

Mr. BIDEN. Before the Senator from Tennessee leaves, let me say that I think his rendition of Chinese behavior and proliferation is accurate. I remind all Members to keep that in mind when we vote on a national missile defense system.

Right now, I point out, as my friend on the Intelligence Committee knows, China has a total of 18 intercontinental ballistic missiles. If we go forward with the national missile defense system that we are contemplating, and if we must abrogate the ABM Treaty in order to do that, I am willing to bet any Member on this floor that China goes to somewhere between 200 and 500 ICBMs within 5 years.

It is bad that China still proliferates missile technology. It is even more awesome that they may decide they are no longer merely going to have a "city buster" deterrent, which is no threat to our military capability in terms of our hardened targets and silos. If we deploy a national missile defense, they may decide that they must become a truly major nuclear power.

I also point out that, notwithstanding that everything the Senator said is true, I do believe there is hope in engagement. There is no question that the reason North Korea is, at least at this moment—and no one knows where it will go from here—is withholding missile testing, at least at this moment adhering to the deal made with regard to not reprocessing spent nuclear fuel, at least has begun discussions with South Korea, is in no small part because of the intervention of China.

As the Senator from Tennessee and the rest of my colleagues know, foreign policy is a complicated thing. We may find ourselves having to balance competing interests. I am not defending China's action. As the Senator may know, I am the guy who, with Senator HELMS 5 years ago, attempted to sanction China for their sale of missile technology to Pakistan. However, I think that as this develops and we look at the other complicated issues we will have to vote on, we must keep in mind that, as bad as their behavior is, we sure don't want them fundamentally changing their nuclear arsenal. I don't want them MIRVing missiles. I don't want them deciding that they are to become a major nuclear power.

I respectfully suggest that before we make a decision on national missile defense, we should know what we are about to get, for what we are bargaining for. Maybe we can build a defensive system that could intercept somewhere between 5 and 8 out of 7 or 10 missiles fired from North Korea.

As they used to say in my day on bumper stickers, "One nuclear bomb can ruin your day."

I am not sure, when we balance all of the equities of the concerns about what is in the interest of those pages on the Senate floor and their children, that if deployment of a national missile de-

fense starts an arms race in Asia, it is actually in their interest in the long run.

I thank the Senator for his pointing out exactly what China is doing.

NATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I thank the managers from Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee for accepting my amendment yesterday, which was a resolution arguing that we should restore the moneys that we cut from the NADR funding line in the State Department. The Foreign Operations Appropriation bill cut a lot of money out of a proposal and recommendation from the authorizing committee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

We cut a significant amount of money out of some vital programs that we have to support nonproliferation, antiterrorism, and related programs. As a matter of fact, the 10 programs in this category are all on the front line of protecting our people from terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Unfortunately, the funding in the Foreign Operations bill for 7 of those 10 programs was 37 percent below the levels requested by the President. And that is without counting another \$30 million that was cut because the Foreign Operations Subcommittee concluded that a new counterterrorism training center had to be funded in the Commerce-State-Justice appropriations bill instead.

The national security and the very things my friend from Tennessee is talking about require that we provide substantially more of those requested funds.

Let me describe the programs that are treated so badly. In the nonproliferation field, we have the Department of State's Export Control Assistance program, which helps foreign countries to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Recently, Customs agents in Uzbekistan, for example, stopped the shipment of radioactive contraband to Kazakhstan, which was on its way to Iran with an official destination of Pakistan. Press stories suggest that the shipment was really intended for an Afghanistan terrorist group affiliated with Osama bin Laden, who would have used it to build a radiological weapon for use against Americans.

Those Customs agents were trained in the United States. The equipment they used to detect the radioactive material was provided by the United States. In that case, the funding came from the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, which is in another appropriations bill. But the Export Control Assistance Program has provided the same sort of assistance when the Nunn-Lugar program could not be used, and it regularly helps other countries enact the laws and regulations they need in order to be effective in export control. The personal ties that are forged by

this program with export officials in other countries are equally critical in improving other countries' export controls and their willingness to work with us.

