

Neal	Reyes	Stokes
Oberstar	Rodriguez	Thompson
Obey	Roybal-Allard	Tierney
Olver	Rush	Torres
Ortiz	Sabo	Towns
Owens	Sanders	Velazquez
Pastor	Sanford	Vento
Paul	Sawyer	Visclosky
Payne	Scott	Waters
Pelosi	Serrano	Watt (NC)
Peterson (MN)	Smith, Adam	Wexler
Poshard	Stark	

NOT VOTING—26

Archer	Fattah	McIntosh
Armey	Fawell	McNulty
Baesler	Ganske	Meek (FL)
Bateman	Gonzalez	Meeks (NY)
Clay	Goodling	Paxon
Cooksey	Greenwood	Schumer
Crane	Harman	Shuster
Dicks	Hinchey	Skaggs
Ewing	McDade	

□ 2119

Mr. DOGETT changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. MOLLOHAN changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The title of the bill was amended so as to read: "A bill to authorize appropriations for the United States Customs Service for drug interdiction, and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 164, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "aye."

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. SOLOMON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, the last order of business this evening will be a rule which will make in order two hours of general debate only, no amendments, and then tomorrow the first order of business will be taking up another rule on the defense authorization bill which will then make in order amendments. But for this evening, there will be no further votes if there is no vote on this rule.

I would ask the gentleman from Texas if it is his understanding that he does not intend to ask for a vote on this rule.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to ask for a vote on this rule. I know of no one on my side of the aisle who is going to ask for a vote on this rule.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, if we can then proceed with the debate on the rule, we do not intend to use much time on it and then we can go right to the general debate.

NOTICE OF INTENT TO OFFER MOTION TO INSTRUCT CONFEREES ON H.R. 2400, BUILDING EFFICIENT SURFACE TRANSPORTATION AND EQUITY ACT OF 1998

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1(c) of House Rule XXVIII, I hereby notify the House of my intention tomorrow to offer the following motion to instruct House conferees on H.R. 2400, Building Efficient Surface Transportation and Equity Act of 1998:

I move that the managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill, H.R. 2400, be instructed to insist that no provisions to prohibit or reduce service-connected disability compensation to veterans for smoking-related illnesses be included in the conference report on H.R. 2400 to offset spending for highway or transit programs.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1999

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 435 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 435

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 1(b) of rule XXIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3616) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1999 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel strengths for fiscal year 1999, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed two hours equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on National Security. After general debate the Committee of the Whole shall rise without motion. No further consideration of the bill shall be in order except pursuant to subsequent order of the House.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST), a very strong supporter of the defense budget, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 435 is a rule providing for general debate consideration of H.R. 3616, the Fiscal 1999 Defense Authorization Bill. The rule waives points of order against consideration of the bill and provides two hours of general debate only, which we will take up in just a few minutes. Further consideration of the bill will be governed by a rule that the Committee on Rules will report out later today.

This rule is necessary simply to get the ball rolling on this massive, complex bill which always requires a great deal of floor time.

Mr. Speaker, the annual defense authorization bill is without question one of the most important bills we consider in this body each year. In doing our business that sometimes seems routine, we should never lose sight of the fact that the number one duty of the Federal Government is the protection of national security and that is exactly what this bill is all about here tonight. As usual, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) and their staffs have done outstanding work, and I commend them and urge support for the rule so that they can get on with their business tonight.

Mr. Speaker, it is absolutely imperative that this bill contain adequate funding for our military personnel who are right now out in the field standing vigilant on behalf of all Americans all over this world.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that this bill set out the policies which are consistent with and seek to maintain the unique warrior culture of our military, and that is exactly what it is, it is a warrior culture and that is what it has to be, for without that we cannot win wars, and that is what militaries are for. Some people seem to have forgotten that over the course of years.

Mr. Speaker, to the best extent possible this bill does all of that within the budget restrictions we have to live by. I congratulate and I commend both the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) and again their staffs for their outstanding work on behalf of military preparedness.

At \$270.8 billion, this bill once again adds money to the President's annually inadequate defense budget request. Very importantly, the bill provides for the first time in 13 years an inflation adjusted increase in procurement spending. That means in being able to purchase the hardware that is going to give the best state of the art to young men and women that serve in the military today. This is exceedingly important.

This account provides for the weapons and equipment that we send our young men into battle with and it has been cut by nearly 70 percent since 1985. I will bet Members did not know that, did they? It is well past time that we reversed this trend.

These accounts contain adequate funding for the President's request of \$36 billion for research and development. Again, if we do not have the research and development, we will not have that state of the art equipment that will give our men and women the best. These accounts contain adequate funding for the weapons systems of tomorrow, such as the F-22 Stealth Fighter, the Marine Corps V-22 troop carrier, and the next generation of aircraft carriers and submarines. These

accounts also contain funding to bring us one step closer to developing and deploying defenses against ballistic missiles, something we may need even sooner if certain U.S. businesses continue to assist China missile programs with a wink and a nod from the Clinton administration, and we will be debating this at length during this upcoming debate.

This bill also contains, very importantly, a 3.6 percent pay raise for our military personnel and adds significant funding increases for the barracks, for the family housing and for child care centers. We have to keep in mind, Mr. Speaker, that when I served with some of my colleagues in the Marine Corps more than 45 years ago, almost all of us, noncommissioned officers, as I was, were single. Almost all of the commissioned officers were single under the grade of colonel. Today that is absolutely reversed. Therefore, it is imperative that we do provide housing and child care centers for our military in order to keep the kind of personnel that we want in the military.

Despite all of these excellent provisions in this bill, Mr. Speaker, let me go on the record once again as I have for several years now. We continue to provide inadequate, yes, I will repeat, inadequate funds for this Nation's defenses. Despite our additions to the President's request, this bill will represent the 14th straight year of inflation adjusted cuts to this budget. Our military is vastly smaller and it is older than during Desert Storm and, God forbid, if we had to go back and have the same kind of rearm go that we had in Desert Storm, we could not do it today and that means the men and women that we put in danger's way are going to be very, in very serious condition. Most experts agree, not just with me, that such a mission would simply be impossible today.

□ 2130

Worse, this smaller force is being asked to do more and more and more and more by the administration. We are bogged down in a fanciful nation-building mission in Bosnia. We also have a seemingly never-ending mission in Iraq.

And I support the Iraq mission, but my point is that our military is stretched almost to its breaking point, my colleagues. Our men and women are being asked to do too much, with less training, less support and with older and older equipment.

The predictable results are that the recruiters are unable to meet the quotas. If my colleagues do not believe it, they should go back into their districts and go and sit down with the Marine Corps and the Navy and the Army and the Air Force recruiters, and they will tell my colleagues that they are having trouble recruiting a real cross-section of America today.

Air Force and Navy pilots are resigning in droves today because they do not think that the career is there. Are they

going to be able to advance up the promotion ladder? And under today's military level of funding, the answer is no. They know they will be cashiered out at an early age and, therefore, how can they afford to stay in the military and still support their families? They cannot. And that is why we have to pass this bill today.

All this, as the world just gets more and more dangerous. We have a nuclear arms race going on right now in South Asia, aided and abetted by the increasingly aggressive Communist China, and we will debate that at length for about 4 hours tomorrow morning. The Middle East peace process is in deep trouble. Saddam Hussein, according to the U.N. weapons inspectors, continues to conceal his weapons of mass destruction capabilities, and North Korea remains as dangerous as ever.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, history has not ended and conflict among nations has not ceased, nor will it in my colleagues' lifetime and mine. But in order to deter conflict and to prepare for all contingencies, we need the strongest, best trained, best equipped and most ready military force that we can possibly have. We have had that, but have taken ourselves to the verge of squandering it over the past several years with these budget cuts.

For several years running, the Committee on National Security and the Committee on Appropriations have made valiant and worthy attempts to correct this increasingly dangerous situation by adding to the President's budget request. But it has not been enough. Mr. Speaker, somehow we are all going to have to figure out a way to get more money allocated to defense before we come to regret what we have done here on this floor over the years.

Despite all this, I nonetheless urge support of the rule and this bill as we debate through this week. It is vital legislation and it is simply the best we can do at this juncture. And once again I would commend the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. FLOYD SPENCE), the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. IKE SKELTON), and the Committee on National Security and their staff for the excellent work on bringing this bill to the floor.

Let us pass this rule quickly, get on to the general debate, and then get into the amendment process tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this is a noncontroversial rule which merely facilitates the work of the House. The Committee on Rules has also reported a rule which provides for the consideration of the amendments to the Department of Defense authorization for fiscal year 1999.

However, as in the years past, the Committee on Rules has recommended this separate rule providing for general debate on the DOD authorization in anticipation of another rule which will set the terms of debate on the many

substantive issues relating to the operations of the Department of Defense.

Mr. Speaker, there is a matter related to the consideration of this rule by the Committee on Rules I would like to call to the attention of the House. Last Thursday afternoon, just minutes before the Committee on Rules convened to consider this noncontroversial rule, the chairman announced from the floor that the committee would be considering two resolutions which had not been previously noticed to the committee. This chairman said these matters were being brought to the Committee on Rules solely because the Democratic leadership had earlier that day offered a privileged resolution relating to the conduct of the investigation on campaign finance by the chairman of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

Mr. Speaker, I only raise this issue because these matters were brought to the Committee on Rules with no notice to the Democratic members. The chairman of the committee, my friend the gentleman from New York (Mr. SOLOMON), did call the ranking member to inform him of his decision to bring these matters before the committee as emergency matters, but he did so only moments before going to the floor to make this general announcement, during which he said the committee was due to meet in 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I do not dispute the authority of the chairman to bring those matters that he chooses before the committee for its consideration. What I would merely like to point out is that the manner in which these resolution were brought to the committee only perpetuates a problem he is seeking to remedy.

That being said, Mr. Speaker, let me add that I have no objection to this rule providing for general debate on the authorization for the programs of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 1999, and I urge its adoption.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) be allowed to manage the rest of the time on this rule.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3½ minutes to the gentleman from Utah (Mr. HANSEN).

(Mr. HANSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this bill and of this rule as the minimum support necessary to meet our basic security requirements around the world. I sincerely hope that over the year we can begin to debate our responsibility in solving the many challenges facing our military.

With the passage of this bill, the Congress has joined the President in responsibility for underfunding the critical functions of national security. The duty now rests squarely with the Congress to provide sufficient resources for a strong and ready military force capable of meeting our global responsibilities while keeping faith with the men and women in uniform who sacrifice so much for this country.

I had hoped the President would lead on this issue, laying out the case for the American people that it is still a dangerous world and the United States must be prepared to lead and to act whenever our interests are at stake. I am not hopeful that he will.

The revelations of China's influence in White House policy and the very troubling transfer of missile technology to the Chinese military have gravely damaged our national security and may have ignited a new wave of proliferation and arms race throughout Asia. Meanwhile, at home, the President continues to put campaign promises and jobs in California ahead of complying with the base closure law and hundreds of millions of dollars in savings represented by the consolidation of excess capacity.

I do not expect too much leadership from a White House that promised a 1-year mission to Bosnia for a cost of \$1 billion, and now our military is stuck in an endless stalemate that will cost well over \$10 billion and even more in eroded military readiness.

That leaves it to us. It is the principal job of the Congress to provide for the national defense. We do not need a bigger Department of Defense, but we do need a more modern one with adequately supported professionals and clearly defined goals.

