

the general welfare. We want to take America forward, out of the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt and the spirit of Lyndon Johnson. We want to continue to have a great society. We want to take care of the majority of the people that need to be taken care of. We are Americans, we are not barbarians.

FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. BONN of Oregon). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from American Samoa [Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, earlier last week I shared with my colleagues and the American people some observations on the crisis that has occurred on the island of Tahiti in French Polynesia, as a consequence of French President Jacques Chirac's recent decision for the Government of France to resume testing of nuclear bomb explosions on the Pacific island atolls of Moruroa and Faugataufa.

Mr. Speaker, despite thousands of petitions and the pleadings from leaders of countries from Europe, from South America, from Asia, and especially from the Pacific island nations, asking France to refrain from conducting nuclear bomb explosions under these Pacific atolls, President Chirac went ahead and pressed the nuclear button 3 weeks ago, exploding a nuclear bomb under Moruroa Atoll with a nuclear punch of 20 kilotons. The nuclear bomb detonated, Mr. Speaker, was more powerful than the atomic bomb dropped on the city of Hiroshima, Japan—which, incidentally, Mr. Speaker, killed some 200,000 men, women and children, from the direct explosion as well as the subsequent radioactive contamination of the residents of Hiroshima.

Mr. Speaker, I realize that whenever a person calls out the word or name, "Tahiti," immediately many of us think of paradise—the swaying palm trees, the lovely Polynesian maidens—a place where there is much dancing and singing in the air, amongst the festive Polynesian Tahitians.

Perhaps, even more vividly, when the American people think of Tahiti, they recall visions from the silver screen classic, "Mutiny on the Bounty," first with Clarke Gable and later starring Marlon Brando.

The fact of the matter, Mr. Speaker, is that the Pacific islands of Tahiti, Moorea, Huahine, Raiatea, and Bora Bora, truly are among the most beautiful volcanic islands in the world. The world famous writer and author, James Michener, has described the island of Bora Bora as the most beautiful in the world, and I agree with Mr. Michener.

Well, Mr. Speaker, as I stand here in the well describing the magnificent beauty of these islands, something very serious has happened since these islands became a colony of France some 150 years ago. The islands of French

Polynesia were what westerners would call colonized by France, after some 500 French soldiers with guns and cannons subdued the Tahitian chiefs and their warriors in the 1840's.

Mr. Speaker, after the French were kicked out of their former colony, Algeria, in the early 1960's the late Charles de Gaulle immediately ordered his subordinates to find a new place where the French Government could continue its nuclear testing program. The French Government decided that the two Pacific atolls of Moruroa and Faugataufa in French Polynesia would be the sites for the French nuclear testing program. The Government of France has now exploded well over 180 nuclear bombs on the under these two atolls in the Pacific. The French have been exploding their nuclear bombs in the Pacific for the past 30 years.

Mr. Speaker, with the cold war at an end and the Berlin Wall down, there has been a tremendous sense of relief among the leading countries of the world. As a result, a moratorium was called by the leading nuclear powers, including France, 3 years ago to suspend nuclear testing altogether.

Mr. Speaker, in June of this year, the newly elected President of France Jacques Chirac, announced that France would explode eight more nuclear bombs—one a month, beginning this month of September until May of next year. And each nuclear bomb explosion, Mr. Speaker, shall be up to 10 times more powerful than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan.

Mr. Speaker, despite extensive efforts made by citizens's organizations and government leaders, involving petitions and pleadings from all over the world to persuade President Chirac not to push that nuclear button—the Chirac government still went ahead and detonated their nuclear bomb.

