

on the horizon of this great Nation, there is a glimmer of morning in America.

Happy birthday, Mr. President, and thank you.

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, Ronald Reagan's Presidency brought a fresh breath of renewed freedom to this country shackled by regulation, inflation, high interest rates, and higher taxes at the time of his first inauguration.

It was the policies of Ronald Reagan which brought about the greatest national upset of the century—the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ronald Reagan toppled the reign of an evil empire which its own citizens sought but who were helpless to free themselves from—the dictatorship which Lenin and Stalin had set upon them.

He kept his faith in America.

Ronald Reagan gave this country its biggest tax cut in the first year of his presidency. The Reagan cut stimulated the dynamic growth of the decade that followed, an explosion which created 20 million jobs.

Ronald Reagan adhered faithfully to traditional American family values. He was adamant against abortion.

It was Ronald Reagan who touched off the debate on free trade. His leadership in this area brought about our first free-trade agreement with Canada. The NAFTA pact followed.

I personally have been a Ronald Reagan supporter for over a quarter of a century. I battled in vain to gain him the Republican nomination for President in 1968 in Miami Beach, and in 1976 in Kansas City. When I withdrew from the presidential campaign in 1980, I threw all my support behind him.

Ronald Reagan—a native of my own home State of Illinois—was ever the optimist who recognized that the United States still represents the world's best hope.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in sending grateful happy birthday wishes to President Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Speaker, there are a few figures in each century who transcend their times. Americans point to Washington and Jefferson, Britons to Winston Churchill. As we celebrate his eighty-fourth birthday, it is past time to add the name of Ronald Reagan to liberty's pantheon.

It is hard to remember what it was like before Ronald Reagan came to Washington. The 1970's were a decade of disillusionment. Communism was on the march. Democratic government and the rule of law were in retreat. We were even questioning our purpose as Americans.

Yet, there came a great wind of change in 1980 which left America and the globe transformed beyond all recognition. Ronald Reagan led the way. Like Churchill before him, he gave free people the voice they thought they had lost. His ideas produced an economic dynamism Americans had not seen for decades. He exuded confidence in the American spirit. He harbored no inhibitions about the use of American power and he stood guard as the iron curtain crumbled before our eyes.

Mr. Speaker, Ronald Reagan mirrored the thoughts, desires, and faith of ordinary Americans. He recognized as they did, that America is "the bright shining city on the hill." Happy birthday, Mr. President. May you have many more.

Mr. PACKARD. Mr. Speaker, today we celebrate President Ronald Reagan's birthday. During his administration, President Reagan rekindled our Founding Fathers' guiding prin-

ciples of limited government. In his inaugural speech President Reagan reminded Americans that "we are a nation that has a government—not the other way around."

I began my congressional service under his administration. I came here sharing Reagan's vision of American renewal. Today, his insight continues to drive the work of the 104th Congress as we press for less spending, less taxes, and less regulation. His philosophy echoes in the mandate Americans sent Congress in November. His values provided the underpinnings for the Republican Contract With America.

Under decades of liberal leadership, the Congress forced the American people to carry the weight of a bloated, wasteful government. Under Reagan's leadership the American people found relief from the liberal tax-and-spend machine and a sense of national renewal.

During the 97th Congress, President Reagan initiated the line-item veto by choosing to hold the line on wasteful spending. He sent House Joint Resolution 357—the continuing resolution providing appropriations for fiscal year 1982—back to Congress. He courageously tried to protect the American taxpayer from unnecessary spending. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, the budget-busting liberal Congress chose to ignore his warnings and continued to produce wasteful, bloated budgets year after year.

The Republican-controlled 104th Congress has the opportunity to roll back the big spenders in Congress. President Reagan showed us the way. Now we must take the lead and pass the line-item veto.

Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to recognize President Reagan for his political and personal achievements. His freedom agenda, our Republican Contract With America, is alive within the walls of Congress. Happy birthday, President Reagan.

NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. (Mr. HANSEN). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. HUNTER] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk about something that was important to Ronald Reagan and important to the American people and at the heart, I think, of our success as a Nation during the 1980's and very much at the heart of whether or not we will be successful in the 1990's, and that is national security.

Today the President unveiled his defense budget and, Mr. Speaker, to be charitable, it is a budget that slashes national defense.

