that strengthens the arguments for hearings in ethics cases. It is my hope that opponents of public hearings will reconsider their positions in light of this new information.

Mr. President, the Senate is not a private club; this is the people's Senate. We have an obligation to demonstrate to our constituents that we take seriously our constitutionally-mandated responsibility to police ourselves. By attempting to sweep our problems under the committee room's rug, we do the opposite. The committee should do what it has always done in cases to reach this final phase; it should hold public hearings to investigate the allegations.

This proposal is fair and reasonable. It allows the Ethics Committee to close its hearings in accordance with rule XXVI or to waive the hearing requirement altogether by a majority vote.●

SENATE RESOLUTION 164—RELATIVE TO WORLD WAR II

Mr. DOLE (for himself and Mr. DASCHLE) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 164

Whereas on August 14, 1945 the Japanese government accepted the Allied terms of surrender:

Whereas the formal documents of surrender were signed on September 2, 1945, thereby ending World War II;

Whereas 50 years have now passed since those events;

Whereas, the courage and sacrifice of the American fighting men and women who served with distinction in the Pacific and Asian theaters should always be remembered; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, The United States Senate joins with a grateful nation in expressing our respect and appreciation to the men and women who served in World War II, and their families. Further, we remember and pay tribute to those Americans who made the ultimate sacrifice and gave their life for their country.

SENATE RESOLUTION 165—COMMENDING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. PACKWOOD (for himself and Mr. MOYNIHAN) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 165

Whereas on August 14, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act, which represents one of the most significant legislative achievements of the 20th century;

Whereas the Social Security Act represents a national commitment between the American Government and the people;

Whereas Social Security is one of our Nation's most popular and effective programs with a 60-year track record;

Whereas 141,000,000 persons, along with their employers, pay into the Social Security system;

Whereas Social Security is an earned benefit for workers and their families when a wage earner retires, becomes disabled, or dies;

Whereas over 44,000,000 persons, including 3,000,000 children, receive Social Security benefits that are automatically adjusted for inflation;

Whereas over 95 percent of those age 65 and over are eligible for Social Security benefits, 4 out of 5 workers have worked long enough so that they could get Social Security benefits if they become severely disabled, and 98 percent of today's children would receive a monthly Social Security benefit if a working parent died;

Whereas Social Security benefits provide a financial base for retirement, to be supplemented by private savings and pensions;

Whereas Social Security is the Nation's most successful antipoverty program, saving 15,000,000 people from poverty;

Whereas Social Security is viewed by the public as one of the most important Government programs and as a pillar of economic security;

Whereas Social Security benefits help to maintain the independence and dignity of all who receive such benefits;

Whereas the American public has rejected cutting Social Security to reduce the deficit;

Whereas Social Security is a self-financed program that in 1994 had over $436,000,000,000 in reserves;

Whereas reforms of Social Security benefits historically have been made only to strengthen the program's long-term integrity and solvency; and

Whereas Congress recently enacted legislation establishing the Social Security Administration as an independent agency so as to strengthen its ability to better serve beneficiaries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Social Security Act is hereby commended on its 60th anniversary.

SENATE RESOLUTION 166—RELATIVE TO CROATIAN-BOSNIAN COOPERATION

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

S. RES. 166

Whereas, on July 21, 1992, the democratically-elected Governments of the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina signed the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation;

Whereas, on March 16, 1994, the Washington Agreement established the Bosniac-Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and provided for the confederal linking of this Federation to the Republic of Croatia;

Whereas, in the Split Declaration of July 22, 1995, the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, and the President of the Federation of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kresimir Zubak, pledged to widen and strengthen defense cooperation to defend the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Whereas, the forces of the Republic of Croatia have reestablished government control and authority over three former U.N. protected areas under Serb militant control within the territory of the Republic of Croatia; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) urges the Government of Croatia and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue their military cooperation for the purpose of defending the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

(2) urges the Government of Croatia and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue and strengthen their political and economic support for the Bosnia-Croat Federation;

(3) calls on the Government of the United States to: (i) provide full support to the Bosniac-Croat Federation, (ii) uphold as a top policy objective preserving the self-government and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia and of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and (iii) oppose any peace settlement that would undermine this objective.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I rise today to submit this resolution which supports the continued political, military, and economic cooperation between the Governments of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am pleased to be joined by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, Senator LIEBERMAN, and the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator HELMS.