Mr. Speaker, President Chirac said recently through international wire services that the eight nuclear bomb explosions were absolutely necessary to improve France's nuclear weapons capabilities and that the matter was in the order of the highest national interest of the French Government. However, nuclear physicists contend that the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons could be ensured by non-nuclear tests and have suggested that what France is really pursuing with resumed testing is completion of a new warhead design. This new warhead is supposedly an advanced generation of neutron bombs designed to destroy life, while leaving property intact. Dr. Hutton, a Monash University physicist told the Weekend Australian that what France is not telling the public "is the kinds of new weapons they are planning to use those simulation techniques to build." Why do they want simulation programs? "So they can go beyond the thresholds which will be defined in the Comprehensive Text Ban Treaty," he states.

Mr. Speaker, there are some very serious and troubling issues that now

need our national attention, and the international attention of other countries, as well. In my opinion, Mr. Speaker, France has now initiated the nuclear arms race again, and I would nominate Mr. Chirac as the world's leading nuclear arms proliferator. Additionally, Mr. Chirac's actions raise another serious problem—if I were Chancellor Kohl or any citizen of German, I would feel very uneasy and uncomfortable about the idea that President Chirac has his finger on a nuclear trigger that he is trying to make more lethal. I would also wonder as a German citizen or as citizens of other European countries what assurances there are that French nuclear-armed missiles shall never be pointed at Bonn, Munich or Berlin, or other cities in Europe?

If I were Chancellor Kohl or a German citizen, I would further wonder what absolutely ensures that Mr. Chirac's nuclear forces would be used to defend Germany against in enemy country that might be an ally or a friend of Chirac's government. I believe, Mr. Speaker, we find ourselves in an interesting dilemma, and I am reminded of a Middle Eastern proverb that states that sometimes the friend of my friend is also my enemy.

Mr. Speaker, every country in Europe should feel somewhat uneasy about the possibility that France is the only country among the continental European nations with a nuclear trigger that may be pointed against any one of them.

Mr. Speaker, this is the kind of tension and uncertainty that Mr. Chirac has raised since the re-opening of its nuclear testing program last week. The implications are obvious, Mr. Speaker, and if Mr. Chirac's motive is to raise fear and apprehension about France's nuclear capabilities among its European allies, I must say, President Chirac has succeeded in this endeavor.

Mr. Speaker, the irony of this is that while 62 percent of the people of France do not approve of nuclear testing in the Pacific, the same majority of the people of France also want France to be recognized as a world leader and as a member of the nuclear club like Great Britain, the United States, Russia, and the People's Republic of China.

The problem, Mr. Speaker, is that absent among the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and the world's nuclear club are two nations that are considered as having the second and third most powerful economies in the world. Mr. Speaker, I am making reference to Japan and Germany, respectively.

Mr. Speaker, if there is ever a time to examine regional and international conflicts as we confront them today, there is no way that we can deny the presence and considerable influence of Japan in the Asia-Pacific region and Germany throughout Europe, and certainly both nations to be directly involved with the affairs of the entire world.

Mr. Speaker, about 3 weeks ago I was in Tahiti in French Polynesia. I was joined with some 40 other parliamentarians from the Pacific, from Japan, from Asia, from South America, and from Europe. Led by the mayor of the town of Fa'aa and the leading Polynesian leader, Mr. Oscar Temaru, we joined together for a demonstration in the streets of Papeete, Tahiti to oppose the resumption of French nuclear testing on Moruroa and Faugataufa atolls. We were also joined by the Minister of Finance Mr. Takemura of Japan, and he also voiced his strong opposition to French nuclear testing.

Mr. Speaker, earlier on August 30, 1995, Mr. Temaru and his associates, Mr. Vito Haamatua, and myself traveled to the island of Tureia which is located about 60 miles away from Moruroa where the nuclear bomb had already been placed in a shaft about 3,000 feet under the atoll. We were joined later with the arrival of the Rainbow Warrior II and together we headed for the Moruroa atoll.

Mr. Speaker, in anticipation of the French Government's announcement that the first nuclear explosion would take place on September 1, 1995 at about 6 in the morning, the Rainbow Warrior launched about six inflatable zodiacs at about 3 in the morning—in the dark, right under the nose of the French naval warships.

