

business, and that these first-degree amendments be subject to relevant second-degree amendments and limited to one-half of the time allocated for each first-degree amendment. The excepted amendments are: Murray-Gorton, Feinstein, Levin, Domenici, and Kempthorne.

I further ask unanimous consent that when the Senate resumes the bill on Tuesday at 9:30 a.m., Senator MURRAY be recognized to offer an amendment on which there will be a time limit of 1 hour to be equally divided in the usual form.

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

FEINSTEIN AMENDMENT

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the Murray amendment, Senator FEINSTEIN be recognized to offer her amendment on which there be 30 minutes to be equally divided in the usual form.

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

LEVIN AMENDMENT

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the Feinstein amendment, Senator LEVIN be recognized to offer an amendment, relative to expansion, on which there be 30 minutes for debate to be equally divided in the usual form.

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

DOMENICI AMENDMENT

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the Levin amendment, Senator DOMENICI be recognized to offer an amendment relative to title III, on which there be 30 minutes for debate to be equally divided in the usual form.

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

KEMPTHORNE AMENDMENT

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that following the disposition of the Domenici amendment, Senator KEMPTHORNE be recognized to offer an amendment, which is clarifying in nature, on which there be 30 minutes for debate to be equally divided in the usual form.

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

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, after checking with the leadership, I am free to announce there will be no further rollcall votes today.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for morning business.

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

THE MOSCOW SUMMIT

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I want to congratulate the President for his successful summit in Kiev. Under President Kuchma, Ukraine has become a model for the States of the former Soviet Union. Agreement to disband nuclear weapons; free market economic reforms; free and fair elections; open investment climate. President Clinton's visit was a timely show of support to the deserving people of Ukraine. I expect the Congress to show our support for Ukraine's political success.

There has been a lot said in the media about reaction to the Moscow summit. I have expressed my disappointment at the results of the Moscow summit. As I said yesterday, this is not partisan politics—it is a judgment based on the facts. I note that today's New York Times carries a headline, "Iran relieved on Yeltsin deal." If Iran is relieved at the results of the summit, all of us have cause for concern. Secretary Christopher, in particular, has led the administration's efforts to prevent nuclear technology from reaching Iran. I hope to work with him over the coming months in support of that important goal.

The reality is, however, that there was great controversy over President Clinton's decision to attend V-E Day ceremonies in Moscow and not in other capitals. The President made his decision, and the President decided to add to the V-E Day ceremonies with a substantive summit. Now, in the aftermath of the summit, judgments are being made about what was achieved. I happen to share the view of Henry Kissinger, that a tremendous opportunity was missed on this overseas trip. I also agree with Dr. Kissinger that "NATO expansion requires a decision, not a study." As he points out, the current drift in United States policy could leave us with the worst of all worlds—the disintegration of Western unity with a still-anxious Russia.

In the past few days, other distinguished writers have expressed their views on what was achieved at the Moscow summit, particularly by Bill Safire and Charles Krauthammer. These articles deserve careful reading by my colleagues as we continue our assessment of the Moscow summit.

I ask unanimous consent the articles by Safire, Krauthammer, and the article by former Secretary Kissinger be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, May 11, 1995]

NADIR OF SUMMITS

(By William Safire)

WASHINGTON.—Bill Clinton represented American interests poorly in Moscow.

On the sale of Russian nuclear plants to Iran, he was taken in by—or participated in—a trick.

One month ago, to create a "concession" to the naïve American President, Boris

Yeltsin's atomic energy chief upped the ante, letting C.I.A. ears hear him consider adding centrifuges to the deal with Teheran. That outrageous act would be like selling mullahs the means to make a bomb right away, instead of in a few years with nuclear plants alone.

It was a ploy. While brushing aside a Clinton plea to withhold nuclear facilities from Iran, Mr. Yeltsin grandly agreed not to add the centrifuges. Clinton said he was "deeply impressed" by this marvelous restraint, then failed to make a strong case against the plants on TV; Warren Christopher spun the centrifuge ploy as "great progress."

Score a second victory for Yeltsin's generals on the 1990 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. This was the agreement to limit Russian troops, tanks and artillery near the West from Norway to Turkey.

But the heroes of Chechnya want to put a new 58th Russian Army in the Caucasus to dominate its freed republics, much as Russia now runs Georgia, Moldova and Belarus. This would menace Turkey as well, but apparently nobody told Tansu Ciller during her recent visit to the White House that Mr. Clinton would say "We are supporting the Russian position" in blithely changing a treaty ratified by the U.S. Senate.

The third defeat suffered by our absorbent President in this nadir of summits was about Chechnya. With the American next to him, Yeltsin brazenly told the world press "there is no armed activity" in that bloodied republic. "The armed forces are not involved there. Today the Ministry of the Interior simply seizes the weapons still in the hands of some small armed criminal gangs."

As he was mouthing this baldfaced lie, the Russian Army was intensifying its shelling of rebel positions southeast of Grozny, following its Mylai-style massacre of unarmed civilians in Samashki one month ago. The Clinton response was to shut up. In his long, prepared speech later, he devoted two quick sentences to "this terrible tragedy" that could "erode support for Russia."

Americans could well feel humiliated by their President's acquiescence in the lying in his presence, and by his failure to respond to that personal insult by broadcasting the truth. Many Russians were hoping he would express the dismay felt by the rest of the world at the brutality of the generals supporting the unpopular Yeltsin. But he hardly went through the motions.

Watching on TV in his Duma office, reformer Grigory Yavlinsky said "not enough" when Clinton touched ever-so-lightly on the continuing Chechnyan slaughter. And when Clinton praised Yeltsin for promising elections on time, as if that were proof of his democratic spirit. Yavlinsky said: "But we always had elections on time. The question is what kind of elections—how open, how fair, how financed, how counted, how supervised."

We do not yet know if Mr. Clinton gave away our right to deploy regional defenses against ballistic missiles; if so, that would score this summit Yeltsin 4, Clinton 0. And the individual meetings we hoped he would have with opposition leaders degenerated into a breakfast group photo-op.

The White House spinmeisters will say: but we got Yeltsin to join the Partnership for Peace, didn't we?

C'mon: the PFP will go pfft at noon on Jan. 20, 1997. If the paper "partnership" is a fig leaf to cover the necessary eastward expansion of NATO, it fools nobody; but if Yeltsin's plucking of the fig leaf means Russia expects to be invited to join NATO, there goes the neighborhood—NATO would lose all meaning as a deterrent to future Russian empire-rebuilding.