I cite that as one example. We are cutting by 37 percent on average the nonproliferation and anti-terrorism programs. We are cutting by 37 percent on average those programs that allow us to train customs agents and others in detecting the transfer of the very material my friend from the State of Tennessee is talking about being transferred. None of that is transferred in the open. China doesn't say, "By the way, we are about to send to Pakistan the following." They don't do that. It is all done surreptitiously. How we are cutting funds to deal with the transport of materials that cause the proliferation to rise as it has is beyond me. It is absolutely beyond my comprehension.

There are many other aspects of the program. Last year Congress increased funding for this program from \$10 million to \$14 million. Indeed, the report for the Foreign Operations Appropriation bill takes credit for the increase. This year the President asked for \$14 million to maintain the level we set up last year. But what happened? The appropriations bill cut it back down to \$10 million. I don't get this. Hello? What is going on here? The committee takes credit for raising this program's budget and then cuts it back down? If there is a logic here, I fail to see it.

The fact is that last year, when it came to this program, the appropriators were right. This year they should do again just what they did last year. But they did not. That is why my cosponsors and I offered our amendment, and I am grateful to the managers for their acceptance of that amendment; I hope the conferees will take it to heart.

We need more export control assistance to help other countries keep nuclear materials out of the hands of their dangerous neighbors. Earlier this month the National Commission on Terrorism warned that it:

... was particularly concerned about the persistent lack of adequate security and safeguards for the nuclear material in the former Soviet Union.

That is a cogent concern, one my friend from Tennessee and I and others have talked about on this floor. Export control assistance is one of the programs that helps keep those dangerous materials from crossing the former Soviet borders.

The Foreign Relations Committee is on record as favoring full funding of the request for this program. Indeed, it was suggested by Senator HELMS we add another \$5 million to our security assistance to support strategic cargo X-ray facilities that would be used in the free port of Malta. Malta is a crossroads for shipping in the Mediterranean area and sometimes it has been the doorway for contraband flowing to Libya. You might think appropriators

would pay attention to such a sensible suggestion, but the Foreign Operations Appropriation bill did the opposite.

Another non-proliferation program, International Science and Technology Centers, would provide safe employment opportunities for former Soviet experts. There are thousands and thousands of Soviet experts, nuclear experts. They are not getting paid. They don't have housing. Their economy is in the toilet. We have a program: We want to hire them. We don't want Qadhafi hiring them. We don't want them being hired in Libya. We don't want them hired in North Korea. So we have a sensible program.

I will end with this. There are 4 more examples, but I will not take the time.

What do we do? We cut these programs. Then we all stand—and I am not speaking of any particular Senator—and say we are going to fight terrorism, and nonproliferation is our greatest concern, and we are worried about this technology changing hands. The bottom line is the programs that help to do that are cut. That is why it is so important that our amendment of yesterday be implemented in conference.

I yield the floor and thank my colleague from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, before proceeding to the bill, I compliment my colleagues, the Senator from Tennessee and the Senator from Delaware, for their comments this morning, calling attention to the major international problems on nuclear proliferation. This body will soon be voting on legislation to have permanent normal trade relations with China. As noted by the Senator from Tennessee, the People's Republic of China happens to be a major violator in proliferating nuclear weapons. They sent the M-11 missiles to Pakistan, which have been the basis for the nuclear arms confrontation between India and Pakistan. They have helped to proliferate weapons in Iran and North Korea. It is my view that the best way to restrain the People's Republic of China from posing an enormous international threat is to continue to give them permanent trade relations on an annual basis.

I have discussed this many times with my distinguished colleague from Tennessee. I hope he will join me in ultimately opposing normal trade relations as the best leverage to try to keep the people's Republic of China in line.