What is remarkable about these zodiacs, Mr. Speaker, is that they were manned by young men and women who were from New Zealand, from Italy, from Australia, from the United States, from France, from Portugal—kind of a mini United Nations representation. Mr. Speaker, I commend these young people. They were not commandos or soldiers. They were just ordinary citizens, committed to a nuclear free world. It is no secret that the world is suffering tremendously as a result of man's own carelessness and sheer callousness in destroying the ecological balance between nature and all forms of plant and animal life.

Mr. Speaker, I want to share this basic item of fact again with my colleagues and with the American people. The fact is, Mr. Speaker, that the French Government has now exploded 176 nuclear bombs on Moruroa island. One hundred and seventy-six nuclear bombs exploded on one tiny island atoll. And President Chirac has the gall to say that this atoll is ecologically safe? Mr. Speaker, there are reports of hundreds of Tahitians who were subjected to nuclear contamination but were never properly tested after exposure.

As a consequence of these explosions, British scientists have confirmed that the atoll underneath Moruroa Atoll is "becoming a web of vitrified cavities, from which an unknown number of cracks are spreading like spiders' webs." Areas of Moruroa atoll have already sunk by one meter or more. In fact, Dr. Roger Clark, a seismologist at England's Leeds University, has said

that one more test could trigger the atoll's collapse, leading to huge cracks opening to the sea, threatening the fish and other marine life, and ultimately threatening our marine environment throughout the Pacific.

As early as 1987, the world-famous oceanographer and marine environmentalist, Jacques Cousteau, who I personally commend for his opposition to nuclear testings in the Pacific and for the appeals he made to Chirac, also found spectacular cracks and fissures in the atoll, as well as the presence of radioactive isotopes, in the form of iodine 131, plutonium 239, and cesium 134, more commonly known as nuclear leakage.

Mr. Speaker, there is also a strong link between ciguatera poisoning and military operations involving nuclear testing in French Polynesia. Ciguatera poisoning occurs when coral reefs are destroyed, releasing toxic marine organisms which are absorbed by plankton that are eaten by fish, that are ultimately consumed by humans.

Mr. Speaker, even if France stopped its nuclear testing today, the untold amounts of radioactivity encased in Moruroa Atoll will require scientific monitoring for decades to come. Yet France refuses to allow complete and unhindered scientific studies and health assessments to take place.

Another fact remains, Mr. Speaker. As media coverage gave voice to every French diplomat around the world, as well as to France's position that nuclear testing was necessary to its national interest, the senselessness of the testing went untold. What the media failed to tell the world is that France did not need to update its technology via nuclear explosions. The United States had already offered France the technology it sought. Yet American journalists have not given this fact the same amount of airplay that French diplomats have gotten in asserting their insane claim that exploding eight more nuclear bombs in South Pacific waters is necessary to France's national interest.

The media in foreign countries, including Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Germany, and others have done a far better job of covering the global implications of France's resumed nuclear testing than has the American media. How ironic that this should be the case, for a country that has zealously protected and promoted the right to free speech and press, and the widespread dissemination of information; and yet there was hardly any media discussion and debate in America concerning French nuclear testing. Just a few editorials here and there and that was it.

Mr. Speaker, the irony of it all—while just about every American household has a television tuned in and, following the sequences on the fate of one man—Mr. O.J. Simpson, we have turned a deaf ear to health and welfare and even the lives of some 200,000 men, women, and children who

are totally helpless and are not capable of withstanding the military might of the French Navy and the French Foreign Legion—as the French Government has literally forced the Polynesian Tahitians to accept such as awful fate, and a future with no promise to enhance their lives.

And, Mr. Speaker, if and when the French colonial power ever does leave these islands, what a sad commentary for writers to state that France's two gifts to these Polynesian Tahitian's are cognac and islands that are contaminated as a result of French nuclear testings for the past 30 years.

