

need a credible deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist.

Equally important to our security are global non-proliferation efforts. For the past half century, the United States has led the campaign to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries or terrorist groups, and to reduce the chances that such weapons would ever be used.

The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty places obstacles in the path of nuclear weapon development by states that could some day threaten the United States or its allies. The question associated with Treaty ratification is whether the security benefits from the Treaty outweigh any risks that a ban on all nuclear explosions could pose to the U.S. deterrent.

Four types of concerns have been most prominent in the debate on advice and consent to ratification in October 1999 and in my subsequent investigations:

1. Whether the Test Ban Treaty has genuine non-proliferation value;
2. Whether cheating could threaten U.S. security;
3. Whether we can maintain the safety and reliability of the U.S. nuclear deterrent without nuclear explosive testing; and
4. Whether it is wise to endorse a Test Ban Treaty of indefinite duration.

After examining these issues, I remain convinced that the advantages of the Test Ban Treaty outweigh any disadvantages, and thus that ratification would increase national security. In each area, though, I am recommending additional actions to address concerns and further strengthen the U.S. position under the Treaty. I believe that we can go a long way toward bridging differences on these issues if they receive a level of sustained bipartisan attention equal to their high importance for national security.

The broad objectives of my specific recommendations are to:

1. Increase bipartisan and allied support for a carefully coordinated comprehensive non-proliferation;
2. Enhance U.S. capabilities to detect and deter nuclear testing and other aspects of nuclear proliferation;
3. Improve the management of potential risks associated with the long-term reliability and safety of the U.S. nuclear deterrent; and
4. Address concerns about the Test Ban Treaty's indefinite duration through a joint Executive-Legislative review of the Treaty's net value for national security to be held ten years after ratification and at regular intervals thereafter.

Test Ban Treaty supporters, skeptics, and opponents all agree that the United States needs to revitalize support for an integrated non-proliferation strategy, enhance its monitoring capabilities, and develop a bipartisan consensus on stewardship of the U.S. nuclear deterrent. I urge early implementation of my recommendations on these issues because they would strengthen U.S. security regardless of the immediate fate of the Test Ban Treaty. Action on these steps would also go a long way toward addressing concerns that have been voiced about the Treaty. Together with my recommendation on the ten-year joint review procedure, these steps offer a way to build bipartisan support for Test Ban Treaty ratification as an integral component of an overarching strategy to stop nuclear proliferation and strengthen the nuclear restraint regime.

VIII. COMPILATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Nuclear Weapons, Non-Proliferation, and the Test Ban Treaty

A. Working closely with the Congress and with U.S. friends and allies, the next Admin-

istration should implement on an urgent basis an integrated non-proliferation policy targeted on, but not limited to, countries and groups believed to have an active interest in acquiring nuclear weapons.

B. To increase high level attention and policy coherence, the next Administration should appoint a Deputy National Security Advisor for Non-Proliferation, with the authority and resources needed to coordinate and oversee implementation of U.S. non-proliferation policy.

C. As part of its effort to build bipartisan and allied support for an integrated non-proliferation policy, the next Administration should review at the highest level issues related to the Test Ban Treaty. There should be a sustained interagency effort to address senators' questions and concerns on these issues of great importance to national security.

D. The United States should continue its testing moratorium and take other concrete actions to demonstrate its commitment to a world without nuclear explosions, such as continuing leadership in building up the International Monitoring System (IMS) being established for the Treaty.

Monitoring, Verification, and Foreign Nuclear Programs

A. Higher funding and intelligence collection priorities should be assigned to monitoring nuclear test activities and other aspects of nuclear weapon acquisition or development by other states.

B. Collaboration should be increased among U.S. government officials and other experts to ensure that national intelligence, the Treaty's international verification regime, and other scientific stations are used as complementary components of an all-source approach to verification.

C. The transition from research to operational use should be accelerated for new verification technologies and analytical techniques.

D. The United States should continue working with other Test Ban Treaty signatories to prepare for inspections and develop confidence-building measures.

E. Additional steps should be taken unilaterally or bilaterally to increase transparency regarding the nature and purpose of activities at known nuclear test sites.

Stewardship of the U.S. Nuclear Stockpile

A. Working with the Department of Defense, other Executive Branch agencies, and the Congress, the Administrator of the NNSA should complete as soon as possible his comprehensive review of the Stockpile Stewardship Program. The review will clarify objectives and requirements, set priorities, assess progress, identify needs, and develop an overarching program plan with broad-based support.

Highest priority should be given to aspects of stockpile stewardship that are most urgently needed to assure the near-term reliability of the U.S. nuclear deterrent, i.e. surveillance, refurbishment, and infrastructure revitalization.

