

aim at a dictator by imposing sanctions on food and medicine, you aim at the dictator and you hurt hungry people; you aim at a dictator and you hurt sick people; you aim at a dictator and you hurt poor people. It is true in every one of these countries. Sanctions are fine, but we ought never include sanctions on the shipment of food and medicine.

This country needs to understand that and learn that. The legislation I have introduced with my colleagues, Senator GORTON from the State of Washington, Senator ASHCROFT, Senator DODD, and others, is very simple. It says all current sanctions on the shipment of food and medicine shall be abolished within 180 days—gone. This country will not use food and medicine as a weapon.

Second, no President will be able to impose sanctions on the shipment of food and medicine unless he comes to the Congress and gets an affirmative vote by the Congress to do so. In other words, this ends the sanctions on the shipment of food and medicine.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DORGAN. Of course, I am happy to yield.

Mr. WARNER. This is a subject in which I have been heavily involved, as have others. Senator DODD and I on repeated occasions have put legislation up, I presume comparable to what the Senator has in mind. I clearly associate myself with the Senate's goals.

As a matter of fact, on the authorization bill for the Department of Defense, there is a Warner-Dodd amendment which asks for the appointment of a commission, to be appointed by President Clinton, drawing on nominees from not only the President but the majority, the Democratic leader, and others in the Congress, to begin to focus on a broad range of policy considerations with regard to the relationship between the United States and Cuba. So I am highly supportive. I have listened to the Senator enumerate a few Senators, and with a lack of humility I ask my name be included among those who strongly support, as I have now for 2 years, with Senator DODD and others, the lifting of particulars. If we are to make any inroads on the Government in Cuba, it has to be done people to people. What better way than food and medicine because if there is anything that does not have the taint of politics, it should be food and medicine. So I commend my colleague.

Mr. DORGAN. The Senator from Virginia, of course, has been involved in this issue. I certainly agree the embargo has not worked. I mean, 40 years of embargo with respect to Cuba, speaking only now of Cuba, ought to tell us that when a policy doesn't work, you should change the policy—especially that portion of the policy that deals with food and medicine. It is immoral, in my judgment, for this country to use food as a weapon. It is not only unfair to our farmers—I have talked

about that at some length—It is unfair to say to farmers we have the freedom to farm but not the freedom to sell. But it is immoral for this country to use food as a weapon. I want to change it.

The Senator from Virginia described the support for this. I don't know if he heard me say I intend to offer it as an amendment on the Defense authorization bill. That will not be deemed a great pleasure by the Senator from Virginia, I am sure, but the only opportunity I have to get this done is to put it in legislation that is going to go to the President.

The legislative leaders have the opportunity in the appropriations process to strip this from the appropriations bill. They did it last year and they are going to do it this year. This year I am not going to sit back and say: That's fine; we do all this work and we get rid of the food and medicine sanctions in appropriations, only to have you hijack it in conference or with some parliamentary procedure, and at the end of the day this country still prevents the sale of food and medicine to the poor people in Cuba and Iraq and Libya. That is not something I am willing to accept. It is not going to happen anymore.

I mentioned previously I sat in a hospital in Havana, Cuba, last year when I visited Havana—sat in a hospital in an intensive care room and watched a 12-year-old boy in a coma. His mother, at a bedside vigil, was holding this boy's hand—and in an intensive care room—there was no beeping going on because there was no machinery or equipment there. This hospital had no equipment for a young boy in a coma in intensive care. The doctor at that hospital said, "We are out of 250 different kinds of medicine; we don't have it. We are just out of it."

And our country says we cannot move medicine to Cuba? We cannot sell medicine to Cuba? We can't sell food to Cuba? It doesn't make any sense to me.

I have been to many of the poor countries around the world. I do not want to be a part of a government that says we want to continue to use food as a weapon; we want to continue to use food and medicine as weapons. That is fundamentally wrong. It is a wrong-headed public policy.

Again, I say to the Senator from Virginia, I do not think he heard me. He has been a strong supporter of these issues. I have great respect for him. He will not be pleased that I intend to offer this as an amendment to the Defense authorization bill at some point. I feel I must do that because it is the only way we will get it done. The legislative leaders intend to strip this out of the appropriations process. The only opportunity for the Members of the House and Senate to express their will is to put this in a bill that is going to be signed by the President.

