

"Well, why not us? We were dominated by the Soviet Union. Why are you picking them over us?"

So you are going to subject NATO almost annually to the perpetual anguish of, "Am I next?" Latvia, Estonia, Romania, on and on down the line. "When is it my turn to come into NATO?" And meanwhile, while focusing on a cold war alliance, we continue to ignore what we want to do, which is to bring Russia into the Western World.

With the end of the cold war, NATO now faces serious internal issues about its means and ends which should be aired and resolved before new countries are added. Enlargement is a token and, frankly, an unimaginative distraction from these real problems. We saw this in the debate in the Persian Gulf crisis last month. Many NATO countries weren't with us.

Mr. President, I hope that we will think very carefully about this. It is a hardnosed decision about extending a military guarantee to a precise piece of territory under a specific set of strategic circumstances; it should not be a sentimental decision about a moral commitment to Europe. We already have that.

What do we really want to accomplish? Do we really want to accomplish another line drawn through Europe this year, perhaps extending that line through another part of Europe next year and another line bringing in another nation the following year and continue this cold-war-era attitude? Or do we want to build a world where the United States and a strong Europe and a strong, democratic Russia can be a buffer, a source of power to confront Islamic fundamentalism and perhaps—perhaps—Communist China? I think we are being shortsighted, and I am going to get into more detail as to why later in the debate. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. ROTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEWINE). The Senator from Delaware.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Kurt Volker, a legislative fellow in Senator MCCAIN's office; Bob Nickle and Ian Brzezinski of my office; and Stan Sloan, who is a member of the CRS, be granted the privilege of the floor throughout the entire debate and any vote on the protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty on Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic.

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

Mr. ROTH. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

RECOGNIZING THE COURAGE AND SACRIFICE OF SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN AND MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES HELD AS PRISONERS OF WAR DURING THE VIETNAM CONFLICT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate immediately proceed to the consideration of a resolution which I now send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 196) recognizing and calling on all Americans to recognize the courage and sacrifice of Senator John McCain and the members of the Armed Forces held as prisoners of war during the Vietnam conflict and stating that the American people will not forget that more than 2,000 members of the Armed Forces remain unaccounted for from the Vietnam conflict and will continue to press for the fullest possible accounting for all such members whose whereabouts are unknown.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be 20 minutes for debate on the resolution equally divided in the usual form and that, at the expiration of that time, the resolution be agreed to and the preamble be agreed to.

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

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I would like to read just some portions of this resolution and then comment briefly on why we are doing it today:

Whereas, JOHN MCCAIN's A-4E Skyhawk was shot down over Hanoi, North Vietnam, on October 26, 1967, and he remained in captivity until March 14, 1973;

Whereas, JOHN MCCAIN's aircraft was shorn of its right wing by a Surface to Air Missile and he plunged toward the ground at about 400 knots prior to ejecting;

Whereas, upon ejection, JOHN MCCAIN's right knee and both arms were broken;

Whereas, JOHN MCCAIN was surrounded by an angry mob who kicked him and spit on him, stabbed him with bayonets and smashed his shoulder with a rifle. . . .

Whereas, historians of the Vietnam war have recorded that "no American reached the prison camp of Hoa Lo in worse condition than JOHN MCCAIN."

Whereas, his North Vietnamese captors recognized JOHN MCCAIN came from a distinguished military family—

I might add, a family from my great State of Mississippi—

and caused him to suffer special beatings, special interrogations, and the cruel offer of a possible early release;

Whereas, JOHN MCCAIN sat in prison in Hanoi for over 5 years, risking life from disease and medical complications resulting from his injuries, steadfastly refusing to cooperate with his enemy captors because his sense of honor and duty would not permit him to even consider an early release on special advantage;

Whereas, knowing his refusal to leave early may well result [or might have resulted] in his own death from his injuries, JOHN MCCAIN told another prisoner, "I don't think that's the right thing to do. . . .They'll have to drag me out of here."

Whereas, following the Peace Accords [in Paris] in January 1973, 591 United States prisoners of war were released from captivity by North Vietnam. . . .

Whereas, Senator JOHN MCCAIN of Arizona has continued to honor the Nation with devoted service; and

Whereas, the Nation owes a debt of gratitude to JOHN MCCAIN and all of these patriots for their courage and exemplary service: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) expresses its gratitude for, and calls upon all Americans to reflect upon and show their gratitude for, the courage and sacrifice of JOHN MCCAIN and the brave men who were held as prisoners of war during the Vietnam conflict, particularly on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Operation Homecoming, and the return to the United States of Senator JOHN MCCAIN.

