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House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Wednesday, September 6, 1995, at 12 noon.

Senate

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1995

(Legislative day of Monday, July 10, 1995)

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND.]

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

Gracious God, You have been faithful to help us when we have asked for Your guidance and strength. May we be as quick to praise You for what You have done for us in the past, as we are to ask You to bless us in the future. We have come to You in crises, and difficulties; You have been on time and in time in Your interventions. Thank You Lord for Your providential care of this Senate as it has dealt with an immense load of work.

Now, as a much-needed recess is taken, we thank You for all the people who make it possible for the Senate to function effectively. Especially we thank You for the Senators' staffs and all those here in the Senate chambers who work cheerfully and diligently for long hours to keep the legislative process moving smoothly. Help us to take no one for granted and express our gratitude to each one.

Lord, when this day's work is done, give us refreshment of mind, spirit, and body. Watch over us as we are absent from each other and bring us back in September with renewed dedication to You and this great Nation we serve. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Alaska is recognized.

THE CHAPLAIN'S PRAYER

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, we thank the Senate Chaplain for those words of guidance. We must make sure the days of rest do not pass too quickly.

SCHEDULE

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, this morning, the leader has asked to reserve the time for both leaders. The Senate will immediately resume consideration of the Defense appropriations bill. There are allotted times of debate. There will be three consecutive votes that should begin approximately at 9:30 this morning.

I yield briefly to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for 2 minutes to introduce a piece of legislation.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The remarks of Mr. HATFIELD pertaining to the introduction of S. 1183 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. HATFIELD. I thank my colleagues for yielding.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1087, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1087) making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

(1) Hutchison amendment No. 2396, to provide for the management of defense nuclear stockpile resources.

(2) Bumpers amendment No. 2398, to reduce the amount of money provided for the Trident II missile program.

(3) Harkin amendment No. 2400, to delete funding for the upgrade of the Kiowa Warrior light scout helicopters.

(4) Stevens amendment No. 2424, to rescind funds for berthing barges.

(5) Kerry motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Appropriations with instructions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. STEVENS. There is now time allotted for the Senator from Arkansas, 10 minutes for the Senator from Arkansas and 5 minutes in opposition, to be followed by a similar period for Senator HARKIN, an equal number of minutes on each side, and then the time sought by Senator KERRY on a motion to recommit.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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AMENDMENT NO. 2398

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum for about 2 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I seriously considered not offering this amendment because obviously I will not win. As a matter of fact, I do not think a single amendment that has been proposed to change this bill has prevailed.

It causes me a great deal of despair to think about how we almost relish cutting education, the arts, public broadcasting—just about everything in nondefense discretionary spending—but you cannot take a penny out of this bill despite the fact it contains almost \$7 billion more than the Pentagon requested. And when you ask: “Why are we putting \$7 billion more in it than our President and military leaders want?” the answer is, essentially, “What do they know?”

So here I am offering an amendment that I have offered for the last 2 years—this will be the third year—a chance to save well over \$4 billion, \$4.5 billion to be precise, and I might get 30, possibly 40 votes, despite the fact that people in the Navy itself and in the Defense Department will tell you that the logic of this amendment is unassailable.

We have eight Trident submarines in the Pacific Ocean. We have 10 in the Atlantic. The ones in the Atlantic fleet are equipped with a missile called the D-5 or the Trident II missile. The eight submarines in the Pacific are equipped with a missile called the C-4, or Trident I missile. This amendment simply prevents the Navy from starting to spend money in 1996 to backfit the eight submarines in the Pacific to carry the D-5 missile.

We are testing C-4 missiles every year. And they are just fine. The tests are perfectly satisfactory. But here is the key to this amendment. Here is what Martin Meth, Director of the DOD Weapon Support Improvement Group, said on November 9, 1992. Now, this is as good an authority as you can get on C-4 and D-5 missiles and on the Trident submarines.

Listen to this:

There are no obvious life limiting modes or logistics barriers to extending the service life of the currently deployed C-4 missiles to the year 2016. Therefore, I would recommend that any Navy plans for either restoring the C-4 missiles or D-5 missile backfit should not be supported.

We are getting ready to backfit, take the C-4's off those Trident submarines in the Pacific and replace them with D-5's, despite the fact that the C-4 missile will last as long as the submarines they are on.

And what do you get? What are you going to get for this \$4.5 billion? Listen to this. The C-4 has an unclassified range of 4,000 nautical miles. It can hit any place you want to hit. The D-5 has something in excess of 4,000 miles. The C-4 has what we call a circular error probability of 300 meters. That means if you fire it, the warheads, half of them will fall within 300 meters of the target.

Let me restate that. On the C-4—the C-4—50 percent of the warheads will hit within 300 meters of the target. And the D-5 will hit within 150 meters.

