bad law. It passed the House. It has not passed the Senate. What will happen if what comes is a tremendous increase in costs, tremendous loss of insurance, and exactly the opposite direction.

Now, I happen to be cynical enough to believe there are certain people that want that to happen, because they believe we ought to have a government-controlled health care system. Believe you me, when we get that, if you love the post office today, wait until you see totally government-run health care.

There is not one individual that I talked to that knows anything about health care, from the pharmacist to the physical therapist to the operating room nurse to other doctors to nurses or employees in my office. When I mention the word HCFA, Health Care Financing Administration, they go ballistic, because HCFA does not know what is going on, but they are running all the rules. For us to create another system in which we hand more to HCFA is asinine.

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, I simply want to reiterate what you said. The reality is that many people want this very complicated scheme. They want a Norwood-Dingell bill to pass, not because they think that will take care of patients. They understand turning this whole system over to the trial lawyers, taking it away from HMOs, but not giving it to doctors, but rather giving it to trial lawyers, they understand that that will drive costs dramatically through the roof.

But that is not against their goal, because their goal is to have the current HMO system, to have the current health care system fail, and then to force America to turn to a single payer, Hillary-Care, one-system-fits-all, the Federal Government runs the health care system-type program.

I believe that will be a tragic flaw for this Nation. If we go to a flawed system that lets trial lawyers circumvent independent doctors making the decision, if we do not give patients the right to choose their own doctor, the net result is that costs will go through the roof and we will get to a single-payer system.

I want to thank the gentleman for allowing me to participate in this Special Order. It is important that our colleagues saw the flaw in this current patients rights legislation. I hope they will join us in passing legislation that would give people choice. Let them hire and fire their health care plan, the way they hire and fire their auto insurance plan or their homeowner's insurance plan, or, for that matter, the way they decide where they live or what brand of shoes or coats to buy. Give people choice, and they will take care of themselves.

Mr. COBURN. I thank the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG). It a pleasure to work with the gentleman, as usual. I appreciate all of the work he has done in health care in this Congress.

I think the American people ought to ask themselves one question, do I get to choose my doctor, my health plan, and, if not, why not? When you hear all of the political rhetoric, it will all pencil down to choice, and what is happening today in America is we are losing freedom, we are losing liberty, when we cannot even have the basic right to choose our own doctor.

RUSSIA'S ROAD TO CORRUPTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SIMPSON). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) is recognized for the remainder of the time.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to enter into the RECORD and share with my colleagues a report that was recently released by the gentleman from California (Chairman COX). It is entitled ''Russia's Road to Corruption.''

This is the Speaker's advisory group on Russia. In addition, I would like to share with Members that the New York Times reported this month that, without reporting to Members of the House or the Senate, Vice President GORE concluded a secret agreement in 1995 with then-Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin not to enforce U.S. laws requiring sanctions on any country that supplies advanced conventional weapons to Iran. Specifically, Vice President GORE, purportedly on behalf of the United States, secretly authorized Russia to continued the sale of advanced weaponry to Iran.

Now, this occurred while there was a U.S. law on the books, and let me quote from a comment made by the gentleman from California (Chairman COX) at the time. He said, ''The 1992 act required the President to sanction any country that transfers goods or technology that contribute knowingly and materially to the efforts by Iran or Iraq to acquire destabilizing numbers and types of advanced conventional weapons.''

At the very moment Vice President GORE was making this secret deal with Chernomyrdin, bipartisan majorities in Congress were deeply critical of the Clinton Administration's failure to sanction Russian arms sales to Iran.

It is now clear why the administration took no action. Vice President GORE actually signed off on the Russian sales to Iran. The secret Gore-Chernomyrdin agreement reportedly allowed Russia to sell weapons to Iran for 4 more years, including an advanced submarine. This is the ultra-quiet Kilo Class Russian submarine.

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Also, to sell torpedoes and antiship mines, and hundreds of tanks and armed personnel carriers. This submarine, as but one example, is exactly the type identified by Congress when it passed the law as posing a risk to U.S. forces operating in the Middle East.

The secret deal cut by Vice President GORE directly contradicts the 1992 law he coauthored. As then Senator GORE said on April 8 of 1992, ''We do feel that the sanctions package has got to lay out the choice for dealers in these technologies in very stark terms. It is abundantly clear that we need to raise the stakes high and we need to act without compunction if we catch violators.'' That is what was said then.

