district land exchange, the Manzanar historic site exchange, the AIDS memorial grove, the Santa Cruz Poland acquisition, the Stanislaus Forest managements, Del Norte school conveyance, and ski fees. More than any other single State—California.

What have we done with the significant issue of the Olympics, which provides for a ski-land exchange in Utah? The administration has seen fit to object to that in the package. I can only assume that the administration has written off Utah. The justification for that is pretty hard to take when the National Ski Association supports this land exchange. The Snow Basin exchange, so that the Olympics can take place as planned up in the Ogden area, and the justification of the administration objecting to that, again, certainly requires an explanation. None is forthcoming. Mr. President, we still have had no answer to our letter.

Mr. President, if you look at section 1044 of the bill, you will find a provision which would require the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study on an existing radio antenna—a radio antenna which is 4 feet tall. The bill was introduced by Congressman BONO from California. By Alaska standards the Congressman is not very tall, I guess he could be considered ''vertically impaired''. He is however taller than the 4 foot radio antenna that is addressed in this bill. They list this as an objection for a veto, Mr. President. How ridiculous. I cannot believe a 4-foot tall radio antenna would bring down this needed, important legislation. That is in their veto message.

The American people deserve better from this Congress and the administration. Mr. President, we have tried to meet with the White House and they have told me the list is nonnegotiable. Well, what we have attempted to do, Mr. President, in the structure of the process around here, is to have hearings, get public participation, basically have a process. What this administration proposes to do is a line-item veto of sections out of this 126-section bill, at the expense of every one of the 41 States that are affected.

If we can get this bill back to conference, I am willing to discuss the issue. It is that important.

Now, the nonnegotiable list submitted by the administration appears to be strictly a political campaign statement of some kind, but it is beyond me how they will put a spin on this and blame the Republicans. In many cases where the administration objects, apparently they are opposed because the bill was introduced by a Republican Member of Congress now running for reelection.

Consider that they object to the Alpine School District transfer of 30 acres of land to the Alpine School District for a public school; the transfer of a few acres to the school districts in Del Norte, CA, for educational purposes; removing 40 acres of development property out of 1.2 million acres of coastal barrier resource system—I don't know, this is election-year politics—and Sterling Forest, which had been anticipated to be in the bill. We have it in our 126-section document. Sterling Forest isn't going to go anywhere; it is not in the CR. The Presidio is not going to go anywhere; it is not in the CR. San Francisco Bay cleanup is not going to go anywhere; it is not in the CR. The coastal barrier amendments for Florida are not going to go anywhere; they are not in the CR. We can go down to Mississippi, which is, coincidentally the State where our majority leader hails from. In Mississippi, we have the Corinth Visitor Center, which is not in the CR, and the Historic Black College Funding, which is not in the CR, and the Natchez Visitor Center.

Mr. President, there are many, many good Democratic-supported sections to this bill which were offered by a Democrat: Senator HEFLIN from Alabama, the Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail; in Arkansas, the Arkansas-Oklahoma land exchange. You know how much that means to Senator BUMPERS. The Carl Garner Federal Lands Exchange. I have mentioned the items in California. There are a couple in Georgia for Senator NUNN. There is one in Hawaii, some in Idaho, Illinois, Michigan. In Louisiana, for Senator BREAUX and Senator JOHNSTON, is the Civil War Center and the Laura Hudson Visitor Center. In Massachusetts, the Boston Harbor Islands Park establishment and the Blackstone Heritage Area, the Boston Public Library on Freedom Trail, and the New Bedford establishment. Senator KENNEDY and I have worked on that to try to accommodate his interests. In Michigan, the Pictured Rocks boundary adjustment. In Montana, for Senator BAUCUS, is the Lost Creek exchange and the ski fees. In New Jersey, Senators BRADLEY and LAUTENBERG, Sterling Forest. In New York, the Women's Rights boundary adjustment. I could go on and on. In Virginia, the Cumberland Gap, Shenandoah National Park. In West Virginia, for Senator BYRD, the West Virginia rivers.

There are items in here for every Member of the U.S. Senate, Mr. President. It is ready to go. All the minority has to do is take off the hold. Now, perhaps the administration has written off Alaska, and maybe they have written off Utah. But I don't believe they have written off California. This is a big issue for California. We are ready to go.

Why won't this administration let us take action on this? Why won't they take off their hold? Why won't they let us vote on it? We can still do it today while the House is in session. They want to line-item veto it after a democratic process in the authorizing committee. They evidently want to take over the role of the authorizing committee.

Well, it is a sad day, Mr. President, if indeed they prevail. They are going to have to be held responsible by the American people for killing the Presidio parks omnibus package and killing the work of my committee and its members for the last 2 years. It is going to have political implications for the administration when they have to explain why they killed our major effort in the Olympics, why they killed the Presidio, why they killed cleanup of the San Francisco Bay, why they killed Sterling Forest.

