

years ago, highlighting the rising out-of-wedlock birthrates that were taking place in the country, he felt that this threatened the stability of the family, particularly minority families, one of the building blocks of our society. He was roundly attacked at that time. Rather than seeing this report rightly as a chilling foreboding of problems to come, people chose to turn a blind eye to the truth upon which he so correctly shed light. Now we have reached a stage where the out-of-wedlock birthrates in all the communities in our country have reached dangerous proportions, and everyone is in agreement about exactly how dangerous this is.

How many times we have heard, "Patrick Moynihan was right." How many times should we have had to hear it said? Senator Moynihan always understood the overriding importance of the truth, of ensuring that there is substance behind one's politics and not just words. He showed this time and time again.

For example, one of the most important chapters of our Nation's story of human freedom and dignity is the history and legacy of the African-American march towards freedom, legal equality, and full participation in American society. Senator Moynihan understood the importance of this history, which is why in the 102d Congress he championed the effort to create a National African American Museum, a vital project upon which Congressman LEWIS and I now have spent several years working and which we hope to get to completion.

With Senator Moynihan's leadership, at that time the museum idea successfully passed the Senate but, unfortunately, did not pass the House and to this day we picked up his mantle and are still working on it.

Senator Moynihan understood why it was so critical to honor this history, truly the history of not just African Americans but of our Nation. His commitment was key to the first efforts.

As I seek to move forward the legislation to create the museum, I am honored that I am now carrying on the work he began in this body. It certainly makes for very big shoes to fill, but I am only hopeful that in his memory I may do just efforts justice.

Billy Graham once said:

Courage is contagious. When a brave man takes a stand the spine of others are often stiffened.

This was always true when we associated with Senator Moynihan. Somehow, people seemed to stand a little taller, act more resolute. They even argued better. No one could ever out argue Senator Moynihan, but somehow the challenge of having such a talented opponent made one's own skills sharper.

There is so much more to my friend, though, than what is so obviously and publicly known. For example, so many of us here experienced his wonderful and robust sense of humor, something I wish everyone could have had the

pleasure of participating in seeing. Senator Moynihan was all of this and much, much more.

He was often described as the great statesman of the Senate, a breed that seems more and more difficult to find in politics. He was always a steadfast defender of American principles. He was also someone who brought dignity, character, and humor to this body. He has been and always will be the role model of the true statesman.

In the Second Epistle to Timothy, Paul writes:

I have fought the good fight, I finished the course, I have kept the faith.

Senator Moynihan certainly did so. All of us here and across the Nation have benefited.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHAMBLISS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, as we bring to a close what has been a very productive week over the last 4 days here in the Senate, we have had ups and downs and a lot of very productive debate. Many sad events have been talked about on the floor, and many happy events have actually been talked about on the floor, with the range from the death of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, an icon who has spoken so many times from this floor to the American people—indeed, to the world—to the many comments made in morning business over the course of this week paying tribute to our men and women, our soldiers overseas; a resolution today commending the coalition of allies who support the United States and our British friends in the efforts that are underway as I speak today; all the way to a budget that is a culmination, in many ways, of weeks and weeks of work as we have defined the priorities of this body in spending the taxpayers' dollars for the foreseeable future—a first step, the culmination of a lot of debate and discussion as we go through our conference with the House over the next several weeks.

We had a lot of ups and a lot of downs but a lot of progress, and we are doing the Nation's business at the same time we are paying respect to the incidents that are playing out before us in the international and domestic realm. Last night I had the opportunity of introducing the resolution, along with Senator DASCHLE, paying respects to Senator Moynihan and, as I mentioned in my opening comments today, once again, the great legacy that he leaves all of us.

I would like to pay one final tribute to him, and read just a few paragraphs from the commencement speech he gave at Harvard in 2002, which has previously been printed in the RECORD.

The commencement speech at Harvard, 2002, is entitled "Civilization Need Not Die" by Daniel Patrick Moynihan:

Last February, some 60 academics of the widest range of political persuasion and religious belief, a number from here at Harvard, including Huntington, published a manifesto: "What We're Fighting For: A Letter from America."

