

included BILL EMERSON. It was a special class, elected at a unique time, so we developed a pretty close relationship.

In addition to serving with BILL in the House of Representatives for 8 years, we were friends of the family. BILL's daughter, Tori, is the same age as my son, Andrew. They went through school together and just recently graduated together. We attend the same church as the Emersons, and so we have a number of things in common with them.

I have had the opportunity to observe BILL and his reaction to the tragic news of his illness and the way in which he handled that. It was an extraordinary demonstration of courage and faith that he so magnificently handled what many would view as a tragic situation.

There are many measures of BILL EMERSON. It would be impossible for me to list them all—diligent worker, someone who knew Congress inside and out, starting here at the age of 15, someone whose life was devoted to public service, someone who deeply loved his family and was a man of considerable faith. But I think the memory that I share of BILL EMERSON is one passed on to me by my wife during the graduation ceremony when our two children graduated just a week or so ago. I did not see BILL at that time. I rushed in from the Senate to the graduation just in time for the beginning of the ceremony, but Marsha had met BILL, just literally days away from his death, suffering from terminal cancer, sitting in a wheelchair, assisted in his breathing with oxygen, with two dozen roses in his lap and a big smile on his face, watching as his daughter received her high school diploma.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1997

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we resume consideration of the Department of Defense authorization bill for debate only, until I seek further recognition at approximately 3:20, while we continue to put the final touches on our UC request involving a number of bills.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will state the bill by title.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1745) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1997 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military con-

struction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Kyl/Reid amendment No. 4049, to authorize underground nuclear testing under limited conditions.

Kempthorne amendment No. 4089, to waive any time limitation that is applicable to awards of the Distinguished Flying Cross to certain persons.

Warner/Hutchison amendment No. 4090 (to amendment No. 4089), to amend title 18, United States Code, with respect to the stalking of members of the Armed Forces of the United States and their immediate families.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, as we begin the fourth day of consideration of this bill, I thought it would be appropriate to give the Senate my own view of where we have been and where I think we are going if we are going to finish this bill, which is a very important measure.

Thus far, we have debated this bill for about 24 hours. We have disposed of 34 amendments. I have not kept an exact count of the amount of time consumed by consideration of three nonrelevant, nongermane amendments thus far to our bill, but I will make a conservative estimate, and a charitable observation, that well over half of the time of our debate has been devoted to these three nonrelevant amendments.

While I believe the issues of reopening Pennsylvania Avenue, pharmaceutical patents under the GATT agreement, and the stalking of women are certainly worthy of Senate debate, none of them are in the jurisdiction of this committee, and none of them are in the jurisdiction of the conference when we go to conference. All of them, even if they are passed on this bill, will require outside conferees and are unlikely to be accepted by the House.

The simple fact is that we cannot afford the time it takes to consider and to continue considering these nonrelevant amendments. I may vote for all of them. But, at some point, the Senate has to decide whether it wants to pass a defense bill. If so, then both sides of the aisle have to cooperate and not continue putting these kinds of amendments on the bill.

I know the leadership is now discussing a unanimous-consent agreement on the minimum wage, which would be a big step forward, because if that does not occur, then that will certainly come up on this bill, in which case we will never finish this bill this week.

I know Senators have a right to offer such amendments, but—and I know that my colleague from South Carolina, the chairman of the committee, and I have talked about this, and he has already addressed it—I hope that we can resist the temptation from this point on to have amendments that are not germane to the bill, have nothing to do with defense, are not in the jurisdiction of this committee, would not be in the jurisdiction of the conference,

and would be very unlikely to be accepted in the conference. If we do that, we can push forward with completion of this bill by offering those amendments that are relevant to this bill.

Toward that end, over the past 4 days, the committee's Democratic staff has been working hard on our side of the aisle to compile a list of what would be considered the major defense amendments to be offered by Democratic Senators, and time agreements for the consideration of these amendments. We have that list, and we are working with the leadership to finalize the list. I would not say it is final now, but we certainly have some idea—more than we did the other day.

In addition, we will continue to urge Senators who have an amendment to offer on this bill to notify us of their intention as soon as possible so that we can develop a finite list of amendments that will lead to a time of completion of the Senate consideration of S. 1745.