The report of the Speaker's advisory group noted a series of interlocking flaws in the Clinton-Gore policy towards Russia. Unjustified confidence in unreliable officials like Chernomyrdin was the first that they pointed out; refusal to acknowledge mistakes and revise policies accordingly, and excessive secrecy designed to screen controversial policies, to screen them from both the Congress and from the U.S. public. This secret agreement exemplifies every one of these flaws, stated the gentleman from California (Mr. COX). Tragically, as the Times report notes, the decision to flout U.S. law gained us nothing from the Russians.

The September 2000 advisory group reported concluded, in spite of evidence that both Russian government agencies and private entities were directly involved in proliferation to such States as Iran and Iraq, the Clinton administration continued to rely on personal assurances from its small cadre of contacts in the Russian government. Administration officials, including Vice President GORE and Deputy Secretary of State Talbot, accepted these assurances, despite clear evidence of continued proliferation rather than believe or admit that proliferation could continue despite the stated opposition of their partners.

To continue, I wanted to share with my colleagues a second issue, a second secret Gore-Chernomyrdin deal, that was described not by The New York Times this time, but this one by the Washington Times on October 17 of this year. In a classified ''Dear AL'' letter to the Vice President in late 1995, Chernomyrdin described Russian aid to Iran's nuclear program. The letter states that it is quote, ''ot to be conveyed to third parties, including the U.S. Congress.'' Not to be conveyed to the U.S. Congress. It appears to memorialize a previous personal agreement between the two men that the U.S. would acquiesce in the nuclear technology transfer to Iran.

As with the first Gore-Chernomyrdin deal, this agreement too was kept from Congress. This letter from Chernomyrdin to GORE indicates that Vice President GORE acquiesced to the shipment of not only conventional weapons to Iran in violation of the Gore-McCain Act, but also nuclear technology to Iran. According to Vice President GORE, the purpose of this secret deal was to constrain Russian nuclear aid to Iran in the construction of two nuclear reactors. If that is so, Vice President GORE plainly did not succeed. In August of this year, the CIA reported that ''Russia continues to provide Iran with nuclear technology that

could be applied to Iran's weapons program.''

Now, our House Committee on International Relations chairman, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), asked the administration on October 18 if it had pointed out to Vice President GORE's Russian partner in this that it is not the American way for the President to keep secrets from Congress when it comes to such serious national security concerns as proliferation of nuclear technology. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has yet to receive an answer.

The law requires that ''The text of any international agreement to which the United States is a party be transmitted to Congress as soon as practical, but in no event later than 60 days'' after it is reached. The law does not contemplate that Congress will discover such agreements 5 years after the fact by reading about them through leaks to a newspaper, commented the gentleman from California (Mr. COX), the chairman of this committee. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee requested the first secret Gore-Chernomyrdin agreement on arms to Iran on Friday, October 13, the day The New York Times revealed it. Weeks later, the administration has yet to produce either it or the second Gore-Chernomyrdin letter dealing with nuclear transfers to Iran.

Lastly, I wanted to cite from Russia's Road to Corruption, the Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia chaired by the gentleman from California (Mr. COX) comments about the ongoing Russian assistance to Iran's ballistic missile program. To quote from the report, ''Throughout the 1990s, despite repeated pledges by the Yeltsin government given during summits, Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission meetings, administerial level meetings, Russian private and government entities continue to provide critical technological assistance to Iran's ballistic missile program.''

In testimony before the House Committee on International Relations in October of 1999, proliferation expert Kenneth Timmerman testified that top Clinton administration officials were aware of Russian aid to Iran's missile programs and did little to counter it.

In March of 1997, a CIA intelligence report labeled ''secret'' reportedly disclosed the then Iranian President Rafsanjani was pleased with the growing ties between Iran and Russia and that he expected Iran to benefit from Russia's highly developed missile program. Iran's President stated that he considered obtaining Russian military technology one of Iran's primary foreign policy goals, yet the Clinton administration, anxious to present a positive image of Russian-American relations, continued to accept the commitments from Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin during this period at the Clinton-Yeltsin summit in Helsinki, at the June Clinton-Yeltsin summit in 1997, and at the Gore-Chernomyrdin meeting in 1997 that Russia would hold its missile technology assistance to Iran, and all of this, while in November 1998, the Russian Duma passed a resolution calling for increased military cooperation with Iran.

Nevertheless, the Clinton administration still refused to adjust U.S. policy to the torrent of information from the U.S. Intelligence community that corroborated the evidence from U.S. allies. American policy was based on the assurances from the administration's small circle of official Russian counterparts. Objective intelligence, objective reporting was discounted. While information from Russian sources, who clearly stood to be injured by the imposition of sanctions, was accepted.