Do I understand the managers wish to do some business?

Mr. REID. If the Senator will be kind enough to withhold, without losing his

right to the floor, we have a unanimous consent agreement we would like to have entered.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. WARNER. As in executive session, I ask unanimous consent the Senate, at 11 a.m., immediately proceed to consider the following nomination on Executive Calendar: The nomination of Gen. John Gordon to be Under Secretary for Nuclear Security, Department of Energy, with the time until 11:30 to be equally divided between myself and the ranking member.

I further ask unanimous consent that a vote occur at 11:30 this morning on confirmation of the nomination of General Gordon, the motion to reconsider be laid on the table, any statements relating to the nomination appear in the RECORD, the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action, and the Senate then return to legislative session.

I further ask unanimous consent that no later than July 12, 2000, the Senate proceed to executive session for the consideration of Calendar No. 473, the nomination of Madelyn Creedon to be Deputy Administrator for Defense Programs, National Nuclear Security Administration. I further ask consent that there be 2 hours for debate, equally divided in the usual form. I finally ask consent that following the use or yielding back of the time, the Senate proceed to a vote on the confirmation of the nomination, the President be notified of the Senate's action immediately following the vote, and the Senate then resume legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEVIN. No objection, Mr. President. We support this.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, just further administrative observation by myself, I thank the distinguished colleagues on the other side for trying to work it out such that at some point this morning Senator LEVIN and I may move to consideration of 40 or more cleared amendments on the Defense authorization bill. I know every effort is being made to achieve that procedural opportunity.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, that effort would be made, as I understand it, immediately following the vote on the confirmation of General Gordon. I am just wondering if that is accurate, so we can inform our colleagues who have an interest in this that the effort which the Senator from Virginia, the manager of the bill, has just described would occur immediately following the vote on the confirmation of General Gordon.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, the Senator is correct.

Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the Gordon nomination at this point.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There appears to be. The yeas and nays were ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I apologize to my friend from North Dakota. I hope during the next hour and 15 minutes we can also make some progress toward getting rid of a number of the amendments, in addition to those cleared. I hope we can move in an orderly fashion to dispose of the Smith amendment, as amended. We can move forward and give Senator DODD an opportunity to move forward with what he desires to do.

In effect, I hope we can do more than just deal with cleared amendments. The arrangement between Senators LOTT and DASCHLE is that we would have the right on a subsequent piece of legislation to legislate. That is what we want to do. We have cooperated. We have moved expeditiously in getting rid of that very large Defense appropriations bill in a matter of a day and a half. I hope in the next hour and a half we are able to come up with a formula whereby we move to the legislative authorization bill and do some legislating.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I will consult with my distinguished leader on that subject.

Mr. DORGAN. I wonder if the Senator from Virginia will yield for a question.

Mr. WARNER. Yes.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I agree with the comments that were made, and I know the desire is to move the Defense authorization bill forward with some dispatch. I indicated previously that I intend to offer an amendment dealing with sanctions on food and medicine. There are national security issues which have compelled us to impose sanctions, which include food and medicine, on countries.

We have debated this at great length. We had 70 votes for this policy last year in the Senate. Seventy percent of the Senate said they want to strip out food and medicine sanctions. We also have this in our appropriations bill, but I understand the legislative leadership is going to strip it out, and they have the capability from a parliamentary standpoint to do that.

The only option for those of us who want to get this policy done is to put it in a bill that is amendable, like this bill. It is my intention to offer an amendment. I will accept a short time limit when I do so. It is not my intention to hold things up. This has been debated at great length, and 70 percent of the Senators said we want to end sanctions on food and medicine with respect to sanctions that exist around the world.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I advise my distinguished colleague of the following situation: One of the amendments pending at the desk is a Warner-Dodd amendment which establishes a

Presidential commission to examine the overall policy between the United States and Cuba. It is my intention, if the parliamentary situation develops and I can do this, to ask that that amendment be withdrawn.

