

advancements? And how do we make them as strong and as sharp as possible?

We have some initial ideas here in Congress, but I do not believe this body as a whole is prepared to answer those questions—the most important of our time. But it is my sincere hope that we have begun this necessary dialogue.

In our pursuit of these answers, we have a simple, yet profound, justification: research and development spending and strong science and technology are the essential base elements of our competitive edge, our standard of living, and our defense. To hone and preserve that edge, Congress must work closely with the traditional partners in this effort: universities, government agencies and their labs, and private industry. These partnerships have been a key to America's strength and their whole is seemingly greater than the sum of its respective parts.

Along with several representatives of the national research, development and education effort in government, universities, and industry, several Senators of both parties have begun to explore the issues and open a dialogue addressing the questions of great national importance, as illustrated by the formation of the Senate's bipartisan Science and Technology Caucus. The full Senate understands the challenges of maintaining a vibrant National Enterprise, but the gravity of the challenge has not been fully articulated, even as we face greater competition from other countries and ever greater pressure on federal and private funding of all research and development.

This venture will require understanding, sympathy, discipline and dedication. Already, the initial dialogue has realized some immediate success: it exposed common ground and initiated the critical dialogue. We have begun to identify issues and areas on which Congress can begin to pursue an agenda and strategy:

Partnerships among industry, government, and universities are the strong basis of our preeminence in science and technology and in research and development, and are the essential whet stone of our competitive edge. We must find the best ways to shorten the time it takes to bring basic research to market, clinic, the armed forces, or industry.

Education is the seed-corn of the advancements we enjoy. We must continue to cultivate human capital, for that seed-corn cannot be planted too early. To fail to provide our institutions of higher learning with qualified students will ultimately be the most damaging blow to the National Enterprise. It is a problem that cannot be corrected in a single budget or simply through new laws and higher federal spending levels. Today, nearly one-third of incoming American college students are compelled to enter remedial courses because they are ill-prepared for much of the basic curriculum. The erosion of standards and perform-

ance in our elementary and secondary school systems is an erosion of the basis of the National Enterprise itself and a threat to its very existence.

Consistent and stable commitments to funding are essential for planning. Planning, in turn, is an essential ingredient in long term strategies and the ability for individuals, companies and institutions to commit to the long term and basic research.

A commitment to basic research is the foundation upon which all other discoveries and technical advancements are dependent. Here, the federal role is particularly important. Universities and labs cannot realistically undertake such high-risk and long-term research on their own. And industries cannot necessarily commit to a venture that may not enjoy a market return during the lifetime of the company.

Do not think I'm speaking of simply a more-informed and sophisticated triage. The overall budget projections on research and development spending are a point of great concern—some say a threat to our national security, our quality of life and our sharp competitive edge.

In this delicate operation of redefining our National Enterprise, we must be extremely careful, for clean incisions are not easy, and the distinctions between excesses and successes are not always clear. We must note that in trying to solve our budget crisis, some of the issue have been muddled, where the fine distinctions between basic and applied research, and between research and development, are lost or misjudged. However, should we gain a new sense of mission and consensus of goals through dialogue, such distinctions become less and less difficult with time, and we can better focus the energies and money of the United States.

We also face the danger that any such dialogue could be characterized politically and split by misconceptions of conservative versus liberal, of big government versus streamlined government, or even command economy versus the free market. We should be clear from the outset that this discussion is none of these, and it is certainly not a Republican versus Democrat issue, as the recent bipartisan efforts illustrate.

We must be mindful that the dialogue must also focus on education and the creation of human capital to fuel and guide our National Enterprise. A National Enterprise with all financial means at its disposal is impotent and adrift without knowhow and wisdom. Our economy's resilience, ingenuity, and potential are sure to fade without an unwavering commitment to education.

On these issues we must be prepared to deliberate, to make difficult decisions, and to lead. Congress must use its experience, knowledge and authority to move dialogue, keep it from folly, and define priorities and goals in the interests of the American people—a very tall order.

We must begin to study these issues and join the effort, beginning with the appreciation that this dialogue is the extraordinary luxury of an accomplished, enterprising and open-minded people. As Chairman of the Science, Technology and Space Subcommittee, as a founding member of the Science and Technology Caucus, and as a medical scientist and physician, I will actively pursue this dialogue and seek answers to these critical questions.