The bipartisan Iran Missile Proliferation Sanctions Act of 1997, which passed the House and Senate with veto-proof majorities, closed many of the loopholes invoked by the Clinton administration to justify its refusal to use sanctions. The act required suspension of U.S. Government assistance to foreign entities that assist Iran's ballistic missile program, but President Clinton vetoed that bill on June 23 of 1998. One month after that veto, Iran tested its Shahab 3 missile, 10 years ahead of the U.S. Government's original estimate of when it would be capable of doing so.

Under threat of a congressional override of the veto of the Iran Missile Proliferation Act, the President finally issued an Executive Order. However, the Executive Order did nothing to address Russia's export control system, which even National Security Adviser Sandy Berger said was necessary when he announced the sanctions.

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In testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee in February of 2000, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency George Tenet testified that Iran probably will soon possess a ballistic missile capable of reaching the United States. The impact of Russian assistance was clear. Only a year earlier, Tenet had testified that it would take many, many years for Iran to develop a missile capable of reaching the United States.

The Clinton administration's willful blindness to Russian proliferation has already done immense damage. The extensive Russian assistance has allowed Iran to improve significantly its ballistic missile capability. As a matter of fact with Russian assistance, Iran is now building a 2,600 mile-range Kosar missile based on a Soviet era SS5 missile engine.

This missile could ultimately form the basis for an Iranian Intercontinental ballistic missile. Russia has also ignored the Clinton administration's ineffectual objections to its plans to build nuclear reactors in Iran.

Both the Clinton administration and outside experts fear that Iran will use the civilian reactor program as a cover for a secret nuclear weapons program, but the Clinton administration has failed to move effectively to end this Russian assistance. Moreover, congressional attempts to influence Russian behavior by reducing U.S. bilateral aid to the Russian central government have been undercut by continued unconditional administration support for aid to Russia through the IMF and the World Bank and other multinational institutions.

Iran is seeking to acquire Russian assistance in building other weapons of mass destruction as well. In December of 1998, the New York Times reported that high-ranking Iranian officials were aggressively pursuing biological and chemical expertise in Russia.

In interviews conducted with numerous former biological weapons exerts in Russian, more than a dozen stated that they had been approached by Iranian nationals and offered as much as $5,000 a month for information relating to biological weapons. Two weapons experts claimed they had been asked specifically to assist Iran in building biological weapons.

The Russian scientists who had been approached noted that the Iranians showed particular interest in learning about or acquiring microbes that can be used militarily and genetic engineering techniques to create highly resistent germs.

Mr. Speaker, I yield time to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), my colleague; and he has some points to make for the RECORD as well.

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman and good friend for yielding. I thank the gentleman for following up on this Special Order. I was not aware we would be up so soon, but I appreciate your interests.

The gentleman and I have traveled to Russia together. As the gentleman knows, we have tried to find a way to build a relationship with Russia, one that differs significantly from what we have seen over the past 8 years.

Let me start off by following up with the comments the gentleman has just made, which I think the most important issues confronting this election and that is the status of our relationship with Russia and the problems that Russia currently presents to us from a threat's standpoint.

The best way to characterize where we are today is look at where we were in 1992. As President Bush was finishing up his last year in office, Boris Yeltsin was leading the overthrow of the Communist system and the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

I am sure my colleague remembers the vivid pictures on CNN of Boris Yeltsin standing on a tank outside of the Russian White House waving an American flag and a Russian flag with tens of thousands of Russians around him as he proclaimed the end of Communism, the end of the Soviet Union; and he announced that there would be a new strategic partnership, Russia and America working together.

After 7 years of Clinton-GORE, last fall what did we see on CNN? We saw this picture: we saw tens of thousands of young Russians outside the American embassy in Moscow throwing paint at our embassy, firing weapons at our embassy, and burning the American flag. In fact, it got so bad that for a while our State Department had to issue warnings to Americans that wanted to travel to Moscow because the hatred for America had grown so great in such a short period of time that the Russian people were adamantly opposed to any Americans in their country.

How could this policy and how could this feeling between Russia and the people of Russia against America grow so rapidly? In fact, one of President Putin's first speeches this year, after he was sworn in in January, was to announce a new strategic partnership for Russia. That partnership was Russia and China against the West, against America.

It is because our policy for the past 7 years, 8 years under Clinton and GORE was based on a personal relationship between Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin and AL GORE and Viktor Chernomyrdin, and they felt as long as those two people were in power in Russia, nothing else mattered. Instead of doing institution building, building the institution of the parliament, the court system, the free market economy, if they just focused on those two people, those two personalities, then America would be okay. That worked in the beginning, when Yeltsin was strong and when he was honest.

