

now but that we don't have data as to the costs or participation. The insurance companies don't have it. We don't have a good or adequate definition of standard or routine care. All that means is that we need to know more before promising everything to everybody.

Since we don't have the answers, why don't we address the issue in a balanced way and in a step-wise way? Why? Because unknowns could expose us to exploding costs of premiums, which would drive people to the ranks of the uninsured. What I would like to do is go in a deliberate, thoughtful, and balanced way.

I mentioned earlier the numbers of clinical trials. We don't know how many trials there are.

Let me quote Susan Okie who was actually a classmate of mine in medical school and who writes for the Washington Post. On May 16, 2001, she wrote an article for the Post entitled "U.S. Oversight Urged for Human Research". It says:

No figures are available on how many studies on humans are conducted annually in this country.

Again, I just want to make the point that nobody knows how many studies there are.

She continues:

However, data on biomedical research show explosive growth in the last two decades. Federal spending for health research increased from \$6.9 billion to \$13.4 billion between 1986 and 1995, and industry spending tripled from \$6.2 billion to \$18.6 billion during the same period. Between 40,000 and 50,000 U.S. researchers are thought to participate in conducting clinical studies in humans.

I went to the FDA. Since the Congressional Budget Office does not know, since none of my colleagues knows, since in the hearings people did not know, I asked, What about the FDA? The FDA does not track the number of clinical trials being conducted as a part of their protocol. Yet the extension of the Kennedy bill is going to cover these trials. The FDA doesn't even track the number of clinical trials. They do track the number of investigational new drugs and investigational device exemptions.

There are roughly 11,800 trials by the Center for Drug Evaluation. There are about 2,800 trials by the Center for Biologic Evaluation and Research. And there are about 1,000 trials by the Center for Devices and Radiological Health. That is the FDA.

The Kennedy-McCain-Edwards bill says they will pay for the increment in the number of trials, but they do not know how much those trials are going to cost. At least that data has not been present, and it has not been presented in the hearings. When I have looked for it, I have not been able to find the incremental cost.

If you go back to the Congressional Budget Office, it says that is the difference between the CBO estimate and yours. That is working backwards, because the Congressional Budget Office does not know.

In the NIH, for the record, in terms of clinical trials, there are about 4,200 clinical trials, what are called extramural and intramural—outside of the institution and inside of the institution.

The Department of Defense: I have not been able to determine how many clinical trials we are going to cover.

The Veterans' Administration: About 162 clinical trials and 729 extramural VA-funded clinical trials.

The FDA was supposed to create a database of clinical trials last year. It is up and running, but it is not complete, to the best of my knowledge. I will try to look into that to see if we can find out how many they have on that particular database.

Let me close with one last point that I implied earlier and talked about a little bit earlier. It has to do with protection of human subjects.

Our goal should be to protect individuals who voluntarily participate in research and clinical trials. This is very important for my colleagues to understand. Right now, there are inadequate safety protections, if we look in the global sense at these thousands of clinical trials.

I mentioned the death of Jesse Gelsinger in gene therapy in a clinical trial in 1999. Following that, the Subcommittee on Public Health held two hearings. We found a systemic breakdown of oversight, ranging from investigators to institutional review boards in the Federal agencies specifically responsible for ensuring the safety of patients.

Since we came to this conclusion that we are inadequately protecting human subjects, we must act. As we go into this field of further subsidizing clinical trials, I am very hopeful that on both sides of the aisle we can work together and put forth the appropriate protections.

The underlying amendment put forth by Senator MCCAIN is a sense of the Senate that we will be voting on tomorrow morning. From my reading of it, it appears to be a very positive amendment that endorses the importance of clinical trials. On the last page it says: A health maintenance organization's decision that an in-network physician without the necessary expertise can provide care for a seriously ill patient, including someone battling cancer, should be appealable to an independent, impartial body, and the right should be available to all Americans in need of access to high-quality specialty care.

Again, it goes to the internal and external appeals. That is something that would be taken care of in the underlying bill—both the Frist-Breaux-Jeffords bill as well as the Kennedy-McCain-Edwards bill.

