

the uncertainty of the future. And it certainly is not appropriate to mislabel this foreign policy mishap as a success.

The failure of the administration's policy was apparent from the negotiations at Rambouillet. It was one-sided from the beginning and Secretary Albright made no secret where the administration's loyalties lay: "If the Serbs are the cause of the breakdown, we're going to go forward with the NATO decision to carry out air strikes," she threatened. It was NATO's way, or no way. It is little wonder an agreement was not reached. The arrangement provided no preservation of national sovereignty for Yugoslavia. NATO troops would have been authorized "free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]." There was also no guarantee, and indeed evidence to the contrary, that Yugoslavia's sovereignty and territorial integrity would remain intact after NATO troops rolled into the country. The United States took sides in the negotiations, and then wondered why the Serbs refused to sign the proposed agreement.

Equally harmful to the peace process was the lack of historical understanding with which the administration engaged in the negotiations. Kosovo is the site of key historical and religious monuments for the Serbs. However, the President and Secretary failed to recognize this fundamental fact. It was both arrogance and shortsightedness which allowed the administration to proceed on this flawed course to disaster. I do not claim to be a scholar of the region myself; however, I am not arrogant enough to believe one can solve centuries-old conflicts with three nights of an air campaign, as the administration originally anticipated.

The administration "policy" was nothing more than a policy du jour. At first, the goal of the air strikes was to bring Milosevic to the negotiating table. Next, the strikes were to harm Serb military might. Then strikes were to force a complete Serb withdrawal from Kosovo. Regardless of what the strikes were supposed to do, they were never part of a methodical, strategic plan. Instead, they were a knee-jerk reaction to daily events.

Perhaps most disconcerting is the potential damage the operation may have inflicted on the NATO alliance. This mission marked the first time in the 50 years of the alliance's history that it was involved in an operation that had nothing to do with defending the territorial integrity of one of its members. The operation should be proof positive about the dangers of a "new strategic concept" that would expand NATO's missions beyond territorial self-defense to peacekeeping arenas outside its borders. NATO maintains a hefty burden in protecting members from an unsta-

ble Russian and Korean Peninsula, and the growing proliferation threat around the world without the burden of regional peace-keeping, or other humanitarian missions which have nothing to do with preserving the territorial integrity of members.

I point out these facts not to lessen the impact of the human tragedy that occurred in Yugoslavia before the bombing began, or to lessen the responsibility of Milosevic's role in that tragedy. However, I feel compelled to raise this issue in the Senate today because it is premature to hail the Kosovo agreement as a success. Today, the Balkans are far less stable than when the operation began on March 24. The lesson to be learned from this operation should not be that good intentions are good reasons for foreign policy whims, particularly when those whims risk the lives of our men and women in uniform.

The brave men and women of the Armed Forces deserve the praise and thanks of a grateful nation for serving with distinction and honor. I wholeheartedly join the Senate in thanking the members of the Armed Forces who served in the campaign in the Balkans. However, I am not ready to endorse this ill-conceived mission as a victory for the United States or NATO. Instead, this mission ought to go down in the history books as a lesson in what foreign policy blunders should be avoided in the future.

To recover from this blunder, the President must provide a comprehensive post-war plan for the region. Bringing true peace to Kosovo will depend on the development of a stable balance of power on the ground. Whatever course of action is pursued by the administration, it must be one that ultimately would help the United States and its NATO allies to reduce their military commitments in the Balkans, and avoid entangling the United States and the Alliance in another Kosovo in the future.

#### U.S. CITIZENS KILLED IN ACTS OF TERRORISM

Mr. ASHCROFT. The defense of American citizens is the highest duty of our government. That duty is fulfilled not only by protecting Americans at home, but U.S. citizens when they are abroad. This nation is a city on a hill, and our stand against oppression often has made us a target for those dark forces of violence and tyranny in the world. Terrorism is and will continue to be a principal weapon of those who would seek to threaten the United States and all for which our country stands.

