

budget and ensure the solvency of our Medicare and Social Security programs, it is difficult to justify increasing foreign aid programs by \$880 million.

The majority of the American people have rejected deficit spending, and told Congress to balance the budget and end the bureaucratic spending spree. My constituents in Nevada want dramatic cuts in foreign aid, and we have not done it.

SUPPORT OF NATO ENLARGEMENT

HON. CHRISTOPHER COX

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 13, 1997

Mr. COX of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to endorse this bipartisan letter in support of NATO enlargement, which was unveiled earlier this autumn by Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, former National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, and Ambassador Richard Perle.

Attachment: Letter, with list of signatories.

NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE STATEMENT ON NATO ENLARGEMENT

(The New Atlantic Initiative, an international network dedicated to revitalizing and expanding Atlantic ties, released the following statement in support of NATO enlargement on September 9, 1997. The statement was released by Richard Holbrooke, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Anthony Lake, and Paul Wolfowitz at the Andrew Mellon Auditorium, where the original North Atlantic Treaty was signed in April 1949. For more information about the NAI call: (202) 862-5850)

NATO was the bulwark of America's successful Cold War strategy of containment. Largely due to NATO, Europe has enjoyed more than fifty years without war among its major powers, the longest such period in modern history.

NATO succeeded not only by providing a shield against aggression from without but also by helping to knit together a community of democracies in which old quarrels faded, the civic culture of democracy sank deep roots, and market economies prospered.

In part because of NATO's success, the Cold War has ended, and with it NATO's original mission. In larger purpose of ensuring peace and freedom in Europe and the Atlantic region endures. To continue to fulfill this purpose NATO is adapting to an undivided Europe. NATO is no longer an anti-Soviet alliance; nor should it engage in the self-fulfilling prophecy of pre-selecting new enemies. Rather it is defining itself in more positive terms: as an alliance aiming to promote peace and stability in the Atlantic region, devoted to the spread and consolidation of democratic ways in Europe, and capable of protecting Western interests against such future threats as may emerge. At bottom, NATO remains a mutual defense pact, and this solemn commitment gives all of its acts a weight and seriousness that distinguish it from other international organizations.

Crucial to this process of adaptation is NATO's willingness to admit new members able to meet meaningful criteria of democracy and military effort. Otherwise it will remain a relic of the Cold War of diminishing relevance to the contemporary world. Admission to NATO will consolidate democratic transitions, and the prospect of admission will spur reform and the resolution of dis-

putes, as indeed has already happened. In addition, NATO has made clear its desire to develop cooperative security relations among all of the states of the Euro-Atlantic region including Russia. Czech President Vaclav Havel has put it: "NATO expansion should be perceived as a continuous process, in which the nations of Central and Eastern Europe mature toward the meaning, values and goals of the enlarged and revived alliance."

To those who say that the nations of central Europe face no threat today, we say that the most likely way to preserve this situation, which has been all too rare, is to extend NATO to that region. To those who say that the addition of these new members will somehow dilute NATO, we say that Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, where freedom is dearly cherished having been so recently won, will add strength to NATO. To those who say that expanding NATO will draw new lines in Europe, we say that it will erase old lines, relics of a bitter time, and that NATO's openness to additional accessions means that new lines are not in fact being drawn. To those who worry that Russia will feel threatened, we emphasize that NATO is a defensive alliance that threatens no one and extends a hand of cooperation to Russia.

The decision on NATO expansion is of historic importance. The stakes are high. The issue is clear. Admitting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO will strengthen the alliance, reinforce new democracies, renew the American commitment to Europe, and reaffirm American leadership. To turn back now would be a tragic mistake.