As Yeltsin became an alcoholic and surrounded himself with thieves who were the oligarchs running the Russia banking system; as Chernomyrdin got involved in corruption and in the oil and gas industry, the Russian people became to lose confidence in their leaders, but there was Bill Clinton and AL GORE still supporting these two failed leaders.

We knew 5 years ago that the oligarchs were siphoning off billions of dollars of IMF money and because President Clinton and AL GORE did not want to embarrass their friends, they pretended they did not see it. They pretended it was not happening.

Just last year we saw the Bank of New York, several officials being indicted by the Justice Department for allegedly siphoning up to $5 billion of money that should have been going to the Russian people. So the Russian people saw this IMF money and World Bank money coming in, but they saw it not going to help them improve their communities, but rather they saw that money be shifted to Swiss bank accounts and U.S. real estate investments.

What did we see? We saw Russia sending technologies to our enemies. We saw Russia, as my colleague just pointed out, sending technology to Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, North Korea, all covered by arms control agreements, and this administration not wanting to call Russia on those, because again it was based on personal friendships.

One instance in particular that I can relate to was in January of 1996, I was in Moscow. It was a month after The Washington Post had run a front page story that highlighted the fact that we had evidence, America had evidence that Russia had sent guidance systems to Iraq to improve the accuracy of their missiles. Now, that is a violation of an arms control treaty called the Missile Technology Control Regime. So I asked the American ambassador to Russia, Tom Pickering, who is now number three at State, I said, Tom, what was the response of the Russians when you asked them about The Washington Post story? He said, Congressman WELDON, I have not asked them yet. I said, why would you ask them? It is a gross violation of a treaty. He said that has to come from the White House.

I came back to Washington, and I wrote to the President. I wrote him a letter. He wrote me back in April, and he said, Dear Congressman WELDON, you raise serious concerns; and, in fact, if Russia did send those items to Iraq, that is a flagrant violation and I assure you, we will take aggressive action. We will impose the required sanctions, but he said, Congressman WELDON, we have no evidence.

That is the story they used 37 times in violations of arms control agreements in 8 years. Well, I say to the gentleman from California (Mr. ROYCE) I brought the evidence tonight so the American people can see them. As I have shown around the country, this is a Soviet Union accelerometer and this is a Soviet gyroscope. These were taken off of Russia SSN19 missiles that used to be pointed at America's cities.

Under arms control negotiations, these devices are supposed to be destroyed. They are not supposed to be reused. We caught the Russians not once, not twice, but three times giving these devices to Saddam Hussein. What would Saddam use them for? He would use these devices to provide the guidance system to make those SCUD missiles more accurate, those same SCUD missiles that killed those 28 young Americans in Duran, Saudi Arabia, in 1991.

These devices would make those missiles have much more accuracy. Iraq cannot build these; neither can Iran. They are too sophisticated. The only way Iraq or Iran can get these devices, the only way Syria and Libya can get these devices is if Russia sells them to them or gives them to them, and that is why we have arms control regimes.

We caught Iraq getting these devices from Russia three times. We imposed no sanctions. Why would we not do that? People would say to me, well, Congressman WELDON, you mean to tell me the President would deliberately not hold Russia accountable? The answer is yes. Why? Because 1996 was the year Yeltsin was running for reelection. In fact, the secret cable is now public that Bill Clinton sent to Boris Yeltsin in 1996. It was the Dear Boris memo, and it was a cable that the American people can get in the back of a book called ''Betrayal,'' written by Bill Gertz.

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That cable to Boris Yeltsin from Bill Clinton says, ''Don't worry, Boris, we will not do anything to weaken your chance for reelection this year.'' So the policy, whether it was the theft of IMF money or whether it was the transfer of technology, was to keep Boris Yeltsin in power.

My colleague mentioned another incident involving transfer of technology to Iran and the Iran Missile Sanctions Act. My colleague did not mention one part of that equation I would like to go into some elaboration on.

Before the vote on that bill in the House, even though it was supported overwhelmingly by Democrats and Republicans. In fact it was a huge bipartisan base of support. The week before the bill came up for a vote, I got a call from Vice President AL GORE and his staff said to my staff, Vice President AL GORE wants Congressman WELDON to come down to the Old Executive Office Building to talk about the Iran Missile Sanctions bill.