So for \$4.5 billion, with a 100-kiloton warhead that will destroy everything for miles around, you get a warhead that will hit 150 meters closer to the target, 450 feet.

It is the most asinine thing I can imagine, to spend \$4.5 billion to replace a missile that is that accurate, that has that life expectancy. And, incidentally, they are only going to backfit four of the Trident I subs. They will take the other four out of service. And the four they will backfit will be out of service by the year 2016, and, as I said, the Pentagon says the C-4 missiles will last just as long.

You just cannot find enough places to put money to satisfy most Members of the Senate, as long as it explodes. You cannot get 10 cents around here for something that will not explode.

And I will tell you what we are going to wind up with. We are going to wind up with a nation exploding with ignorance because of our misplaced priorities.

I will tell you what is despairing, what is so depressing. It is that you study these issues, you attend committee meetings, you listen to the chiefs of the military services. They tell you what is doable, what is not doable, what they want, what they do not want. We mark up the bill and we bring it to the floor. And no matter how meritorious your amendment may be, if it conflicts with the bill, the distinguished chairman of the committee—who is my friend, he has a right to do it—he just gets up and says, “I move to table the amendment.” People walk through that door over there. He gives them the signal to vote “aye” or to vote “no.” Many do not have a clue to what the amendment is about.

These are complicated subjects. I admit that. But you cannot get anybody's attention on these issues. I have been given 10 minutes this morning to explain an immensely complex amendment that would save \$4.5 billion. If all 100 Senators were sitting on the floor, I might be able to convince them. But otherwise we will never get this budget under control until we have campaign finance reform. Here is \$4.5 billion you might as well throw off the Washington Monument. It will do you just as much good.

So, Mr. President, I am not going to belabor the point. Here is just another case. We have had case after case since we have been on this bill where the

Pentagon says, “No, we do not want to do it.” Now, I admit, the Navy wants to do this. The Navy wants to backfit. But the people who understand the weaponry say it is a waste. The sum of \$4.5 billion to retrofit four submarines, which in all probability, if we ever get to START III, we will even have to take out of service before their service life expectancy ends.

You know, if we had somebody to shoot at, maybe this would make some sense. I have said a half dozen times on the floor, and it is worth repeating, if I had made the offer to my colleagues 10 years ago, What would you give in defense spending to get rid of the Soviet Union? I daresay the least percentage that anybody would have given me is to say we could cut Defense by 30 percent if we did not have the Soviet Union.

Now, the Soviet Union's bombers, the Russian bombers, are not on alert. Their missiles are not targeted at us. And they are destroying ballistic missile submarines and ICBM silos. And what are we doing? We are putting \$7 billion more in the Defense budget than the Pentagon asked for, and continuing to spend twice as much money as our eight most likely adversaries combined.

On a personal note, this morning at breakfast my wife said, “What are you going to do, Dale?” I said, “I am going to fight another fight with the windmills. I love jousting with windmills.”

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. BUMPERS. I ask for an additional 2 minutes, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BUMPERS. “Go down there and find a battle.” I said, “I probably won't even offer it or I will withdraw it.” On the way down I thought, “No. Let's just let everybody vote for another \$4.5 billion. Maybe, if this whole thing will get so bad, the President will veto the bill.”

So, Mr. President, I am not going to withdraw it. I am going to let everybody vote on it. And they can go home and tell folks about how those old Russians used to be the Soviet Union, now the Russians or North Koreans or somebody else is going to come up the Potomac River and get us. I have listened to that for 21 years. I heard that every year since I have been here.

Everybody wonders why we have a \$4.5 trillion debt and why we have such a terrible time getting our deficit under control. And in the last 20 years—you listen to this, colleagues—nondefense discretionary spending—immunization of children, education, law enforcement, highways, everything that goes in the making us a decent, civilized nation—has gone down. You think of that. The budget is about three times higher than it was in 1970, and nondefense domestic discretionary spending has gone down. And defense spending is up about 100 percent. I

think the first budget I saw when I came here in 1975 was \$145 billion.

And so many Senators get up here and say, oh, defense spending has gone down in real dollars. When we wake up and realize the security of this Nation does not just depend on how many tanks and planes and guns and bombs we have, it will be too late.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. BUMPERS. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the order, the Senator from Alaska has 5 minutes.

The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, it does not give me any pleasure to speak in opposition, because my friend is always eloquent and impressive. But most sincerely, I believe my friend is not correct in this instance.

First of all, there is no buildup in the U.S. nuclear forces; 8 years ago, when we began our drawdown, we also retired a few of our submarines. In fact, we retired 50 of them. As a result, 30 Poseidon and Trident I submarines are now in drydock.