The Nation's approach to these challenges must be broadened in scope and increased in level of participation. It must move away from an annual piecemeal approach, confined to specific programs' and agencies' funding within our own appropriations process. It must also gain the level of honesty and earnestness realized during the Cold War Era and in the wake of Sputnik. This nascent dialogue and recent legislative initiatives are encouraging first steps, but the challenge must expand to include more of the Congress, the Administration and the public.

Congress must answer the critical questions to determine the role of the federal government, and then see that our laws and spending reflect the correct answers and clearly define our national interests. We must set out to understand our mission and to define our goals.

America cannot afford to wait for another Sputnik to shake us from our complacency and to define our interests for us. Congress has a great challenge ahead, and we must act now to restore and preserve our competitive edge and standard of living—so much depends on the decisions Congress makes and on the sincerity, depth, and sobriety of the dialogue. ●

#### THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REUNIFICATION OF JERUSALEM

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. I rise today to speak about the city of Jerusalem, a subject I have spoken about at some length and on numerous occasions during my tenure in the United States Senate. In the not too distant future, the people of Israel will celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the reunification of their Capital. It is altogether fitting and proper that the United States Congress should mark this anniversary with an appropriate resolution.

For 3,000 years Jerusalem has been the focal point of Jewish religious devotion. Although there had been a continuous Jewish presence in Jerusalem for three millennia—and a Jewish majority in the city since the 1840's—the once thriving Jewish population of the historic Old City of Jerusalem was driven out by force during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. From 1948 to 1967 Jerusalem was divided by concrete, barbed wire, and cinder block. Israelis of all faiths and Jews of all nationalities were denied access to holy sites in the area controlled by Jordan.

Jerusalem was finally reunited by Israel in 1967 during the conflict known

as the Six Day War. Since then, Jerusalem has been a united city in which the rights of all faiths have been respected and protected, and persons of all religious faiths have been guaranteed full access to holy sites within the city.

In 1990, I sponsored Senate Concurrent Resolution 106, which was overwhelmingly adopted by the United States Senate, while a similar resolution (H. Con. Res. 290) was adopted by the House of Representatives. These resolutions declared that Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, "must remain an undivided city" and called on the Israelis and the Palestinians to undertake negotiations to resolve their differences. The late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin credited S. Con. Res. 106 with "[helping] our neighbors reach the negotiating table" to produce the historic Declaration of Principles signed in Washington on September 13, 1993.

In the fall of 1995, I joined with Senator Dole to introduce "The Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995" (Public Law 104-45) which states as a matter of United States policy that Jerusalem should remain the undivided capital of Israel. I firmly believe that Jerusalem must remain an undivided city in which the rights of every ethnic and religious group are protected, as they have been by Israel during the past thirty years.

I congratulate the people of Israel on the approaching thirtieth anniversary of the reunification of their historic capital. When the Senate reconvenes next month, I will introduce a resolution to commemorate this event, as I have done on previous anniversaries. ●

#### THE NUCLEAR WASTE POLICY ACT OF 1997

● Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, high-level nuclear waste and highly radioactive used nuclear fuel is piling up at 80 sites in 41 States. It is stored in populated areas, near neighborhoods and schools, in the backyards of people across America.

An example is the Palisades Plant in Michigan, which is within 100 feet of Lake Michigan. Another is the Haddam Neck Plant, in Connecticut. A U.S. Senator has observed that he can see it from his house.

Without objection, I would like to place in the RECORD an editorial from today's Hartford Courant that observes that "with the closing of the Connecticut Yankee Plant at Haddam Neck, the issue of what to do with the State's high-level nuclear waste has moved from the theoretical to the here and now. . . . Experts say Connecticut Yankee's spent fuel could be stored at Haddam Neck for another 30 years if Congress fails to approve a temporary facility. Unfortunately, the hands of the clock can't be turned back to a time when nuclear waste didn't exist. In terms of its disposal, a remote desert site in Nevada is the lesser of two evils."

The waste was supposed to be taken by the Federal Government for safer,

central storage by 1998. Will that happen? The answer is "no."