In my view cooperation between Bosnia and Croatia is vital to the interests and future of both countries. While several agreements pledging cooperation have been reached since 1992—and as recently as July—the past few weeks have demonstrated the tangible benefits to be gained by this common approach.

This resolution urges continued military cooperation in order to defend the territorial integrity of both Croatia and Bosnia. It also urges that the Croatian and Bosnian Governments remain committed and supportive of the Bosniac-Croat Federation. Furthermore, the resolution calls on the United States Government to fully support the Bosniac-Croat Federation and to uphold as a top policy objective the preservation of the territorial integrity and self-government of the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Finally, the resolution calls on the U.S. Government to oppose any peace settlement that would undermine this objective.

I believe that this resolution sends a relevant and timely message to the Croatian and Bosnian Governments and I urge my colleagues to adopt it.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 25—RELATIVE TO THE EASTERN ORTHODOX ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

Ms. SNOWE (for herself, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. D'AMATO, and Mr. SARBANES) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 25

Whereas the Ecumenical Patriarchate is the spiritual center for more than 250,000,000 Orthodox Christians worldwide, including approximately 5,000,000 in the United States;

Whereas in recent years there have been successive terrorist attempts to desecrate and destroy the premises of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Fanar area of Istanbul (Constantinople), Turkey;

Whereas attempts against the Ecumenical Patriarchate have intensified, including the following attempts:

(1) In July and August 1993, the Christian Orthodox cemetery in Yenikoy, near Istanbul, was attacked by vandals and desecrated.

(2) There has been a concerted effort throughout Turkey to convert the Church of Hagia (Saint) Sophia, one of the most sacred monuments of Greek Orthodox Christianity and currently used as a museum, into a mosque.

(3) On the night of March 30, 1994, 3 bombs were discovered in the building where the Patriarch lives.

(4) The Turkish press and some politicians have been launching a well-orchestrated campaign against the Ecumenical Patriarchate accusing it of trying to become an independent state or wishing to revive the Byzantine Empire. These accusations resulted in provoking dangerous reactions among the Moslem population in Turkey against the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

(5) Negative statements have been directed toward the Patriarchate by the Mayor of the Fatih District of Istanbul.

Whereas His All Holiness Patriarch Bartholomew and those associated with the Ecumenical Patriarchate are Turkish citizens and thus must be protected under Turkish law against blatant and unprovoked attacks toward ethnic minorities;

Whereas the Turkish Government arbitrarily closed the Halki Patriarchal School of Theology in 1971;

Whereas the closing of the Halki School of Theology is a serious concern for the Ecumenical Patriarchate;

Whereas Turkish law requires that the Patriarch, as well as all the clergy, faculty, and students be citizens of Turkey, and the Halki School of Theology is the only educational institution for Orthodox Christian leadership;

Whereas the unimpeded continued provocations against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the closing of the Halki School of Theology are in violation of international treaties to which Turkey is a signatory, including the Treaty of Lausanne, the 1968 Protocol, the Helsinki Final Act—1975, the Charter of Paris, and the United Nations Charter;

Whereas these actions have severely compromised and threatened the safety and security of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the future existence of this Orthodox Institution in Turkey; and

Whereas it is in the best interest of the United States to prevent further incidents regarding the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the spiritual leader of millions of American citizens, and in the overall goals of the United States to establish peaceful relations with and among the many important nations of the world that have substantial Orthodox Christian populations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should use its influence with the Turkish Government and as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council to suggest that the Turkish Government—

(A) ensure the proper protection for the Patriarchate and all Orthodox faithful residing in Turkey;

(B) assure that positive steps are taken to reopen the Halki Patriarchal School of Theology;

(C) provide for the proper protection and safety of the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Patriarchate personnel;

(D) establish conditions that would prevent the recurrence of past terrorist activities and vandalism and other personal threats against the Patriarch;

(E) establish conditions to ensure that the Patriarchate is free to carry out its religious mission; and

(F) do everything possible to find and punish the perpetrators of any provocative and terrorist acts against the Patriarchate.