Second, one would conclude that from this presentation there must be cost savings. This amendment calls for the deletion of \$150 million. It is a whole lot of money, but if this amendment is adopted then we will have to add \$250 million to close up the production and to provide for replacement parts—\$250 million.

Is the D-5 necessary? I have a letter dated August 11, 1995, from the Department of the Navy, Secretary of the Navy, and I am going to read the last paragraph:

The D-5 missile, currently in production, has greater range, better reliability, much improved accuracy and most importantly, twice the design life of its predecessor, the C-4, which ceased production in 1987. Even with an aggressive and expensive sustainment program, the C-4 cannot be expected to last the projected life of the submarines which carry them. Therefore, the C-4 will require substantial and costly life extension efforts or replacement by another missile. The most sensible and cost-effective approach to this issue is to continue procurement of D-5 missiles and continue planning for backfit for four submarines.

Your continued support is appreciated. John H. Dalton, Secretary of the Navy.

If we end the production, it could also reduce incentives for Russia to implement both START and START II. While there is every indication that START I and START II will ultimately enter into force, I think it is both premature and unwise to make major force structure decisions, such as immediately stopping D-5 missile production.

Terminating production of the D-5 at this time will severely degrade the capability of our strategic forces. The D-5 missile provides for better accuracy, as the Secretary stated and, therefore, Mr. President, I hope that my colleagues will oppose this amendment and support the management of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield his remaining time?

Mr. STEVENS. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 1 minute.

Mr. INOUE. I yield back time.

Mr. STEVENS. Is there any time for the Senator from Arkansas?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No, his time has expired.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, we have been requested not to start the next amendment until 9:30. That was the understanding. If the Senator from Arkansas would like a few more minutes, we will be happy to let him speak.

Mr. BUMPERS. I thank the Senator very much, if I may take a few minutes.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be 2 minutes for the Senator from Arkansas and the remainder to the Senator from Hawaii, and then we will start the vote at 9:30.

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

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, let me clarify one thing. My amendment takes the \$120 million out that starts us down the road to backfitting these Trident submarines. Bear in mind it is always that way, the first \$120 million does not amount to much. When you vote against this amendment, you are voting to go ahead and do the backfit. You are talking about \$4.5 billion. But all this amendment does is postpone the decision on whether to embark on this program or not. We have at least 3 years to make this decision.

My good friend, the Senator from Hawaii, has said that this will close the line down. I do not understand that argument because there are six D-5 missiles in this bill, and I do not touch them. I am not trying to stop the production of those six D-5 missiles, so there is no threat of closing the line down.

All I am saying is, let us postpone the decision on whether we are going to backfit these missiles for at least a couple of years, because if the Russians do ratify START II, we are going to be right off on START III and Trident submarines are going to be a part of the START III talks.

So, Mr. President, it is an opportunity to jeopardize defense not one whit and make a sensible decision that later on may save us \$4.5 billion.

As I say, let me point out one more time, that even the Navy will tell you the C-4 missiles, which are on these submarines right now, will last as long as the submarines will. So when you start on this \$4.5 billion program, I will tell you what you get. You get a warhead that will land 150 meters closer to its target, and when you are talking about a 100-kiloton weapon, who cares?

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, once again, I note for my colleagues that we

have received a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, dated this morning, requesting our support for continued D-5 missile production.

I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, DC, August 11, 1995.

Hon. TED STEVENS,

Chairman, Subcommittee on Defense, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Last year's comprehensive Nuclear Posture Review recommended a START II compliant strategic deterrent force for the United States which the President approved. The continuing importance of our strategic TRIAD in providing a survivable, responsive, and flexible deterrent was reaffirmed in the force structure defined by the review.

When START II enters into force, the fourteen TRIDENT submarines which comprise the Navy portion of the TRIAD will represent our only day-to-day survivable leg of the TRIAD. Only ten submarines have been or will be completed with the newer 5-D missile. Four of the remaining eight ships require backfit to carry the D-5. In concluding that backfit of these submarines was the proper course for the nation, the Nuclear Posture Review recognized the improved military effectiveness and reliability of the D-5, the operational and fiscal efficiencies which accrue from maintaining only one strategic missile in the fleet, and the need to ensure that missile service life is matched to that of the submarines which carry them.

The D-5 missile, currently in production, has greater range, better reliability, much improved accuracy, and most importantly, twice the design life of its predecessor, the C-4, which ceased production in 1987. Even with an aggressive and expensive sustainment program, the C-4 cannot be expected to last the projected life of the submarines which carry them. Therefore, the C-4 will require substantial and costly life extension efforts or replacement by another missile. The most sensible and cost-effective approach to this issue is to continue procurement of D-5 missiles and continue planning for backfit for four submarines.

Your continued support is appreciated.

