

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

WE NEED BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE—AND WE HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO DEFENSE TODAY

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 27, 1995

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I urge all my colleagues and citizens across our Nation to carefully consider the following statement by former Reagan defense official Richard Perle regarding our lack of ballistic missile defense. The ballistic missile threat is real, and the technology is readily available to deter and destroy incoming missiles and warheads. It will be unforgivable if another American soldier, sailor, airman, marine, or civilian is killed by a ballistic missile attack because Congress and the President failed to develop and deploy available missile defense technology.

STATEMENT BY RICHARD PERLE, FELLOW, AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY, JANUARY 25, 1995

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank the Committee for inviting me to appear before you as you consider the ballistic missile defense provisions of H.R. 7, the National Security Revitalization Act.

I first came to Washington nearly 24 years ago to work on precisely this issue—the defense of the United States against ballistic missiles—for Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson.

Scoop was a committed Democrat. But he was also an ardent supporter of ballistic missile defenses. In those days the defense of the United States was not inevitably a partisan matter. And it is my great hope, Mr. Chairman, that with these hearings and with new Congressional management willing to reconsider old ideas and explore new ones, the urgent need to develop and deploy a defense against ballistic missiles will once more gain the bipartisan support that men like Scoop Jackson worked so hard to achieve.

Looking back over the quarter century since Lyndon Johnson first proposed a limited deployment of strategic defenses, and looking forward to the proposals in H.R. 7, one is left with an eerie sense of *deja vu*. I say eerie because, as things stand today, we have no capacity whatsoever to intercept ballistic missiles that might be aimed at the United States. None. Zero. We are unable to stop even a single missile, even a missile fired accidentally, even a missile fired accidentally under circumstances in which the perpetrator of the accident did everything he could to help us avert a calamity. We are totally, completely, abjectly vulnerable.

Indeed, Mr. Chairman, one could reasonably argue that, despite breathtaking technological advances in sensors, propulsion, guidance and data processing, we are further than ever from the goal of developing a strategic defense. For despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and the sharp rise in concern about the extent to which its nuclear missiles are under absolute control, an American policy favorable to strategic defense is more remote than ever.

Despite the energetic effort of several hostile nations to acquire nuclear weapons and

ballistic missiles; despite the difficulty of controlling the missile technologies that will inevitably spread; despite the reasonable expectation of the American people that its elected government will act prudently to defend them against known threats—despite all this it is now the official policy of the Government of the United States that America shall remain undefended.

I urge you to change that policy quickly, unambiguously and unapologetically by adopting into law Title II of the Defense Revitalization Act.

The source of the current policy is difficult to understand, much less defend. It is, above all, an intensely ideological policy devised by the *opponents* of strategic defense. Opposition to defense is frequently emotional, although the depth of feeling is often masked by claims to practical or budgetary or technical doubts about the feasibility or affordability or effectiveness of specific systems. It is based in part on the now irrelevant but passionately held Cold War belief that American strategic defenses would elicit additional offensive deployments by the Soviet Union, thus fueling an arms race and exposing us to greater danger. This was the view of the opponents of strategic defenses when I came to Washington in 1969 in the midst of the Cold War and, curiously, the opponents of those years remain the opponents of strategic defense to this very day.

Everything affecting this antiquated intellectual construct has changed: the Cold War is over, the Soviet Union no longer exists, the interaction of offensive and defensive forces (which was never as simple as the critics of strategic defense thought) is radically different today, the efficacy of classical deterrence in these changed circumstances is increasingly questionable, the technical feasibility of effective defenses is immeasurably greater (especially against less-sophisticated threats)—in short, everything is changed except the stubborn, unthinking, myopic opposition to any serious, national defense against ballistic missiles.

This is an opposition enshrined in an obsolete treaty concluded 22 years ago in a fundamentally different world. It is an opposition perpetuated by an Administration that can't bear the idea of picking up where Ronald Reagan left off or taking on the apparatchiki from Andrei Gromyko's foreign ministry who cling to their jobs by opposing sensible modifications to the ABM Treaty that would free us and Russia from constraints that leave us both defenseless in a dangerous world.

Another source of opposition to strategic defense is the idea that only a perfect defense is worth having. When the issue was a defense against the massive Soviet missile force, the opposition argued that because even the best possible defense could be penetrated ("Some missiles will always get through") there was no point in attempting any defense at all. Now that the threat is much smaller—perhaps a handful of missiles or even a single missile fired accidentally—the idea of a partial defense capable of dealing with modest threats ought to appeal to those critics who once claimed to be daunted by the task of defending against thousands of missiles. But they remain unmoved, mired in opposition to any defense, frozen in time, say around 1970.