It has attracted some attention here; perhaps more abroad, which was our purpose. Our references are wide, Socrates, St. Augustine, Franciscus de Victoria, John Paul II, Martin Luther King, Jr., Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We affirmed "five fundamental truths that pertain to all people without distinction," beginning "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

We allow for our own shortcomings as a nation, sins, arrogance, failings. But we assert we are no less bound by moral obligation. And finally, . . . reason and careful moral reflection . . . teach us that there are times when the first and most important reply to evil is to stop it.

But there is more. Forty-seven years ago, on this occasion, General George C. Marshall summoned our nation to restore the countries whose mad regimes had brought the world such horror. It was an act of statesmanship and vision without equal in history. History summons us once more in different ways, but with even greater urgency. Civilization need not die. At this moment, only the United States can save it. As we fight the war against evil, we must also wage peace, guided by the lesson of the Marshall Plan—vision and generosity can help make the world a safer place.

Those are the words of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, again, in 2002. They reflect very much the global thinking, the compassion, the integrity, the foresight of this great icon in this body.

#### SUPPORTING COALITION TROOPS

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I want to take just one final moment and comment on our troops overseas. President Bush and Prime Minister Blair met today at Camp David, just a few hours ago. Today we passed in this Senate unanimously a Senate resolution to commend the members of the coalition for their support of this noble cause.

On this day of Prime Minister Blair's visit, I want him to know, and I want the RECORD to reflect, that the Senate and the American people are grateful for his courage, for the courage of the British people and, above all, for the courage of the British troops fighting shoulder to shoulder with the American troops in Iraq.

We have seen more evidence of the brutal tactics of Saddam Hussein's regime: Iraqi soldiers dressed in civilian clothes; Iraqi soldiers surrendering and then firing on coalition forces; military equipment placed in residential areas and near cultural sites; even reports of Iraqi soldiers using women as shields and giving weapons to children.

These and other horrific acts that we have been able to witness firsthand as they played out over the last 7 days lead us only to strengthen our coalition's resolve. Let there be no doubt,

we are engaged in a just war against evil.

We continue to see the courage of our troops. I am especially proud as a Tennessean of the 101st Airborne out of Fort Campbell. It is Fort Campbell, KY. But if you look on a map, you see almost all of it—I have to be careful—almost all of the land, the majority of the land, is in Tennessee. The 101st Airborne, as we all know from the media coverage, has been dispatched to the battlefield. I have had the opportunity to look at a number of photographs. Although I know it is difficult for my colleagues in the room to see, I just want to share one of those photographs.

The caption underneath it reads as follows:

U.S. Pvt. Elizandro Gonzales, of the 502nd Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division, Air Assault, prepares his M249 light machine gun before pressing forward to the north, Thursday, March 26, 2003 in Iraq.

And the caption continues to read:

Gonzales said that he and the rest of his ground assault convoy were ready to take the fight to the enemy.

That is the caption from the reporter who was with the photographer who took this individual picture.

I show that picture and mention it because I look forward to the opportunity of joining members of the families of many of these soldiers on Sunday at Fort Campbell so that I can personally express my appreciation for the sacrifices they are making, their families are making, and their friends are making overseas for all of us.

Mr. President, our prayers and our people continue to be with our brave men and women in battle in Iraq.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW REGARDING OCCUPIED IRAQ

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, next week we are going to have a supplemental appropriations bill of at least \$75 billion before the Congress of the United States for the funding necessary for the military action in Iraq, at least for the early part of that action, which number could not have been decided when we passed the appropriations bills in January because at that point there would not have been any military action. I raise this issue now in conjunction with what there is in international law in regard to a victorious power in a nation, after the war is done, of what can be used of the natural resources of a country for the victorious country to administer the nation as well as to rebuild that nation.

The reason I raise these points about international law is because there is very clear international law about what a victorious nation can do and cannot do in regard to the resources of the defeated nation. I raise this issue at this point because I want to make sure the American taxpayers are not saddled with any of the costs of rebuilding Iraq that can be legitimately paid for, under international law, out of the resources of Iraq.

