

covered by the increase we provided in the 2001 development assistance.

Finally, the committee was asked to support a \$210 million supplemental package for a contribution to the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative Trust Fund. The committee has provided an initial commitment of \$75 million pending authorization legislation currently being considered by the Banking Committee.

With that, let me pass the baton to my friend and colleague, Senator LEAHY, with whom I have enjoyed working on this legislation each year during our time together, as either chairman or the ranking member. I express my gratitude to him for his friendship and the cooperative way in which we have proceeded every year.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWNBACK). The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky for his gracious comments.

I am very pleased to join my friend from Kentucky, Senator McCONNELL, who as chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee has done a superb job getting this bill to the floor.

The Appropriations Committee reported this bill on May 9 after very little debate. The fact that it sailed through our committee was a reflection of the bipartisan way the bill was put together. We did everything possible to accommodate the wishes of Senators on both sides of the aisle.

This bill is \$780 million above last year's Senate foreign operations bill. We increased funding for global health programs, which many Senators support.

We increased export assistance. We increased funding for a number of other important programs. That is the good news. But this bill is \$350 million below last year's enacted level, and \$1.7 billion below the President's 2001 budget request.

We were not able to fully fund several programs that have broad support, such as the Peace Corps, but I expect that more will be done in the conference committee.

The bill also does not respond adequately to the emergency disaster needs in Mozambique, which was devastated by floods earlier this year. We provided only \$25 million out of a request of \$193 million. I cannot help but compare the billions we have spent to relieve the suffering of people in Bosnia and Kosovo, with our minuscule aid to Southern Africa.

The bill provides only \$75 million of the \$435 million in emergency supplemental and fiscal year 2001 funding for debt relief for the poorest countries, which has bipartisan support in both the House and Senate. This is an international initiative led by the United States. We need to do our share.

We also fell short on the International Development Association, the soft-loan window of the World Bank. We are about \$85 million short.

I have some real concerns about the way the World Bank is handling staff complaints of misconduct, such as harassment and retaliation.

I am preparing some proposals for the World Bank to address these problems.

Several Senators, both Democrats and Republicans, have written to me urging more funding for the Global Environment Facility, which supports programs to protect the ozone, reduce ocean pollution, and protect biodiversity. We were only able to provide \$50 million, out of a request of \$175 million.

Some have complained that the GEF is funding the Kyoto Protocol. Those critics owe it to the GEF to specify which activities they oppose, rather than making vague objections that are not based on facts. We need to find common ground on addressing these critical environmental problems.

Finally, I want to address the emergency funding for Colombia, which was attached to this bill in the committee. I want to help Colombia, which is facing threats from left-wing guerrillas, right-wing paramilitaries, and drug traffickers allied with both.

I also have a lot of respect for Colombia's President Pastrana. We are already giving hundreds of millions of dollars to Colombia.

But I cannot endorse a proposal that would vastly increase our military involvement in Colombia that is so poorly thought out and suffers from so many unanswered questions.

Although the administration does not like to talk about it, this is only the first billion-dollar installment of a multiyear, open-ended commitment of many more billions of dollars.

Nobody can say what they expect this to cost, what we can expect to achieve, in what period of time, how intensifying a war that cannot be won will lead to peace, or what the risks are to hundreds of American military and civilian personnel in Colombia or to Colombian civilians. I have asked the Administration these questions, but their answers are vague at best.

Even the goal is vague. If it is to stop the flow of illegal drugs into the United States, that is wishful thinking. If it is to defeat the guerrillas, this is not the way to do it. I think the American people deserve better answers before we spend billions of their tax dollars on another civil war in South America.

Having said that, I very much appreciate Chairman McCONNELL's willingness to include a number of conditions on the aid, which have strong bipartisan support. If this Colombia aid passes, these human rights conditions and reporting requirements are essential to ensure that the aid is not misused and that human rights are protected.

As with many other appropriations bills, we are going to need to get a higher allocation if the President is going to sign this bill. But as the

Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator STEVENS, has said, this is one step in the process. I believe it is a good start and that we should pass this bill. There is no reason why we cannot wrap it up very quickly.

With the distinguished chairman on the floor, I tell him that on my side of the aisle, I urge anybody who has amendments to get them over here and let us try to wrap it up in the morning so that by early tomorrow afternoon we can go on to a different bill.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I say in response to the suggestion of the Senator from Vermont, I believe we now do have a consent agreement that will allow us to move ahead, not quite as rapidly as the Senator from Vermont and I had hoped.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I must say that the Senator from Kentucky would probably like to do it at the same speed I would but we are both realists in this regard.

Mr. McCONNELL. I believe this will move us toward a completion, hopefully by early evening tomorrow.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all first-degree amendments to the pending bill must be filed at the desk by 3 p.m. on Wednesday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 2000

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 9:30 a.m. on Wednesday, June 21. I further ask unanimous consent that on Wednesday immediately following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and Senator GRAHAM of Florida be recognized in morning business for up to 40 minutes, to be followed by Senator VOINOVICH for 40 minutes, and the Senate then resume consideration of the foreign operations appropriations bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. McCONNELL. I further ask unanimous consent that when the Senate resumes the bill at approximately 11 a.m., Senator WELLSTONE be recognized to offer his amendment regarding Colombia, no second-degree amendments be in order prior to a vote in relation to the amendment, and there be 90 minutes for debate prior to the vote under the control of Senator WELLSTONE and 45 minutes under the control of myself.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, in light of that, there will be no further rollcall votes this evening.