In the seriously mistaken belief that we must now agree on a line separating theater

defense systems, which are not limited under the ABM Treaty, from national territorial systems which are, the Administration has embarked on a negotiation with the Russians that threatens to throttle effective theater defenses in their infancy.

I note that the House leadership has written to the President to ask that he allow the Congress to examine with care the many issues this negotiation raises. This seems to me a reasonable request, one that a President interested in bipartisanship on defense matters would readily grant. I hope he agrees. But if he does not I would urge the Congress to legislate against the use of appropriated funds for the purpose of defining lines of demarcation between theater and strategic defenses. A negotiation on this subject is bound to become a quagmire—and that would be true even if there were not plenty of opponents of strategic defense within the Administration who are eager to see theater defenses submerged in a quagmire and who will do nothing to steer clear of it.

On this matter our position should be clear and simple. Theater defenses are not limited by the ABM Treaty and for this reason we are not obliged to discuss our theater defense program with the Russians or anyone else. If the Russians wish to assert that we are developing a nationwide defense in the guise of a theater defense, let them charge us with a violation of the ABM Treaty. If and when they do make such an allegation we will discuss and allay their concerns in the forum provided for in the ABM Treaty.

What we would be most foolish to do is try to gain Russian approval for the performance parameters of theater defenses. Yet that has been the Administration's approach until now, and you should know that it threatens our ability to field theater systems capable of defending our men and women on distant battlefields. We owe it to our troops to provide them with the best possible defense against the battlefield missiles that may be aimed at them. To constrain our program in order to "strengthen" the ABM Treaty by broadening its scope would be foolish in the extreme and the Congress should act if necessary to prevent this happening.

Opponents of strategic and theater defense are not at all troubled by the additional constraints on our freedom to develop technically optimal systems that are bound to result from negotiations with the Russians. On the contrary, I believe they view these negotiations as another device by which the prospects of a cost-effective defense might be further diminished.

Mr. Chairman, there is already a wide range of opinion as to the sort of architecture we should adopt in devising systems of national and theater defense. If anything, controversy on this question is likely to increase over time as the technical community debates the relative merits of space-based interceptors or lasers or land-based missiles or space-based sensors, and the like. Competing technologies have their adherents and as technology develops opinions will change. This is all to the good. No one now enjoys a monopoly of wisdom as to the most effective systems or the lowest technical risk or the least-cost solutions to the problems of theater and national defense.

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Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

But it is not necessary for the Committee to come to conclusions on these and other technical issues in order to go forward confidently to require the Secretary of Defense to tell you how he plans to carry out Title II's mandate to end the policy of deliberate vulnerability by developing theater and strategic ballistic missile defenses.

In developing his plans, the Secretary of Defense should consider that, insofar as the ABM Treaty is an obstacle to implementing Title II, he should recommend the ways in which the Treaty ought to be changed. There are, after all, provisions for amendment in the terms of the ABM Treaty. They were presumably placed there by men who realized that future circumstances might require new approaches. In this they were surely right. We should approach the Russians at the highest levels with a view to cooperatively amending the Treaty to take account of the strikingly different world in which we are now living.

But if the Russians, for whatever reason, should oppose reasonable revisions to the Treaty and insist on blocking us from defending ourselves against the North Koreans, Libyas, Iraqs and the like, we should make clear our readiness to withdraw from the Treaty under the appropriate article and after the appropriate notice. If we are prepared to withdraw, we should find it unnecessary to do so.

Mr. Chairman, the Congress has it within its power to force a reconsideration of the opposition to ballistic missile defense that prevailed during the last decades of the Cold War. It is a new Congress. I believe it is up to the task of new thinking about defense, and your hearing this morning encourages me to believe that antiquated ideas that cannot be made persuasive as we face the new millennium should be relegated to the history of the one we will leave behind.

PROPOSING A BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

SPEECH OF

HON. RANDY "DUKE" CUNNINGHAM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 25, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1) proposing a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of the Barton three-fifths tax limitation balanced budget amendment. As an original cosponsor of the Barton amendment, I believe it is the best choice of the various options before the House today.

It is clear that Congress is utterly incapable of controlling the growth of spending. Solution after solution has failed to get the deficit under control. We have raised taxes and found that the deficit has increased.

I think the key to understanding why the three-fifths majority is essential is to examine the recent history of tax increases. Since 1977, there have been seven major tax increases that would have failed under Barton. Had the Barton amendment been in place over these years, a total of \$558.9 billion in tax increases would have been blocked. That's half a trillion dollars that would have been spent by Americans on their priorities—new houses, new cars, college educations, and so forth. Instead, the American people got half a trillion in Federal spending, much of it

on wasteful projects that benefit parochial interests.

