

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that whatever time beyond the hour of 10:30 is taken in morning business be added on to the period of time for debate so that, on the Missile Defense Act, there is still a total of 2 hours equally divided between the two sides.

Mr. EXON. May I ask a question? Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. KYL. Certainly.

Mr. EXON. Would the Senator also add on 3 minutes for the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. KYL. Certainly. I will add that to the unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the unanimous consent, the Senator from Nebraska has 15 minutes, the Senator from Massachusetts has 3 minutes, which will be added on to make 2 hours for missile defense.

The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, if I have the floor, I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Massachusetts at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I rise just to take a moment of the Senate's time to alert the membership, and also those who are interested in education, about the President's speech at Princeton University, which is taking place at 10:40 today. That will be a very important speech about this Nation's commitment in the area of higher education. What we are going to see at our universities, over the period of the next 7 years, is an expansion of the number of students by some 12 percent.

As we debated the recent budget resolution, there was going to be a continuing deterioration in the support for the Pell grants. Under the proposal that the President is advancing today, effectively what he is going to be putting before the Congress is a guarantee for continuing education for any high school students who get a B average in their senior year, to go to a community college and be able to put together an expanded Pell grant plus some refundable credits so that students will be able to attend community colleges.

More than 66 percent of the Nation's community colleges will be eligible. This, I think, is a strong commitment to provide incentives to young people to continue their education. It is a national commitment to make sure that education has the priority that I believe most families believe it should have, in terms of our Nation's commitment.

At an appropriate time I will present for the RECORD a statement and additional comments, but it does seem to me this is a bold initiative in the area of education that ought to have appeal to every working family in this country who dreams about educational opportunities for its children.

I thank the Senator from Nebraska and I yield whatever remaining time I have.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### DEFEND AMERICA ACT OF 1996— MOTION TO PROCEED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now resume consideration of the motion to proceed to S. 1635. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A motion to proceed to the consideration of the bill (S. 1635) to establish a United States policy for the deployment of a national missile defense system, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the motion to proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, there will be 2 hours allotted to this issue.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, the Dole star wars bill the Senate is debating is a reckless and expensive attempt to recreate the nostalgia of the cold war through the regrettable and unwarranted use of fear and fabrication. Over the last several years, the majority has resolutely turned a deaf ear to the objections of millions of men, women, and children at risk while it continually snips away at America's safety net. But in a conversion worthy of Jeckyll and Hyde, the majority is passionately arguing that we throw open the Treasury doors to create a new defense safety net to take the place of the social safety net it is intent on unraveling. Multibillion-dollar missile launchers will replace school lunches in this new gilded net. Guns in the sky will replace efforts to remove guns from our school playgrounds. Money that used to help the poor buy heating fuel in winter will now heat lasers orbiting the Earth.

The underlying premise of the Dole star wars bill is that the ballistic missile threat targeted toward the United States is so great, so urgent that nothing short of a crash program similar to the race to the Moon in the 1960's will do. No cost to the American taxpayers is too great. No arms control treaty is too valuable. The siren call behind the Dole star wars bill is a seductive one indeed: If you believe in a strong national defense, then you must be willing to shield America against missile attack—a missile attack anywhere, anytime—regardless of the consequences. But, like the sirens tempting Odysseus, to heed the call will bring catastrophe, not security.

The packaging of the Dole star wars bill is slick and the rhetoric is packed with chest-thumping patriotism. But the issue of missile defense is much more complex than it may seem to be some. A number of questions need to be

asked and answered before the Senate can judge the need to embark on a crash program to field a national missile defense system in 6 years.

What is the threat of ballistic missile attack facing the United States today and in the near future?

From where does this threat originate? And are there other less costly, more effective means of meeting this threat, whatever it is?

What is meant when the bill requires a defense against a "limited, unauthorized, and accidental attack"? What is the likelihood of such attacks occurring? And what type of missile defense is necessary in order to blunt such an attack if there is one?

What type of attacks against the United States using weapons of mass destruction would the Dole star wars system be powerless to defend against? How are we as a nation addressing this terrorist threat and how would pursuing a star wars system affect the timeliness of these efforts?

What is the cost of the mandate contained in the Dole star wars bill and how will it be paid for? Or to turn the question around, what social program or other defense priority will suffer as a result of this expensive undertaking.

What are the consequences of fielding a missile defense system that violates the existing limitations of the ABM Treaty, as required by the Dole star wars bill?

Will implementation of the START I Treaty be endangered?

Will ratification of the START II Treaty by the Russian Duma be jeopardized if we renege on our ABM Treaty obligation?

Will it affect other arms control agreements pending or in the future if America backs down and violates a treaty, such treaties as the Chemicals Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty?

Will implementation of the Dole star wars system prompt an expensive and destabilizing arms race which would otherwise not occur?

Is missile defense technology sufficiently mature to mandate a 2003 deployment date? Of course not.

Will the fly-before-you-buy principle be applied to this highly advanced and sophisticated technology through extensive testing and evaluation prior to the operational deployment?

What has been the record of missile defense testing to date? That is an important question.

Are we rushing to judgment on certain technologies which may be obsolete and marginally effective in order to meet an arbitrary date upon which there is no basis for its selection?

Finally, what are the alleged shortcomings of the administration's 3-plus-3 missile defense plan which the Dole star wars bill professes to correct?

The Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and the service chiefs are in solid support of the two-step plan to develop the technology over the next 3 years and then—