

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:30 p.m. having arrived, the Senate will stand in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, at 12:39 p.m., the Senate recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. REID).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed as in morning business for 6 minutes.

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

NORTHERN IRELAND

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I want to discuss the most recent situation in Northern Ireland. All too often, I usually speak on the floor of the Senate about this issue after a bombing or bloody conflict between Republicans and Unionists. This time, however, I wish to address a situation that really has the potential to scar Northern Ireland more than any single bullet.

We have seen in our own country schoolchildren returning to classes this week. In Northern Ireland, schoolchildren are returning also. But, unfortunately, the week has been horrific for students at the Holy Cross Girls Primary School in Belfast. The students and their parents have faced a gauntlet of protesters on their way to school, many of whom pelted the girls with stones and spit at them.

Earlier today, a bomb went off addressed toward the schoolchildren. When I turn on the television and see pictures of these little girls, 6 and 7, 8 years old, crying in terror, being shielded by their mothers—what is their crime and sin? They are going to school. If there is ever anything that can help that troubled part of the world, it would be to improve the education of the young people and then allow them to go on to get jobs.

According to the press reports, the girls who attend this Catholic school have walked peacefully to and from their classes through a predominantly Protestant neighborhood for 30 years. Tragically, these children have been targeted to escalate already high tensions between Unionists and Republicans.

After more than three decades of violence in Northern Ireland committed by parties on both sides of the issue—and both sides are certainly responsible for violence—we sometimes become a bit callous about events in this conflict. But this latest situation of targeting children is truly reprehensible because it threatens to scar these children permanently.

The tragic situation at Holy Cross School has the potential to undermine any peace agreement that may be reached in the future. Negotiations will

continue this month on resuming the Northern Ireland assembly and further implementation of the Good Friday peace agreement. These efforts will be for naught if the children of Belfast, whether they are Catholic or Protestant, grow up in an environment where they think hatred and division are a way of life.

Let me take a moment to say, as I have in the past, that I have called upon Republicans and Unionists to abide by the Good Friday agreement. For those of us who have been involved in Northern Ireland over the years, we know that the hatred runs deep and the solutions are going to be complex. That is why I proudly support the U.S. commitment to the International Fund for Ireland. The Fund has promoted economic development in Northern Ireland across factional lines. I have supported it because the projects sponsored by IFI have been projects where Protestants and Catholics work side by side.

The situation at Holy Cross School is dangerous because it threatens to remove the most important characteristic that the Irish are blessed with, and that is hope.

I condemn efforts by people who are trying to take that hope away from these children and instill them with fear and hatred. That will simply perpetuate this conflict for years to come.

I recall going to Northern Ireland on President Clinton's last visit there. I had a police officer assigned to me in Belfast. He said to me: "Your President is a great man." I asked him why he said that. He said that before President Clinton came to Northern Ireland, the officer could not speak to somebody of the other faith. He told me which faith he belonged to but that is irrelevant since this was a statement that could have been made by either a Protestant or a Catholic.

He said: "Prior to that visit, I could not speak to someone of the other faith, but now I can work with them, I can be friends with them." He added: "The greatness of what your President has done and what the involvement of your country has been is that I no longer have to teach my children to hate."

Think of that. He was saying that prior to these efforts at a peace agreement, prior to the involvement of the United States and people such as Senator Mitchell and others, he felt that it was his duty to teach his children to hate. Unfortunately, this could have been heard on either side, but now he said he no longer had to do that.

I want to think that is the feeling of most people in Northern Ireland, Protestant or Catholic. But I despair when I see the pictures of these little children going to school. These girls are 6, 7, and 8 years old. Look at the terror in their faces. They are wondering what is going on.

Frankly, it brings back chilling memories of when I was in my teens and seeing the pictures in parts of our country where terrified African-American

schoolchildren were being escorted to school by marshals. Here are Irish children being escorted to school by the security forces.

There will not be peace in Northern Ireland, there will not be a promise for Northern Ireland until this sort of thing stops.

I commend the authorities who are protecting these children and pursuing the persons who threw the bomb. We can use law enforcement to stop the violence in the short term. In the long term people must look into their own souls and practice the religious principles that they espouse. They must practice these principles not only for themselves but for those who may not carry the same religion.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business.

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

MISSILE DEFENSE

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, as we are waiting for some things to happen right now, I am very distressed about some of the things we are hearing about a concerted effort to stop our missile defense language we have proposed for this year that the President has been very outspoken on, a recognition that we are in a very threatened position.

I think it is kind of a shock to many American people when they find out, and I say find out, not hear but find out, that we are in the most threatened position we have been in as a nation perhaps in the history of this country.

I can remember saying this back in 1995, and finally we had the Director of Central Intelligence about 2 years ago say that, in fact, we are in the most threatened position we have been in as a nation.

There is a current movie that people have gone to. I happened to see it on an airplane the other day. It is called "Thirteen Days." It is a story about the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and some of us are old enough to remember the hysteria that hit the streets in the United States. People were going to the supermarkets and stocking up on things. They were digging storm shelters and telling their friends: Do not come to our house because we are digging a storm shelter. It was panic, and it was panic because they woke up one morning and found out there were Soviet missiles on the island of Cuba aimed at American cities, and that we

had no defense against those incoming missiles.

Those were medium-range missiles that could have hit any American city in the continental America other than Seattle. So it is understandable people were panicked about it.

Yet if you saw this movie, one of the alternatives was to take 20 minutes and go down and wipe out the island of Cuba. That was one alternative, and that is why we say and I say that the threat facing America is greater today than it was then, because of those missiles that are currently targeting American cities. And this is not something that is up for debate, it is not something that anyone is going to challenge, because it was classified material until one of the newspapers was able to get some information here about 2 years ago, and, yes, at that time they said at least 18 American cities were targeted by missiles from China.