Sincerely,

JOHN H. DALTON,
Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, we do understand the feelings of the Senator from Arkansas. However, I remind the Senate that missile production continues in Russia. We still have this force to maintain, and we are following the request of the Navy which, as the Senator from Hawaii has indicated, is really more cost-effective than doing what the Senator from Arkansas wants.

He would require not only the \$250 million to cancel the existing contract, but then we would have to go back, as the Secretary of the Navy points out, and recondition and modernize the C-4 before its lifespan is over.

Mr. President, I move to table the Bumpers amendment, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, there was to be an intervening amendment. At the request of the sponsor, he urges that we go ahead and vote on this amendment and then Senator HARKIN will take his time on his amendment. That will be followed by a vote on his amendment.

Then we will take the time on Senator KERRY's amendment and proceed in that fashion in order to accommodate the sponsors. If it takes unanimous consent to change the request from last night, I ask unanimous consent the order be as I just stated.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question occurs on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table the Bumpers amendment No. 2398. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LOTT. I announce that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] is necessarily absent.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY] is absent because of illness in the family.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 31, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 393 Leg.]

YEAS—67

Abraham	Feinstein	Lugar
Ashcroft	Ford	Mack
Bennett	Frist	McCain
Biden	Glenn	McConnell
Bingaman	Gorton	Mikulski
Bond	Graham	Murkowski
Brown	Gramm	Nickles
Bryan	Grams	Nunn
Burns	Gregg	Packwood
Campbell	Hatch	Pressler
Chafee	Heflin	Robb
Coats	Helms	Roth
Cochran	Hollings	Santorum
Cohen	Hutchison	Shelby
Coverdell	Inhofe	Smith
Craig	Inouye	Specter
D'Amato	Johnston	Stevens
DeWine	Kassebaum	Thomas
Dodd	Kempthorne	Thompson
Dole	Kennedy	Kyl
Domenici	Kyl	Thurmond
Exon	Lieberman	Warner
Faircloth	Lott	

NAYS—31

Akaka	Harkin	Murray
Baucus	Hatfield	Pell
Boxer	Jeffords	Pryor
Breaux	Kerrey	Reid
Bumpers	Kerry	Rockefeller
Byrd	Kohl	Sarbanes
Conrad	Lautenberg	Simon
Daschle	Leahy	Snowe
Dorgan	Levin	Wellstone
Feingold	Moseley-Braun	
Grassley	Moynihhan	

NOT VOTING—2

Bradley	Simpson
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So the motion to lay on the table the amendment (No. 2398) was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote and I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will come to order.

AMENDMENT NO. 2396

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, there is one amendment not covered by our agreement last night, No. 2396, Senator HUTCHISON's amendment. There is 2 minutes on either side.

I ask unanimous consent we yield her the full 4 minutes prior to her withdrawal of that amendment.

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

The Senator from Texas.

Mr. STEVENS. May we have order, please?

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I put an amendment on the floor in the open body of the Senate about 6:45 last night. About 10:30 I saw the senior senator from Nebraska protesting that I had put an amendment in that he had just now heard about.

This was not some new amendment. This was an amendment that embodied language that has already been passed by this body. Every sentence in it has already been voted on and passed by the U.S. Senate.

So what does the amendment do? Because we are being held up in the Defense authorization bill, I wanted to make sure that the very important language that we had already passed would be part of the appropriations bill. It is important because it is a key issue between the Republicans and the Democrats. I think that has become very clear because that is now why we know that the authorization bill is being held up and the threat of holding up this bill has now been made.

What does the amendment do? The amendment provides for Department of Energy to maintain and enhance of our nuclear deterrent capabilities. The bill provides further direction to the DOE to make necessary decisions to clean up nuclear waste sites.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will come to order, please. The Senator deserves to be heard.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. It makes sure we have new reactor options for disposition of fissile materials. Why do we need this amendment? We need this amendment because the Department of Energy's published 5-year budget plan calls for cuts in the weapons activities of up to 40 percent in fiscal year 1997 and beyond. The DOE portion of the Defense authorization bill should be used for its intended purpose, to meet the nuclear deterrent capability and the security needs of this country. The issue is not testing of new weapons. It is about assuring U.S. nuclear deterrence. If we are going to maintain a credible nuclear weapons capability in our country, we must assure the safety—

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, the Senate is not in order.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. And reliability of our existing stockpile. Unless we have the ability to continue experiments and testing, we cannot assure either. Hydronuclear testing will not violate any U.S. treaty commitment nor our self-imposed moratorium on nuclear testing.

This is a key issue for the future of this country. We now know there are nuclear capacities in as many as 16 countries around the world. The idea that we would not maintain our nuclear stockpile and have the ability to test and make sure that we can defend this country is one I will never understand.

