

heard some of our colleagues insist they are proud of that vote. Frankly, I cannot understand how anyone could say that.

I was deeply saddened and troubled when I opened my newspaper yesterday morning. The top headline in the Washington Post read: "Senate Rejects Test Ban Treaty." The headline just below that read: "For US, Fallout will be Fading Influence."

How can anyone take pride in actions that increase the threat of nuclear weapons? How can anyone be proud of diminishing America's leadership in the world? How can anyone be proud that they have made the world a more dangerous place for ourselves and our children?

For the life of me, I cannot understand that.

We knew before we voted that, if we rejected the CTBT, we would almost certainly damage our national security and our standing in the world. We knew both of those things. Our senior military leaders warned us. Outside experts tried to warn us. Our allies tried to warn us. In fact, three world leaders—representing our three oldest and strongest allies—took the unprecedented step of writing an open letter to us.

In that letter, published this week in the New York Times, Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroder implored us: "As we look to the next century, our greatest concern is proliferation of weapons of mass destruction . . . Failure to ratify the CTBT, will be a failure in our struggle against proliferation . . . For the security of the world we will leave to our children, we urge the United States Senate to ratify the treaty."

Unfortunately, a majority of Senators chose to ignore these warnings. They chose to ignore the serious implications that rejecting the CTBT would have on U.S. security and international standing, and on the safety of the entire world. If there was any doubt, before the vote, that rejecting the CTBT would be a serious mistake, there can be no doubt now. Look at the headlines.

World dismayed by U.S. Treaty Vote—Associated Press

International community dismayed by U.S. Rejection of CTBT—Agence France Presse

Germany Says U.S. Nuke Reaction a Serious Setback—Reuters

A Reckless Rejection—the Washington Post

A Damaging Arms Control Defeat—the New York Times

Defeat of Test Ban Treaty a Blow to U.S. Prestige—Reuters

Nations Assail Senate Vote on Test Ban Treaty—Washington Post

Asia Dismayed by US Treaty Vote—AP

Arms-Control World Upended—the Christian Science Monitor

Dismay and Anger Abroad at US Action—The Guardian of London

Russia Press Digest: America Has Latent Desire to Explode Nuclear Bombs

Listen to the reactions of world leaders:

From a senior Chinese official: "It leaves us with the impression that America has a double standard, you tell the rest of the world not to do something and then you go ahead and do it."

From a spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry: "This decision is a serious blow to the entire system of agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. There is a definite trend visible in recent times in US actions and it causes deep alarm."

Some of our colleagues are quick to seize on China and Russia's displeasure. They point to that as proof they did the right thing in rejecting the treaty. Even if you accept the premise—and I do not—that what is bad for China and Russia is, by definition, good for the United States, this goes far beyond these two countries.

Condemnation of the Senate's action has been virtually universal. It's worldwide. It's from our friends to our foes, and every nation in between. From the first world to the third world. Listen to what other world leaders have said:

In France, President Chirac said the Senate vote would inflict "serious damage" to the cause of nuclear disarmament, particularly dismayed that the views of America's allies were ignored.

In Germany, Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping called the vote an "absolute wrong" decision. Foreign Minister Fischer said his country and other European nations were "deeply disappointed" and feared it would seriously harm the cause of nuclear disarmament. "It is a wrong signal that we deeply regret."

Lord Robertson, NATO's new Secretary General and former British Defense Secretary, called it "a very worrying vote."

A spokesman for the European Union called for the immediate ratification of the treaty by all signatories and said "we have already stated our belief that the treaty is clearly in the interests of all states as an essential barrier to nuclear proliferation."

In Japan, Foreign Minister Kono said the negative impact was "immeasurable" on the cause of disarmament and non proliferation. "The adverse effects are inestimable and it is of extreme concern. We have been hoping for US leadership in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, so the restful is very regrettable."

In the Philippines, Foreign Secretary Siazon said the vote dealt "an enormous blow to all our efforts to make the world a safer place to live in."

From the Mayor of Hiroshima: The United States is "going against inter-

national efforts to reduce nuclear arms, as a nuclear power the United States should lead the way to end the proliferation of weapons."

Mr. President, what makes our failure to pass the CTBT doubly tragic is that there was nothing forcing the Senate to act on this treaty at this time. This vote could have, and should have, been postponed until the Senate had conducted proper hearings on the treaty. In fact, 62 members signed a letter to the Majority Leader pleading with him to delay the vote. Among the signers were the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Armed Services Committee, Chairman and Ranking Member of the Appropriations Committee, and Ranking Member on the Foreign Relations Committee. Republicans and Democrats signed that letter.

Under the rules of the Senate, it was fully within the power of the Majority Leader to reschedule this vote for a more appropriate time. The fact that we did not do so is a mistake of historic proportion.

What we have done is nothing to be proud of. What we have done is deeply troubling. What we have done is dangerous. What we have done has—for now—made the world less safe.

It has, for now, damaged the relationship between the US and some of our most important allies. It has, for now, diminished our standing and our moral authority in the world.

It was a serious mistake. We need to un-do it.

Immediately after the vote, a spokesman for the British government said "we hope that what happened in Washington is not the end of the road." I want our friends in England the rest of the world to know that the United States Senate has not uttered its last word on the CTBT.

The overwhelming majority of the American people support this treaty. Our senior military leaders support this treaty. My colleagues and I on this side of the aisle will do everything we can to secure the votes needed to pass this treaty in the United States Senate.

In the meantime, we will insist that the United States continues to refrain from conducting nuclear tests. The United States must not, and will not, give up its position as a leader in the international effort to rid the world of the threat of nuclear weapons.

I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY,
OCTOBER 18, 1999

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in adjournment until Monday, October 18, 1999, at 12 noon.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 2:38 p.m., adjourned until Monday, October 18, 1999, at 12 noon.