

The same forces aligned against our nonproliferation objectives apply to terrorist organizations as well, whether state sponsored or not. A disaffected Iran, despite some moderating trends, remains an active state supporter of terrorism.

Terrorist groups will continue to increase their destructive or their potential for disruption through rapidly evolving and spreading technologies. Again, chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear agents offer cheap means to achieve highly lethal terror. Acquisition of information technology may not only greatly improve a terrorist group's means for organization and coordination and attack, these technologies offer increasing potential for massive, possibly crippling, disruption of U.S. information infrastructure.

This legislation is a small step, but a good one, in addressing the problem of supplying WMD technologies to Iran. But we have much more work to do. We must prevent, when prevention is possible, such as providing safeguards for nuclear materials in Russia and controlling access to technology and know-how as best we can and in as many cases as we can.

We must also find the most effective means to defend against such threats, such as training and equipping policemen and firemen to respond to these attacks and pursuing the best technological solutions to defend against them.

I believe the United States is not pursuing with sufficient vigor the means of greatest potential against missile threats. For example, directed energy technologies represent the next revolutionary step in military technologies. Laser technologies in particular dramatically alter U.S. potential to counter a missile attack. Missile defense at the speed of light will improve effectiveness and efficiency, substantially reducing the cost-per-kill ratios.

Despite this understanding, the budget of the President cut the airborne laser program \$92 million. In addition, the defense budget reduced science and technology spending, according to our first estimates, by more than \$1 billion. It is not easy to understand. The administration proposes sacrificing the potential of real defense against proliferation threats, although it seems very clearly to be a shortsighted approach.

I have been working as hard as I can, and in some instances at the forefront, on some prevention efforts, especially with respect to proliferation threats from Russia. I hope this year for stepped up measures of prevention, especially regarding the threat of nuclear proliferation in the form of the brain drain from Russia. At the same time, where I can, I will put on a full court press to improve the science and technology budget for the Pentagon, especially as it pertains to the most promising means of missile defense and directed energy.

I hope my colleagues will join in ensuring that every means of proliferation prevention is pursued. I also invite my colleagues to join in increasing the means of our military laboratories to provide for our national defense.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the vote on passage of H.R. 1883 occur at 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, February 24.

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

Mr. GRAMS. In light of this agreement, there will be no rollcall votes today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for not to exceed 10 minutes out of order.

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

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, SENATOR TED KENNEDY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, The Apocrypha, or the Hidden Books, is a term used to describe the books found in the Alexandrine Greek Scripture (The Septuagint), but absent from the Orthodox Hebrew Scripture. In the second book of Esdras is found the following Admonishment: "Now therefore keep thy sorrow to thyself, and bear with a good courage that which hath befallen thee."

There is one Member of this body who seems to have lived his life by that particular piece of ancient wisdom. That Member to whom I refer is the senior Senator from the State of Massachusetts, EDWARD M. KENNEDY.

The saga of the Kennedy family is well known by nearly everyone. It is a story replete with triumphs and unfathomable tragedies. Many times, I have marveled, at the resilience displayed by TED KENNEDY and by his family. Somehow they always manage to regroup, to prevail, to go on, even in the face of devastation.

I believe they find their strength in the love of each other, and in their unstinting devotion to public service.

Senator TED KENNEDY is absolutely committed to public service.

He has served and served wisely and well in the United States for 38 years. First elected to the Senate in 1962, TED KENNEDY is now the third most senior Member of this body.

A child of privilege, educated at Harvard and the University of Virginia Law School, TED KENNEDY could have taken the easier path in life. But instead TED KENNEDY came to the Senate to work. And the causes he has championed and put his broad shoulder to the wheel to support, are for the most part, the causes that benefit the little people—the poor, the downtrodden, the children in our society.

Senator KENNEDY has been an unstinting warrior in the effort to ensure quality health care to the citizens of the Nation. Two recent achieve-

ments in this area are the Health Insurance and Accountability Act of 1996, which makes it easier for those who change or lose their jobs to keep their health insurance, and the children's Health Insurance Act of 1997, which makes their health insurance far more widely available to children through age 18 in all 50 states.

Senator KENNEDY has for years, also been a dynamic leader on a wide range of other issues of central importance to the people of this Nation, including education, raising the minimum wage, defending the rights of workers and their families, strengthening civil rights laws, assisting individuals with disabilities, fighting for cleaner water and cleaner air, and protecting Social Security and Medicare for senior citizens.

I have not always agreed with his solutions to our Nation's problems, but I have always respected his capacity for hard work, his devotion to the causes he champions, and his energetic ability to get things done.

And although we have disagreed in the past, one time or another over the years, Senator KENNEDY and I have come to be friends for a long time. We share many things in common, although two more different individuals in background could hardly be imagined. We share a love of history, of poetry, of the rough-and-tumble and the humor of politics, and we share a love and understanding of this Senate and the singularly important role it was intended to play in this Republic.

Rarely have I been more touched than when TED personally delivered 80 long-stemmed roses to my office in remembrance of my 80th birthday, 2 years ago. It was a memorable moment for me.

Through all the triumphs and tragedies, through all the hard work, the disappointments, and the hard knocks that always accompany a long political career, Senator KENNEDY has retained a young man's zeal for life, for service, for laughter, and for achievement. I believe that his shadow will loom large when the history of this body is written in future years. Already, the sum total of his legislative achievements is enormous, and he is still as active, as energetic and as committed as ever. Fortunately, for this body and for the Nation, we can expect many, many more years of loyal and distinguished service from the senior Senator from the Bay State.