SIGNERS TO NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE NATO ENLARGEMENT STATEMENT

(Organizational affiliation given for identification purposes only. Views reflected in the statement are endorsed by the individual, not the institution)

Richard V. Allen, Former National Security Advisor; Morris B. Abram, Chairman, United Nations Watch, Former Permanent Representative of the U.S. to the United Nations office in Geneva; Elliott Abrams, President, Ethics & Public Policy Center, Former Assistant Secretary of State; David M. Abshire, Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO; Michael H. Armacost, President, The Brookings Institution, Former Undersecretary of State; Richard Armitage, President, Armitage Associates L.C., Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Bernard Aronson, Chairman, Acon Investments, Former Assistant Secretary of State; Norman R. Augustine, Chairman, Lockheed Martin Corp., Former Undersecretary of the Army; James A. Baker, III, Former Secretary of State; Mira Baratta, Vice President for Programs, Freedom House; Dennis Bark, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institute; Michael D. Barnes, Partner, Hogan & Hartson, Former Member of Congress.

Douglas J. Bennet, President, Wesleyan University, Former Administrator, USAID; Lucy Wilson Benson, President, Benson Associates, Former Undersecretary of State; Jeffrey T. Bergner, President, Bergner, Bockorny, Clough & Brain; Coit D. Blacker, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; J. Kenneth Blackwell, Treasurer, State of Ohio, Former U.S. Ambassador to the UNHRC; Joh Bolton, Senior Vice President, American Enterprise Institute, Former Assistant Secretary of State; David L. Boren, President, University of Oklahoma, Former U.S. Senator; Zbigniew Brzezinski, Former National

Security Advisor; Richard Burt, Chairman, IEP Advisor, Inc., Former U.S. Ambassador to Germany; Frank C. Carlucci, III, Former Secretary of Defense; Ashton B. Carter, Ford Foundation Professor, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Hodding Carter, Knight Professor of Journalism, University of Maryland, Former Assistant Secretary of State.

Richard Cheney, Former Secretary of Defense; Warren Christopher, Former Secretary of State; Clark M. Clifford, Former Secretary of Defense; Chester A. Crocker, Research Professor for Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; Ivo H. Daalder, Associate Professor, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland; Arnaud de Borchgrave, Senior Advisor, CSIS, Dennis De Concini, Former U.S. Senator; Midge Decter, Author; James Denton, Executive Director, Freedom House; I.M. Destler, Professor and Director, Center for International and Security Studies, University of Maryland; Paula J. Dobriansky, Vice President, Director of Washington Office, Council on Foreign Relations; Bob Dole, Former U.S. Senator; Pierre S. DuPont, Former Governor of Delaware; Lawrence Eagleburger, Former Secretary of State; J.J. Exon, Former U.S. Senator.

Dante B. Fascell, Partner, Holland & Knight, LLP, Former Member of Congress; Douglas J. Feith, Managing Attorney, Feith & Zell, P.C.; Sandra Feldman, President, American Federation of Teachers; Francis Fukuyama, Hirst Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University; Evan G. Galbraith, Chairman of the Board, LVMH Inc., Former U.S. Ambassador to France; Richard N. Gardner, OF Counsel, Morgan, Lewis & Bockius, Former U.S. Ambassador to Italy; Charles Gati, Senior Vice President, Interinvest; Jeffrey Gedmin, Executive Director, New Atlantic Initiative, Research Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Gary L. Geipel, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute; David C. Gompert, Professor, U.S. Naval Academy, Former Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs, National Security Council; Stephen J. Hadley, Shea & Gardner, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Alexander M. Haig, Jr., Former Secretary of State; Edward T. Hanley, General President, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, International Union; Marshall Freeman Harris, Director of Publications and Public Outreach, Freedom House.

Carla A. Hills, Chairman and CEO, Hills & Company, Former U.S. Trade Representative; Richard Holbrooke, Vice Chairman, Credit Suisse First Boston, Former Assistant Secretary of State; Walter D. Huddleston, Former U.S. Senator; Samuel Huntington, Weatherhead University Professor, Harvard University; Kenneth Jensen, Executive Director, The American Committees on Foreign Relations; John T. Joyce, President, International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers; Robert Kagan, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Max M. Kampelman, Chairman, American Academy of Diplomacy, Former Counselor, U.S. Department of State; Adrian Karatnycky, President, Freedom House; P. X. Kelley, Gen. USMC (ret.),

Former Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps; Jack Kemp, Co-director, Empower America, Former Member of Congress; Zalmay M. Khalizhad, Director, Strategy and Doctrine Program, RAND Corporation; Lane Kirkland, President Emeritus, AFL-CIO; Jeane Kirkpatrick, Former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Henry Kissinger, Former Secretary of State.

