

treaty in front of the United Nations General Assembly earlier this week—proclaimed the CTBT as the “longest-sought, hardest-fought prize in the history of arms control.”

I think President Bush and President Clinton deserve a great deal of credit for making the final push to achieve a total test ban.

In 1992, President Bush decided to place a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. President Clinton then extended the moratorium until a comprehensive test ban could be negotiated with the other nuclear powers.

The leadership shown by President Bush and President Clinton created the momentum that led to the passage of the CTBT in the United Nations last year. Had the United States not taken the initiative to halt its nuclear testing first, I doubt that the Senate would have a test ban treaty to consider.

It is critical that the United States not shirk its leadership role now that the CTBT is so close to going into effect. Already, eight states have ratified the CTBT including Japan, which ratified the treaty this past July, and, most recently, the Czech Republic on the 8th of this month.

But obviously the CTBT will be meaningless unless the five major nuclear powers ratify it. Here is where the United States can once again be at the front of the line. The United States has, after all, conducted the lion's share of nuclear tests in the last 50 years—1,030 in all, compared to 715 by the Soviet Union; 45 by the United Kingdom; 210 by France and 45 by China.

But perhaps the greatest challenge to this treaty will be getting the undeclared nuclear powers on board. India and Pakistan have not signed the CTBT and their absence endangers the entire treaty. As two countries who have been in conflict with each other since becoming independent nations, India and Pakistan may have the most to gain from a ban on nuclear tests.

The United States, along with each of the 145 other nations who have signed the treaty, need to work together to convince India of the wisdom of the comprehensive test ban. India should realize that the CTBT is just another step towards complete nuclear disarmament. Islamabad [iz-LAHM-ah-BAHD] indicates that once India agrees to the CTBT, Pakistan would also sign. This is an historic opportunity to help facilitate peace in Asia—one that the United States should not miss.

North Korea is another holdout.

But, unlike Pakistan and India, the North Koreans have yet to show a true commitment to greater integration in the international system. Many intelligence analysts from both the United States and South Korea believe that North Korea may already possess a crude nuclear device.

Hopefully, one day, even North Korea will bend to international pressure and accept a test ban.

Despite what critics of the CTBT might say, the treaty is enforceable.

Nuclear explosions of any substantial size are very difficult to hide. This treaty will establish an international monitoring system that incorporates seismological, infrasound, and other technologies. State-of-the-art seismological sensors can detect blasts as small as one kiloton anywhere in the world.

But the treaty also includes provisions for on-site monitoring so inspectors can visit test sights quickly if there is any suspicion that a nuclear blast has occurred.

Events of the last month have illustrated how important it is to have a well-monitored CTBT. On August 16, seismologists detected evidence that Russia may have exploded a nuclear device at its test site in the Arctic. However, there is evidence to back Moscow's claim that the seismic activity was the result of an underwater earthquake, rather than a nuclear test.

The monitoring regime that the CTBT will establish will make it much easier to investigate such incidents and will reduce mutual suspicion between the nuclear powers.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is indeed something that will enhance the security of the United States. In addition to making the nuclear programs of China and Russia more transparent, the test ban will make it significantly more difficult for rogue states like Iran or Iraq to complete development of their own nuclear weapons.

As a complement to the CTBT, the United States and the other nuclear powers should do all they can to ensure that threshold countries do not have access to advanced technology—such as high-speed computer modeling—that would help them to develop reliable weapons without actually conducting nuclear tests.

Mr. President, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is now in our hands and it is up to the Senate to act.

I hope the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. HELMS] will hold hearings on this treaty before the end of the First Session of the 105th Congress so that the full Senate can ratify the CTBT by early next year.

This treaty has won near unanimous support in the United Nations. Countries—both Communist and capitalist, developing and developed—have signed this treaty. The CTBT has overwhelming multilateral support and it deserves full bipartisan support in the Senate.

I urge all my colleagues to support the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Let me close with another quote from President Kennedy's speech at American University. “Genuine peace must be the product of many nations, the sum of many acts. It must be dynamic, not static, changing to meet the challenge of each new generation. For peace is a process—a way of solving problems.”

Mr. President, the CTBT is an important tool in meeting one of today's big-

gest challenges: ending the threat of nuclear war.

We must meet this challenge.

TRIBUTE TO RAFAEL GARCIA AND OCTAVIO VIVEROS, JR.

• Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the Hispanic American population during National Hispanic Heritage Month. Every year, from September 15 through October 15, Hispanic Americans celebrate their Heritage and are honored for their many civic contributions and achievements throughout the Nation. In the spirit of Hispanic Heritage Month, I recognize two individuals, Rafael Garcia and Octavio Viveros, Jr., whom I nominated to represent my home State of Missouri on the United States Senate Task Force on Hispanic Affairs.

