

held the principal and assistant principal hostage at gunpoint for nearly three hours.

These are not simply isolated events. According to the Children's Defense Fund Study of 2001 gun violence data, 3,365 children and teens were killed by gunfire in the United States last year, which is one child every 2½ hours. And, every year, four to five times as many children and teens suffer from non-fatal firearm injuries. The safety of our children and communities are at stake and access to guns is a major reason why. As we begin a new session of Congress, I once again urge the Senate to close the gun show loophole, prevent children from gaining access to guns and provide law enforcement the tools they need to investigate gun-related crimes.

#### BELARUS—OPPORTUNITIES SQUANDERED

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, periodically, I have addressed my colleagues in the United States Senate on developments in the last dictatorship in Europe Belarus. More the 5 months have passed since the September 9, 2001 Belarusian Presidential elections, which the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), as well as the Helsinki Commission, which I chair, concluded did not meet international democratic standards. Since that time, the Belarusian leadership has had ample opportunity to begin to live up to its freely-under-taken OSCE human rights and democracy commitments. Thus far, these opportunities have been squandered. As Secretary of State Powell remarked in his speech at the December 2001 meeting of OSCE Ministers in Bucharest:

The Government of Belarus ignored the recommendations of the OSCE on what conditions would need to be established in order for free and fair elections to take place. It is unfortunate, indeed, that the government of Belarus continues to act in a manner that excludes Belarus from the mainstream of European political life.

Since September, human rights violations have continued. There has been no progress with respect to resolving the cases of opposition leaders and journalists who "disappeared" in 1999–2000. Belarusian leader Aleksandr Lukashenka has retaliated against opposition members, independent journalists, human rights activists and others, especially young people. Beatings, detentions, fines and other forms of pressure have continued unabated. To cite just one example, two defendants in a criminal case against Alexander Chygir, son of leading Lukashenka opponent and former Prime Minister, Mikhail Chygir, were reportedly beaten and otherwise maltreated during pre-trial detention. Criminal cases have been launched against journalists and NGOs as well. A number of leading industrialists have been arrested on what some observers

believe are politically motivated charges.

Freedom of religion is also an area of concern. The registration scheme, required for a group to obtain full legal rights, is the ultimate "Catch-22." Registration cannot be granted without a legal address; a legal address cannot be obtained without registration. Even the state controlled media is a concern for religious freedom, due to the highly critical reports in newspapers and television about the Catholic Church and Protestant churches. Very recently, the regular broadcast on national radio of a Miensk Catholic mass was unexpectedly halted.

Efforts to promote human rights and expand support and develop civil society in Belarus are being thwarted. The Belarusian Government has threatened the OSCE Mission in Miensk with what amounts to expulsion unless the mandate of the Mission is changed more to its liking and has shown reluctance to accept a new Head of Mission. It is vital that the OSCE be allowed to continue its important work in developing genuine democratic institutions and a strong civil society in Belarus.

I am also deeply troubled by allegations that Belarus has been acting as a supplier of lethal military equipment to Islamic terrorists, a charge that the Belrausian Government has denied. The troubling allegations contained in this article are a reminder of the importance of remaining steadfast in supporting democracy, human rights and the rule of law in Belarus. The lack of functioning democratic institutions, including an independent parliament, together with suppression of free media contribute to an environment void of accountability. Writing off Belarus as a backwater in the heart of Europe would play into the hands of the Lukashenka regime with disastrous consequences not only for the Belarusian people. It is more important than ever for the OSCE to maintain a strong presence on the ground in Belarus and for the United States to continue to support democratic development in that country.

I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post article "Europe's Armory for Terrorism" be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 3, 2002]

#### EUROPE'S ARMORY FOR TERRORISM

(By Mark Lenzi)

The country in Europe that deserves the most attention for its support of terrorist groups and rogue states continues to receive the least. That is the lawless and undemocratic country of Belarus, under the rule of Alexander Lukashenko.

Without a doubt no world leader benefitted more from the September terror attacks than Lukashenko, Europe's last dictator, whose ultimate wish is to reunite the Soviet Union. Just as world scrutiny and condemnation were beginning to mount after his rigged and falsified presidential election of Sept. 9 the tragic events two days later took

Washington's quick glance away from this little-known and backward country.

Washington needs to wake up to what is happening in NATO's backyard: Belarus is quietly acting as a leading supplier of lethal military equipment to Islamic radicals—with terrorists and militant organizations in the Middle East, Balkans and Central Asia often the recipients.

In 1994, Lukashenko's first year as president, Belarus sold machine guns and armored vehicles to Tajikistan. This equipment quickly made its way into the hands of warring factions in neighboring Afghanistan, as well as Islamic freedom fighters aiming to overthrow the government in Tajikistan itself—ironically the same country where Belarus's big brother, Russia, has thousands of soldiers stationed to protect Central Asia and Russia from Islamic destabilization.