To give you some idea of the magnitude of the cuts that have been made by the Clinton administration, it is important to understand that in 1990, President Bush, then President Bush, got together with the Democrat leadership of this House, and he established a defense line below which we would not cut, and Democrats and Republicans agreed that that was an important line to keep, an important mark to keep if we were to maintain America's interest and maintain the security of our people. Now, after the fall of the Berlin

Wall and the commencement of the breakup of the Soviet Union and in light of that, in 1992, President Bush got together with his Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney, his then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell, and they put together another defense budget, and because of the breakdown of the Soviet empire, they decided that they could prudently cut \$50 billion over 5 years below the agreement that the President had made with the Democrat leadership in 1990, and they started to engage in those cuts, \$50 billion.

Well, when President Clinton was elected, he put together a 5-year defense plan cut \$127 billion below even the Bush cuts of \$50 billion. That means about \$177 billion below the agreement that had been made in 1990.

I want to talk tonight a little bit about what this installment, this year's installment of the Clinton defense cuts will mean to the armed services of the United States and to the security of the American people.

You know, last year the President's people projected what this year's defense budget should be. And what is very interesting, and I heard Secretary Perry give a very well-ordered speech yesterday in description of the defense budget, but it was interesting to see that Secretary Perry and President Clinton have cut \$9 billion in new weapons systems, new equipment systems, out of the budget that last year they felt were important systems. And it is also interesting to see that President Clinton understood last year that he was about \$6 billion short with respect to this year's defense budget. He knew he would have to get the money somewhere.

And yet he only added \$2 billion to this year's defense spending, meaning he knew that he was going to be going in the hole about \$4 billion.

Well, Secretary Perry says, and I am paraphrasing his theme, he says that our country will be ready to fight even with these reduced forces. Let me tell you how low our force structure is going to be under the Clinton defense plan.

We are going to go from about 18 active army divisions to 10, almost cut 50 percent in our army divisions. We are going to cut from about 24 fighter air wing equivalents to about 13, and we are almost there. That means we will have to cut from America's air power almost 50 percent.

That means we are cashing in young people at a rate in excess of 1,500 young people a week out of the military, and I am reminded of what George Marshall said at the conclusion of World War II when we were demobilizing at such a radical pace, and when he was asked how the demobilization was going, he said, "This isn't a demobilization, it is a rout," and I would assert what we are undertaking right now is not a demobilization, it is not a drawdown, it is not a prudent reduction, it is a rout.

Now, I want to concentrate right now just on what the President is cutting this year, that last year he said he needed. First, the first item on this list is called the TSSAM, TriService Stand-off Attack Missile, and very simply, for those folks that watch CNN and watched our aircraft in Desert Storm approach various strategic institutions of Iraq like bridges and roads, command bunkers, and for those people that watched those precision-guided munitions leave an aircraft some distance from the target and be guided in by a laser spotter or other means, they watched those munitions guided in and hit those targets precisely. I think we all remember when CNN showed the depiction of Iraq's luckiest taxicab driver. He was a guy that got about all the way across that bridge, just barely got across the bridge before a precise munition hit that bridge and destroyed it.

Very simply, in these days when the other side, the bad guys, have some missile systems that are very accurate, that is surface-to-air missiles, that can kill your planes, knock down your planes and kill your pilots, you need to have standoff missiles. Those are systems you can launch from many miles away. You can turn the airplane back. You can get the airplane safe, and your missile will follow on. It will hit that bridge. It will hit that anti-aircraft position. It will hit that command bunker with precision. We need precision-guided systems.

Now, the interesting thing is that after he canceled this new precision-guided system that we desperately need, the President also canceled some other classes.

□ 2120

He canceled the air-launched cruise missile, which is a very accurate system and which could have filled in for the standoff missile that he was canceling. So, he canceled the air-launched cruise missile also. We were going to purchase between 75 and 100 air-launched cruise missiles, and the President canceled that system.

Now, with respect to Cobra helicopters, the Cobra is a gun ship. It is one of—in light of the fact that we have not developed a new helicopter lately, we have not moved forth on the Apache program. It is an important helicopter for our ground troops and works in close support with our Army and with our Marine troops in ground assaults. The President canceled nine of those.

With respect to the Comanche helicopter, which is a new scout, armed scout, helicopter that the Army says is very important to their mission and that the President's own review, the so-called Bottom-Up Review, said was important to the Army's mission, the President has entered an order of no production. We are going to be building a couple of prototypes, but we are not producing as of now.