William Kristol, Editor, *The Weekly Standard*; Melvin Laird, Former Secretary of Defense; Anthony Lake, Professor, Georgetown University, Former National Security Advisor; F. Stephen Larabee, Senior Staff Member, RAND Corporation; Arnold G. Langbo, Chairman of the Board/CEO, Kellogg Company; Ronald S. Lauder, Chairman, Central European Media Enterprises Ltd.; Michael Ledeen, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute; I. Lewis Libby, Partner, Dechert, Price & Rhoads, Former Principal Undersecretary of Defense; Robert J. Lieber, Professor of Government, Georgetown University; Seymour Martin Lipset, Hazel Professor of Public Policy, George Mason University; Bette Bao Lord, Chairwoman, Freedom House; Winston Lord, Former Assistant Secretary of State; Will Marshall, President, Progressive Policy Institute; Paul McCracken, Professor Emeritus, University of Michigan Business School, Former Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors.

Dave McCurdy, Chairman, McCurdy Group, Former Member of Congress; Robert C. McFarlane, Former National Security Advisor; John Melcher, Former U.S. Senator; Walter Mondale, Former Vice President of the United States; John E. Moon, Commander in Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States; Joshua Muravchik, Convenor, New Atlantic Initiative Working Group on NATO Enlargement, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute; Michael Nacht, Former Assistant Director, U.S. ACDA; Matthew Nimetz, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, Former Undersecretary of State; James J. Norton, President, Graphic Communications International Union; Michael Novak, George Frederick Jewett Scholar in Religion, American Enterprise Institute, Former U.S. Ambassador to the UNHRC; William E. Odom, Lt. USA (ret.); Director, National Security Studies, Hudson Institute, Former Director, National Security Agency; Daniel Oliver, Former Chairman, Federal Trade Commission; John O'Sullivan, Founder and Co-chairman, New Atlantic Initiative, Editor, *National Review*.

William A. Owens, President, COO, Vice Chairman of the Board, Science Applications International Corporation; Charles Percy, Chairman, Charles Percy & Associates, Former U.S. Senator; Richard Perle, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; William Perry, Former Secretary of Defense; Daniel Pipes, Editor, *Middle East Quarterly*; Norman Podhoretz, Editor-at-large, *Commentary Magazine*, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute; Colin Powell, Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Former National Security Advisor; Dan Quayle, Former Vice President of the United States; David Rockefeller, Retired banker; Peter Rodman, Director of National Security Programs, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, Former Director,

Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State; William Rogers, Former Secretary of State; Henry S. Rowen, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Former Assistant Secretary of Defense; Edward L. Rowny, Lt. USA (ret.), Former Chief U.S. Negotiator to START talks; Donald Rumsfeld, Former Secretary of Defense.

Jeffrey D. Sachs, Director, Harvard Institute for International Development; Jeffrey T. Salmon; George Shultz, Former Secretary of State; Dmitri K. Simes, President, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom; Paul Simon, Former U.S. Senator; Alan Simpson, Former U.S. Senator; Joseph J. Sisco, Former Undersecretary of State; Leon Sloss, President, Leon Sloss Associates; Stephen Solarz, President, Solarz Associates, Former Member of Congress; Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution, Former Counsellor, U.S. Department of State; Fritz Stern, University Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; Robert S. Strauss, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, Former U.S. Ambassador to Russia; William O. Studeman, Adm. USN (ret.), Former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence; Stephen Szabo, Academic Dean, Johns Hopkins SAIS; Gregory F. Treverton, Director, International Security and Defense Policy, RAND Corporation, Former Vice Chairman, National Intelligence Council.

