

to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to remove or keep the official ban on U.S. travel to that inhospitable, barren land.

Sheehan insistently discounted the importance of this trip, and Albright may yet decide to keep the ban on. But this maneuvering must be viewed for what it is: a piece in a pattern of endgame diplomacy by the Clinton administration. Improving relations with states once known as rogues and lifting or easing sanctions where possible (with the exception of still politically useful Cuba) has become an undeclared but important objective for the Clintonites.

The push to close the books on the bombing of Pan Am 103 over Scotland, on Dec. 21, 1988, and other Libyan misdeeds is in part a response on the White House from Britain, Egypt and U.S. oil companies, all of which argue the case for rewarding Moammar Gadhafi's recent abstinence from terrorist exploits.

But it also reflects President Clinton's concern over the diplomatic and humanitarian effects of open-ended sanctions. "The lack of international consensus on sanctions and the costs that brings has bothered him for some time," says one well-placed official.

There is a case to be made for reviewing and adjusting U.S. sanctions as conditions change: Clinton has in fact allowed Albright to make that case publicly and persuasively on Iran. She has skillfully mixed approval of a trend to internal democracy with strictures about Iran's continuing depredations abroad and let the public judge each step as it is taken.

But there is no similar intellectual honesty on Libya. There seems to be instead a stealth policy to bring change but not accept political responsibility for giving up on confronting the dictator who would have had to authorize Libyan participation in the bombing.

Last year the White House overrode skepticism from Justice Department officials and other opposition within the administration and agreed to Gadhafi's terms for a trial of two Libyan underling in The Hague, under Scottish law. Their trial begins in May.

"There was an unvoiced sense in these meetings that the Pan Am 103 families had to get over it and move on with their lives. The trial would help with that as well as with our diplomatic objectives," said one official who participated in the contentious high-level interagency sessions. "But if these two are acquitted, it is all over. There will be no more investigations, and no more international pressure on Gadhafi. It is a huge risk."

Worse: It is a huge risk that Bill Clinton is willing to take but not explain honestly to the American people. For shame, Mr. President.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 3, 2000]

#### THE LIBYA THAW

Four American diplomats recently returned from Libya, where they were sent by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to determine whether it is time for the United States to lift the ban on using U.S. passports to visit Moammar Gadhafi's realm. The trip follows other steps hinting at a Clinton administration intention to thaw relations with a regime that remains on the U.S. list of states that sponsor terrorism.

The most notorious terrorist act linked to Tripoli is the Dec. 21, 1988, bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. The attack killed 270 people, including 189 Americans. After an investigation fingered two Libyan agents, the United States won U.S. Security Council approval for sanctions against Libya. Last year the Clinton administration agreed to "suspend" sanctions after

Mr. Gadhafi consented to hand the two men over for a trial under Scottish law at a special court in Holland. The Libyan dictator did so only after being satisfied, via a U.S.-vetted letter from U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, that the trial, which opens May 3, would focus on the two suspects and not on his regime.

In striking this compromise, the Clinton administration made clear that it would not approve permanent lifting of the U.N. sanctions or the lifting of unilateral U.S. sanctions until Mr. Gadhafi meets other demands, such as paying compensation, accepting Libyan responsibility for the crime and revealing all that his regime knows about it. But the administration has not pressed those issues at the U.N., and its diplomatic body language suggests it is trying to wrap up a long battle that has often placed the United States at odds with European allies who rely on Libyan oil.

Perhaps the administration believes the economic and diplomatic costs of a hard line on Libya now outweigh the benefits. Perhaps Mr. Gadhafi's recent expulsion from Libya of the Abu Nidal organization deserves to be rewarded. And perhaps it is futile to insist that Mr. Gadhafi tell everything he knows about the case, however contradictory it may be to prosecute the two bombers while settling, at most, for compensation from Mr. Gadhafi, who almost certainly would have ordered such an attack.

Whatever the rationale, the American public is entitled to a full explanation. But, with the exception of a speech by Assistant Secretary of State Ronald Neumann last November, the Clinton administration has kept its Libya decision-making in the shadows. Despite requests from the Pan Am 103 victims' families, it won't release the Annan letter, citing diplomatic privacy. A legitimate point—but it inevitably leaves many wondering whether the letter contains inappropriate promises to Mr. Gadhafi. If there's nothing untoward about the Clinton administration's overall Libya policy, why doesn't Secretary Albright, or, better, the president, do more to help the public understand it?

