

SENATE RESOLUTION 343—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND RED CRESCENT MOVEMENT SHOULD RECOGNIZE AND ADMIT TO FULL MEMBERSHIP ISRAEL'S MAGEN DAVID ADOM SOCIETY WITH ITS EMBLEM, THE RED SHIELD OF DAVID; TO THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FITZGERALD (for himself, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. HELMS, and Mr. LUGAR) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 343

Whereas Israel's Magen David Adom Society has since 1930 provided emergency relief to people in many countries in times of need, pain, and suffering, regardless of nationality or religious affiliation;

Whereas in the past year alone, the Magen David Adom Society has provided invaluable humanitarian services in Kosovo, Indonesia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, as well as Greece and Turkey in the wake of the earthquakes that devastated these countries;

Whereas the American Red Cross has recognized the superb and invaluable work done by the Magen David Adom Society and considers the exclusion of the Magen David Adom Society from the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement "an injustice of the highest order";

Whereas the American Red Cross has repeatedly urged that the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement recognize the Magen David Adom Society as a full member, with its emblem;

Whereas the Magen David Adom Society utilizes the Red Shield of David as its emblem, in similar fashion to the utilization of the Red Cross and Red Crescent by other national societies;

Whereas the Red Cross and the Red Crescent have been recognized as protective emblems under the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement;

Whereas the International Committee of the Red Cross has ignored previous requests from the United States Congress to recognize the Magen David Adom Society;

Whereas the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement state that it "makes no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions," and it "may not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature";

Whereas although similar national organizations of Iraq, North Korea, and Afghanistan are recognized as full members of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, the Magen David Adom Society has been denied membership since 1949;

Whereas in the six fiscal years 1994 through 1999, the United States Government provided a total of \$631,000,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross and \$82,000,000 to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies; and

Whereas in fiscal year 1999 alone, the United States Government provided \$119,500,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross and \$7,300,000 to the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That—

(1) the International Committee on the Red Cross should immediately recognize the Magen David Adom Society and the Magen David Adom Society should be granted full membership in the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement;

(2) the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies should grant full membership to the Magen David Adom Society immediately following recognition by the International Committee of the Red Cross of the Magen David Adom Society;

(3) the Magen David Adom Society should not be required to give up or diminish its use of its emblem as a condition for immediate and full membership in the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement; and

(4) the Red Shield of David should be accorded the same recognition under international law as the Red Cross and the Red Crescent.

Mr. FITZGERALD. Mr. President, today I am introducing a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement should recognize and admit to full membership Israel's Magen David Adom Society with its emblem, the Red Shield of David. I thank Senators LIEBERMAN, HAGEL, HELMS, and LUGAR for joining me as original cosponsors of this important resolution.

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement is the largest humanitarian network in the world. The Movement has many components, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (the ICRC—the Swiss-based founding institution of the Movement that serves as a neutral intermediary in armed conflict areas) and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (the Federation, which groups together the Movement's 176 recognized national societies and coordinates international disaster relief and refugee assistance in non-conflict areas).

The Red Shield of David has been in use and recognized de facto since 1930 as the distinctive emblem of the medical and first aid services of the Jewish population in Palestine and, after 1948, the state of Israel. Israel signed the Geneva Conventions in 1949. The new state of Israel therefore attempted to have the Red Shield of David recognized in the Geneva Conventions as an alternative to the red cross, the red crescent, and the red lion and sun. In a secret ballot, however, Israel's request was rejected, 22 to 21. The end result was that Israel's equivalent of the Red Cross, Magen David Adom (MDA), was relegated to non-voting observer status and thereby effectively excluded from the Movement.

In rejecting the Red Shield of David, and excluding Israel's national society from the Movement, the 1949 diplomatic convention established the principle that only those already using an exceptional sign—that is, a non-Red Cross emblem—had the right to continue using it. All new national soci-

eties would have to adopt the Red Cross. However, the admission of 25 new Red Crescent societies since 1949 demonstrates the inconsistency with which this principle has been applied.