After the first full week of the conflict, the allied forces have pushed well into the country, liberating Iraqi populations across western and southern Iraq. These developments, then, raise an issue that must be explored and discussed before we obligate taxpayers' money to rebuilding Iraq; that is, with regard to the United States and allied occupation of Iraq, what does international law tell us? What does international law dictate with regard to our rights as the occupying power to administer Iraq's oil resources and our obligations to the citizens of Iraq?

The Hague Convention of 1907 and the Geneva Convention provide the basis for international law with regard to the obligations and rights of an occupying power. They provide specific guidelines for administering the resources of the occupied territory and the obligations of the occupying power to provide for the welfare and the safety of the occupied people.

With regard to the rights of an occupying power to use public property and resources, article 53 of Hague regulations of 1907 provides that an occupying power can only take possession of state-owned property, and any seizure of private property must be restored and compensation provided when peace is made.

Further, article 55 provides:

The occupying State shall only be regarded as administrator and usufructuary of the public buildings, real property, forests and agricultural works belonging to the hostile State.

The rules of usufruct provide a tenant—in this case it would be the United States or the coalition forces—the right to use and enjoy the profits of property owned by Iraq, as long as the property is not damaged or altered in any way. In addition, the allied forces may use the public assets only for the benefit of Iraq and the Iraqi people, and to defray the costs of administration.

Secretary Powell recently reaffirmed this right. When discussing the issue of oilfields, he stated:

You can be sure that they [meaning the oilfields] would be protected and the revenue generated from any such oil fields would be used in accordance with international law and to the benefit of the Iraqi people.

The occupying power may also take possession of public movable property only if such property can be directly or indirectly used for military operations. Clearly, Iraq's oil reserves are susceptible to military use and thereby subject to seizure by U.S. military forces under the laws of war to restore Iraq.

In addition, the oil produced from Iraqi wells may be considered similar to the produce of public land which, under article 55, may be appropriated by the occupying power.

With regard to the obligations of the occupying power, article 43 of Hague regulations of 1907 state:

The authority of the legitimate power, having actually passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take steps in his power to restore and ensure, as far as possible, public order and safety.

The Geneva Convention, relevant to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, states that the occupying power is also responsible for establishing a direct system of administration and maintaining the public order.

The key restriction to the use of Iraq's oil is that the proceeds are limited to occupation purposes, which includes measures taken in the furtherance of fulfilling that obligation that I just read under article 43, to reestablish peace and order to Iraq. Clearly, international law provides that the United States is entitled to use the money from oil sales to pay for such obligations as long as food and water, health care, roads and bridges, schools and airports, as examples.

Once a viable Iraqi government is established, the oilfields must be returned to Iraq in a reasonable condition.

One final issue for debate will be the role of the U.N. in the reconstruction and administration of Iraq. For example, what will remain of the United Nations Oil For Food Program in post-Saddam Iraq? Given the U.N.'s inability to fulfill its obligations with regard to enforcing Security Council Resolution 1441, it is unclear whether the U.N. will be relevant at all in the reconstruction efforts of Iraq.

It is my hope that the U.N. will follow the lead of the United States, Britain, and the other 40 or more allies currently in Iraq enforcing the U.N. resolutions. After all, it must be made very clear that the resources of Iraq will finally be available for the use of the Iraqi people, for the betterment of those same people.

For far too long, we know the prisoners of Saddam's regime have been deprived of their country's riches and forced to survive as peasants. While the responsibility for providing for the welfare of the Iraqi people belonged to Saddam Hussein, he was, as we know, more interested in spending it on himself in the form of elaborate palaces and in the pursuit of weapons of mass destruction.

The Iraqi people will finally share in the wealth of their country that has always belonged to them rather than Saddam sharing it with his family and the cronies of his brutal regime.

I hope the Congress will take into consideration the rights the taxpayers of the United States have under this Geneva Convention, to make sure the resources for the rebuilding of Iraq come from Iraqi natural resources and not from the American taxpayers. That should be fully taken into consideration, as some of the money we appropriate next week will probably be used for that purpose of at first establishing administration in Iraq.

I yield the floor.

#### THE PROTECTION OF LAWFUL COMMERCE IN ARMS ACT

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the Protection of Lawful Commerce in