The Middle East is the region of the world with the greatest amount of terrorist activity. Five of the seven state sponsors of terrorism are located in or border on the region the State Depart-

ment defines as the Near East. Our close ally Israel is often the target of terrorist groups operating in the Middle East, and the deaths of Americans due to terrorist attacks in Israel has been of particular concern to me.

My amendment to the State Department Authorization bill simply requires the State Department to compile a report on U.S. citizens who have been killed in terrorist attacks in Israel or in territory controlled by the Palestinian Authority. The report will include a list of terrorist attacks in which U.S. citizens were killed and information on the groups of individuals responsible for the attack. The whereabouts of suspects implicated in the attacks, whether each suspect has been incarcerated or incarcerated and released, the status of each case pending against each suspect, whether the State Department has offered any reward for these terrorist suspects, and an overview of U.S. efforts to investigate and apprehend these suspects are particular points of concern in my amendment addresses.

Since the signing of Oslo in 1993, at least 12 American citizens have been killed in terrorist attacks in Israel or territory controlled by the Palestinian Authority: Nachson Wachsmann, Joan Davenny, Leah Stern, Yael Botwin, Yaron Unger, Sara Duker, Matthew Eisenfeld, Ira Weinstein, Alisa Flatow, David Boim, Daniel Frei, and Yitzchak Weinstock.

Responsibility for almost all of these murders has been claimed by Hamas or Palestinian Islamic Jihad, two terrorist groups supported by Iran and Syria and dedicated to the destruction of Israel.

Terrorism's toll on Israel has been high as well. Since the beginning of the Oslo process in 1993, Israel has lost more than 280 of its citizens to terrorist violence in over 1,000 terrorist attacks (a portion of the Israeli population comparable to 15,000 Americans).

Jean-Claude Niddam of the Israeli Ministry of Justice testified before the Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee on March 25, 1999, and gave an overview of the difficulties related to prosecuting suspects implicated in the murder of U.S. citizens.

First, Mr. Niddam notes that terrorists suspected of killing Americans have found shelter in the Palestinian Authority. For the last 4 years, Israel has submitted almost 40 official requests to the Palestinian Authority to transfer suspects implicated in terrorism against Israelis and Americans, but has yet to receive a reply. Out of 38 requests to arrest and transfer terrorist suspects, only 12 suspects are currently under arrest and 7 are serving or served until recently in the Palestinian police force.

Mr. Niddam's testimony focused on eight terrorist suspects involved in terrorist attacks against Americans.

Three of these suspects have been detained by the Palestinian Authority. One of those imprisoned, Imjad Hinawi, confessed in a Palestinian court to the murder of David Boim. The confession was witnessed by a U.S. embassy official present at the trial. If there is a good reason why the Administration has not indicted Mr. Hinawi, it is the time for a clear explanation.

Another suspect, Ibrahim Ghanimat, linked to the shooting deaths of Yaron Unger and his wife Efrat, spends his nights in prison but is free to come and go during the day. Adnan al-Ghul, Yusuf Samiri, and Mohammad Dief, three other suspects involved in the killings of Americans, are all at large. Nafez Sabi'h was implicated in a bombing that killed three Americans, but was believed to be serving in the Palestinian police force until several months ago.

In recent years, other suspects implicated in the murder of American citizens have served in the Palestinian police force. In July 1998, the Israeli Government released a report stating that four terrorist suspects involved in the February 1996 Jerusalem bus bombing, in which three American citizens were killed, were serving in Palestinian security forces.

A climate conducive to terrorism is the most serious threat to a lasting peace settlement in the Middle East. When Abul Abbas, the hijacker of the Achille Lauro, lives freely in Gaza and is a close associate of Yasser Arafat; when the Palestinian Authority's official media arm, the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, airs programming which teaches Palestinian children to hate Israelis; when terrorist suspects are given positions in the Palestinian security forces—genuine peace is undermined and U.S. interests endangered in the Middle East.

It is time for the United States to get serious about defending its own. President Clinton promised that no quarter would be given to terrorists who killed 12 Americans in the Africa embassy bombings in August 1998. But I fear this administration has not been pursuing aggressively terrorist suspects implicated in the murder of a similar number of Americans in Israel.