We have the Senator from Alabama on the floor ready to offer an amendment and to talk about that some tonight. I believe the occupant of the Chair is also interested in discussing an amendment of his own tonight.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, before we go to the Senator from Alabama, as I understand it, anything we may do tonight would be simply in the form of discussing amendments and then laid aside.

I see the distinguished Senator from Alabama on the floor.

I don't want to delay that any further.

I yield the floor.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2001—Resumed

AMENDMENT NO. 3492

(Purpose: To provide an additional condition on assistance for Colombia)

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Alabama (Mr. SESSIONS) proposes an amendment numbered 3492.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 144, strike line 22 and insert the following: aiding and abetting these groups; and

(D) the United States Government publicly supports the military and political efforts of the Government of Colombia, consistent with human rights, that are necessary to resolve effectively the conflicts with the armed insurgents that threaten the territorial integrity, economic prosperity, and rule of law in Colombia.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I would like to talk a little about this amendment tonight, in general terms, and talk a little more precisely about it in the morning. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that there be time tomorrow for me to have approximately 30 minutes sometime during the day to speak on the amendment, unless some others would want more time on the other side.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, will the 30 minutes for the Senator from Alabama come after the consideration of the Wellstone amendment, which we have already locked in?

Mr. SESSIONS. Yes. That would be satisfactory to me, and such other accommodations we can make to make it better for the managers.

Mr. LEAHY. Will the Senator from Alabama amend that to request that this side have an equal amount of time on his amendment tomorrow, which we may or may not use?

Mr. SESSIONS. I will.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I am troubled by our efforts, which I support, to help the nation of Colombia.

I serve on the Narcotics Committee. I serve on the Armed Services Committee. Over quite a number of months, we have had testimony and hearings involving this issue. I have become quite concerned about the stability of the nation of Colombia. I believe it is a democracy, and it is one of the oldest in the Western Hemisphere. It is worthy of our support.

I believe Colombia is in a critical point in its history with over 50 percent of its territory—or at least over 40 or perhaps 50 percent of its territory—under the hands of insurgent forces. This great nation is in trouble.

I hope we can devise a way to effectively assist them in their efforts to preserve democracy and freedom, economic growth and prosperity, and safety and freedom for their people.

That is the intent of my amendment. It goes to an issue that I think is important.

This is the problem we are dealing with. The President, his State Department, and his representatives have testified and said repeatedly that our goal here is to reduce drugs in America and to save lives in America.

Our goal is to fight drug dealers in Colombia. Our goal is to help defoliate and destroy coca production in Colombia. The administration has steadfastly avoided and refused to say that this Nation, the United States of America, stands with the democratically-elected Government of Panama against two major Marxist organizations that seek to overthrow the Government of Colombia, and have actually occupied large portions of that nation.

It is baffling to me why this is so. I do not understand what it is. Maybe it is an effort to appease the hard left in this country. Maybe it is an effort to appease certain liberal Members of this Senate who just can't see giving money to fight a left-wing guerrilla group anywhere in the world. Indeed, I can't recall an instance in which this administration has ever given any money to support democratically-elected governments, or other kinds of governments, for that matter, against left-wing Marxist guerrillas.

These guerrilla groups have been involved in Colombia for many years. They have destabilized the country. They have undermined economic progress. They have provided cover and protection for drug dealers. They have in fact damaged Colombia substantially.

I believe it is time for us to encourage Colombia to stand up to these organizations, to retake this country, and to preserve democracy in the country. It is a serious matter, in my view.

Colombia has been an ally. We have encouraged them to enter into peace negotiations, and President Pastrana has tried his best to negotiate with these guerrilla groups. In fact, Colom-

bia has given a piece of their territory, I am informed, the size of Senator LEAHY's State of Vermont to the guerrillas as a cease-fire zone, a safe zone in which they can operate without fear, and that the duly constituted Government of Colombia would not enter there and do something about it while they attempt to establish peace. But this concession, this appeasement to the guerrilla groups, has not appeased them. It has not caused them to be less violent or aggressive. But in fact it appears it has encouraged them in some ways.

I believe Colombia is at the point where they can achieve stability. I believe they can drive home, through a combination of diplomacy and military efforts to these insurgent forces, that war is not going to pay off, that war is a dead-end street for everyone, that they are willing to accept divergent views in their democracy, that they are willing to hear from the underlying concerns of the guerrilla groups. In fact, President Pastrana has said that over and over again. But fundamentally they have to send a message that they are willing to pay the price, that they are going to produce an army capable of putting these guerrillas on the defensive, and that they will take back their territory and unify their country.

There are also right-wing para-military groups in the country, a right-wing militia, that is involved in terrorist-type acts and violations of human rights. They also need to be defeated and disbanded before Colombia can be unified. There can be no higher goal than that, from my perspective, for our country at this critical point in time.

What are our goals? Why won't the President discuss them plainly? Our goal in Colombia is to produce regional stability. The collapse of Colombia can undermine nearby nations, whether Bolivia or Peru or other countries that border it. It can have a tremendous adverse effect on their stability.

Instability in Colombia, should it occur, would knock down and damage one of our strongest trading partners. Colombia has 40 million people. Those people trade with the United States to a heavy degree. It would be a tragedy if they were to sink into chaos and could not maintain a viable economy. We have a self-interest in that, but we have a real human interest in trying to make sure we utilize our abilities, our resources, to help that nation to right itself and take back its territory.

As I had occasion to say to President Pastrana recently: I want to see that we help. I want to help you strengthen your country. But I would like you to think about a great American. I would like you to think about Abraham Lincoln, who was faced with division of his country. Nearly 50 percent of his country had fallen under the hands of the Southern States. He had to make a big, tough decision. That decision was whether he was going to accede to that, was he going to allow the United