

commitment to protect the Nation's wetlands.

The diligence of Congress, previous administrations, Federal and State agencies, and dedicated citizens helped us pass the Clean Water Act and other tough measures needed to preserve and protect water resources. We must stand guard over these gains and move forward, not backward, with even more effective measures. Clean water is a privilege, a pleasure, and something we can't live without.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, tomorrow, as we recognize the 30th anniversary of the amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, the Clean Water Act, I want to take a moment to reflect on the importance of this cornerstone of environmental legislation and to frankly address the significant amount of work that remains to be done.

Vermont is a shining example to the Nation in terms of its environmental ethics and in its commitment to environmental action. I am proud to hail from and to represent a State whose people share a passionate and abiding concern for the environment.

We Vermonters are especially proud that much of the environmental progress and improvements to water the Nation has achieved in the last three decades can be directly attributed to the legacy of Vermont's own Robert Stafford. Bob Stafford's leadership in Congress helped shape national environmental policy from the time that the environmental movement was in its infancy and continued well into its maturity.

During his 30 years in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, Bob Stafford courageously and successfully stood up to those who sought to diminish and roll back our environmental standards. His efforts were heightened during his tenure as Chairman of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, a post he assumed in 1981 during the 97th Congress and maintained through the 99th. One of his crowning achievements during this time was working with Senator John Chafee to pass the Clean Water Act.

Although we should be proud of the great strides we have made to reduce and prevent the levels of pollutants and contaminants in our water, we are far from the visionary goals and ambitious standards set by those who conceived this vital legislation 30 years ago. When Senator Stafford testified before the Environment and Public Works Committee last week, he clearly challenged us to do more. We cannot halt the progress we have made and merely rest on our environmental laurels.

I call upon my colleagues, the administration and the American public to look back at the debate that took place at the time and the essence of this remarkable piece of legislation. The 1972 legislation declared as its objective the restoration and maintenance of the chemical, physical, and biological in-

tegrity of the Nation's waters. Two goals also were established: zero discharge of pollutants by 1985 and, as an interim goal and where possible, water quality that is both "fishable" and "swimmable" by 1983.

Although we have had more than twice that amount of time to meet these goals, we have only managed to get half-way there. According to EPA's 2000 National Water Quality Report released earlier this year, 39 percent of assessed river and stream miles and 45 percent of assessed lake acres do not meet applicable water quality standards and were found to be impaired for one or more desired uses.

In Vermont, too many of our waters still fall into this category. Over the last 30 years, we have addressed many of the point-sources of water pollution in Lake Champlain, the Connecticut River and other water bodies around the State. Unfortunately, we learn about new pollution concerns all the time. Years of unchecked pollution from coal-fired power plants outside of Vermont's borders have overburdened Lake Champlain and many of our rivers with mercury. Vermont now has fish advisories for walleye, lake trout and bass due to mercury.

There are solutions to this environmental challenge and others that threaten the health of Vermont's waters. We just need to act on them. Instead, I worry that we are ignoring the warning signs, such as climate change, new health problems in our children, loss of our natural resources to pests and disease.

By its actions I fear that the current administration seems to be interested in protecting special interests and ignoring public support for strong environmental protections and conservation measures. Just in the last few months, the administration has announced plans to rewrite Clean Water Act regulations that would allow dirt displaced by mountain top mining to be dumped in waterways. Army Corps of Engineers' regulations protecting wetlands have been relaxed, backing away from the decade-old commitment of no net loss of wetlands.

Instead of looking at ways to undercut the Clean Water Act, we need to get back on track and strengthen it.

THE LEADERSHIP IN UKRAINE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the current leadership in Ukraine, led by President Leonid Kuchma, has been one of unmet promises. Failed efforts at economic reform, violent repression of independent media; and a rise in government corruption and cronyism has robbed the citizens of Ukraine of the bright future they deserve.

Ukraine is a vital country of 48 million people in the heart of Europe. A Europe whole, free and secure cannot be achieved without Ukraine's integration into Europe. However, I have become convinced that the actions of Ukraine's President Kuchma have dem-

onstrated to the people of Ukraine and the world that their integration cannot be achieved with Kuchma at the helm.

Secret recordings made by a former security guard, who is now seeking asylum in the United States, raise suspicions that President Kuchma had knowledge of or involvement in the brutal murder of journalist Gyorgi Gongadze. This callous act shows that he will stop at nothing to repress the opposition and independent media who challenge his control.

