

enough to keep them at their job, why did we hire them in the first place in the agencies?

What concerns me here is that as an appropriator I have the responsibility to follow up on these matters, and I take that very seriously. I do not think we are asking anything unreasonable and certainly do not want to just pile on the President. But this is taxpayer money and we have a right to make sure it is being spent wisely. We need to verify that the White House is not using appropriated funds for the President's personal legal defense. It is already illegal for any Government entity to use appropriated funds for anything other than what Congress appropriated the money.

In addition, there are many Government regulations from the Office of Government Ethics and the Justice Department which support the position that Government attorneys are to provide their services for Government interests only and not personal ones. That seems pretty clear and pretty well cut and dry to me. I do not request the answers to the questions that I believe are unnecessary. And I do not make frivolous requests. These are very important questions, plain and simple.

Finally, Mr. President, I announce that our committee intends to hold a hearing on the Executive Office's fiscal year 1999 request before the Easter recess and fully expect their response to this inquiry prior to that hearing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the letter that we did send to Mr. Erskine Bowles, the Chief of Staff to the President, on March 13, 1998.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
Washington, DC, March 13, 1998.

MR. ERSKINE B. BOWLES,
Chief of Staff to the President,
White House, Washington, DC

DEAR MR. BOWLES: This letter is in reference to the size of the legal staff at the Executive Office of the President (EXOP). As you are aware, there has been recent public concern about the use of appropriated funds for the private legal defense of the President.

As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Treasury and General Government, which funds the Executive Office of the President, I have a responsibility to respond to these concerns. I understand that my staff has made repeated requests to the Office of Administration for information relating to this issue, for which the office has not provided a response, but instead excuses and delays.

Specifically, my staff has requested that the following questions be answered: Has the size of the legal staff within all of EXOP, funded by appropriations, changed significantly during FY1997 and FY1998? And, what is the current number of Justice lawyers detailed to EXOP and has that number changed significantly during FY1997 and FY1998? In addition, I want to know the total number of lawyers detailed to all EXOP agencies and their detailing agency. Your responses should include all of the agencies falling under the EXOP and provide the specific FTE counts with a breakout of the employee and detail classification by EXOP agency.

I remind you that my staff acts on behalf of the Appropriations Committee and I expect that any request they make to you for information to be dealt with expeditiously. Because this request is now more than a week old, I expect that this information will be on my desk by March 18, 1998 at 12:00 p.m.

Sincerely,

BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Treasury,
and General Government.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MURKOWSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair and ask unanimous consent that I may speak for 5, 6 minutes in morning business.

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

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair.

NATO ENLARGEMENT

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I rise to express my strong support for the protocols of accession to NATO, specifically for Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

I think this is truly a historic decision in the sense that it shatters once and for all the artificial division of Europe that occurred at the end of the Second World War. Now, if history is any guide, it ensures and enhances the prospects for peace, prosperity, and harmony throughout Europe.

Mr. President, in the nearly 50 years of its existence, NATO has provided the military security umbrella that has permitted old enemies to heal the wounds of war and to build strong democracies and integrated free economies. Expanding NATO to include the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe will, I hope, produce the same results, that is, stronger and freer economies whose people can live in the same harmony as do the people of France and Germany.

I would also note that the prospect of NATO enlargement has already begun as seen by the process of harmonization in Central and Eastern Europe. Hungary has settled its border and minority questions with Slovakia and Romania. Poland has reached across an old divide to create joint peacekeeping battalions with Ukraine and Lithuania.

Mr. President, an expanded NATO will make the world safer simply because we are expanding the area where wars will not happen. As Secretary of State Albright testified last year before the Foreign Relations Committee, and I quote, "This is the product paradox at NATO's heart: By imposing a price on aggression, it deters aggression." At the same time, we gain new allies, new friends who are committed to our common agenda for security in fighting terrorism and weapons proliferation, and to ensuring stability in places such as the former Yugoslavia.

There is no doubt in my mind that had Soviet troops not in 1945 occupied

Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, and installed puppet governments, the debate over whether these three countries should be members of NATO would have long ago been resolved in their favor.

The people of these countries have yearned to have freedom, democracy, and peace for more than 40 years, as evidenced by Poland particularly. The blood in the streets of Budapest in 1956, the demonstrations of the people in Prague in 1968 who confronted Soviet tanks, and the public confrontations of Solidarity throughout Poland beginning in the 1970s all laid the foundation for the collapse of communism, which we have seen in our lifetime.

Now as they begin to build institutions of democracy and free enterprise, as they move to further integrate their economies with the rest of Europe, they should participate in the collective security of the continent. I think this will bind these countries closer together far into the future and ensure stability and peace throughout the continent.

Mr. President, there have been expressions of concern by some people that expanding NATO is a mistake because it would somehow be perceived as a threat, a threat to Russia. I find that argument hard to accept. In my opinion, NATO has never been a threat to Russia. Even during the height of the Cold War, no one seriously considered that NATO threatened the Soviet Union. Quite the contrary. NATO stood to defend—defend—against any potential military threat to its members. There is a difference between defense and offense. And NATO is designed for defense. It was never designed as an alliance of aggression—rather, it is an alliance against aggression.

I think the same holds true today, Mr. President. The people of Russia, who are slowly trying to emerge from the darkness and terror of 70 years of communism, have nothing—I repeat, nothing—to fear from NATO. Our goal is not to isolate Russia but to engage and support her in her efforts to develop a lasting democracy and a free market.

The people in the evolving democracies of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary have earned the right to become full partners in Europe and full partners in NATO. I hope my colleagues will support the dreams, hopes, and aspirations of these people who have struggled for freedom for so long, after so many decades in which they have lived without hope. They have that opportunity today.

