

recent issue of the National Journal, the September 2 issue, wherein there was a discussion of a recent debate that occurred on this floor. The debate was on hydronuclear testing and the need for additional funds to support the safety and reliability of our nuclear weapons stockpile. Mr. President, the Senate ultimately voted to sustain those funds, and I am a strong supporter of the decision that the Senate made.

The National Journal noted that the proponents of a strong nuclear deterrent stated that the JASON study team supported some of the experiments that were at issue in the Senate debate.

The article also noted that some of my colleagues and the chairman of the JASON study committee believe its findings had been misrepresented.

I am not a Ph.D. scientist and I may not be a weapons expert, but I can read English, and I read it very well. If the JASON study findings do not reflect the panel's intent, then the authors did not do a very good job of making their views clear. As I said earlier, we need to get on with treaty compliant experiments, not nuclear tests. The JASON study clearly endorsed treaty compliant experiments. I would not generally look to the JASON's for guidance on nuclear testing or stockpile stewardship issues. This is not their area of expertise, and they have not had a credible track record in this area.

I do want to say, however, that since the proponents of hydronuclear experiments or treaty compliant experiments have relied heavily on the JASON's to push their agenda, it seems appropriate to use their experts to challenge their position.

Since the debate, I have looked into this matter more deeply. I now understand the views of some of the experts on the committee and of the experts who provided data to the committee more clearly than I did a month ago. I have found that the JASON report has been used to misrepresent the views of some of the experts and some of the study group members. This is not surprising in a highly political report that is trying to reach consensus. Sometimes the only way to reach consensus is to be unclear, and that lack of clarity can then be used by both sides to press their interpretations.

I assure you that although there are some in the study group that oppose hydronuclear experiments, there are also some who support hydronuclear experiments.

Many of the experts who provided input to the study would disagree with some of its conclusions. I understand that. Nevertheless, the report did clearly support the subcritical experiments with real nuclear material, experiments that some have characterized as hydronuclear experiments, experiments that fall within the range of experiments being debated that day on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. President, for those who still question the issues, let me again quote

from the report. I am reading directly verbatim from the report. This is a quote:

Underground testing of nuclear weapons at any yield level below that required to initiate boosting is of limited value to the United States. However, experiments involving high explosives and fissionable material that do not reach criticality are useful in improving our understanding of the behavior of weapons materials under relevant physical conditions. They should be included among treaty consistent activities that are discussed more fully in the text.

Mr. President, that is as clear as the English language can be. If people on the committee want to disagree with the report as it is written, that is their privilege. But I read from the report a month ago, and I am reading from it again. The language is very clear. In plain English, that clearly supports tests or experiments that opponents were trying to prohibit. More importantly, it should be understood that the JASON study report is a political report, not a technical report. It was created for political reasons, and its conclusions were generally preordained. Using the report as a so-called consensus of nuclear weapons experts is a misrepresentation. There may have been an expert or two on the committee, but that does not mean it represents the expert opinion on the issue.

On the technical level, there is still much for the Senate and the public to evaluate. The technical issues are complex and do not lend themselves easily to public debate. I will, though, Mr. President, do the best I can to make the key issues clear to the Senate and to the American public. Bits and pieces of the issue have been addressed in various studies, and the whole picture has not been laid before the Congress.

In particular, the loss of confidence that will come from the end of testing has not been adequately reviewed. No one who even superficially understands the issue will claim that we can maintain the current level of confidence in our nuclear weapons system without testing. The question is how much confidence do we need.

When that issue is fully understood by the Congress and the American people, we can then properly assess the value of testing and the need for testing. My view is clear. We must have the utmost confidence in the safety and reliability of our nuclear weapons, and anything we can do to achieve that confidence should be done. Second-class confidence is irresponsible and unacceptable in a first-class nation.

In the best case, this means we should continue with nuclear testing. In the case we debated last month, it meant getting on with whatever experiments the President was prepared to allow. We must continue to explore this issue. The debate on testing, stewardship, treaty compliant experiments is not over and should not be over until all the facts are out.

I look forward to the JASON report being finalized and published. That

should help us all understand the basis for the conclusions of the study group and perhaps clear up some of the controversy on this issue.

I also, Mr. President, look forward to the weapons laboratory report called for in section 3164 of the Senate version of the National Defense Authorization Act, the matter that is now before this body. I look forward to it being completed and presented to the Congress. This report promises to be a credible technical report, written by real nuclear weapons experts.

In the meantime, I urge the President to get on with the stockpile stewardship plan that he has developed, including the treaty compliant experiments endorsed by the JASON's and called for in the current test ban negotiating positions. The \$50 million added by the Senate should allow these experiments to begin without further delay. It is time for action with respect to implementing all elements of our Nation's Stockpile Stewardship Program.

Mr. President, I appreciate very much the managers of this bill allowing me to speak out of order, but certainly this is of relevance to the matter before this body.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak for up to 5 minutes as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTING

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, this afternoon at 5 o'clock, the Senate will vote on final passage of the Defense appropriations bill, which will then go to conference. One of the provisions contained in that bill, which was added by amendment, I think is worthy of note and has not received significant attention, either by Members of the Senate or by the public at large.

So I wanted to call it to the attention of both of my colleagues and of the public and indicate my strong support for it. It is an amendment that Senator AKAKA offered, amendment No. 2406 on behalf of himself and Senator PELL. The amendment was adopted by voice vote and puts the Senate clearly on record with regard to nuclear testing contemplated by the Republic of France. Let me just read the amendment as it was adopted by the Senate before we went out of session earlier in August. It says:

Sense of the Senate regarding underground nuclear testing.