I do that with the greatest reluctance, but I have an obligation as manager of this very critical piece of legislation, the annual authorization for the Armed Forces of the United States, to compromise in my own objectives. One of them, of course, is to support the Senator's goals and to support the establishment of a commission. I have to do that because two colleagues, very respectfully, in a very friendly and forthright manner, told me that if the Warner-Dodd amendment remains on the authorization bill, we can anticipate—and I use the magic words—a prolonged debate on the Warner-Dodd amendment. That prolonged debate, I have to interpret, is a means by which to deprive the ability of the managers to move forward in an expeditious manner on the authorization bill.

In recognition of that, I have indicated to my two distinguished colleagues and good friends that I am going to withdraw my amendment, if I can, from a parliamentary standpoint. I can only anticipate those two Members, and indeed probably others, will indicate to the managers that should the distinguished colleague from North Dakota desire to offer that amendment, whether it is today or at some future time that will be available, we can anticipate prolonged debate on the armed services authorization bill. That is as much as I can say at this point in time.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I understand that. The two managers, Senator WARNER and Senator LEVIN, are doing a remarkable job of trying to move this legislation forward. It is not my intent to cause difficulties, but I do not want one or two Senators holding up the will of 70 percent of the Senate, saying this country ought not use food and medicine in sanctions anymore.

If I were assured by somebody that the efforts we have underway—Senator ASHCROFT, myself, Senator GORTON, Senator DODD, and others—to strike these sanctions of food and medicine in other pieces of legislation that are coming to the floor were somehow protected, that would be one thing. It is quite clear to me, and the leadership said to me publicly: We intend to dump them; it does not matter how many people support it, we intend to dump them, get rid of them.

The only opportunity I have is to force my way into this bill. If we have an up-or-down vote on this, 70 percent of the Senate and 70 percent of the House says this country will never use sanctions on the shipment of food and medicine, which is wrong, and the only chance I have to do that is on a piece of legislation such as this.

As my colleague knows, we seldom have a piece of legislation on the floor that is open for amendment. This one

is. I give the Senator my assurance that we do not need long debate on this at all. We can debate this in a very short order because we had extensive debate last year. Seventy Senators said let us not any longer use food and medicine on sanctions.

Mr. WARNER. The distinguished Senator knows the rules of the Senate, and further I sayeth not.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I wonder if my friend from North Dakota will yield.

First, I join Senator WARNER in thanking him for allowing, with such graciousness, as always, the interruption of his presentation.

Secondly, he has a very important amendment. It is an amendment on which this Senate has voted, and this vehicle is a perfectly legitimate vehicle for legislation. It is one of the few opportunities we have for legislation. It is because there are such few opportunities that it has attracted this many potential amendments. I do not think anyone needs to apologize for that.

Senator WARNER—the way he works so well—and I will attempt to work with him and attempt to accommodate Senators who wish to offer amendments to this legislation. They need no apologies. We will try to work through it.

I thank the Senator from North Dakota for not just intending to offer an important amendment again, but being willing to take a very short time agreement on it, which means we can move the bill along.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, my good friend from Michigan and I have a responsibility to get the bill passed. I have been discouraging, as best I can, colleagues from bringing to the floor amendments which are not clearly germane to the central purposes of the annual authorization bill.

I hope I am not interpreting his comments as inviting, in contrast to my discouraging, such amendments. It is going to take a joint effort.

I commend our distinguished colleague, Senator REID of Nevada. He has been most helpful, and Senator LOTT on my side has supported me in trying to get this bill moving. As a matter of fact, Senator LOTT has given us this time this morning. He has represented to me he will try henceforth to give us time in between appropriations bills, which understandably is the prime function of the Senate.

Please, let us not encourage matters by way of amendment which are not clearly germane to this bill.

Mr. LEVIN. If my good friend will yield for a comment on that, I happen to share with him the desirability of moving this bill, but I also understand the need of colleagues to offer legislation in the Senate. That is why we are here.

The way I would accomplish the goal which the good Senator from Virginia has just laid out—a goal I share—would be to encourage colleagues who feel strongly about amendments, as the