One, the 1977 Social Security tax.—This \$80.4 billion tax increase increased both tax rates and the taxable wage base for employers and employees. The conference report passed the House by a vote of 189 to 163. Had the Barton amendment been in place, this tax hike would have failed.

Two, the 1982 Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act.—TEFRA was the first of the series of packages that was going to take care of the deficit problem. The bill increased taxes by \$99 billion and cut Medicare and Medicaid by \$17 billion. It passed the Senate by a 50 to 47 margin. Had the Barton amendment been in place, this tax hike would have failed.

Three, the 1982 Transportation Assistance Act.—This bill increased gasoline and highway taxes by \$22 billion. The House adopted the conference report by a 180 to 87 vote. Had the Barton amendment been in place, this tax hike would have failed.

Four, the 1987 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act.—This bill contained a variety of tax changes and user fee increases totaling \$11.9 billion. It passed the House by a one-vote margin. Had the Barton amendment been in place, this tax hike would have failed.

Five, the 1992 Tax Fairness and Economic Growth Act.—This bill increased taxes by a total of \$77.5 billion, including a permanent increase of the top tax rate, surtaxes on incomes above \$250,000, and other tax and fee increases. It passed the House by a 211 to 189 margin. Had the Barton amendment been in place, this tax hike would have failed.

Six, 1992 urban aid tax bill.—A variety of tax changes totaling \$27 billion. The conference report was adopted by the House by a 208 to 202 vote. Had the Barton amendment been in place, this tax hike would have failed.

Seven, 1993 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act.—President Clinton's tax bill increased tax rates, the gas tax, taxes on Social Security benefits, and many user fees. This \$241 billion tax increase was the largest in history. It passed the Senate by a margin of 50 to 49. Had the Barton amendment been in place, this tax hike would have failed.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I support the Stenholm-Solomon amendment. It is solid legislation and will make a genuine difference in the way we deal with the budget. It will force Government to live within its means and insure that we will no longer allow deficits to spiral out of control.

However, the Barton amendment is better because it takes this debate in a new direction. Not only are we going to balance the Federal budget, but we are also going to insure that there will be no more one-vote margins for tax increases. If we truly want to restrain the power of Government, I believe the Barton amendment is essential.

Over the years, the Government has shown that it lacks the discipline needed. We have been far too eager to see the people's money as the answer to our spending problem. For that reason, I believe the Barton amendment is the best alternative before the House today.

RECOGNITION OF FRED JACKSON, SR.

HON. BENNIE G. THOMPSON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 27, 1995

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I stand today to recognize Mr. Fred Jackson, Sr. of Jackson, MS. Mr. Jackson reached the age of 115 in January 1995. Thus, he is one of the oldest persons in the United States. He was born in the Cauldville community near Canton, MS in 1880. He was married to Mrs. Fronie Jackson who is now deceased and is the father of one son, Mr. Fred Jackson, Jr.

Mr. Jackson worked as a farmer and carpenter for many years. He has been a devoted member of the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church where he served as a deacon and Sunday school teacher. He enjoys fishing, hunting and helping people. Mr. Jackson also enjoys reading the Bible. He attributes his long life to his strong religious beliefs and treating every person with respect.

I congratulate Mr. Jackson on a long and fruitful life and his important contributions to the Jackson community.

INTRODUCTION OF THE OLD FAITHFUL PROTECTION ACT OF 1995

HON. PAT WILLIAMS

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, January 27, 1995

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce the Old Faithful Protection Act of 1995. This will be the third Congress that I have introduced legislation seeking to protect Yellowstone National Park's natural wonders.

The legislation I present today is essentially the bill that passed the House Of Representatives last Congress by overwhelming margins. There are just two notable exceptions, both improvements that should provide even more support for the bill.

This legislation now provides for a land trade with the only private geothermal-rights holder adjacent to Yellowstone and it incorporates the changes suggested by the Idaho and Wyoming Governors. These changes remove any questions regarding private property rights or State acceptance issues raised each Congress by the Senate.

With, to my knowledge, all questions answered I have high hopes that this Congress we will demonstrate the legislative will to finally protect the crown jewels of our national treasure—Yellowstone National Park. Twice before the House of Representatives has passed protection for Yellowstone, and twice now the tiniest minority of antienvironmental Senators have blocked its consideration in the Senate. Twice now a few Senators have refused to allow legislation to even be heard unless everyone involved will agree with them up front.

There is no question that this Congress will be wrestling with a wide variety of environmental issues. Many believe that the Republican contract is really open warfare on this Nation's environmental law. I believe that the verdict is still out but, one thing I know for certain, failure to pass this legislation will be a