

This law has provided a new market for our farmers and ranchers. The American Farm Bureau has reported that since the passage of the bill, United States farmers have sold approximately \$800 million in agricultural products to Cuba. Exports to Cuba have more than doubled since 2002, reaching approximately \$400 million in 2004. Growth in the Cuban market has become especially important as the United States agricultural trade surplus has narrowed over the last 2 years.

Recently, the Bush administration issued a clarification to our Cuban export policy which changed the payment terms of cash sales to Cuba. The Treasury Department rule will make it more difficult to sell agricultural products to Cuba.

The amendment would reverse the Treasury rule by returning it to the status quo payment terms. That has worked well since 2001. It also would cut some of the redtape that makes United States producers less competitive in the Cuban market.

Expanding international markets in our hemisphere and the world will have a positive impact on the lives of Americans. All sectors, especially American agricultural, benefit from the opportunity to sell products to other nations that create jobs in the United States. My home state of Indiana is a world leader in agricultural production and manufacturing. If we hope to sustain our economic strength in the 21st century, we must participate in an expanding global economy. We must aggressively pursue opportunities in new markets and we must keep our competitive advantage and sell our products worldwide.

As a Senator, I worked in the Congress to support trade and economic policies that I believe are in the best long-term interests of our Nation. Constricting agricultural sales to Cuba would have little or no effect on the Cuban regime, particularly since the rest of the world does not participate in our embargo. It would, however, limit the ability of our farmers and our ranchers to sell their products abroad.

I urge my colleagues to support the Craig-Baucus amendment.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### RELATING TO THE DEATH OF THE HOLY FATHER, POPE JOHN PAUL II

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 4:45 p.m.

having arrived, the Senate will proceed to a vote on the resolution relating to the death of the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II.

The clerk will report the resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 95) relating to the death of the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be.

The question is on agreeing to the resolution. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. The following Senator was necessarily absent: the Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLARD).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALEXANDER). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 98, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 82 Leg.]

YEAS—98

Akaka	Dole	McCain
Alexander	Domenici	McConnell
Allen	Dorgan	Mikulski
Baucus	Durbin	Murkowski
Bayh	Ensign	Murray
Bennett	Enzi	Nelson (FL)
Biden	Feingold	Nelson (NE)
Bingaman	Feinstein	Obama
Bond	Frist	Pryor
Boxer	Graham	Reed
Brownback	Grassley	Reid
Bunning	Gregg	Roberts
Burns	Hagel	Rockefeller
Burr	Harkin	Salazar
Byrd	Hatch	Santorum
Cantwell	Hutchison	Sarbanes
Carper	Inhofe	Schumer
Chafee	Inouye	Sessions
Chambliss	Isakson	Shelby
Clinton	Jeffords	Smith
Coburn	Johnson	Snowe
Cochran	Kerry	Specter
Coleman	Kohl	Stabenow
Collins	Kyl	Stevens
Conrad	Landrieu	Sununu
Cornyn	Lautenberg	Talent
Corzine	Leahy	Thomas
Craig	Levin	Thune
Crapo	Lieberman	Vitter
Dayton	Lincoln	Voinovich
DeMint	Lott	Warner
DeWine	Lugar	Wyden
Dodd	Martinez	

NOT VOTING—2

Allard Kennedy

The resolution (S. Res. 95) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. RES. 95

Whereas Pope John Paul II was one of the greatest spiritual leaders and moral teachers of the Modern Era; and

Whereas he set an extraordinary example of personal integrity and courage, not only for his fellow Catholics but for people of every religious and philosophical viewpoint; and

Whereas throughout the course of his pontificate he campaigned tirelessly for human

rights and human dignity throughout the world; and

Whereas he practiced and inspired resistance to the great totalitarian systems and tyrannies that rose and, with his help, fell in the 20th Century; and

Whereas he fostered harmony between Catholics and Eastern Orthodox and Protestant Christians, reached out in friendship to Jews, Muslims and members of other faiths, and warmly promoted interfaith understanding and cooperation; and

Whereas he dedicated himself to the defense of the weakest and most vulnerable members of the human family; and

Whereas on his visits to our country he has called all Americans to be true and faithful to the great principles of liberty and justice inscribed in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution; and

Whereas his selfless service to God and man has been an inspiration to Americans and men and women of goodwill across the globe; Therefore be it

*Resolved* That the Congress of the United States joins the world in mourning his death, and pays tribute to him by pledging to be ever faithful to our national calling to be "one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," and to help our neighbors in immeasurable ways.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS AUTHORIZATION ACT, FISCAL YEARS 2006 AND 2007—Continued

AMENDMENT NO. 278

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there is now 2 minutes evenly divided relating to a vote on amendment No. 278, the Boxer amendment. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I hope my colleagues will support the Boxer-Snowe amendment. It is very important to make sure women around the world are given the health care they deserve. Since 1973, the Helms amendment has been in place. That means no American funds can ever be used for anything to do with abortion. But the global gag rule which we are trying to overturn goes much further. It says nonprofit organizations overseas cannot use their own money to help a woman by giving her options, by giving her a referral. It even says a non-governmental organization would lose all their USAID funding if they advocated to change a very restrictive law in their own country. This is clearly unconstitutional if it were applied here in America.

