

accountability as to how any of the funds are spent. The various purposes that we have meticulously specified over the years as priorities for the Nation, those priorities will be put aside.

Let me mention one other program, Madam President, that I think is of particular concern as to how it would fare under this amendment, and that is title I. When I talk to elementary schoolteachers and administrators in my State, the one Federal program that they consistently point to and say "thank you" for sending the funds to the State and to local districts, it is in this title I area. That is funding for disadvantaged students. It makes a tremendous difference in many of our schools. I think for us to—in an amendment here on the floor, without hearings, without any comprehension of what we are doing—just say we are going to eliminate title I, I think that is highly irresponsible. I believe very strongly that we made a serious mistake when we went that way.

So there is no accountability if this amendment prevails. There is no oversight by the Federal Government as to how these funds are spent if this amendment prevails. We would cut State support networks out of the picture, also, if this amendment prevails. The Gorton amendment fully bypasses State educational agencies. In my State, our State educational agencies help to coordinate and monitor programs. Those are all bypassed under the amendment. Some people think that block granting education funds might give local school districts more control or more funding. The reality is that if we block grant these programs and bypass the entire State education network, we put a huge administrative burden on school districts, which very few of them are equipped to handle at this point. About 6 percent of Federal funds is taken off the top by States for administrative and technical expenses. I wish they didn't have to take any expenses off. But I fear that we will see a duplication at the local district level that will soak up substantially more than 6 percent of the total Federal funds if we bypass the networks that the States have set up.

In my own State, there is really no way to anticipate the total effect of this amendment. It is untried. Funding levels would basically be determined by having each individual district conduct a self-reported census on its own of all school-age children in the district, weigh the district's funding according to each State's average per capita income level. It is not difficult to guess that we won't do nearly as well in my State as some might think. Current formulas already awarding money directly to the school district based on individual community need would be scrapped and many communities would be left to fend for themselves.

Madam President, in summary, let me just say that this amendment should not become law. I am persuaded

that if it remains in this bill, the President will veto the bill, as he should.

I think this is the kind of irrational, unwise, misguided action which we sometimes get involved in here in the Senate when we don't have active debate. There was not adequate debate on the Gorton amendment. We have not had hearings in the Education Subcommittee of the Labor and Human Resources Committee on the Gorton amendment. If Senator GORTON and other sponsors of this bill want to pursue this course of action, I believe it should be put out as a piece of legislation that we can have hearings on in the authorizing committee. I am fortunate to be a member of the Labor, Health and Human Resources Committee which has worked long and hard over the years to authorize the various Federal programs being eliminated with this amendment. I think the proper course would be to have a full set of hearings on all of these programs, and determine which of them should be eliminated. If the will of the Senate and the will of the Congress and the will of President is to eliminate some of them, then fine. But coming along with this kind of an amendment absent hearings and absent adequate debate I think is not the responsible way to proceed.

So I would join others here in objecting strenuously to the provision. As Senator DODD suggested yesterday on the floor, if the bill comes back from the appropriations conference with this provision in it, he would commit to filibuster against the 1998 appropriations bill. I hope very much that course is not required. But, obviously, I and many others would have to join him in that course of action, if that amendment remains in the legislation.

Mr. President, how much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRIST). The Senator's time just expired.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak for up to 10 additional minutes as if in morning business.

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

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I wanted to speak for a few minutes here on the subject of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. My distinguished colleague from Delaware, Senator BIDEN, spoke about it this week. He, of course, is the ranking member on the Foreign Relations Committee which is one of the key committees with responsibility over this subject matter.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, as I understand it, is intended to be sent by the administration to the Senate in the very near future. And I want to just reemphasize some of the points that Senator BIDEN made, and highlight the importance of the treaty to

our national security and international peace.

In the wake of the cold war, our world remains a very dangerous place in which to live. When the United States and the Soviet Union were still aiming thousands of nuclear warheads at each other during the cold war, all of us understood the danger that existed—perhaps only a half an hour away. But with the fall of international communism, the world breathed a huge sigh of relief, and hoped that we could move into a postnuclear age. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is a major part of the hope and a major part of what needs to be done in order to move into that postnuclear age.

No greater threat to our national security or international peace exists than the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The potential damage that such weapons could do remains no less a threat than the one that we feared during the cold war. Think for a moment about the possibility of terrorists armed with nuclear weapons having been in the Tokyo subway instead of terrorists there with nerve gas. Think of the possibility of terrorists having been in Oklahoma City with a small nuclear weapon instead of with the weapon that was there. Perhaps my colleagues have read recent reports about the suitcase-sized nuclear weapons being unaccounted for in Russia. Whether these reports are true or not I recently had the chance to visit Russia and observe a model of the nuclear weapons that existed there; the size of artillery shells. And I am told that is also a weapon that we have had in our own inventory at various times. Such miniature nuclear weapons are indeed, feasible. They pose a realistic threat to the post-cold war world in which we live.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is a critical element in the spectrum of policies and actions that we need to take to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons of whatever size—prevent the spread of them to rogue nations, to terrorist organizations, to individuals bent on some type of irrational destructive behavior. For countries that have no nuclear weapons, it is impossible for them to develop nuclear weapons and be confident that they will work without being able to test them.

Senator BIDEN recently stated that the proof of this belief is manifested by the current reluctance of Pakistan and India to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. These nations currently prefer to be able to test their weapons in order to ensure that they work—thereby demonstrating their nuclear capability and supporting their foreign policy goals. The danger of a nuclear conflict between these two nations and the potential impact such a war could have on the entire planet should be very clear to everyone who serves here in the Senate.