After 14 straight years of real decline in defense spending, it is long past time for a change. If we are to remain great and free and respected around the world, we need the courage and foresight to provide for a strong and ready force. George Washington warned that the only way to ensure peace was to be prepared for war. I am afraid today that we are prepared for neither.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CBO tell us the national military strategy is underfunded by nearly \$15 billion per year for the next 6 years. At less than 1 percent of the Federal budget and one-tenth percent of our GDP, I ask each of my colleagues, if we cannot afford this investment now, when times are good and we have the first balanced budget in a generation, when will we afford it? Let us commit what modest investment in national defense will be included with debt reduction and family tax cuts as we reprioritize Federal expenditures under a budget surplus.

Our military readiness is already broken. Retention and recruiting are at nearly all-time lows. Morale is falling. The only thing holding our military together is the tireless effort, dedication, patriotism and self-sacrifice of the men and women who volunteer to serve in

our armed forces. They can only bear this burden so long before health, safety and family fall victim to relentless operational tempo.

I salute these people and thank them for all they do. We owe it to them to show our full support before we ask the last full measure of their devotion. I hope we in the Congress can show that kind of leadership.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO).

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I think it is unfortunate that we are having and will have the debate tonight on the largest single expenditure of the government of the United States, late at night with virtually no Members in attendance.

Further, it is unfortunate that as the bill moved forward, that there were two copies of the report on this bill available in the anteroom of the committee for the 435 Members of the Congress. If any Member wanted to attempt to develop an amendment, they could have gone down and sat in the anteroom and tried to pore through the hundreds of pages of the bill, because the amendments were due on Thursday and the reports were issued to the Members' offices today. I think that is equally unfortunate.

And what we can expect from that is that many vital issues will not get the scrutiny that they should have on the floor of the House of Representatives or in the Congress.

Procurement reform. No one can argue that the procurement system of the Pentagon works well. The scandals are still there. If it is not toilet seats, it is screwdrivers. If it is not screwdrivers, it is fasteners. If it is not fasteners, it is whole weapon systems that do not work.

These things should be adequately reviewed. But profits come before efficiency, or even come before national security, and certainly come before the troops.

We are not going to address effectively in this bill the fact that 15,000 enlisted families are eligible for food stamps in the military. The small across-the-board raise given in this bill is not going to boost those families up above that level.

We are not going to effectively address the much more cost-effective alternative of the National Guard as an alternative to full-time standing military for the defense needs of our country. We are still going to short the National Guard in this bill.

People say, well, there is not enough money to go around. Well, the Pentagon is spending a lot of time pushing some other big programs that are of dubious value, another generation of attack submarines. When the last one, *Seawolf*, was launched, a senior chief said, "Now, if we could just find somebody to fight with." Well, now we are going to develop another generation of

submarines, even more sophisticated, even though there are none as sophisticated as the last ones we are still launching.

We are still going to invest \$3.8 billion in ballistic missile defense, some of it oriented toward theater defense to defend our troops, but some of it still following the fantasy launched by Star Wars \$50 billion ago with not yet one successful test. There will be no amendments on that issue here on the floor of the House. There will be very little discussion of that issue here on the floor of the House.

These are things that deserve scrutiny. These are things that should have amendments oriented toward them. But the process that was adopted here, two reports available, amendments due by Thursday, reports issued today to Members, did not lead to that and the debate late at night does not either.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The gentleman from Oregon, I know he is getting ready to leave the Chamber, but I think he needs to be aware, because he is probably going to be embarrassed by the fact that he was not, that hundreds of copies of the committee print were available a week ago Monday. Last Monday a week.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MCINNIS. I will not yield.

Mr. DEFAZIO. If the gentleman will yield.

Mr. MCINNIS. I have not yielded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) has the time.

Mr. DEFAZIO. That is an inaccurate statement.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask for order on the floor. I have time on the floor.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) has the time.

Mr. MCINNIS. Furthermore, I would advise the gentleman that over 100 amendments have been filed. So what I would surmise from this is that a number of our colleagues have determined that this is a very open process. They have taken the time to file over 100 amendments.

The fact that the gentleman from Oregon neglected to do this or neglected to watch the schedule, he should not then come down here on the floor and say that this rule is not fair.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO).

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, my staff contacted the committee. They were told two copies were available in the anteroom. Beyond that, we know that the process is preloaded.

I have just reviewed the list of amendments that are being allowed. There is not one single amendment that would cut \$1 from any program. There is not one single amendment

being allowed that would review the efficiency or the effectiveness of the procurement program.

This has been going on for years here on the floor of the House. Members can take the amendments up there and they will not be allowed to talk to them on the floor. The only amendments here on the floor are going to be amendments that enhance the spending under this bill.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume once again to correct. I mean the gentleman from Oregon makes it sound like there were lots of amendments up there to decrease spending and none of them were allowed on the floor.

Only one amendment was filed, Mr. Speaker. Only one amendment. I think we need to show the whole story, show the whole picture here before we reflect upon our colleagues some kind of Committee on Rules that is theoretically disorderly and not fair. It is eminently fair.

This rule has had over 100 amendments. We are going to have lots of debate in the next few days. And, quite frankly, the gentleman needs to be a little more accurate, in my opinion, in regards to the action the Committee on Rules has taken.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. THURMAN).

Mrs. THURMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I also want to take this opportunity to thank the chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), and the ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), for what I see as a very important issue that has been included in this authorization bill, which is to extend the national mail order pharmacy program to Medicare eligibles.

□ 2145

While Congress has authorized a mail-order pharmacy program and allowed retirees who live near those areas that the bases have been designated to be closed, they are allowed to participate, but this has left out hundreds of thousands of other brave, retired servicemen and women who have continued to be locked out of this process.

Currently, this program does not include the vast majority of our Nation's Medicare-eligible military retirees. That is why last year I introduced some legislation, H.R. 1773, to expand the mail-order program to all Medicare-eligible military retirees. This measure has been supported by both the Air Force Sergeants Association and the Army Retirement Council, both of which have worked tirelessly on this issue.

I would also like to point out that the hard work of one of my constituents who serves on one of these committees, Mr. Ebitz, first brought this issue to my attention.

The legislation before us today will require that the DOD submit a plan to Congress by March 1, 1999. This plan must provide for a system-wide redesign of the military mail-order pharmacy system, which includes a system-wide drug benefit for all beneficiaries, including Medicare-eligible beneficiaries.

I think the DOD and this Congress have an implied moral commitment to provide this care to all military beneficiaries. By supporting the expansion of the mail-order program, we can send a clear message that the passage of time does not either erase the service of our military retirees and what they have given to us nor our Government's obligation to their well-being.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, may I ask how much time is remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). The gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) has 17 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. FROST) has 22 minutes remaining.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. TAYLOR).

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to speak against this rule and the rule that will come up tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, about \$18 billion of our Nation's money, most of it coming from the Department of Defense, is spent on the war on drugs. In February, to my knowledge, we had a special forces aid team in Colombia training the Lance Arrows. I visited that group a week before the Lance Arrows were ambushed. Out of 125, I think 18 straggled back. The rest were killed or captured.

We also have Seals down there. We have E-3s flying. We have P-3s flying. We have surveillance C-130s, one of which was shot up by the Peruvians. An American airman fell to his death I think 11,000 feet out of the plane.

The point that I am trying to make, Mr. Speaker, is that I offered an amendment to the Committee on Rules to require all Department of Defense employees to be tested for drugs. Because we have some Department of Defense employees, particularly our uniformed personnel, who are literally putting their lives on the line as we speak. So should we not know that all of the people within the Department of Defense are pulling for the same team?

The uniformed military personnel and some civilians are required to be drug tested. We know from conversations that have been intercepted from the drug lords that they know when the planes are flying, they know when the ships are patrolling; and I suspect there are some people within the Department of Defense that are giving this information away.

Is it for money? Is it for drugs? I think we deserve to know. And I think the American people deserve a Depart-

ment of Defense, as a matter of fact, the American people deserve a Federal workforce that is drug free. And the best way to see to it that that happens is to allow drug testing as a condition of employment.

That is why I must express my deep anger that every single Republican member of the Committee on Rules voted against bringing this amendment to the floor. I do want to congratulate my Democratic colleagues who voted for that. But that is one of the 100 amendments that should have been voted on. That is why I will be voting against the rule both tonight and tomorrow.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

The amendment of the gentleman sounds good. I think the amendment has a lot of merit to it. However, this amendment was offered last year. It is going to be addressed at the Committee on Government Oversight and Reform. Other committees are going to take a look at it. That is a more appropriate location.

I would urge my colleague to go ahead and support the rule. That is what is going to allow us some good debate.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

This is the rule for general debate only. We will have the opportunity tomorrow to consider a rule which will provide for the consideration of various amendments. I urge the adoption of this rule, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I also urge that we pass this bill. We are going to have appropriate time for general debate this evening. The next few days are going to be consumed on the issue of defense. It is absolutely critical.

I think the good congressman, the gentleman from the State of Utah (Mr. HANSEN), stated it very well in his remarks. He quoted George Washington, "The best way to be prepared for peace is to be prepared for war."

I think these are key issues. I think both sides of the aisle have a lot of keen interest in seeing that our defense is strong and appropriate. And, therefore, I urge the first step in this process, and that is passage of the bill. I urge a yes vote.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HEFLEY). Pursuant to House Resolution 435 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 3616.

The Chair appoints the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CAMP) as chairman

of the Committee of the Whole, and requests the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PEASE) to assume the chair temporarily.

□ 2153

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 3616) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1999 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel strengths for fiscal year 1999, and for other purposes, with Mr. PEASE (Chairman pro tempore) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore, Pursuant to the rule, the bill is considered as having been read the first time.

Under the rule, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) each will control 1 hour.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE).

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, on May 6, the Committee on National Security reported H.R. 3616 on a bipartisan vote of 50-1. Although this kind of support may leave everyone with the impression that all is well with our military and that crafting this bill was easy, the truth was far different.

Caught between an international geopolitical environment that requires an expansive United States national security strategy and a domestic political environment bounded by declining defense budgets locked in place by the Balanced Budget Act, the Committee is left to figure out how best to manage risk; and there should be no illusions about the level of risk associated with the problems that our military confronts in carrying out its mission.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff recently assessed it as moderate to high. Thus, our actions in this bill are intended to protect as best we can those programs that will help lower the risks to our national security interests by improving readiness, enhancing quality of life, and increasing the pace of which the rapidly aging equipment is modernized.

When the fiscal year 1999 defense budget is measured by any of last year's Quadrennial Defense Reviews three central requirements for the U.S. military, shaping the international environment, preparing for uncertain future or responding to the crisis of war, it is inadequate.

Despite the Nation's extensive national security requirements and the administration's heavy use of the military all over the world, the fiscal year 1999 defense budget continues for the 14th consecutive year a pattern of real decline in defense spending.

The President's budget request represents a 1.1 percent decline from cur-

rent defense spending levels and is \$54 billion short of even keeping pace with record low inflation over the next 5 years. The spending levels authorized in this bill are almost 40 percent lower than those of little more than a decade ago and, in fact, represent the lowest level of inflation-adjusted defense spending since before the Korean War.

Earlier this year, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Nation's military leaders, testified that their fiscal year 1999 budgets contained shortfalls of more than \$10 billion. Over the 5-year defense plan, the Chiefs of Staff testified that their shortfalls amounted to more than \$58 billion.

Mr. Chairman, I will submit a summary of the shortfalls identified by the Service Chiefs along with my statement.

