have forestalled the tests in south Asia. Instead, the Senate has chosen not to step forward. Now we see ourselves more as a follower than as a leader in this area.

One element that could support a leadership role in ratifying a comprehensive test ban is an effective nuclear stockpile stewardship program. That program is an essential element for ensuring the safety and reliability of our nuclear weapons in the absence of testing. The directors of our National Laboratories at Livermore, Los Alamos, and Sandia have testified about the effectiveness of that program in the absence of nuclear testing. In spite of that testimony, this bill reduces funding by $145 million in prior year balances that, according to the DOE, no longer exist.

Without sufficient funding for the stockpile stewardship program, this bill threatens the likelihood of ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Failure to ratify that treaty plays into the hands of the Indian and Pakistani Governments and could encourage other nonnuclear nations to follow their lead. The result will be a far more dangerous world than the one we live in today.

Mr. President, I am concerned that while many of my colleagues are focused on the long-term future security issues, they may have their focus in the wrong place. Funding for basic research and development and building, the building blocks for future technological advances, continues to receive low priority in this defense budget. It is not anticipated to increase for the foreseeable future under current Department of Defense plans.

My colleagues acknowledged when considering this bill that funding for basic research and development has often been and remains a bill payer for other programs.

Efforts to identify this problem and establish long-term spending goals for basic research were rejected during the deliberations in the committee on this bill.

I believe that the high-tech future so many of us in the Senate consider an axiom of America's future security is unlikely to become a reality in the defense area unless we make the investment that is needed in the future today.

In addition, funding for the Nation's test and evaluation facilities and their operations lags behind efforts to modernize our weapons.

I have seen this with personnel cuts, neglect of infrastructure, and aging instrumentation at White Sands Missile Range in my State. These cuts reflect a low priority that has been given to the testing activities across the Department of Defense in this budget.

These cuts suggest that even if our technical genius continues to provide new technological opportunities, we may not be able to adequately evaluate whether they will actually work as intended.

Mr. President, I am concerned about the inertia contained in this bill. I believe that in many ways it fails to meet our most immediate high priority security concerns. It may also fail to lay a sound scientific foundation for the long-term security needs of our country.

I urge my colleagues to consider these large issues as we consider the bill this week. We have an opportunity to fix some of these problems. I hope we are able to do so. I intend to have one or more amendments to offer later in the week which will help us to accomplish that.

Mr. President, let me yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum at this point.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I wish to make a couple of corrections in the RECORD of Friday, June 19.

In the middle column on page S. 6661, where I quote Tennyson, the RECORD indicates that I quoted Tennyson as saying, ''I am a part of all that I have met, and we are all a part of each other.''

Mr. President, only the first clause is an accurate quote by Tennyson. The second clause was an editorial comment of my own. It should not be included in Tennyson's quote. So I ask unanimous consent that in the permanent RECORD Tennyson's quote as quoted by me read, ''I am a part of all that I have met,'' and take out the quotation mark at the end of the sentence which appears in the RECORD in the middle column.

The next correction I should like to make is in the same speech, the same page, S. 6661, middle column. I am quoted as saying, ''The Bible says, 'see us now a man diligent in his business; he shall stand before kings.' ''

That is a misquote. I did not say, ''See us now.'' I said, ''Seest thou.'' ''Seest thou a man diligent in his business; he shall stand before kings.''

I ask unanimous consent that that correction be made in the permanent RECORD. Sometimes in talking I sound like I have my mouth full of turnips, and I am sure it is hard for the Official Reporters to catch the diction correctly. So I ask that those corrections be made.

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

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, those of us who had the real privilege to be in the Chamber during Friday had the benefit of an absolutely magnificent set of remarks by our distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from West Virginia, the former majority leader of the Senate. I reflected over the course of the weekend on those remarks. I urge others to take a look at the RECORD today which, with these minor corrections, clearly sets forth those remarks. I thank the Senator.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1999

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, we are in the process of resuming consideration of S. 2057, the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1999. On behalf of Chairman THURMOND and the distinguished ranking member, I urge Senators who have amendments to the bill to bring their amendments to the floor. Last Friday, Chairman THURMOND, together with the distinguished Senator from Michigan, Mr. LEVIN, cleared some 45 amendments to this important bill. The majority and minority staffs of the Committee on the Armed Forces will continue to work today with others and Members to get further amendments cleared.