Despite MDA's exclusion from the Movement, it has continuously played an active role in disaster assistance worldwide, recently helping to rescue trapped civilians following the 1999 earthquakes in Turkey and Greece. Israeli medical teams were also among the first to assist victims of severe flooding in Mozambique this year. ICRC officials have praised MDA for its "life-saving work" and report they have maintained "excellent working relations" with the MDA for decades.

The existing Protocols of the Geneva Conventions provide for two different uses of the Movement emblem: "protective," which is used for protective purposes in armed conflicts and requires the use of a single unique emblem, and "indicative," which is used for identification purposes in non-conflict circumstances, and therefore allows for the existence of several emblems. Currently, negotiations are underway to add a possible third Protocol to the Geneva Conventions to create a new neutral emblem and allow for MDA recognition with its emblem. However, before these negotiations can translate into formal recognition, significant procedural hurdles must be overcome, including super-majority votes of three bodies and ratification by member nations that could take years. Meanwhile, the American Red Cross has been pursuing other approaches that would allow for the recognition of MDA and its emblem without the introduction of a third Protocol.

The resolution I am introducing today would help facilitate the negotiating process by putting the Senate on record in support of MDA recognition at a critical time in these negotiations. The House of Representatives passed a similar resolution on May 3, 2000. The Senate, however, last announced its support of recognition of MDA and its emblem over 12 years ago.

Over the last six years, the United States Government has provided the ICRC and the Federation with \$713 million. Once again, the United States Senate should urge the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to recognize the Red Shield of David emblem and admit MDA for full membership in the Movement.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution to encourage the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to recognize Israel's Magen David Adom society and its emblem, the Red Shield of David.

SENATE RESOLUTION 344—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT THE PROPOSED MERGER OF UNITED AIRLINES AND U.S. AIRWAYS IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PUBLIC INTEREST AND PUBLIC CONVENIENCE AND NECESSITY POLICY SET FORTH IN SECTION 40101 OF TITLE 49, UNITED STATES CODE

Mr. MCCAIN (for himself and Mr. GORTON) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

S. RES. 344

Whereas, in 1999 the 6 largest hub-and-spoke airlines in the United States accounted for nearly 80 percent of the revenue passenger miles flown by domestic airlines,

Whereas, according to Department of Transportation statistics, a combined United Airlines and US Airways would result in at least 20 airline hub airports in the United States where a single airline and its affiliate air carriers would carry more than 50 percent of the passenger traffic;

Whereas, the Department of Transportation and the General Accounting Office have documented that air fares are relatively higher at those airline hub airports where a single airline carries more than 50 percent of the passenger traffic;

Whereas, a combined United Airlines and US Airways would hold approximately 40 percent of the air carrier takeoff and landing slots at the 4 high density airports, even taking into account the parties' planned divestiture of slots at Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport;

Whereas, most analysts agree that a United Airlines-US Airways merger would lead to other merger in the airline industry, likely resulting in combinations that would reduce the 6 largest domestic hub-and-spoke airlines to 3 airlines;

Whereas, media reports indicate that American Airlines has made a tangible offer to purchase Northwest Airlines and that Delta Air Lines and Continental Airlines have engaged in merger negotiations;

Whereas, it would be difficult for the Department of Transportation and other responsible Federal agencies of jurisdiction to disapprove subsequent airline merger proposals if the government allows the largest domestic airline, in terms of total operating revenue and revenue passenger miles flown in 1999, United Airlines, to merge with the sixth largest airline, US Airways, making United Airlines substantially bigger than its next largest competitor;

Whereas, 3 larger domestic airlines will have substantially increased market power, and would have the ability to use that market power to drive low fare competitors out of direct competition and to thwart new airline entry into the marketplace;

Whereas, the Department of Transportation credits nearly all of the benefits of deregulation (a reported \$6.3 billion in annual savings to airline passengers) to the entry and existence of low fare airline competitors in the marketplace;

Whereas, a combined United Airlines and US Airways, including their commuter airline partners, would be the only carrier offering nonstop flights between at least 26 domestic airports in 12 States;

Whereas, in 1999 United Airlines and US Airways enplaned 22 percent of all revenue passengers flown by domestic airlines;

Whereas, the transition from 6 major airlines to 3 would likely result in less competition and higher fares, giving consumers

fewer choices and decreased customers service;

