

potential consequence of allowing this economic crisis to spread throughout the world poses too great a threat to our own economic security to stand idly by and watch the total collapse of the Russian political and economic system. Much more ominously, political instability and nuclear weapons are a dangerous mix.

Second, the Russian people are human beings who are suffering. Our hearts and hands of assistance should go out to them.

Third, and most important, the United States of America is the first-born child of democracy in the modern age. We are the oldest and most successful, and when democracy is being born, history has called us to the duty of being its midwife, not a disinterested observer in the waiting room. We may wish this burden had been not cast on us, but it has. This is our duty.

Mr. President, what can we do?

First of all, I believe we must look at Russian democracy in terms of decades, not just years. The future is still very bright for them. It is a great nation blessed with vast resources and talented people. I remain confident that the transition to democracy will be successful. Nothing will cool their ardor for democratic reforms more than if we become pessimistic about the possibility of their democracy surviving.

We know it is tough. We know it is difficult. All of us have faced difficult moments in a democracy where we have wondered whether or not our system itself could work, but we always rise to the task. We always manage to rise to the challenge, to do that little more that is necessary to make our system work. We simply have to say to the Russian people over and over: "Do not be discouraged. It's far better than what you had before. The rule of law and the opportunity to govern yourself will be frustrating, it will produce disappointments, but do not stop persevering. Your children and your grandchildren will reward you with praise if you do."

Secondly, Mr. President, we have to continue to engage Russia as a partner. Not only is it desirable for us to do so as a consequence of their need, but it is desirable for us to do so as a consequence of ours. They are a permanent member of the Security Council. They are actively involved in many of the most important world issues that we face. And it is imperative that we continue to treat them as a full partner.

Third, we must continue to support the International Monetary Fund. While imperfect, and certainly demanding reform itself to become more open to our observation to know what they are doing and the decisions that they are making, it is still the only institution that pools the world's resources to address large-scale financial crises. I am pleased that the Senate has once again passed legislation to provide \$18 billion to replenish the IMF's capital base.

Next, we must continue to work with the Russians on arms control and security issues. Instability in Russia is still the greatest foreign threat to our safety. Working to reduce nuclear and conventional arms will help Russia financially and improve the safety of the American people.

I do not mean to imply by that that arms control all by itself will solve this problem. We have lived through the tragedy of disarmament from the Second World War. We watched what happened when this Nation said in the 1920s: There are no threats out there, and therefore we are going to disarm. We have an obligation, based upon that memory, to keep our military and Armed Forces as strong as necessary, not just to meet today's threats but to meet tomorrow's threats. Still, it is true that the great amount of effort to reduce the stockpile of nuclear weapons will produce tremendous benefits not just to the people of the United States but to the people of all of this world.

Our most important long-term challenge, though, is working with Russia to develop the rule of law. This has to be a hands-on process of teaching. I believe the most important effort is likely to be the least expensive, and that is just long-term exchange programs, giving their people a chance to come here to see how democracy works, to understand the importance of having that law there to protect you not only so you can speak but so that you can start your business and enjoy the benefits that come as a consequence of the reward that we provide people in the market system—and it simply isn't there—to show them that we have also faced in the past problems with Government officials who are corrupted, but again the rule of law is there to protect the people, that they cannot tolerate corruption and they need not tolerate corruption in order to have a market system, and that they should not be discouraged as a consequence of the failures and the problems that they experience in the birthing years of their democracy and their market system.

We need to tell them, Mr. President, as we no doubt can, that we experience similar problems, that it is a long voyage, that we on the Fourth of July, we on Memorial Day, and we on Veterans Day, and we in great moments in our history stand and pay tribute not to ourselves but to our forefathers for the sacrifice of blood, for the sacrifice of treasury, for putting themselves on the line for our freedom.

We need to say that the burden on freedom is a great burden, that freedom is not free, that in wartime we must do as John Miller in "Saving Private Ryan" did—put down our chalk and give up our careers as teachers and put our lives on the line at the beaches of Normandy.

But in peacetime the burden is, we have to put our own selves on the line to fight to make our laws give people

the protection and the freedom that they deserve, to come together and argue, to come together with our ideas, as we do here, day after day after day.

We have, I think, an opportunity, through exchange programs, through very small hands-on efforts, an opportunity to show the people of Russia that their great character that enabled them to turn back Napoleon, that enabled them to turn back Adolph Hitler, that enabled them to survive so much that it is almost unimaginable that they were able to get the job done, that a people that can do that can make democracy and free markets work not just for them but for their futures.

Mr. President, I hope and believe indeed there is reason to have optimism, that this Congress will not, on behalf of the American people, shirk our responsibilities and our duties to work with the people of Russia to make this experiment in democracy in their country as big a success as it has been for us.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 9:30 a.m., Friday, September 11, 1998.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 7:37 p.m., adjourned until Friday, September 11, 1998, at 9:30 a.m.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate September 10, 1998:

##### DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

T. J. GLAUGHTER, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF ENERGY, VICE ELIZABETH ANNE MOLER.

##### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

HAROLD HONGJU KOH, OF CONNECTICUT, TO BE ASSISTANT OF STATE FOR DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND LABOR, VICE JOHN SHATTUCK.

B. LYNN FASCOE, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO MALAYSIA.

##### IN THE NAVY

HERBERT LEE BUCHANAN III, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, VICE JOHN WADE DOUGLASS.

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

##### To be lieutenant general

LT. GEN. THOMAS R. CASE, 0000

##### IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

##### To be major general

BRIG. GEN. DARRYL W. MCDANIEL, 0000

##### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

R. RAND BEERS, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR EXECUTIVE SERVICE, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, VICE ROBERT S. GELBARD, RESIGNED.

PETER F. ROMERO, OF FLORIDA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, VICE JEFFREY DAVIDOW.

C. DAVID WELCH, OF VIRGINIA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-