I remind Senators that a cloture vote on S. 2057 will occur tomorrow, at a time to be determined by the majority leader after consultation with the Democrat leader. And if cloture is imposed, all nongermane amendments which have not already been adopted will be terminated. Therefore, I urge Senators to come to the floor. The bill will be up until 3 o'clock today, according to the previous order. Hopefully, we can conclude a profitable day towards further concluding this bill which must be concluded this week.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, let me just clarify what my colleague from Virginia said. My understanding is that the present parliamentary situation is that no amendments can be offered unless that is done with unanimous consent; is that correct?

Mr. WARNER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BINGAMAN. We are urging people to come to the floor and try to obtain that unanimous consent. But those Senators who do have amendments that have not been agreed to are not able to offer those amendments at this time.

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, in response to the observation of my distinguished colleague, the situation is that there are pending amendments, of course. I hope my colleague and I, and such others who are managing this bill throughout the day, can work out accommodations and perhaps get unanimous consent for other amendments so we can proceed. I thank the Chair.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, since we do have a lull in the proceedings, I have filed two amendments that together would incorporate in this year's defense bill the key provisions of S. 2081, which is the National Defense Science and Technology Investment Act of 1998. Consistent with the strong bipartisan support for defense research, I am very pleased to say that we have Senator SANTORUM, Senator LIEBERMAN, Senator LOTT, Senator FRIST, all as original cosponsors of this bill and also as sponsors of these complementary amendments.

I will not, of course, try to get a vote on these at this point because it would require unanimous consent to do so, but I would like to just briefly describe what the amendments do so when the opportunity comes to have a vote, people will be informed.

These amendments lay the fiscal framework for the defense research that is needed to achieve, early in the next century, what the Department of Defense calls full spectrum dominance, that is the ability of our Armed Forces to dominate potential adversaries across the entire spectrum of military operations, from humanitarian operations through the highest intensity conflicted.

One of the two amendments sets goals that would result in the Defense Science and Technology Program budget reaching the equivalent of at least $9 billion in today's dollars by the year 2008; that would be an increase of 16 percent above today's level. The other amendment sets similar increased goals for the nonproliferation research at the Department of Energy.

It is worth focusing on why defense research is so important. Much of the technology that gave the United States a quick victory with so very few casualties in Desert Storm came out of defense-related research in the 1960s and 1970s. Those kinds of results, plus the fact that our military remains the most technologically sophisticated in the world, have fostered a broad agreement that defense research is one of the best investments that our country makes, one providing enormous long-term returns to our military. Even with the cold war over, there are a number of reasons why now is the time to vigorously invest in defense research.

First, as the Department of Defense has noted, the two keys to this full spectrum dominance, which is the cornerstone of our strategy as we move forward—the two keys will be information superiority and, second, technological innovation.

The Department of Defense has been the preeminent Federal agency funding the disciplines that undergird these two key enablers, for example, supporting roughly 80 percent of the federally sponsored research in electrical engineering, 50 percent of that in computer science and mathematics. No other organizations, public or private, can substitute for the unique role and focus of the Department of Defense in these research areas. We simply will not be able to achieve this so-called full spectrum dominance without a vigorous program of defense research.

A second important point is that the global spread of advanced technology and a nascent revolution in military affairs are creating new threats to the United States which will challenge our ability to achieve full spectrum dominance. Those are threats requiring new responses and requiring new technology. They include information warfare; cheap, precise cruise missiles and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

Recent events in India and Pakistan, which I alluded to earlier, may have concentrated our thinking on this last problem, this threat of the spread of weapons of mass destruction. In the words of the National Defense Panel, ''We must lead the coming technological revolution or be vulnerable to it.'' That said, right now we are in a relatively secure interlude in our international relations. We are in a time where we can afford to work on transforming our military forces. While the world is still a dangerous place, it will be even more dangerous in the future. So now is the time for the defense research to be accomplished, which is needed to achieve this full spectrum dominance.