So I went down to the White House. I was joined in the Old Executive Office Building by CARL LEVIN, by JOHN MCCAIN, by JOHN KYL, by Jane Harman, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and Lee Hamilton. There were about 12 of us who sat in the room as the Vice President of the United States, the current candidate for the President, sat with Leon Fuerth, his top security advisor, and for 1 hour the Vice President lobbied us not to pass the Iran Missile Sanctions bill. Because he said if we did, it would upset the relationship between Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin and he and Viktor Chernomyrdin.

When he finished, all of us in the room, Democrats and Republicans, Senators and House Members, said to the Vice President: Mr. Vice President, it is too late. You do not get it. The technology is flowing like water down a waterfall, and you are not stopping it.

Two days later, in spite of that personal lobbying by the Vice President of the United States, the bill came up on the floor of the House for a vote and 396 of us voted in favor of that bill, slapping the Vice President and the President across the face, because we knew they were being ineffective and we knew that instead of doing what was right, they were standing up for their friends, Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin.

We broke for the Christmas recess and we came back in February. In February, the Senate was going to take up the same bill. In February, the bill came up. A week before the vote, the

Vice President's office called my office again and said: The Vice President would like Congressman WELDON to come back down to the Old Executive Office Building. I went back down.

Again, there were 10 to 12 Members of the Senate and the House, Democrats and Republicans. The same group. This time the Vice President had two people with him, Leon Fuerth, and Jack Caravelli from the National Security Council. They met with us for 90 minutes to try to convince us not to let the Senate vote for the Iran Missile Sanctions bill.

When he finished, we again told the Vice President: Mr. Vice President, you do not know how serious this is. This technology is helping Iran and Iraq develop new capabilities. But there was the Vice President, currently running for the presidency, telling us do not worry, we are going to take care of all of this. We are getting Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin to go along with us.

The Senate voted 96 to 4 in favor of that bill. The Vice President also told us and ensured us that he would take care of everything. That he was the one negotiating with Chernomyrdin, as my colleague pointed out, and I think he mentioned this earlier about the memo that the CIA wrote to him. We have evidence that his partner, Viktor Chernomyrdin, was involved with oil and gas corruption and the CIA sent him a memo to warn him that his friend and partner in Russia was not a clean person.

The White House has now acknowledged, though they initially denied it, they have now acknowledged that people remember that memo. And there is a CIA analyst who has said he saw the memo with the words scribbled across the front. The Vice President wrote a word across the front that we are not supposed to use on the floor of the House, but it started with ''bull'' and we just cannot complete the rest of the word, because Vice President GORE did not want to hear from the CIA that they had information that his friend and partner was involved with corruption in Russia.

So the policy of this administration for 8 years was deny reality. Then we find out, as my colleague just pointed out, that Vice President GORE went beyond denying reality. He did his own diplomacy and actually negotiated with Chernomyrdin the allowance for Russia to transfer technology to Iran which was strictly prohibited by the law that was passed by this Congress. In fact, when he was in the Senate it was passed under the leadership of JOHN MCCAIN.

It is outrageous that a Vice President could secretly allow a country like Iran, when this Congress had gone on the record expressing our grave concern with what Iran was doing, that this Vice President could allow that technology to continue to flow to Iran. And we now find out that Russia did not pay attention to what the Vice President said. They went beyond the original understanding. In my opinion, this requires a serious investigation by the Congress.

Now, we are not going to be able to do this before the election. But the American people deserve to know what this Vice President did in a secret negotiation with the prime minister of Russia, a man who eventually left office in disgrace, that the CIA said was involved in corrupt activities. This country deserves to know what this Vice President did in arranging for some kind of a secret allowance for Iran to get technology from Russia, even though the law of the land in this country prohibited Russia from sending that technology to Iran.

How many other guidance systems went to Iran? How many other weapons besides the submarine and the arms that went to Iran? And what is the impact going to be on our security?

In fact, I would say to my colleague that I think this Congress ought to consider taking some type of action even before we leave this week to show our absolute outrage that any elected official, President or Vice President, would unilaterally take action that would eventually harm America.

Let me say before returning back to my colleague, I do not rise as a rabid conservative Republican, and I know my friend feels the same way I do, wanting to trash the administration. I have been to Russia 21 times. Every time I have gone, I have taken my colleagues on the other side with me. In fact, I have enjoyed a great relationship with the Democrats in our bipartisan Duma-Congress initiative. Each year, when the administration sought votes on the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, the Nunn-Lugar program, I would get calls from the White House and from people in the administration asking me to lobby my Republican colleagues to support the initiative, which I did.

So I supported this administration in some of their policy issues toward Russia, and I am absolutely outraged, however, that this new revelation has come out that the White House has still not provided documentation to us, even after the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has written to the White House requesting copies of the memo and the letters that were written from Viktor Chernomyrdin to AL GORE in which he says specifically: Do not tell any third parties about this agreement, including your Congress.