Again, I implore the Democratic leadership one more time to contact the White House and find out why they mandated a refusal to allow this body to pass this out, get it to the House and get the job done. We are all going to have to, I guess, recognize that we will come back in the 105th and start the process over again.

It is going to be different next year, Mr. President, because this package represents the inability to move these bills individually by Members having holds throughout the process. It is not going to be that way. We are going to move them out of our committee and move them to the floor. If we don't get action and there are holds, this Senator is going to stop the Senate process because I am going to refuse every unanimous consent that comes before this body. We are going to stop this process, because it is absolutely irresponsible. So let the administration recognize the responsibility that they are assuming for not allowing this package to go ahead. It is an injustice to 41 States and an injustice to America. It is an injustice to good Government.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, I am pleased to have this opportunity to come to the floor today to talk about something that I consider to be a very serious responsibility which we in Government are failing to carry forward. I come to the floor today to point out a dismal failure in our culture, a failure that President Clinton has helped to disguise, and perhaps, has even compounded the problem with his own behavior.

Last February, Antoyne Preston White, 17, was arrested in Washington along with several fellow members of a juvenile car theft ring. White pleaded guilty, and was released several days later.

In April, he was arrested again, this time for sexually assaulting a 4-year-old girl. He pleaded guilty a second time. Sentencing in this case was pending when White allegedly shot and killed Mun Hon Kim, a mailman eating his lunch in his truck, on June 11th.

In total, White has been arrested 10 times in the last 3 years. Antoyne White's history is, unfortunately, typical of today's juvenile justice system. Teens with multiple arrests for felonies, sexual assaults, or violent crimes are returned to the streets and repeatedly taught by our system that they can evade and avoid punishment.

In theory, our laws are protecting kids from the stigma of a permanent record. But, in reality, our laws are coddling stone-cold killers who hide behind the fact that they are teenagers.

Juveniles now account for almost 20 percent of all the violent crime arrests and over one-third—one out of every three—property crime arrests. Yet, we continue to treat the majority of these criminals as if they were just good kids gone wrong.

Criminologists predict that the baby boom of the 1980's will bring an explosion of young street criminals as we move into the next century. To deflect this onslaught of violent teens, the President has recommended what he calls a—these are his words —''gentle combination'' of laws and prevention programs. This ''gentle combination,'' in the words of the President, includes more proposals for midnight basketball, school uniforms, and curfews—more mandates from Washington, DC, for social programs that really would be best instituted at the instigation and creation at the local level.

I have to say that I believe this administration's ''gentle combination''—to use the words of the President—will not penetrate the hardened criminal mentality of these criminal prodigies such as Antoyne White. But today's conscienceless, young, violent predators are immune to these ''gentle combinations.'' They are accustomed to them. They have taken advantage of them. They thrive on them. So they are immune to these so-called ''gentle combinations,'' which are designed to teach right and wrong but simply have been distorted to provide authority and license for individuals to conduct very violent, heinous crimes.

President Clinton has done a good job of posing with the police and bragging about misleading statistics. The simple fact of the matter is that the only thing criminal about President Clinton's treatment of juvenile delinquents is his record in treating juvenile delinquents.

This administration is not even enforcing the laws that are on the books—laws that this administration demanded and called for—laws that this administration came to the Congress and asked for in the 1994 crime bill. Those laws which would be available and could be effective to stop the wave of violent predatory juvenile crime are being ignored by this administration.

This administration suggests that if we just have more social programming it can continue to ignore the laws which it asked for, not enforce those laws, and somehow, if we stick our head in the sand of these social programs, that the problem of predatory, juvenile, violent, vicious, random crime will go away.

For example, under the 1994 crime bill, it is a Federal offense for a juvenile to possess a handgun. What have we done about the thousands and thousands and thousands of juveniles committing crimes with handguns in violation of this Federal law that the President called for?

The record is not good. Here is what the record show: We know that handguns were used in the greatest proportion of homicides committed by juveniles from 1976 to 1991. The data is clear. Why isn't President Clinton's Department of Justice prosecuting these Federal offenses associated with these possessions of handguns by juveniles?

Over the last 5 years, only 14—over the last 5 years, only 14—juveniles have been prosecuted as adults for Federal firearms violations. Meanwhile, in 1994 alone, 63,400 juveniles were arrested for weapons violations nationwide. If you have 60,000 plus per year and over the last 5 years we have only had 14 prosecuted as adults for weapons violations, we have a clear failure on the part of this administration to carry forward seriously against the epidemic wave of juvenile crime that has terrorized citizens across America not only in our urban centers but in our rural areas as well.