Findings. The Senate makes the following findings:

(1) The President of France stated on June 13, 1995, that the Republic of France plans to conduct eight nuclear test explosions over the next several months.

(2) The People's Republic of China continues to conduct underground nuclear weapons tests.

(3) The United States, France, Russia, and Great Britain have observed a moratorium on nuclear testing since 1992.

(4) A resumption of testing by the Republic of France could result in the disintegration of the current testing moratorium in the renewal of underground testing by other nuclear weapon states.

(5) A resumption of nuclear testing by the Republic of France raises serious environmental and health concerns.

(6) The United Nations Conference on Disarmament presently is meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, for the purpose of negotiating a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which would halt permanently the practice of conducting nuclear test explosions.

(7) Continued underground weapons testing by the Republic of France and the People's Republic of China undermines the efforts of the international community to conclude a CTBT by 1996, a goal endorsed by 175 nations at the recently completed NPT Extension and Review Conference (the conference for the extension and review of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty).

Therefore, "It is the sense of the Senate that the Republic of France and the People's Republic of China should abide by the current international moratorium on nuclear test explosions and refrain from conducting underground nuclear tests in advance of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty."

That is the end of the resolution adopted here in the Senate before we went out on recess, Mr. President. As I am sure my colleagues know, the People's Republic of China has gone ahead during this last month and conducted one additional underground test in contravention of the sentiments expressed in this resolution. The Republic of France is now contemplating and intending, as I understand it, to proceed with eight additional nuclear test explosions over the next several months.

I believe it is very important that the Senate is on record as being opposed to these nuclear explosions. And I felt it was important to call to the attention of Members of the Senate and the public that this was unanimously agreed to by the Senate as part of this Defense appropriations bill, which will be finally voted by the Senate at 5 this afternoon.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill 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.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

##### AMENDMENT NO. 2125 WITHDRAWN

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator BROWN, I ask unanimous consent that amendment No. 2125, relating to Pakistan, be withdrawn.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered. So the amendment (No. 2125) was withdrawn.

##### CRUSADER/LP

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I wish to engage the distinguished Senator from Virginia, the chairman of the Subcommittee on AirLand Forces, in a brief colloquy regarding the Army's Crusader program. Senator WARNER, I note that the committee has fully supported the Army's priority development of the Advanced Field Artillery System, Crusader program and I commend the committee for its action. However, I am concerned by the actions of the House National Security Committee relative to the liquid propellant [LP] gun aspect of the Crusader program. I have been led to believe that the Army recognized the performance advantages of the LP gun and that the Army in recognition of those performance enhancements accepted the risks associated with LP development. Am I correct in that understanding?

Mr. WARNER. The Senator is correct. The range and volume of fire advantages of LP would greatly increase the performance and capabilities of the Army's field artillery.

Mr. SHELBY. I am concerned that the House has written several pages of bill language which would legislate noncontractual performance goals which might add schedule risk and might jeopardize the schedule flexibility critical to the successful management of any development effort. I am also concerned that the House position appears to prejudge the failure of the LP gun while not adequately considering the risk nor providing comparable oversight for the Army's backup technology, unicharge.

Mr. WARNER. The committee staff has reviewed the Army's Crusader program and LP development in detail. LP development is receiving intensive management by both the contractor and the Army. I understand the Senator's concern that the House position legislating performance goals and decision schedules might exceed the oversight needs of this program. I do believe, however, that we should maintain adequate congressional oversight over both LP and unicharge development as it affects this important Army program. I would point out that the Army is just completing the first year of an 8½ year development program for the Crusader. We are pushing the limits of technology in an entirely new area with the research and development of liquid propellant for Crusader. I believe that the potential advantages of LP justify the risks associated with its development. We will continue to watch this program carefully. We expect that the development of LP will be successful and that the Crusader will be produced and fielded on schedule. If, on the other hand, the technology challenges are too difficult, and

LP simply doesn't work, then we won't buy it. However, in the meantime, I believe we should allow the Army's developmental efforts to proceed.

Mr. KENNEDY. If the Senator would yield, I would point out that the Navy has a requirement to improve its naval surface fire support and has a cooperative agreement with the Army to monitor and leverage off of the liquid propellant gun development. The successful development of LP offers great opportunities for the Navy in this important area and in as much as the House legislation serves as a detriment to that effort, I would be happy to work to resolve this issue in conference.

Mr. SHELBY. I want to thank the Senator from Virginia and the Senator from Massachusetts for their understanding of this matter and for their commitment to work to resolve this in conference.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill 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 now to urge Senators who have amendments to the Defense authorization bill to come to the floor and take up their amendments. We are supposed to pass this bill today. If they wait until this afternoon, then they are all stacked in at the last minute and it is going to be very difficult to handle.

I urge them to come on out. We have been here all morning starting at 10 o'clock, and we have approved a few things. But there is a lot more to be done. I want them to come and take up the amendments and let us get them acted on one way or the other.

Thank you, 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. EXON. 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. EXON. Mr. President, I would like to say we are making good progress, working back and forth on both sides. I think with a little cooperation here and a little cooperation there, this whole proposition might move much more expeditiously than we had earlier anticipated.

I thank my friend and colleague from South Carolina for his usual good cooperation, and we are going to be working very hard the rest of the day to try to eliminate any and all barriers to cut down the time dramatically and probably come to a resolution, hopefully, on the authorization and the appropriations bills early this evening, and I