With our men and women dying around the world for freedom, I do not think we should say there should be no freedom of speech in these countries. We overturned this law many times. I hope we will do it again.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues. This is well-plowed ground. We have been around this issue since 1984, with Ronald

Reagan putting this policy in place. The Boxer amendment overturns that policy. This is about taxpayer funding of abortion overseas.

We can separate the issue of abortion here altogether and say we are not going to talk about that, but this is taxpayer dollars used to support organizations supporting abortion overseas. We talk about different semantics. That is what it does. I urge my colleagues to vote against this amendment. Clearly, 70-plus percent of the American public would be against that. Let's work on foreign policy issues and funding of things on which we have great unity, not ones on which we are divided.

I respectfully urge a vote against the amendment of my colleague, Senator BOXER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired.

Mrs. BOXER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. MCCONNELL. The following Senator was necessarily absent: the Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLARD).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 52, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 83 Leg.]

YEAS—52

Akaka	Feingold	Nelson (NE)
Baucus	Feinstein	Obama
Bayh	Harkin	Pryor
Biden	Inouye	Reed
Bingaman	Jeffords	Reid
Boxer	Johnson	Rockefeller
Byrd	Kerry	Salazar
Cantwell	Kohl	Sarbanes
Carper	Landrieu	Schumer
Chafee	Lautenberg	Smith
Clinton	Leahy	Snowe
Collins	Levin	Specter
Conrad	Lieberman	Stabenow
Corzine	Lincoln	Stevens
Dayton	Mikulski	Warner
Dodd	Murkowski	Wyden
Dorgan	Murray	
Durbin	Nelson (FL)	

NAYS—46

Alexander	DeWine	Lugar
Allen	Dole	Martinez
Bennett	Domenici	McCain
Bond	Ensign	McConnell
Brownback	Enzi	Roberts
Bunning	Frist	Santorum
Burns	Graham	Sessions
Burr	Grassley	Shelby
Chambliss	Gregg	Sununu
Coburn	Hagel	Talent
Cochran	Hatch	Thomas
Coleman	Hutchison	Thune
Cornyn	Inhofe	Vitter
Craig	Isakson	Voinovich
Crapo	Kyl	
DeMint	Lott	

NOT VOTING—2

Allard Kennedy

The amendment (No. 278) was agreed to.

Mrs. BOXER. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. DODD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to lay aside the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 283

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows: The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] proposes an amendment numbered 283.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To Express the Sense of the Senate concerning recent provocation actions by the Peoples Republic of China and for other purposes)

At the appropriate place in the bill add the following new section:

SEC. .  
(a) FINDINGS.—

(1) During most of last four years relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China have been relatively stable;

(2) The recently released 2004 State Department Country Report on Human Rights continues to characterize China's human rights as poor;

(3) Bilateral economic and trade relations are important components of the United States/Chinese relationship,

(4) China's growing international economic and political influence has implications for the United States competitive position and for maintaining a strong domestic industrial base;

(5) Taiwan remains an extremely sensitive and complex bilateral issue between the U.S. and the Peoples Republic of China;

(6) The U.S. decision to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in 1979 was based upon the premise that the future of Taiwan would be determined solely by peaceful means and in a manner that was mutually satisfactory;

(7) The Taiwan Relations Act makes clear that peace and stability in the region are in the political, security and economic interests of the United States;

(8) The United States has consistently urged restraint by both China and Taiwan with respect to their actions and declarations; and

(9) The anti-succession law adopted by the Chinese National People's Congress on March 14, 2005 targeted at Taiwan's independence advocates was a provocative action which has altered the status quo in the region.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

1. China's anti-succession law is destabilizing to regional peace and stability, and is therefore of grave concern to the United States;

2. The United States Government should employ all diplomatic means to encourage the repeal of that law so the regional stability can be restored;

3. The United States Government should continue to speak out with respect to China's human rights practices and advocate the release from detention of all political and human rights activists;

4. The United States Government should more effectively promote United States economic and trade interests by insisting that the People's Republic of China lives up to its international trade obligations to respect and safeguard U.S. intellectual property rights and cease artificially pegging its currency exchange rates; and

5. The United States Government should undertake a comprehensive review of the implications of China's growing international economic and political influence that are by-products of its expanding network of trade agreements, its aggressive shipbuilding programs, its efforts to cement scientific and technological cooperation arrangements, and secure additional oil and gas contracts; and should determine what steps should be taken to safeguard the U.S. industrial base and maintain and enhance United States economic competitiveness and political interests.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, it is not my intention to debate the amendment at this moment, but I wanted to get in the queue. I will defer any debate on the amendment until a later time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending amendments be laid aside.