I know that a cloture motion has been filed on the defense bill and a vote will occur on that tomorrow morning. I understand where the Senator from South Carolina and the leadership is coming from in proposing that motion. I do not intend to support cloture at this time. Invocation of cloture would require not only relevancy, but also germaneness. Many amendments that directly relate to defense and that are in the jurisdiction of the committee, which would be considered by the conference and that would not require outside conferees, are relevant to the bill but not germane to the bill, which would be required under cloture.

So I do not intend to support cloture tomorrow. If it is invoked, everyone should realize that most of these amendments that I would call nonrelevant would be ruled out.

I mentioned that considerable time has been consumed on nonrelevant amendments. I hope that we can find ways to have time agreements. I hope we can find a way to get a definite list of amendments and make sure that those are the only ones that are going to be offered so we know we can finish this bill. If we can do that on both sides, then, of course, we will not need to invoke cloture. If we are not able to do that on both sides in the near term, then at some point I will support cloture. But I do not intend to do so tomorrow.

The defense bill was started last Tuesday, and one of the reasons I will not support cloture—in addition to the relevant and germane considerations, which are very technical but very important when people are frozen out of amendments—is we have been interrupted over and over again in the consideration of this bill. Although we have had the bill before us for 4 days, we have not had many hours for debate on the bill itself.

We have been interrupted, as I said, by nonrelevant, nongermane amendments. We were interrupted for consideration of Federal Reserve nominations

on last Thursday. I understand that. I certainly understand that we had no choice on that.

We, also, of course, have had a day and a half of debate during this time on the campaign finance bill which we voted on cloture on a few minutes ago. That was on the floor both Monday and a half day Tuesday.

So we have not really had a clear shot at moving this bill forward with genuine defense amendments. I think we ought to give that a real try as we move forward this week. If we do not make progress in debating major defense amendments—we keep getting these amendments that are well-meaning and I am sure very sincerely pursued by Senators but that have nothing to do with defense and in all likelihood would not be part of a defense bill that went to the President. If we continue to get those, we will simply not be able to finish this bill.

So with the continued leadership of our chairman, Senator THURMOND, and the leaders, I am hopeful that by the end of the day today we will begin to have a road map to lead us to the conclusion of this bill. I urge everyone on this side of the aisle to let us know about your amendments. Many of them can be worked and altered somewhat and accepted. Some of them can be accepted the way they are now. But if we are able to get those amendments, I would want to work with the Senator from South Carolina in every way possible to have a definite list of amendments on the Democratic side that would represent all of the amendments that would be offered so that we could get a unanimous consent agreement that no other amendments would be offered, and then we would be able to see the light at the end of the tunnel.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. ROBB addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

STUDY OF ALTERNATIVE FORCE STRUCTURES

Mr. ROBB. Mr. President, I first of all commend the ranking member of the committee for his work in attempting to reduce the number of amendments so that we can handle this bill. I expect to follow his lead tomorrow with respect to at least the first vote on cloture. Shortly we will resume consideration, and it would be appropriate to offer amendments, and at that time I believe the next amendment to be offered will be offered by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, Senator LIEBERMAN, shared by the current occupant of the chair, the Senator from Indiana, Senator COATS, and a number of us.

I would like to speak for just a few minutes on that particular amendment in anticipation of its being offered sometime after the majority leader opens the bill up for amendments at that time.

Mr. President, the amendment that we are going to be considering very shortly will require a major review of the force structures of the Armed

Forces and, in my judgment, it could be the most important matter we will address in the consideration of this year's Defense authorization bill, or in similar authorization bills through the end of the century, because it goes right to the heart of why we have a military and what we can expect in terms of national security for many years to come.

Admittedly, the Department of Defense had some reservations about our approach initially, but we have worked out those concerns, and I really believe this amendment is critical if we are serious about our role in the international community and our simultaneous quest for credible deterrence and fiscal responsibility.

Mr. President, we have to start by re-examining the basic structure of the U.S. Armed Forces. That structure, though smaller, has changed very little in its composition since the end of the cold war even though the nature of the threat and the means for countering it are dramatically different.

I believe we need to take a long, hard look at the weapons systems that are on the drawing board and determine which are truly critical for the 21st century. I believe we have to look for ways to leverage our Nation's technological advantages.

By expanding the range and accuracy of our weapons and the effectiveness of our support equipment, we may be able to reduce the number of troops and logistics operations. We certainly need to take greater advantage of our exceptional intelligence communications capabilities which have the potential to dramatically affect how we develop and deploy strategic doctrine and battle-field tactics.