When you look, though, at DOD's current science and technology budget plans, they do not reflect these realities. The out-year budgets are basically flat in real terms, out to the year 2003, at a level of around $200 million lower than the 1998 level. This is the money that pays for the research and concept experimentation needed to invent and try out new military capabilities. Worse yet, the budget of the Department of Energy for nonproliferation research is slated to decline by about 20 percent in real terms by the year 2003.

These budget plans are not consistent with the vision of full spectrum dominance. They are not consistent with the threats on the horizon or with the opportunity that we have today. These two amendments that I filed would promote budget plans that are consistent with the vision, threats and opportunity. What they do is this: From fiscal year 2003 to fiscal year 2008, the first amendment would give the Secretary of Defense a goal—not a requirement, but a goal—to increase the defense science and technology budget request by at least 2 percent a year over inflation greater than the previous year's budget request. The other amendment gives the same 2 percent goal, 2 percent increased goal to the Secretary of Energy for nonproliferation research.

The end result will be a defense science and technology budget that reaches at least $9 billion in today's dollars by 2008, an increase of $1.2 billion, or 16 percent over the 1998 level. The budget for nonproliferation research would increase it around 23 percent over today's level.

These budget increases are significant for research, yet they are modest and achievable when you look at our overall defense budget. If you look at a graph of the projected Science and Technology Program budget under this agreement, you can see that the increases will be, No. 1, gradual; that is, the total increase by 2008 will be less than some year-to-year changes in the past. Also, the increase will be smooth in that they will not be a huge change from the Defense Department's current plans at the start. They will also be reasonable; the $9 billion endpoint is comparable with previous levels of science after technology funding.

Achieving these increases will require some shifting the funds within the DOD budget. The total amount shifted will be only around half a percent of the total DOD budget over 10 years.

I am extremely confident the Secretary of Defense will be able to make this kind of gradual shift without damaging other priorities. I am also quite sure that this is a priority need for our country.

Technological supremacy has been a keystone of our security strategy since World War II. Supporting that supremacy has been this defense research. The coming decade is the time to start increasing the investment in our national security. These amendments are a modest bipartisan, sensible and achievable approach to make that investment. I am sure that these modest increases will yield substantial returns to our military.

I hope that when we get an opportunity to vote on these amendments that my colleagues will join me and Senators SANTORUM, LIEBERMAN, LOTT and FRIST in supporting both of these important amendments.

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

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

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ABRAHAM. 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. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise to address the ongoing debate in the Senate connected to the pending business, I believe, regarding United States relations with the People's Republic of China.

As the Senate considers the Department of Defense authorization bill, S. 2057, a number of my colleagues and I have been working to try to find a vehicle, or vehicles, through which to present amendments to this bill, intended to put United States-China relations on the path toward what we consider to be meaningful engagement. Many of our amendments have already been filed. Two of these, one to combat slave labor in China and the other to monitor People's Liberation Army companies operating in the United

States, were adopted by voice vote last month. This shows, I believe, the substantial support among Senators for measures upholding principles of freedom and human rights and measures protecting the national security interests of the United States.

Today I would like to clarify the intents of the remaining amendments and the context in which we hope to offer them. Put simply, I and my colleagues seek meaningful engagement with the Chinese Government, consistent with our moral principles and with our national security interests. On this, I believe, all Americans are agreed. Unfortunately, this administration's policies towards China have, in my opinion, failed to produce that kind of relationship. For that reason, I believe amendments intended to promote meaningful engagement are necessary.

Some people have charged that any attempt to go beyond current policies of what I consider to be hollow engagement with China will necessarily lead to isolationism. I disagree. I believe a more reasoned approach lies between the extremes of appeasement on the one hand and isolationism on the other. The problem with current discussions regarding United States-China relations, in my view, is best illustrated by debates over most-favored-nation trading status. Until recently, debates over our relations with China have focused almost entirely and exclusively on whether we should extend or revoke China's MFN status.

It is time, in my view, to move the discussion out of the MFN box and to find common means to achieve common American goals. Revoking MFN would punish Americans with higher prices without significantly affecting the Chinese Government and its policies, and it would also punish innocent Chinese citizens by withdrawing economic opportunities provided by United States trade and investment. Even in the short term, in my view, we should not underestimate trade and investment's positive impact. ''Already,'' writes China expert Stephen J. Yates of the Heritage Foundation, Chinese ''employees at U.S. firms earn higher wages and are free to choose where to live, what to eat, and how to educate and care for their children.''