Mr. President, in our daily duties, we quite often pass by men and women who have made a tremendous sacrifice in their lives or maybe have just done small things for individuals along the way. We begin to take them for granted. We begin to forget to say, "Thank you for what you have done for me or for your fellow man or woman or for your country."

Today at our policy luncheon, one of our members stood up and reminded us that it was 25 years ago today that John MCCAIN came home. There was a spontaneous applause and standing ovation, and it extended for a long period of time and extended a real warmth.

While in the Senate sometimes we get after each other in debate and we don't approve of this or that, I really felt extremely emotional when I thought about the sacrifice that this man had made for his country and for his fellow men and women in the military and for his fellow prisoners of war. I realized that we had not said thank you to him, and that when we say thank you on behalf of a grateful country to John MCCAIN, we are saying thank you also to all the men and women who served our country in uniform, who have been prisoners of war and, yes, those who are still missing in action to this very day.

So, I think it is appropriate that we in the Senate today adopt this resolution in recognition of the 25th anniversary of JOHN MCCAIN, but also as an extended expression of our appreciation for all of those who served our country in such a magnanimous way. I yield the floor.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I join with the majority leader and with all

of my colleagues in reflecting upon this moment and in joining with him in offering our gratitude and our congratulations to this American hero.

It may have been 25 years, and with years memories fade, but no one should ever forget the commitment made by JOHN MCCAIN and people like him on behalf of their country. They and their families can never forget the pain, the sacrifice, the commitment.

Someone once said that democracy is something one either has to fight for or work at. JOHN MCCAIN has done both—fighting for democracy, as none of us could ever appreciate, and working at democracy as he does with us each and every day.

There are thousands and thousands of people who have made a similar commitment, and were they here, I know that we would articulate in much the same sincere fashion our expression of gratitude to them.

So, in some ways, JOHN MCCAIN not only represents his own experience, but that of all those he served with so valiantly during the Vietnam war.

I join with my colleague TRENT LOTT, the majority leader, in recognizing that there are things that never go away: the importance of commitment, the recognition of the need for sacrifice, the continued need to work at and fight for democracy in this and in other countries.

A resolution of this nature is certainly fitting, and on behalf of all of our colleagues, I hope we can say with unanimity, "Thank you, thank you, JOHN MCCAIN."

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I am proud to take this opportunity to honor my good friend and colleague from Arizona, Senator JOHN MCCAIN in the twenty-fifth anniversary of the homecoming of our American prisoners of war from Vietnam.

What a career our friend JOHN MCCAIN has had: A graduate of the Naval Academy, twenty-two years as a naval aviator, a prisoner of war for five years, a recipient of numerous awards including the Purple Heart and Silver Star and a member of this body since 1986. I am honored to have worked so closely with him in the past and look forward to joining forces with him again in the future. JOHN, I join with others in the Senate in celebrating the anniversary of your coming home and the coming home of those who served with you.

Mr. MCCAIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, as my colleagues well know, I am not often at a loss for words. I certainly am at this time.

I would like to, first of all, express my appreciation to Senator LOTT and Senator DASCHLE, two honorable adversaries who continue to struggle on the ideological playing field, but do so in the most honorable and dignified fashion that reflects credit on the U.S. Senate and on them.

I was very moved today at the luncheon when my colleagues applauded so warmly the commemoration of this date. I am also very deeply moved by this resolution. I accept with some humility the accolades and kind words that have been said about me and also that are in this resolution.

I know that all of my colleagues recognize that I accept these words not on my own behalf but on behalf of two groups of people—one is those that I had the privilege of serving with in Vietnam, many of whom suffered far more than I did and displayed much higher degrees of courage. They are the ones I knew best and loved most and whose companionship I will treasure for as long as I live. But I also accept these very kind words on behalf of the real heroes of that very unhappy and tragic chapter in American history, and those are the heroes whose names appear on the wall at the memorial not very far from this building. They were called and they served with honor. The honor was in their service in what was a very unpopular enterprise and one for which the American people took a long time before we adequately thanked them for their service. They were brave young people, most of them 18 or 19 years of age, who felt that answering the country's call was the most honorable of all professions. So on their behalf and that of their families who still mourn their loss, I accept for them with humility and with pride, because as we all know it is very easy to embark on a popular enterprise; it is much more difficult to serve in one which is fraught with controversy. And sometimes the young people who did return were not given the appreciation nor the accolades that they deserved for their service.

So on behalf of those who cannot speak here today, whose names appear on the wall, I say thank you, and we will renew our dedication to see that never again do we send our young people to fight and die in conflict unless the goal is victory and we are prepared to devote all the resources at our disposal to winning that victory as quickly as possible. Although that didn't happen in that case, we cherish their memory, and for as long as Americans celebrate the service and sacrifice of young men, we will honor their memory. I thank you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, Senate Resolution 196 is agreed to and the preamble is agreed to.