As I understand, it, the debate will continue tomorrow morning. I believe there are 30 minutes for each side, and then we will vote at that point in time.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. I appreciate your patience and the patience

of my colleagues for allowing me to address this issue.

THE NEXT ROUND OF NATO ENLARGEMENT

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise today to congratulate President Bush for his unequivocal support for the next round of enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which he voiced during his recent trip to Europe.

Several months ago I made clear my opposition to a so-called "zero option" of not admitting any new country to membership at next year's NATO Summit in Prague. Largely at the administration's urging, the alliance last week formally laid the "zero option" to rest. At least one country will be invited to membership in Prague.

In addition, in several venues I have declared that no country outside of NATO has any veto right over which country or countries the alliance will invite to membership.

Most particularly this statement applies to the three Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—and Russia's evident opposition to their joining NATO.

It would be totally unacceptable to grant Russia any such veto. Let us not forget the history of the last 61 years.

In 1940, Moscow rigged bogus "invitations" from the three independent Baltic states to be incorporated by the Soviet Union. I am proud as an American that this country for more than 50 years never recognized this illegal annexation.

Following annexation, and during the ensuing 5 years, the Soviets murdered thousands of Baltic citizens and deported thousands more to deepest Siberia. Guerilla warfare against the occupiers erupted in the forests of all three countries, with the last anti-Soviet partisan in Lithuania not surrendering until the 1960s.

Despite their heroic struggle, the Baltic peoples had to endure the iron repression of Soviet communism for half a century. Now, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, all three Baltic countries are full-fledged democracies that are developing their civil societies and free-market economies.

After Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia suffered the 51 years of Soviet-inflicted brutalities, it would be morally grotesque to deny them the fundamental right to choose their own system of security that is accorded to every other European country. This would be the ultimate "double whammy," in essence saying, "since you suffered so much, you may not ensure your safety in the future!"

No, Mr. President, we must never repeat, even by inference, the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, which carved up northeastern Europe between Stalin and Hitler: There must be no more "red lines" in Europe.

Russia, with which I sincerely hope we can develop a harmonious and productive relationship, must understand

that NATO enlargement in general, and a Baltic dimension to enlargement in particular, pose absolutely no threat whatsoever to Russia. With several of its high-ranking military officers permanently attached to NATO and SHAPE, Russia must know that the old Soviet propaganda was a deliberate lie. NATO is, and always was, a purely defensive alliance.

I believe that President Bush and Secretary of State Powell are correct in saying that it is premature at this time to “name names” of countries to be invited to NATO membership at the Prague Summit. The Alliance has laid out a detailed procedure for qualifying for membership. Most importantly, in the spring of 2002 NATO must make a third evaluation of each country’s membership action plan or “MAP.”

But it is no secret that some countries are making significant progress militarily, politically, economically, and socially. Slovenia, I believe, is already eminently qualified for NATO membership. Unless it lapses into overconfidence during the next year, it should be a shoo-in in Prague.

Lithuania has apparently done remarkably well in fulfilling its MAP, and its neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, are also coming on strong. The legal status and treatment of the Russian minority in all three countries now is in full compliance with international standards. As long as lingering remnants of bigotry in the Baltic states continue to be erased by democratic education and practice, the political requirements for NATO membership should be met.

Slovakia, after having lost precious time under the populist administration of Vladimir Meciar, now has a democratic government that is also making giant strides toward membership. Its national elections in the fall of 2002 will be decisive in proving to NATO that this progress is permanent.

The southern Balkans, of course, are strategically the most important area for NATO enlargement. Romania and Bulgaria are potentially vital members for the Alliance. Both countries have overcome various kinds of misrule and are also making progress. Other aspirant countries in the southern Balkans are more long-term candidates.

In 1998, I had the privilege of being floor manager for the successful Senate ratification of the legislation admitting Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to NATO. I look forward to playing the same role in 2003 for the admission of one or more of the current candidate countries.

THE GROWING WEB OF SUSPICION OF ASIAN AMERICANS

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to indicate my deep concern about what I perceive to be increasing bias in the United States toward Asian Americans and Chinese Americans in particular.

In recent years, we have seen those on the far right and the far left of the

political spectrum raise allegations without proof, distort facts, and make it impossible to refute insinuations. Thus, a web of suspicion is woven about the loyalties of Asian Americans to the United States.