In fact, the Clinton administration has prosecuted only 233 juveniles as adults since January 1993. At an average of 63,000 weapons offenses a year over the last 4 years, that would be over a quarter million offenses, and you have 233 prosecutions. We say we need more social programs, and we say we need more laws, and we have a law that makes it a crime for a juvenile to possess a handgun.

The vast majority of these crimes are committed with handguns, and we walk away blandly to the next political rally and talk about the need for more laws and talk about the need for more gentle combinations and social programs into which we can thrust our head like the ostrich in the sand, but we do not do what is possible. We do not do what the Congress has authorized in terms of addressing this problem constructively. We must begin to treat criminals as criminals. The idea that somehow you can have fewer than two prosecutions per State per year when we are overrun with juveniles using handguns in the commission of crimes clearly in offense against the Federal law enacted by the Congress in 1994, and this Justice Department turns its head, I do not understand. I do not understand how the President can go before the public and say, well, we have good data and we are moving in the right direction. We are not moving in the right direction.

This is not something that I raise as part of the political campaign. I addressed the National Association of Sheriffs several months ago in the presence of the Attorney General of the United States, with whom I was honored to share the podium, and I shared these same statistics at that time. I called upon the administration to begin to be serious about this epidemic which affects the safety, health, the quality of life, the existence, the capacity for life of so many people. Certainly, we cannot settle for the administration's record of two prosecutions per year per State.

I think we have to send an unmistakably clear signal. We have to say to young people who are criminals, ''You are going to be held accountable.'' We cannot say that you are going to be treated as if you did not do what you did because you have been smart enough to realize that you are young enough to get away with it. We have provided a shield so that they could be assaulting others and deflect any return fire. It is time for us to say you cannot use your age as a shield or as part of the weaponry you use for an assault on society. Especially when this Congress has provided that juveniles in possession of handguns are in violation of the law, it is time for us to prosecute them for these violations, tens of thousands, twenties of thousands—63,000 in 1 year, a typical year. The rate is going up, and we ignore it. We have 14 Federal firearms prosecutions over 5 years. There is more crime than street crime. Sometimes there is the unanswerable question about why we do not enforce the law we have and why we continue to ask for the promulgation of additional programs.

In this Congress, we have made efforts to hold violent juvenile predators such as Antoyne White accountable. We have offered commonsense proposals, proposals that would take the purveyors of random violence and death off our streets. Frankly, in each of the proposals I have made and the modifications that we have tried to make to accommodate those who objected—the Democrats—have blocked us at every avenue, coming up with new objections. They have come up with new reasons to say we want to just persist with the gentle combination of social programming and the like.

We Republicans have proposed making the records of violent and vicious juveniles more available to police, to judges and to school officials. Can you imagine being a schoolteacher and the juvenile records of a student are unavailable from another State, not part of the FBI system? A kid walks into the classroom wearing an electronic shackle, one of these radio transmitter bracelets so the authorities can keep track of him, but the juvenile laws and records are such that you cannot find out what this person did. As you start to go write on the blackboard, the student says, ''You don't know whether I murdered someone or raped someone, do you, Mrs. Jones?''. And Mrs. Jones says, ''No, I don't.'' He says, ''Well, you can't find out. I am protected as a juvenile.''

I have had teachers talk to me about situations just like that, and it is time we address those situations. But when we tried to, when we tried to provide that the records of violent and vicious juveniles be made more available to police, to judges and to school officials, we were blocked. A State trooper should know to be cautious with a 15-year-old repeat carjacker from a city across the country; the idea that kids just grow up in a single neighborhood now and the constable or the sheriff would know who the kids are in the area no longer holds true.

I talked to a sheriff from the middle of the State of Missouri, from a town called California, Moniteau County. I asked him what his biggest problem was. He said it was a couple of teenagers who had moved in from Cleveland and were developing the dope traffic there. I said, ''What is problematic about that?'' He says, ''I can't get any records. I can't get any information about them.''

It is high time that people who are involved as criminals be labeled as criminals, understood as criminals and treated as criminals. Yet, when we have wanted to do just a fundamental thing like make their records available, we have been stopped. The administration has been silent and congressional Democrats have dismissed this approach.

We have also proposed increasing funds available to States that try more juveniles as adults. Once again, the Democrats impeded this proposal. They said it was not a gentle combination, it was not gentle enough.

We have also intended that Federal Government would begin to carry its fair share of the load in juvenile crime fighting. As I mentioned a moment ago, it is baffling to me that we have a situation with this administration where the Department of Justice is not enforcing the laws that are currently on the books. As this session of Congress closes, the Clinton administration has failed to help us with laws relating to juvenile predators and to reform juvenile justice laws, and it is a shame. The President can pose with police, but this administration's failures surrenders our streets to juvenile predators. I think it is time for us to work together on that. Gentle combinations simply will not get the job done. These teen predators deal drugs, threaten lives, they maim and kill, and in the very near future, all of the experts agree—even President Clinton has conceded in his remarks—that there will be a veritable explosion of teen predators on the streets.