It goes without saying and everybody knows that virtually every country has weapons of mass destruction, either biological, chemical, or nuclear. The thing they do not have, at least up until recently, is a missile to deliver those weapons. Now it is a different story. We know for a fact that North Korea, Russia, and China have missiles that will reach the United States of America.

Let me be real specific. If the Chinese were to deploy a missile from somewhere around Beijing, it would take 35 minutes to get here, and during that 35 minutes we have absolutely nothing in our arsenal to knock down that missile, zero. We are naked. It is hard to explain the devastation that can take place by an incoming nuclear missile.

I come from the State of Oklahoma. In Oklahoma, we had the most devastating domestic terrorist attack in the history of this country. That was when the Murrah Federal Office Building explosion occurred. That was devastating, and 168 people lost their lives. I was there just a few minutes after it happened, and I can remember the parts of the bodies that were stuck to the walls of the building that was still smoking. It was still insecure when all of these firemen who had volunteered came all the way from as far away as Maryland to help to try to go in and secure the building, to try to find the bodies. Many bodies were never found.

That was a terrible explosion, and yet the smallest nuclear warhead known to man is 1,000 times that explosive power. So think about what that could do relative to the disaster that took place in Oklahoma a few years ago.

Now we are faced with this threat. I would like to think that is the only problem, but there are other problems. We are at one-half the force strength of 1991. How many people know that? Is that debatable? I am talking one-half Army divisions, one-half tactical air wings, one-half of the ships—down from 600 to 300 ships. It is usually reassuring

to people, thinking that although we are at one-half strength, we have the best military personnel, we have the best of equipment, the most modern equipment. That is not true anymore.

We had a hearing the other day before all the Chiefs. There was a friend of mine in the audience named Charles Sublett, a hero in Vietnam, flying F-4s and F-100s while the Navy was flying A-6s and A-4s. I identified him as a hero. He stood up. I said: Let me ask you this question—and a lot of people differ as to the war in Vietnam; there is a difference of opinion Americans have—was it true every piece of equipment you had was better than that which any potential adversary had? He said: Absolutely.

Today that is not true. The best air-to-air missile we have is the F-14. It is not as good as the SU-27 now manufactured on the open market and bought by the Russians and Chinese, and the best we have for air-to-ground capability is the F-16 and still their SU-30 is better.

I asked the same question of the generals testifying. They said that is true in terms of the range and the maneuverability. Our pilots are better, but the equipment is not as good. The same is true with artillery capability. The Paladin is outgunned in terms of range and fire by almost everything our potential adversaries have. It is not just that we do not have a missile defense in this country when the threat is every bit as real as 1962 when everybody panicked. We have a real job in trying to do an adequate job defending this country with the defense authorization bill that will be forthcoming.

Tonight we have our first meeting. We had subcommittee meetings today, and tonight we have our first meeting. I hope this does not end up being a partisan bill. People recognize defending America has to be the No. 1 priority.

EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT OF 2001—Continued

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, on the bill before the Senate, it is my understanding some people are trying to work out an agreement, but I rise in opposition to the Export Administration Act. A lot of people state the purpose of this bill is to protect the national security. We are kidding ourselves. The real objective of those who wrote this bill and who actively support it is to promote trade and transfers of the very dual-use high technologies which, in the wrong hands, pose a serious threat to national security. Their emphasis is such liberalized trade will be good for the economy, but we have to ask: At what price?

This debate does not occur in a vacuum. We have the record of the last 8 years when we had an administration which deliberately ignored and undermined our Nation's cold war system of export controls designed to protect national security. Their attitude was that the cold war was over so there was

no real threat out there. Why worry about technology transfers? Why worry about rogue state missile systems and weapons programs? This flies in the face of everything that is logical.

We have had very serious problems in hearing things taking place in China. During the elections in Taiwan when there was a notion we might go in there and try to intervene, they were trying to intimidate the elections by firing missiles in the Taiwan Straits. Later on the second highest ranking Chinese military officer said: We are not concerned about America coming to the aid of Taipei because they would rather defend Los Angeles.

Then we had the Defense Minister of China saying, war with America is inevitable, which he has repeated 3 times, once in the last 8 months. We have a serious problem out there and we have to recognize that.

My fear is a lot of this technology is going to go to countries such as China, and specifically China.

I will review the actions of the Clinton administration. The first thing they did in 1994, shortly after taking office, they ended COCOM, the Coordinating Committee on Multinational Export Controls. This was put together so we and our allies could all agree not to export high technology that could get in the hands of the wrong people. That system was set in place, and in 1994 the administration ended that.

The administration, shortly after that in 1996, took control of the authority on export licenses out of the hands of the State Department and put it in the Commerce Department. Later they recognized it was wrong, the public recognized it, and after the Cox report they moved it back to the State Department.

The granting of waivers for missile defense technologies—we all remember the significant problem we had when the administration signed a waiver to allow China to have the guidance technology produced by the Loral Corporation, owned by the Hughes Corporation, that allow the Chinese to have the guided-missile technology that gave them more control over where the missiles might go, even if one might be coming toward the United States. They allowed transfer of high-performance computers, which ended up helping improve Chinese military systems.

The theft of our nuclear secrets, at that time we had 16 nuclear compromises. Eight were before the last administration; eight were during the Clinton administration. We discovered that of the eight before the Clinton administration, one went back as far as the Carter administration, which was discovered by this country when a walk-in informant came to a CIA office with the documentation that China had that information from those other compromises from the previous administration. Yet it was covered up until the Cox report came out 4 years later and we realized China had virtually everything.