Mr. Speaker, Viktor Chernomyrdin has no right to be above our Constitution. He has no right to send a letter to Vice President AL GORE saying ignore the Constitution of America; we will have some secret arrangement where I will tell you that only certain types of things can be shipped to Iran. Even though Vice President GORE knew there was a law on the books that specifically prohibited the transfer of technology to Iran, even though Vice President GORE knew that our vote on Iran proliferation was 396 votes in the House and 96 votes in the Senate.

As my colleague, I think, agrees with me, the biggest scandal of the past 8 years is what this administration has done to our defense and foreign policy. The past 8 years will go down in history in my opinion as the worst period of time in undermining America's security. Not just because of what we did in these secret relationships in supporting people in Russia as opposed to institutions in Russia, but because of what we have done to force Russia into a new coalition where Russia and China have gone together in what they both characterize as a strategic partnership against America and the West.

Mr. Speaker, we are going to be trying to rebuild the confidence and the trust between these countries and us for the next 25 years. That is the legacy of this administration. It is a legacy that I think is absolutely embarrassing.

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Now, my colleague I think was quoting from the Task Force, which I was a member of, where we looked in depth at these issues. And the American people need to look at these issues, as well. Because the rhetoric coming out of the Vice President's mouth, the rhetoric coming out of those who were supporting what they would say has been a strong foreign policy is just rhetoric.

In fact, if you look around the world today, the instability in the relationships that America has with Russia, with China, the situation in the Middle East, the problems with North Korea are all problems that are not going to go away and problems which we have to address up front.

I know my friend feels like I do, we want Russia to be our good friend, we want the Russian people to be our good friends, and we want the Russian people to know that we are on their side. We are embarrassed that our administration ignored the transfer of illegal money out of Russia to illegal bank accounts. We are embarrassed that some of the current problems of the Congress with Russia were caused because we did not hold Yeltsin accountable when there were institutions in Russia that were in violation of arms control agreements.

And as a result, when Yeltsin was about ready to leave office last year, all the polls in Moscow showed that only two percent of the Russian people supported Boris Yeltsin. But even though only two percent of the Russian people supported Boris Yeltsin, there was Bill Clinton and AL GORE still supporting Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin and his successor. Because Viktor Chernomyrdin eventually left and a whole multitude of prime ministers came in behind him.

It was summed up best by a visiting Duma deputy who came over in the middle of the Kosovo conflict. We had a

press conflict and he said, you will, America for 70 years the Soviet Communist party spent billions and billions of dollars to convince the Soviet people that Americans were evil, and they failed. But your President and your administration in just a few short years has been able to convince the Russian people that Americans are evil.

What a terrible statement for an elected official of the Russian Duma to make that for 70 years the Soviet Communists tried to convince Russians that we were evil and they failed, and yet our policies from 1993 up until the Kosovo fiasco just a few short years ago turned the Russian people against us.

We have to correct all of that, and we also have to hold this Vice President accountable for the actions he took unilaterally.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, I have one question that I would like to ask the gentleman and that concerns the law as it pertains to these international agreements.

Now, according to the law, as I understand it, when there is an agreement with a foreign power, that information is supposed to be given to Congress as soon as practical or no later than within 60 days.

My question is this: Since we are now in a position where some 5 years after the agreement we are finding out about such agreements in the New York Times, what recourse does Congress have under the law at this time in order to assert our constitutional rights to be informed about what the administration is doing negotiating without sharing that information with either the Senate or with the House and in particular negotiating when there are laws on the books?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the 1995 law that was passed, which was championed by JOHN MCCAIN, basically prohibited Russia from sending technology to Iran.

There is now evidence in a secret agreement that Vice President GORE worked out with Viktor Chernomyrdin, the same Viktor Chernomyrdin that the CIA told Vice President GORE was involved in corruption with Russia. That agreement never came to the Congress. No member of the Senate intelligence Committee, the House Committee on Intelligence, no member of the leadership in either party was aware that Vice President GORE on his own made an arrangement with Viktor Chernomyrdin to allow Russia to transfer certain technology to Iran.

Now, the State Department and the White House are not denying this. What they are claiming is the technology was not covered by this law. That is hogwash. This technology was covered. But what Vice President, what the President for that matter, has the power to overrule the Congress?

