Mr. President, for the

past three years the Clinton administration

has fought tooth-and-nail

against the legislation now before the

Senate. The White House repeatedly

claimed, in its attempted defense, that

the Lott-Lieberman initiative would

undermine U.S. nonproliferation efforts,

repeatedly asserting that they

had Russia’s behavior in check, and

that progress was being made.

Well, Mr. President, we now confront

an Iran that has been armed to the

gills with technology for ballistic missiles

and nuclear, chemical and biological

weapons. According to the National

Intelligence Officer for Strategic and

Nuclear Programs, (who testified before

the Foreign Relations Committee

this past September), Iran is in a position

to test, within the latter half of

this decade, an ICBM that ‘‘could deliver

a several-hundred kilogram payload

to many parts of the United

States . . . using Russian technology

and assistance.’’

Moreover, according to the Director

of Central Intelligence, Iran ‘‘probably

has achieved ‘emergency operational

capability’ ’’ with its medium range

Shahab-3 missile. In other words, under

President Clinton’s watch, Iran has acquired

from Russia and China the ability

to strike Israel and Turkey with

ballistic missiles carrying chemical or

biological warheads. And the mullahs

are working overtime to develop the

Shahab-4 and Shahab-5 in order to

menace U.S. citizens at home.

In conclude now, in the absence of

fierce opposition to this bill from the

White House this time around, that reality

has finally sunk in at the National

Security Council. The Clinton

administration’s nonproliferation policy

has been an abject failure. Bill

Clinton and AL GORE will leave office

having subordinated nonproliferation

concerns to business interests, the

wishes to foreign campaign donors, and

their ‘‘touchy-feely’’ personal politicking

in Russia, China and elsewhere.

The result has been an all-out fire sale

of deadly technologies by Russia,

China, and others. Delegations from

Iran, Syria, Iraq, North Korea, Libya,

Sudan, Egypt, India, and Pakistan are

virtually tripping over one another on

their way in and out of various Russian

and Chinese firms.

The Clinton-Gore Administration

will leave office:

1. having allowed Russia and China

to sell dangerous commodities around

the globe with no fear of sanctions or

consequences;

2. having presided over the development

of a North Korean ICBM capable

of dropping biological weapons on U.S.

soil (according to the intelligence community,

a Taepo Dong-2 ICBM could be

tested any day now);

3. having presided over the arming of

Iran, Syria, and others with nuclear,

chemical, and biological missiles;

4. having squandered its inheritance

regarding Iraq by interfering with, and

ultimately abandoning, UNSCOM;

5. having prompted India and Pakistan

into an all-out nuclear arms race

by trying to ‘‘strong-arm’’ the two

countries into the Test Ban Treaty

(which merely prompted the nations to

test);

6. having lost all hope of getting the

START II Treaty ratified, which would

have banned MIRVed ICBMs in Russia;

7. having imperiled the IAEA by

tying the Nuclear Nonproliferation

Treaty to the poorly-conceived, poorly drafted

CTBT, which the Senate rightly

rejected;

8. having destroyed the Missile Technology

Control Regime by allowing

Russia (a missile proliferator) to come

in as a member; and

9. having wasted half a decade of precious

time in deploying a national missile

defense to protect the United

States from the consequences of their

failed nonproliferation policy.

We must all remember that the Clinton-

Gore administration voted the DoD

authorization bill in 1995 because it required

deployment of a national missile

defense by 2001, with additional

protection by 2003. Because of the

President’s reckless disregard for the

nation’s security, the U.S. will not

‘‘break ground’’ on a missile defense

site in Alaska until this summer, at

the earliest.

At the same time, this administration

taught Russia and China how to

evade U.S. sanctions laws while simultaneously

putting the U.S. sanctions

determination process into a deep

freeze. Not a single MTCR sanction has

been imposed for Russia’s arming of

Iran or China’s assistance to Pakistan.

The enormity of this blatant disregard

for the law is stunning, Mr. President.

What is worse, by promoting U.S.

commercial interests at the expense of

national security, the Clinton-Gore administration

has become part of the

problem.

China’s nuclear proliferation has

been swept under the rug by Mr. Clinton

in order to clear the way for the

nuclear lobby to sell reactors to the

PRC. We must recall that, in 1998,

President Clinton made a legally binding

certification which no other President

could, in good faith, bring himself

to make. But the Clinton-Gore administration

was happy to oblige industry

and the Communist Chinese.

In 1996 the Clinton administration

pulled controls on commercial satellites

because millionaire campaign

donors wanted it. Unsupervised, unscrupulous

U.S. companies engaged in

the transfer of very sensitive ballistic

missile information to the PRC, including

information relating to the

MIRVing of ICBMs. The Congress tried

to shore up this fiasco by recontrolling

satellites, but the Commerce Department

is at it again, having recently declared—

despite the law—that it wants

reduced controls on extremely sensitive

items such as radiation hardened

chips and kick motors.

From 1993 until 1999, willful disregard

for security at the White House and the

Department of Energy permitted continued

acquisition of the nation’s most

sensitive nuclear warhead designs by

China. This was exacerbated by the

foolhardy declassification of thousands

of documents by Hazel O’Leary, which

undoubtedly has contributed to nuclear

weapons capabilities around the globe.

Even now, the Clinton-Gore administration

is contemplating sharing nuclear

weapons secrets with Russia in an

effort to bribe them into submission on

the ABM Treaty.

Lately, the Department of Defense—

once the bulwark against the foolhardy

weakening of export controls—has been

working ‘‘hand-in-glove’’ with the defense

industry and the Gore campaign.

The Pentagon is now looking for ways

to undermine the Arms Export Control

Act. Again, this is happening because

industry lobbying groups want these

changes. There is an effort underway to

avoid congressional notification of

arms sales and to create license-free

zones. The result, if unchecked, will be

unfettered and unregulated trade in

weaponry, which cannot be seen as a

positive development under any circumstance.

Finally, the administration has decided

to support passively an Export

Administration Act which would effectively

undermine all existing U.S. export

controls and which would undercut

what is left of the nonproliferation

policy which this administration inherited

eight years ago. Enormous sums of

money are being spent all over Washington

by various industry groups because

they know how loose export controls

will be under this bill.

Ronald Reagan’s nonproliferation

policy is in shambles, Mr. President. At

best, this administration has been

inept in managing such important

issues. At worst, the administration

has co-opted and corrupted nonproliferation

policy on the basis of

fund-raising schemes being run out of

the Oval Office. The damage to U.S.

nonproliferation policy is so severe and

far-reaching, and the global results to

date have been so catastrophic, that

the next administration is going to

spend the first four years just picking

up the pieces.

Mr. President, history will do worse

than recording this administration as

having fiddled while Rome burned. It

will record these people as having set

many of the fires themselves.

I support the Iran Nonproliferation

Act. Its reporting requirements will

shed light on the fact that numerous

Russian entities have sold their souls

to the Mullahs in Tehran by offering

that bunch of terrorists everything

they want for their ballistic and cruise

missile programs, including nuclear,

chemical, and biological warfare technology.

It will also prove that this administration

has accomplished nothing

in the past several years of ‘‘talking.’’

That said, however much it might

help, this bill will not solve the problem.

It is much too late to prevent Iran

from capitalizing upon the capabilities

it has acquired.

While it is not too late to defend ourselves,

or to assist Israel, Turkey, and

others in defending themselves, it will

fall to the next administration to reconstruct

a comprehensive nonproliferation

policy and reverse the

fearful effects of the past eight years.

Thank you, Mr. President; I yield the

floor.