Recent testimony by top administration officials does not indicate that our resolve to prosecute these cases is strengthening. Martin Indyk, Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East, was called to testify before the Senate Appropriations Committee last March on terrorism against U.S. citizens, but his written testimony did not even discuss these cases or what the State Department is doing to resolve them.

George Washington once said that if we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it. A credible defense deters aggression and war, and a similar principle is at work in meeting the threat of terrorism today. If terrorists

know they will suffer for attacking Americans, they will be less likely to engage in such violence. President Reagan's response to Libyan terrorism quieted that government for over a decade.

While we cannot prevent violence against every American abroad, we can ensure that terrorists who attack U.S. citizens are pursued relentlessly. I call on the administration to wage a more aggressive campaign against terrorists who have killed Americans, and this report will give Congress the ability to review the administration's efforts more effectively. I thank Senator HELMS and Senator BIDEN for their assistance with this amendment.

#### EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on Thursday, June 17, 1999 and Friday June 18, 1999, I was not present during Senate action on rollcall vote No. 174, a motion to table Senator MCCAIN's amendment No. 685; rollcall vote No. 175, a motion to table Senator MURKOWSKI's amendment No. 686; and rollcall vote No. 176, H.R. 1664, the Emergency Steel, and Oil and Gas Loan Guarantee Act. Yesterday, I was not present during Senate action on rollcall vote No. 177, Senator SARBANE's amendment to S. 886, the State Department reauthorization bill. During these times, I was in Connecticut attending to matters related to my marriage on June 18, 1999, to Jackie M. Clegg.

Had I been present for these votes, I would have voted aye in each case.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Monday, June 21, 1999, the federal debt stood at \$5,589,358,011,973.65 (Five trillion, five hundred eighty-nine billion, three hundred fifty-eight million, eleven thousand, nine hundred seventy-three dollars and sixty-five cents).

Five years ago, June 21, 1994, the federal debt stood at \$4,594,505,000,000 (Four trillion, five hundred ninety-four billion, five hundred five million).

Ten years ago, June 21, 1989, the federal debt stood at \$2,782,728,000,000 (Two trillion, seven hundred eighty-two billion, seven hundred twenty-eight million).

Fifteen years ago, June 21, 1984, the federal debt stood at \$1,510,017,000,000 (One trillion, five hundred ten billion, seventeen million).

Twenty-five years ago, June 21, 1974, the federal debt stood at \$470,147,000,000 (Four hundred seventy billion, one hundred forty-seven million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion—\$5,119,211,011,973.65 (Five trillion, one hundred nineteen billion, two hundred eleven million, eleven thousand, nine hundred seventy-three dollars and sixty-five cents) during the past 25 years.

#### MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill was read the second time and placed on the calendar:

S. 1256. A bill entitled "Patients Bill of Rights."

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-3852. A communication from the Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Final Rule to Delist the Plant 'Echinocerus lloydii' (Lloyd's Hedgehog Cactus)", received June 18, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3853. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; Revised Format for Materials Being Incorporated by Reference for Missouri" (FRL #6364-3), received June 18, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3854. A communication from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Office of Policy, Planning and Evaluation, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Technical and Procedural Amendments to TSCA Regulations-Disposal of Polychlorinated Biphenyls (PCBs)" (FRL #6072-4), received June 18, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-3855. A communication from the Director, Defense Procurement, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Contract Actions for Leased Equipment" (DFARS Case 99-D012), received June 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-3856. A communication from the Assistant Attorney General, Office of Justice Programs, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Timing of Police Corps Reimbursements of Educational Expenses" (RIN1121-AA50) (OJP-1205), received June 18, 1999; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC-3857. A communication from the Acting Executive Director, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Performance of Certain Functions by National Futures Association With Respect to Those Foreign Firms Acting in the Capacity of a Futures Commission Merchant," received June 16, 1999; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3858. A communication from the Acting Executive Director, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Fees for Applications for Contract Market Designations", received June 16, 1999; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-3859. A communication from the Administrator, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Program to Assess Organic Certifying