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 288—AUTHORIZING THE TAKING OF A PHOTOGRAPH IN THE CHAMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Mr. LOTT (for himself and Mr. DASCHLE) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

##### S. RES. 288

*Resolved*, That paragraph 1 of Rule IV of the Rules for the Regulation of the Senate Wing of the United States Capitol (prohibiting the taking of pictures in the Senate Chamber) be temporarily suspended for the sole and specific purpose of permitting the Senate Photographic Studio to photograph the United States Senate in actual session on Tuesday, June 6, 2000, at the hour of 2:15 p.m.

SEC. 2. The Sergeant at Arms of the Senate is authorized and directed to make the necessary arrangements therefor, which arrangements shall provide for a minimum of disruption to Senate proceedings.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 289—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE REGARDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CUBA

Mr. TORRICELLI (for himself, Mr. HELMS, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. MACK, and

Mr. REID) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

##### S. RES. 289

Whereas the annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland, provides a forum for discussing human rights and expressing international support for improved human rights performance;

Whereas the United States Department of State 1999 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, released on February 25, 2000, includes the following statements describing conditions in Cuba:

(1) "Cuba is a totalitarian state controlled by President Fidel Castro.... President Castro exercises control over all aspects of Cuban life.... The Communist Party is the only legal political entity.... There are no contested elections.... The judiciary is completely subordinate to the government and to the Communist Party...."

(2) "The Ministry of Interior... investigates and actively suppresses opposition and dissent. It maintains a pervasive system of vigilance through undercover agents, informers, the rapid response brigades, and the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR's)...."

(3) "[The government] continued systematically to violate fundamental civil and political rights of its citizens. Citizens do not have the right to change their government peacefully.... The authorities routinely continued to harass, threaten, arbitrarily arrest, detain, imprison, and defame human rights advocates and members of independent professional associations, including journalists, economists, doctors, and lawyers, often with the goal of coercing them into leaving the country...."

(4) "The government denied citizens the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and association.... It limited the distribution of foreign publications and news to selected party faithful and maintained strict censorship of news and information to the public. The government kept tight restrictions on freedom of movement, including foreign travel...."

(5) "The government continued to subject those who disagreed with it to 'acts of repudiation'. At government instigation, members of state-controlled mass organizations, fellow workers, or neighbors of intended victims are obliged to stage public protests against those who dissent with the government's policies.... Those who refuse to participate in these actions face disciplinary action, including loss of employment...."

(6) "Detainees and prisoners often are subjected to repeated, vigorous interrogations designed to coerce them into signing incriminating statements.... The government does not permit independent monitoring of prison conditions...."

(7) "Arbitrary arrest and detention continued to be problems, and they remained the government's most effective weapons to harass opponents.... [T]he Constitution states that all legally recognized civil liberties can be denied to anyone who actively opposes the 'decision of the Cuban people to build socialism'. The authorities invoke this sweeping authority to deny due process to those detained on purported state security grounds...."

(8) "The Penal Code includes the concept of 'dangerousness', defined as the 'special proclivity of a person to commit crimes, demonstrated by his conduct in manifest contradiction of socialist norms'. If the police decide that a person exhibits signs of dangerousness, they may bring the offender before a court or subject him to 'therapy' or

'political reeducation....' Often the sole evidence provided, particularly in political cases, is the defendant's confession, usually obtained under duress...."

(9) "Human rights monitoring groups inside the country estimate the number of political prisoners at between 350 and 400 persons....According to human rights monitoring groups inside the country, the number of political prisoners increased slightly during the year...."

(10) "The government does not allow criticism of the revolution or its leaders....Charges of disseminating enemy propaganda (which includes merely expressing opinions at odds with those of the government) can bring sentences of up to 14 years....Even the church-run publications are watched closely, denied access to mass printing equipment, and subject to governmental pressure....All media must operate under party guidelines and reflect government views...."

(11) "The law punishes any unauthorized assembly of more than 3 persons, including those for private religious services in a private home....The authorities have never approved a public meeting by a human rights group".

(12) "The government kept tight restrictions on freedom of movement....[S]tate security officials have forbidden human rights advocates and independent journalists from traveling outside their home provinces, and the government also has sentenced others to internal exile".

(13) "Citizens do not have the legal right to change their government or to advocate change, and the government has retaliated systematically against those who sought peaceful political change....An opposition or independent candidate has never been allowed to run for national office...."

(14) "The government does not recognize any domestic human rights groups, or permit them to function legally...the government refuses to consider applications for legal recognition submitted by human rights monitoring groups....The government steadfastly has rejected international human rights monitoring".