So, Mr. President, this is a key issue. I am going to withdraw my amendment because I want to have a Defense bill so the armed services of this country will have the money they need, after October 1, to defend our country. But this issue will not go away.

This is an issue of our future and the safety of our future generations. It is clear from the delays and the hold up in completing action on the Defense authorization bill for the first time in at least 10 years and maybe more, and the threat to overturn this bill that we have worked so hard on for the last 2 days—it is clear we have a philosophical difference between the Democrats and Republicans in this Senate.

I am not going to hold up the bill but, Mr. President, we will not back away from protecting our future generations. I will bring this bill up again and again and again, until we make sure that we can do what we need to do to preserve our future.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time under the unanimous consent has expired.

Mr. STEVENS. Does the Senator from Texas withdraw her amendment?

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my amendment.

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

The amendment (No. 2396) was withdrawn.

AMENDMENT NO. 2424 WITHDRAWN

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I will withdraw amendment 2424.

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

The amendment (No. 2424) was withdrawn.

Mr. STEVENS. There is now time for the Senator from Iowa?

AMENDMENT NO. 2400

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question recurs on the amendment of the Senator from Iowa. Under the order there are 10 minutes allotted to the Senator from Iowa, 5 minutes under the control of the Senator from Alaska.

The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I call up my amendment at the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the pending question.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, do I have 10 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator controls 10 minutes.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I thought last night it was a 15-minute agreement.

Mr. STEVENS. It is 15; you have 10, I have 5.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). That is 15 minutes total. The Senator has 10 minutes.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, this amendment is to reduce the amount provided in excess of the Pentagon's request to produce the Kiowa helicopters by—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is not in order. The Senator deserves to be heard. The Senate is not in order.

The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, this is to reduce the request for the Kiowa helicopters by \$125 million. Again, this was not a request by the Pentagon. It was not a request by the Army. It was put in there. And I think this is, again, the amount of money we could save our taxpayers. We do not need it. The armed Kiowa Warrior OH-58D helicopter is used for light attack and reconnaissance. It has a two-man crew, and is used in missions by itself or, more usually, together with the Apache helicopters.

In combination with the Apaches, the armed Kiowa Warrior would locate and designate a target with a laser beam. Apaches would then fire a Hellfire missile at a ground target. However, the armed Kiowa Warrior itself carries up to four Hellfire missiles, plus it has a 50-caliber machinegun.

I have no problem with the armed Kiowa Warrior in its history as a helicopter. It served our country well in the gulf war. It searched out Iraqi patrol boats. However, I want to emphasize the primary role of the Kiowa now is as a scout helicopter.

The Army requested \$71.334 million for 33 of these helicopters. The committee added another \$125 million for 20 more. Mr. President, this works out to be about \$2.16 million per helicopter for the Army-requested Kiowa, and about \$6 million per helicopter for the committee-added Warriors.

Again, there is another way, basically, of taking care of the problem that we have in terms of getting the reconnaissance, the scout missions. That is by using what is called a UAV, an unmanned aerial vehicle known as the UAV.

The military magazines, such as Aviation Week & Space Technology, have devoted whole sections to the UAV's.

The UAV is a small airplane. It is remote controlled. It does not have a pilot on board. It has all the instrumentation such as low-light TV cameras, laser rangefinders, thermal sensors, and optical boresights. It has everything that a scout helicopter has except people on board.

The Army has battle tested the UAV's. Both the Hunter UAV and the Predator UAV have shown they can better fill the scout role in recent tests in Bosnia.

So again we are moving into a whole new era of information gathering on the battlefield.

So why now put another \$125 million into taking a helicopter that basically has been built since 1968—and it is an old frame. Obviously, as I said, it worked well in the past. But it seems like we are spending \$125 million to take all these old helicopters, fix them up to be not only a scout but Kiowa Warrior helicopter, when, in fact, we have a cheaper, more cost-effective way of getting the information to the battlefield. And the UAV, the Hunter UAV, works out to be about \$2.5 million per vehicle if you include the share of the ground system, whereas the Kiowa is coming in at over \$6 million per vehicle. And, I repeat, no lives are put at risk. Recently we lost one young pilot and had another captured by the North Koreans. They were piloting a helicopter over North Korea. That would not have happened if we had used a UAV instead.

So, in short, what I am saying is there is a revolution going on in this kind of technology, and we are funding UAV technology heavily in this bill. So it does not seem to me to make sense to then take another \$125 million and put it into, as I said, this old airframe that goes back to 1968 and to waste this money on an outdated helicopter. For anything that is that far out of date, the more you try to fix it up, the more it costs. That is really what is going on here.

