

warheads not deployed. That is far more than we need for our security, and poses more of a danger than we should accept. We need to continue the reductions begun by the START process, and reduce to the lowest level possible, including the other nuclear weapon states in the process at the appropriate time.

At the hearing before the Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary Perry was asked about further reductions in nuclear forces. He stated that further reductions are desirable and planned: "I have always believed that we should reduce to the maximum extent we can, compatible with the threats and the potential threats from other countries. I think we can make dramatic reductions, though, beyond where we are today, if we have favorable political developments continu[ing] as they have been in the last 5 years or more."

Secretary Perry was then asked when he envisioned the nuclear weapon reduction process, which has been bilateral so far, involving the other acknowledged nuclear weapon countries to conclude further reductions. Secretary Perry gave the following reply:

At the time when we start getting down to levels of nuclear arms which are on the same order of magnitude of the levels of the other nations. So far, even at the level of 3,000, we have many, many more nuclear weapons than any—we and Russia—than any other country. But we certainly envision deeper cuts beyond the level of 3,000 to 3,500. And as we start going down in the hundreds instead of in the thousands of nuclear weapons, then I think it's not only appropriate; it would be necessary to bring in the other countries who have nuclear weapons.

When asked what specific steps he envisioned to get to further nuclear weapon reductions, he stated the following:

The sequence of events which I see is, first, we need to get START II ratified in the Senate and the Duma. Secondly, we need to get an agreement on implementation—on accelerating the implementation between ourselves and the Russians. Third, we need to mutually phase together the accelerated draw-down. Fourth, we begin a discussion of START III, which has enabled us to make further deep reductions. We've already looked at those deep reductions, have pretty good feelings about how far we can go. We believe they ought to be bilateral. I think it is appropriate, at that stage, though, to begin discussions with other countries, because if the START III reductions are deep enough we're going to get down to levels where we need to be talking with other countries about this.

CONCLUSION

Mr. President, the evidence is both compelling and overwhelming: The START II Treaty is unquestionably in our security interest. It is long overdue for Senate action, and I welcome the opportunity for this body finally to ratify this treaty. I know the outcome will be very strong support for the treaty, and I hope the Russian Duma can take it up soon and then we can begin implementing the treaty soon.

I would like to close by quoting the conclusion of General Shalikashvili's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee on March 1, 1995:

The START II Treaty offers a significant contribution to our national security. Under its provisions, we achieve the long-standing goal of finally eliminating both heavy ICBM's and the practice of MIRVing ICBM's, thereby significantly reducing the incentive for a first strike. For decades, we and the Russians have lived with this dangerous instability. With this treaty, we can at last put it behind us.

The Joint Chiefs and I have carefully assessed the adequacy of our strategic forces under START II. With the balanced triad of 3,500 warheads that will remain once this treaty is implemented, the size and mix of our remaining nuclear forces will support our deterrent and targeting requirements against any known adversary and under the worst assumptions. Both American and Russian strategic nuclear forces will be suspended at levels of rough equivalence; a balance with greatly reduced incentive for a first strike. By every military measure, START II is a sound agreement that will make our Nation more secure. Under its terms, our forces will remain militarily sufficient, crisis stability will be greatly improved, and we can be confident in our ability to effectively verify its implementation. This treaty is clearly in the best interests of the United States.

On behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I recommend that the Senate promptly give its advice and consent to the ratification of the START II Treaty.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I make a request that I understand may be objected to. I was going to ask, as in executive session, that the yeas and nays on the resolution of ratification accompany START II be vitiated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEVIN. Reserving the right to object—

Mr. NUNN. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard. There is 1 minute for debate.

Mr. DOLE. I yield the time back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of ratification. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LOTT. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH], the Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. KYL], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SHELBY] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL] would vote "yea."

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] is necessarily absent.

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 87, nays 4, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 6 Leg.]

YEAS—87

Abraham	Baucus	Biden
Akaka	Bennett	Binigaman

Bond	Gorton	McConnell
Boxer	Graham	Mikulski
Bradley	Grams	Moseley-Braun
Breaux	Grassley	Moynihan
Brown	Gregg	Murkowski
Bryan	Harkin	Murray
Bumpers	Hatch	Nickles
Burns	Hatfield	Nunn
Byrd	Heflin	Pell
Chafee	Hutchison	Pressler
Cochran	Inouye	Pryor
Cohen	Jeffords	Reid
Conrad	Johnston	Robb
Coverdell	Kassebaum	Rockefeller
Craig	Kempthorne	Roth
D'Amato	Kennedy	Santorum
Daschle	Kerrey	Sarbanes
DeWine	Kerry	Simon
Dodd	Kohl	Simpson
Dole	Lautenberg	Snowe
Dorgan	Leahy	Specter
Exon	Levin	Stevens
Feingold	Lieberman	Thomas
Feinstein	Lott	Thompson
Ford	Lugar	Thurmond
Frist	Mack	Warner
Glenn	McCain	Wellstone

NAYS—4

Ashcroft	Inhofe
Helms	Smith

NOT VOTING—8

Campbell	Faircloth	Kyl
Coats	Gramm	Shelby
Domenici	Hollings	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas are 87; the nays are 4; two-thirds of the Senators present having voted in the affirmative, the resolution of ratification is agreed to.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

EXTENDING THE CURRENT FARM PROGRAM

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, the hour is late, and I will simply take 1 minute on an issue many of us are concerned about on both sides of the aisle. I have previously offered unanimous-consent requests to extend the current farm program for a year, provide planting flexibility, and forgive advanced deficiency payments in the process of doing that. I am very concerned that the Congress provide an answer to farmers about what the farm program will be.

I want to work with Members on both sides of the aisle here in Congress to get that done. Maybe we could hear a bit from the majority leader. I think there are some plans, perhaps next week, to address this, which I think will be a real step forward.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST— S. 1523

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I know he is constrained to object tonight, but let me ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. 1523, the bill be read a third time and passed, and the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

Mr. President, S. 1523 is the bill I just mentioned with respect to the extension of the farm program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, let me indicate I