Unfortunately, it is not hard to appreciate why the unofficial motto of today's military is "doing more with less." Force structure and resources continue to decline, while missions continue to increase.

Since 1987, active duty personnel have been cut by more than 800,000.

Since 1990, the Army has been reduced from 18 to 10 divisions.

Since 1988, the Navy has reduced its ships from 565 down to 346.

Since 1990, the Air Force has reduced its fighter wings from 24 down to 12.

And since 1988, the United States military has closed more than 900 bases and facilities around the world and 97 bases and facilities here at home.

At the same time, our military is shrinking, operations around the world are increasing:

Between 1960 and 1991, the Army conducted 10 operational events. In just the last 7 years, they have conducted 26 such operational events.

In the 7-year period from 1982 to 1989, the Marine Corps participated in 15 contingency operations. However, since 1989 and the fall of the Berlin Wall, they have participated in 62 such contingency operations.

Similarly high operation national tempos are also impacting the Navy and the Air Force.

The threats and challenges America confronts around the world today and the resulting pressures they have placed on a still shrinking United States military have been underestimated by the administration and by many in Congress. At this critical point in history, the mismatch between the Nation's military strategy and the resources required to implement it grows larger every day. Consequently, a wide range of quality of life, readiness and modernization shortfalls have developed. If left unresolved, these shortfalls threaten the viability of today's all-volunteer force, risk a return to the hollow military of the late 1970s and jeopardize America's ability to effectively protect and promote its national interests around the world.

And these are not just my own personal conclusions. They reflect a con-

sensus view held by the Committee on National Security's senior leadership on both sides of the aisle.

Back on April 22, I joined the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. Skelton) and the committee's senior Republican and Democrat members in publicly calling upon the President and the congressional leadership to provide for increased defense spending in the face of these worsening military shortfalls.

The letter we signed stated, in part, and I will read from that:

Despite several years of aggressive Pentagon reform, it is apparent that even if the most optimistic estimates of reform-generated savings materialize, they will fall far short of adequately addressing underfunded quality of life, readiness and modernization requirements as well as the inevitable deployments in the years ahead. Having just concluded our initial oversight hearings on the fiscal year 1999 defense budget request, it is our collective judgment that, short of an unwise retrenchment and overhaul of United States national military strategy, fixing the Nation's long-term defense program will require increased defense spending. Without additional defense resources to reverse the 14-year pattern of spending decline, the military services will be unable to stabilize their shrinking force structures, protect quality of life and readiness and modernize rapidly aging equipment.

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Mr. Chairman, I will submit a copy of the complete April 22 bipartisan letter along with my statement.

Despite the Committee on National Security's attempt to manage the growing risk, we can only make improvements at the margin in the absence of additional defense resources. The magnitude of the shortfalls is so great that they cannot be eliminated simply through a wiser allocation of resources contained in the President's request.

By reprioritizing the President's request, the committee has provided the military services some of the tools they need to better recruit and train quality personnel, better train personnel to the highest possible standards, and better equip them with advanced military technology.

At the same time, the committee has tried to provide those who wear their uniform and their families with a quality of life more commensurate with that of the American citizens they are sworn to protect. As a result of these improvements, H.R. 3616 received strong bipartisan support in committee and should receive the same in the full House.

Nonetheless, every Member of the House should be deeply troubled that 14 years of a shrinking military and declining budgets have left the world's only superpower running a moderate-to-high risk when it comes to protecting and promoting its national security interests around the world.

Mr. Chairman, I will leave discussion of the many specific initiatives in the bill to my colleagues on the Committee on National Security who have worked very hard since February to get us to

the point here tonight. However, I would like to recognize the hard work of the subcommittee and panel chairman and ranking members. Their leadership and bipartisan approach to issues have permitted the committee, even without additional resources, to significantly improve upon the administration's request in this bill.

I would specifically like to single out and thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the committee's new ranking member, for all of his help, support, and hard work. The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) is not only a relentless advocate for a strong military defense, he works very hard to ensure an open committee process. His handiwork is evident in the overwhelming bipartisan support H.R. 3616 received in the committee.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank the staff for their enormous dedication and effort. While the staff is usually the first to get the blame, they rarely receive any of the credit. All

you have to do is take a look at the size and complexity of this bill to understand the importance of the committee staff to the defense authorization process.

Mr. Chairman, I urge support of this bipartisan bill.

Mr. Chairman, the material I referred to is as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY,
Washington, DC, April 21, 1998.

MEMORANDUM FOR HNSC MEMBERS

From: Chairman Floyd D. Spence

Re: unfunded requirements of the military services

During the committee's March 12, 1998 hearing, I asked each of the four service chiefs to identify all underfunded or unmet quality of life, readiness and modernization requirements in the five year budget plan and to estimate how much it would cost to fully fund these requirements over the next five years.

The lists that the services forwarded reveal substantial underfunded requirements. In fiscal year 1999 alone, these shortfalls total

over \$10 billion; for the five-year period ending in fiscal year 2003, the shortfalls amount to over \$58 billion. Moreover, if you study the chiefs' responses, I believe a compelling case can be made that the shortfalls may be understated. It is particularly troubling that these shortfalls have been identified at a time when the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (BBA) has set defense spending at levels that continue the fourteen year trend of real decline for the next five years.

It is also interesting to note that the five-year defense budget plan called for in the BBA falls more than \$54 billion short of keeping pace even with today's record low inflation (see attached chart). And, were inflation to increase even modestly to historical averages, the five-year plan could fall short of inflation by as much as \$100 billion.

The attached table presents the underfunded or unmet requirements by service in each of the next five years. Should you require additional information or have any further questions, please contact Andrew Ellis (5-9648) or Dino Aviles (6-0533) on the committee staff.

Attachments (2)

MILITARY SERVICES UNFUNDED PRIORITIES

[millions of current year dollars]

	Fiscal year—					Total
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	
Army:						
FY 99 Contingency Ops (Bosnia)	1,390.0					1,390.0
MIL-Tech Restoration	36.5					36.5
Real Property Maintenance	463.5	500.0	500.0	500.0	500.0	2,463.5
Base Operations	500.0	500.0	500.0	500.0	500.0	2,500.0
ARNG & USAR OPTEMPO	199.8	250.0	250.0	250.0	250.0	1,999.8
Military Pay	120.0					120.0
MILCON	214.4					214.4
Soldier Life Support	72.1					72.1
Embedded Diagnostics (TMDE)	39.5					39.5
Comanche (2nd prototype acceleration)	24.0					24.0
Crusader	11.5					11.5
AFATDS	20.7					20.7
HMMWV	65.7					65.7
Apache 2nd FLIR	50.3					50.3
Command and Control	22.5					22.5
Engineer Equipment	46.9					46.9
Demonstration of New Technology	39.8					39.8
Tactical Vehicles and Trailers	92.7					92.7
Family of Medium Tactical Vehicles	88.0					88.0
Blackhawk Helicopters (8 for ARNG)	78.5					78.5
C ³ Equipment	92.9					92.9
Apache Longbow (training devices)	40.2					40.2
Small Arms	41.8					41.8
Javelin	37.9					37.9
Test Equipment and Facilities	10.0					10.0
Ammunition Production Base	39.3					39.3
Test Equipment and Range Improvements	34.6					34.6
Depot Maintenance		400.0	400.0	400.0	400.0	1,600.0
Training and Support		350.0	350.0	350.0	350.0	1,400.0
Ammunition, Force XXI, night vision, soldier modernization, combat support/combat service support, and C ³		2,000.0	2,000.0	2,000.0	2,000.0	8,000.0
Critical Modernization (Abrams tank, Bradley FV, Apache Longbow 2nd gen FLIR, digitization)		1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000.0	4,000.0
Army total	3,873.0	5,000.0	5,000.0	5,000.0	5,000.0	23,873.0
Navy:						
Aviation Spares	45.0					45.0
OPTEMPO (Steaming days for mine warfare)	20.0					20.0
Ship Depot Maintenance	90.0					90.0
Real Property Maintenance	391.0					391.0
Reserve Pay (ADT & ADSW)	20.0					20.0
TOMAHAWK Missile Recertification	27.0					27.0
Shipbuilding (CVN-77 and ADCX)	550.0					550.0
Aircraft Procurement (E-2C and A1P)	143.0					143.0
MILCON-OOL and Other	273.0					273.0
RDTE&E (Aviation Programs)	45.0					45.0
LANTIRN Pods	8.0					8.0
Submarine equipment and RDTE&E	94.0					94.0
Ship Self Defense systems	30.0					30.0
CVN RDTE&E (technology insertion)	33.0					33.0
Cooperative Engagement Capability (CEC)	20.0					20.0
IT-21 Procurement and O&M	143.0					143.0
O&M-OOL (BEO furnishings)	10.0					10.0
O&M-Other (NSIPS, ATMs, Recruiting)	93.0					93.0
STANDARD Missile Procurement	48.0					48.0
Family Housing	53.0					53.0
Shipbuilding Rates		600.0	600.0	600.0	600.0	2,400.0
Aircraft Procurement Rates		750.0	750.0	750.0	750.0	3,000.0
RDTE&E (next generation combatants)		400.0	400.0	400.0	400.0	1,600.0
Recruiting, Training and Retention		400.0	400.0	400.0	400.0	1,600.0
MILCON		700.0	700.0	700.0	700.0	2,800.0
Navy total	2,136.0	2,850.0	2,850.0	2,850.0	2,850.0	13,536.0
Marine Corps:						
Personnel Support Equip/Initial Issue	64.0					64.0
Other Personnel Education and Training	2.6					2.6
Family Housing	82.1					82.1
MILCON-OOL	100.7					100.7
USMCR OPTEMPO & ADSW	6.7					6.7
Recruiting & Advertising	22.4	30.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	142.4

MILITARY SERVICES UNFUNDED PRIORITIES—Continued
[millions of current year dollars]

	Fiscal year—					Total
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	
Depot Maintenance	20.7					20.7
Base Operations Support	10.4					10.4
Operating Forces Support	16.1					16.1
Miscellaneous Readiness Activities	23.0					23.0
Aviation Modernization (MV-22, AV-8B, etc)	290.5	750.0	750.0	750.0	750.0	3,290.5
Ground Equipment Modernization	265.4	650.0	650.0	650.0	650.0	2,865.4
Amphibious Equipment Modernization (LCAC)	32.8					32.8
Real Property Maintenance	72.0	120.0	132.9	102.8	95.5	523.2
MILCON—Other	74.0	176.0	181.0	143.0	141.0	715.0
Personnel Mgmt & Other	2.6					2.6
Increase Equipment Maintenance		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	400.0
Total Marine Corps	1,086.0	1,826.0	1,843.9	1,775.8	1,766.5	8,298.2
Air Force:						
Spares	219.6	295.8	311.5	240.9	208.8	1,276.6
Depot Maintenance	182.4	121.9	168.7	198.2	208.2	879.4
Engines	274.4	321.7	254.6	221.9	231.8	1,304.4
Training	73.3	59.5	60.8	62.1	63.4	319.1
Technical Orders	24.0	57.5	38.4	29.5	26.2	175.6
Real Property Maint	363.0	424.0	499.0	608.0	508.0	2,402.0
Base Operating Support	294.4	205.9	170.6	172.5	189.9	988.3
Aircraft Systems	157.3	157.3	166.5	182.3	255.5	918.9
Space Launch Ranges	28.3	24.3	32.3	33.4	22.2	140.5
MILCON—Readiness	310.6	272.3	231.3	216.2	209.8	1,240.2
War Reserve Material	64.0	13.0				77.0
MILCON—OOL	464.4	439.9	416.2	410.8	411.1	2,142.4
Communications	96.4	99.7	99.1	85.5	87.4	468.1
Special Purpose Vehicles	50.0	52.8	46.9	41.7	42.6	234.0
Air Force Total	2,557.1	2,545.6	2,495.9	2,503.0	2,464.9	12,566.5
Total, All Services	9,652.1	12,221.6	12,189.8	12,128.8	12,081.4	58,273.7

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY,
Washington, DC, April 22, 1998.