It is my belief that MFN, by itself, is a necessary element of any meaningful engagement between the United States and China. However, MFN alone is not sufficient to bring the changes so sorely needed in China or to protect the principles and interests of the United States. Unfortunately, the Clinton administration has not pursued the policies necessary to make meaningful engagement possible.

The administration has claimed that our current relationship with the People's Republic of China has improved through a process of constructive engagement. On this view, the Chinese Government has improved its behavior in a number of areas out of a desire to maintain good relations with the United States. Specific examples have been cited, including the release of a small number of dissidents, movement toward protection of intellectual property, and China's alleged steadiness during the continuing Asian financial crisis.

I understand my colleagues' continuing hopes that these events might lead to better relations in the future between the United States and China. However, in my view, these hopes must be tempered by a realistic assessment of current Chinese Government practices and behavior. We all want the United States to be able to engage in an open and frank relationship with the Chinese Government, one in which each side can present its views on a broad range of issues, confident that the other side will promptly respond to their concerns and live up to international standards of human rights and mutual security.

Unfortunately, our relationship with China has yet to reach that stage of mutual trust and responsibility. In particular, a clear-eyed view of China's human rights record shows that the hollow engagement that has characterized America's role in its relations with China in recent years has not led to substantive reform. Although the international community roundly condemned the Chinese Government's crushing of prodemocracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square along with the killing of thousands of student protesters and the imprisonment of many more, Chinese officials continue to claim their actions were justified. They continue to insist that their violent actions were a valid response to a counterrevolutionary riot.

Indeed, Chinese officials now want to place our President at the scene of this crime as a sign of their righteousness. Likewise, even as the administration continues to claim a new era of Chinese nonproliferation resulting from the recent summit, fresh reports have arisen of Chinese assistance to Iranian missile programs and the Chinese decision to abandon previous assurances to observe the Missile Technology Regime's export control standards.

Finally, it is important to recognize that definitive investigations are underway regarding the administration's export control policy toward China and its effect on national security. But it is also important to note that the administration has uniformly waived any sanctions for even the most egregious of Chinese actions harming our national security interests.

The bottom line is that we currently lack the tools with which to pursue meaningful engagement with China. Current policies of hollow engagement allow Chinese leaders to believe that the United States will overlook almost any action on their part simply in order to keep them happy. This provides China's leaders with little incentive to change their behavior or beliefs to bring them more closely into alignment with international standards.

The result is that our Government now constantly finds itself reacting to China's actions in an incoherent, ad hoc fashion. This has produced an unfortunate and increasing abandonment of the principles of freedom and defense of fundamental human rights on which our Nation is based, as well as a failure to fully protect the national security interests of the United States. The United States must, in my view, enunciate a clear and compelling policy disapproving Chinese violations of human rights and international conventions regarding national security. This requires, at a minimum, that we recognize that China's current leadership neither accepts nor acts upon the principle of friendship in international or domestic relations.

Mr. President, I think this is an important debate. I think it is a debate that we need to have here in the Senate. I regret that the current procedural roadblocks that seem to exist will make it very difficult for us to fully act through the amendments that many of us would like to bring up and prevent us from having the kind of full and clear discussion in this debate that I think the Senate should make happen. Consequently, I find myself a bit frustrated today. I would like to applaud the Senator from Arkansas for the ongoing efforts he has engaged in to try to bring these issues to the floor of the Senate, to try to make it possible for us to have the kind of debate that I think many of us wish would occur.

I hope that his efforts with many of us working together can be ultimately successful. If it cannot happen in the context of the current bill, then I think a group of us will find other vehicles coming to the floor of the Senate on which it can be possible for us to have this debate. But whether it happens now or happens later, I think the message to the administration should be clear and to the American people it should be clear: We are deeply concerned about the human rights policies of China. We are deeply concerned about the implications of their policies on American national security, and we in the U.S. Senate are not going to sit idly by and allow these policies to continue without ultimately having the kind of full and detailed debate, discussion and action that they require.

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

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

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STEVENS. 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. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak as in morning business for about 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Alaska is recognized.