So today on the birthday of my friend, TED KENNEDY, I rise to salute his courage, his work, his resiliency, and his extraordinary friendship and kindness to me.

And I offer to him this day one of those famous, certainly very lyrical of Irish blessings:

May the road rise to meet you,
May the wind be always at your back,
May the sun shine warm upon your face,
May the rain fall softly upon your fertile fields.

And, until we meet again,

May God hold you in the palm of His hand.

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

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

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

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

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of Oregon). Without objection, it is so ordered.

IRAN NONPROLIFERATION ACT OF 1999—Continued

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I rise to speak on the Iran Nonproliferation Act. I note, as many do, the encouraging election results that happened this past week within Iran. I say encouraging because perhaps that country is moving towards a more open policy, a better policy of engagement with the rest of the world and the United States.

I want to point out some facts and some reasons that this act should be passed. Iran remains a danger to the United States and to our friends in the Middle East, particularly to Israel. It is a fact.

Iran continues as the largest state supporter of international terrorism, the bankroller of munitions supplied to Hezbollah in Lebanon and to Islamic Jihad and Hamas. It is still opposed to the Israeli peace process and to peace under any circumstances with Israel.

Those are all the facts, and they remain the facts, in spite of the fact that a so-called moderate President Khatami has been in power in Iran for 2½ years. I know some would say he does not have full control, and he doesn't, nor will he after these elections. This will remain the factual situation even after this election.

I don't think the United States should act on hope but on fact. The recent Hezbollah attacks on Israeli soldiers could not have happened without Iranian approval. Those attacks, made possible by the continued funneling of

arms from Iran to Hezbollah, were undertaken primarily to derail the peace process. After all, Israel has already committed itself to withdraw from Lebanon by July.

Even more worrisome is Iran's effort to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to be able to deliver them. The administration has already sanctioned 10 Russian entities for providing dangerous technologies to Iran but readily admits that the flow continues. Thousands of Russian scientists and technicians are at work in Iran helping these efforts. This remains the fact today.

Iran has already flight-tested a missile capable of reaching Israel and is working on longer range missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Fact.

Under the guise of peaceful nuclear energy development, Iran is spending billions to develop a nuclear infrastructure. Iran, a country rich in both oil and natural gas, needs to develop nuclear energy about as much as Alaska needs artificial snowmaking machines.

The picture gets worse. CIA Director Tenet, in testimony before the Armed Services Committee earlier this month, forecast the possibility that Iran might become a supplier in its own right of missile technology as it develops its own indigenous production capability. Fact.

Those are the facts. Iran is getting this dangerous technology from North Korea and China, but its primary source remains Russia. Russian entities have assisted Iran in the development of a missile capable of hitting Israel. They are also the main technology sources for a longer range missile, the Kosar, that could hit the heart of Europe with nuclear warheads. Fact.

The Russian Government has also signed peaceful nuclear cooperation agreements with Iran to build nuclear power reactors. Iran is reportedly using this legal cooperation to make clandestine efforts to procure nuclear material and to develop the ability to produce weapons-grade nuclear material on its own.

The administration sought to get the Russian Government to stop this flow, and the Russians have taken some steps. They have passed legislation to create an export control regime, for example, but they have done little to enforce it. Not one Russian has been convicted of passing dangerous technology to Iran. Not a single Russian has been convicted under this law.

That is why we must keep the heat on. This legislation requires the President to report to Congress, in a classified form if he deems it necessary, credible information on any entity anywhere in the world that is providing Iran with dangerous technology. It then authorizes him to sanction those entities. If he chose not to, he would then report to Congress on his rationale for not sanctioning. So, in the first instance, this legislation captures China, North Korea, and any oth-

ers who are providing Iran the wherewithal to obtain weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them.

It goes a step further. Over the past few years, the Russians have been unable to meet their limited financial obligations to the creation of the international space station, so we have been helping them out, paying part of their funding in addition to our own, considerably larger, space station obligations. As it happens, the recipient of this money, the Russian Space Agency, their NASA, is also the Russian governmental entity with jurisdiction over any entity in Russia dealing with missile technology.

Therefore, this legislation requires the President to certify three things before we can continue to pay the Russian share of the space station: That it is Russian policy to stop proliferation to Iran, that they are taking the steps necessary to prevent the proliferation, and that no entity under the jurisdiction of the Russian space station is cooperating with the Iranian missile program.

If we are going to pay Russian obligations, then we have the right to suggest they must do everything they can to stop the proliferation to Iran—something that threatens not only America and our friends but, ultimately, Russia as well. It cannot be in Russia's interests to have a nuclear-armed Iran sitting on its borders.

Some may say, with the recent elections in Iran in which the moderates appear to have done very well, indeed this is not the time to push this legislation. Unfortunately, as I pointed out earlier, even under the reportedly moderate President Khatami over the last 2½ years, Iranian support for terrorism and its weapons technology acquisition have not diminished. Those facts remain.

Hard-liners remain in charge of Iranian security and foreign policy; they will after this election, as well. It may be that at some point in the future Iranian moderates may seek a different course. They have not to date. But for now, they have neither the ability nor necessarily the interest. They appear much more interested in reforming Iranian domestic policy than in all of these problems they are creating internationally. That means we cannot let down our guard. We must do everything we can to stop the flow of technology, to raise the cost of developing weapons of mass destruction, and to delay the time at which Iran could have such a capability.

This is the purpose of this legislation and why I strongly urge its adoption. While the timing of this legislation may not seem the best, perhaps it is the absolute right time. We need to make clear to the Iranian people, particularly their leadership on foreign policy and these terrorist items, that this is unacceptable behavior for them and for the rest of the world to have to tolerate. The development of these