

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.

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#### 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