I mean, this gets back to shades of what the Democrats raled about during the Vietnam era and during the era of the Central American fiasco. No President has the right, no Vice President has the right especially, to enter into a secret agreement with a foreign leader that does not involve the express advice and consent of the Congress. And yet that is what Vice President GORE did.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that during the debate on the original 1995 law itself, the very example given in the debate was the super secret kilo class type of submarine that could be transferred from Russia to Iran because of our concerns of what that would do to our strategic interests in the Middle East.

How would it be possible for the administration now to claim that in fact it did not intend or their interpretation is that it is not covered by the statute when in fact the debate on the original law mentioned that kilo class submarine?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is absolutely correct. And for other colleagues who are listening in their offices, the kilo class submarine is a submarine that can do tremendous harm to America, our Navy, and our allies.

Iran now has that because of what Vice President GORE did secretly in this agreement with Viktor Chernomyrdin. And even Madeleine Albright now has acknowledged what he did. My colleague probably is aware that there is a classified letter that was written by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in this year to Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov. And that is what it says. This is quoting Madeleine Albright.

''Without the 1995 Gore-Chernomyrdin agreement, Russia's conventional arms sales to Iran would have been subject to sanctions based on various provisions of our laws.''

So now we have the Secretary of State this year affirming that what was done by Vice President GORE secretly in 1995, if that had not been done, those transfers would have caused sanctions to be placed on Russia.

I mean, this is amazing. Russia is trying to become a democracy and it appears as though we are going to a totalitarian state where the Vice President thinks he could do whatever he wants. He does not have that authority.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Speaker, there is one other issue that is of concern to me.

When we were in Moscow, we had an opportunity to speak to various officials in the Russian Government; and, upon our return, there was a story in the media about the fact that support among the Russian people for the United States was down to single digits for our policies and their feelings about the intentions of the United States was down to single digits.

When we contrast that with the attitudes after the fall of the Berlin Wall and after the disillusion of the former Soviet Union, at that particular time the support for U.S. policy and intentions was registered to be the majority of Russians. In one poll I recall it was 70 percent.

How does that go from 70 percent level of support down to a level of support that is around four or five percent? And at the same time, how do we go from a situation where we had a relationship with Russian parliamentarians to one where today a former KGB officer, now the President of Russia, states that his strategic alliance is going to be with China, not with the United States, but with China? How does that happen over the span of a few years?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I think it is just basically because the policy of this administration, two people, Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin, was as long as they got along with their counterparts in Russia, Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin, to them nothing else mattered.

In fact the Duma felt totally left out of the process. The Duma members told me. In fact, one of my Duma deputy friends, a very respected member of the Duma, Vladimir Luhkin, used to be the Soviet ambassador here in the U.S. He was recently the chairman of the Committee on International Affairs, and he right now is the chairman of the pro-Western Yablako faction. I am going to tell you what he said to me. And I never said this publicly before.

I was in Moscow and arrived the day after President Clinton left Moscow right after the economic collapse.

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Luhkin called me into his office. He said, CURT, I have a very serious concern that I have to raise with you. I said what is it, Vladimir? We have been friends. He said, the word around the Duma is that your President had discussions with Boris Yeltsin over what the U.S. response would be if Yeltsin disbanded the parliament altogether. He said, the fact that your President even engaged in those discussions is terribly alarming for us, because that would mean that your President does not even support our constitution, which is the basis of our democracy.

So here we have the members of the Duma seeing our administration go to Moscow and openly discuss with Yeltsin, and I assume Chernomydin, the possibility of them disbanding their parliament and simply having what basically they used to have in Russia, one or two people running the system. That is why the Russian people have no confidence.

If I were a citizen in Russia, I would not trust America, either, after I saw the world community sending billions of dollars into Moscow to help the Russian people build roads and schools and communities and to see the bulk of that money siphoned off to Swiss bank accounts. I would not trust America either.

Mr. ROYCE. One of the comments that interested me was former Foreign

Minister Federov's comment, where he told American officials do not give us money through the IMF into the central bank without strings, because if you do that that money will end up, quote, in Swiss bank accounts. Why was it, why was it, that we continued, against the advice of their own foreign minister who was trying to make reforms, to continue to put money into the government there instead of as an alternative attempting through democracy building to put the funding into building up political parties in Russia, building up a Democratic culture in Russia, assisting those who were trying to reform the country, why did all of the support go directly through the heads of state that were controlling the system, including the privatization? The gentleman alluded to Viktor Chernomydin's role there and in the report the indication is from the Russia's Road to Corruption, the Speaker's Advisory Group on Russia, the indication is that one of the main beneficiaries out of the entire privatization scheme was Chernomydin who ended up holding a large percentage of the oil and gas interests in Russia through so-called privatization, how could the administration allow this to occur without instead removing the resources from the government and putting the resources towards the forces of reform?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. The gentleman knows full well that before Boris Yeltsin would leave office he made sure that his successor, who he hand picked, President Putin, would give him and his family amnesty. So that when Putin took over for Yeltsin, he immediately signed the first series of decrees, presidential decrees, that gave lifetime amnesty for Boris Yeltsin and his family because two of his daughters were involved in much of this corruption.