Enhance surveillance and monitoring activities should receive full support and not be squeezed by higher profile aspects of the SSP.

The NNSA should make a decision about the need for a large-scale plutonium pit remanufacturing facility as soon as possible after the next Administration has determined the appropriate size and composition of the enduring stockpile, including reserves.

A dedicated infrastructure revitalization fund should be established after the NNSA has completed a revitalization plan for its production facilities and laboratories.

B. The NNSA, working with Congress and the Office of Management and Budget,

should place the SSP on a multi-year budget cycle like the Department of Defense's Future Years Defense Program. Some increase in funds for the SSP is likely to be necessary.

C. Steps to improve interagency management of stockpile stewardship matters, such as the revitalization of the Nuclear Weapons Council, are essential and should be continued.

D. Appropriate steps should be taken to ensure that the performance margins of various weapon types are adequate when conservatively evaluated.

E. Strict discipline should be exercised over changes to existing nuclear weapon designs to ensure that neither an individual change nor the cumulative effect of small modifications would make it difficult to certify weapons reliability or safety without a nuclear explosion.

F. The Administrator of the NNSA should establish an on-going high level external advisory mechanism, such as a panel of outstanding and independent scientists.

Minimizing Uncertainty with a Treaty of Indefinite Duration

A. The Administration and the Senate should commit to conducting an intensive joint review of the Test Ban Treaty's net value for national security ten years after U.S. ratification, and at ten-year intervals thereafter. This review should consider the Stockpile Stewardship Program's priorities, accomplishments, and challenges; current and planned verification capabilities; and the Treaty's adherence, implementation, compliance, and enforcement record. Recommendations to address concerns should be formulated for domestic use and to inform the U.S. position at the Treaty's ten-year review conference. If, after these steps, grave doubts remain about the Treaty's net value for U.S. national security, the President, in consultation with Congress, would be prepared to withdraw from the Test Ban Treaty under the "supreme national interests" clause.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY REPORT

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, today, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John M. Shalikashvili, released his report reviewing the major issues regarding ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) which was rejected by the Senate in a vote last fall. His review of the brief debate in the Senate over this critical matter of national security is thorough in its scope and balanced in its recommendations. I urge President Bush and his national security advisory team to review General Shalikashvili's report closely and undertake to address his observations and recommendations immediately.

When it comes to the proliferation or improvement of nuclear weapons, time is NOT on our side. The CTBT, when ratified and in force, will discourage non-nuclear weapons states from creating their own nuclear arsenals and prevent current nuclear states from building new capabilities that can endanger American and international security. The hearings held in the Senate last fall, although not nearly as comprehensive as they should have been,

did serve to articulate issues of greatest concern to those who are uncertain or opposed to the treaty.

Those issues must be addressed head-on in order for the nation to proceed in a bipartisan way regarding further consideration of the Treaty. The international community of nations is watching us closely to see what direction the United States will choose to take. In his report, General Shalikashvili has identified the key controversial issues and calls for specific actions to meet primary concerns before the President and the Senate reconsider the Treaty.

President-elect Bush has clearly stated that he seeks to unify the country and is committed to enhancing our national security. Given the divisions in the electorate and in the Congress itself, the challenge of gaining bipartisan support on key legislative matters including defense matters is a daunting one for the new administration. Given the outstanding work of General Shalikashvili in reviewing last year's debate on the CTBT, President-elect Bush has a very important opportunity to pursue bipartisan national security policy by committing to review General Shalikashvili's thoughtful assessment and to undertaking the recommendations he has put forward. As a member of the bipartisan Senate working group that has been examining the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to support General Shalikashvili's effort on this critical national security matter.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

JOSH HEUPEL RECOGNIZED FOR LEADING TEAM TO NATIONAL COLLEGE FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP

• Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to congratulate Josh Heupel, a native of Aberdeen, South Dakota who led the undefeated Oklahoma Sooners to the National Championship January 3, 2001. Josh and the number one ranked Sooners beat the Florida State Seminoles 13-2 in the FedEx Orange Bowl in Miami.

Although the game was a defensive struggle, Josh was able to complete 25 passes for 214 yards and also ran for another 24 yards. In the third quarter, Josh may have made the biggest play of the game when he made a crucial, 39-yard completion that kept the drive going to set up the second field goal of the game. That field goal gave the Sooners a 6-0 advantage.

Josh showed his true character after finishing second in the Heisman Trophy race. He explained that while he was disappointed, the only trophy he truly wanted was the National Championship because that represented the accomplishments of his team, not an individual. On Wednesday night he was able to accomplish his dream. That

selfless attitude is characteristic of Josh, not only on the gridiron, but in life as well. He is well known for his devotion to his family, particularly as a role model for his younger sister, Andrea. He gives his time freely to charities and to work in his church. In fact, the televised Orange Bowl game itself was transformed into a community-wide charity fundraising event in Josh's hometown of Aberdeen by his friends and family.

