

They may have a right to make that statement, but that does not make it right to make that kind of a statement. It should be retracted.

I commend President Bush and I hope other members of the NRA, in one way or another, would let their leadership know that kind of rhetoric is unacceptable about an American administration. Like any other administration, it, I am sure, has agents who make mistakes from time to time. There is a place to rectify them. It is called a court. But to make that allegation from an organization the size of the NRA I think is unacceptable, it is irresponsible, and it still should be retracted.

I thank my friend from Arkansas for his continuing effort to try to bring some kind of calmer normalcy into the general climate in this country.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President I just want to observe that the managers of the pending legislation I understand are working on some agreements hopefully that will make it possible to wrap up this legislation before the day is out. Therefore, at this time, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Chair what the pending business is.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending business of the Senate is the Hatch amendment numbered 755.

Mr. COATS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GREGG). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, just a couple of hours ago, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty—the single most important component of the international effort to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons—was enshrined for all time by an overwhelming decision made by more than 170 countries party to the treaty. The decision to make the NPT permanent was accomplished without any conditions or qualifications.

This is a truly historic day in our ongoing efforts to make ours a safer and more peaceful world. The security of all countries, weapons States and non-weapons States alike, has been strengthened.

The NPT has established the norm prohibiting the further acquisition of nuclear weapons. Indefinite extension of the NPT will help improve the climate of trust conducive to more restrictive controls over weapons-grade nuclear materials and related technologies and activities. It also provides momentum for addressing the dangers posed by other weapons of mass destruction.

Making the NPT permanent, of course, will not end the global nuclear proliferation threat. Treaty membership is never a guarantee of compliance. Yet, when backed by strong national policies, the NPT advances the security interests of all countries. Indeed, it has helped to keep the number of declared nuclear weapons States and so-called “threshold” States at five and three respectively.

Clearly, the world remains a dangerous place. Iran, North Korea, and the theft of fissile materials present immediate nuclear proliferation perils. Much progress on controls over other weapons of mass destruction remains to be made. Moreover, as the tragic bombing in Oklahoma has shown, determined terrorists can accomplish their contemptible intentions with even the crudest of weapons.

But today is a time for celebration. We have achieved a critical victory in making the post-cold-war period safer and more secure. This is a victory for all the world's people. I believe this body deserves a measure of credit for the unanimous adoption of a resolution in March calling for permanent, unconditional extension of the NPT. It is also a testament to the hard work of Tom Graham who took the lead in the negotiations. The chairman of the conference held in New York, the Honorable Jayantha Dhanapala of Sri Lanka, also deserves our thanks for his particularly skilled leadership. Happily, Mr. Dhanapala will be returning to Washington within a few days to resume his post as Ambassador of his country to the United States.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AND U.S. SECURITY

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, 26 years ago, the Senate provided its advice and consent to ratification of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT]. In considering the treaty, Chairman Fulbright prevailed on the Members of the Senate to ratify the NPT, because without it, the world would face a wide array of potential nuclear horrors—such as developing

nations acquiring nuclear weapons to elevate their status or national power; regional powers resorting to the use of nuclear weapons to settle their differences; or ethnic or religious differences being settled with nuclear weapons. He foresaw a world where major powers like the United States might be held hostage by small, poor countries who possess a few nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them, or, become drawn into a nuclear confrontation brought about by these small nations through a miscalculation or an accident.

At the time the NPT was negotiated there were relatively few countries who had tested or possessed nuclear weapons. Those countries were the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, France, and China. They became known as the nuclear weapons states. All other states who did not possess or had not tested nuclear weapons became known as non-nuclear weapons states.

Back in 1969, when the Senate voted to provide its advice and consent to ratification of the NPT, I was one of the 15 members who voted against ratification of the treaty. I voted against it because I had grave reservations about the treaty's goals and whether they could be achieved. I was concerned that if the United States ratified the NPT, it would be unable to fulfill its NATO responsibilities and commitments. I feared that the NPT would also foreclose the ability of NATO members to participate fully in the operations of the Alliance. Lastly, I was concerned that the nuclear weapons states, and in particular, the United States, would bear the huge costs of transferring nuclear technology for peaceful uses to the non-nuclear weapons states.

Mr. President, the overall goal and purpose of the NPT is to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, and to prohibit the transfer, or acquisition and manufacture of nuclear weapons by non-nuclear weapons states. However, there are no enforcement mechanisms to prevent a non-nuclear weapons state from becoming a nuclear weapons state in the NPT. There are no sanctions for violations of the treaty. While the NPT requires the parties to pursue negotiations to end the nuclear arms race and bring about nuclear disarmament, the NPT cannot force an end to the race for nuclear weapons, nor can it force the destruction of all nuclear weapons.

For that matter, the NPT cannot ensure that parties to the Treaty, whether nuclear weapons states or non-nuclear weapons states, do not withdraw from the Treaty if they decide they wish to acquire or develop a nuclear arsenal for their own national security reasons. In fact, the NPT has a withdrawal clause.

The NPT only covers countries that have ratified the Treaty. For example, take the so-called threshold states which have developed nuclear weapons,

or nuclear weapons technology. These countries, India, Pakistan, and Israel, are not parties to the Treaty. Even if these countries signed the NPT as non-nuclear weapons states, there is no way to ensure that these countries will ever stop development of, or destroy, their nuclear arsenals.