With respect to the DDG-51 Aegis destroyer, we are coming down from a Naval fleet that was close to 600 ships,

between 500 and 600 ships, and we are coming down to less than 375 ships, and the DDG-51 Aegis destroyer is a very important ship because each one of these ships carries what I call a little SDI system. It is a system that allows radar to track a missile that is coming in, or an aircraft that is coming in, and shoot out a standard missile, one of our surface-to-air missiles, ship-to-air missiles, and destroy that incoming missile, and this ship has a potential of being developed as a theater ballistic missile defense system.

Now what that means is, for those of us that watched those Scud missiles, which are ballistic missiles, zeroing in on our troop concentrations in Desert Storm, Aegis destroyers off the coast of Iraq, had he had this new theater missile ballistic missile system developed at that time, it could have shot down those missiles in mid-air, much as your Patriot missile systems did with varying results on the ground. So, this is a system—this new ship maintains an air defense system, which could blossom into a theater ballistic missile defense system that will protect American kids, our men and women in uniform who are concentrated in various areas of the world.

So, it is a very important system. The President is canceling this new production, this production of a single new ship, in this year's budget.

He is also canceling this LPD-17 amphibious transport dock. Now that, according to the bottom-up review, is an important part of our ability to take a beachhead, and the President is going to cancel that.

F/A-18 C/D's; those are our new fighter slash attack aircraft that are based on our carriers which are supposed to take over the roles of two aircraft, our F-14's and our A-6 attack aircraft. Now the interesting thing is we actually purchased about 27 fighter aircraft last year in the entire American inventory. That means that the United States of America bought fewer fighter aircraft than the country of Switzerland.

Now, just to keep our fleet modern, because we lose a few aircraft all the time, our aircraft are always exercising, they are always training, they are often on deployment. Just to keep the fleet modernized so we do not end up with a bunch of 1965 Chevy aircraft, we have to buy about six times that number of aircraft each year just to keep our fleet modern so the young men and women who are flying those aircraft have a good chance of coming back alive.

The President this year is going to buy 12 aircraft. That is less than half of what Switzerland purchased last year.

Now with respect to E-2C's, those are the AWACS aircraft that our Navy uses, and those aircraft can detect adversary aircraft. That means that, if we have a ship or a battle group that is off the gulf in the Middle East, and we have aircraft, adversary aircraft, that are launched by Iraq or Iran, and E-2C aircraft is your early warner. That is

the aircraft that has a guidant pod on top of it, a radar system, and it can tell you what is coming in, and when you scramble your own aircraft to meet that threat, it helps direct them in for the kill. We are canceling one of those this year.

The Tomahawk missiles I already mentioned; we are canceling 97 of those. Tomahawks are tried and true missile systems, and I cannot give you the absolute number of standoff weapons because that is a classified number, but I can tell you that we are short on standoff weapons. We could expand in a real conflict like a Desert Storm conflict all of our standoff weapons in a fairly short period of time, and it makes no sense, even if you are downsizing people and you are cutting the number of ships and the number of aircraft you have, it makes no sense to cancel your standoff weapon systems and cut down those numbers. Those are bullets in your gun, and just because we have enough troops and have enough bullets right now to go out and engage in a very fast firefight, you also have to have sustainability. That means the ability to fight for days, for weeks, and sometimes for months, and that means you have to have a big enough stockpile of ammunition and missiles to do that job.

And finally we have the Trident II D-5 missiles. That is considered to be very important part of the remaining part of our nuclear deterrent. Those are nuclear missiles, strategic missiles that are mounted on our submarines, and while we are cutting out almost all of our land-based missiles, we are alshing our bomber force, we are relying more and more on our submarines, and yet the President is cancelling this most modern program in our strategic submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

So this President interestingly is not just cutting \$127 billion below what George Bush thought was prudent. He is cancelling his own systems. He is cancelling systems that he said last year we would need and that his own experts said we would need, and I see the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] has risen. I yield to my friend.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I say to the gentleman, "Thank you, Mr. HUNTER. I wanted to make sure I got this straight. You were saying earlier that what the President or the administration had said is that we can fight a battle on two fronts, a war on two fronts, and, listening to you, I'm not so convinced that is true. How would you respond to that?"

Mr. HUNTER. Well, actually I think it would be very, very difficult for the United States to be engaged in two wars the magnitude of Desert Storm and win, and secondly, even if we won, it would be very difficult to win without taking enormous casualties. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney said, as I recall, some months into the Clinton cutbacks that it would be very, very

difficult to win a single Desert Storm again in the manner that we won it the first time, and there are two aspects to fighting this regional conflict.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, let me ask him about Desert Storm.

Now that was what, a 43-42 day war?