Whereas, it is the role of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation and, more specifically the Subcommittee on Aviation, to conduct oversight of the aviation industry and to promote consumers' receiving a basic level of airline customer service;

Whereas, the Air Transport Association member air carriers agreed to an Airline Customer Service Commitment to improve the current level of customer service in the airline industry;

Whereas, in an interim oversight report, the Department of Transportation Inspector General recently concluded that the results are mixed with respect to the effectiveness of the efforts of the major airlines to implement their Airline Customer Service Commitment;

Whereas, the combination of 2 entities as large as United Airlines and US Airways could cause at least short-term disruptions in service;

Whereas, according to the Department of Transportation statistics for the month of May 2000, for the 10 major airlines, a combined United Airlines and US Airways would have had the lowest percentage of ontime flight arrivals, the highest percentage of flight operations canceled, the second highest rate of consumer complaints, and the second highest rate of mishandled baggage:

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That—

(1) the Senate expresses concern about the proposed United Airlines-US Airways merger because of its potential to leave consumers with fewer travel options, higher fares, and lowered levels of service; and

(2) it is the sense of the Senate that the potential consumer detriments from the proposed United Airlines-US Airways merger outweigh the potential consumer benefits.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I am pleased to be joined by the Commerce Committee Aviation Subcommittee Chairman, Senator GORTON, to introduce a Senate resolution expressing our strong reservations about the proposed merger of United Airlines and US Airways.

Through Commerce Committee deliberations, Senator GORTON and I have carefully analyzed the proposed merger, as well as its long-term consumer effects. We conclude that whatever air travelers stand to gain from the merger is outweighed by what they stand to lose.

The public interest would likely be harmed by a United Airlines-US Airways merger. First, almost all analysts agree that the merger would trigger additional consolidation in the airline industry. The six largest hub-and-spoke carriers in the country would likely become the "big three." Everything else being equal, basic economic principles suggest that consumers are better served by having six competitors in a market rather than three.

Even at this preliminary date, our experience bears out the prediction of additional industry consolidation. American Airlines has already made an offer for Northwest Airlines. Delta Air Lines and Continental have reportedly engaged in merger negotiations.

Consolidation among these network carriers poses additional problems for the flying public. The likely result of

fewer carriers is more single-carrier concentration at hub airports across the country. Studies by the Department of Transportation, the General Accounting Office, and others consistently conclude that air fares are relatively higher at hub airports "dominated" by a single carrier.

Important new entry in the airline industry would be hurt by consolidation among the major airlines. The mega-carriers would have additional resources to engage in fierce and prolonged behavior designed to drive new competitors out of the market, and to single potential entrants that they dare not compete with the incumbent.

Today, many new entrants simply choose not to enter the major airlines' hub markets because they fear they cannot survive a sustained head-to-head battle. A United-US Airways merger, and the consolidation that would ensue, would further entrench the incumbent air carriers' positions.

I admit that there are benefits associated with the proposed United-US Airways merger. The carriers, for instance, tout "seamless" connections to international destinations, an expanded frequent flyer program, and similar benefits that should appeal to travelers on the United-US Airways system.

United and US Airways also applaud new service to a multitude of destinations as a consequence of the merger. It is important to note, however, that what is new to United is not exactly new to the flying public, since United's "new" service is made up of flights that are now offered by US Airways.

Again, the point is that the anti-competitive harm posed by the proposed United-US Airways merger outweighs its benefits. And that conclusion does not even take into account the customer service problems associated with integrating the work forces of two or more major airlines.

I want to underscore that this resolution is designed to express our concerns about the proposed United-US Airways merger. It does not seek to force any federal agency or department to take any specific action with respect to the proposed merger. However, our concerns for the consumer are of such a significant nature that we are compelled to introduce this resolution.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from the father of airline deregulation, Prof. Alfred Kahn. His letter outlines his preliminary concerns with the proposed United-US Airways merger.

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

ALFRED E. KAHN,
Ithaca, New York, June 9, 2000.

Hon. JOHN MCCAIN,
Chairman, Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, U.S. Senate, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR MCCAIN: I'm very sorry that I can't accept your invitation to testify before your Committee on June 20th, and hope that you will regard the arrival that day of