

it is one of the more important ones. Ultimately, I believe that the next generation of Russian leaders will see that arms control is in their own national self-interest.

Additionally, we should not forget that through the NATO-Russia Founding Act the Russians will have the opportunity not only to observe NATO first hand, but will also be able to work cooperatively with it. They may not learn to love NATO, but at least they will see that it does not correspond to the aggressive, rapacious Stalinist caricature that they grew up with.

Many of us in this body are justifiably concerned about the cost to the American taxpayer of NATO enlargement, and I have talked myself blue in the face to Europeans making clear my insistence on equitable burdensharing. But I would also remind my colleagues that freedom is not cost free. As a deterrent to aggression, ethnic conflict, or other kinds of instability, an enlarged NATO is far less expensive than conducting a military operation after hostilities have broken out would be.

Here again the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is instructive. Had we become directly involved earlier with the lift and strike policy that I advocated as early as 1992, we could have prevented many of the quarter-million deaths and 2 million displaced persons in that tormented country. Moreover, we would not be saddled with the enormous reconstruction costs that the United States and the rest of the world community are now bearing.

So while we persist in our goal of a North Atlantic alliance of truly shared responsibilities, let us not lose sight of the bigger picture that American expenditures on NATO are the best security investment that this country can ever make.

Mr. President, I would summarize my thoughts since Madrid in the following way: NATO enlargement is on the right track. It is a vital force in the integration of the new Europe. Tough negotiating and bargaining lie ahead. Several key questions must be definitively answered in the coming months, above all the actual cost of enlargement and how it will be apportioned. We must work out a satisfactory NATO-led, post-SFOR force for Bosnia. The Committee on Foreign Relations, for example, will hold an extensive series of hearings on these topics. But let us not confuse the debate by repeating already answered questions.

I am convinced that after thorough scrutiny and debate, NATO enlargement will occur on schedule and will contribute to expanding and enhancing stability in Europe, and thereby will strengthen America's security.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

AMBASSADOR RICHARD GARDNER'S OUTSTANDING SERVICE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, too often we take for granted the excep-

tional work done by our Ambassadors and members of the foreign service. These individuals perform their duties in countries throughout the world, often in difficult conditions. Their service is a great tribute to their ability and their loyalty to our Nation, and they deserve America's enduring gratitude for the job they do so well in representing our country in other lands.

Earlier this month, one of our most respected ambassadors, Richard Gardner, completed his service as Ambassador to Spain. Dick has previously served as Ambassador to Italy, and is widely recognized as one of the Nation's foremost experts on foreign policy. The knowledge, enthusiasm, and diligence he brought to his post in Madrid significantly strengthened the political, economic, and cultural ties between our Nation and Spain.

I commend Ambassador Gardner for his outstanding service.

Leaders in Spain have recognized the remarkable contributions made by Ambassador Gardner, and I ask unanimous consent that a recent article by Miguel Herrero de Minon be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From "El Pais", July 1, 1997]

A FORTUNATE AMBASSADOR
(by Miguel Herrero de Miñón)

The U.S. Ambassador, Professor Gardner, and his wife, Danielle, will soon conclude their mission in our country. The time for farewells is the time for praise and the Gardners have made so many friends here, and even established family ties, that they will receive more than enough accolades. That is why I only want to bear witness to a simple, objective fact: Ambassador Gardner has been a fortunate ambassador and good fortune, an excellent attribute for the one who has it and, particularly in the position he holds, requires two ingredients: specific circumstance and the ability to be able to navigate through to a safe port. The former is mere chance; the latter comes through character, good fortune consists of building a destination between the two.

The circumstance of Gardner's embassy in Spain is no less than the maturation of the U.S.-Spanish relationship, which led naturally to it becoming a truly "special" one. I think I was the first, now a number of years ago, to suggest this term, remarking that of all the countries in the European Union with the exception of the United Kingdom, Spain is potentially the one that has the most interests in common with the United States. Accordingly, the sometimes embarrassing security relationship begun over 40 years ago, has been growing while increasing economic, cultural, strategic and political ties have come to light.

Massive student and teacher exchanges contributed to making Spain better known in the U.S. and to doing away with mistrust here; the restoration of democracy in our country opened the way to fuller cooperation, and the Gulf War marked a basic turning point, at least in Spanish public opinion.

But Gardner has had the historic opportunity to contribute decisively during these important recent years, to the acceleration and maturation of this trend, by preparing visits at the highest level in both directions, and collaborating in common, bilateral and multilateral undertakings, bringing the two

societies closer together with better knowledge of each other. It was during his tenure that President Clinton launched the Transatlantic Agenda in Madrid and, also in Madrid with the Spaniard Solana at the helm, Atlantic Alliance reform took place, not to mention good political collaboration in other areas of mutual interest. It was also when economic and trade relations were intensified between our two countries, and educational and cultural relations between our two societies.

Gardner has been not only the representative of one Nation and its Government in another, but also an excellent mediator between two societies. He has come to learn and to teach, opened up possibilities and launched institutions, mobilized initiatives that in many cases are more private than public. His professorial talents—the ability to turn Embassy breakfasts into seminars—and his intellectual talents—he has even enriched our bibliography with a masterpiece of economic-diplomatic history—have served his mission well, as has his liberal patriotism in the best tradition of American internationalism—as opposed to unilateralism and isolationism—which has always held that the implementation of manifest destiny involves making oneself known, understood and making friends.

The growing number of Spaniards who believe in the Atlantic community will miss him, because good fortune, doing such a good and timely job, is a rare and beneficent attribute.

TRIBUTE TO DONALD MARTIN

MR. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a member of my staff who has served me and the Commonwealth of Virginia as a legislative correspondent for the past 2 years.

Don Martin will be leaving my office to attend law school this fall. He will be sorely missed by those who have grown to respect him and his tremendous talent and hard work.

Don is a native of Wytheville, VA, in the southwest portion of our State. He joined my staff in the summer of 1995, just weeks after graduating from Yale University, in New Haven, CT. Don is the first member of his family to attend college and the first to graduate from high school. At Yale, Don was a top student recognized for his contributions as a community leader.

While attending George Wythe High School, Don was honored as class president and recognized as the school's outstanding student. Don Martin was also Virginia's top high school debate champion in both 1990 and 1991.

Don's legislative responsibilities have focused on issues related to the Committee on Environment and Public Works, on which I serve, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, and the Committee on Government Affairs.

Mr. President, in the sincerest sense, Don has a goal to give back to his family and community the same kind of love and commitment they gave him. His goal is to get back home and make a positive difference in his community of Wytheville. I respect him and wish him all the best.