Mr. Speaker, I would have hoped that the French could have learned from America's experience with nuclear testing in the Pacific. In 1954, on Bikini Atoll, the United States exploded the most famous hydrogen bomb of that time—a 15 megaton bomb, 1,000 times more powerful than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. The sad part of this story is that before the bomb was exploded, the officials who were conducting this experiment—the "Bravo Shot"—discovered that the winds had shifted and that the 300 men, women, and children living on the nearby island of Rongelap would be put at risk by the explosion. They exploded the bomb anyway, subjecting 300 innocent people to nuclear contamination. The accounts of their suffering are well-documented.

Though our Government is making every effort to resettle this island and offer monetary compensation to these people, the reality is, no amount of money can compensate for one's health. The women of Rongelap gave birth to what many termed "jelly babies," babies that were born dead and did not appear to look human. The people of Rongelap have suffered from cancer, leukemia, and all manners of disease associated with nuclear contamination.

Yes, we conducted these tests, but then realized the horrors associated with these tests. We realized how harmful these nuclear tests are to the atolls and to the Pacific Islanders way of life. So the United States stopped its nuclear testing program in the Pacific and moved its testing sites underground in the desert plains of the State of Nevada.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend President Clinton for his policy on nuclear testing. He has committed the United States to negotiate an absolute ban on all nuclear tests, and has rejected the argument that small-scale testing is necessary to ensure weapons reliability. This decision, serving as a model for the world, is a major step toward stopping nuclear proliferation.

On the other hand, Mr. Speaker, I must express my disappointment that our Government did not release a strong statement condemning France after the explosion on Moruroa Atoll on September 1, 1995. While other countries vigorously denounced France's

detonation, the response of the United States was understated and weak.

So I stand here in the well today, Mr. Speaker, to declare what our own State Department would not. Chirac's decision to promote nuclear proliferation, at the expense of a peaceful people, is an atrocity, a crime against humanity, not unlike France's decision in World War II to forcibly deport 75,000 of its own citizens, to Nazi concentration camps, where it is said that only 1,000 of those deported survived.

In addition, Mr. Speaker, France's resumption of nuclear testing, especially on soil other than its own, is nothing less than a classic example of colonialism in its worst form, and as such, an old ideology politicized by dominant Western cultures as a means to marginalize and oppress. Every enlightened French citizen should be ashamed that such atrocity reigns in the hands of its current leader, and that those Polynesian Tahitians are simply being forced against their will by the French colonial government to accept nuclear testing, like it or not.

What President Chirac has done is inexcusable and offends the sensitivities of decent people throughout the world. This madness must stop, Mr. Speaker, and it must stop now, and again I urge any fellow Americans, as a gesture of your support, to oppose this mean-spirited policy by President Chirac—don't purchase French wine and French goods and products—this is the only way President Chirac will get the message.

Mr. Speaker, within the coming weeks and months, if there will be more violence and even loss of lives in Tahiti because of nuclear testing, I cannot see how President Chirac can passively take this issue without any concern to the lives of those people who live on those Pacific Islands.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I make this appeal to my colleagues and on behalf of thousands of people throughout the world—especially to the citizens of Japan, the citizens of Germany—to my fellow Americans, to show our compassion and concerns for the welfare of the 200,000 Polynesian Tahitians who are being forced to accept French colonial policy to conduct nuclear testings in the Pacific—a world citizenry movement not to purchase French wine, foods, and products as a gesture of support of the 200,000 Polynesian Tahitians who are against nuclear testing in the Pacific.

Mr. Speaker, I include newspaper articles on the subject of my special order for the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Associated Press, Sept. 26, 1995]
TAHITIAN GOVERNMENT LEADER ASKS CHIRAC
TO END TESTS BEFORE ELECTIONS

PAPEETE, TAHITI.—Tahiti has asked France to speed up its South Pacific nuclear tests, which have prompted huge riots and fueled the independence movement on the largest island in French Polynesia.