(2) The President should report on an annual basis to the Congress regarding the status and progress of the concerns expressed in paragraph (1).

● Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, today I am submitting a resolution concerning the fate of the Eastern Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate and the important of protecting its ability to carry on its vitally important religious mission. I am please to be joined in submitting this important resolution by three distinguished colleagues on both sides of the aisle, Senators MOSELEY-BRAUN, D'AMATO, and SARBANES.

With over 250 million faithful worldwide, the Orthodox Church deserves attention and respect as one of the world's major religious. Its nonpolitical Patriarchate in Istanbul, however, has often been hampered in its mission due to a misunderstanding or hostility toward its religious role.

This resolution is intended to raise awareness of the role of the Orthodox Patriarchate, and the importance of its receiving the protection necessary for it to remain a viable and respected world religious institution.

Mr. President, the protection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate is an issue of vital international interest. The Patriarchate, which is the epicenter of Christian Orthodoxy, is severely hampered in its ability to function as the preeminent Orthodox religious institution it was intended to be. This has come about due to the neglect and often outright hostility the institution is afforded in modern-day Turkey, particularly among Turkish fundamentalists.

Although the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Turkey is small, attempts have been made on the life of the Ecumenical Patriarch. The most recent incident occurred on March 30, 1994, when three bombs were discovered in the attic of the Patriarch's residence. On a separate occasion, the patriarchal complex was attacked with a Molotov cocktail, threatening the safety of all who worked there. There have also been incidents of desecration and vandalism of the Christian Orthodox Cemetery outside Istanbul.

While there is no indication that the Turkish Government, or most Turkish people supported these acts of violence, such acts should make clear to the Government the need to take steps to ensure the safety of this holy institution and the small Christian minority that still resides in Istanbul.

But the Turkish Government has taken some steps that do directly undermine the institution of the Patriarchate. One was Turkey's 1971 closing of the Patriarchate's Theological School, which this year would have celebrated its 150-year anniversary. This action was in violation of a variety of treaties and human rights accords that Turkey has signed before and after this action. The most important of these is the Treaty of Lausanne, which lays out the reciprocal duties of both Greece and Turkey to protect the rights of the Christian and Moslem minorities in each others country.

Until its abolition, hundreds of priests had been trained in the academy for religious service worldwide. The closing of the academy is a particularly serious matter for the long-term survival of the institution of the Patriarchate. Turkish law requires that the Patriarch and all other clergy in Turkey be Turkish citizens. The closing of the Patriarchate's Theological School now requires all candidates for the priesthood to be trained overseas, and many do not return to Turkey. As a result, there are fewer and fewer clergy in Turkey eligible to serve in the future as Orthodox Patriarch.

The resolution calls for the United States to use its influence to: encourage the proper protection for the Patriarch and all Orthodox faithful residing in Turkey; work toward the reopening of the Patriarchal School of Theology; encourage conditions that would prevent recurrence of past acts of violence against the institution and personnel of the Ecumenical Patriarchate; and help ensure that the Patriarchate is free to carry out its religious mission.

This resolution is a simple statement of the importance of religious freedom and human rights not only in Turkey, but for all of the world Christian Orthodox faithful. I am confident that the principles contained in the resolution are overwhelmingly supported by the American people, and they deserve similarly overwhelming support from the U.S. Senate.●

● Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, I am pleased to submit this resolution along with my distinguished colleague from the State of Maine, Senator SNOWE, regarding the protection and preservation of the Eastern Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate in Turkey.