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

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, we have been attempting to arrange for a vote on the Lugar amendment. Senator BIDEN would like to debate that amendment, as I understand it. It may be that an arrangement can be made for a conclusion of debate tonight and a vote certain tomorrow morning. But for the moment, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 284

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of myself and Senator WYDEN and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DORGAN], for himself and Mr. WYDEN, proposes an amendment numbered 284.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To prohibit funds from being used for television broadcasting to Cuba)

On page 16, strike lines 13 through 21 and insert the following:

(1) INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING OPERATIONS.—For “International Broadcasting Operations,” \$620,050,000 for the fiscal year 2006 and such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year 2007.

(2) BROADCASTING CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS.—For “Broadcasting Capital Improvements,” \$10,893,000 for the fiscal year 2006 and such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year 2007.

(3) PROHIBITION ON TELEVISION BROADCASTING TO CUBA.—None of the amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization of appropriations in paragraph (1) or (2) may be used to provide television broadcasting to Cuba.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I visited with Senator LUGAR and Senator BIDEN and indicated, on behalf of myself and Senator WYDEN, I would offer the amendment. We would be prepared to discuss it in the morning, but we will be happy to have it set aside for other business on this legislation. I want to say also it is not our intention in any way to delay this legislation. It is a very important amendment to us and I think to the Senate. But when we come back tomorrow to spend some time talking about it, we will not necessarily take very much time, and we will hope for favorable consideration by the full Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, very briefly, I thank Senator LUGAR and Senator BIDEN, in particular, for working this arrangement out with Senator DORGAN and me. We think this is a waste of money. We are anxious to talk about it tomorrow after folks have had a chance, overnight, to look at it.

I thank the Presiding Officer for the chance to make these brief remarks.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, it appears there are a couple of minutes before we move on. I will debate the amendment, along with my colleague, Senator WYDEN, more extensively in the morning. I will not take a lot of time. But as long as the floor was available, I wanted to indicate that the amendment we just laid down deals with TV Marti.

We fund broadcasts into Cuba on something called Radio Marti which

are very effective. The Cuban people listen to Radio Marti. Of course, they can listen to Miami radio stations as well. But we also fund something called TV Marti, and we have done it for years. The Government of Cuba, of Fidel Castro, jams the signals. We have Fat Albert, an aerostat balloon up there thousands of feet in the air, and the American taxpayer is paying for a fancy studio down on the ground. And up through this cable to Fat Albert we actually send signals into Cuba, television signals that the Cuban people can't see. Traditionally, they have been broadcast from 3 to 8 in the morning, and they are systematically jammed.

We have been spending about \$10 to \$12 million a year, and we have been doing it for years. We have spent almost \$200 million doing it. Now the President wants to double the funding. There is something called waste, fraud, and abuse. I am not exactly sure where this fits, but it is one of the three. It fits with something else called stupidity.

We ought not continue to pay to send television signals to a country that can't receive them or television signals to people who can't see them because the Government is jamming them. Let me say that the Acting Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau, Mr. Brian Coniff, testified before the House Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights.

He said: Transmission to Cuba has been consistently jammed by the Cuban Government. The American official said that. This transmission of television signals has been systematically jammed by the Cuban Government. We don't have any official evidence that the audience has increased due to broadcast schedule change. They did have some anecdotal evidence that just a smattering of Cubans would be able to spot the signal that we broadcast into Cuba. Before the Castro government caught the signal and jammed it, they would get a minute or two. So that is a sighting. That is a Cuban who was able to see the signal of TV Marti. They finally stopped measuring that because the audience was so miniscule as to be almost zero.

Finally their argument was, the same official says: TV Marti, though jammed, is well positioned to be an important instrument of U.S. foreign policy should a crisis occur on the island.

So there we are. We have big, old Fat Albert up there, an aerostat balloon sending signals to the Cuban people they can't see. We spend \$10, \$12 million a year on something we don't have. And now the President says we should double that. And do you know how we are going to do it? A balloon isn't enough and a balloon causes problems because the balloon got off of its aerostat mooring and went over the Everglades, and we had people on grap-

pling hooks and ladders trying to tame the balloon that was broadcasting signals into Cuba. So now they want to buy an airplane.

If this were a television show, it would be a comedy. Now they want to buy an airplane for \$8 million to send signals into Cuba that they can't receive. All of this would be funny were it not for the fact that this is paid for by American taxpayers. If ever there was a case of waste, fraud, and abuse in government spending, it is this.

It is not partisan. There is no Democratic waste or Republican waste. There is just plain old waste. It seems to me when you see something that doesn't work, isn't needed, shouldn't be done and doesn't function at all, maybe it is time for all of us to say: This we can get rid of.

This is not the largest amendment offered this year. It is roughly \$20, \$21 million. But it saves money; \$21 million is a lot of money in my hometown. It saves the taxpayers money and stops doing something that has always been completely ineffective.