Mr. President, in the 26 years of its existence, the NPT did not free the world from the threat of nuclear weapons, and it will not do so in the future. It did, however, establish a global norm for nations to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons and it has enjoyed the widest adherence of any arms control agreement. It is for this reason, that I rise today in support of extending the NPT. Let me qualify my statement of support of the Treaty by saying that I take no position on whether the Treaty should be indefinitely extended, or, extended only for a fixed period of time. I am concerned that the United States did not make any efforts to improve the NPT and make it a more viable agreement by strengthening its enforcement and inspection mechanisms.

I went back and reviewed the Senate floor debate on the ratification of the NPT. Mr. President, despite wide adherence to the NPT, the world still faces the potential horrors of a nuclear exchange between regional states. The risk of the use of nuclear weapons by countries to suppress governmental factions, or settle old ethnic and religious disputes still exists today, as it did 26 years ago.

Representatives of the international community have been gathered in New York City at the United Nations for the past month to determine the future of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Clinton administration supports indefinite and unconditional extension of the Treaty, while representatives from the non-aligned member states, led by Indonesia, Iran and Egypt, oppose indefinite extension.

On March 16, a majority of Members of the Senate expressed their support for the administration's position of indefinite and unconditional extension of the NPT. They also expressed concerns that the NPT would be seriously undercut if it is not indefinitely extended, dealing a major blow to global nuclear nonproliferation regimes. Mr. President, the treaty can be undermined at any time regardless of its duration because there are no enforcement mechanisms or automatic sanctions.

I remind my colleagues that as a non-nuclear weapons state to the NPT and member in good standing, Iraq, developed an illegal nuclear weapons program under the guise of a peaceful nuclear program, and it has been determined that Iran, under the guise of peaceful use of nuclear technology is pursuing an illegal nuclear weapons program. Likewise, North Korea, a non-nuclear weapons state to the NPT was determined to have violated the NPT. Of course, it was never determined to be a member in good standing of the treaty. Lastly, even though not

members of the NPT, India, Pakistan, and Israel, were able to secretly develop nuclear weapons programs.

Representatives and leaders of a number of developing countries, or nonaligned member states, do not support indefinite and unconditional extension of the treaty. They cite as reasons for their lack of support for the U.S. position, the lack of progress in concluding a comprehensive test ban. They claim that the nuclear weapons states have not fulfilled their nuclear disarmament obligations. They believe that the Treaty is discriminatory and that it sanctions the five nuclear powers' rights to hold on to their nuclear weapons and keep the non-nuclear weapon states as nuclear weapons "have-nots".

Mr. President, I reject the rationale offered by the non-aligned states for not supporting extension of the Treaty. For the past decade, the United States and Russia have made unprecedented reductions in their nuclear forces—beginning in 1985 with the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and more recently reducing strategic forces under START. Both President Clinton and President Yeltsin have agreed to discuss even further reductions to their nuclear weapons programs once START II is implemented. Prior to START entering into force, President Bush and President Gorbachev implemented unilateral reductions of United States and Russian tactical weapons. Since 1992, a testing moratorium has been in place in the United States, and the United States along with the other nuclear weapons states and members of the Conference on Disarmament have been negotiating a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Last month, the United States and the other four nuclear weapons states restated their support of negative security assurances in the United Nations. Additionally, negotiations will begin soon on a global ban on the production of fissile material for military purposes in the Conference on Disarmament. If these steps do not indicate a good faith effort on the part of the United States and other nuclear weapons states toward nuclear disarmament, I am not sure what else can be done.

Representatives of the non-nuclear weapons states who want to poke the United States in the eye by not supporting indefinite extension of the Treaty, because they believe we have not reduced our nuclear arsenals to zero, or completed the negotiations on a comprehensive test ban, would do well to focus attention on their own efforts at reducing the threat posed by nuclear weapons. How have they worked with their neighbors, and other countries, to build more positive relationships and confidence so that threat of attack and annihilation are reduced and countries do not feel compelled to acquire nuclear weapons for protection?

The Clinton administration and other NPT signatories should stop

wringing their hands over the period of time for which the Treaty should be extended. Instead they should be focused on using this month-long conference to enhance the viability of the NPT by making it a living document which enables and ensures multilateral enforcement of the Treaty's provisions. Parties to the NPT should have confidence that its members will comply with the provisions of the Treaty, be supportive of its goals and that the proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear technology is eliminated. And, when a determination of a violation has been made by the international monitoring agency through its inspections and the United Nations Security Council has been notified, meaningful and appropriate actions or sanctions should be undertaken immediately.

Mr. President, once again, I rise to say that I support extension of the NPT. I only regret that the administration did not believe the NPT was important enough to strengthen it to make it a more viable and effective arms control agreement.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF MUNICIPAL SOLID WASTE ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, a vote has been scheduled at 6 o'clock by the managers on an amendment which has been offered by Senator CRAIG, Senator GRASSLEY, Senator BROWN, Senator KEMPTHORNE, and myself which would establish a sense of the Senate that hearings should be held on Ruby Ridge, ID, and Waco, TX, on or before June 30.

The purpose of the amendment is to set a date where there may be an inquiry by the full Judiciary Committee on those events because of the widespread reports of public unrest as to what occurred there.

I have attempted to get a hearing on the Waco incident since mid-1993. The incident there happened on April 19, 1993. It has always seemed to me that it is not sufficient to have the executive branch investigate itself when there is so much concern as to the propriety of the action which was taken there, with the assaults and with the rush and with the gases which were used.

There have been numerous reports and there is very substantial evidence of public unrest on what has happened there. It is speculative to an extent, or it may not be speculative, as to a connection between the Oklahoma City