It comes down to this. We have to ask ourselves in Congress and in our culture, and we need to ask this of the President, do we uphold the principles of law and order or do we cling to the discredited notion that 16-year-old gangsters who shoot their victims over $5 act out of youthful folly?

I yield the floor.

Mr. LEAHY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, what is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is now in morning business.

Mr. LEAHY. Is there a time limit on statements?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is a time limit of 5 minutes, unless unanimous consent is obtained for a longer period.

BLOODSHED IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the United States has played a central role in the quest for peace in the Middle East, and in recent years we have seen remarkable progress. I will never forget standing on the White House lawn to witness the handshake that is etched in our memories between Israel's late Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat, signaling the beginning of a new partnership to end decades of bloodshed.

We had high hopes then, and I am among those who believe in the durability of the peace process. But the recent explosion of violence between Palestinians and Israelis in the West Bank and Gaza, the worst fighting since the 1993 peace accord, threatens to undermine the advancements that have been made and stability in a region of vital importance to the United States.

We have seen rock throwing crowds, Palestinian police firing on Israeli soldiers, Israeli helicopter gunships spraying bullets into houses and at unarmed civilians, gruesome photographs of the dead and wounded, and the look of terror on children's faces.

There is ample blame to go around. Under cover of darkness and without warning, the Israeli Government opened a tourist tunnel that runs virtually under a holy site revered by both Israelis and Palestinians. A mob response by Palestinians escalated into a firefight between Palestinian police and Israeli troops.

Even before this latest crisis, the shift in policy of Prime Minister Netanyahu on West Bank settlements reinforced the apprehension of Palestinians that Israel would not fulfill the agreements entered into by the Rabin and Peres governments.

The Israelis in turn can point to continued acts of terrorism and extremely hostile statements by its Arab neighbors have contributed to an atmosphere of increasing insecurity.

Mr. President, if we have learned anything in the Middle East, it is that violence will not solve the age old problems there. While I fully respect the decision of the majority of the Israeli people to change their leaders, I do not believe that the election signified a decision to abandon the peace process. Indeed, Prime Minister Netanyahu has indicated that he has no intention of doing so. His intentions, and his leadership, are being tested now.

The situation could not be more fragile. There is tremendous distrust on both sides. Each suspects the other of seeking advantage, and of failing to live up to prior commitments. As President Clinton has stressed, this is a time for both sides to refrain from provocative actions. The focus should be on emphasizing the positive, not accentuating the negative.

Mr. President, I know others believe as I do that the peace process can survive this latest catastrophe. But many lives have been lost in the past 2½ days, and many innocent people have suffered. For our part, the Congress should do everything possible to urge restraint, to renew our pledge to support the efforts for peace of both Israelis and Palestinians, and to condemn the extremists on both sides who would seek to sabotage these efforts.

Among the concrete steps we can take is to ensure that U.S. assistance to the Palestinians goes forward. With unemployment in the West Bank and Gaza estimated at over 60 percent, there is an urgent need to show the Palestinians that the peace process will lead to tangible improvements in their lives. These improvements can be the best engines of peace.

Mr. President, I want to commend President Clinton for his remarks on Thursday, and to urge him to continue to use his influence with both sides to stop the bloodshed.

I ask unanimous consent that two articles from today's Washington Post, describing the deadly actions by both sides, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 28, 1996]

IN GAZA, CIVILIANS FLEE IN TERROR, AS HELICOPTERS ATTACK FROM NIGHT SKY

(By John Lancaster)

RAFAH, GAZA STRIP, September 27.—Barely visible against the night sky, the Israeli military helicopter hovered several hundred feet above a darkened Rafah neighborhood. The beat of its rotors mixed with crack of gunshots as Israeli border troops exchanged fire with armed Palestinians hidden in nearby buildings.

Two Palestinian youths, eager to display their battlefield knowledge, argued about the model of the U.S.-made chopper that hung over the rooftops. ''Apache,'' said one. ''No, no,'' insisted the other. ''Cobra.''

Suddenly, the debate seemed academic.

With no warning and in the absence of any apparent threat from the young men gathered in a sandy alley—without visible weapons or involvement in the exchange of gunfire—the helicopter opened fire in a terrifying, thunderous burst that sent everybody scrambling for cover at the base of a concrete-block wall. A moment or two later, in the midst of another volley, a young man several feet away clutched his forehead with both hands and fell to his knees, his face a mask of crimson.

''I'm hit! I'm hit!'' he screamed.

Things had not started out this way. For the better part of the day, calm seemed to prevail in the teeming, semi-autonomous Gaza Strip. Residents observed the Muslim day of rest. Palestinian police politely dispersed crowds of teens who gathered to