The resolution (S. Res. 196) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

S. RES. 196

Whereas participation by the United States Armed Forces in combat operations in Southeast Asia during the period from 1964 through 1972 resulted in several hundreds of members of the United States Armed Forces being taken prisoner by North Vietnamese, Pathet Lao, and Viet Cong enemy forces;

Whereas John McCain's A-4E Skyhawk was shot down over Hanoi, North Vietnam on October 26, 1967 and he remained in captivity until March 14, 1973.

Whereas John McCain's aircraft was shorn of its right wing by a Surface to Air Missile and he plunged toward the ground at about 400 knots prior to ejecting;

Whereas upon ejection, John McCain's right knee and both arms were broken;

Whereas John McCain was surrounded by an angry mob who kicked him and spit on him, stabbed him with bayonets and smashed his shoulder with a rifle.

Whereas United States prisoners of war in Southeast Asia were held in a number of facilities, the most notorious of which was Hoa Lo Prison in downtown Hanoi, dubbed the 'Hanoi Hilton' by the prisoners held there;

Whereas historians of the Vietnam war have recorded that "no American reached the prison camp of Hoa Lo in worse condition than John McCain."

Whereas his North Vietnamese captors recognized that John McCain came from a distinguished military family and caused him to suffer special beatings, special interrogations, and the cruel offer of a possible early release;

Whereas John McCain sat in prison in Hanoi for over 5 years, risking death from disease and medical complications resulting from his injuries, steadfastly refusing to cooperate with his enemy captors because his sense of honor and duty would not permit him to even consider an early release based on special advantage;

Whereas knowing his refusal to leave early may well result in his own death from his injuries John McCain told another prisoner "I don't think that's the right thing to do—They'll have to drag me out of here"

Whereas, following the Paris Peace Accords of January 1973, 591 United States prisoners of war were released from captivity by North Vietnam;

Whereas the return of these prisoners of war to United States Control and to their families and comrades was designated Operation Homecoming;

Whereas many members of the United States Armed Forces who were taken prisoner as a result of ground or aerial combat in Southeast Asia have not returned to their loved ones and their whereabouts remain unknown;

Whereas United States prisoners of war in Southeast Asia were routinely subjected to brutal mistreatment, including beatings, torture, starvation, and denial of medical attention;

Whereas the hundreds of United States prisoners of war held in the Hanoi Hilton and other facilities persevered under terrible conditions;

Whereas the prisoners were frequently isolated from each other and prohibited from speaking to each other;

Whereas the prisoners nevertheless, at great personal risk, devised a means to communicate with each other through a code transmitted by tapping on cell walls;

Whereas then-Commander James B. Stockdale, United States Navy, who upon the capture on September 9, 1965, became the senior POW officer present in the Hanoi Hilton, delivered to his men a message that was to sustain them during their ordeal, as follows: Remember, you are Americans. With faith in God, trust in one another, and devotion to your country, you will overcome. You will triumph;

Whereas the men held as prisoners of war during the Vietnam conflict truly represent all that is best about America;

Whereas Senator John McCain of Arizona has continued to honor the Nation with devoted service; and

Whereas the Nation owes a debt of gratitude to John McCain and all of these patriots for their courage and exemplary service: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) expresses its gratitude for, and calls upon all Americans to reflect upon and show their gratitude for, the courage and sacrifice of John McCain and the brave men who were held as prisoners of war during the Vietnam conflict, particularly on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Operation Homecoming, and the return to the United States of Senator John McCain,

(2) acting on behalf of all Americans—

(A) will not forget that more than 2,000 members of the United States Armed Forces remain unaccounted for from the Vietnam conflict; and

(B) will continue to press for the fullest possible accounting for such members.

Mr. WARNER. Parliamentary inquiry. Is it in order to ask to be an original cosponsor of the resolution?

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

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Chair.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

PROTOCOLS TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY OF 1949 ON ACCESSION OF POLAND, HUNGARY, AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, peace and stability in Europe are among America's most vital security interests. In support of these interests, NATO has been the cornerstone of American leadership in Europe and the foundation for security and peace on that continent.

The Alliance serves the transatlantic community not only as a proven deterrent against aggression, but also as an unmatched instrument of integration and trust—two key pillars of peace and stability. Through NATO, old enemies have not only been reconciled, but now stand side by side as allies; national defense policies are coordinated between nations that half a century ago were at war; and, on a day to day basis, consultation, joint planning, joint training and cooperation between these countries reinforce the trust and commitment to the shared values that underpin this alliance of democracies.