We broadcast in Radio Marti. That is effective. The Cubans listen to it. They can listen to commercial stations from Miami for that matter. But Television Marti has never worked because the Castro government systematically jams it. So we send signals no one can receive.

This amendment, I hope, should be simple enough. I know there will be some who may have an apoplectic seizure about my offering this amendment because there are a couple of States where the Cuban vote is very important and there are some in the Cuban community who think we are doing something very important and very worthy if we send signals from this country that can't be seen by the Cuban people. That escapes some notion of mine that would represent logical thinking. But nonetheless there may be some who will feel that way.

We will have a broader discussion of this tomorrow. I support many of the broadcasting programs we have. Many have been very effective. But this is pure, solid, thoughtless waste. It is time for this Congress to take a stand to shut this spending down.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator BIDEN be recognized in order to offer a substitute amendment to the language proposed to be stricken; provided further that there be 30 minutes equally

divided for debate this evening; provided further that at 10 a.m. tomorrow, the Senate proceed to a vote in relation to the Biden amendment, with no amendments in order to the Biden amendment prior to the vote.

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

Mr. LUGAR. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

AMENDMENT NO. 286

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the Lugar amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN] proposes an amendment numbered 286 in lieu of the language proposed to be stricken by amendment No. 266.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To provide a second degree amendment related to the United States share of assessment for United Nations Peacekeeping operations)

In lieu of the matter proposed to be stricken, insert the following:

“Section 404(b)(2)(B) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (P.L. 103-236) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(v) For assessments made during calendar years 2005, 2006, and 2007, 27.1 percent.”

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I will be very brief. The amendment I have sent to the desk does a simple thing. It maintains the current cap on the amount that the United States contributes to the United Nations peacekeeping missions. It keeps it at 27.1 percent for the next 2 years.

For those who may be watching, they may wonder what that is all about. When a peacekeeping mission gets sent overseas, authorized by the United Nations, the countries in question have a prior assessment as to how much they are going to pay, usually based on the size of their countries and the size of their economies, and it has been agreed to by us that the appropriate figure for the United States to chip in is 27.1 percent. So if it costs \$1 million for peacekeeping, our share would be \$271,000, and so on.

Let me briefly explain the history of the law and what this does to the Lugar amendment.

In 1994, Congress unilaterally limited what we would pay for the peacekeeping endeavors of the United Nations. We said we will no longer pay any more than 25 percent. I believe at the time we were paying 31 percent. That is what the previous administrations had agreed to. That is what the U.N. was assessing us, 31 percent. We said in 1994: No, no, we are not going to pay any more than 25 percent.

What happened was, we never negotiated that rate with the United Nations. We unilaterally stated that. We did not go back to the U.N. and say: Look, we want to reconfigure how much we are paying. We want to go down from 31 percent, which we had been paying, to 25 percent. It never occurred, and the U.N. continued to bill us at 31 percent. So if a peacekeeping mission was \$1 million—and none are as cheap as \$1 million—we were getting billed \$310,000 and we only agreed to pay \$250,000. So we were in arrears of \$60,000.

The bill that my former colleague Jesse Helms and I did in the late 1990s to clear up what the United States allegedly owed—everybody used to call it dues, but it was more than dues. This peacekeeping is part of what people euphemistically refer to as dues. The accumulated obligation that we owed to the United Nations, although somewhat in dispute, was a little over \$1 billion.

Senator Helms, and many others, when he was chairman of the committee, argued that we should not be paying any of this; we did not owe any of these arrears. Senator Helms, after conferring with his trusted aide who has passed away, the Staff Director for the Foreign Relations Committee, Admiral Bud Nance, when he realized a lot of this was owed to some of our friends such as Great Britain, Europe, and others, he said I did not realize that; OK, we should pay that amount we owe. But in the process Senator Helms, Senator LUGAR, myself, and many others also thought there should be reforms that should take place in the United Nations. In addition to settling this arrears question, we wrote a much larger bill that required some changes and commitments on the part of the United Nations as well. In the process of doing that, Senator Helms agreed and the Helms-Biden legislation said we would only pay at 25 percent.

The Ambassador to the United Nations at the time was Richard Holbrooke. Richard Holbrooke, who was in negotiation with the United Nations to try to get them to agree that we would only pay 25 percent and that they would agree with that beyond us unilaterally asserting it, worked out an agreement that said the United Nations agreed we would only pay 27 percent. I know what I am talking about sounds arcane, but it is real money. Senator Helms and I said: OK, close enough. And we agreed to amend the Helms-Biden law to let these arrearage payments flow.

What we never did was repeal the underlying law that was passed in the Congress, signed by the President in 1994, that said we would pay no more than 25 percent. The underlying law in 1994 was never repealed.

In 2002, because these arrearages are running up again, the difference be-

tween 25 percent and what the U.N. thought we owed and what we had been paying at the 27 percent, we put in a provision in the law, a 3-year amendment that amended the 1994 law putting a ceiling on our payments at 27, not 25, percent through the year 2004.

Last year, we came up against this issue again, and the Appropriations Committee, because we were unable to get our bill passed, extended the 27-percent number through calendar year 2005. So if nothing else is done now, the 1994 law kicks back in, and our maximum payment drops from 27 percent to 25 percent, and we are back in the same old tangle of building up arrearages of whatever the 2-percent difference would be every year that we thought we solved initially. So we need to address this issue. We do not want to get into this fight again.

The U.N. peacekeepers perform critical functions in the area of conflict and instability around the world. They monitor cease-fires, human rights conditions, clearing minefields, disarming combatants, providing humanitarian assistance, and organizing and observing elections, which all costs money.

The U.N. peacekeeping missions have become increasingly critical in the past year as authorizing missions that support U.S. policy objectives for stabilization in Burundi, Haiti, and other places, as well as an operation to Sudan which will begin to deploy in the upcoming weeks.

Through missions such as these, the United States contributes to international peace and stability while sharing the cost of doing so with other nations. Therefore, it is my view that we need to continue to pay our U.N. peacekeeping bill, the one negotiated by Holbrooke, particularly at this point in time when we are asking for and need U.N. cooperation on issues such as democracy building in Iraq, post-tsunami disaster relief in Indonesia, and other areas.

I remind my colleagues, and I am in no way being critical of my chairman, the bill we reported out of the Foreign Relations Committee corrected the problem. It said we are lifting the 25-percent cap passed in 1994, and we are doing it permanently. What the chairman of the committee is doing is introducing an amendment saying: I guess, on second thought, I do not like that idea very much. I want to now go back and amend what passed 18 to 0 and say we are going back to the 25-percent level.

I know that is complicated for all the Members, but the bottom line is my amendment does what the President's budget request proposed. I want to do it permanently, but the President said keep it at 27 percent for another 2 years. That is what the President requested. That is what I am attempting to amend the Lugar amendment with. If I prevail, the President's position

prevails. We no longer go in arrearages, and we put off another 2 years reckoning with the underlying problem.

I see my colleague from Maryland is in the Chamber. With the permission of the Senator from Indiana, I would be happy to yield to him on this point. There is a time agreement. I do not know how much of my time I have used, but I am sure we could accommodate the Senator for the time he wants.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I will be brief. I rise in very strong support of the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Delaware. I do it out of respect for his past efforts in addressing this issue, along with Senator Helms. I have to confess that, at the time, I thought we should pay all of our arrearages without those conditions. We had a very difficult situation in the U.N., but in the end, the situation was negotiated out and an agreement was reached on the 27 percent. So as long as we pay that amount, we are not falling into arrears.

If we drop the 27 percent down to 25 percent, as I understand the amendment of the chairman of the committee would do, we immediately throw ourselves back into a situation where we start building up arrears. In effect, we end up going back on an agreement that was reached after very intense negotiations with the U.N., as I recall, led by Ambassador Holbrooke at the time.

Interestingly enough, the current administration, the Bush administration, as I understand it, is supportive of the position that the Senator from Delaware is offering with this amendment. This amendment is consistent with what the administration has sought in terms of extending the 27-percent cap.

Now, the bill as it came out of the committee extended that cap permanently. This amendment would extend it for 2 years. I understand that is the administration's position. Given all of that and the importance of this, I would hope that the chairman of the committee would find it within his reasonable judgment to accept this amendment. I do not think we ought to be having an intense division over this because it seems to me it makes extraordinarily good sense to do this amendment. Earlier, we imposed a unilateral cap. It did not work. We had very complicated relationships. We were able to work that out. We were able to pay off our arrears.

Our influence is going to be diminished in any international body if we are sitting at the table and our representative is in a position where the United States is in arrears to these very institutions that we helped to found and establish and to make a success over the years.

In fact, we are going to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the found-

ing of the United Nations this year. So it seems to me that is a very sensible amendment. It does pull back a bit from what was in the committee-reported bill, from a permanent 27 percent cap to a 2-year extension, which conforms to the administration's position. But to go down to 25 percent, as the underlying amendment proposes, would simply recreate all of the difficulties we previously encountered and previously went through.

In a sense, I appeal to the chairman of the committee to see the wisdom in the amendment offered by the Senator from Delaware as a very reasonable, positive, and constructive way in which to address this issue.

So I very much hope he will find it possible to accept the amendment of the Senator from Delaware as we proceed in trying to move this bill through the Senate.

Mr. BIDEN. Will the Senator yield briefly?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THUNE). The time of the Senator from Delaware has expired.

Mr. BIDEN. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, as the distinguished Senators from Delaware and Maryland pointed out, and certainly Senator BIDEN was very heavily involved in the Helms-Biden legislation of 1999, that legislation which came after considerable argument in the committee and in the Senate, perhaps in the country, about what our fair share ought to be, the Helms-Biden decision was that the U.S. share of peacekeeping duties would decline to 25 percent of the world total. That still remains the law and important goal of U.S. policy toward the United Nations, at least for many Senators.

Expression has been made tonight that perhaps our Nation ought to be more generous, and that could very well be the result of negotiations with the United Nations, but the intent, at least, of the amendment that I offered earlier in the day would strike section 401, which established a permanent cap of 27.1 percent. Senator BIDEN's substitute changes that permanent idea to a 2-year cap of 27.1 so that perhaps pragmatically there is some room and time to come to some agreement either up or down from that point.

I simply observe that this issue, long before Senator Helms and Senator BIDEN reached a bipartisan compromise in 1999, exercised strong feelings on both sides of the aisle. I appreciate very much the sentiment of the Senators who wish to preserve the 27.1 cap. As I pointed out earlier in the day, I believe that we ought to pay our dues.

Furthermore, I believe the United States has obligations of a humanitarian sort, quite apart from the pragmatic aspects of peacekeeping, which are important. Nevertheless, my hope

had been that by in essence setting aside the issue out of this bill that we would give the U.S. negotiators the most leverage possible to obtain whatever our goals and objectives may be. I think there may be some ambivalence as to what those goals are. It may be ambivalence of a generous sort; namely, given all of the problems occurring in the world, we may wish to take on more. On the other hand, I would observe, as certain other Senators have, that the United Nations is in the process now of a great deal of reform thinking.

The Secretary General, Kofi Annan, has suggested very substantial reforms. We are about to have a hearing on the nominee for our country's representative at the United Nations, John Bolton. I am certain many Senators on the committee will question Secretary Bolton on his ideas about reform and how he could be effective in bringing about a stronger United Nations and what the correct presence ought to be and what the correct leadership ought to be. Peacekeeping ought to be a part of that negotiation.

I would further observe that in the coming weeks Congress will have further opportunities to work with President Bush and his administration to craft the most effective means of reducing the U.S. share of assessments or increasing them, as may be our preference. I believe this is an issue in which further consultation with the executive branch is desirable.

For the moment, I appreciate that Senators will continue to have strong feelings about the United Nations generally, as well as our degree of participation financially and otherwise. That has been the nature of several debates over the years, and each time one of our authorization bills comes to the floor, this issue arises in one form or another. Nevertheless, I will oppose the Biden amendment with the recognition that, as a substitute, if it is adopted, it will be language that I hope at least goes to final passage of this legislation.

If the Senator's substitute is not adopted, then he has assured me that by voice vote we will adopt the amendment I offered earlier on and proceed on to other considerations.

I hope the Senate will adopt my point of view because I believe it offers more latitude for our administration and offers, perhaps, a more constructive avenue for reform of the United Nations and perhaps some leverage for both. In any event, I appreciate the sincerity of the debate, the importance of the issue, the recognition of the history of this debate over several years of time, and at least the resolve that tonight is the point at which I think we must make a decision.

Mr. BIDEN. I realize I have no more time. I ask unanimous consent for 2 additional minutes off the time of the Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. I am happy to yield the Senator 2 minutes of my time.

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

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, very briefly, necessarily, the administration has not asked for any latitude. The administration is quite clear. They came up and said there is nothing we are trying to negotiate on 27 percent for dues. They didn't ask for that. Speaking to the Secretary of State, I asked her about Assistant Secretary Bolton, nominee for the United Nations post. She assured me he shares the administration's view. The administration's view was sent to me in writing. It said we ask you to extend for 2 more years at the 27-percent number. There may be negotiation in the future. But as recently as an hour ago—although this was not the subject matter, in my discussions with the Secretary of State—no reference was made by me to anyone in the administration that they were desirous of having a stronger negotiation in hand by keeping this at 25 percent.

So it may turn out to be that. The administration's statement says—this is Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, date April 5, 2005:

Section 401 makes permanent the 27.1 percent United Nations peacekeeping rate, which is not consistent with the Administration's request for a two year extension.

So they are asking for a 2-year extension. They didn't want to make it permanent, but they asked for 2 years. That is the only point I want to make.

Mr. SARBANES. What does the Senator's amendment do?

Mr. BIDEN. My amendment does exactly what the administration asks. I thank the Senator for the additional 2 minutes.

Parliamentary inquiry: Tomorrow the vote is set for 10, and I believe the Senator from Delaware will have 2 or 3 minutes before the vote?

I thank my colleague. I yield the floor. I see our friends are on the floor to debate another substantive issue, and I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. LUGAR. I will conclude at least my portion of the debate by saying I recognize the Senator from Delaware does visit and works carefully with our administration. I appreciate that. I think it is important that America present as united a voice and face to the world as we can. I would just observe, pragmatically, that the administration in my judgment would like to have some latitude on an issue that has divided the Senate as well as the country for some time.

I don't think this is a monumental subject. I think it is one that, clearly, constructive people can resolve. My hope is we can simply strike the peacekeeping issue from the bill so that lati-

tude is available for whatever reform, reconstruction, and debate the administration reformers may wish to have at the U.N. in the coming months.

Having said this, I appreciate Senators staying with this debate. We understand another will be on the way and there will be a short debate on this issue at 10 o'clock or thereabouts tomorrow, and then a vote on that issue before we retire to see the distinguished leader from Ukraine.

I yield back my time.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I wish to express my support for S. 600, the State Department and Foreign Assistance Authorization bill. I commend Chairman LUGAR and Senator BIDEN for their efforts to make the authorizing role of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee real again, and to thank all of my colleagues on the committee for their hard work on this bill, which represents a strong bipartisan consensus in favor of energetic, engaged diplomacy.

I am especially pleased that this bill contains a number of provisions that I authored, including a provision emphasizing the importance of supporting press freedom in Ethiopia. Many of my colleagues may be aware of the Government of Ethiopia's recent troubling decision to expel representatives of the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, and the International Foundation for Election Systems from the country in the lead-up to the May elections. But I suspect fewer people know about the Ethiopian Government's well-established pattern of suppressing the independent press. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, "in the run-up to 2005 elections, the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front came under increasing criticism from local journalists and international media organizations for its antagonism toward the country's private press. Authorities continued to imprison journalists for their reporting and to intimidate others into silence on sensitive issues, such as government infighting and Ethiopia's tense relations with its neighbors. Throughout 2004, local journalists and international press freedom groups petitioned the Ethiopian government to revise a repressive press bill, with little success." The United States-Ethiopian relationship is an important and complex one. American support for a truly free press should be a part of it.

This bill also contains a provision I authored encouraging a more focused effort to combat impunity and build judicial capacity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda. In the eastern part of the DRC, government troops and rebel fighters have raped tens of thousands of women and girls, but fewer than a dozen perpetrators have been prosecuted. The brutality of these crimes

and the staggering scale of the problem, which has gripped the region for years without attracting adequate international attention, demand justice. Similarly, impunity for brutal crimes against civilians is the norm in Burundi. But if Burundi's peace process is to deliver lasting stability and bring an end to the horrifying violence that keeps families afraid to sleep in their homes at night, the international community must work to help create a strong and independent judiciary in the country. Rwanda continues to struggle with the backlog of serious cases relating to the 2004 genocide, and in Northern Uganda, civilians are too often trapped between the thugs of the Lords Resistance Army and a military presence that has not proven able or willing to provide security or justice. These problems are moral outrages, but they are also destabilizing factors. Over the long run, reasserting the rule of law in Central Africa must be a part of ending the cycle of conflict in the region, and creating space for peaceful development.

This bill also contains authorizing language for the administration's Global Peace Operations Initiative based on language that I authored for the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance program, or ACOTA, which is subsumed in the Global Peace Operations Initiative. This language will ensure that Congress and the administration have a shared set of understandings about the nature of this program and about criteria for participation as we move forward with this effort to strengthen global capacity to share the burden of difficult peacekeeping missions. By clearly stating that human rights standards and democratic governance are important factors in determining eligibility for participation, and by explicitly calling for outreach to civil society in participating countries, this language can help build confidence in this important program and avoid the mistakes of past military assistance initiatives.

I know that the administration and colleagues on both sides of the aisle share my conviction that the global fight against HIV/AIDS is one of the most important and urgent issues of our time. This bill contains an amendment that I offered that supports efforts to provide treatment to the millions infected with HIV, by requiring full transparency regarding the price of the HIV/AIDS drugs being purchased with U.S. assistance under the auspices of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, or PEPFAR. Last year, the GAO found that PEPFAR is purchasing antiretroviral drugs that differ in price by as much as \$328 per person per year from corresponding generic drugs. Shining a light on what is being accomplished with US taxpayer dollars will help us all to determine if there are responsible ways to stretch those

dollars further to save more lives. My provision does not require that any specific drugs—be they generic or brand name—be purchased. It simply requires reporting on what is purchased and on how much it costs. I have asked Ambassador Tobias in the past directly about his support for this kind of transparency, and he has assured me that he absolutely supports transparency. I firmly believe that this kind of transparency is in everyone's interest, protecting taxpayers and supporting AIDS relief efforts.

The bill also contains a provision I authored related to Indonesia. This provision simply requires the administration to report to Congress on the status of the ongoing investigation of the murder of American citizens that occurred on August 31, 2002 in Timika, Indonesia, before releasing funds for certain military assistance programs for Indonesia in 2006. As my colleagues know, for the past two years Congress has supported language restricting Indonesia's access to certain, very narrowly defined types of military assistance, pending a determination that the Indonesian Government and military are fully cooperating with the FBI in the investigation of the murder of American citizens that occurred on August 31, 2002 in Timika, Indonesia. Secretary Rice has made such a determination for the current fiscal year, but this issue is by no means resolved. The FBI considers this an ongoing investigation, and the FBI has not exonerated anyone. A number of questions remain unanswered, and clearly other conspirators were involved.