Many of Lukashenko's arms deals have followed a similar pattern: Weapons sent from Belarus are "diverted" from a listed destination country to an Islamic extremist group or a country under U.N. arms embargo while Belarusian government officials cast a blind eye on the transactions.

While it is deplorable that Belarus's weapons have been responsible for prolonging civil wars and internal strife in countries such as Tajikistan, Angola and Algeria, it is particularly disturbing that Sudan, a country where Osama bin Laden used to live and one that is known as a haven for terrorists, has obtained from Belarus such proven and capable weapon systems as T-55 tanks and Mi-24 Hind Helicopter gunships. Weapons sent from Belarus to Sudan either fall into the hands of terrorists or are used in a civil war that has already killed more than 2 million people.

Lukashenko's efforts to sell weapons to generate much-needed income for his beleaguered economy appear to have no bounds. For a country of only 10 million people, it is unsettling that Belarus is ranked year after year among the top 10 weapons-exporting countries. To put in perspective how much military equipment left over from the Soviet Union Lukashenko has at his disposal, consider the following fact: The Belarusian army has 1,700 T-72 battle tanks. Poland, a new NATO member with the most powerful army in Central Europe and with four times the population of Belarus, has only 900 T-72s.

Despite strong denials from Lukashenko, Belarus has been a key partner of Saddam Hussein in his effort to rebuild and modernize Iraq's air defense capability. Belarus has violated international law by secretly supplying Baghdad with SA-3 antiaircraft missile components as well as technicians. Given that Iraq has repeatedly tried to shoot down U.S. and British aircraft patrolling the U.N. no-fly zone—with more than 420 attempts this year alone—covert Belarusian-Iraqi military cooperation is disturbing and should set off alarm bells in Western capitals.

Former Belarusian defense minister Pavel Kozlovski, obviously someone with firsthand knowledge of Minsk's covert arms deals, recently summed up Belarus's cooperation with Iraq and other rogue states by saying, "I know that the Belarusian government does not have moral principles and can sell weapons to those countries [such as Iraq] where embargoes exist. This is the criminal policy of Belarusian leadership."

In many ways, the mercurial and authoritarian Lukashenko feels he has a free hand to sell arms to nations and groups that are unfriendly to the West, because the European Union and the United States do not recognize him as the legitimate Belarusian head of state anyway. Threats of U.S.-led economic sanctions or other diplomatic "sticks" against Belarus hold little weight,

since the country is already isolated to a degree rivaled only by a handful of other countries.

It is only thanks to cheap energy subsidies from Russia that the Belarusian economy remains afloat. Since Russia is the only country that has the necessary economic and political influence on Belarus, it is imperative that Washington use its new relationship with Moscow to encourage the Russians to exert their leverage on Belarus to cease covert arms sales to rogue states and terrorist groups.

In the Bush administration's worldwide effort to combat terrorism, it should not overlook a little-known country right on NATO's border.

### THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, for over 200 years, our Nation has championed ideas and ideals that have placed us in harm's way. In certain parts of the world, our actions have at times made us the object of ridicule. But liberty, toleration, and the inalienable rights of the individual have been our strength, and that strength is undimmed by criticism of the United States. We stand legitimately for freedom; for us it is not a mere word employed in presidential speeches or diplomatic exchanges. The concept of ordered liberty has been the foundation of our national resolve, consecrated with the blood of our sons and daughters on many fields of battle across the world, and now, tragically, in the wreckage in New York, Pennsylvania, and the Pentagon.

I rise to call my colleagues' attention to a speech that the senior Senator from North Carolina delivered to the second annual Hillsdale College Churchill Dinner on December 5, 2001, which I will ask to be printed in the RECORD. This speech is a remarkably good statement of our national character and our national purpose, drawing as it does upon a wealth of knowledge and experience second to none. We need to hear from statesmen like JESSE HELMS at a time like this. In his Hillsdale speech, he offers a powerful assessment of the state of affairs facing United States policy makers who must develop a strategy to combat forces that would seek to destroy us and our way of life.

As Senator HELMS so ably explains, this is a task that we have faced before. Though the names and the faces and even the tactics of our adversaries change, the threat to us is the same. We must confront this threat and we must defeat it. At the same time, Senator HELMS admonishes us to remain vigilant of those world powers that maintain historic practices of hostility toward us, powers that are strengthening their war-making capacities, and that might well seek to lull us into a false sense of security as we pursue our campaign against the terrorist networks.

The good Senator provides us with a thought-provoking analysis that is sobering, but also hopeful. He urges us, at a time when the geopolitical map of

the world is in great flux, to remember and reaffirm, in all we do, the principles upon which America was founded. He remarks on how well we are bearing up under the worst assault we've sustained since Pearl Harbor. "They thought that their attacks would frighten and divide us," writes Senator HELMS. "Instead, they have drawn us closer to God, and to each other."