Tahitian Government President Gaston Flosse said he has asked French President Jacques Chirac to complete the tests before

March so elections scheduled that month can be held "in a calmer atmosphere."

France's first nuclear blast at Mururoa Atoll on Sept. 5 set off two days of riots in Papeete, the capital of French Polynesia. The test was the first in three years anywhere except China.

Protesters set fire to buildings, looted shops and torched cars.

Many of the rioters were members of Tahiti's pro-independence movement, called out on the streets by a pro-independence radio station after police confronted peaceful protesters.

Opponents of the testing have threatened to hit the streets again this week when France is expected to set off a larger nuclear warhead at Fangatufa, another atoll in the South Pacific.

Chirac has said he plans to conduct as many as eight tests by the end of May. France says it needs the tests to update its nuclear arsenal and develop computer simulation to replace testing.

However France has said it supports an eventual global ban on nuclear testing.

Also Tuesday, the European Parliament said it plans to investigate possible links between the first blast and a volcanic eruption more than 3,000 miles away in New Zealand.

Some members of the 626-seat legislature suspect that the French underground tests on Mururoa Atoll may have sent shock waves along underwater fault lines and caused the eruption of New Zealand's Mount Ruapehu.

That mountain continued to spew ash and boulders Tuesday in what could become New Zealand's biggest volcanic eruption in 50 years.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 19, 1995]
FRENCH NUCLEAR PROGRAM CLOSELY TIED TO
U.S.

SHARING OF SENSITIVE CODES, ACCESS TO
CALIFORNIA LABS TO EXPAND

(By William Drozdiak and Jeffrey Smith)

When President Clinton traveled to Hawaii early this month to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the end of the war in the Pacific, his aides dispatched an urgent message to the French government: Please do not conduct the first in your controversial series of nuclear blasts under a Pacific atoll while Clinton is in the region.

Even though French President Jacques Chirac was eager to proceed with the nuclear tests in the teeth of international protests, he realized he was in no position to turn down such a request from a special friend. Reluctantly, Chirac put off the politically embarrassing blast until Clinton had returned to Washington.

Chirac's gesture was partly a token of respect for the close relationship he has nurtured with Clinton during his first four months in office. But even more, say French and American officials, it was a tip of the hat to the long years of unannounced support and assistance provided by the United States to the French nuclear weapons program.

Despite its claims of developing an independent nuclear deterrent, France has long relied on the United States for some of the most sophisticated technologies needed to upgrade and maintain a modern nuclear arsenal, these officials say.

Although known to specialists, the U.S.-French nuclear links have been little discussed over the years. With the French nuclear tests generating opposition around the Pacific and among environmentalists everywhere, however, the details of the collaboration are getting a new look.

In fact, even though the United States is no longer making its own bombs and has

publicly criticized the French tests, U.S. officials say the cooperation is scheduled to expand to an unprecedented degree.

Washington and Paris currently are trying to negotiate an arrangement, for example, under which the two sides will begin to share sensitive computer codes that describe how bombs behave when they are detonated. France needs the data to make full use of access to two sophisticated new U.S. nuclear weapons research facilities that Washington has quietly offered French weapons experts.

In addition, France has begun building a mammoth \$4 billion laser facility near Bordeaux for weapons-related research—nine stories high and 900 feet long—with the help of an American scientist from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, which is one of three U.S. weapons design centers.

A senior U.S. defense official said the Defense Department is straining to keep this collaboration within traditional bounds, in which the United States has secretly shared scientific data to help ensure that French weapons cannot be detonated accidentally or without proper authority while steering clear of collaboration in nuclear weapons design.

But the official acknowledged there is "so much information in codes . . . [that] some of these data can be used to improve their weapons." As a result, he said, "joint use of codes will have to be explored very thoroughly. . . . We are still in the negotiating phase as to how the increase in our collaboration would take place."