Mr. HUNTER. It was a very short war because the United States has overwhelming force, and that was the point that I am getting to, that you reap a couple of benefits from having a vastly superior force. One is that you close the war down quickly by winning with overwhelming force, but the second is you do not bring a lot of young Americans back in body bags, and it was projected that we could have lost 40,000 people in Desert Storm, but because we were so successful in building enough weapon systems in the 1980s, like the M-1 tank, the Apache helicopter, the Patriot missile system, we were able to win quickly, and that saved thousands of Americans' lives.

Mr. KINGSTON. Now that being the case, as I recall, and I used to know the number, but the American casualties were just incredibly low for a conflict of that scale. Does the gentleman remember the numbers offhand?

Mr. HUNTER. I do not have the exact figure on the number of American casualties, but I believe the number of American KIA, killed in action, was less than 200, and interestingly almost a majority of those, or a majority of those casualties, came from the Scud attacks, just a few ballistic missile attacks which were made by Saddam Hussein, and that brings out the question as to why this President is cutting back on our antiballistic missile capability because we saw with just a few launches Saddam Hussein was not only able to show the world that he had offensive capability against the United States, but he was able to bring about our largest number of casualties when his Scud missiles hit the American barracks.

□ 2130

So this President has cut back on theater ballistic missile defense systems, and that means our ability to stop an incoming missile that is launched by an enemy that is coming into our troop concentrations. Our old Patriot system was kind of a model T. It was kind of a model T Ford, and the incoming ballistic missile, the SCUD system, sold to Iraq by the Soviet Union, was kind of a model T also. They were both fairly slow moving in terms of modern warfare. But by golly, we shot down those missiles, a number of them in midair, and saved a lot of our troops. We had varying success, but at least we had something to shoot some of those missiles out of the air.

This President ought to be accelerating the program. Let me tell the gentleman, you have the theater high-altitude defense program, this great Navy program where we already have the radars on the ships. We have to train them to be a little different. You have

the missile tubes for the standard missiles. We need a little modification, and we can turn that system on the Aegis ships, which the President is cutting, we could turn those into theater defensive systems.

So if we have a marine America amphibious force on the land in the Persian Gulf, say they just made a beachhead and are there with their tents and operations and artillery and are setting up, and SCUD missiles start coming in, our Aegis ships can back off of the land a little bit and throw up a protective umbrella around those marines with their antiballistic missile defense systems, they can shoot down incoming ballistic missiles that come in to threaten those marines.

That program is called the Navy upper-tier program, the high end of this Navy program, which has a Navy lower tier that is kind of like the Patriot missile defense system, but the Navy upper-tier program that can shoot down the fast-moving incoming ballistic missiles, has been cut down to \$30 million by the President. That may seem like a lot of money, but that allows us to basically terminate the program. It gives you just enough money to terminate the program, pay all the contractors you owe money to.

Mr. KINGSTON. You were saying earlier that the number of divisions in the U.S. Army is being scaled back from 18 to about 10. What is happening in the Marines, particularly as respects this program? Because if you do not have the manpower, you do not have the technology. I know that we have got shuttle diplomacy, and I do not know that this administration has really anything to brag about on shuttle diplomacy. I think the Carter administration sure does, it has resurrected itself quite well.

Mr. HUNTER. I would say, to be fair to the President and the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Bill Perry, the Marine Corps forces have not been reduced. They have only been reduced by a few tens of thousands. They have not been reduced as drastically as the Army has been reduced and as the Air Force has been reduced. I think that that makes a lot of sense. So that is one area where this administration has not reduced drastically.

But one thing that this President has done with respect to the marines is run them ragged. And my information is that the marines who came out of the Bosnian theater, who had to come back after 6 months, were given about 12 days of time with their families, and then they went right back into the Haitian theater. That is called stretching people thin. And that is one reason the Commandant of the Corps said at one time he only wanted single people to apply to the Marine Corps, and that is because there are not a lot of wives, except maybe some congressional wives, who will put up with these husbands being gone for such long periods of time.

Mr. KINGSTON. I am going to have to grab a little time here to say it is

also true with the Rangers. Fort Stewart is in the district I represent, the 24th Infantry Division, and my district manager's husband is a Ranger and another employee's husband is a Ranger, and they are gone all the time. And they are first class people, just top-notch.