Hon. WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH, Speaker of the House.

Hon. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, House Minority Leader.

Hon. TRENT LOTT, Senate Majority Leader.

Hon. TOM DASCHLE, Senate Minority Leader.

DEAR SIRS: The fiscal year 1999 defense budget request represents the fourteenth consecutive year of real decline in defense spending that has occurred under Administrations and Congressional majorities of both parties.

The fall of the Berlin Wall brought with it an opportunity to reduce the nation's Cold War defense structure. We believe, however, that the threats and challenges America confronts today and the resulting pressures they have placed on a still shrinking U.S. military have been underestimated. At what we believe to be a critical point in history, the mismatch between the nation's military strategy and the resources required to implement it is growing. Consequently, a wide range of quality of life, readiness and modernization shortfalls have developed that, if left unchecked, threaten the long-term viability of today's all-volunteer force. Compelling our men and women in uniform to "do more with less" risks a return to a hollow military and jeopardizes America's ability to effectively protect and promote its national interests around the world.

Make no mistake, the men and women who serve in uniform today comprise the finest military force in the world. They are truly America's best and brightest. It took almost a generation following the Vietnam War to build the force that quickly and decisively won the Persian Gulf War just seven years ago. Yet as the pace of military operations increases against a backdrop of declining resources, we must recognize that our all-volunteer force is under stress. We need to take better care of our men and women in uniform.

Despite several years of aggressive Pentagon reform, it is apparent that even if the most optimistic estimates of reform-generated savings materialize, they will fall far short of adequately addressing underfunded quality of life, readiness and modernization

requirements as well as the inevitable deployments in the years ahead. Having just concluded our initial oversight hearings on the fiscal year 1999 defense budget request, it is our collective judgment that, short of an unwise retrenchment and overhaul of U.S. national military strategy, fixing the nation's long-term defense program will require increased defense spending. Without additional defense resources to reverse the fourteen year pattern of spending decline, the military services will be unable to stabilize their shrinking force structures, protect quality of life and readiness and modernize rapidly aging equipment.

In the context of the first federal budget surplus in three decades and today's strong economy, we call on you, the nation's bipartisan political leadership, to reopen negotiations on the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 in order to provide for a sustained period of real growth in defense spending. We understand that other issues would be part of any such agenda. However, the inevitable result of adhering to an agreement that ensures declining defense budgets indefinitely will be the hollowing of the U.S. military. Because we believe that to "provide for the common defense" is the federal government's first, and most important, responsibility, we stand ready to work with you to ensure that America maintains a military befitting our nation's superpower status—a military that remains second to none.

Sincerely,

FLOYD D. SPENCE,
Chairman, Committee on National Security.

DUNCAN HUNTER,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Military Procurement.

CURT WELDON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Military Research and Development.

HERBERT H. BATEMAN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Military Readiness.

JOEL HEFLEY,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Military

tary Installations and Facilities.

IKE SKELTON,
Ranking Member, Committee on National Security.

NORMAN SISISKY,
Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Military Procurement.

OWEN B. PICKETT,
Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Military Research, and Development.

SOLOMON P. ORTIZ,
Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Military Readiness.

NEIL ABERCROMBIE,
Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities.

GENE TAYLOR,
Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Military Personnel.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the House, I rise to offer my support and make the following observations on H.R. 3616, the National Defense Authorization Act For Fiscal Year 1999.

Allow me, first, to congratulate the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) for his commitment to having the work on the committee carried on in a bipartisan fashion, as was reflected as such in this bill. Not only did he and I work together on a number of issues, but the staff that worked for the minority had numerous occasions to work with the staff on the majority to influence and improve the overall product of this bill. Overall, this truly was a bipartisan effort and can be best summarized

by the overwhelming support that the bill received in the committee, 50 votes for with only one against.

This will also be the last time, Mr. Chairman, that the gentlewoman from California (Ms. HARMAN) and the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MCHALE) will participate in these deliberations. I want to thank them for their fine work over the years and their contributions to the work in this committee. Their presence will certainly be missed.

As we begin consideration of this bill, let me underline the point that this year we are operating under the restrictions of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. The totals on defense were agreed to by both executive and legislative branches last summer. As a result, the overall total for the defense budget today, \$270 billion in budget authority, which we handle on our committee, is as much a reflection of congressional priorities as it is of executive priorities.

As a result of that agreement, the task of trying to address the many issues affecting the Armed Forces has become much more difficult to manage this year than in past years. Over the past 3 years, the committee and this Congress added funds to defense. We did not have that option this year and worked within the confines of the Balanced Budget Act of 1997.

Let me try to set the scene a bit as we consider this defense bill. The fallen Berlin wall in 1989 and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union 2 years later brought with it the end of the Cold War. It also brought with it the opportunity to substantially reduce both the size of our Armed Forces and reduce the burden of defense expenditures on our Nation.

In 1989, we had over 2.1 million active duty service members in an Army of 18 divisions, a Navy of over 540 ships, and an Air Force of 24 fighter wing equivalents. Today, the military is about 1.4 million active duty service members in an Army of 10 divisions, a Navy with 315 ships, and an Air Force with 20 fighter wing equivalents.

The percentage of Gross Domestic Product, the GDP, devoted to defense in 1989 was 5.7 percent. For the current fiscal year, we are spending 3.2 percent of the Gross Domestic Product on defense. Next year will be 3.1 percent, the smallest share we will have spent on defense since 1941 when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor.

I cite these figures simply to highlight the point that, with the end of the Cold War, we made substantial reductions in both the size of our Armed Forces and the burden of defense spending. It was proper to do both.

Since the end of the Cold War, we have had five different reviews of our defense structure.

Our current defense strategy is a subset of our national security strategy. As described in the Quadrennial Defense Review, our defense strategy calls for shaping the international en-

vironment in ways favorable to United States interests, responding to the full spectrum of crises when it is in our interest to do so, and preparing now for an uncertain future.

In short, Mr. Chairman, we are trying to deal with the problems of today in anticipating the needs of tomorrow. It is the right strategy to have at a time of change and uncertainty.

However, as we have reduced the size of our forces since 1989, we have also increased the pace of our military deployments. This is serious. An Army cut almost 40 percent since 1988 has experienced a 300 percent increase in its operational pace. An Air Force that has undergone similar personnel reductions has experienced a fourfold increase in its operational pace.

Each of the services is struggling with a task of adjusting the size, composition, mission of its forces to deal with the implications of operating in this more demanding post-Cold War environment.

Our Armed Forces today are ready. However, if we keep up the current pace of operations and deployments, we may not be ready 5 years from now. Let me just say again, I believe we were right to reduce our forces and defense spending when the Cold War came to an end. I also believe we are right to have a defense strategy that promotes our involvement in the world.

But I believe that we may have reduced the size of our forces and the size of the defense budget a little too much. I believe we have a mismatch between the demanding goals we have set for ourselves and the resources we are willing to spend to obtain those goals.

That is why, about a month ago, senior committee leaders of both parties wrote the President and senior leaders in this Congress that the current strategy required increased defense spending.

Because of the changed economic conditions in which we find ourselves, I believe we should place an increase in defense spending on the national agenda. I believe that we can increase defense spending without having to reduce domestic spending; that we can increase defense spending and also reduce the national debt; that we can increase defense spending by also saving Social Security. But we will also have to arrive at a new national consensus to do so.

The world is still a complex, ever-changing, and dangerous place. In many ways, yesterday's solutions have spawned today's problems. The challenges we face are numerous: the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the intentions and actions of rogue states, the threat of terrorism, the possible emergence of China as a hostile power in the 21st century, the uncertain future of Russia, drug trafficking, the security of our information systems, regional hot spots, and last, but not least, humanitarian crises.

We have an opportunity to promote a more peaceful, prosperous, and stable

world than those of us who lived through the troubling middle years of this century would ever have thought possible. However, we must be vigilant and remain engaged abroad. An important part of that engagement effort is a properly sized, trained, equipped, and ready military to protect our national interests.

As we consider this bill, I hope my colleagues will keep these concerns in mind. Despite the constraints of the Balanced Budget Act, I believe we have fashioned a pretty good bill.

We have provided a pay raise of 3.6 percent, half a percent more than the Department of Defense requested, supported the Department's requested real increase in the procurement budget for modernization, and maintained strong support for the cooperative threat reduction program, which is very important, to accelerate the dismantlement of former Soviet strategic offensive arms that threaten our country.

One important matter that I want to highlight concerns a report the committee has requested by the Department on Counterterrorism and Defense against the use by terrorists of weapons of mass destruction on United States territory.

Since 1994, Congress has expressed increasing concern about this threat. It is a very difficult, complex issue requiring Federal, State, local efforts, and coordination. Our effort is simply one more step to try to deal with the issue in a comprehensive fashion. Much work has been done in this area, and much more needs to be done. My concern is that we do so in a well-planned, well-coordinated effort at the State, Federal, and local levels.

In addition to the report, I will co-sponsor, Mr. Chairman, an amendment with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) addressing this important anti- and counterterrorism issue.

In a defense bill recommending \$270.8 billion in budget authority, there were, of course, issues of contention. The decision to include two recommendations of the Kassebaum-Baker panel on gender-integrated training stirred one of the most substantive debates at both the subcommittee and full committee mark-up sessions. I did not support including those recommended in our bill.

As one who believes that we need to provide for a sustained period of real growth in defense spending, I believe that we undermine our case by funding unnecessary programs and weapons. In our bill, we have added seven C-130s that were neither requested by the Pentagon in its budget request nor even placed on the services' unfunded requirements list. At the same time, we did not fully fund the administration's request for the F-18 E/Fs, which the Navy has told us is their number one requirement.

Despite these flaws, overall, this is a good bill.

I will defer to other members of the committee on both sides to discuss the many important initiatives found in

this bill. They have worked hard, and I compliment all of the members of the committee. Those on our side of the aisle have been very, very cooperative, and they have worked very hard. This is especially true of the subcommittee and panel chairman and ranking members.

Allow me to thank the staff who so ably assist us. Their dedication and expertise and capacity for hard work, Mr. Chairman, cannot be underestimated.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER), the Chairman of our Subcommittee on Military Procurement.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), chairman of the full committee, who wrapped this package together along with his counterpart, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), and commend them for doing more with less this year.

I want to thank also the wise gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SISISKY), who is my good partner on the Subcommittee on Military Procurement, for all the work that he did.

Having thanked those gentlemen, Mr. Chairman, let me say that this has been a thankless year for this committee, because we have been forced to preside over the decline of America's defenses, a very dramatic decline.

Anyone who looks at this chart and looks at the various functions, mandatory outlays which have increased from 1991 to fiscal year 2001 by over 38 percent, domestic discretionary outlays, that includes all the social programs that have increased some 15 percent in that same period of time.

Finally, look at defense going down 33 percent over that period of time. We understand that we have reversed our priorities and that we no longer consider the security of this Nation to be the number one priority. That mistake we have made in the past, my friends; and, in the past, it has cost American lives.