(15) "Workers can and have lost their jobs for their political beliefs, including their refusal to join the official union....[T]he government requires foreign investors to contract workers through state employment agencies...workers...must meet certain political qualifications...to ensure that the workers chosen deserve to work in a joint enterprise....[E]xploitative labor practices force foreign companies to pay the government as much as \$500 to \$600 per month for workers, while the workers in turn receive only a small peso wage from the government"; and

Whereas the Czech Republic and Poland will again introduce a resolution condemning human rights practices of the Government of Cuba at the annual meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved,*

#### SECTION 1. SENSE OF THE SENATE REGARDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CUBA.

(a) SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION.—The Senate hereby expresses its support for the decision of member states meeting at the 56th Session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland, to consider a resolution introduced by the Czech Republic and Poland that, among other things, calls upon Cuba to respect "human rights and fundamental freedoms and to provide the appropriate framework to guarantee the rule of law through

democratic institutions and the independence of the judicial system".

(b) SENSE OF THE SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that the United States should make every effort necessary, including the engagement of high-level executive branch officials, to encourage cosponsorship of and support for this resolution on Cuba by other governments.

(c) TRANSMITTAL OF RESOLUTION.—The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the Secretary of State with the request that a copy be further transmitted to the chief of diplomatic mission in Washington, D.C., of each member state represented on the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 290—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT COMPANIES LARGE AND SMALL IN EVERY PART OF THE WORLD SHOULD SUPPORT AND ADHERE TO THE GLOBAL SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY WHEREVER THEY HAVE OPERATIONS

Mr. SPECTER (for himself and Mr. FEINGOLD) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 290

Whereas Reverend Leon Sullivan, author of the Global Sullivan Principles, is known throughout the world for his bold and principled efforts to dismantle the system of apartheid in South Africa, for his work with Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC's) to create jobs for over 1,000,000 youth in 130 United States cities and 18 countries, and for his work in literacy training all over the world;

Whereas Reverend Sullivan initiated the original Sullivan Principles in 1977 as a code of conduct for companies operating in South Africa;

Whereas the Global Sullivan Principles promote equal opportunity for employees of all ages, races, ethnic backgrounds, and religions;

Whereas the Global Sullivan Principles stress the social responsibilities of corporations;

Whereas on June 7, 1999, President Clinton gave approval to the Principles; and

Whereas on November 2, 1999, Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, urged corporate leaders to put the Global Sullivan Principles into practice: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved,*

#### SECTION 1. CALLING FOR SUPPORT AND COMPLIANCE WITH THE GLOBAL SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The Senate calls on companies large and small in every part of the world to support and adhere to the Global Sullivan Principles of Corporate Social Responsibility wherever they have operations.

#### SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF GLOBAL SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES OF CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

In this resolution, the term "Global Sullivan Principles of Corporate Social Responsibility" means the principles stated as follows:

"As a company which endorses the Global Sullivan Principles we will respect the law, and as a responsible member of society we will apply these Principles with integrity consistent with the legitimate role of business. We will develop and implement com-

pany policies, procedures, training, and internal reporting structures to ensure commitment to these principles throughout our organization. We believe the application of these principles will achieve greater tolerance and better understanding among peoples, and advance the culture of peace.

"Accordingly, we will;

"Express our support for universal human rights and, particularly, those of our employees, the communities within which we operate, and parties with whom we do business.

"Promote equal opportunity for our employees at all levels of the company with respect to issues such as color, race, gender, age, ethnicity or religious beliefs, and operate without unacceptable worker treatment such as the exploitation of children, physical punishment, female abuse, involuntary servitude, or other forms of abuse.

"Respect our employees' voluntary freedom of association.

"Compensate our employees to enable them to meet at least their basic needs and provide the opportunity to improve their skill and capability in order to raise their social and economic opportunities.

"Provide a safe and healthy workplace; protect human health and the environment and promote sustainable development.

"Promote fair competition including respect for intellectual and other property rights, and not offer, pay or accept bribes.

"Work with governments and communities in which we do business to improve the quality of life in those communities, their educational, cultural, economic and social well-being and seek to provide training and opportunities for workers from disadvantaged backgrounds.

"Promote the application of these principles by those with whom we do business.

"We will be transparent in our implementation of these principles and provide information which demonstrates publicly our commitment to them."

#### AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

#### MARRIAGE TAX PENALTY RELIEF ACT OF 2000

#### DORGAN AMENDMENT NO. 3092

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. DORGAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H.R. 6) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to eliminate the marriage penalty by providing that the income tax rate bracket amounts, and the amount of the standard deduction, for joint returns shall be twice the amounts applicable to unmarried individuals; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

#### SEC. . TREATMENT OF CONSERVATION RESERVE PROGRAM PAYMENTS AS RENTALS FROM REAL ESTATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1402(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (defining net earnings from self-employment) is amended by inserting "and including payments under section 1233(2) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3833(2))" after "crop shares".

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to payments made before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

#### SMITH AMENDMENT NO. 3093

(Ordered to lie on the table.)