As the United States and the international community are striving to eliminate the threat posed by Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction, evidence shows that President Kuchma approved the sale of the Kolchuga radar—an advanced system whose purpose is to threaten U.S. aircraft in violation of United Nations sanctions. The State Department recently confirmed the authenticity of an audio recording of President Kuchma approving the sale of a Kochulga radar system to Iraq in July 2000. Iraq has fired anti-aircraft missiles at coalition aircraft and while our expert pilots are trained to counter such measures, the Kolchuga radar system gives a boost to Iraqi air defenses by detecting approaching aircraft without tipping off the pilots.

Ukraine remains important to the United States, we must stand firm with the people and the brave reformers who hope for a better day for Ukraine. However, President Kuchma's day has passed. He deserves nothing more than what his actions bring him, isolation.

In bilateral meetings the United States should continue to meet at a ministerial level and in important multilateral organizations we should strive for the same. This includes NATO. At NATO's Prague Summit next month, the scheduled NATO-Ukraine Council meeting is an important opportunity for NATO and Ukraine to look for greater cooperation. On a range of issues, Ukraine has certain assets such as strategic lift which could be beneficial to our European NATO allies who lack such capabilities. NATO should conduct this meeting at the Ministerial level rather than at a Presidential level and send an important signal to the government of Ukraine. To do otherwise would result in President Bush sitting two seats down from a corrupt leader who is arming Iraq at a Summit which will likely focus on a possible war with Iraq.

I ask unanimous consent that the following articles that appeared in the Wall Street Journal on October 9, and The Washington Post on August 8 and September 22 be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 9, 2002]

UKRAINE'S ROGUE PRESIDENT
(By Adrian Karatnycky)

In his speech Monday night, President Bush laid out the threat posed by the Iraqi regime should it be able to "buy, produce or

steal" the ingredients for a nuclear weapon. But while the idea that any nation would willingly aid the murderous intentions of Saddam Hussein has long seem far-fetched, the possibility hit close to home in recent days.

Just a week before the speech, the Bush administration confirmed that Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma had approved the sale of an anti-aircraft radar system to Iraq. President Kuchma's decision, in clear violation of United Nations sanctions, may be the first sign of complications with loose technology in the states of the former Soviet Union.

DEADLY KNOW-HOW FOR IRAQ

Although Ukraine destroyed its last nuclear missile silo last year, the country is still an institutional repository of deadly know-how. It had also, up until last week, been considered a impeccable friend of the U.S. But the revelation creates doubts which could fundamentally alter the U.S.'s relationship with Ukraine, and particularly with its president. Although Mr. Kuchma has denied any involvement in a sale and offered a joint investigation, the FBI has authenticated a tape of the Ukrainian president and his arms-export chief hatching the scheme.

Far from being any old technology, the radar system in question could make a significant difference for Iraq. If the U.S. goes to war, Mr. Kuchma will have tried to provide deadly technology that could cost the lives of American pilots. Whatever the next steps taken against Iraq, Ukraine's president cannot escape without paying a heavy price. If the U.S. succeeds in installing a rigorous U.N. inspections regime, an example must be made of Mr. Kuchma to ensure international compliance with anti-Iraq sanctions.

President Bush's anger over the plot by a country that was once the third biggest recipient of U.S. foreign aid is said to be palpable. U.S. officials suggest Mr. Bush is especially livid that Mr. Kuchma plotted the sale to Iraq just before a summit in 2000 with President Clinton, where the U.S.-Ukraine "strategic partnership" was celebrated. U.S. officials responsible for Ukraine policy are also indicating they believe Ukraine's "Kolchuha" early-warning radar system has been deployed in Iraq, suggesting there is some intelligence data to reach such a conclusion.

The new Iraq revelations come in the wake of incriminating details contained in hundreds of additional hours of clandestinely taped conversations of Mr. Kuchma's meetings recorded and smuggled out of the country by his former bodyguard who lives in exile in the U.S. These depict a crude and venal leader at the center of corrupt and criminal behavior. Several of the conversations have been authenticated by the Virginia-based voice analysis firm Bek Tech, headed by a former FBI operative.

The behavior appears to fit a pattern. Mr. Kuchma's Ukraine has emerged as a leading supply source for illicit traffic in global arms. In defiance of a U.N. embargo, arms and ammunition of Ukrainian origin have been seized in the weapons caches of Unita guerrillas in Angola. Widespread allegations suggest Ukrainian weapons breached a mid-1990s arms embargo in the former Yugoslavia and helped equip Afghanistan's Taliban. In 1997, Nigerian authorities alleged that Ukraine was involved in the sale of three aircraft fighters to rebels from Sierra Leone.

