

thought of Czech tanks rolling across the Russian steppes is ludicrous.

Second, the average Russian is not concerned about NATO enlargement. A recent poll even shows the majority of Russians in Moscow support adding these three countries to NATO.

Third, the Russians have delayed action on START II for years. NATO enlargement is only the latest in a long line of reasons given for their inaction.

Fourth, Russian diplomacy in Brussels has not been affected by our debate here. Just yesterday, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council discussed a wide range of issues. Alleged Russian concerns about enlargement were not an issue.

Finally, long before NATO enlargement became a real possibility, Russia has engaged in a large number of foreign policy actions that harm our interests—from proliferation to Iran and violations of START I to subversion of its neighbors. NATO enlargement may provide an excuse for Russian adventurism, but will not provide a cause.

Our principle concern with Russia must be Russian behavior—not the volatile mood swings of Russian domestic politics.

Mr. President, this will be a historic vote. It is fitting that we are voting on including the Czech Republic in NATO sixty years after the sellout at Munich, fifty years after the communist coup in Prague, and thirty years after Soviet tanks crushed the winds of freedom in Czechoslovakia.

That is the past and, as many Senators have pointed out, this vote is about the future. It is about what kind of a Europe we want to see. It is about what kind of allies we want in a continent where we have fought three great wars in this century.

Expanding NATO is about ensuring this generation and future generations are not called to fight a fourth time. It is about a 21st century trans-Atlantic partnership that provides more freedom, more security and more opportunity for all of us.

A few days ago, I received a letter from Polish Foreign Minister Geremek (GAR-a-mech). His words are an appropriate way to close debate:

The consistent and visionary foreign policy of the United States has opened a historic window of opportunity. Just as in 1989, it was American leadership which was the decisive factor in ending the Cold War. . . . so today it is the U.S. Senate which will decide whether a new page is turned in history of the Transatlantic area and Eurasia. It will be a chapter testifying to the triumph of freedom and democracy and to the success of the biggest and most successful alliance in world history. It will strengthen the Alliance to the clear advantage of Europe and America.

I thank all Senators for their cooperation in reaching this moment. I yield the floor.

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, the votes are final passage of the NATO enlargement treaty, and according to the rules of the Senate, Senators should be in

their assigned desks and vote from their desks. That is in the rules. I have discussed it with Senator BYRD. We are all here. I think it would be an appropriate thing for us to do. The rules do require it.

I also think it would help us expedite the vote. So, if the Senators would take their assigned desks, we will have a vote on the historic treaty.

The second vote is final passage of the supplemental appropriations bill. Tomorrow, the Senate will debate the Workforce Development Act under a time agreement of no more than 4 hours. Several amendments will be offered. Consequently, those votes will be postponed to occur Tuesday, May 5, at 5:30.

Monday, the Senate will begin consideration of the IRS reform bill. I know we will have a number of Senators who will wish to make opening statements. We will check with the managers and with the leadership to see about the possibility of amendments being offered. But if they are offered, they, too, would occur at 5:30 on Tuesday.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for a productive week. I congratulate the managers of this legislation. I thank the Senators who made it possible for us to complete this action tonight. I know some of those who are opposed to it would have liked to have delayed it over until next week, but I believe the time is right for us to vote. I thank all Senators for their help, and I thank Senator DASCHLE for his cooperation and I yield to Senator BYRD.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader for yielding. I also thank the distinguished majority leader for calling to the attention of Senators the following standing order, which I hope that Senators will contemplate. And I congratulate the majority leader for enforcing this regulation. Any Senator may ask the Chair to enforce this regulation at any time. I have often thought about it. I think we ought to follow this regulation, Mr. Leader, and I hope that we will establish this as a practice and continue to do it.

