear down. Campaign finance, the country's annoyance, continues to depress the system with its demands on Members, would-be Members, and contributors alike. The Old Senate chamber won't do for daily meetings, and besides, TV and the press would crowd out the Members if it were tried. Hard-edged partisanship will continue for a while, even with Newt gone from the House to the talk shows.

It's a quite legitimate question, to ask whether these conditions have been better in the past. I think they were, prior to TV coverage of the Senate, prior to the geometrically escalating demands of fundraising. And perhaps in some past eras the quality of the Members was higher: not necessarily measured in intellectual fire-power, but in dedication to the central task of the legislator: to legislate. The Democratic Policy Committee for which I worked, forty years ago, included Lyndon Johnson, Richard Russell, Mike Mansfield, Hubert Humphrey, Lister Hill,

Warren Magnuson, Robert Kerr, Carl Hayden, and John Pastore. These were true legislators, attentive to the task, prepared to learn about that was before them and then to join battle in the Chamber. Their superior qualities of attention and grasp were what made the Senate of those days—at least in my recollection—more serious than it often appears to be today. And it is those individual qualities of senators that ultimately determine the quality of the Body itself. Given the nature of today's media- and money-driven politics, our best hope is that our current Members, and those to come, will be inspired by the best of the past to raise the level of civility, and deepen the level of deliberations, in the Senate they've been chosen to serve in their own day.

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVASION OF CYPRUS

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, twenty-five years ago on this day, Turkish troops began their brutal assault on the people of Cyprus, forcing hundreds of thousands to flee their homes and villages. Less than a month later, after a cease-fire had been accepted and negotiations toward peaceful resolution of the conflict were proceeding under United Nations auspices, Turkey sent another, even larger occupation force of 40,000 troops and 200 tanks, seizing more than a third of the island. For the last quarter of a century, Turkish military forces have illegally occupied the northern part of the island, forcibly dividing it. Communities have been splintered, lives shattered, a nation deprived of its cultural heritage and the opportunity to live in peace.

The events of 1974 took a harsh toll on the people of Cyprus that remains with us to this day. Hundreds of thousands of Cypriots who fled advancing troops remain refugees in their own land, unable to return to the homes and the communities they inhabited for generations. Others have been stranded in tiny enclaves, deprived of the most basic human rights, forbidden to travel or worship freely. The beautiful coastal resort of Famagusta lies empty, bearing silent witness to what once was an economic and cultural center of the island. The Green Line runs like a jagged scar across the face of Cyprus. An entire generation has grown up in the shadow of military occupation, knowing only division and despair.

It is time for the world to recognize, however, that the Cyprus problem is more than just a humanitarian tragedy. As we have seen in Bosnia and Kosovo, when the suffering of a people puts peace and stability at risk, we also have a strategic interest in facilitating a negotiated settlement. And as long as the Cyprus problem divides not only a country, but two of our key NATO allies, the United States must work to help find a solution. The success of the UN peacekeepers should not for a minute obscure the real threat of conflict in the region. Cyprus can be either a spark to confrontation or the starting point for reconciliation, and

we have a hard-headed security interest in seeing it resolved.

In one of the tragic ironies of this situation, the man who ordered the invasion is once again Prime Minister of Turkey. On this sad anniversary, we ask the President to call upon Mr. Ecevit to assume the mantle of statesmanship and acknowledge that the status quo is not acceptable. The Turkish government must demonstrate its willingness to help rectify this continuing injustice and to participate in good faith in U.S. and U.N.-mediated efforts to resolve it. The current situation hurts not only Greek and Turkish Cypriots but Turkey itself, and its relations with the United States and the international community.

I am pleased to say that the Clinton administration has kept the Cyprus issue high on the international agenda, raising it at every appropriate opportunity and assigning some of their most capable diplomats to work toward a settlement. I would particularly like to recognize the work of Dick Holbrooke and Tom Miller in this regard. Although Tom has just been sworn in as our new Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dick, I hope, will soon be confirmed as our Permanent Representative to the United Nations, they have played an invaluable role in demonstrating the seriousness of this administration in bringing peace and justice to this troubled island.

In recent weeks there has been increased international attention focused on the Cyprus problem, and a greater sense of urgency in bringing the two sides together. The G-8 for the first time has dealt with the Cyprus problem in a direct and substantive way, urging the UN Secretary General, in accordance with relevant Security Council resolutions, to invite the leaders of the two sides to comprehensive negotiations without preconditions in the fall of 1999. Unfortunately, thus far, Mr. Denktash, the leader of the Turkish-Cypriot community, has sent a negative message on his participation in such talks.

Less than a month ago the UN Security Council endorsed the G-8 leaders' appeal and reaffirmed its position that “a Cyprus settlement must be based on a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty and international personality and a single citizenship, with its independence and territorial integrity safeguarded, and comprising two politically equal communities as described in the relevant Security Council resolutions, in a bi-communal and bi-zonal federation, and that such a settlement must exclude union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession.” Such a resolution, according to the G-8, “would not only benefit all the people of Cyprus, but would also have a positive impact on peace and stability in the region.”

Mr. President, the division of Cyprus has gone on far too long. I want to take this opportunity to commend the thousands of friends and supporters of a free

and unified Cyprus who joined hands around the Capitol today. As we commemorate this tragic anniversary, let us salute their courage and redouble our own efforts to help bring an end to this terrible and continuing injustice.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, twenty-five years ago today, Turkish troops invaded and divided the nation of Cyprus. This illegal and immoral division of Cyprus continues today—dividing a country and creating instability in the Mediterranean.