So, again I point out, the Army has not requested it, and the Pentagon has not requested it. They put the money in there for the 20 additional, and I think we could save that \$125 million. If the committee saw fit to put that much more into the UAV technology, this Senator probably would have no objection to it.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, this upgrade will make the Kiowa Warrior night- and armed-reconnaissance capable. It also will give it the ability to be converted to a medical evacuation helicopter for night use while it is armed.

It is a very vital necessity, according to the Army people that we have dealt with. And I would only disagree with my friend on one item. The Army listed this as being its most critical aviation deficiency. That is why we have funded it.

I am prepared to yield the remainder of my time.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, do I have any time left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa has 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I just cannot resist commenting on the statement by my friend from Alaska about the use of some of these for medical evacuation. That is a new one I had not heard of. But I would point out that there is an article from Flight International of late last year that the military is now giving away—giving away—giving away over 2,000 helicopters to be used for medical evacuation by the National Guard and police forces, and everybody else, I guess. The

District of Columbia police force is going to get some, too. If they want medical evacuation, they are giving away 2,000 of them. That is a new one I had not heard of before.

But, again I still think the basic reason for this is the scout helicopter, and I think we ought to move ahead in the new technology we have.

Mr. STEVENS. The Senator is correct. This is a two-place helicopter, a converter, to become a medical evacuation helicopter, I am informed, for night use. It is very critical.

If the Senator is prepared to yield back his time, I am prepared to yield the remainder of my time.

Mr. President, I move to table the Harkin amendment, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I now ask that be set aside temporarily so that we might hear from the Senator from Massachusetts for a motion to recommit the bill, following which there is 2 minutes to either side on that matter. As far as I am concerned, the Senator can have the full 4 minutes if he would like.

We will then proceed to vote on both amendments. I might say to the Senate at that time those will be the last two amendments that I know of on this bill. We will then follow with third reading after that.

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

On the motion to recommit, the Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator for yielding me this time, which is obviously a sign of how truly contentious this amendment is and where it may wind up.

But I just would like to suggest to my colleagues that, if we stand back from the norm that has governed the way in which we have passed the Defense authorization and the Defense appropriations bills in the past, measure it against the needs of the country, measure it against the needs of the military, and measure it against reality, you really cannot help but ask yourself: How is it when last year we enacted a \$241 billion budget, that this year where the President requested, with the consent of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a \$236 billion budget, we are, nevertheless, increasing the Defense budget? We are increasing it in the face of extraordinary cuts in almost every other portion of the budget. We are cutting safe schools and drug-free schools. We are cutting substance abuse money. We are even targeting Cops in the Street money. Yet, here we are with the end of the cold war incapable of finding a 2-percent reduction in the military budget.

Now, I think I am as sensitive as anybody here to having a military that

is second to nobody in the world. But I would respectfully suggest to my colleagues that with creative approaches, for instance, encouraging private ownership of industrial assets used in defense production—something that should appeal to everybody here—with a procurement of the most cost-effective airlift, the C-17's, or commercial, with the repeal of something as wasteful and as ancillary as the civilian marksmanship program, if we were simply to scale back the production level and maintenance activities at DOE to support an arsenal level of 4,000 warheads, which is above START II, all of these things would leave us with an adequate deterrent capacity—and all of these things would not threaten our defense capacity one iota—we could find a 2-percent reduction in this budget.

So this is a vote really about our own creativity and our own thoughtfulness and our own capacity to try to show Americans that as we reduce 15, 20, 8, or 10 percent in all the other sectors of the budget that affect Americans equally, we ought to be able to find the 2-percent reduction in this budget.

We are instead raising this overall level over 1995, and we are raising it beyond the President's proposal. The difference is \$6 billion.

I would respectfully suggest that in the pipeline itself you can find hundreds of millions of dollars that would allow us to share the sacrifice that we are asking all Americans to bear. If we are going to ask them to bear a \$270 billion reduction in Medicare so that we can give them back money in a tax reduction, we ought to at least be able to find 2 percent in this budget.

So my amendment does not presume to tell people how to do it. It does not cut any one program. It simply says to the Armed Services Committee, take this back, be more creative, come back to us, show us a 2 percent reduction measured against the reductions in all of the rest of the budget.

I think that is a fair and a sensible way to approach deficit reduction as well as the responsibilities of sharing the sacrifice.

I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I am constrained to say anything about the *Seawolf*.

I move to table this motion and ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, before the vote is commenced, I want to try to alert my colleagues about what could happen after this.

I understand we are going to third reading which is as far as you can go because the House has not passed the bill.

I want to first commend the managers of this DOD appropriations bill.

They have done an outstanding job. We may or may not file cloture. There may be a vote on cloture on the DOD authorization bill. There may be a vote on the Summers nomination. There will be a vote, if we reach an agreement on the Summers nomination. There will be very little debate on that nomination. But it depends on the agreement we get on the DOD authorization bill.