The Senate would make a much better impression, not only upon the visitors but also on Senators themselves, if they learn to sit in their seats to answer the rollcall. And they will take greater pride in this institution. I guarantee that, watching from the galleries, it would be a much more impressive sight during rollcall votes than what we have been accustomed to seeing down here in the well, which looks like the floor of a stock market. I have been to the stock market on a few occasions. It doesn't look any worse.

Let me read this standing order of the Senate. It is on page 157 of the Senate manual. All Senators who wish to read it, here it is. It is only three lines. The heading, "VOTES SHALL BE CAST FROM ASSIGNED DESK."

Resolved, that it is a standing order of the Senate that during yea and nay votes in the

Senate, each Senator shall vote from the assigned desk of the Senator.

This was by Senate Resolution 480 in the 98th Congress, the Second Session, October 11, 1984.

This is a great day for me. I am glad to see the leader asking that Senators abide by this regulation, which we voted on, those of us who were here in 1984.

I thank the leader.

Mr. LOTT. Thank you, Senator BYRD. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do the Senators yield back the time? The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic endured nearly half a century of communist domination as a result of expedient and short-sighted policies of the West. Today, we have the opportunity to remedy that injustice while securing democracy in Central Europe for future generations.

Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic have established democratic governments, each has built a market economy, and all three work with us in defense of liberty from Cuba to China.

In my judgment, Mr. President, these three countries belong to NATO. I have met with the Foreign Ministers of all three countries. They understand the commitment and responsibilities that they undertake by joining NATO. I am confident they will meet all of their obligations.

The Foreign Relations Committee held 8 hearings in the past six months, heard from 37 supporters and opponents of NATO expansion. Before the Committee hearings, I myself had concerns about NATO expansion, including what it would cost, how we could deal with Russia, and the future mission of NATO. The Committee's resolution addresses all of these points and passed by a vote of 16-2.

Mr. President, NATO enlargement has been endorsed by countless distinguished individuals including Margaret Thatcher, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Caspar Weinberger, and Richard Perle. In addition, the Foreign Relations Committee has received endorsements of this policy from every living former U.S. Secretary of State, numerous former Secretaries of Defense and national security advisors, and more than sixty flag officers and general officers, including five distinguished former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to vote overwhelmingly in support of NATO enlargement. This is the right decision for the United States of America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I will be very brief. A century ago, our predecessors in the U.S. Senate took a very bold step in ratifying the North Atlantic Treaty.

It is easy for us today to forget what a break with the past that vote represented. For the first time, this country committed itself, in peacetime, to

the defense of democratic Europe. The Senate recognized by its far-sighted action that our future—indeed our own freedom—is inextricably bound to Europe.

The success of the fledgling NATO was by no means certain. Western Europe was made up of a jumble of nations, several of which had only recently been at each others' throats. Germany and France alone had fought each other three times in 74 years. The three western zones of Germany, which were not the Federal Republic and, in fact, were not invited to join NATO.

The countries of Western Europe were economically weak, not yet having recovered nearly fully from the devastation of World War II.

Several European NATO members had strong Communist parties whose loyalty and commitment to democracy were suspect.

Mr. President, our predecessors took a gamble. Fortunately for us and our children—and I hope for our grandchildren—NATO succeeded beyond the Senate's fondest expectations.

As we all know, for 40 years, it kept Soviet imperialism at bay, thereby providing the security umbrella under which democratic Western Europe could recover socially and economically, and thrive.

In the process, NATO expanded its membership three times to welcome Greece and Turkey, West Germany, and Spain. With each expansion the Alliance was strengthened.

Largely thanks to NATO's persistence, communism in most of Europe crumbled, including in the Soviet Union.

Now, nearly 50 years after our predecessors met the challenge of their time, we are called upon, once again, to take up the torch.

Three highly qualified democracies that chafed under the Communist yoke for four decades are now candidates for membership in NATO. Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic have already rejoined the West politically and socially. Tonight we can vote to readmit them to the West's security framework.

In a larger sense we will be righting a historical injustice forced upon the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians by Joseph Stalin.