During the early days of the Turkish occupation, six thousand Greek-Cypriots were killed. Over two hundred thousand were driven from their homes. Many of the missing, including some Americans, have never been accounted for.

Little has changed in the past quarter century. Today, forty thousand Turkish troops remain in Cyprus. The Greek-Cypriots who remain in the northern part of the island are denied basic human rights such as the right to a free press, freedom to travel, and access to religious sites.

I am disappointed that we have made no progress in ending the occupation of Cyprus.

This year, as we mark this somber anniversary, I urge my colleagues to join me in recommitting ourselves to bring peace to Cyprus.

First of all, we must continue to make the resolution of the Cyprus problem a priority. President Clinton and Secretary of State Albright have focused more attention on this region than any other Administration. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke and Ambassador Tom Miller have done an excellent job trying to bring both sides together. As Ambassador Holbrooke assumes his new responsibilities at the United Nations, we must encourage the Administration to replace him with an emissary of equal stature.

The second priority is that we must continue to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Cyprus. Each year, Congress provides fifteen million dollars to foster bicomunal cooperation in Cyprus. These funds are used for education, health care, and to help both communities to solve regional problems—such as to improve water and energy supplies.

These funds are an investment in stability in a strategically important region of the world. I'm pleased that the Senate Foreign Operations Appropriations bill includes this funding. As a member of the Subcommittee, I will continue to fight to ensure that the final legislation includes this funding.

The third priority is that Congress should pass the Enclaved People of Cyprus Act. Senator OLYMPIA SNOWE and I introduced this legislation to call for improved human rights for the Greek Cypriots living under Turkish control. I urge my colleagues to join us by cosponsoring this legislation.

Mr. President, the crisis in Cyprus has brought two NATO allies to the brink of war. The occupation is also a

human tragedy that should enrage all of us who care about human rights. We must continue to work toward a peaceful and unified Cyprus.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate one of the most tragic events of the 20th century. 25 years ago today, Turkey invaded Cyprus, and it has occupied part of the island ever since. In fact, 35,000 Turkish troops continue to occupy almost 40 percent of Cyprus' territory. Turkey's invasion forced the relocation of thousands of Greek Cypriots, it has led to the brutal treatment of the enslaved people in the Karpas, and it has resulted in greater instability in the region.

When Turkey occupied a portion of Cyprus in 1974, almost 200,000 Greek Cypriots were evicted from their homes and became refugees in their own country. 1,618 Greek Cypriots, including four Americans, have been missing ever since. After 25 years, the refugees have never been allowed to return to their homes in occupied Cyprus, and the missing are still unaccounted for. At the same time, Turkey has brought in over 80,000 settlers to the occupied part of the island. These settlers were given the lands and homes belonging to Greek Cypriots, in violation of international law.

For the few Greek Cypriots that were allowed to remain in the occupied Karpas Peninsula, the situation has been equally grim. A 1975 humanitarian agreement allowed 20,000 Greek Cypriots to stay in this area, but only 500 live in the Karpas today. These people have been subjected to harassment and intimidation despite the terms of the 1975 agreement. Land travel in the north is heavily restricted, as is secondary schooling and access to religious institutions. The United Nations itself has observed that the terms of the agreement have not been honored.

As we reflect on the past 25 years, it is clear that the rights of the Greek Cypriot population continue to be violated, that tensions have not lessened, and that instability has become a greater threat. Rather than lose hope, we must make a concerted effort to encourage dialogue and discussion among the parties. I have long advocated a just and peaceful resolution to the Cyprus conflict, and I hope that we will make progress toward a solution before the next anniversary comes to pass. Ending this impasse is in the best interests of the Greek Cypriot population, the region, and the international community as a whole. I urge this Congress and the Administration, as we mark the 25th anniversary of the Cyprus occupation, to evaluate the current situation and increase our efforts to ensure that a peaceful solution becomes a reality for Cyprus.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Monday, July 19, 1999, the Federal debt stood at

\$5,628,492,605,942.62 (Five trillion, six hundred twenty-eight billion, four hundred ninety-two million, six hundred five thousand, nine hundred forty-two dollars and sixty-two cents).

Five years ago, July 19, 1994, the Federal debt stood at \$4,625,472,000,000 (Four trillion, six hundred twenty-five billion, four hundred seventy-two million).

Ten years ago, July 19, 1989, the Federal debt stood at \$2,803,290,000,000 (Two trillion, eight hundred three billion, two hundred ninety million).

Fifteen years ago, July 19, 1984, the Federal debt stood at \$1,534,687,000,000 (One trillion, five hundred thirty-four billion, six hundred eighty-seven million).

Twenty-five years ago, July 19, 1974, the Federal debt stood at \$474,534,000,000 (Four hundred seventy-four billion, five hundred thirty-four million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,153,958,605,942.62 (Five trillion, one hundred fifty-three billion, nine hundred fifty-eight million, six hundred five thousand, nine hundred forty-two dollars and sixty-two cents) during the past 25 years.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 2035. An act to correct errors in the authorization of certain programs administered by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

The enrolled bill was signed subsequently by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

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-4244. A communication from the Director, Administration and Management, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to the resignation of the General Counsel, Department of the Army, the designation of an Acting General Counsel, and the nomination of a General Counsel; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4245. A communication from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, the report of a retirement; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4246. A communication from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Policy and Program Development, Regulatory Analysis and Development, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "High-Temperature Forced-Air Treatments for Citrus" (Docket No. 96-069-3), received July 16, 1999; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.