To answer the gentleman's question, the reason why that amnesty was given was because the Russian people know full well that Yeltsin was taking care of his friends. He was taking care of those around him. He was the one who hand picked the bankers, the oligarchs where he was shuffling the money through. So the people that got wealthy were those close friends of Boris who kept him in power. Now this administration should have had the integrity to say to Yeltsin, look, we want democracy and free markets to succeed. We are not here to take care of your friends. But because they were so enamored with this personal friendship and relationship, they ignored the reality of what was occurring. That is why the Russian people in the end said we have no respect for America because you do not care about Russia's people; you care about your friends. You care about Boris Yeltsin and his family. You care about Yeltsin's friends and cronies and you care about Chernomydin and his friends and his family.

What we said for the past 5 years in going over to Russia, to our government, is why do we not put the money out into the regions where the regional governors are making reforms? Let us reward them. Let us help them build new institutions, new communities. This administration wanted everything to go through Yeltsin and central Moscow because they wanted Yeltsin to be the strong man. They did not want the regions doing good things on their own because they would not be as loyal to Yeltsin. So we in fact helped cause the problem in Russia that focused everything in Moscow, through Yeltsin and Chernomydin and their friends, and now we find out that AL GORE even had secret dealings and agreements with Viktor Chernomydin that jeopardized the security of the U.S. and most specifically, and this is the key point, the first threatened nation to what Russia gave Iran is not the U.S.; it is Israel. The people of Israel now tonight can thank AL GORE for a secret deal that he evidently worked out with Chernomydin that allowed technical supplies and equipment, components and military hardware and submarines to go to Iran, which will directly threaten Israel's security.

Now AL GORE can talk a good game but the facts are, that is where the allowance was to send this technology, and the number one enemy of Iran is Israel. That is an absolute travesty. That is an absolute disgrace because, as the gentleman pointed out, Iran now has the Shahab 3 and Shahab 4 missile; they are now building a Shahab 5. Iran now has the ability to hit Israel directly and with this agreement that Chernomydin and AL GORE work out privately, Vice President AL GORE in my opinion helped Iran develop that technology that now directly threatens the safety of the people of Israel.

Mr. ROYCE. There was one last question I wanted to ask, and that had to do with the issue of privatization. I think for us as confusing as the comments of Foreign Minister Federov, who says he warned the administration not to give this money to the central bank without strings attached, not to turn it over to the government in power without a method of auditing it and making certain that it went for the purposes to which it was intended, even more confusing are what we are hearing now about the privatization schemes in Russia and how the beneficiaries of that did not turn out to be the Russian people but instead certain oligarchs, how can it be that this administration that was involved in giving assistance in helping through the IMF and the World Bank and helping with financial assistance, how could it be the case that we could end up with so much in assets turned over instead to a very small group, cadre of people?

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. That is amazing. I do not know how. In fact, my colleague was with me when we met with Skuratov, who was the prosecutor general in Russia who is the equivalent of Janet Reno who told us he evidence of hundreds of insider people around Yeltsin who were involved in insider trading with GKO bonds, who made tons of money off of the economic problems of Russia. I do not know how this could occur. It is outrageous, but the fact is that we now have to live with this.

I am outraged at this most recent story that my colleague brought up tonight, and I would urge our colleagues to take some kind of aggressive bipartisan action to hold this Vice President accountable for what he did. We have to stand up for what is right, and in my opinion what the Vice President did is not just wrong, it is unconstitutional and this Congress has a responsibility to make a statement on that before we leave this year, and I would say that should happen sometime this week.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. SNYDER (at the request of Mr. Gephardt) for today and October 30 on account of a family medical emergency.

Mrs. FOWLER (at the request of Mr. ARMEY) for today and the balance of the week on account of medical reasons.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Member (at the request of Ms. ESHOO) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. SHERMAN, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. COBURN) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. KINGSTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HAYWORTH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GUTKNECHT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HOEKSTRA, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SCHAFFER, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at their own request) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. STENHOLM, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. TURNER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HILL of Montana, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ROHRABACHER, for 5 minutes, today.

ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker: