for NATO membership. NATO should and will expand. NATO expansion will strengthen stability in Europe for members and nonmembers alike. But new members must be ready to undertake the obligations of membership, just as we and our allies must be ready to extend our solemn commitments to them. Our present steady and deliberate approach to NATO expansion is intended to insure that each potential member is judged individually, according to its capacity to contribute to NATO's goals.

That approach gives every new European democracy a strong incentive to consolidate reform. But if we arbitrarily lock in advantages now for some countries, we risk discouraging reforms in countries not named and fostering complacency to countries that are. Indeed, the effect of the measure before Congress could be instability in the very region whose security we seek to bolster.

Third, the bill would effectively abrogate our treaty obligation to pay our share of the cost of U.N. peacekeeping operations that we have supported in the Security Council. The bill would require us to reduce our peacekeeping dues dollar for dollar by the cost of operations we conduct voluntarily in support of U.S. interests. These operations deter aggressors, isolate parish states and support humanitarian relief in places like Bosnia and Iraq.

If we deduct the cost of our voluntary actions against our U.N. dues, it would cancel our entire peacekeeping payment. Other nations—Japan and our NATO allies—would surely follow, and U.N. peacekeeping would end. Under current circumstances, it would end U.N. peacekeeping overnight.

That would eliminate peacekeepers already stationed at important flash points like the Golan Heights on the Israel-Syria border, where U.N. forces support progress in the Middle East peace process. It would pull U.N. forces from the Iraq-Kuwait border, from Cyprus and from the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. In short, this bill would eliminate an effective tool for burden sharing that every President from Harry Truman to George Bush has used to advance American interests. It would leave the President with an unacceptable option whenever an emergency arose: act alone or do nothing.

The measure would also impose unnecessary, unsound and unconstitutional restrictions on the President's authority to place our troops under the operational control of another country—even a NATO ally—for U.N. operations. Our forces always remain under the command authority of the President, and we already apply the most rigorous standards when we pass even the most limited responsibility to a competent foreign commander. But the Commander-in-Chief must retain the flexibility to place troops temporarily under the operational control of officers of another nation when it serves our interests, as we did so effectively in Operation Desert Storm and in most other conflicts since the Revolution. By restricting that flexibility, the bill would undercut our ability to get the international community to respond to threats.

Effective American leadership abroad requires that we back our diplomacy with the credible threat of forces. When our vital interests are at stake, we must be prepared to act alone. And in fact, our willingness to do so is often the key to effective joint action. By mobilizing the support of other nations and leveraging our resources through alliances and institutions, we can achieve important objectives without asking American soldiers to bear all the risks, or American taxpayers to pay all the bills. That is a sensible bargain the American people support.

This Administration has worked hard to improve our consultation with the Congress on every issue raised by the National Security Revitalization Act. But in each case, what is at stake is fundamental: the authority of our President to protect the national security and to use every effective option to advance the interests of the U.S. In its present form, the bill unwisely and unconstitutionally deprives the President of the flexibility he needs to make the right choices for our nation's security.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES!

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, anyone even remotely familiar with the U.S. Constitution knows that no President can spend a dime of Federal tax money that has not first been authorized and appropriated by Congress—both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

So when you hear a politician or an editor or a commentator declare that ''Reagan ran up the Federal debt'' or that ''Bush ran it up,'' bear in mind that the Founding Fathers made it very clear that it is the constitutional duty of Congress to control Federal spending.

The fiscal irresponsibility of Congress has created a Federal debt which stood at $4,807,066,615,385.66 as of the close of business Tuesday, February 14. Averaged out, every man, woman, and child in America owes a share of this massive debt, and that per capita share is $18,247.71.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Ms. SNOWE (for herself, Mr. COHEN, Mr. JEFFORDS, and Mr. LEAHY):

S. 419. A bill to grant the consent of Congress to the Texas Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal Compact; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. SNOWE:

S. 420. A bill to establish limitations on the use of funds for United Nations peacekeeping activities; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. FORD:

S. 421. A bill to extend the deadline under the Federal Power Act applicable to the construction of a hydroelectric project in Kentucky, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. MCCONNELL (for himself, Mr. COVERDELL, and Mr. D'AMATO):

S. 422. A bill to authorize the appropriations for international economic and security assistance; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. COHEN:

S. 423. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide improved access to quality long-term care services, to create incentives for greater private sector participation and personal responsibility in financing such services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. D'AMATO:

S. 424. A bill to provide for adherence with MacBride Principles by United States persons doing business in Northern Ireland; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. ROCKEFELLER (for himself, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. DORGAN, and Mr. WELLSTONE):

S. 425. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to require the establishment in the Department of Veterans Affairs of mental illness research, education, and clinical centers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SARBANES (for himself and Mr. WARNER):

S. 426. A bill to authorize the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity to establish a memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr., in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Ms. SNOWE:

S. Con. Res. 7. A concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the President should not have granted diplomatic recognition to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. MCCONNELL (for himself, Mr. COVERDELL, and Mr. D'AMATO):

S. 422. A bill to authorize the appropriations for international economic and security assistance; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

FOREIGN AID REFORM LEGISLATION

● Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, it seems to me there are two good reasons for a complete overhaul of foreign aid the world has changed and Congress has changed. The cold war is over replaced by a new, ambitious Russia, a host of violent smaller regimes, ethnic tensions, nuclear concerns, and massive refugee movements affecting even our own borders.

On the bright side, there are former communist nations actively seeking U.S. support, the flourishing of free enterprise and democracy, giant leaps in free trade and real prospects for peace in some of the most war-torn parts of the world.

Since the world has changed so dramatically, our tools of foreign policy must change with it—and one of the key tools is foreign aid.

That is the impetus for the proposal I am introducing today.

Our ability to effectively target foreign aid is crippled in large part by the outmoded and unduly complicated Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

The 300-plus pages of this document contain 33 conflicting goals, 75 questionable priorities, which effectively tyrannize the 10,000 AID employees who carry out 1,700 projects in 89 countries.

There is no real sense of coherence, strategy, or focus to the law or our aid program. It may seem reasonable to direct the President to support a rural development program, but should we be