Mr. President, NATO enlargement is squarely in America's national interest. It is in Europe's interest. And yes—by stabilizing a historic crucible of violence in East-Central Europe—it is in Russia's interest.

I am proud to be able to play a small part in this historic occasion. I will cast my vote with conviction to ratify the Resolution of Ratification, and I urge my colleagues to join me. I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I shall cast my vote in opposition for the reasons that I have stated over the past

several days in what I regard is an excellent debate. But if it is the will of two-thirds of the U.S. Senate that this ratification go forward, then I commit, and I hope others will commit, who have been in opposition, to do our very best to make it work.

I think it is going to pose a mighty challenge to make it work, but if that is the decision of this body, for which I have infinite respect, then I commit as a member of the Armed Services Committee, where I will have some special responsibilities, to make it work.

But I also say that I shall be among others who will maintain a vigil as to the future with an open and objective mind but still predicated in my own thoughts on what I have expressed on this floor about future additions of other nations in a manner that would be untimely to make this treaty last another 50 years. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is all time yielded back on both sides? If so, the question is on agreeing to the committee amendment, as amended.

The committee amendment, as amended, was agreed to.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of ratification with certain conditions and declarations to the Protocols of the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 on the Accession of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Arizona (Mr. KYL) is necessarily absent.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 80, nays 19, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 117 Ex.]

#### YEAS—80

Abraham	Faircloth	Lott
Akaka	Feingold	Lugar
Allard	Feinstein	Mack
Baucus	Ford	McCain
Bennett	Frist	McConnell
Biden	Glenn	Mikulski
Bingaman	Gorton	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Graham	Murkowski
Boxer	Gramm	Murray
Breaux	Grams	Nickles
Brownback	Grassley	Reed
Burns	Gregg	Robb
Byrd	Hagel	Roberts
Campbell	Hatch	Rockefeller
Chafee	Helms	Roth
Cleland	Hollings	Santorum
Coats	Hutchison	Sarbanes
Cochran	Inouye	Sessions
Collins	Johnson	Shelby
Coverdell	Kennedy	Smith (OR)
D'Amato	Kerrey	Snowe
Daschle	Kerry	Stevens
DeWine	Kohl	Thomas
Dodd	Landrieu	Thompson
Domenici	Lautenberg	Thurmond
Durbin	Levin	Torricelli
Enzi	Lieberman	

#### NAYS—19

Ashcroft	Conrad	Harkin
Bryan	Craig	Hutchinson
Bumpers	Dorgan	Inhofe

Jeffords	Reid	Wellstone
Kempthorne	Smith (NH)	Wyden
Leahy	Specter	
Moynihan	Warner	

NOT VOTING—1

Kyl

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 80, the nays are 19. Two-thirds of the Senators present having voted in the affirmative, the resolution of ratification, as amended, is agreed to.

The resolution of ratification, as amended, was agreed to.

(The Text of the Resolution of Ratification, as amended, will be printed in a future edition of the RECORD.)

Mr. BIDEN. I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will now go into legislative session.

Mr. STEVENS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on the bill, H.R. 3579, making emergency supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The committee on conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill H.R. 3579, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses this report, signed by majority of the conferees.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the conference report.

(The conference report is printed in the House proceedings of the RECORD of April 30, 1998.)

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, the House passed earlier today the emergency supplemental appropriations conference report by substantial margin.

I want to begin by expressing my appreciation to my friend and colleague from West Virginia, Sen. BYRD, for his assistance and cooperation in presenting this bill to the Senate.

Our Committee worked in a bipartisan manner through every step of the process of moving this emergency supplemental bill through the Senate, and back from conference.

I strongly urge all my colleagues to vote in support of this bill, which addresses urgent funding requirements for the Department of Defense, and many agencies responsible for dealing with natural disasters.

The conference report provides \$2.8 billion for emergency defense accounts.