This has created an atmosphere of anti-Asian American and anti-Chinese American sentiment: a House Select Committee report on National Security (although widely debunked as without foundation); the botched Wen Ho Lee investigation; the recent incident with Representative DAVID WU; the attacks against U.S. Secretary of Labor Elaine Chao; hate crimes against Asian Americans; and the attacks against former California State Treasurer Matt Fong.

These examples—and others—have contributed to a troubling and negative stereotyping of Asian-Americans.

Evidence of this comes from a recent Yankelovich survey which asserts: 68 percent of Americans now have a somewhat negative or very negative attitude toward Chinese Americans; one in three now believe that Chinese Americans are more loyal to China than to the United States; nearly half of all Americans—or 46 percent—now believe that Chinese-Americans passing secrets to China is a problem; and 34 percent believe that Chinese Americans now “have too much influence” in the U.S. high technology sector.

Tragically, the unfounded suspicions about the loyalties of Asian Americans has itself created a sense of unease among the Asian American community.

According to Asian American focus groups conducted for the Committee of 100 during January 2001, Asian Americans believe that too many Americans see them as foreigners or as “permanent aliens.”

Increasingly, Chinese-Americans with contacts, family, friendships or business connections in China are labeled disloyal to the United States simply because of their ethnic background and heritage.

The sentiment seems to be that you can’t be both Chinese-American and a loyal American as well.

Now that is not what America is all about.

Sadly, our Nation has a long history of discrimination against Americans of Asian and Pacific Island ancestry. Without a doubt, Asian Americans have suffered from unfounded and demagogic accusations of disloyalty.

Americans of Asian and Pacific Island descent have been subjected to discriminatory laws that have prevented their right to become, and be seen as, Americans:

The Chinese Exclusionary Act of 1882 barred the immigration of Chinese laborers.

In 1907, the “Gentleman’s Agreement” between the United States and Japan limited Japanese immigration to the United States.

A 1913 California law erected barriers to prevent Asian Americans from becoming land-owners.

The Immigration Act of 1917 prohibited immigration from nearly the entire Asia-Pacific region.

The National Origins Act of 1924 banned immigration of persons ineligible for citizenship.

Asian Americans were not able to become citizens of the United States for over 160 years and the Supreme Court consistently upheld laws prohibiting citizenship for Asians and Pacific Islanders with the last of these laws not repealed until 1952.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 limited the number of Filipino immigrants to 50 per year.

During World War II, we witnessed one of the worst acts of discrimination against any group of Americans, the internment of 120,000 patriotic and loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry.

Despite the fact that their family members were being denied their basic rights as Americans, many young Japanese Americans volunteered to fight for their country and they did so with bravery, honor, and valor.

The record of the U.S. Army’s 100th Battalion and 442nd Infantry Combat Group speaks for itself and is without equal: 18,000 individual decorations awarded including 52 Distinguished Service Crosses, 560 Silver Stars, and 9,480 Purple Hearts.

The record of the 442nd Combat Group made up of Japanese American soldiers, including our esteemed colleague Senator DANIEL INOUE is unusual: They were the most decorated unit of its size in the Army during World War II, yet only one member until last year received the Medal of Honor when Senator INOUE finally received his long overdue recognition.

Throughout U.S. history Asian Americans have been subjected to discriminatory actions, including the prohibition of individuals from owning property, voting, testifying in court or attending school with other people in the United States.

It is long past time to turn the page on this chapter of our Nation’s history.

And I am appalled that in recent years some have resorted to negative stereotypes to question the integrity of an entire community.

Tragically, this rising tide in discrimination has contributed to a growing number of crimes hate crimes against Asian Americans.

According to the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, there were 486 reported incidents of violence against Asian Americans in the latest figures available for 1999, an increase from the 429 incidents in 1998.

This upward trend is even more troubling because it is contrary to the finding reported by the Department of Justice’s 1999 crime victimization report that violent crime rates had fallen by 10 percent during this same period.

Who can forget the harrowing photos in August of 1999 of pre-school children holding hands while fleeing the North Valley Jewish Community center when a white supremacist walked into their school and opened fire?