Most importantly, I believe that resolution of this case means that efforts are made to hold those responsible for the ambush accountable for their actions in a court of law. But even the one individual indicted by the U.S. remains at large, and has been neither indicted nor arrested by Indonesian authorities. It is important to keep Congress apprised of ongoing cooperation in this ongoing investigation, as this case tells us a great deal about the context in which our bilateral relationship is moving forward. I look forward to receiving this report, and I certainly hope that it will contain positive news that will reinforce the United States-Indonesian bilateral relationship.

This bill also contains the text of several important measures that I have cosponsored and strongly support. The Global Pathogen Surveillance Act, which will help strengthen international capacity to cope with the threats of biological terrorism and infectious disease, has been turned into a title in this bill, and I commend Senator BIDEN for his excellent work on this issue. Similarly, the Protection of Vulnerable Populations during Humanitarian Emergencies Act is also reflected in this larger authorization bill. This provision will help place the U.S.

Government on a firmer footing to address the special vulnerabilities of women and children confronted by humanitarian crisis. Once again, I commend Senators BIDEN and LUGAR for their efforts on this issue.

This bill is not perfect. Reflecting the administration's budget request, this bill cuts the Development Assistance, Child Survival, and International Organizations and Programs accounts in order to dramatically increase the budget of the Office of Transition Initiatives. But the administration acknowledges that OTI will not actually administer this new money. The reasoning behind this request is to give the administration more flexibility with four very different countries—Haiti, Sudan, Afghanistan, and Ethiopia. While I am sympathetic to the need for flexibility in these important countries, I am also alarmed at essentially putting the entire foreign aid budget for these countries in an account that does not operate under the rules and restrictions that apply to other types of foreign assistance. I am also concerned about the likely consequences for OTI itself, which has never handled a budget of more than \$50 million and was always intended to be a small, highly flexible, very special entity. I urge my colleagues to consider these provisions carefully and to oppose this blank check approach to foreign assistance.

Overall this bill is a vitally important step toward placing the congressional role in foreign policy on a more serious footing. When we consider the stakes in world affairs; when we consider the potential for the developing world's vast youthful populations to grow into allies rather than resentful enemies, when we consider the potential for increased international cooperation in fighting terrorism, we can see that our constituents and future generations stand to gain a great deal from getting foreign policy right. At the very least, we need to start by taking these issues seriously, authorizing important activities and programs, and giving important initiatives the support they deserve.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### APPOINTMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 276h-276k, as amended, appoints the following Senator as Chair of the Senate Delegation to the Mexico-U.S. Interparliamentary Group during the 109th Congress: the Senator from Texas, Mr. CORNYN.

#### FRANK PERDUE

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I want to acknowledge the passing of a great Marylander, Frank Perdue, Sr., who helped build the poultry industry on the Eastern Shore, a leading entrepreneur, a philanthropist. He passed away of Parkinson's disease a few days ago.

Born in Parsonburg, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Frank Perdue grew up working in his family's egg business—collecting and cleaning eggs from childhood. But Frank Perdue was determined to take the family business to another level—and it was his tremendous capacity for hard work that did just that. When Perdue said, "It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken," America listened, and Frank Perdue became both a savvy businessman and a cultural icon. Today Perdue Farms employs more than 20,000 people across America and has annual sales of about \$3 billion.

I am proud to work have worked with Frank Perdue—and now with his son Jim Perdue—to fight for fair trade policies that enable Maryland chicken producers to export around the world.

As Frank Perdue's business soared, he worked to bring Maryland with him. He became a great benefactor to Salisbury University, establishing the Perdue School of Business with a generous gift. Once a college baseball player and always a baseball fan, Frank Perdue brought the Delmarva Shorebirds to Salisbury in 1996, and then built the team and the Eastern Shore community a stadium. It is for both his business sense and his philanthropic heart that I salute him today.

Frank Perdue and I came from different ends of the political spectrum. Yet we both believed that the best social program is a job—and that we must give help to those who practice self-help. We joked that we should do an ad for a group we both support—we would say—we're two tough birds from the right wing and the left wing—but we both support this tender cause.

Today as we grieve the loss of one of Maryland's finest, Frank Perdue, we send our thoughts and prayers to his family and his many friends and colleagues.

#### HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

STAFF SERGEANT SHANE KOELE

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, today I speak in remembrance of an Iowan who has died in service to his country. A member of the 212th Military Police Company, SSG Shane Koele died on the 16th of March from injuries sustained when his military vehicle ran over a land mine the day before near Shindand, Afghanistan. He was 25 years old and is survived by a wife, Cheryl, a young daughter, Kiley, a mother, Mary Donnenwerth, a father, Keith Koele, and two sisters.