This sense-of-the-Senate resolution is an important statement in support of religious freedom. The Patriarchate is the most important center of the Eastern Orthodox religion. The Patriarchate is to Eastern Orthodoxy what the Vatican is to Catholicism. In recent years, there have been a number of attempted terrorist attacks against the Patriarchate. In one incident in the summer of 1993, the Christian Orthodox cemetery in Yenikoy, near Istanbul, was desecrated by vandals. In another incident, during the night of March 30, 1994, three bombs were discovered in the building where the Patriarch, His Holiness Bartholomew, lives. There have also been effort to convert the Church of Saint Sophia, one of the most sacred monuments of Greek Orthodox Christianity, currently used as a museum, not a mosque. This resolution will ensure that the Senate puts

its concerns for maintaining the integrity of the Patriarchate and religious freedom generally on the record.

This resolution also expresses the Senate's wish to see the Halki Patriarchal School of Theology reopen. This institution is where Orthodox bishops receive their most advanced training. This school functioned as a center of religious training and a symbol of religious freedom in Istanbul throughout the Ottoman Empire. It was closed by the Turkish Government in 1971. The continued closure of the Halki School of Theology impedes the ability of the present orthodox leadership to train the next generation of leaders. The absence of the highest order of religious training endangers the continued existence of Orthodox institutions in Turkey.

I want to commend the administration for its diplomatic efforts in this area. President Clinton has expressed his concerns about the Patriarchate directly to Prime Minister Ciller. Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke has visited the Patriarchate to demonstrate U.S. support for the institution and U.S. interest in preserving religious freedom. I know that the administration is fully committed to continue these diplomatic efforts to persuade the Government of Turkey to permit the reopening of the Halki Seminary, as well as other religious facilities throughout Turkey.

Mr. President, I believe it is very important for the Senate to go on record in support of these diplomatic efforts, and in support of the integrity of Orthodox institutions and religious freedom in Turkey.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996

NUNN (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 2425

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. LEVIN (for Mr. NUNN, for himself, Mr. WARNER, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. COHEN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them to the bill (S. 1026) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1996 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; as follows:

On page 49, strike out line 15 and all that follows through line 9 on page 69 and insert the following in lieu thereof:

Subtitle C—Missile Defense

SEC. 231. SHORT TITLE.

This subtitle may be cited as the ''Missile Defense Act of 1995''.

SEC. 232. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The threat that is posed to the national security of the United States by the proliferation of ballistic and cruise missiles is significant and growing, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

(2) The deployment of effective Theater Missile Defense systems can deny potential adversaries the option of escalating a conflict by threatening or attacking United States forces, coalition partners of the United States, or allies of the United States with ballistic missiles armed with weapons of mass destruction to offset the operational and technical advantages of the United States and its coalition partners and allies.

(3) The intelligence community of the United States has estimated that (A) the missile proliferation trend is toward longer range and more sophisticated ballistic missiles, (B) North Korea may deploy an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of reaching Alaska or beyond within 5 years, and (C) although a new indigenously developed ballistic missile threat to the continental United States is not forecast within the next 10 years there is a danger that determined countries will acquire intercontinental ballistic missiles in the near future and with little warning by means other than indigenous development.

(4) The deployment by the United States and its allies of effective defenses against ballistic missiles of all ranges, as well as against cruise missiles, can reduce the incentives for countries to acquire such missiles or to augment existing missile capabilities.

(5) The Cold War distinction between strategic ballistic missiles and nonstrategic ballistic missiles and, therefore, the ABM Treaty's distinction between strategic defense and nonstrategic defense, has changed because of technological advancements and should be reviewed.

(6) The concept of mutual assured destruction, which was one of the major philosophical rationales for the ABM Treaty, is now questionable as a basis for stability in a multipolar world in which the United States and the states of the former Soviet Union are seeking to normalize relations and eliminate Cold War attitudes and arrangements.

(7) Theater and national missile defenses can contribute to the maintenance of stability as missile threats proliferate and as the United States and the former Soviet Union significantly reduce the number of strategic nuclear forces in their respective inventories.