For years, Ukrainian officials strenuously denied that the illegal arms trade was officially sanctioned. But the authenticated Kuchma tape suggests that while Ukraine is not a rogue state, it has a rogue president. Apart from the Iraq conversation, there is a tape of a meeting between Mr. Kuchma and

Oleksander Zhukov, a reputed underworld figure with ties to Leonid Minin, a suspected international arms dealer.

Mr. Kuchma's credibility with the U.S. has been pulverized in recent months. In the summer of 2001, the Ukrainian president apparently lied to National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice in asserting that Ukraine supported a "political solution" to the ethnic conflict in Macedonia. All the while—with his approval—Ukraine persisted in shipping weapons to the Macedonian government.

In response to U.S. pressure, Ukraine's legislature will launch an investigation into the Iraq sale. But the legislature has refused to investigate an array of alleged crimes involving the president, including the unsolved murder in 2000 of opposition journalist Gyorgi Gonzadze.

With the next presidential election coming in two years, the best hope for Ukraine—and for the U.S.—is in pressuring Mr. Kuchma to step aside quietly in favor of early elections. Demonstrations, which began last month and drew nearly 100,000 protestors nationwide, are scheduled to start up again later this month.

For Ukraine's president to exit the scene, protests against him must widen—71% of Ukrainians tell pollsters he should go. The reformist former prime minister, Viktor Yushchenko, must try to woo Mr. Kuchma's wavering supporters, among them oligarchs and regional leaders, to support a transition. Diplomatic isolation of Mr. Kuchma by the U.S. and Europe must be airtight and confined to the president and his corrupt cronies, not the entire Ukrainian government or nation. Finally, Russian President Vladimir Putin, who stands by Mr. Kuchma, must be convinced that Russian interests would be better served by a reformist-led coalition government including significant representation from Ukraine's pro-Russian eastern regions.

The current U.S. review of its Ukraine policy must include initiatives that help encourage these trends while ensuring that change is constitutional and peaceful.

For months, Ukraine's rumor mills have been working overtime with hints that a deal to pave the way for a post-Kuchma Ukraine is in the works. One possible compromise would be to give Mr. Kuchma blanket amnesty for past transgressions. Even Yuliya Tymoshenko, a former economic magnate and deputy prime minister who is Mr. Kuchma's most bitter enemy, supports such a deal. As she told me several months ago, "If one criminal can sleep easily so that the rest of the country can sleep well, then so be it."

RUSSIA'S CYNICAL EMBRACE

If Mr. Kuchma resigns, Ukraine's Iraq-gate will have borne positive fruit. If he does not, the U.S. will confront two problems: Ukraine's president will demonstrate to other leaders that you can conspire with Iraq and get away with it. And Mr. Kuchma's inevitable isolation will drive Ukraine, a strategically important country of 50 million that sits on NATO's eastern frontier, into Russia's cynical embrace.

Both outcomes would cause headaches for Europe and the U.S. But the worst would be if Ukraine's movement toward Europe, democracy and the rule of law is hijacked by Mr. Kuchma's insistence on remaining in office.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 8, 2002]

UKRAINE AND THE WEST

NATO's coming eastward expansion and its new partnership with Russia have prompted a major change in direction by one of Europe's largest and most unsettled nations,

Ukraine. A country of more than 50 million people that is still struggling to gain its political and economic footing after a decade of independence, Ukraine has abruptly dropped its longstanding policy of balancing itself between the West and Russia. Its government recently requested talks on becoming a full member of both NATO and the European Union. The reaction has been guarded: Both European governments and the Bush administration seem unsure whether Ukraine should be a part of the Western alliance in the future, and there is resistance even to upgrading its relations with the EU. But Ukraine is too big to be safely kept on the back burner. The United States and Europe must formulate a clear answer. In some respects, the question of what to do about Ukraine seems easy. Given its huge size, strategic location in southern and central Europe and relatively sophisticated industrial economy, Ukraine is a natural member of the translational organizations that are slowly spreading across the continent. Without Ukraine, the longstanding Western goal of a Europe "whole and free" will remain incomplete; without an anchor in those institutions, the country's long-term stability and even its viability as an independent nation could be seriously threatened. Yet Ukraine as it exists today is a most difficult partner for the West to take on. Its economy remains a post-Communist shambles, and though it is nominally a democracy its president, Leonid Kuchma, has frequently resorted to thuggish tactics. His own poll ratings are in single digits, but Mr. Kuchma managed to manipulate a recent parliamentary election so that his cronies, rather than opposition parties that won 70 percent of the popular vote, maintained control.