Even though \$12 billion has been collected from Americans to pay for storage—and even though a Federal court reaffirmed the Government's legal obligation to take the waste by 1998—there is no plan for action.

By 1998, 23 reactors in 14 States will be full. By 2010, 65 reactors in 29 States will be full.

A conservative estimate is that 25 percent of our nuclear plants will not be able to build onsite storage and will be forced to shut down. That would mean the loss of over 5 percent of our Nation's total electricity generating capacity.

But Yucca Mountain won't be ready until at least 2015. Therefore, the Nation needs a temporary solution.

That solution—S. 104—passed the Energy and Natural Resources Committee with a solid, bipartisan vote (15-5). Almost half the minority members and all majority members voted in favor of the bill.

Americans have waited too long for a solution to this environmental and public safety challenge—we must not wait any longer. There is a critical need to construct a safe, central storage facility to eliminate the growing threat to the environment and to the American people.

I have worked with Members on both sides of the aisle to solve any problems they have with this bill. We accepted several amendments from the democrat side.

We continue to meet with Democrat Members and the administration to resolve remaining concerns. We will continue to work with new Secretary Pena and his staff at the Energy Department, now that the Secretary has the portfolio to resolve this pressing problem.

Over the recess, committee staff will be available to work on proposed compromises which can be considered in April. Senator BINGAMAN has been very constructive in this regard.

Much of what he is proposing appears acceptable. However, the bottom line is the need for a predictable path to interim and permanent waste storage. We simply cannot leave trap doors that allow central storage to be delayed for decades.

We now have an opportunity for bipartisan action. Let's seize that opportunity.

It is no secret both Nevada Senators will do what they feel they need to to derail this important bill. They consider it a political necessity to oppose it.

There will be allegations that the science is bad and try to scare us with references to mobile chernobyl. They will imply that if this bill doesn't pass, nuclear waste will not be transported through this country. That is not true. The fact is that there have been 2,500 shipments of used fuel across this country in the last 20 years.

This is not just history—it is happening today. Doe is transporting spent

fuel from nuclear reactors all over the world into the United States, virtually as we speak—by truck, by train, by barge, by boat.

If the Nevada Senators do not tell you about this, there's a reason. Its because these shipments have been, and will continue to be, completely uneventful. In short, these spent fuel shipments are safe, and they aren't news.

At our hearing in February, all four members of the Nevada delegation admitted there was no process and no level of scientific proof that would decrease their opposition. This is about politics, and little about science.

Senator BRYAN was once in favor of sending high-level materials to the Nevada test site. As a State legislator, he voted for A.J.R 15, which was signed by the Nevada Governor in May 1975, which asked the Federal Government to do just that.

I think he was right the first time. It is safer, smarter, and cheaper to contain these materials at one location in the remote Nevada desert.

The Nevada test site was used for decades to explode nuclear bombs. It helped win the cold war—now it can help us win the war on radioactive waste disposal. High-level nuclear waste is our legacy: Now it's our obligation to dispose of it.

It is irresponsible to let this situation continue. It is unsafe to let dangerous radioactive materials pile up at 80 sites in 41 States. It is unwise to block safe storage in a remote area when the alternative is to simply leave it in 41 States. This is a national problem that requires a national solution. We need to pass S. 104.

So far, the administration's attitude toward nuclear waste storage has been to simply ignore the problem and disregard the Governments contractual obligation to take this waste. The American people deserve better.

Safe nuclear storage should not be a political issue. It is a scientific and an environmental issue—and we need a solution now. Sadly, the administration has turned a blind eye and a deaf ear. In addition to threats to the environment and safety, 22 percent of our electric capacity is at risk—22 percent.

Starting in January 1998, taxpayers may have to pay billions of dollars in liability payments because the Government has not met its obligation to take waste. Estimates of taxpayers' liability under a recent lawsuit brought by States run as high as \$80 billion. That's as much as \$1,300 per American family. Here's how the damages break down:

Cost of storage of spent nuclear fuel: \$19.6 billion.

Return of nuclear waste fees: \$8.5 billion.

Interest on nuclear waste fees: \$15 to \$27.8 billion (depending on the interest rate used).

Consequential damages for shutdown of 25 percent of nuclear plants due to insufficient storage (power replacement cost): \$24 billion.