Mr. President, each of these areas of endeavor ought to be explored in a major review of our force structure. We also need to assess the Bottom-Up Review's assumptions about our capabilities in a more realistic fiscal context.

In particular, we need to take a much more critical look at the kinds of threats to U.S. national security interests that we will likely face 15, 20, or even 30 years from now.

While the original Bottom-Up Review served a useful purpose, its analysis of the personnel, weapons, and military doctrine required by a 21st century American force is simply no longer adequate.

The review that we are proposing should take a *tabula rasa* look at the nature and effects of unconventional threats such as regional and ethnic conflicts, nationalism, political extremism, and failed nation-states, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, technology transfer, and information warfare and terrorism, both international and domestic.

The review should, of course, look at the continuing threats of major regional conflicts such as that of the Persian Gulf, but it should specifically look as well at the possibility of a major peer emerging or reemerging as a competitor on the world stage.

The obvious candidates over the 15-year horizon are Russia, and especially China with its booming economy fueling its military revitalization and modernization program.

Mr. President, in our long-term planning, we should also consider anew the potential for armed conflict in broad geographic regions. Take, for example, the tinderbox of the so-called Rising East where the United States has fought five times in the last 100 years. In addition to the United States presence and the armies of Russia and China there, this vast area is home to the world's five other largest armed forces: North and South Korea, Vietnam, and the potentially nuclear-capable India and Pakistan. The latter may be particularly problematic.

What on its face looks like a regional conflict might require redefinition somewhere between global and regional, if nuclear weapons are exchanged, and affect a great many neighboring countries.

It would be incumbent on those conducting the review to detail the specific forces—by active, reserve, and support force type—needed to execute alternative strategies that run the gamut from global war to two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts—or MRC's, as we call them—to a number of contingencies smaller than an MRC.

Assumptions about Reserve readiness, allied mission sharing, warning times, and the effect of developing technologies on the force structure must also be addressed.

Other questions should include, at a minimum: What are the risks under alternative force structures, if funding through 2010 and beyond remains constant? Should forces be sized against specific enemy threats, against national security commitments, or against available national resources? Are the Reserves optimally trained, equipped, and deployed? Do peacekeeping operations necessitate changes in the way we have organized, trained, and deployed forces? How should we bring our teeth to tail ratio back in line.

What outsourcing opportunities offer the greatest potential for stretching the defense dollar? Are there better measures of readiness available? Does the current structure of the unified combatant commands make sense for the next century?

Mr. President, many defense analysts—in the Department, academia, and industry—are asking similar questions. I have been giving each of these matters a great deal of thought in recent months, and my staff has done a great deal of research. When I learned that Senator LIEBERMAN and others, including the current occupant of the chair, were looking at different elements of the same challenge, we joined forces on this amendment to ask the Secretary of Defense, in consultation with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to consider all of the matters

that I have just highlighted in the quadrennial defense review.

This review, recommended by the Roles and Missions Commission, is an examination of U.S. defense strategy and force structure through 2005. But we believe the Secretary ought to have a second opinion as well.

As such, this amendment will call for the creation of a parallel but independent panel of private experts from the Nation's major think tanks, academia, and the defense industry. The panel that we are going to describe would have full access to DOD resources and analyses and will provide its assessment of the quadrennial defense review by Secretary of Defense by March 14, 1997.

With this input, the Secretary of Defense would finalize his quadrennial defense review and provide his summary, an assessment by the panel, and comments by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the congressional defense committees by not later than May 15. It is a safe bet, it seems to me, Mr. President, that the ensuing hearings would be provocative and enlightening.

Once the quadrennial defense review is completed, the panel will take the next step of pushing the envelope in long-range thinking.

Looking out to 2010 and beyond, the panel will explore a range of threat scenarios, build force structures to meet those scenarios, and explore the risks and costs associated with each. In the process of conducting this forward-thinking assessment, the panel will again have the authority to task any DOD component for data and analysis.

The panel's final product will be delivered to the Secretary of Defense not later than December 1, and the Secretary, in turn, will submit the panel's report to the Congress no later than December 15, along with his comments on the report.

In the final analysis, we need to acknowledge that defense spending has fallen to a level that simply will not meet the national military strategy for fighting and winning two nearly simultaneous major regional conflicts.

Overall defense spending as a percentage of GDP has fallen to its lowest level since just after World War II. It absorbed about 10 percent of the gross domestic product during the early 1960's. Today, that number has dropped to below 4 percent, and it is projected to continue to fall in the outyears.

I submit that we ignore the implications at our peril.

It is up to us to ensure that future generations of Americans are afforded the strong measure of security that we have come to expect as a Nation for the last 50 years, and the best way we can assure this is through the judicious application of foresight and steadfastness.

Defense spending in the 5 budget years immediately after the cold war was \$350 billion less than the amount projected in the cold war budget. Make

no mistake; that was a huge peace dividend, and our country has since cashed it on discretionary domestic spending, entitlements and interest on the national debt. When all is said and done, the only thing that remains of the peace dividend is the opportunity for continued peace. And we can only achieve that through the kind of preparedness to which this review will lead us.

It is my understanding that this amendment is now broadly acceptable on both sides of the aisle, and when it is formally offered by my distinguished colleague from Connecticut in a few minutes and discussed by a number of colleagues who have been working on it, I urge that all of my colleagues join in adopting this particular amendment.

With that, Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. COATS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEMPTHORNE). The Senator from Indiana is recognized.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, very briefly, I wish to add to the remarks just made by the Senator from Virginia.

I had planned to be here when the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. LIEBERMAN, introduces this amendment. It is something that the Senator from Virginia, the Senator from Connecticut, the Senator from Arizona, the Senator from Georgia and I have worked together on. Unfortunately, I have a schedule conflict which will take me off the floor, so I would like to make a preliminary statement prior to our going to the amendment.

This amendment is a natural convergence of thinking of members on the Armed Services Committee and other Senators regarding the need for more information with which to make assessments about future defense spending programs and plans.

Clearly, we rely a great deal on the Department of Defense for provision of information and guidance in terms of how the committee operates, but I think many of us felt we needed additional information in order to take a longer look at how we strategize, plan for, fund, and program Department of Defense needs.

We felt it might be helpful to have an outside review panel help us in that process. So over the past several months, a number of us have talked about coordinating and combining our efforts into language that we can insert in the next fiscal year's defense authorization bill. This language will direct the Secretary of Defense to appoint and work with an independent review panel to give us a broader, longer look at defense strategy and defense needs.

I am pleased to join with Senator LIEBERMAN in authoring this effort. Senators ROBB, MCCAIN, NUNN, INHOFE, KEMPTHORNE, WARNER, HUTCHISON, SANTORUM, MURKOWSKI, LEVIN, and FORD have all joined in this effort. It is bipartisan, and I believe you could say

a nonpartisan, effort. We do not provide for our national security as a partisan issue. We do not view it even necessarily as a bipartisan issue. Rather, our national security is a nonpartisan issue. We want to take as objective a look as we can at our current situation, at future threats to our national security and what kind of strategies, forces, and implementing needs we will have to face in the years ahead.

This is a worthy effort. I wish to commend my colleague from Connecticut for taking the bull by the horns and pulling this effort together. It has been a cooperative effort among a number of us who worked with the Department of Defense to iron out some concerns they had, and I think we have an excellent provision which we will shortly be adding to the Defense Department bill.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Stanley Kaufman, a Brookings Institution fellow, and Mark Rosen, Institute for National Securities Studies fellow assigned to my office, be permitted the privilege of the floor for the duration of the debate on the fiscal year 1997 defense authorization bill.

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

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, before he leaves the floor, I thank my colleague, the Senator from Indiana, for his support and his work in preparing the amendment that he spoke of on a force structures study for the United States and also to thank our colleague from Virginia, Senator ROBB, for the very thoughtful, forthright, and very constructive words that he spoke on behalf of the amendment that we hope to offer to the defense authorization bill before too long this afternoon, after a unanimous-consent request is agreed to by the leadership.

If I may, to expedite matters, I would like to take this opportunity to comment on the amendment that I will be offering at the appropriate time. I am honored to be offering it on behalf of Senators COATS, ROBB, MCCAIN, NUNN, INHOFE, KEMPTHORNE—the occupant of the chair—WARNER, HUTCHISON, SANTORUM, MURKOWSKI, LEVIN, FORD, BOND, and, I am pleased to say, last but not least—last but most—the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, the Senator from Mississippi, Mr. LOTT.

This amendment calls on the Secretary of Defense to conduct a thorough study of alternative force structures for our armed services. What are we talking about? We are really talking here about providing the members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, most of whom are cosponsors of this amendment, and then in turn the full Congress, with the information to help us answer fundamental questions about our future national security. The questions are as simple as this: To the

best of our knowledge, to the best of the knowledge of the best thinkers we have on these matters, both inside and outside the Pentagon today, what are the security threats that America is likely to face in the next century and how can we best meet those security threats? It is as simple, and in some ways as complicated, as those simple questions suggest.

Those of us who are sponsoring this amendment believe that such a study is essential if the United States is going to be able to meet the security challenges of the 21st century in light of the dramatic changes that have occurred in the geopolitical situation, the changes in the threats to our security which, in the view of some experts, are even more daunting than those we faced in the cold war, and the ever-present but increasingly more difficult problems of resource constraints, which is to say budget pressure—limited amounts of money to spend on the full range of governmental responsibilities; remembering, as we approach this function of Government, that the reason governments were formed in the first place was to provide that underpinning of security without which we cannot then go on to secure and provide the freedom and opportunity and benefits that Government attempts to provide for our people.

This study that will be authorized by this amendment is also an attempt to not just provide a road map to our future national security, but to break out of the day-to-day momentum, the inertia of the process of authorization and appropriation for defense needs as it exists now. Many changes have occurred, dramatic changes responding to changes in technology, which provide our war fighters with capability that no war fighters in history have ever possessed. Yet the changes are so dramatic, the world so uncertain, our fundamental responsibility to provide for our national security so great, that what we who will put forth the amendment are asking is that we step back from the day-to-day, that we look out over the horizon. As one of my cosponsors said, that we go up to 30,000 feet and we look out as far as we can see to the future security threats we may face and how we can best meet them; to ask the bold questions, the questions that unsettle the status quo, that do not always, in the normal course of the process, get asked here. That is really what this is all about.

The United States obviously is, today, the world's only true superpower. On the other hand, there is no shortage of threats to our national interests. We see them all around. In many real ways our military has been operating at a greater tempo since the end of the cold war than it did before. We face many dangers—rogue states like Iran, Iraq, North Korea, the more profound and we hope longer range and perhaps never-realized potential for the emergence of another superpower peer competitor, perhaps a resurgent Rus-

sian nationalism, perhaps China in the next century—those are factors we need to consider and attempt to evaluate as we plan and execute our national security programs.

Obviously, there is also the insidious and dangerous and more near-term threat posed by terrorists who may come to possess weapons of mass destruction, and who also, unfortunately, possess a disregard for human life which might restrain rational actors from employing those weapons of mass destruction and, in fact, have restrained those who possessed those weapons in the past from doing so. Add to this the major advances in and proliferation of ballistic missile technology, which make possible the ability to deliver these weapons of mass destruction cheaply, effectively, and with stealth, and we have to conclude that the world is not only not as predictable as it once was but in many respects it is actually more dangerous than it was during the cold war.

Our ability to deal with these changing conditions is, of course, affected by limited defense budgets, as I have said. In moving, as we are doing, slowly but directly, to a balanced budget, we are going to be under increasing pressure, in meeting our defense needs and other needs, to get the maximum bang for the buck. If we are to succeed in making the best use of these limited defense dollars, we have to continually ask: Are we spending our defense dollars as wisely and efficiently as we possibly can? Are we buying the right things to support a properly sized force structure? Are we taking maximum advantage of technology to avoid being bested in the future, being defeated in the future by an opponent that is now inferior but one that may invest wisely in the next generation's technologies and take advantage of vulnerabilities that we may have?

Again, underlying all these questions are those fundamental questions I posed a few moments ago: What are the threats we will face in the future and what do we need to deter and, if necessary, defeat those threats?

We have to determine the bottom line of what is it we want our military to do, not just in the sense of military capabilities, but also in the broader context of what responsibilities we want the United States to accept in the next century and what we will need our military to be able to do in order for our country to fulfill those responsibilities.

Once we answer those questions—those fundamental questions—we can move on to define how we shape, size, and equip those military forces so they can confront the wide range of challenges we will face and if necessary, again, deter and defeat an opponent's military forces.

Mr. President, we need to generate here an informed national debate on what our defense posture should be in the 21st century. The fact is, that these questions of national security are too

frequently discussed and debated only by a small group of Americans, yet they are the fundamental questions that any society faces. How do we protect our security? How does the Government best do that?

It is the hope of those of us who will introduce this amendment a bit later on in the afternoon that the study, the inquiry authorized by this amendment, both within the Pentagon and by the independent, nonpartisan commission created by the amendment, will engender what will challenge, not just those of us here, but those outside the building, outside Washington, to engage with us in a great debate as to how we can continue to protect our national security in the next century.

We cannot afford, either fiscally or strategically, to continue to tinker at the margins of our military forces or to procure cold war systems we have previously bought but only in diminishing quantities and at ever-increasing prices. We need the Secretary of Defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs to put their best minds to work on these ideas and issues in a focused and comprehensive and independent way.

The amendment that we will offer does not in any way second-guess or infringe on the duties and prerogatives of the Department of Defense. In fact, we know that there is much thinking in the department today along the very lines this amendment would request. We believe our amendment will strengthen the department's hand and help it prepare in the assessment and recommendations which will serve as the basis for fortifying the national bipartisan, nonpartisan consensus for defense which we must have in the years ahead.

This is not just a question of measuring by the dollars. What the Senator from Virginia said is worth bearing in mind as we judge our defense spending, which is that we are now committing less money to defense as a percentage of our gross domestic product than we have since the second world war. The pressure is on to continue to reduce those expenditures.

We have to be devoted to eliminating waste and overlap and taking maximum advantage of new technologies so that the dollars are not the only measure. But it is worth noting, as we consider those broader and deeper measures, that even this year's defense authorization bill, with the additional money added by the Senate Armed Services Committee, represents the 11th consecutive year in which our spending for national defense has dropped in real dollars. That is something that all of us here, and as many people as we can stimulate into the discussion out there in the citizenry, ought to ponder.

Mr. President, this amendment has a unique feature which is central to the goal of the amendment, which we hope will help in reestablishing the kind of national debate on national security,

and a consensus to follow, which I think we all believe is essential.

The amendment provides for what might be called a Team B, a group of wise men and women, recognized defense experts, to be appointed by the Secretary of Defense, in consultation with the Senate and House defense authorization committees, to review the work of the Pentagon called for in this amendment and to offer comments and suggestions on how America can most effectively meet our defense needs in the next century.

This group would provide its proposals and ideas to the Secretary for his consideration as he prepares to report to the Congress, required by the amendment. The real hope here is that this nine-person, nonpartisan commission, appointed by the Secretary of Defense, would essentially go out of the box and ask the questions that either we have not thought of or we have decided are unthinkable or that we should not think about, to force us to face the tough questions about our security needs, to help us do what we have been trying to do on the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, which is to break out of business as usual.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I will briefly explain what the amendment does. First, it acknowledges that the Defense Department has been planning to do a quadrennial defense review at the beginning of the next administration, pursuant to a recommendation made by the Commission on Roles and Missions. And it then, in a sense, makes statutory that quadrennial review. It requires the review to go forward.

It would be a comprehensive examination of the defense strategy, force structure, modernization plans, infrastructure, and other elements of the defense program with a view toward determining the defense strategy of our country as far forward as the year 2005.

Then the amendment would establish the nonpartisan, independent, nine-person panel of recognized defense experts that I have spoken of. We are calling it, in the amendment, the National Defense Panel. It would be tasked, first, with assessing the Pentagon's quadrennial defense review, as it progresses, as well as the final report upon completion, and then would comment on the findings of the review to the Secretary of Defense.

The amendment also requires the Panel to conduct an alternative force structure assessment which would result in a variety of proposed force structures that could meet anticipated threats to our national security. In this case we take it through the year 2010, and if the panel determines it is appropriate and rational, beyond the year 2010.

The amendment specifies, although it does not limit, a baseline of issues which this national defense panel must address. These will include near-term and long-term threats, including weap-

ons of mass destruction, terrorism, and information warfare, a whole new category of threat to our country built on the dependence that we have developed on information technology and the fear that many have that an enemy may be able to disrupt our society by disrupting our information systems, our computer systems, particularly those critical ones, not only in the defense areas, but, for instance, in financial areas.

The National Defense Panel must also consider scenarios based on these threats, which would include the possibility of both large and small conflicts, recommended force structures that would permit military responses to those scenarios, and an assessment of the funding which would be required.

The Panel would submit its report to the Secretary of Defense, which in turn he would add his comments before providing it to the Senate Armed Services Committee and the House National Security Committee by December 15, 1997. So we have the Secretary of Defense, consistent with our belief of civilian control of the military that is so fundamental to our democracy, overseeing the development of the in-house quadrennial defense review.

The National Defense Panel convenes in December of this year if this amendment passes. It begins its own work, and it works with the Defense Department as the department is developing the quadrennial review.

It offers suggestions and responses to those working in the department on the quadrennial defense review. That review is then submitted to the Congress next spring. The National Defense Panel continues its work, comments on the final product of the quadrennial defense review, and then offers to the Secretary of Defense, by next fall and into the early winter, its report—bold, hopefully, in some measure unsettling and provocative, which the Secretary of Defense then turns over to us by December of next year.

Mr. President, there have been some concerns expressed about this schedule. Some, for instance, have said that December of next year is too late. Others have argued that this timetable does not give the Department of Defense adequate time to address all of these important issues.

I believe we have struck a good middle ground here with the schedule that is in the amendment, building on work which is underway, has been done, or will be initiated if this legislation passes. The sooner the Members of Congress can get these important analyses and these recommendations, the sooner we will be able to hold hearings on them, try to involve the public in our considerations, and begin to make the very important decisions that will affect our national security in the coming decades.

There is no time to waste, but, of course, these are such complicated, fundamental, important questions that we are giving both the Defense Department and the National Defense Panel,

that we felt they deserved a reasonable amount of time to complete their work.

There is one last very important point which I do want to emphasize. That is that this amendment was developed in a truly bipartisan way, such that we really consider it—those of us who are sponsoring it—to be a nonpartisan amendment. Of course, it ought to be. When we are dealing with our national defense, there ought not to be Democratic and Republican positions. There ought to be American positions. That is the spirit in which the work on this amendment has gone forward.

Members and staff from both sides of the aisle on the Armed Services Committee were involved in writing this amendment. The process we used resulted in lengthy, thoughtful, and spirited debates about the future of our national security and our Armed Forces. Each of us, I think, undertook this endeavor because we care about our national security and have tremendous respect for the professionals who serve every day, in and out of uniform, in the Department of Defense.

My special thanks go to Senators COATS, MCCAIN, ROBB, and their staffs who contributed so much to this effort, as well, of course, to Chairman THURMOND and Senator NUNN and their professional staff members, for their encouragement and their very, very concise and constructive support.

We also appreciate the time that was spent by personnel in the Department of Defense, particularly Deputy Secretary of Defense John White and his staff, who reviewed and advised us on this amendment, and who have wanted to go forward in a spirit of cooperation not only among the parties here but between the Congress and the executive branch.

The future of our national security is obviously far too important to be left to business as usual at either the executive or legislative branch. I cannot thank the Department of Defense enough for the support, encouragement, counsel, occasional disagreement, but ultimate consensus that is expressed in this amendment.

In summary, and finally, Mr. President, what this is all about is becoming engaged in a very difficult, complicated, farsighted but critical debate about how we can have the best national security possible for America, particularly now as we, in some sense, reign supreme, unchallenged, as the greatest superpower in the world, understanding that history teaches us that the special position of power and relative invulnerability is not enjoyed by nations for long periods of time unless they plan and act to make that so. Nations rise and nations fall over the course of history.

What this amendment is about is making sure that the United States of America remains strong and dominant, able to deter threats to our security and, if necessary, to defeat them far

into the next century. We have the resources, we have the brain power, we have the courage and skill of our war fighters to make that happen. This amendment is all about making sure that we use and develop those natural strengths that America has to the best of our ability.

I come back to the final point that we have to involve the American people more in these discussions. Sometimes, particularly when we exist, as we do now, at a time of relative national security, it is hard to get people to focus in on the details and on the need to continue to commit adequate resources to our national defense. I am convinced that if we find ways to involve more of our citizens in these discussions, in the work of a nonpartisan panel, a national defense panel, in the hearings that it may hold, in the hearings that will surely be held here in Congress after we receive these reports from the Secretary of Defense, then the American people and we, their Representatives in Congress, will surely provide the resources necessary to preserve our liberties and defend our national principles and interests.