The Clinton administration says maintaining a close U.S.-French relationship is essential to ensuring French support for the comprehensive test ban treaty to be signed next year. Although French aircraft routinely are allowed to ferry military equipment and personnel related to the French nuclear tests in the South Pacific across U.S. territory, according to a senior State Department official, the flights "are not supposed to carry" plutonium for nuclear weapons and "to the best of our knowledge do not."

The cooperation between the two nations dates from the Cold War, when for more than two decades the United States offered assistance in building up a French nuclear arsenal as an important adjunct to the American strategic umbrella that shielded the European allies from thousands of Soviet warheads aimed at the West. U.S. officials helped France design some missiles that carry its warheads and to develop devices meant to prevent an accidental nuclear detonation.

The new U.S. facilities to be opened to French weapons scientists include the \$1 billion National Ignition Facility in Livermore, Calif., which is to simulate the flow of radiation in a nuclear weapons fireball by firing 132 lasers—each more powerful than any laser elsewhere in the world—at a pellet of special nuclear material.

They will also be able to participate in experiments at the new \$400 million Dual Axis Radiographic Hydrodynamic test center at Los Alamos, N.M., which is meant to snap two-dimensional or time-sequence photographs of the inner workings of mock weapons as they are detonated.

The experiments at these two facilities will not produce fission, making them non-nuclear to comply with the terms of the test ban treaty. But U.S. scientists acknowledge that the resulting data are applicable not only to studies of aging weapons in U.S. and French stockpiles, but also to the potential design of new weapons.

A delegation of U.S. energy and defense officials was dispatched to offer this access after Chirac was elected in May, provided that the existence of U.S.-French nuclear collaboration be made public—which it was

in August. A similar deal had been proposed earlier to Chirac's predecessor, Francois Mitterrand, but Mitterrand refused to allow Washington to make any statement referring to nuclear cooperation between the two nations.

In some quarters of the French government, the deepening American connection has stirred consternation. Foreign Minister Herve de Charette has warned that once France embraces the American simulation technology, it will jeopardize its own self-sufficiency. "If we take everything off the American shelf, we will no longer be certain that our nuclear program is fully under our own control," de Charette told foreign reporters recently.

But French scientists and Defense Ministry officials believe cooperation between France and the United States is so great that the claim of self-sufficiency is a charade. These officials say even more American help will be needed if France pursues its ambition of developing a more robust nuclear force by fitting its warheads on new air-to-ground rockets—something that only the United States has mastered.

French officials also argue that the cost of thermonuclear research in the post-testing era will become so enormous—at a time when Western countries are striving to slash defense budgets—that sharing state-of-the-art technology will become an absolute necessity.

The United States and France have not always approached the issue so amicably. When Pierre Mendes-France gave the green light in 1954 to develop a French atomic bomb, the United States was troubled by the specter of nuclear proliferation and sought to block French development of the bomb.

French determination to build a nuclear force grew after Germany was allowed to begin rearming itself and the United States expedited the flow of American assistance to France to cope with such complex matters as ballistic missile guidance systems and multiple warhead technology. High-speed computers also were supplied to the French on an exceptional basis.

When France shifted its testing site from the Algerian desert to the Mururoa atoll in the South Pacific, the American connection became even more critical. U.S. weapons scientists were dispatched to the site to help the French learn to diagnose their test results. French scientists, equipment and even nuclear bomb components were flown in DC-8 transport planes from Paris to the Tahitian capital of Papeete across American territory, with a refueling stop in Los Angeles.

Without permission to transit American air space, French officials say their country's nuclear program would have been stopped dead in its tracks. But in 1987, the U.S. Congress became so alarmed about the risks of French nuclear warheads and other dangerous materials flying across U.S. territory that it passed a law barring the flights and Paris was told to find an alternative route for its bomb parts.

After scrutinizing the map, the French realized that Panama was the shortest—and least troublesome—territorial crossing for such sensitive cargoes. The DC-8 planes, it was decided, would make the journey by flying with nuclear materials first to the French territory of Guadeloupe for a refueling stop, then proceeding across the isthmus before heading out over the Pacific to the final destination at Mururoa.