Of even greater concern in Ukraine's involvement in improper arms trafficking and service as a transit point for illegal drugs and other contraband. Floating Western appeals, Ukraine's big weapons companies have shipped arms to Macedonia, Serbia and East Africa; secretly recorded audiotapes suggest that Mr. Kuchma himself at least discussed selling sophisticated anti-aircraft systems to Iraq. Iraq recently opened an embassy in Kiev and announced it was interested in purchasing Ukrainian industrial goods and technology.

The Bush administration and most European governments have steadily distanced themselves from Mr. Kuchma. Congress has reduced U.S. aid. Some officials argue that Ukraine should not be invited even to begin discussions with NATO on conditions for becoming a member, at least as long as Mr. Kuchma and his cronies are in power. But NATO, which has laid out comprehensive and detailed reform programs for each of the countries seeking membership offers later this year, could also provide a structure for long-term change by Ukraine. A dialogue could constructively begin on such issues as arms sales, drug trafficking and military reform, with the understanding that these are the first steps in a membership preparation process that could extend for a decade. Making countries such as Ukraine fit for the club of Western democracies may not be NATO's first purpose, but the alliance is the best vehicle that exists for managing what is, ultimately, a transition vital to long-term European security.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 22, 2002]

UNFINISHED BUSINESS IN EUROPE

(By Michael McFaul)

President Bush has made a strong commitment to a distinct tradition in international diplomacy by stating repeatedly that the United States has a strategic interest in regime change in Iraq. If Iraq changes from

dictatorship to democracy, so the argument goes, then Iraq will follow a friendlier foreign policy toward the United States.

To make his case, Bush has a powerful historical experience to draw upon: the end of the Cold War. Regime change in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union fundamentally enhanced American national security. If Iraq possessed Russia's nuclear arsenal today, the United States would be in grave danger. Two decades ago we feared this same arsenal in the hands of the Kremlin. Today we do not. The reason we do not is that the regime in Russia has become more democratic and market-oriented and therefore also more Western-oriented. Unfortunately, the task of promoting democratic regime change in the former Soviet Union is not complete. In rightly focusing on how to promote democratic regimes in the Muslim world, the Bush administration is failing to complete the consolidation of capitalism and democracy in the former communist world and the integration of these new democracies into the Western community of democratic states.

To assume that this process of democratization and integration will march forward without American prodding is misguided. First, the lines between East and West in Europe are beginning to harden, not fade. After the next round of expansion, the European Union is very unlikely to offer membership to countries farther to the east in the near future. Bureaucrats in Brussels simply laugh when the idea of Russian or Ukrainian membership in the EU is raised. NATO has moved more aggressively to extend its borders eastward, but it too will become fatigued and inwardly focused after the next round of expansion. If the prospect of membership in NATO and the EU can no longer be considered a foreign policy goal for those left out of the next wave of expansion, then the pull of the West will diminish.

Second, democratization on the periphery of Europe has stalled. A dictator who praises Stalin and Hitler runs Belarus. President Vladimir Putin has weakened democratic institutions and grossly violated the human rights of his own citizens in Chechnya in his attempt to build "managed democracy" in Russia. In Ukraine, President Leonid Kuchma aspires to create the same level of state control over the democratic process as Putin has achieved in Russia to ensure a smooth—that is, Kuchma-friendly—transition of power when his term ends in 2004. In contrast to Russia, Ukraine has a vibrant democratic opposition, whose leader, Viktor Yushchenko, is likely to win a free and fair presidential election. This vote in 2004 will be free and fair, however, only if the West is watching. Only in Moldova has authorization creep been avoided, but that's because of the weakness of the state, hardly a condition conducive to long-term democratic consolidation.

Over time, the combination of a closing Western border and growing authoritarianism on the Eastern side of this wall spells disaster for American security interests in the region. As the United States gears up to create new regimes with a democratic and Western orientation in the Middle East, it may be losing the gains of similar efforts of democratic promotion in the communist world during the Cold War.