□ 2215

If we get specific, we can talk about the reductions in force structure that we have made. We have gone down since Desert Storm from the 18 Army divisions we had to only 10 today, the same number of divisions we had when South Korea was invaded in 1950; we have gone down from 24 to 13 fighter air wings, cut our air power almost in half; and we have cut our ships from 546 ships to about 333 ships.

At the same time, we have put enormous strain on our people, and we are losing our people. The other day, when I had a chance to go up with the C-5 refueling with some of our great Air Force personnel and had a chance to talk with some of those personnel about whether or not they wanted to stay in the Air Force, the answer that all of us got back was disturbing, because we are projected to be 835 pilots short this year. And it is not just a

money problem. It is a fact that we have such a small force now and such major obligations around the world that our pilots are not able to spend that graduation with their daughter, or go to their son's wedding, or do the other things that the men and women in uniform like to do, that is, to have a family life. So we are dropping down radically on personnel.

The Commandant of the Marine Corps told us a couple of months ago that at times he has had the highest OPTEMPO, that means the most Marines staying the longest time away from home since World War II. You can go right through the personnel problems and see that we are in fact approaching that time in 1979 when, as a guy in San Diego, I could look at our naval personnel and see that we had 1,000 chief petty officers a month leaving the Navy. That was a dramatic problem. We are approaching that same problem today across the array of military services.

Now, with respect to our modernization accounts, this account is about \$60 billion less in real dollars than it was in the 1980s. That means we are using tanks, planes and ships much longer than we used them in the past. We are running out their lifetime. As a result of that, we have grounded some 907 Huey helicopters because they are not safe to fly anymore. We are building five ships this year. We are building to a 200 ship Navy. Just a few years ago we had almost a 600 ship Navy, and none of our projections for projecting the American power and foreign policy have lessened. So we have dramatically cut the national security budget.

We had just a few cents to spend on what I call platform items this year. We bought a few Blackhawk helicopters, two F-16 fighters, probably fewer F-16's than Sweden is going to buy this year, and just a few other platforms. That is all we could afford to add to the budget this year. We are buying some 66 total tactical aircraft, and that is in fact about 1½ times the buy that Switzerland made a couple of years ago on aircraft.

So we are rapidly disserving our military people in a most critical way. That is, we are not giving them the equipment they need to do the job. That is just as important as giving them pay, giving them quality of life, giving them good living quarters. So, Mr. Chairman, we can a lot with the few dollars that we had this year.

I want to thank all of the folks that worked so hard on the other side of the aisle, all of our staff members. I hope the House will pass this defense budget, and then come back to raise the top line, spend more on defense, and give us more security.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SISISKY).

Mr. SISISKY. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, let me say to our distinguished chairman, the gentleman

from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), I appreciate everything he has done. Of course, to our ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), and, of course, my chairman of the Subcommittee on Procurement, the gentleman from San Diego, California (Mr. HUNTER), my sincere thanks.

It is strange, this is my 16th bill, and it is very strange what we are doing. We are not talking about a lot of things that happened in the bill. What we are talking about is why we are short in the bill. I am not opposed to that, because I am going to say the same thing, after I talk a little bit about the procurement bill.

Before I do that, let me ask all of my colleagues to support this defense authorization bill. It is not a perfect bill, but it is about as perfect as we can make it within current budget limitations. As ranking member of the Subcommittee on Military Procurement, I am all too aware of how budget limits impact procurement.

Let me just pick two items. I am delighted that we were able to fund the advance funding for CVN-77, which is a transition carrier between the CVX, the last of the Nimitz carriers. My biggest concern, however, on the other side, is we had to cut 36 F-18 E/Fs from the Navy.

We have reduced this program so much that these reductions threaten to postpone the initial operational capability and first deployment, yet this aircraft is on time, under budget and meeting all performance specifications. Even these marginal reductions will force the unit costs up by \$2.4 million for each of the remaining 27 aircraft. I completely understand why this reduction is made, but I cannot help but think there might have been a better solution, and I appreciate the commitment of the gentleman from California (Chairman HUNTER) to look for a better solution in the conference.

Other than that, all Members should realize their requests for additional funding totalled about \$6 billion. Even with the shifting of funds from other accounts to the procurement account, we were only able to come up with less than \$1 billion.

Nevertheless, this bill authorizes \$49 billion for procurement, an increase of \$2.8 billion over last year, and \$300 million more than the President's request. Despite these small gains, there remains very serious shortfalls, as shown by the unfunded priority list submitted by the military services. These shortfalls occur in all DOD accounts, and most of our chairmen and ranking members have written the leadership, as you heard, in both houses, maybe even asking to open the 1997 budget agreement.

The reason is we really are in danger of having a hollow force. Our military and civilian leaders persist in saying that our forces are "adequate" or "barely adequate." I am concerned, however, that words like "adequate" or "barely adequate" are not good enough

to send our young warriors into harm's way. My concern is that over the last 14 years, so this is bipartisan now, of declining defense budgets, we have cut so deep that we simply may not be good enough to meet current threats with an acceptable level of risk.

Our problem is that procurement, readiness, training and other things that contribute to effective military operations are on very thin ice, and I worry that the risks we take because we do not have enough money in the defense budget will come back to haunt us. I worry we may not wake up until we suffer some disaster, like when the hostage rescue fell apart in 1980, or when our positions were overrun during the early stages of Korea.

I worry that their can-do attitude will lead our young men and women to stand up and salute, even when we assign a task for which they are not adequately equipped or trained, and they have done that before.

The bottom line is that it took a bipartisan effort to get us in this hole, and I think it will take a bipartisan effort to get us out.

So I ask all of my colleagues to support this bill, which is the best we can do under the circumstances. But I also ask you to ponder the risk of cutting national security this close to the bone. In my opinion, this budget is no longer "adequate" or "barely adequate." We already passed that point a year or two ago.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield four minutes to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. HEFLEY), the chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities.

Mr. HEFLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have always felt that the Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities has been the most bipartisan committee that I have seen since being in the Congress, and I think this year the full committee has indicated that they, too, are a very bipartisan committee, and has produced a product, which, while we are not totally satisfied with it, at least it is a product that I think every Member should support in a bipartisan way.

I rise to support H.R. 3616, the National Defense Authorization Act for 1999. It is a bipartisan bill, it deserves strong bipartisan support, and I want to spend just the few brief moments that I have available to highlight the military construction aspects of this legislation.

The Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities continues to be deeply concerned about the serious shortfalls in basic infrastructure. We are all talking about shortfalls, and they are there, and every single subcommittee chairman and ranking member will probably mention this, in military housing and other facilities that affect the readiness and training of the Armed Forces and the quality of life for military personnel and their families.

The budget requested by the administration for 1999 continued a pattern of

significant deterioration in funding programs by the Department of Defense for military construction. Overall, the administration proposed 7 percent less in military construction's accounts than one year ago, and 15 percent less than the program authorized by Congress. Yet the military services continue to provide testimony and other evidence that their needs are not being met adequately by the administration's program.

Based on the record, it is clear that the construction programs of the services would need to be at least twice as large as they currently are to begin to address the backlog of serious shortfalls in facilities. The evidence that antiquated, obsolete, overused inadequate facilities and military housing are an impediment to effective training and readiness and to the assurance of decent quality of life for military personnel is clear to anyone who would care to examine the record built by the subcommittee.

Earlier this year, in response to a question from the gentleman from South Carolina (Chairman SPENCE) about their unfunded requirements, the service chiefs provided a list of shortfalls across the broad spectrum of need. The unfunded MILCON requirement identified by the chiefs is \$7.6 billion. The recommendations the committee brings to the House today will help alleviate a portion of the backlog and critical shortfalls.

H.R. 3616 does not go as far as I would like. The fiscal constraints faced by the committee prevented us from providing as much in the way of additional resources as we have over the past three years. This bill, however, contains an additional \$450 million in added funding for military construction and military family housing, which would permit us to buy back about one-third of the administration's \$1.4 billion cut in the MILCON top line. Given the condition of facilities and the needs identified by the services, it is not enough, but I believe we will make good use of these limited funds.

The bipartisan bill would provide an additional \$183 million for quality of life enhancements. These funds would provide additional military family housing, troop housing, child development centers, fitness centers and other community support facilities that are integral to the support of military personnel and their families. In addition, it would provide additional funding for military construction to support the training, readiness and maintenance requirements of the active and reserve components.

In closing, I want to express again my appreciation to the members of the subcommittee, especially the ranking Democrat member, the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE), for their contributions to this legislation. This is truly a bipartisan effort, as I stated at the outset, and I urge all Members to support H.R. 3616.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. PICKETT).

Mr. PICKETT. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the committee chairman and the members and staff for the balanced and responsive bill we have before us. This bill has been thoughtfully and carefully put together within the constraints of a defense budget that continues to decline in purchasing power.

In any undertaking of this kind, the defining of and the adherence to a system of priorities is absolutely essential for a realistic and responsive program. My comments will relate primarily to the research and development part of this bill.

The investment for basic research and for science and technology programs has been maintained at current levels. It is widely acknowledged that these basic research and technology programs have been the crucial component in developing and fielding technologically superior weapons systems that have given our military forces a decided advantage over their adversaries.

In spite of the success in developing and fielding improved weapons systems and weapon systems upgrades, there is a constant struggle to appropriately and adequately prepare our forces for the unpredictable and speculative battlefield of the 21st Century. The Army is continuing development of its top priority new weapons systems, the Crusader Self-Propelled Howitzer and the Comanche helicopter. The Navy is moving ahead with the DD-21 destroyer, the follow-on to the Nimitz aircraft carrier, and a new class of attack submarine.

□ 2230

The Air Force is reaching the end of its development of the F-22 and is moving forward along with the Navy and Marine Corps in the development of the Joint Strike Fighter. These visible priority programs point the way to the military of the future. Nevertheless, the pursuit of lighter and more lethal weapons, the development of speedier and more stealthy equipment, and the quest for successful leap-ahead technologies continues.

The Department of Defense has said many times that if our forces are called into combat, we do not want a fair fight. We want our forces to have a clearly superior capability, both in weapons systems and technology. That is the direction in which this bill continues to move our defense program, although I must say that the move is at a slower pace than I believe is desirable.

The committee and committee staff have been alert and diligent in reallocating resources to higher priority and more timely projects. Additional support has been provided to missile defense programs in an effort to make certain that these programs are not resource constrained. With alarming reports of continuing advances by other

nations in missile technology, every effort must be made to develop and deploy workable and defensible missile defense systems on behalf of our Nation at the earliest possible time.

The level of readiness of our military forces continues to be the subject of intense debate and discussion. After thoughtful and careful consideration of a wide variety of materials and testimony, I am persuaded that the readiness of our military has indeed declined. This is an ominous sign at a time when the shortfall for funding the procurement necessary to modernize our forces is approaching a deficiency of 25 percent of the amount needed. It is time for the Congress to provide more resources to our military.

Mr. Chairman, within the limits of the 1999 level of resources available to our committee, I believe the defense program incorporated in this bill is as robust and effective as can be devised. For this, I compliment the committee and our staff and encourage all Members to fully support H.R. 3616.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ORTIZ).

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I rise in strong support of H.R. 3616, the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1999. I want to specifically address the provisions in the Act relating to military readiness.

First, I would like to express my personal appreciation to the Subcommittee on Readiness leadership and to my colleagues on both the subcommittee and the full committee for the manner in which they conducted the business of the subcommittee this session. I want to specifically thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), my chairman, and the ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON). Although the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BATEMAN) is not with us today, I want to express my appreciation for his personal involvement and the extraordinary steps that he took in getting us to where we are.