In a show of gratitude for Panama's willingness to provide a Central American air bridge for the French nuclear program, Mitterrand in 1987 bestowed one of France's highest awards—the title of commander in the Legion of Honor—on the notorious Panamanian dictator, Gen. Manuel Antonio

Noriega. French officials who confirmed an account of the incident published in the Newspaper Le Monde say it was the first time, and probably the last, that a notorious drug trafficker will be given such a medal.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 12, 1995]

THE ARMS RACE IS ON

(By Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr.)

In only a few months, the Republican Congress has quietly managed to undermine more than two decades of progress on nuclear arms control. With practically no public debate, the Senate included in its Pentagon authorization bill a land-based missile defense system that would flagrantly violate the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty, the foundation of all nuclear weapons agreements.

Under the bill, the United States would "develop for deployment" a ballistic missile defense by 2003. The legislation calls for trying to negotiate amendments to the Antiballistic Missile Treaty to allow for the system; but if such talks fail, we would have to consider withdrawing from the treaty.

The system, which could ultimately cost hundreds of billions of dollars, is designed to intercept only long-range ballistic missiles. The cold-war thinking behind it ignores the reduced threat of Russian nuclear attack. No rogue state will have long-range ballistic capability anytime soon.

The bill tacitly recognizes the limited value of an antiballistic defense system, because it also calls for creating new cruise missile defenses (which could be equally costly) and for spending at least \$50 billion more on so-called theater missile defense systems that would protect armed forces and allies overseas.

In addition to its huge expense, this package would all but destroy the possibility of new gains in nuclear arms control, starting with the as yet unratified second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. President Boris Yeltsin of Russia has said that Start II "can be fulfilled only provided the United States preserves and strictly fulfills the bilateral Antiballistic Missile Treaty."

Besides, if we build the antiballistic missile system, Russia would probably begin building its own. This bilateral buildup would preclude future reductions of strategic weapons below the levels called for in Start II. Faced with expanded Russian defenses, Britain, China and France would not likely consider reductions in their nuclear forces and might even seek increases.

The proposed system is a much less effective defense than the agreements it would wipe out. Start I and II call for eliminating missiles and aircraft that could deliver at least 7,000 nuclear warheads; the proposed antiballistic missiles would be lucky to knock down a hundred such warheads in a full-scale assault.

Finally, a new American buildup would give belligerent countries grounds for withdrawing from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or demanding changes in it.

The Clinton Administration deserves some blame for this dangerous new turn. Last year it advocated a theater missile defense system that itself undercut the Antiballistic Missile Treaty.

President Clinton can atone for this mistake by vetoing the Pentagon authorization bill unless the commitment to set up the antiballistic defense system is dropped when the House and Senate prepare the final version this fall. If he signs the bill because Congress is certain to override a veto, he must make clear that he will not deploy this system or seek any changes in the ABM Treaty.

Why risk restarting the arms race at a time when America has never been in less danger of a nuclear attack?

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Ms. JACKSON-LEE) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Ms. MCKINNEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GIBBONS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. OWENS, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. BROWN of Florida, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SCOTT, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. POMEROY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MINGE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. HILLIARD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BARCIA, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WISE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. MALONEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BALLENGER) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. MCINTOSH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. NORWOOD, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. DUNCAN, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. CLYBURN, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BISHOP, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Member (at his own request) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. SMITH of Michigan, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Ms. JACKSON-LEE) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. DOYLE.

Mr. BONIOR in two instances.

Mr. STOKES.

Mr. LEVIN.

Mr. STARK.

Mr. BERMAN.

Mr. MEEHAN in two instances.

Mr. STUPAK.

Mr. OWENS.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. BALLENGER) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. BOEHNER.

Mr. OXLEY.

Mrs. MORELLA.