Rafael Garcia is president and owner of Rafael Architects, Inc. (RAI). Honored with many architectural awards, Rafael has also received numerous Community Service awards. In 1997, Rafael earned “Entrepreneur of the Year Finalist” to add to his Hispanic Leadership award, and his “Top 25 Hispanic Leaders in Kansas City” honor given by Dos Mundos Newspaper. He is a member of several Charity and Community Boards of Directors including Heart of America United Way, Starlight Theater and the Kansas City Art Institute. Rafael volunteers for FOCUS/Odyssey 2000 West as a facilitator and for Project HOPE (Hope, Opportunity, Performance, Education through Entrepreneurship) and has been written up in several prominent magazines for his many accomplishments and contributions. He personifies everything positive in the Kansas City Metropolitan area and I am excited to have him working on this important cause for Hispanic communities across the United States.

Octavio Viveros, Jr. is a Founder and Partner of Viveros & Barrera L.C. Law Firm and is Founder and President of LatAm Trading, Inc. Octavio has been appointed to the Board of Indigent's Defense a Gubernatorial Appointment for the State of Kansas and the Key Commission a Mayoral Appointment for the City of Kansas City, MO. He is the founder of the Hispanic Economic Development Corporation of Kansas City, a former President of the Board of Directors for the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce of Greater Kansas City and a member of the Kansas City Centurious Leadership Program, to name a few of his civic accomplishments. Octavio has earned many awards including recognition as one of the “25 Most Influential Hispanics in Kansas City” in 1993 by Dos Mundos Newspaper. Most recently he attended United States Senate Republican Conference as a member of the Task Force on Hispanic Affairs here in Washington, DC. His continuing commitment to not only the Kansas City Community, but also the entire Hispanic

American Community is a positive example for all and I am extremely pleased to have him on my team.

I believe that Rafael and Octavio will be able to help the Hispanic community by encouraging growth and opportunity. Each year exemplary leadership in the Hispanic Community is evidenced by achievement in the work force and community involvement. It is impressive to watch this expansion and I congratulate all Hispanic Americans, especially Rafael and Octavio, during this important month of Heritage. I commend them on their present success and hope for even more in the years to come.●

LANDMINES

● Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, many have asked whether the Department of Defense has so involved itself in the landmine debate that they have even changed definition to win in their opposition to joining the majority of nations seeking a ban.

An article from September 24, 1997, the Washington Post answers the question and I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

CLINTON DIRECTIVE ON MINES: NEW FORM,
OLD FUNCTION
(By Dana Priest)

When is an antipersonnel land mine—a fist-sized object designed to blow up a human being—no longer an antipersonnel land mine?

When the president of the United States says so.

In announcing last week that the United States would not sign an international treaty to ban antipersonnel land mines, President Clinton also said he had ordered the Pentagon to find technological alternatives to these mines. "This program," he said, "will eliminate all antipersonnel land mines from America's arsenal."

Technically speaking, the president's statement was not quite accurate.

His directive left untouched the millions of little devices the Army and Defense Department for years have been calling antipersonnel land mines. These mines are used to protect antitank mines, which are much larger devices meant to disable enemy tanks and other heavy vehicles.

The smaller "protectors" are shot out of tanks or dropped from jets and helicopters. When they land, they shoot out threads that attach themselves to the ground with tiny hooks, creating cobweb-like tripwires. Should an enemy soldier try to get close to the antitank mine, chances are he would trip a wire, and either fragments would explode at ground level or a handball-sized grenade would pop up from the antipersonnel mine to about belly height. In less than a second, the grenade would explode, throwing its tiny metal balls into the soldier's flesh and bones.

In the trade, these "mixed" systems have names such as Gator, Volcano, MOPMS and Area Denial Artillery Munition, or ADAM.

These mines, Clinton's senior policy director for defense policy and arms control, Robert Bell, explained later, "are not being banned under the president's directive because they are not antipersonnel land mines." They are, he said, "antihandling devices," "little kinds of explosive devices" or, simply, "munitions."

Not according to the Defense Department, which has used them for years.

When the Pentagon listed the antipersonnel land mines it was no longer allowed to export under a 1992 congressionally imposed ban, these types were on the list.

And when Clinton announced in January that he would cap the U.S. stockpile of antipersonnel land mines in the inventory, they were on that list too.

At the time, there were a total of 1 million Gators, Volcanos and MOPMS, as well as 9 million ADAMs. (Only some ADAMs are used in conjunction with antitank mines, and those particular devices are no longer considered antipersonnel land mines.)