We had the opportunity to see the readiness through a different set of eyes, the eyes of the brave soldiers, sailors and airmen who are entrusted with the awesome responsibility of carrying out our national military strategy. We heard them talk about the shortage of repair parts while we were conducting hearings throughout the continental United States, and the extra hours spent trying to maintain old equipment, and the shortage of critical personnel. While we in this body might differ on some policy and program objectives, we on the subcommittee were able to get a better appreciation of the challenges that these brave souls faced in trying to do more with less. For their effort we can all be proud. I personally remain concerned about how long they will be able to keep up the pace.

The readiness provisions in the bill reflect some of the steps I believe are necessary with the dollars available to make their task easier. It does not provide all that is needed. I would be more pleased if the migration of O&M funds to other accounts did not take place. Much more could be used. I remain perplexed when I reflect on the impact that the resource shortages are having on every facet of our military. That includes the stability of our dedicated civilian employees who are also being asked to remain productive while at the same time the department appears to be trying to take away their jobs.

Mr. Chairman, I share the comments that have often been repeated by our subcommittee members and other Members that readiness across the board is in bad shape, and we need to do something about it. At the same time, I believe that the readiness provisions represent a step in the right direction. I would hope that as we continue through the passage of this bill and go into conference with the Senate, that we will continue to search for opportunities to increase the resources available for the readiness accounts. I ask my colleagues to support this great bill.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Jacksonville, Florida (Mrs. FOWLER), the vice-chair of the Subcommittee on Readiness.

(Mrs. FOWLER asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 3616, the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1999, and I want to especially thank our Chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE) and ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for their strong commitment to national defense and for the bipartisan manner in which they fashioned this excellent piece of legislation.

In its continuing effort to assess force readiness, this year our committee once again conducted a series of field hearings at various military installations throughout the country to hear from our operational field commanders and senior noncommissioned officers from all the military services. The overwhelming impression left with the committee was of a force working harder, longer, and with fewer personnel than ever before. Funding and forces continue to shrink while demands of the job increase.

For example, the Army has conducted 26 operational events, now these are actions other than routine training and alliance operations, since 1991, compared to only 10 during the preceding 31 years. The Marine Corps has conducted 62 contingency operations since 1997, compared to only 15 such operations since 1982 to 1989. These increases in operational tempo are occurring at the same time that the Army has been reduced from 18 to 10 divi-

sions, the Navy is on a track to eliminate nearly 250 ships, or almost 45 percent of the fleet, and the Air Force has been reduced from 24 to 12 fighter wings.

Among the disturbing problems identified in the committee's hearings and investigations were indications of a growing shortage of spare parts which has led to the increased cannibalization of frontline equipment, combat systems being operated at a pace that requires far more extensive maintenance and repair, and the deterioration of facilities where personnel live and work to levels below acceptable standards.

Mr. Chairman, these are indicators of broader trends throughout the force that are raising doubts about present and future readiness. To address many of these issues, H.R. 3616 includes provisions to increase funding for critical readiness areas, including depot maintenance, replacement spare parts and real property maintenance. Because there are no additional funds to pay for these increases, the committee had to reprioritize several of the nonreadiness related administrative and support accounts.

Now, according to senior Pentagon leaders, readiness is at acceptable levels, or readiness is as good as it has ever been, yet when we go out in the field and talk to individual military members, we hear a very different story. To get at these discrepancies concerning the condition of our armed forces, H.R. 3616 contains provisions that require DOD to expand and improve its readiness reporting system. I believe these and other provisions found in this bill will provide necessary up-to-date readiness information to the senior leadership of the Pentagon and to Congress, and will offer visibility into readiness deficiencies before they can become full-scale breakdowns.

Now, there is one other point I would like to make. The committee has recently heard from the Secretary of Defense and the entire Joint Chiefs of Staff emphasizing the importance of fully funding the Operations and Maintenance budget to ensure readiness. Now, although I emphatically agree that readiness must be kept at the highest possible level, it is important to stress that not all of the operations and maintenance budget is directly tied to military readiness.

Of all the major elements of the defense budget, perhaps the least understood is the O&M account. At \$94.8 billion, O&M funding accounts for the largest share of the President's defense budget request for fiscal year 1999, and it is traditionally considered the readiness account. But the O&M account, or more precisely, accounts, includes much more than critical readiness spending. In addition to paying for day-to-day military operations, training, supply and equipment maintenance, O&M funds administrative functions, environmental restoration, cooperative threat reduction efforts, humanitarian

assistance, and many other programs. Now, whatever the merits of these other programs, they are related only marginally to the readiness of U.S. forces to fight the Nation's wars. In fact, only about one-half of the total O&M account is directly related to readiness.

After a thorough subcommittee review of the administration's O&M budget request for fiscal year 1999, I am convinced that it is riddled with accountant-inspired gamesmanship designed to inflate the O&M top line and create the appearance of an administration fully committed to funding readiness. H.R. 3616 addresses the under-funding of critical readiness accounts by realigning funds from non-readiness accounts.

Mr. Chairman, frankly, I would prefer to be taking up legislation that would provide more funding for defense than is authorized by this bill. Fiscal year 1999 will represent the fourteenth year in a row in which real defense spending declined, but given the budget constraints under which we have to operate, I believe H.R. 3616 goes as far as it can to ensure that the Defense Department receives the resources necessary to provide for the most important readiness requirements for our military forces.

Mr. Chairman, let me close by thanking the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Readiness, my good friend, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BATEMAN) who was recuperating from surgery during markup, but whose good counsel was invaluable to me as I stood in as acting chairman, as well as the ranking member the gentleman from Texas (Mr. ORTIZ), for his outstanding leadership and for his contributions and his good friendship. The Subcommittee on Readiness had to deal with several difficult issues transcending political lines, and our task would have been far more difficult if not for the expertise and assistance of these 2 distinguished Members and the cooperation of all of the subcommittee's Members.

I urge my colleagues to vote "yes" for the bill.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. TAYLOR).

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, a while back I was visiting the honors class at Hattiesburg High School. One of my students asked me that in my capacity as a member of the Committee on National Security, "What are you? Are you the cheerleaders or the critics for America's military?" And my answer to her was, we are both.

The cheerleader in me wants to report that I think we did the very best we could with what we had. The critic in me wants to point out that I do not think this Congress as a whole is appropriating enough to our Nation's defense.

I hear on a daily basis some of my colleagues come to the House floor and say, well, we are pretty close to bal-

ancing the budget, so let us give our wealthiest contributors a big tax break. Some of my other colleagues come to the House floor and say, well, we are almost balancing the budget, so let us pass a whole bunch of new social programs. They are both wrong.

The highest priority of this Nation has to be to defend this Nation, the States can do almost everything else, and I am troubled that we are not doing it well enough. I am also troubled that of the 5 people who put together the defense budget, I am sorry, the overall budget for this Nation, the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget in the House, the Chairman of the Committee on the Budget in the Senate, not one of them has spent one second in the uniform of our country. It does not surprise me that they do not think this is important. They never did.

We have to ask ourselves, what is going to be our legacy? President Jefferson has the legacy of sending Lewis and Clark out to chart the American West and the Louisiana Purchase as a result of it. Earlier in this century an America that thought they could do anything anywhere built the Panama Canal.

What is this committee's legacy? I am sorry to say it is treading water. Treading water because we know we have an op tempo problem and yet we could not find the money, the rest of the Congress would not give us the money to properly budget the use of the Guard and Reserve so that we could give some of the standing force a break.

We know we have health care problems, not only for active duty, but for our retirees. We know we could fix that with Medicare subvention for about \$2 billion a year, yet the rest of the Congress will not let us do that.

□ 2245

Every single American over the age of 65 now gets health care, but those people who were promised it in return for serving their country for 20 years, they are being turned away at the base hospital for lack of funds. That is not right.

A brilliant plan was put together by our Armed Forces for a mail order pharmacy plan for our retirees, and for lack of funds it will not be put into effect.

There are still 12,000 fine young Americans in uniform who have to get food stamps in order to feed their kids. That is wrong. It costs about \$100 million to fix it, yet the rest of the Congress will not give this committee the money to fix it.

Let me make this perfectly clear. I think this committee is bipartisan. The people who care about the military are on this committee. Whether they are Democrats or Republicans, they care. The problem is, what is happening with the other 435? Where are they

for the thing that should count the most? Where will they be when someone launches a biological attack on our Nation and we are not ready to respond?

If Members do not think it could happen, they should pick up a book called *The Cobra Event*. Our Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General Wesley Clark, made his staff read it because it is so believable.

What is good about the bill? Something that I think is important is we are going to return to separate gender training at the basic level. A kid going to boot camp goes from being a high school senior, where he is on top of the world, to suddenly he cannot do or she cannot do anything right. They are, in my opinion, at their most vulnerable. When they are at their most vulnerable, we do not need them being led by a sexual predator. By separating the sexes, by separating the gender of the people running them through boot camp, we can minimize the opportunity for that to go wrong. We can get our drill instructors back to doing their job and our troops going back to basic training.

We restore the funding for the Youth Challenge Program, a beautiful program by the National Guard that takes at-risk youth between the ages of 16 and 19 years old and gives them a General Equivalency Diploma. They go through a boot-camp-type environment and get themselves drug-free. To date, on a nationwide basis, 96 percent of those kids have gone on to get a job, join the American military, or further their education.

As the Chairman, the gentleman from California (Mr. HUNTER), pointed out, we have done as good as we could on procurement: stepped forward funding for LST8, 3 DDGs and some Navy vessels.

But, again, as he mentioned, there are 900 Huey aircraft that we will not allow to fly because we are afraid that they and the crews in them will fall out of the sky, because the rest of this Congress is not putting forward enough funds to defend our Nation.

Mr. Chairman, we have to ask ourselves, what will be our legacy as Members of Congress? We are only here for so long. We need to do the best we can with what we have.

My challenge to all of us, Democrats and Republicans, is not to fight with each other but spread the message to the rest of the Congress that this has to be our Nation's greatest priority, because nothing else matters if we cannot defend ourselves.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), chairman of our Subcommittee on Military Research and Development.

(Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, first of all, let me thank our distinguished committee chairman,

who is one of our outstanding leaders in this body on issues involving national security and support for our troops and our veterans, and the ranking member.

The two of them are a dynamic team. They work together. They both come from the same common perspective on the defense for this Nation, and they really set the right tone for the committee. It is because of their leadership that we had a 50 to 1 vote to get our bill out of committee, and most of our subcommittees likewise had very solid votes in reporting out their portions of this bill, so I want to applaud both of them and all the members of our committee who work so well together on the issue of our country's national security.

Mr. Chairman, I rise for this brief period of time to say that, unfortunately, I think we are facing a train wreck unlike any that we have seen, certainly in the 12 years I have been in Congress and I think really in the history of this country, involving national security. The train wreck is being caused by, unfortunately, a number of things coming together all at one time. I think it is going to peak at around the turn of the century.

I want to go through that briefly. The American people have been led to believe that we are spending so much more money on defense today than we have in the past. I use a simple comparison. When John Kennedy was President, it was a time of relative peace. It was after Korea and before Vietnam. We were spending 52 cents of every tax dollar on the military, 9 percent of our GNP. In this year's budget we are spending 16 cents of the Federal tax dollar on the military, about 2.9 percent of our GNP on defense. So, in fact, the relative percentage of total Federal dollars on the military has dwindled dramatically. This is the 14th consecutive year of real cuts in defense spending.