Nearly a decade ago, "velvet revolutions" championed by the likes of Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel renewed freedom in Central Europe. These remarkable and peaceful revolutions tore down the Iron Curtain that divided the continent and provided the basis upon which democracy is now flourishing.

Today, nearly a decade after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, we begin formal consideration of a resolution of ratification that would extend NATO membership to Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. Few votes before the Senate have as much far-reaching significance as this.

This vote concerns not only the integration of these three democracies into the Alliance, it is also very much about the strategic relationship between the United States and Europe. It is about

America's role in Europe and the ability of the transatlantic community to respond to challenges of the future—both of which hinge on whether the United States wishes to remain a European power and whether we desire a unified, democratic, and larger Europe to remain linked to America.

The case I would like to make today is that NATO enlargement is consistent with the moral and strategic imperatives of the Euro-Atlantic relationship. It is central to the vitality of the transatlantic community, to the future of a stable and peaceful Europe and, thus, to the ability of America and Europe to work together effectively in promoting common interests in the 21st century.

Inclusion of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary into the Alliance will strengthen NATO. It will make NATO militarily more capable and Europe more secure. These three democracies have demonstrated their commitment to the values and interests shared by NATO members: human rights, equal justice under the law, and free markets. Each has a growing economy and a military under civilian control.

It is important to note that they also contributed forces to Operation Desert Storm, as well as to our peacekeeping missions in Haiti and Bosnia. They were among the first countries to commit forces to serve side by side with the United States in the stand-off against Saddam Hussein. The admission of these three democracies will add an additional 200,000 troops to the Alliance, thereby strengthening its ability to fulfill its core mission of collective defense.

NATO enlargement will eliminate immoral and destabilizing lines in Europe, a division established by Stalin and perpetuated by the Cold War. The extension of NATO membership to Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary is an imperative consistent with the moral underpinning of U.S. foreign policy and the North Atlantic Treaty that established the Alliance in 1949. Indeed, Article 10 of the Treaty states that membership is open to "any other European state in a position to further the principles of this treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area."

Mr. President, this powerful statement reflects the emphasis the Alliance places on democracy and inclusivity.

But NATO enlargement is not driven just by moral imperatives. It is also a policy rooted in strategic self-interest and driven by objective political, economic, and military criteria.

Indeed, for these reasons, NATO has expanded three times since its founding, and continued enlargement will expand the zone of peace, democracy, and stability in Europe. This benefits all countries in Europe, including a democratizing Russia.

Throughout its history, Europe has been a landscape of many insecure

small powers, a few imperialistic great powers, and too many conflicting nationalist policies, each creating friction with the other. Twice in this century, these dynamics pulled America into wars on the European continent. They contributed directly to a prolonged Cold War. And the potential for them to create conflict in the future is all too real unless we seize opportunities like the one before us. As Vaclav Havel put it, "If the West does not stabilize the East, the East will destabilize the West." Every time America has withdrawn its influence from Europe, trouble has followed. This we cannot afford.

Mr. President, NATO enlargement is the surest means of doing for Central and Eastern Europe what American leadership, through the Alliance, has done so well for Western Europe. This includes promoting and institutionalizing trust, cooperation, coordination, and communication. In this way, NATO enlargement is not an act of altruism, but one of self-interest.

Allow me to reemphasize that NATO enlargement benefits all democracies in Europe, including Russia. I say this because there are still those who assert that NATO enlargement is a policy that mistreats Moscow, thereby repeating mistakes made in the Versailles Treaty. That argument is dead wrong. It ignores the hand of partnership and assistance that the West, including NATO, has extended Russia. Last May, the NATO-Russia Founding Act was signed, providing the foundation for not only enhanced consultation, but also unprecedented defense cooperation. Today, Russian troops serve with NATO forces in Bosnia. And, unlike the punishing economic retribution carried out under the Versailles regime, the West has extended some \$100 billion since 1991 to help Russia's democratic and economic reforms, including over \$2 billion in weapon dismantlement and security assistance.

Others suggest NATO enlargement endangers a positive relationship between Russia and the West. The United States and its NATO allies will not always share common interests with Russia, irrespective of NATO enlargement. Differences over Iraq, Iran, the Caucasus, arms sales, and religious freedom are not related to NATO enlargement. Moscow will always have its own independent motivations. Unfortunately, there are still those in Moscow who reject NATO enlargement out of a desire to preserve Russia's sphere of influence. Let us not give credibility to the likes of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy by acceding to these demands.

As I have written with my colleague Senator LUGAR, the bottom line is that if Russia cannot accept the legitimate right of its neighbors to choose their own defensive security arrangements, then NATO's role in Central and Eastern Europe is even more important.

Keeping the above arguments in mind, it follows that the costs of enlargement are insignificant to the