Mr. HUNTER. In fact, the gentleman has opened up another area that I think is very important, and that is that we have utilized our Armed Forces, the remaining Armed Forces that we have, as world policemen. And these peacekeeping operations in Haiti, in the Bosnian theater, I think we have carried on now the Bosnian airlift longer than we carried on the Berlin airlift. In Africa and around the world, we are using our military forces, but not so much in sending them out with a military mission to win a war or battle and come back, but as peacekeepers. I think when the final bill is in, we will have spent about \$1.7 billion until Haiti just on that peacekeeping operation.

What that does to the gentleman's Rangers is it stretches them thin. It keeps your Rangers from spending as much time as they should at home. It also uses up the money that they have for training and for equipment repair and for spare parts and all the things that amount to readiness, it uses that money up. And let me tell you what Secretary Perry has said, to go through this analysis he has been giving for the past several days.

He has been saying, you know, we are not going to sacrifice readiness. He was a little embarrassed by the three Army divisions last year to be found to be in less than a complete state of readiness. He said it is true money used for peacekeeping missions comes out of the hide of the military. That means you do not get to train your top gun pilots, go out to the rifle range as much, get those spare parts, so you become less ready because you are using all your money to go off on peacekeeping operations.

He said we are going to see to it we do not use up our readiness money this year. What he did not tell you is this: What he did not tell you was he was not going to add that much money, because we are only adding \$2 billion this year, and we have a \$6 billion shortfall by the President's own estimate of what we would need, the estimate he made last year. So we are still \$4 billion short.

What Secretary Perry did not tell you is he was going to cancel all these modern weapons and equipment programs to pay for this year's readiness. So what he has been doing, in the old axiom, is robbing Peter to pay Paul. So the problem is we are going to have less modern equipment for these young men and women when they need it.

Mr. KINGSTON. Now, we are also about to consider an emergency budget for the military of about \$3.4 billion. Of that, one-half of it is going to come from cutting existing programs. But then the other half of it has already

been spent in Somalia, in Bosnia, in Rwanda, in Haiti, and actually going back to Iraq as well.

One of the things that concerns me as we do some of this globe trotting and getting back to the Rangers and the Marines and so forth is that when we were in Somalia there was not a clear American peril, there was not a clear objective and there was not a clear mission, there was not a clear timeframe to achieve the mission nor a plan to get our personnel out. And if you are a service person going over there, then it is going to have to be a little bit discouraging. Even as loyal as I know that they are, it is very discouraging to realize they are doing these missions, and there is not a statement, there is not an objective.

So I think in terms of the dollar, it is one thing. But the morale is another.

Mr. HUNTER. The gentleman is absolutely right. You know, when young men and women join our service, they do it under an understanding there is some risk involved, and they do it with an understanding their mission will be to engage in conflicts on this Nation's behalf, and win those conflicts. And I think a lot of them do not want to sign up to be peacekeepers, to spend their time away from their families nursemaiding folks in other countries.

While Americans do not mind sacrifice, and I think that is the key, and I remember Desert Storm and I am sure the gentleman has not only a lot of active duty people but reserve people who volunteered for Desert Storm because they thought it was worthwhile, I think a lot of those people have second thoughts when they are told that the mission is "peacekeeping." In some cases that means "nation building," trying to impose our structure of government on a country that is very resistive to that imposition.

I think that Americans, American troops, have experienced a cut in morale because of this new mission that they see this President giving them.

□ 2140

And I think what bothers them most is he is not giving them everything that they need to carry out this tempo of operations. They know that that is making them a little less ready to have to carry out those operations.

Mr. KINGSTON. Well, I wanted you to talk about the personnel and so forth in the Army and the Marines staying about level, but the Army going down tremendously.

As I understand it, and these numbers are rough, but there were about 2 million troops in the armed services in 1991. And now is that number not about 1.5 million? It has been cut roughly 25 percent in terms of personnel, which that may be appropriate since there is not a conflict going on like Desert Storm, but am I accurate in that?

Mr. HUNTER. Let me give the gentleman the numbers that come right from the Personnel Subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Califor-

nia, ROBERT DORNAN, who issued this statement today of active duty end strength. It has gone from, the gentleman is right, from an excess of 2 million personnel to about 1,400,000. So it has been cut not quite in half but not too far away.

Now, let me just read what the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] has said: "End strength reductions for this year are slightly accelerated over what DOD projected in last year's budget submission. DOD will end fiscal year 1995 about 2,300 below the end strength authorized by the fiscal year 1995 DOD Authorization Act."