But India and Pakistan, and other potential nuclear powers, will not step

back from the nuclear brink if the United States and the other nuclear powers do not take convincing steps toward controlling, reducing, and eliminating nuclear weapons through arms control treaties, specifically through the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

The recent seismic event that occurred off the coast of northern Russia reminds us of how important it is for the Senate to ratify and for the world to implement this test ban treaty. In this case the experts disagree among themselves about the exact nature of the event. Article IV of the treaty will ensure that we could take steps to clarify whether or not that incident was a nuclear explosion or an underground earthquake. But, without the treaty, the experts will continue to massage the data in search for definitive answers. With the treaty, we could observe some answers directly through on-site inspection.

Without the treaty, potential nuclear powers might well conclude that today's superpowers are ignoring their promises to discontinue nuclear testing—that, therefore, license exists for these nonnuclear powers who have the ambition to become nuclear powers to proceed on their own path toward development of nuclear weapons with impunity. If we put this treaty in place, those same potential nuclear powers would recognize that current nuclear powers should be held accountable for their promises not to test nuclear weapons. With the treaty in place, they would know that the commitment of today's nuclear powers to nonproliferation was a genuine commitment and one that we would abide by.

It serves the peaceful interests of the United States and the peaceful interests of countries throughout the world to take this important step to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and eliminate nuclear testing. At the same time it serves the security interests of this Nation to ensure that our nuclear weapons remain a viable deterrent force. The science-based Stockpile Stewardship Program that we have in place today as part of our defense strategy is the means by which the United States can achieve this dual goal—the goal of a comprehensive test ban to ensure nonproliferation, and also a reliable nuclear deterrent force, should we ever need such weapons in the future. I will be working hard, and I urge all my colleagues in the Senate both to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and to ensure that the Stockpile Stewardship Program is fully funded and implemented. The Nation's prospects for a peaceful world and our national security demand that we move ahead on world fronts.

I urge my colleagues to examine these and other important issues surrounding the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty very carefully during the coming months. I hope that we can have this treaty presented to the Senate in the next few weeks. I hope that we can begin the hearing process this fall. I

hope that early next year we can act favorably upon it.

I have written a letter to the chairman and the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee requesting that we hold hearings on this Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty at our earliest opportunity—hopefully, before we adjourn this fall. I look forward to that debate.

I am confident that the Senate will choose to ratify the treaty since it is so much in our national interest to do so and in the interests of world peace, once we have all the facts.

Mr. President, I think it is essential that we spend some of our valuable time between now and final adjournment this fall focused on this treaty so that we can understand those facts and act responsibly on this matter.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

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

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

HIDDEN COSTS OF THE TOBACCO SETTLEMENT

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, 30 years ago this week, Senator Robert Kennedy addressed the World Conference on Smoking and Health in New York City on ways to address the mounting death rate attributed to cigarette smoking. He spoke to the conference about the difficulty of convincing people, particularly the Nation's youth, that smoking can kill them. He emphasized the grim statistics of premature death and illness caused by smoking.

Today, 30 years later, little has changed. Over 400,000 Americans die from smoking-related diseases each year. In fact, in 1993, smoking was attributed to one in every five deaths—more than alcohol, car accidents, fires, homicides, suicides, drugs, and AIDS combined.

This chart, Mr. President, shows very accurately what the impact of cigarettes is in terms of the mortality of Americans—the red line being 418,000. These are all statistics from the Centers for Disease Control—from alcohol, 105,000; car accidents, 46,000; suicides, 30,000, and so on. This is a very clear graph about the magnitude of the impact of the use of cigarettes, of which 90 percent of smokers start when they are children of 14 or 15 years of age. It is an issue that must be addressed in any kind of agreement that this body is going to sanction or support.

One million young people between the ages of 12 and 17 take up the deadly habit every year, 3,000 new smokers a day, and 90 percent of the current adult smokers began to smoke before they reached the age of 18. If nothing is done

to reverse this trend in adolescent smoking, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate that 5 million of today's children will die prematurely from smoking-caused illnesses.

Congress and President Clinton have a historic opportunity to protect current and future generations from the scourge of nicotine addiction and tobacco-induced illnesses.

Study after study has shown that the most powerful weapon in reducing smoking, particularly by the Nation's youth, is to raise the price of cigarettes. A \$1.50 price increase, as Dr. Koop and Dr. Kessler have advocated, would have a double benefit. It would reduce youth smoking by more than half over the next decade and provide some compensation to the Federal Government for the damage that smoking has done.

Most health economists agree that in addition to Medicaid, tobacco imposes a heavy toll, exceeding \$20 billion a year, on numerous other Federal health programs, including Medicare, the Department of Defense health programs for military personnel, veterans health programs, and the Federal employees health benefit programs.

To compensate the Federal Government fairly for these high costs, the total settlement would have to be more than doubled from its current figure.

The State attorneys general have done a very impressive job in working out the tobacco settlement, but their primary focus was on reimbursing the States for the States' participation in the Medicaid Program. They did not have the responsibility to try to ensure the protection for the Federal Treasury in terms of these other health-related programs—Medicare, the veterans programs and others.

If you evaluate those programs and the costs, as Professor Harris has done in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee and also before the Labor and Human Resources Committee, you would see that the cost of treating tobacco-related illnesses to Medicare alone are approximately \$9.3 billion, and others have calculated the Medicare costs to be substantially higher. Yet the proposed settlement provides not a single penny to the Federal Government for the recovery of these expenses.

As I mentioned, the State attorneys general have obtained a fair reimbursement under the pending settlement for the costs imposed on Medicaid. It would be unreasonable and irresponsible for Congress and the Clinton administration to let Joe Camel and the Marlboro man off the hook for the high costs imposed on Federal health programs.

Already this year the tobacco industry had the audacity to write a special-interest loophole in the budget legislation requiring the Federal Government to deduct the \$50 billion amount generated by the increased cigarette tax devoted to children's health from the