(8) Although technology control regimes and other forms of international arms control can contribute to nonproliferation, such measures alone are inadequate for dealing with missile proliferation, and should not be viewed as alternatives to missile defenses and other active and passive defenses.

(9) Due to limitations in the ABM Treaty which preclude deployment of more than 100 ground-based ABM interceptors at a single site, the United States is currently prohibited from deploying a national missile defense system capable of defending the continental United States, Alaska, and Hawaii against even the most limited ballistic missile attacks.

SEC. 233. MISSILE DEFENSE POLICY.

It is the policy of the United States to—

(1) deploy as soon as possible affordable and operationally effective theater missile defenses capable of countering existing and emerging theater ballistic missiles;

(2)(A) develop for deployment a multiple-site national missile defense system that: (i) is affordable and operationally effective against limited, accidental, and unauthorized ballistic missile attacks on the territory of the United States, and (ii) can be augmented over time as the threat changes to provide a layered defense against limited, accidental, or unauthorized ballistic missile threats;

(B) initiate negotiations with the Russian Federation as necessary to provide for the national missile defense systems specified in section 235; and

(C) consider, if those negotiations fail, the option of withdrawing from the ABM Treaty in accordance with the provisions of Article XV of the Treaty, subject to consultations between the President and the Senate;

(3) ensure congressional review, prior to a decision to deploy the system developed for deployment under paragraph (2), of: (A) the affordability and operational effectiveness of such a system; (B) the threat to be countered by such a system; and (C) ABM Treaty considerations with respect to such a system.

(4) improve existing cruise missile defenses and deploy as soon as practical defenses that are affordable and operationally effective against advanced cruise missiles;

(5) pursue a focused research and development program to provide follow-on ballistic missile defense options;

(6) employ streamlined acquisition procedures to lower the cost and accelerate the pace of developing and deploying theater missile defenses, cruise missile defenses, and national missile defenses;

(7) seek a cooperative transition to a regime that does not feature mutual assured destruction and an offense-only form of deterrence as the basis for strategic stability; and

(8) carry out the policies, programs, and requirements of subtitle C of title II of this Act through processes specified within, or consistent with, the ABM Treaty, which anticipates the need and provides the means for amendment to the Treaty.

SEC. 234. THEATER MISSILE DEFENSE ARCHITECTURE.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF CORE PROGRAM.—To implement the policy established in section 233, the Secretary of Defense shall establish a top priority core theater missile defense program consisting of the following systems:

(1) The Patriot PAC–3 system, with a first unit equipped (FUE) in fiscal year 1998.

(2) The Navy Lower Tier (Area) system, with a user operational evaluation system (UOES) capability in fiscal year 1997 and an initial operational capability (IOC) in fiscal year 1999.

(3) The Theater High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) system, with a user operational evaluation system (UOES) capability in fiscal year 1997 and an initial operational capability (IOC) no later than fiscal year 2002.

(4) The Navy Upper Tier (Theater Wide) system, with a user operational evaluation system (UOES) capability in fiscal year 1999 and an initial operational capability (IOC) in fiscal year 2001.

(b) INTEROPERABILITY AND SUPPORT OF CORE SYSTEMS.—To maximize effectiveness and flexibility, the Secretary of Defense shall ensure that core theater missile defense systems are interoperable and fully capable of exploiting external sensor and battle management support from systems such as the Navy's Cooperative Engagement Capability (CEC), the Army's Battlefield Integration Center (BIC), air and space-based sensors including, in particular, the Space and Missile Tracking System (SMTS).

(c) TERMINATION OF PROGRAMS.—The Secretary of Defense shall terminate the Boost Phase Interceptor (BPI) program.

(d) FOLLOW-ON SYSTEMS.—The Secretary of Defense shall develop an affordable development plan for follow-on theater missile defense systems which leverages existing systems, technologies, and programs, and focuses investments to satisfy military requirements not met by the core program.