NUCLEAR WASTE STORAGE

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I listened to my friend and colleague from the State of Nevada speak relative to the movement of high-level nuclear waste across various States. I think it is important to reflect on two points. I won't extend the debate at

this time, because we will have an opportunity to do that, hopefully, in the near future.

I point out that what we are advocating in the pending legislation is to authorize the storage of waste in a temporary repository in the general area of Yucca Mountain, where we have already expended more than \$6 billion to develop a permanent waste repository. The idea of moving it there and putting it in temporary storage is simply to alleviate the situation in some of our nuclear power plants where they have reached the maximum storage capability allowed by their respective States and State regulations.

My purpose in bringing this up is simply to note that while we are attempting to move this material and get the authorization out to the Nevada test site, where we have had tests for some 50 years, high-level radioactive nuclear tests, the issue of moving is, I think, relative to the reality associated with when Yucca Mountain receives certification and licensing, then the waste will have to be moved and simply go there. By moving it now, we simply allow our nuclear industry to continue to provide the 22 percent of the power generation until we get the permanent repository licensed and certified.

The point is, we will move it sooner or later. So the question of moving it safely, while a legitimate point, eludes the reality that we have to move it. And whether we move it now or later is simply a matter of recognizing that the Government entered into a contract with the nuclear industry some 14, 15 years ago. The Government has collected about \$14 million from ratepayers over that period of time, and the Government agreed to take the waste this year. So the Government is in violation of its contractual commitment. This is another full employment act for the lawyers here in Washington as they represent the various power companies that are suing the Federal Government for nonperformance of a contract to take the waste.

I encourage my colleagues to recognize that while efforts are being made to put the fear of God into the various States and communities where the waste would move, the reality is that at some point in time we will have to address the issue. We have been moving military waste and high-level waste throughout the country and throughout the world for many decades and can certainly do it safely.

I urge my colleagues to evaluate the merits of reality and recognize the contribution of the nuclear power industry.

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

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 11:30 a.m. having arrived, the Senate will now go into executive session to resume consideration of treaty document 105-36.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Treaty document 105-36, Protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 on Accession of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

The Senate resumed consideration of the treaty.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I rise in support of the NATO enlargement proposal of including Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. I will make a few comments in that regard.

Many people will say that the cold war is over and then will continue to argue that we can now dismantle our defenses and look inward. I completely disagree with this assessment. I think that Secretary Albright, in testifying before the Armed Services Committee on April 23, 1997, made the proper statement in relating this to an insurance policy, saying "If you don't see smoke, there is no real reason to stop paying for fire insurance."

Because of President Reagan and his desire to see the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics put on the ashheap of history, the United States no longer faces the threat of the U.S.S.R. But this is no time to be complacent. U.S. interests are still being threatened by internal political and economic instabilities; the reemergence of ethnic, religious, and historic grievances; terrorism; and the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons.

However, for nearly 50 years, NATO has been the organization which has defended the territory of the countries in the North Atlantic area against all external threats and today we have an historic opportunity to recommit to this security. I believe we must not turn our back on this historic opportunity. We must embrace these new market democracies and say that the old ways are gone and that we welcome them into the free world. Relative peace should not stop us from being engaged for peace and freedom. I believe expanding NATO to the Poland, Hungary, and Czech Republic is the best way to ensure peace and stability.

Over the last few decades, much of the United States' focus has been on the Middle East, the Far East, and Russia. Throughout history, the United States has been closely linked to the stability of Europe. We have been through two world wars and one cold war in Europe. However, since the formation of NATO, not one major war or

aggression has occurred against or between member states, except for Argentina's invasion of the British Falkland Islands. Adding these three deserving countries to NATO can do for all of Europe what it has done for Western Europe. It can strengthen emerging democracies, create conditions for continued prosperity, assist in preventing local rivalries, diminish the need for an arms buildup and destabilizing nationalistic policies, and foster common security interests.

Just as important, enlargement will signal the end of the cold war. It will further break down the Stalinistic wall. We will reassure the world that these once occupied nations are welcomed free countries. No longer will we validate the old lines of Communism but will begin to secure the historic gains of democracy in Central Europe. Unlike, the Warsaw Pact, these countries are voluntarily wishing to join NATO, without the coercion or force from any NATO member.

Not only will the Stalinist wall be gone, but the acceptance of these three countries will positively show that the West will not lock these countries out, but will lock in Central Europe's democracies. Enlargement will promote multinational defense structures and prevent the renationalization of these democracies. Enlargement will fill the security vacuum created with the fall of the Soviet Union. If this vacuum is not filled, there is concern that the area will begin to divide nationally and Central Europe could look like the former Yugoslavia.

However, just the possibility of membership into NATO has given these countries the incentive to peacefully resolve many of their border disputes. Since 1991, there have been 10 major accords settling differences and much of this progress is credited to the opportunity to join NATO. Even if some of the old disputes arise, NATO membership will help keep the peace, just as it has done in relation to the problems between NATO members Greece and Turkey. I do not believe the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Union, or any other international bodies have the ability to keep the peace and promote the stability needed that NATO can bring to the area.

We all know that there has been much concern about the Russian response to NATO enlargement. The Russian leaders have been very public in their displeasure about enlargement. I believe that this is do in part to their misperception that the Alliance poses a threat to Russia's security. NATO is not, and never has been an offensive alliance. NATO is a defensive alliance only.

We must respect Russia's concerns. But as my respected predecessor Senator Hank Brown has written, "[W]orking closely with Russia in an attempt to allay their concerns makes sense. Slowing or altering NATO expansion . . . hands the Russian government a veto pen." Like Senator Brown,