Cyrus R. Vance, Former Secretary of State; Stephen W. Walker, Director, Balkan Institute; Ben J. Wattenberg, Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Vin Weber, Partner, Clark & Weinstock, Former Member of Congress; William H. Webster, Former Director of Central Intelligence; George Weigel, Senior Fellow, Ethics and Public Policy Center; W. Bruce Weinrod, Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense; Ross Williams, President, Secretary/Treasurer, Oklahoma State AFL-CIO; Paul Wolfowitz, Dean, Johns Hopkins SAIS, Former Undersecretary of Defense; Ronald B. Woodard, President, Boeing Commercial Airplane Group; R. James Woolsey, Former Director of Central Intelligence; Dov S. Zakheim, CEO, SPC International Corporation; Robert B. Zoellick, Vice President, Fannie Mae, Former Undersecretary of State; E.R. Zumwalt, Jr., Adm. U.S.N. (Ret.), Former Chief of Naval Operations.

OPPOSITION TO H.R. 2621

HON. ENI F.H. FALEOMAVEGA

OF AMERICAN SAMOA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 13, 1997

Mr. FALEOMAVEGA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 2621, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Authorities Act.

Mr. Speaker, I am generally supportive of the concept of giving the Executive broad authority in negotiating treaties and other international agreements. Unfortunately, from my perspective, the granting of this authority by Congress to the Executive has not served the Nation well recently, and I am now reluctant to grant that same authority again.

Those who feel otherwise will say that Congress still retains its complete authority to approve trade agreements because Congress

has the final say in passage. Unfortunately, this argument has not proved to be true in recent years.

The North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, is the prime example of this. I am absolutely certain that if Congress had the option to amend the NAFTA agreement when it was presented to it, the agreement would not have been adopted in its current form. Many of the proponents of the legislation we are considering today say that NAFTA has been an unqualified success. To them I say success is not determined by the profit margins of a few successful companies and an increase in the number of low-wage jobs in the United States. I suggest that our trade agreements should do more than line the pockets of the rich, for that does not serve our country well. If we are going to enter into new trade agreements, they should help our Nation as a whole—if not, it is not in our national interest to do so.

Conceptually, Mr. Speaker, I support free trade. No one argues economies are improved or consumers benefit from supporting less efficient producers of any given product. If all countries were equal, free trade would and should be the norm. But, unfortunately, not all nations have equal economies. In general, the more-developed countries are able to pay higher wages, provide more benefits to their workers, prohibit child labor, and place greater restraints on business activities which pollute the environment at a higher rate.

As a result of our economic development and the changes in business activity which we in the United States and the other developed countries value, in purely economic terms, the less-developed countries are able to produce many goods at a lower cost than we can produce them in the United States.

With NAFTA in place, businesses have taken advantage of the disparity between the United States and Mexico, and have moved their manufacturing operations from the United States to Mexico. To keep the costs down of products going to be sold in the United States, these businesses construct new plants along, but on the Mexican side of, our southern border. The net result of this has been the loss of good, well-paying jobs held by Americans.

In return, consumers in the United States can purchase products at a lower price. Economists say this is good: everyone in the United States, except those few who lost their jobs—and their families and the other businesses which supported the now-closed industry—are better off, they say. In a limited economic sense, those people who purchase that product at a lower cost are better off. Except, even those still employed are now paying higher taxes to cover the increased cost of unemployment insurance, food stamps, and other programs available to assist those in need.

In addition to those costs, we have increased pollution in our atmosphere, more chemicals dumped into our earth, and more people working in sub-standard conditions for below poverty-level wages. In the case of Mexico, we also have increased motor traffic from vehicles which do not meet our safety or air pollution standards, and more recently, an increased amount of illegal drugs entering our country with the increased commerce.

The end result of this shift in location is instead of obtaining a product made by someone in the United States making a fair wage