I highly commend to my colleagues this Churchillian call to unity.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator HELMS' speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From Imprimis, Jan. 2002]

#### EMERGING THREATS TO UNITED STATES NATIONAL SECURITY

(By the Honorable Jesse Helms)

*The following is an abridged version of Senator Helms' speech at the second annual Hillsdale College Churchill Dinner, held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., on December 5, 2001.*

America is the only nation in history founded on an idea: the proposition that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. No other nation can make such a claim. This is what makes us unique. It is why, for more than two centuries, America has been a beacon of liberty for all who aspire to live in freedom. It is also why America was so brutally attacked on September 11.

The terrorists who struck the Pentagon and the World Trade Towers despise what America stands for: freedom, religious toleration and individual liberty. They hate the success with which the American idea has spread around the world. And they want to terrorize us into retreat and inaction, so that we will be afraid to defend freedom abroad and live as free people at home. They will not succeed.

#### A REVIVED SENSE OF VIGILANCE

The terrorists we fight today are not the first aggressors of their kind to challenge us. Indeed, at this moment of trial, it is altogether fitting that we gather to honor the memory of Sir Winston Churchill, whose courage, conviction and steely resolve led the Allies to victory over Fascism, and who went on then to warn us about the danger of the emerging Communist threat and the Iron Curtain then descending across Europe. Today we face a new and different enemy—one who hides in caves, and who strikes in new and unexpected ways. Yet in a larger respect, this new enemy is no different from the enemy Churchill faced 60 years ago. And as shocking as September 11 was, it should have come as no surprise that our nation was once again challenged by aggressors bent on her destruction.

Jefferson warned that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance." And since our founding, Jefferson has been proven right, time and time again. New enemies have constantly emerged to threaten us. The lesson of history is that to secure our liberty, America must be constantly on guard, preparing to defend our nation against tomorrow's adversaries even as we vanquish the enemies of today.

Over the past decade, America let down her guard. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, our leaders assumed that the post-Cold War world would be one of unlimited peace and prosperity, and that our greatest security

challenges would be invading Haiti, or stopping wars in places like Bosnia and Kosovo. The Clinton people slashed our defense budget in search of a "peace dividend," while sending our forces all over the world on a plethora of missions that drained America's military readiness. They put off investments needed to prepare for the real emerging threats to U.S. national security. Instead of focusing on new dangers, they spent their time and energy forging ridiculous new treaties—like the Kyoto Protocol and the International Criminal Court—while fighting desperately to preserve antiquated ones, like the ABM Treaty!

In light of America's new war, it is almost humorous to look back on some of the foreign policy debates of the 1990s. Can anyone imagine Kofi Annan today declaring as he did two years ago, that the United Nations Security Council is the "sole source of legitimacy for the use of force in the world"? Or former Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott repeating his ridiculous assertion that all countries, "no matter how permanent or even scared [they] may seem," are in fact "artificial and temporary"?

"Within the next hundred years," Talbott went on to say, "nationhood as we know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single global authority." Let him tell that to the policemen and firemen at the World Trade Towers. Let him tell it to all the millions of Americans flying flags from their homes and cars. Let him tell it to the thousands of brave Americans in uniform, who at this very moment are voluntarily risking their lives to defend our country.

In the wake of September 11, a measure of sanity has been restored to debates over U.S. foreign policy. Awakened to new dangers, our challenge is now twofold: First, we must win the war on terrorism that took our nation by surprise. And second, we must prepare now for the threats that could emerge to surprise us in the decades ahead.

#### BEYOND AFGHANISTAN

Thanks to the outstanding leadership of President Bush, the Taliban is in retreat and Osama bin Laden is on the run. But the war on terrorism is far from over. Indeed, one could argue that the most difficult challenge comes now, as the Afghan campaign moves from the taking of cities, to a cave-by-cave hunt for bin Laden and his terrorist network. Ripping that network out by its roots will be long, difficult and dangerous work. Moreover, President Bush's greatest challenge may come after the Afghan phase of the war is over.

The bin Laden terrorist network operates in dozens of countries. Nor is it the only one that threatens America and her allies. Terrorist networks operate across the world, with the support of dozens of states. President Bush has made clear that this war will not end until every terrorist network with global reach is decisively defeated. He has also made clear that the United States will no longer tolerate states that support or provide safe haven to these terrorists. That means, I am convinced, that the war on terrorism cannot and will not end until Saddam Hussein suffers the same fate as the Taliban.

While we do not yet know that Saddam was directly involved with the tragic events of September 11, there is a mountain of evidence linking him to international terrorism generally, and to bin Laden's terrorist network specifically. We know for a fact that Saddam attempted to assassinate former President Bush. We know with certainty that he has chemical and biological agents, and is pursuing nuclear weapons. We know for certain that, days before coming to the U.S., one of the September 11 hijackers met with an Iraqi agent in Prague—and that soon