We have seen, again and again, problems that the executive branch cannot be, candidly, relied upon, with waivers being granted. Separation of powers has been established. The Senate is here and the House is here in order to see that there is another view about what is happening with China. The most effective leverage is to have an annual checkup on them, and to have the normal trade relations as the leverage, which would be very, very important.

I urge my colleague from Tennessee and others to consider that when that vote comes up. There is more involved

in that issue than just the money; the future of civilization may be on the line if we do not contain the People's Republic of China from proliferating weapons of mass destruction.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to H.R. 4577, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 4577) making appropriations for the Department of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies for fiscal year ending September 30, 2001, and for other purposes.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all after the enacting clause be stricken, and the text of the S. 2553, as reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee, be inserted in lieu thereof, the bill as amended be considered as original text for the purpose of further amendment, and no points of order be waived by virtue of this agreement.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 3590

(The text of the amendment (No. 3590) is printed in today's RECORD under "Amendments Submitted.")

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I am pleased to make the opening statement on the pending appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor, Health, Human Services and Education. The subcommittee, which the distinguished Senator from Iowa and I work on, has the responsibility for funding these three very important and major departments. We have come forward with a bill which has program level funding of \$104.5 billion. While that seems like a lot of money—and is a lot of money—by the time you handle the priorities for the nation's health, by the time you handle the priorities for the nation's education—and the Federal Government is a relatively minor participant, 7 percent to 8 percent, but an important participant—and by the time you take care of the Department of Labor and very important items on worker safety, it is tough to find adequate funding.

We have structured this bill in collaboration with requests from virtually all Members of the Senate who have had something to say about what the funding priorities should be based on their extensive experience across the 50 States of the United States. We have come forward on the Department of

Education with a funding budget in excess of \$40 billion, more than \$4.6 billion more than last year, and some \$100 million over the President's request. We have established the priorities which the Congress sees fit. We have increased the maximum Pell grants. We have increased special education by \$1.3 billion, trying to do a share of the Federal Government on that important item. We have increased grants for the disadvantaged by almost \$400 million.

We have moved on the Department of Health and Human Services for a total budget of over \$44 billion, which is an increase of almost \$2.5 billion over last year. We have increased Head Start by some \$1 billion, so it is now in excess of \$6 billion. We have structured a new drug demand reduction initiative, taking the very substantial funds which are available within our subcommittee, and redirecting \$3.7 billion to try to deal with the demand reduction issue.

It is my view that demand reduction is the long-range answer—that and rehabilitation—to the drug problem in America. We may be spending in excess of \$1 billion soon in aid to Colombia, and it is my view that there is an imbalance in the \$18 billion which we now spend, with two-thirds—about \$12 billion—going to so-called supply interdiction and fighting street crime. They are important. As district attorney of Philadelphia, my office was very active in fighting street crime against drug dealers.

In the long run, unless we are able to reduce demand for drugs in the United States, suppliers from Latin America will find a way to grow drugs, and sellers on America's street corners will find ways to distribute it, which is why we have made this initiative to try to come to grips with the demand side.

Last year, we structured a program to deal with youth violence prevention. We have increased the funding by some \$280 million so that now it is being directed in a coordinated way against youth violence, and some substantial progress has been made in the almost intervening year since this program was initiated.

A very substantial increase in funding has been provided in this bill for the National Institutes of Health. I would suggest that of all the items for program level funding in this \$104.5 billion bill, the funding for the National Institutes of Health may well be the most important.

I frequently say that the NIH is the crown jewel of the Federal Government, and add to that, in fact, it may be the only jewel of the Federal Government. Senator HARKIN and I, in conjunction with Congressman PORTER and Congressman OBEY on the House side, have taken the lead on NIH. Four years ago, we added almost \$1 billion; 3 years ago we added \$2 billion; last year we added \$2.3 billion, which was cut slightly in across-the-board cuts to