The unclassified Joint Chiefs of Staff briefing charts used to explain the impact of legislation to Congress this year explicitly state that Gators, Volcanos, MOPMS and ADAMs are antipersonnel land mines.

So does a June 19 Army information paper titled "US Self-Destructing Anti-Personnel Landmine Use." So does a fact sheet issued in 1985 by the Army Armament, Munition and Chemical Command.

As does a recent Army "Information Tab," which explains that the Gator is "packed with a mix of 'smart' AP [antipersonnel] and 'smart' AT [antitank] mines."

And when Air Force Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, briefed reporters at the White House on May 16, 1996, he said: "Our analysis shows that the greatest benefit of antipersonnel land mines is when they are used in conjunction with antitank land mines. . . . If you don't cover the antitank mine field with antipersonnel mines, it's very easy for the enemy to go through the mine field."

A diplomatic dispute over the types of antipersonnel land mines Ralston was describing then and arms control adviser Bell sought to redefine last week was one of the main reasons the United States decided last week not to sign the international treaty being crafted in Oslo, Norway.

U.S. negotiators argued that because these mines are programmed to eventually self-destruct, they are not responsible for the humanitarian crisis—long-forgotten mines injuring and killing civilians—that treaty supporters hoped to cure with a ban, and therefore should be exempt from the ban.

Also, because other countries had gotten an exemption for the type of antihandling devices they use to prevent soldiers from picking up antitank mines—which are actually attached to the antitank mines—U.S. negotiators contended that the United States should get an exemption for the small mines it uses for the same purpose.

Negotiators in Oslo did not accept Washington's stance. They worried that other countries might seek to exempt the types of antipersonnel mines they wanted to use, too, and the whole treaty would soon become meaningless.

The administration was not trying to deceive the public, Bell said in an interview yesterday, bristling at the suggestion. Given the fact that the U.S. devices are used to protect antitank mines, "it seems entirely common-sensical to us" to call them antihandling devices.

Said Bell: "this was not a case of us trying to take mines and then define the problem away."●

HOW ONE 'ANTIHANDLING DEVICE' WORKS

When President Clinton spoke of eliminating antipersonnel land mines, he left out of his directive devices such as the Gator antipersonnel mine. The Gator mine prevents soldiers from disarming antitank mines. It works like this:

1. Gator mines grouped in a cluster bomb are dumped from planes onto the ground surrounding antitank mines.

2. When the mine lands, gas from a small squib forces spring-loaded tripwires to be released.

3. Tension on the tripwire sets off the fuse, sending low-flying fragments in all directions.

TRIBUTE TO ANGENETTE "ANGIE" MARTIN

● Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, a woman who devoted most of her life to improving the lives of others lost her battle with cancer recently, and I would like to take a moment to acknowledge the accomplishments and the contributions of this extraordinary woman.

Angie Martin struggled with the dreaded disease of breast cancer for the past 5 years. She died on August 31 at her home in Sausalito, CA, and a memorial service will be held here in Washington, DC on Monday, September 29. The many people who knew Angie know that this memorial will not be in mourning for her death, but in celebration of a life of service to others.

The world is filled with passionate idealists. Angie was of the rarer breed of people who also had the ability to inspire passion in others. Rarer still was her talent for turning those passionate ideas into action. Her efforts were always aimed at improving the lives of others, the most rare gift of all.

Angie Martin pioneered grassroots organizing techniques, establishing a vital link between citizen action and social change, and created a model for grassroots and political campaigns nationwide. Working with consumer advocate Ralph Nader in Connecticut in the early 1970's, Angie helped to create the first ever citizens lobby devoted to environmental and consumer issues. She worked to improve conditions for migrant workers in New York state, and organized the highly acclaimed 1986 Hands Across America event to build awareness for the cause of hunger and homelessness in the United States.

Together with her friend and partner, Gina Glantz, Angie took on some of our Nation's toughest issues: homelessness, hunger, migrant workers, gun violence, teen pregnancy. Her counsel was valued by many of our Nation's most prominent leaders, including Senator TED KENNEDY and Vice President Walter Mondale.

Angie battled her disease with the same conviction and courage she brought to fighting for causes she believed in. Her legacy will live on in the lives of those she worked with, and in the lives of those she helped through her passionate efforts over the last three decades.

My thoughts and prayers are with her husband, Gene Eidenberg, and daughters, Danielle and Elizabeth. I know many of my colleagues will join me in paying tribute to this remarkable woman, by continuing the fight to find a cure for breast cancer and for all cancers, and by continuing to address the important issues for which she dedicated her life's work.●