

information. That is why we have included important protections and limitations for such use and access in the bill. Background checks will be limited to those employees who have access to sensitive cargo information or unrestricted access to segregated "controlled access areas," that is defined areas within ports, terminals, or affiliated maritime infrastructure which present a demonstrable security concern. In addition, under this bill the use of such material, once it is obtained, will be restricted to the minimum necessary to disqualify an ineligible employee. In other words, only the minimum amount of law enforcement information necessary to make eligibility decisions will be shared with port authorities or maritime terminal operators.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER ON PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP IN FOREIGN POLICY

• Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I commend to my colleagues a recent column by Charles Krauthammer entitled "Unilateral? Yes, Indeed." It ran in the December 14 issue of the Washington Post.

Once again, Krauthammer has done a fine job of articulating sentiments shared by many of us regarding the President's conduct of foreign policy. The essence of the issue can be summarized in one word: leadership. Since the start of his presidency, George W. Bush has been the target of innumerable criticisms emanating from his approach to the conduct of foreign policy. Greatly exaggerated fears of isolationism have been voiced by the president's critics, both at home and abroad. With the conduct of the war against terrorism and the decision to withdraw from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, however, the President has demonstrated not isolationism, but leadership. Leadership, as defined by the willingness to make unpopular decisions and accept the consequences out of a conviction that the decisions in question are in the best interests of the United States.

Pre-war concerns that the entire Muslim world would rise up against us if we went after Al Qaeda and its Taleban protectors have proven unfounded. Worst-case scenarios surrounding the President's decision to withdraw from the ABM Treaty have similarly failed to materialize. There are consequences to both decisions, but they were the right decisions and the consequences are far less than the benefits accruing to the United States from their having been implemented.

I urge my colleagues to take a minute to read the article by Charles Krauthammer. It articulates better than could I the importance of leadership in international affairs, and I highly recommend it.

I ask that the article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 14, 2001]

UNILATERAL? YES, INDEED
(By Charles Krauthammer)

Last month's Putin-Bush summit at Crawford was deemed an arms control failure because the rumored deal—Russia agrees to let us partially test, but not deploy, defenses that violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty—never came off.

In fact, it was a triumph. Like Reagan at the famous 1986 Reykjavik summit, at which he would not give up the Strategic Defense Initiative to Gorbachev, Bush was not about to allow Putin to lock the United States into any deal that would prevent us from building ABM defenses.

Bush proved that yesterday when he dropped the bombshell and unilaterally withdrew the United States from the treaty, and thus from all its absurd restrictions on ABM technology.

This is deeply significant, not just because it marks a return to strategic sanity, formally recognizing that the ballistic missile will be to the 21st century what the tank and the bomber were to the 20th, but because it unashamedly reasserts the major theme of the Bush foreign policy: unilateralism.

After Sept. 11, the critics (the usual trioka: liberal media, foreign policy establishment, Democratic ex-officials) were clucking about how the Bush administration has beaten a hasty retreat from reckless unilateralism. President Bush "is strongly supported by the American people," explained former Senate leader George Mitchell, "in part because he has simply discarded almost everything he said on foreign policy prior to Sept. 11."

Bush had wanted to go it alone in the world, said the critics. But he dare not. "It's hard to see the President restoring the unilateralist tinge that colored so many of his early foreign policy choices," wrote columnist E. J. Dionne just two months ago. "Winning the battle against terror required an end to unilateralism."

We need friends, they said. We need allies. We need coalition partners. We cannot alienate them again and again. We cannot have a president who kills the Kyoto Protocol on greenhouse gases, summarily rejects the "enforcement provisions" of the bioweapons treaty, trashes the ABM Treaty—and expect to build the coalition we need to fight the war on terrorism.

We cannot? We did.

Three months is all it took to make nonsense of these multilateralist protests. Coalition? The whole idea that the Afghan war is being fought by a "coalition" is comical. What exactly has Egypt contributed? France sent troops into Mazar-e Sharif after the fighting had stopped, noted that renowned military analyst Jay Leno. ("Their mission?" asked Leno. "To teach the Taliban how to surrender.") There is a coalition office somewhere in Islamabad. Can anyone even name the coalition spokesman who makes announcements about the war?

The "coalition" consists of little more than U.S. aircraft, U.S. special forces, and Afghan friends-of-the-moments on the ground. Like the Gulf War, the Afghan war is unilateralism dressed up as multilateralism. We made it plain that even if no one followed us, we would go it alone. Surprise: Others followed.

A unilateralist does not object to people joining our fight. He only objects when the multilateralists, like Clinton in Kosovo, give 18 countries veto power over bombing targets.

The Afghan war is not a war run by committee. We made tough bilateral deals with

useful neighbors. Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Russia. The Brits and the Australians added a sprinkling of guys on the ground risking their lives, and we will always be grateful for their solidarity. But everyone knows whose war it is.

The result? The Taliban are destroyed. Al Qaeda is on the run. Pakistan has made a historic pro-American strategic pivot, as have the former Soviet republics, even Russia itself. The Europeans are cooperating on prosecutions. Even the Arab states have muted their anti-American and anti-Israeli rhetoric, with the Egyptian foreign minister traveling to Jerusalem for the first time in three years.

Not because they love us. Not because we have embraced multilateralism. But because we have demonstrated astonishing military power and the will to defend vital American interests, unilaterally if necessary.

Where is the great Bush retreat from unilateralism? The ABM Treaty is dead. Kyoto is dead. The new provisions of the totally useless biological weapons treaty are even dead: Just six days before pulling out of the ABM Treaty, the administration broke up six years of absurd word-mongering over a bio treaty so worthless that Iraq is a signatory in good standing.

And the world has not risen up against us—no more than did the "Arab street" (over the Afghan war), as another set of foreign policy experts were warning just weeks ago.

The essence of unilateralism is that we do not allow others, no matter how well-meaning, to deter us from pursuing the fundamental security interests of the United States and the free world. It is the driving motif of the Bush foreign policy. And that is the reason it has been so successful. •

RUSSIA AND ENERGY SECURITY

• Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise to point out that while the attention of the world is now rightly focused on Afghanistan and the war against terrorism there, we should not forget that a large part of the oil and gas consumed by the United States and the rest of the industrialized world comes from the conflict-ridden Middle East.

In addition to addressing the issue of energy independence through new domestic sources of supply, conservation, and the development of renewable energy resources, it is imperative for us to be thinking about the best possible way of protecting the security of alternative sources of oil and gas outside the United States. The Caspian Sea is also on Russia's doorstep, and we should encourage development that will foster positive political as well as economic relations with the world's second largest oil exporter.

Russia's recent refusal to follow OPEC's lead in slashing production is one more example of its ability to play a positive role on world oil markets, and the recently opened \$2.5 billion Caspian oil pipeline, Russia's largest joint investment to date, and one in which U.S. firms hold more than a one-third interest, is an example of the kind of project that will encourage Moscow to continue to look westward.

Akezhan Kazhegeldin, an economist, businessman, and former prime minister of oil-rich Kazakhstan, has written a thoughtful article on these subjects that appeared in the Russian