

has made possible the peace agreements between Israel and three former adversaries.

As Israel's enemies have seen that they cannot drive a wedge between our two countries, so they have come to recognize slowly but surely that Israel is here to stay.

I know that I speak for many of my colleagues when I say that the American commitment to Israel over the next 50 years will be just as reliable as it has been in Israel's first 50 years.

I urge my colleagues to support this joint resolution and I yield the floor.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I am very pleased to join with Senator LOTT in sponsoring this resolution honoring the 50th anniversary of Israel's founding.

I had the privilege of speaking last week at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Founders Reunion in Washington. In my remarks, I quoted from one of the sages of the Torah, who told us more than 200 years ago that God could have created plants that would grow into loaves of bread. Instead, He created wheat for us to grow and mill and transform into bread.

Why?

Because He wanted us to be able to take part in the miracle of creation.

And, just as the founders of the Holocaust Museum can take pride in their contribution to the creation of that memorial, so too can Israelis take great pride in their contributions to the creation of the modern State of Israel.

In my remarks to the Holocaust Museum founders, I also cited Elie Wiesel's view that: "Survivors are understood by survivors only. They speak in code. All outsiders could do was come close to the gates."

That is what the Holocaust Memorial Museum allows us to do: to come close to the gates; to see; to grieve; and, finally, to learn, so that we can pass the knowledge on, from generation to generation, about what can happen when intolerance and hatred are allowed to spread unchecked.

One of the greatest benefits of the Holocaust Museum is that it helps its millions of visitors understand why there must be an Israel. The Holocaust Museum is evidence of the fact that out of the unspeakable horror of the Holocaust has come the miracle of the creation of the State of Israel to provide a homeland for Jews around the world. Out of this tragedy has come the modern-day State of Israel, the 20th century version of the 3,000-year old historic Kingdom of Israel.

We are introducing this resolution today to celebrate and commemorate the 50th anniversary of Israel's founding and to offer the Senate's congratulations on reaching this important landmark.

Mr. President, fifty years is not considered long relative to the lifespan of an England, a China or an India. In the case of Israel, however, it is an eternity when we factor in the obstacles it has faced during these fifty years.

Throughout its existence, Israel has faced an array of enemies dedicated to its destruction. It has been forced to fight six wars, battle against countless terrorist acts, survive economically in the face of widespread economic boycotts, and make its way in the world despite international criticism against it.

This resolution commemorates not only Israel's ability to survive these odds, but also its ability to thrive and prosper in the face of these constraints and to maintain its adherence to democracy and the rule of law. Israel today is a dynamic, vibrant society committed to the same values and principles as the United States.

Another important reason we are offering this resolution is to reiterate the strength of the partnership between the U.S. and Israel—a partnership based on shared values, interests and goals. Israel is a trusted ally and an important strategic partner.

I would like to make the resolution's four resolved clauses part of my statement offering my best wishes to Israel on this important occasion.

The measure resolves that the United States recognizes the historic significance of the fiftieth anniversary of the re-establishment of the sovereign and independent modern State of Israel.

It commends the people of Israel for their remarkable achievements in building a new state and a pluralistic democratic society in the Middle East in the face of terrorism, hostility and belligerence by many of her neighbors.

It reaffirms the bonds of friendship and cooperation which have existed between the United States and Israel for the past half-century and which have been significant for both countries.

And it extends the warmest congratulations and best wishes to the State of Israel and her people for a peaceful and prosperous and successful future.

Mr. President, I urge all Senators to join me in sending our congratulations to Israel on this noteworthy day.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I rise today to offer my congratulations on the upcoming 50th Anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel. Throughout Israel and the United States, people will gather together to commemorate this anniversary, to reflect upon the accomplishments of the Israeli people, and to look forward to the new millennium.

Not unlike the founding of our own nation, a small group of leaders gathered in the Tel Aviv Museum at 4:00 on May 14, 1948 to realize a dream by formally declaring the creation of the state of Israel. Few Americans may be aware that within 11 minutes of that declaration, President Harry Truman had taken the necessary steps to offer formal diplomatic recognition to this new nation, making the United States the first nation to recognize Israel as a sovereign state. From that point, the United States and Israel cemented a friendship based on our common bonds:

from cultural and religious ties to a mutual belief in the power of democracy to the assurance of a peaceful, prosperous future.

Each time I have visited Israel, I have been impressed with the hope for the future expressed by her people. This hope exists despite the challenges Israel has faced from the moment of its creation. In many ways, I believe these challenges have helped the Israeli people create a society that serves as an example to all nations.

It is a society based on democracy. In a region where the seeds of democracy have not fully taken root, Israel has a vibrant democracy with strong public participation. It is a prosperous society. Despite a wide variety of economic challenges, Israel's economy has grown to the point where per capita income rivals that of most Western nations. Finally, it is a society based on opportunity. Like our own country, Israel is a nation of immigrants. It is a nation that has gathered people from around the world with the promise of political and religious freedom.

Today, Israel continues to face challenges as it prepares to move into the 21st Century. As the people of Israel seek to achieve economic independence, ensure their security, and create a lasting peace with their neighbors, they do so with the assurance of the continued strong relationship with the United States.

Mr. President, the words Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion delivered in his address to a new nation still ring true today:

Whatever we have achieved is the result of the efforts of earlier generations no less than our own. It is also the result of unwavering fidelity to our precious heritage, the heritage of a small nation that has suffered much, but at the same time has won for itself a special place in the history of mankind because of its spirit, faith, and vision.

Mr. President, again, I offer my congratulations to the people of Israel on this 50th Anniversary. We share with them the bond of democracy and the hope of a peaceful and prosperous future.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the joint resolution be considered as read a third time and passed, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and that any statements relating to the resolution appear at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The preamble was agreed to.

The joint resolution (H.J. Res. 102) was passed.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1998

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 11 a.m. on Thursday, April 30. I further ask that on Thursday, immediately following

the prayer, the routine requests through the morning hour be granted and the Senate then resume consideration of the Craig amendment numbered 2316 to the NATO enlargement treatment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I further ask that the time following the prayer until 12 noon be equally divided for debate on the Craig amendment; further, that at 12 noon the Craig amendment be temporarily set aside and the votes on or in relation to the amendment follow the two stacked rollcall votes previously ordered to occur at approximately 3 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, tomorrow morning at 11 a.m. the Senate will resume consideration of the Craig amendment numbered 2316 to the NATO enlargement treaty.

Under the previous order, at noon Senator MOYNIHAN will be recognized to offer an amendment under a 1-hour time agreement.

Following the debate on the Moynihan amendment, Senator WARNER will be recognized to offer an amendment under a 2-hour time agreement.

Following the debate on the Warner amendment, at approximately 3 p.m., at the conclusion of that debate, the Senate will proceed to three stacked rollcall votes.

The first vote will be on or in relation to the Moynihan amendment, followed by a vote on or in relation to the Warner amendment, followed then by a vote on or in relation to the Craig amendment.

As a reminder, a unanimous consent agreement was reached which limits the amendments to the NATO treaty. It is hoped that any Senator still intending to offer an amendment under the consent agreement will do so early tomorrow to allow the Senate to complete action on this important document by early tomorrow evening.

Also, if available, the Senate may consider the conference report to accompany the supplemental appropriations bill.

Therefore, Senators should expect rollcall votes throughout the Thursday session of the Senate.

Mr. President, that is an ambitious schedule. Senators are urged to be timely. Senators are urged, those who may have additional amendments to the NATO enlargement treaty, to make those amendments known to leadership, and hopefully reasonable time requests can be entered into. A number of Senators are making very important official business commitments for the weekend, and the more definite the plans can be about the schedule tomorrow, the more expeditiously those commitments can be undertaken.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of Senator CONRAD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Chair. I thank my colleague from Indiana as well.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

PROTOCOLS TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY OF 1949 ON ACCESSION OF POLAND, HUNGARY, AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC

The Senate continued with the consideration of the treaty.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the resolution of ratification for NATO enlargement.

In my view, there are four questions that must be answered in the affirmative in order to support NATO expansion.

No. 1, are the risks to relations with Russia and arms control acceptable?

No. 2, are we sure what NATO expansion will cost and who will pay for it?

No. 3, has a compelling argument been made as to why expansion is necessary?

No. 4, are we certain that enlargement will not have perverse consequences, fostering instability in Eastern Europe and perpetuating the danger from Russia's tactical nuclear arsenal?

I am convinced, after thorough review, that the answers to these questions are all no.

I start with the observation of Mr. George Kennan, perhaps the foremost observer of U.S.-Russian relations. Mr. Kennan, who was, after all, the architect of the containment policy that proved so effective, said in a *Newsday* editorial on March 15 that, "Expanding NATO would be the most fateful error of American policy in the entire post-world war era."

Mr. President and colleagues, let me repeat. George Kennan, the architect of containment, said as recently as March 15 that, "Expanding NATO would be the most fateful error of American policy in the entire post-world war era."

That is a pretty serious statement by someone who has great credibility based on his record. He is not alone in that assessment. Former Senator Nunn, who enjoyed enormous respect on both sides of the aisle in this Chamber, has discussed a dangerous contradiction at the center of the argument for expansion, saying that while enlargement is intended to protect former Soviet satellites, nothing else is as likely to remilitarize Russia and endanger those very countries as NATO enlargement.

Senator Nunn is not alone. We are hearing from leaders in Russia their

warnings to us not to proceed. I recently met—with a group of Senators and Members of the House of Representatives—with Alexi Arbatov, who is deputy chairman of the Duma's defense committee. He told us, "If you proceed with NATO enlargement, you are handing a powerful issue to the radicals in Russia. You are energizing the extreme nationalists in Russia, and you are weakening the forces for democracy."

Mr. President, we should not lightly dismiss the warnings of committed democrats in Russia like Alexi Arbatov and others who have given us similar warnings. I think it says a great deal that the primary architects of American strategy during the cold war, George Kennan and Paul Nitze, have cautioned the Senate against ratification and NATO expansion.

Nearly 50 years ago, as successive heads of the State Department's policy planning staff during the Truman Administration, Kennan and Nitze understood that containment of the Soviet Union was critically important to the free world. Today, they have told us that NATO expansion is a mistake.

I believe the stakes are very high. Remilitarization in Russia is a serious threat. Avoiding this outcome should be our priority, not enlarging NATO.

The first casualty of our expansion of NATO may very well be progress on arms control. I know that many of my colleagues do not like to be in a position where it seems the Senate's decisions about foreign policy are dependent on reaction in Russia. It smacks of blackmail. The problem with this thinking is that it assumes that something we need is being held hostage.

As I have discussed, there simply is no compelling argument for why we must expand NATO. Therefore, to risk relations with Russia and arms control are not acceptable. The Duma's expeditious ratification of START II should be our priority. In pursuing our national interest we are in no way giving in to Russian blackmail.

I might add it is not just a question of START II ratification, but it is also clearly in our national interest to make a priority of reducing the threat from the tactical nuclear weapons that are in the Russian arsenal.

By rejecting NATO enlargement, we would simply be choosing not to embark on a dangerous and unjustified course of enlarging NATO and would avoid making a terrible mistake in the course of U.S.-Russian relations.

The second point I think needs to be made is that NATO enlargement brings unknown costs. The case for enlargement becomes increasingly suspect when we look at questions related to the costs and who will bear them.

I direct the attention of my colleagues to a chart on the various estimates that have been issued with respect to the cost of NATO enlargement. The Congressional Budget Office issued an estimate of \$21 billion to \$125 billion. The Rand Corporation said the