Unfortunately, as that defense number comes down, some other things have happened. First of all, in John Kennedy's era, we had the draft. Young people were taken out of high school, they served the country for 2 years, and they were paid far below the minimum wage. They were not married. They did not have the expenses a married person would have.

That is not the case today. We have an all-volunteer force, well-educated, maybe with college degrees, many married and with children, education costs, housing costs, transportation costs to move these families around the world, so a much larger percentage of that smaller amount of money goes for the quality of life of our troops.

Mr. Chairman, we know we are always going to fund quality of life for our troops. But some other things have occurred since the John Kennedy era. In the last 6 years alone, Mr. Chairman, we have seen our troops deployed 25 times at home and abroad. That is a lot of deployments.

Let us compare the last 6 years to the previous 40 years, where our troops were only deployed 10 times. In these 25 deployments in the last 6 years, while defense spending has gone down dramatically, none of those deployments have been budgeted for. So to pay for all those deployments, Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia, and the domestic deployments here at home, we have had to take money out of the modernization of the next generation of equipment to support our troops. We have had to rob the R&D accounts. In fact, Bosnia alone will have cost us, by the end of this fiscal year, \$9.4 billion.

We are facing a crisis, Mr. Chairman. We do not have the money to put into modernization. We do not have the money for R&D. The President says, close more bases. We are not going to get around to base closing because the process was politicized 3 years ago.

All of this happens at a time when, in the year 2000, we are being asked to fund a new aircraft carrier, a new attack submarine, DD-21s. We are being asked to fund three new tactical aviation programs, the F-22, the joint strike fighter, and the F/A-18 E&F, the Comanche for the Army, the V-22 for the Marine Corps. We are being asked to fund national missile defense, theater missile defense systems, none of which are properly budgeted. For the Army after next, digitize the battlefield, and give the Navy the spy war system they need to get on the cutting edge of technology. In addition, we are being asked by the Defense Science Board to put \$4 million more into information warfare, and we are being asked to put more money into antiterrorism.

Mr. Chairman, all of those factors add up to disaster. By the turn of the century, if this Congress does not begin to address defense in a realistic way, this country is going to be in for a rude awakening. In fact, some of our generals are already telling us, as we had General Tilelli come in and General Prueher of the U.S. Pacific Command. U.S. Pacific Command reported deficiencies in six of the eight measured areas that they have responsibility for. The Navy's U.S. Pacific fleet has only 73 percent of the young sailors it needs.

There is an almost 10 percent shortage in Navy noncommissioned officers. The Hawaii-based fleet lacks 1,900 sailors who have key technical skills. The Air Force units in the Pacific area, a serious manning shortage, which we can correct in the short term.

We do not have enough spare parts. We have some air wings where one-third of the planes are not flying because we have cannibalized them to keep the other two-thirds flying. This same pattern exists for both the Army and the Marine Corps.

Mr. Chairman, we are doing the best we can this year in an impossible budget situation, but this Congress had better understand that if we do not change direction and begin to put some additional dollars into the defense of this

country to modernize and take care of our R&D needs, or if we do not begin to reduce the deployment level, or get our allies to put more money on the table to pay for these deployments, we are going to face I think one of the most politically damaging situations that this country will have ever faced involving national security.

I urge my colleagues to pay attention to this debate tomorrow on this bill.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES).

Mr. REYES. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise tonight in support of this bill. I want to thank both the gentleman from South Carolina (Chairman SPENCE) and the ranking member, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), for their hard work to produce the best budget possible in this time of ever-increasing defense budgets.

Although I believe the committee produced a good bill under the circumstances, I also believe this Nation is not providing enough for national defense. If we continue on the course set out in the balanced budget agreement, the national security of this Nation will be jeopardized. This is the 14th straight year of real declines in the defense budget. The fiscal year 1999 defense budget request represents the lowest real level of U.S. spending since before the Korean War.

Although I do not endorse a \$400 billion budget like those of the 1980s, I do believe that this budget and the ones planned for the next 5 years are critically insufficient to maintain a strong military with a decent quality of life for the personnel and high-tech weapons needed to protect our country and defeat any enemy.

Not only is the funding level too low, but the size of our force is insufficient for all of the missions they are being required to accomplish. As an example, Army deployments have increased 300 percent since 1989. The Army is currently funded at 488,000 soldiers. The budget request only provided for 480,000. How can we expect the Army to handle an increase of 300 percent with these continued decreases in the end strength?

At a time when the Army deployments are the highest in history, I believe it is ill-advised to endorse decreasing the end strength of our Army. Our Army is losing outstanding young men and women, both enlisted and officers, because they are away from home far too often. When they are home, they are required to work long hours and not spend quality time with their families. Because of the strain and the pressure, many choose to end marriages or, as an alternative, to save marriages by leaving the service.

Our soldiers should not be forced to make such unacceptable choices. It appears that the United States military operations throughout the world are

not decreasing. As such, reducing the end strength of the Army can only exacerbate this problem.

I am one of those many current and former soldiers who believes that the Army should be maintained at a minimum level of 500,000. Of course, this strength level also requires an increase in the Department of Defense budget.

I also want to remind this Congress of our duty to protect our military personnel. Although the Cold War has ended, new and different threats have emerged. It is our duty to ensure that the weapons systems to protect our soldiers in the field are sufficiently funded.

One of the greatest current and future threats is from weapons of mass destruction delivered on short- and medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles. Countries throughout the world are working feverishly to develop or procure the technology to deliver these types of weapons.

We talk about our concerns with North Korea, Iran, Iraq, and Libya, but what about other countries? India's actions last week should serve as a wake-up call that there are other nations to watch and that countries may be closer to obtaining the technology than we are aware of. We must continue to support theater missile defense programs to ensure that we deploy systems to defend against these threats as soon as possible.

I believe that my colleagues should support this bill before us, but I also urge this Congress and the administration to work together and increase the budget for the Department of Defense.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. RODRIGUEZ).

(Mr. Rodriguez asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Mr. Chairman, let me, first of all, thank the gentleman from South Carolina (Chairman SPENCE) for giving the opportunity to me to serve on that committee, and also to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. IKE SKELTON) for allowing me also to work with him.

Let me just share two concerns that I have with the existing bill, and I think they are very important. One of the first ones is the fact, and I was real disappointed that the Committee on Rules did not allow an opportunity for the language that would have struck out the segregation language that exists in the bill. I think we have a real serious problem in that particular bill if we are going to segregate women. We are going in the wrong direction in that area.

□ 2300

When we talk about separate but equal, it was not equal for blacks, and I can assure my colleagues that it is not going to be equal for women. There is a need for us and I would ask the leadership to ask the Committee on Rules to reconsider that opportunity.

If not, then I would ask the leadership and the conference committee that as they go into the conference with the Senate, that they strike out that language because I think it is very detrimental.

When we hear the arguments as it deals with the separate but equal doctrine and what we want to do with women in the military, I think that I hear what I used to recall back in the 1960s, when we talked about co-ed education in our universities and some of the same language, and it is unfortunate that that is the case.

I want to also share with my colleagues an additional concern that I have as it deals with cost. I know we have had a great number of individuals come up here and talk about the need for more resources. We also need to look in terms of the language and what it is in there.

Number one, I want you to look very specifically as it deals with the C-17 language. That particular language, number one, sets a very negative precedent. Number two, it is extremely costly, and number three, when it comes to readiness, puts us in danger. I want to be able to share a little bit with you when it comes to the President.

At this particular time, the language that we have there begins to tell the Department of Defense what should be core and what should not. As you well know, the last time we did the piece of legislation, we indicated that that is the responsibility of the Department of Defense, not the Congress. I think we are setting a very negative precedent.

Secondly, as it deals with cost, one of the estimates is \$500 million in terms of the cost just by that particular amendment alone in terms of what it is doing, not to mention that if you begin to move the C-17 work from the private sector where it is right now into the depots, we are going to have a situation that it might be up to \$1.5- to \$2 billion in cost. So I would ask you seriously to look at that language and be able to take that into consideration when you make those decisions.

Thirdly, I think we are all concerned about readiness so that if, as we move, and if you look at that language on the C-17, when it comes to the readiness issue, it really sets a situation in which the depots are not ready to deal with that. They have not been working with that. As Members well know, one of the engines is a commercial engine on the commercial flights, and moving them towards that would be extremely costly and, in terms of readiness, is going to cause a situation where it might take a year and a half to 2 to 3 years before we would even be capable, not to mention the cost of \$1.5- to \$2 billion, so that as we talk about cost and our concerns regarding readiness and regarding other options, we also need to look at the existing language that is extremely detrimental.

I would ask that you consider those options as we move forward as it deals with the language on the C-17 and

again on the previous item that I had talked to you on the segregation of the armed forces and not allowing the women to have equal opportunity. If we expect them to be able to participate, they should be able to practice.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today to express concern with a provision in the Defense Authorization bill regarding the maintenance of the C-17 cargo aircraft. The provision added in committee will significantly increase the costs of maintaining the C-17 by potentially billions of dollars. This increased cost will likely reduce the procurement of future C-17 aircraft, decrease Air Force readiness and airlift capability, and force the Air Force to hire more acquisition personnel. The C-17 is essential for our nation's sustained global power projection and the future backbone of our expeditionary force.

Specifically, the bill preempts the Secretary of Defense's authority to determine what systems of the C-17 must be maintained in-house, abrogating the depot provisions adopted in last years defense bill. The C-17 provision structures weapons systems support without regard to Air Force readiness requirements; hobbles partnerships and competition essential for maximizing limited budgets, and delays defense acquisition reforms.

For years Congress called on the Department of Defense to implement acquisition reform. The C-17 program is a prime example of the Department's acquisition reform advances in significantly reducing the life cycle costs of new aircraft. However, this bills restrictive C-17 provision will reverse those advances. In addition, last years authorization bill attempted to reduce the Department of Defense's acquisition workforce, or "professional shoppers," by 25,000. However, this bill would require the Air Force to hire hundreds more of professional shoppers rather than streamlining the bureaucracy.

Other fiscally irresponsible aspects of the C-17 provision discourage public-private partnerships that would save taxpayers millions of dollars while maintaining a high mission-capable rate for the C-17. The bill forces the Air Force to waste more than \$500 million to create in-house maintenance capabilities before an intelligent decision can be made on this new weapon system. In addition, the engine on the C-17 is a commercial engine developed for the Boeing 757. To create an in-house capability for the engine, which the authorization would, would cost the Air Force between \$1 billion and \$2 billion for the purchase of propriety data alone.

In today's constrained defense budget, we cannot expect the Department of Defense to come up with billions of additional dollars to maintain the C-17 in an antiquated manner that doesn't capitalize on the strengths of both the public and private sector and advances in manufacturing. The C-17 was efficiently designed to be maintained on the flight line to reduce maintenance costs. The billions of dollars the C-17 provision would likely decrease procurement of future C-17 aircraft. This is totally unacceptable.

In closing, Congress should not preempt the warfighter on the decision of maintenance of the C-17, the C-17 provision will force the Air Force to spend billions on the tail instead of the essential tooth, and the measure will have a detrimental impact on readiness.

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would like to add a word or two. Out of this early general debate this evening, it does appear that there is a bipartisan consensus in favor of doing better for our national security. It is a matter of resources. It is a matter of spending. In this good bill, we have, as has been said, we have done well with what we had, but I think there is that growing understanding that we need to place national security at the top of the list, and I hope that this debate has brought the attention to the other Members of this body as well as to those others who are interested.