Obviously, President Bush's foreign policy team is overworked and focused now on Iraq. Nonetheless, the United States should be able to conduct more than one foreign policy at the same time. In numerous speeches, Bush has already outlined his grand strategy for foreign policy. He has stated repeatedly that the United States should champion freedom and liberty for people around the world, and when necessary even promote regime change in those countries that do not offer

their citizens basic democratic rights. To be a successful and credible doctrine, however, this strategy must be applied consistently.

When diplomatic historians look back on the 1990s, they should describe it as the era of European integration. They will do so, however, only if the project is completed. As the Bush administration begins the process of promoting democratic regime change along a new frontier in the Muslim world, it must also finish the job on the European frontier.

The writer, a Hoover Fellow and professor of political science at Stanford University, is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

STEPHEN AMBROSE

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today as an original cosponsor of Senator LANDRIEU's resolution honoring the life of Dr. Stephen E. Ambrose, a distinguished historian, storyteller and treasure of the State of Wisconsin. Born in Whitewater, WI, Dr. Ambrose attended the University of Wisconsin for both his undergraduate and his doctorate, molding a career in American history and embarking on a path he almost didn't take. From his first book, "Wisconsin Boy in Dixie," published in 1961, Dr. Ambrose went on to publish more than 30 books, captivating audiences, young and old, for 41 years.

Dr. Ambrose once said, "When I'm writing at my best, I want to share my own discoveries with the reader. I want to take people to a new understanding of an event, an individual or a story. I want them to be as amazed as I am." It was with this great love for storytelling Dr. Ambrose catapulted readers into the horrific, yet glorifying days of World War II, reigniting old memories and sparking new compassion among those who lived through the era and those who have only read about it in history books. He dedicated numerous books to the courage and sacrifice of the men and women who fought in World War II and is the founder of The National D-Day Museum in New Orleans, LA, the only museum in the country dedicated to "all of the 'D-Days' of World War II, and to those at home who supported these efforts."

From a little-known history professor came this thunderous voice for the thousands of Americans who fought to preserve the freedom of this country. His contributions to the historical education of the American people are both priceless and unmatched. His knowledge, enthusiasm and dedication to the preservation of hometown heroes and history enthusiasts alike will be greatly missed. Speaking on behalf of the state of Wisconsin, this country has certainly lost one of its finest historians.

HOLD TO H.R. 4125

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I would like to inform my colleagues that I have requested to be notified of any unanimous consent agreement before the Senate proceeds to the consid-

eration of H.R. 4125. I have some concerns with this bill and would like to review it further. In addition, there are other Federal courts improvement measures that could be added to make this bill better, such as my Sunshine in the Courtroom legislation, which would allow federal judges discretionary authority to allow media coverage of Federal court proceedings with appropriate safeguards.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION APPROPRIATIONS CONFERENCE REPORT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2003

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I rise yet again to address the Senate on the subject of military construction projects added to an appropriations bill that were not requested by the Department of Defense. This bill contains over \$900 million in unrequested military construction projects.

I did not object to the unanimous consent request to proceed to a voice vote on the fiscal year 2003 Department of Defense Military Construction appropriations conference report because on the day that this funding bill passed, I had managed the floor for more than 16 hours while the Senate proceeded with the serious matter of debating and finally approving the Iraqi War Resolution.

America remains at war, a war that continues to unite Americans in pursuit of a common goal, to defeat terrorism. All Americans have, and undoubtedly in the future will make sacrifices for this war. Many have been deeply affected by it and at times harmed by difficult, related economic circumstances. Our servicemen and women in particular are truly on the front lines in this war, separated from their families, risking their lives, and working extraordinarily long hours under the most difficult conditions to accomplish the ambitious but necessary task their country has set for them.

Every year, I come to the Senate floor to highlight programs and projects added to spending bills for primarily parochial reasons. While I recognize that many of the projects added to this bill may be worthwhile, the process by which they were selected is not.

There are 26 conferees of the Appropriations Military Construction Conference report who represent 19 States. Of those 19 States only one, Wisconsin, did not have projects added on this appropriations bill. Of 119 projects added to this bill, 60 projects are in the states represented by the MILCON Appropriations Conferees, totaling over \$530 million. Those numbers, needless to say, go well beyond the realm of mere coincidence.

By adding over \$900 million above the President's request, the Appropriations Conference Committee is further draining away funds desperately needed for enhancing our warfighting capability. Commonsense reforms, closing military bases, consolidating and