Mr. President, an informed public will always understand the wisdom and the memorable comment made by the great British soldier and leader, Sir John Slessor, when he said,

It is customary in democratic countries to deplore expenditure on armaments as conflicting with the requirements of social services. There is a tendency to forget that the most important social service that a government can do for its people is to keep them alive and free.

Mr. President, I hope when we introduce this amendment later in the afternoon that other colleagues will join us in cosponsoring it and, of course, in voting for it.

I thank the Chair for the opportunity to address the amendment. I look forward to returning and actually introducing the amendment when the appropriate unanimous-consent agreement is entered. I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

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

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THURMOND. 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. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise in support of this amendment to be proposed by the able Senator from Connecticut, and I ask unanimous consent that I be listed as a cosponsor.

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

Mr. President, for the past 3 years the Clinton administration has failed to articulate a sound and credible national security strategy. A large part of this failure is the result of the President refusing to submit a budget request which provides the necessary funds to support the force structure re-

quired by his own strategy. In fact, it is frequently noted that the force structure is underfunded by as much as \$150 billion. Not only has this administration failed to provide the funds required to sustain the numerous foreign adventures in which the President involves our military forces, but the administration has also failed to provide the funds required to modernize our military forces for the conflicts of the 21st century.

Mr. President, the people of the United States cannot afford to continue down this dangerous path.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, the United States has conducted two substantial assessments of the force structure necessary to protect American interests in an increasingly chaotic world. The base force of the Bush administration laid a credible foundation for restructuring our forces in order to meet the realities of the post-cold war world. However, President Clinton's Bottom-Up-Review, which replaced the base force, failed to make any meaningful contribution because it did not outline a force structure that would protect American interests into the next century. As we look toward the future, it is essential that we re-examine the world security environment and develop a military force that will be capable of defending American interests in future conflicts.

Mr. President, the proposed amendment will set this reexamination in motion. The amendment requires the Secretary of Defense to perform an assessment of the national security strategy, and the force structure necessary to support that strategy, through the year 2005. In addition, the amendment creates an independent, nonpartisan panel of national security experts to review the Secretary's assessment and provide a report to the Congress which offers alternative force structures to that which is provided by the Secretary.

The information that is provided by each of these reports will be available to both the administration and the Congress for use in making decisions to prepare the armed forces of the United States for the 21st century. These reports will make a significant contribution to ensuring that our national security strategy is sufficient to protect American interests in the future, and that the force structure is sufficiently funded to support that strategy. We must be sure that the strategy and force structure are balanced and affordable.

Mr. President, now is the time that we should undertake a fundamental re-examination of our national security requirements. The national security strategy of the Clinton administration has failed to provide for the future security of the United States. We cannot commit the security of our children to this failed strategy and insufficiently funded force structure. Therefore, I urge my fellow Senators to support this amendment.

Now, Mr. President, in closing, I want to commend the ranking member, Senator NUNN, for the remarks he made on this subject, about going ahead. We need to know what the amendments are. Any Senator who has an amendment to the defense authorization bill should come forth and present that amendment. Time is fleeting. We want to finish this bill by Thursday night, and we would like to know what it is.

The other thing I want to mention is that amendments should be defense-related. If they are not defense-related, they should be offered on some other bill and not on this particular bill.

Mr. President, this is important. We have to finish this bill in due time, and we should waste no time in getting these amendments in. Let the amendments be defense-related, or offer them to some other bill.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 3448, H.R. 3415, AND S. 295

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I would like to join now with the Democratic leader in getting a very large unanimous-consent agreement. A lot of effort has gone into the preparation of this unanimous-consent agreement. It is based on a lot of give and take in negotiations and trust and good faith. I will continue to try to proceed in that way.

I want to thank Senator DASCHLE for his cooperation, and I hope we can continue to work in this way. I would like to proceed now with the request, and we can discuss it further as we go along, or after we get the agreement entered into.

I ask unanimous consent that on Monday, July 8, at a time to be determined by the majority leader, after notification of the Democratic leader, the Senate turn to the consideration of H.R. 3448, the minimum wage bill, and it be considered under the following restraints:

That immediately following the clerk reporting the bill by title, the committee amendment be agreed to and considered original text for the purpose of further amendments, and the Senate then deal with amendments to title I, the small business tax title; that there be one first-degree amendment relevant to the small business tax title for each leader, with no other amendments or motions to refer in order to the bill, other than the minimum wage amendments listed below, except for any manager's amendment