I have a couple of other messages, Mr. Chairman. One is to the, if they were here in front of me, parents of the young men and young women in uniform. I would tell them that they should be so very, very proud of what their family members are doing. They are professionals. They are dedicated. Their operational tempo at times is horrendous, and yet they are doing what their Nation is calling upon them to do without complaining as committed young Americans. So I would tell them, Mr. Chairman, that I and all of us on this committee thank them for their efforts.

Mr. Chairman, if the young people in uniform were sitting here watching us this evening, I would have a message for them as well. My message to them would be to stay the course. If they are in the Navy, steady as you go, because they are so very, very important to the future of our country, to the national security of our country, to where we are as the world leader bringing stability to the various corners of this globe. I would tell them not to get discouraged. I would tell them that sooner or later they will write some brilliant pages in the history books of this country. Those would be my two messages, Mr. Chairman. I am proud of the young folks in uniform. I hope they stay the course, not to get discouraged but to know how so very, very important they are.

I again thank the members of this committee, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), the Chairman. This has been an absolute thrill for me to be the ranking member on this committee, and I appreciate the courtesies that he has extended to me personally and that the entire committee has extended to those of us on this side of the aisle.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this bill. The Committee has worked hard to develop a good, bipartisan bill, and I commend our chairman and ranking member for their leadership.

The Cold War is long gone, Mr. Chairman, but the world is still a dangerous place. Look at the nuclear tests last week in India. Look at the advanced ballistic missiles under development in Iran. Dangers can emerge anywhere, and with little warning. I think this bill reflects a determination to maintain our position of strength within that uncertain world.

No bill is perfect, and this bill is no exception. Consider the fact that our military is finding it increasingly difficult to get permission to use forward bases. This calls for an increased emphasis on power projection.

To me, that means the B-2 Bomber, which can strike any target in the world from Whiteman Air Force Base, Missouri, within 24 hours. It also means the Super Hornet, which offers a leap ahead in naval aviation attack capabilities over the aging planes on carrier decks today. But the B-2 production line has been allowed to close, and three Super Hornet aircraft were cut from the request this year.

I think we could have done more to increase the efficiency of the Defense Department—to squeeze savings out of the bureaucracy that we could use for more modern weapons systems. I know that this body takes defense reform seriously, though, and will continue to pursue it, if not in this bill.

I am particularly troubled by a couple of signals this bill sends to women.

First, it perpetuates the policy of barring women serving overseas from using their own funds to obtain legal abortion services in military hospitals. Women who volunteer to serve in our Armed Forces already give up many freedoms and risk their lives to defend our country. They should not have to sacrifice their privacy, their health, and their basic constitutional rights to a policy with no valid military purposes.

Second, the bill prejudices its own congressionally-created commission studying basic training and instead forces the services to segregate men and women.

Such a requirement is premature, may affect unit cohesion and readiness, and will not address the serious problems of sexual misconduct and harassment confronting the services.

The segregated training provision is opposed by the Army, Navy and Air Force. All believe that the best way to train soldiers, sailors and airmen is to "train the way we fight." That means in integrated units.

As Navy Vice Chief of Staff Admiral Pilling testified before the Personnel Subcommittee, if men and women do not learn how to live and work together during basic training, are the confined quarters aboard ship the next-best place? I think not.

The provision is also opposed by the top enlisted men of all four services, including the sergeant major of the Marine Corps, Lewis G. Lee.

And implementing the segregated living requirements required with the bill is expensive—\$159 million for the Army alone. It is deeply troubling that, at a time of increasingly scarce resources, the Committee has opted for this expensive and unnecessary course of action.

Lastly, Mr. Chairman, in my view, the long term consequences of this provision will be to roll back opportunities for women in the military. It will reduce training resources for female recruits. And it will not reduce the incidents of sexual harassment and misconduct.

Nearly 50 years ago, the Supreme Court told us that "separate but equal" is inherently unequal. Mr. Chairman, I regret the Committee has failed to recognize this admonition.

Ms. GRANGER. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of the 1999 National Defense Authorization Act. I particularly want to thank Chairman SPENCE, Procurement Sub-

committee Chairman HUNTER, and Research and Development Subcommittee Chairman WELDON for their very hard work to produce a bill that meets the needs of our armed services at a time when overall defense spending is in its fourteenth year of real decline.

H.R. 3616 conforms to the defense spending limits established in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. However, I share Chairman SPENCE's and the defense community's concerns that these funding levels are inadequate to meet the increasing number of threats to our national security.

If you question the need to strengthen America's defenses, just take a look around the world:

Unstable and unfriendly nations around the world are developing medium and long range missile capabilities that directly threaten U.S. forces deployed abroad, and may pose a threat to the continental U.S. in the near future.

India and Pakistan are engaged in a nuclear arms race that could destabilize all of South Asia.

U.S. forces are still in Bosnia, with no end to that operation in sight.

And, Saddam Hussein is continuing to ignore the terms and conditions that Iraq agreed to at the end of the Persian Gulf War.

Moreover, serious personnel problems are emerging throughout the services. Readiness has been sacrificed as the size of our military has been reduced. Morale and retention are low as quality of life issues are ignored or postponed in order to pay for ongoing operations.

Our military is nothing without our brave service men and women, and they need to know they have this Congress' strong support.

Strong support also means the best weapons available. This is why it is so important that the committee included funding for two F-16s, eight V-22s, two F-22s, and continued R&D for the multi-service, multi-role joint strike fighter.

Many members may not realize that procurement of new weapons systems have declined by 70 percent over the last decade. These are the very weapons that were crucial to winning the Persian Gulf War. This is why it is essential to maintain the F-16, which is the workhorse of the Air Force's fighter fleet, and to proceed with procurement of innovative new planes like the V-22 and the F-22.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I strongly support passage of H.R. 3616, and I want to thank Chairman SPENCE, and the other subcommittee chairman, once again, for all of their hard work on this legislation.

But, I also want to warn my colleagues that our national security cannot be taken for granted. Current defense levels cannot be sustained at the funding levels contained in the budget, and we cannot wait for a crisis situation to revisit this issue.

I am looking forward to working with Chairman SPENCE, and other concerned members, to improve the condition of our armed forces and to ensure that our military remains the best fighting force in the world.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). All time for general debate has expired.

Under the rule, the Committee rises. Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. MORAN of Kansas) having assumed the chair, Mr.

PEASE, Chairman pro tempore of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3616) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1999 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel strengths for fiscal year 1999, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

PROVIDING FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3616, NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1999

Mr. SOLOMON, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (H. Rept. No. 105-544) on the resolution (H. Res. 441) providing for further consideration of the bill (H.R. 3616) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1999 for military activities of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel strengths for fiscal year 1999, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

THE ALL-AMERICAN RESOLUTION

(Mr. YOUNG of Alaska asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to introduce the All-American Resolution expressing the sense of Congress that any missile defense system deployed to protect the U.S. from missile attacks would include protection for Alaska, Hawaii and territories.

As we can see on this diagram right now, Alaska comes into direct threat by India, China, et cetera, and now the administration sought to avoid protecting Alaska, avoid protecting Hawaii, and I think it is reprehensible to have that occur.

It is time for us to recognize that Alaska and Hawaii are part of the United States and ought to be protected. In fact, we ought to set up our own missile system in Alaska so that we can counterattack in this uncertain time. I urge the passage of this legislation.

Today I rise to introduce "The All-American Resolution" expressing the sense of the Congress that any missile defense system deployed to protect U.S. from missile attack should include protection for Alaska, Hawaii, territories and commonwealths of the United States.

The U.S. Constitution provides that it is an essential responsibility of the federal government to protect to all United States citizens against foreign attack. However, the Administration's development plan is based on a policy of observing the restrictions of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which prohibits the deployment of a missile defense system capable of defending all U.S. territory. As such, the plan excludes Alaska, Hawaii, and territories. While this legislation does not attempt to abrogate or amend the ABM Treaty, it does express the sense of Congress that

space, sea, or land-based systems are required to include them and the commonwealths, when a system is deployed in the future.

A year ago the Alaska State Legislature passed a resolution expressing the view of the people of Alaska that they, along with other Americans, should be defended against a missile attack. Why are Alaskans concerned about their vulnerability to missile attack? In 1995, the Administration adopted a national intelligence estimate (NIE) asserting that the U.S. did not face a threat of missile attack for at least 15 years. To arrive at this conclusion, the Administration excluded from the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) an assessment of the threat of missile attack to Alaska and Hawaii. Excluding Alaska and Hawaii from the NIE served to bypass an earlier assessment by then-Deputy Secretary of Defense John Deutch that territories in these two states could be subject to attack by a North Korean missile, the Taepo Dong 2, by the end of this decade. In fact, the Secretary of Defense issued a report titled Proliferation: Threat and Response (November 1997) which exemplifies the possible threat to Alaska from both North Korea and China.

I believe it is reprehensible to prepare the NIE while leaving some Americans undefended in its pursuit of the most minimal missile defense capability possible. My resolution also provides that Alaska and Hawaii, territories and commonwealths must be included in any NIE prepared by the Administration.

While Alaska and Hawaii were the only two states excluded from consideration under the NIE, most states and territories will be vulnerable as well. The Administration's missile defense plan calls for the development of a system in which a deployment decision may be made in 2000 and deployment completed by 2003. This could leave the vast majority of U.S. territory vulnerable to missile strikes. The Administration's policy views the ABM Treaty as "the cornerstone of strategic stability."

I will give a quick history of the ABM Treaty. Article I of the ABM Treaty barred the deployment of a national missile defense system capable of defending all the nations' territory. In fact, Article III of the Treaty, as amended by a 1974 Protocol, permitted the deployment of a single missile defense site that is capable of protecting only the region in which it is deployed. The U.S. designated Grand Forks, North Dakota as this site, although the system located there is mothballed. Taking the Grand Forks system out of mothballs and upgrading its capabilities may allow it to provide protection to all of America. Whether you agree with the ABM Treaty, or not, I believe we would all agree on the necessity to defend all of America, including Alaska, Hawaii, the territories and commonwealths from the threat of ballistic missile attacks.

I call on all my colleagues who wish to see their constituents protected, to look seriously at the resolution introduced today. My friends, this act will improve the interests of all Americans, now and into the future.

□ 2310

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, and

under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Maryland (Mrs. MORELLA) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mrs. MORELLA addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. EDWARDS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. KINGSTON addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from North Carolina (Mrs. CLAYTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mrs. CLAYTON addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

OPEN MARKETS, REMOVE SANCTIONS AND AGGRESSIVELY PROMOTE AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. MORAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MORAN of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to address a serious problem facing the First District of Kansas and, indeed, all of rural America.

Over the past 2 years, prices for wheat and other major agricultural commodities have been in a free-fall. Cash wheat today in Dodge City, Kansas, closed at \$2.86 per bushel. That is almost \$2 less per bushel than just 1 year ago and other commodities have experienced similar price declines.

Soon the combines will start their annual trek north from the Great Plains of Texas to Canada. If current harvest projections hold true, a large U.S. wheat crop will put further downward pressure on already depressed prices.

While there is no silver bullet, there are several important steps the President and Congress can take to improve the economic outlook for this Nation's farmers and ranchers. According to USDA, exports are predicted to be down at least \$4 billion this year. This is a clear signal that Congress and the President must be aggressive in opening markets and promoting agricultural exports.

We should start by using the tools we already have at our disposal. Since