When we started the negotiating, we had eight amendments, and then I got 37 yesterday from one side and 15 from one side. We are not going to accept that agreement if we cannot get a good agreement. A lot of Members who had amendments on the DOD bill and then put them on the appropriations bill, then dreamed up some more to put on the authorization bill, the same amendments.

I thought we were operating in good faith. And if not, then we will have a cloture vote later today, and we are not going to release any nominees—not one, not one Ambassador, not one judge, not anybody else—until we get a satisfactory agreement.

That is what this was all about. It was all about good faith. And I just ask my colleagues, I think we played the game and we hoped you would.

There are a lot of these amendments that have already been offered, and Members dreamed up some other amendments to put back on DOD again.

We are not going to bring up DOD authorization unless we can do it in 3 or 4 hours when we get back. Welfare reform is going to be on the floor, and it is going to stay on the floor for 4 or 5 days. We are not going to be interrupted by 2 or 3 days, the same people making the same speeches they have made on DOD appropriations on DOD authorization.

Mr. FORD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KYL). The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. FORD. I appreciate the remarks of the distinguished majority leader, and I say to him we are working as hard as we can. Your people are here in the Cloakroom now and amendments are being peeled off and an agreement is imminent, I think. So I would hope that we all understand we are doing as well as we can on both sides.

So when the majority leader says there is 15 additional amendments on that side and you are trying to cut those down, maybe we have twice that many, we will cut those down. But we are getting very close.

I want Senators to know everything is being done in good faith. There is not any bad faith here. It is all being done in good faith, and I hope that we will have an agreement that everyone will accept and have it shortly.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, under the agreement from last evening, these are 10-minute votes.

VOTE ON MOTION TO TABLE AMENDMENT NO. 2400

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion

to table the amendment of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HARKIN]. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY] is absent because of illness in the family.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 64, nays 35, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 394 Leg.]

YEAS—64

Abraham	Frist	Mack
Ashcroft	Glenn	McCain
Bennett	Gorton	McConnell
Bond	Gramm	Murkowski
Boxer	Grams	Nickles
Breaux	Grassley	Packwood
Brown	Gregg	Pell
Burns	Hatch	Pressler
Campbell	Heflin	Roth
Chafee	Helms	Santorum
Coats	Hollings	Shelby
Cochran	Hutchison	Simpson
Cohen	Inhofe	Smith
Coverdell	Inouye	Snowe
Craig	Jeffords	Specter
D'Amato	Johnston	Stevens
DeWine	Kassebaum	Thomas
Dole	Kempthorne	Thompson
Domenici	Kyl	Thurmond
Faircloth	Lieberman	Warner
Feinstein	Lott	
Ford	Lugar	

NAYS—35

Akaka	Feingold	Moseley-Braun
Baucus	Graham	Moynihan
Biden	Harkin	Murray
Bingaman	Hatfield	Nunn
Bryan	Kennedy	Pryor
Bumpers	Kerrey	Reid
Byrd	Kerry	Robb
Conrad	Kohl	Rockefeller
Daschle	Lautenberg	Sarbanes
Dodd	Leahy	Simon
Dorgan	Levin	Wellstone
Exon	Mikulski	

NOT VOTING—1

Bradley

The motion to table the amendment (No. 2400) was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. I move to reconsider the vote, if it has been announced.

Mr. KERRY. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

VOTE ON THE MOTION TO TABLE THE MOTION TO RECOMMIT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table the motion to recommit offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY].

The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] is necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY] is absent because of illness in the family.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 38, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 395 Leg.]

YEAS—60

Abraham	Frist	McCain
Akaka	Gorton	McConnell
Ashcroft	Gramm	Murkowski
Bennett	Grams	Nickles
Bond	Gregg	Nunn
Breaux	Hatch	Packwood
Burns	Hatfield	Pressler
Campbell	Heflin	Robb
Chafee	Helms	Roth
Coats	Hollings	Santorum
Cochran	Hutchison	Shelby
Cohen	Inhofe	Simpson
Coverdell	Inouye	Smith
Craig	Kassebaum	Snowe
D'Amato	Kempthorne	Specter
DeWine	Kyl	Stevens
Dole	Lieberman	Thomas
Domenici	Lott	Thompson
Faircloth	Lugar	Thurmond
Ford	Mack	Warner

NAYS—38

Baucus	Feingold	Leahy
Biden	Feinstein	Levin
Bingaman	Glenn	Mikulski
Boxer	Graham	Moseley-Braun
Brown	Grassley	Moynihan
Bryan	Harkin	Murray
Bumpers	Jeffords	Pell
Byrd	Johnston	Pryor
Conrad	Kennedy	Reid
Daschle	Kerrey	Rockefeller
Dodd	Kerry	Sarbanes
Dorgan	Kohl	Wellstone
Exon	Lautenberg	

NOT VOTING—2

Bradley	Simon
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So the motion to table the motion to recommit was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. INOUE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

DISPOSAL OF BONAIRE HOUSING

Mr. COHEN. I would like to bring to the manager's attention a problem with the disposal of surplus property in Presque Isle, ME, from the former Loring Air Force Base. The designated local reuse authority is having difficulty with the Department of the Interior in the disposal of the Federal property known as the BonAire Housing Complex. I understand that it is the intention of the chairman to assist the Maine delegation in resolving this matter.