Ken and Cindy Heupel are Josh's parents and they can be very proud of their son's accomplishments, both as a football player and as a caring member of society. Ken is the head football coach at Northern State and Cindy is the principal at Aberdeen Central High School.

From all South Dakotans, I want to wish Josh a heart felt congratulations. Although you have already proven that you are a true champion with the volunteer work and the community service, I am sure it is nice to take home the championship hardware.●

TRIBUTE TO MICHAEL CAREY

• Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, Vermont is fortunate that it still has at least one major radio station that has not forgotten its connection to the community. This station is WDEV from the town of Waterbury. It is only a few miles from where I was born and raised and I have known the Squire family who owns the station throughout my life. It is presently owned and run by Ken Squire, who carries on the family tradition of representing Vermont first and foremost. Part of that tradition has been the long running "Wake Up Vermont" program I heard each morning with the great team of "Michael and Michaels." The program was done by Michael Carey and Eric Michaels and was one of the finest radio programs in Vermont. Eric Michaels has a great ability as an interviewer on even the most complex of subjects, and Michael Carey added a sense of continuity and comfort to the program. Between the two of them one had an enjoyable way to start the day.

I was saddened, as were most Vermonters, to hear that Michael Carey is retiring. I have known Mike for years and always enjoyed meeting with him, either at the studio in Waterbury or over the phone when I would be on their program from Washington, D.C. Eric Michaels said he will be devastated by the loss of his radio partner and I can well imagine he is, but I am thankful that Eric will remain.

I just wanted to take this opportunity to say how much Michael Carey has meant to Vermonters and how his sacrifice in getting up in the wee hours of the morning made it possible for rest of us to face the day.

I want to wish my Washington County neighbor the very best, and to thank him for the years of pleasure he has given all of us in central Vermont, and I ask that an article about this radio

legend by Robin Palmer in the Times Argus be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Times Argus, Dec. 30, 2000]

VERMONT RADIO LEGEND RETIRES

(By Robin Palmer)

WATERBURY.—A radio personality whose reliability co-workers say was unmatched, ended a nearly 40-year career today with a final "Wake Up, Vermont" program on WDEV.

Michael Carey, 53, is retiring because of health reasons and, despite a last show dedicated to Carey and his many attributes, it was a sad day for him and for central Vermont radio.

"It's a retirement that's been forced upon me and not one that I'm looking forward to. I loved the profession and that's what makes it doubly hard," said Carey, who shirked at the attention surrounding him, calling his "just a profession."

Carey's profession began at an early age, and one he said he never expected to have.

At age 13, from his parents' apartment on Elm Street in Waterbury, Carey had an illegal radio station. He played records and read the weather, until a WDEV employee, Norman James, heard Carey's pirate station and thought he'd put the illegal endeavor to some good use, Carey said.

James got Carey a job answering phones for a WDEV Saturday night request program called "The Green Mountain Ballroom."

"Norm James got my foot in the door," said Carey, whose name was already familiar to those at the Waterbury radio station.

Carey's late parents, guitarist Morton "Smoky" Carey and singer Lois Carey, used to perform each morning on WDEV, said radio station owner Ken Squier.

Carey himself was later well known as the drummer in the popular "Carey Brothers Band" that entertained throughout the area in the 1970s.

In 1965, the radio pirate turned student worker was hired as a full-time announcer at WDEV by legendary Vermont radio personality and former "Wake Up, Vermont" host Rusty Parker, who died on the air in 1982 while reading the news.

Since his start in the 60s, Carey said, "I've done every shift here at the radio station except a Sunday night shift."

During that time, "there have been memories both very good and very bad ones," Carey said, listing Parker's death and the death of "Cousin" Harold Grout as two of the worst.

Two years after Parker's death, in 1984, Carey was promoted to sign-on the station and host the morning program, including "Once Around the Clock" from 5 to 6 a.m. and "The Morning News Service" from 7 to 8 a.m.

When Grout died, Carey became the voice of the long-running "Trading Post" program. And in April 1994, Carey was teamed with radio group Vice President and General Manager Eric Michaels for a 6 to 9 a.m. morning news program that quickly became known as "Wake Up, Vermont with Michael and Michaels."

"From the first day we were in the studio together we felt like we had worked with each other for a long time," said Michaels. "He can read me like a book."

"So I'm devastated (that Carey's retiring), if you want to put it in a single word. It's like getting a divorce," Michaels said.

Michaels praised Carey as one of the most competent broadcasters he's ever met. Carey can technically run a show while not missing a beat as an announcer.

"He's an absolutely wonderful news reader," said Michaels of his co-host.