Mr. STEVENS. The Senator from Maine is correct. I will be pleased to work to address this issue in an appropriate manner.

Mr. COHEN. I thank the distinguished chairman for his assistance on this matter.

GEAR INFAC

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, I would like to discuss with the distinguished chairman and ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Defense Subcommittee a matter of importance to my constituents and a key element of the defense industrial base.

Mr. STEVENS. I would be pleased to discuss such a matter with my colleague.

Mr. BOND. As Chairman STEVENS and Senator INOUE know, the committee has provided funds in the past to continue work performed under a program referred to as the Instrumented Fac-

tory for Gears, or GEAR INFAC. As a primary purchaser and user of precision gears, the Army has endorsed and supported this program.

Mr. INOUE. The Senator is correct. The committee added \$8,500,000 in fiscal year 1995 to continue the GEAR INFAC Program. The funds were included in the research, development, test and evaluation, Army account, effecting the transfer of this program to the Army from the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. I thank the Senator from Hawaii.

The Army provided documents to my office indicating that the fiscal year 1996 DOD budget included \$6,000,000 for GEAR INFAC. However, new documents make it unclear whether the Army has allocated adequate funds to continue this important program. I would ask the chairman and ranking member to discuss this matter with the Army to determine what is available and what is required for GEAR INFAC. Furthermore, I would ask the chairman to ensure that adequate funds are available in the conference agreement on the DOD Appropriations Act, 1996, for GEAR INFAC.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I assure the Senator that we will discuss this matter with the Army. I will work in conference to address the fiscal year 1996 requirement for funds to support GEAR INFAC.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

ORDER FOR VOTE ON SEPTEMBER 5, 1995

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the vote take place at 5 p.m. on September 5.

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

Mr. STEVENS. I ask unanimous consent that if the Senate votes in the affirmative on S. 1087, it be held at the desk until the Senate receives H.R. 2126 from the House; that at that time, the bill, H.R. 2126, be deemed to be called up, read twice, and all after the enacting clause be stricken, and that the text of S. 1087, as passed by the Senate, be inserted in lieu thereof, that the bill, as amended, be deemed read for the third time, and passed, and that the motion to reconsider that vote be laid upon the table.

I further ask unanimous consent that the Senate insist on its amendments, request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

I further ask unanimous consent that, upon completion of above action, S. 1087 be indefinitely postponed.

Mr. BYRD. Reserving the right to object, and I will not object. I just hope to keep the Senate mindful of the Senate rules. Does the Senator, in setting a time specific for a final vote on the bill, include in his unanimous-consent request a waiver of paragraph 4 of rule XII of the Standing Rules of the Senate?

Mr. STEVENS. The Senator is correct. I ask unanimous consent that that be included in the request.

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

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I want to thank the Senate for its cooperation. I particularly express, once again my great pleasure in being able to work with my friend, Senator INOUE. We are cochairmen of this subcommittee. I appreciate him very much and feel very deeply my affection for him. I thank him for all his help in getting this bill passed.

Let me thank also our staff members, particularly Steve Cortese on this side and Charlie Houy on that side, and others who worked with us so well on this bill.

I thank the leader.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, I thank my leader for his kind words. I wish to thank the Senator from Alaska for his masterful management of this bill. I would like to also note three individuals who have been of great assistance to us by providing timely and correct information regarding the many amendments that have been offered: Bobbie Sherb, an Army lieutenant colonel and a nurse, who has monitored health care matters for the subcommittee; Ryan Henry, a Navy captain on detail with the subcommittee, who has monitored many of the details of this bill; Emelie East of the subcommittee staff; and last, but not least, Charlie Houy. I thank the Chair.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go in executive session to consider Calendar No. 254, the nomination of Lawrence H. Summers, with 10 minutes of debate to be equally divided.

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

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, have the yeas and nays been ordered?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays have already been ordered.

Mr. DOLE. I thank the Chair.

NOMINATION OF LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE A DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Lawrence H. Summers of Massachusetts to be Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 10 minutes of debate, equally divided, on the nomination.

Who yields time?