That means that this glidepath that the President has us on that is going to end up going from 18 Army divisions to 10, from 24 air wings to 13, that we are on that glidepath, we are cutting sharply, but this year's reductions cut even more sharply, 2,300 personnel, more sharply than what we have projected last year. It says that the fiscal year 1996 DOD request projects an end strength loss of 40,790 from fiscal year authorized levels, so that is how fast we are going down. We are going to have 40,000 less people this year than we had last year.

That means that we are losing people at a very high rate, at about 1,700 young people a week are being cashiered out of the uniformed service.

Mr. KINGSTON. In terms of dollars, we had a budget in 1991 of just shy of \$300 billion. And now this projection, and I do not know if you or the gentleman from California, Mr. DORNAN, had a number, but is it 260?

Mr. HUNTER. It is this year, I would say to my friend, we are going to spend about \$257 billion. The President's people made a great thing about the fact that he was adding \$2 billion to his glidepath. So it was 255. It is going to 257. And the gentleman is right. That is down almost \$40 billion from what it was in 1991.

But let me put it another way: If you look at what we spent in 1988, the last year of the Reagan administration, and really we had the highest spending level in 1985, but if you look at what we spent in 1988, in real dollars, that means not adding inflation or adding inflation each year, in real dollars, and you compare that to what we will spend in 1998, that is 2 years from now on this glidepath that President Clinton has taken us on, the annual budget in 1998 will be \$100 billion less than it was 10 years ago. That is the annual budget.

So when President Clinton stands up and talks about how he is taking a knife to all these programs across the board, you have to understand that actually almost all of his cuts, real cuts are coming out of national defense.

Mr. KINGSTON. It is ironic because you hear so often about cutting the budget and you hear about the Pentagon waste. You hear all about agriculture waste. And yet the two agencies that have had the biggest budget cuts of all are the Department of De-

fense and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. And if we can get HUD and Health and Human Services and Education and some of these other agencies to take the cuts just in percentage that defense has taken, we would be very close to having a small deficit compared to the \$200 billion deficit which the President's budget projects for this year.

Mr. HUNTER. The gentleman from Georgia is absolutely right. We have, as I recall in this city, in Washington, DC, we have what I guess military would call headquarters personnel, because all of the agencies do not carry out functions in this city but they have their headquarters people here who issue orders and demand reports that come in from all over the Nation. So we have all these agencies like Agriculture and all the rest of them, HUD and many others, headquartered here in Washington. So I guess our line troops would refer to these as headquarters staff, and we have over 450,000 headquarters personnel in the social agencies right here in Washington, DC.

Mr. KINGSTON. It is interesting, everybody does like to jump on the Pentagon, wasteful spending and talk about the \$400 toilet seat and \$200 hammer and so forth. We want to know about these things. We want to ferret it out. We think that is what the mission is about, defense of the country, survival of the country, and protecting your son or your daughter who may need to have the most high-technology airplane or tank or ship or whatever.

Here is something that we spent, as taxpayers, your taxpayers in California and mine in Georgia, \$30,000 on this poem. I am going to read this to you.

Suddenly, masked hombres seized Petunia pig and made her into a sort of dense Jello. Somehow the texture, out of nowhere, produces a species of Atavistic anomie, a melancholy memory of good food.

It was written by Jack Collom of Boulder, CO. The National Endowment for the Arts awarded \$30,000 for that poem.

And yet we are telling our American service personnel that they cannot get a raise. We are rolling the COLA's of veterans so that they cannot get what we contractually obligated to them.

I have met in Hinesville, GA, service personnel who can qualify for food stamps and other public assistance benefits. Some of them are taking them, some are not. But it is very hard to tell somebody who is on his way to Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia, wherever, we have got \$30,000 for poems like this and your tax dollars are paying for it. I think one of the things that we are about in this Congress right now is to go back and try to find things like this so that we can spend our dollars smarter, cut where we need to. But where we are going to spend, let us spend it appropriately.

Mr. HUNTER. I think the description of the expenditures that were made by the National Endowment for the Arts

are one thing that would lower the morale of our service people if they knew that that was keeping them from having a higher quality of life. Let me just say, this Secretary, Secretary Perry, gave a very even and I thought a very smooth press conference. I like Secretary Perry. I think he is a fine gentleman.

He gave, he has given a series of briefings about the defense budget and said we are ready, our readiness levels are good and I am good to spend, he said, and I am quoting him, "I am going to spend enough money to provide for quality of life for our armed services families."

What the Secretary did not say was that he is providing this new quality of life because Republicans have rolled the administration in past years. Last year, when President Clinton did not provide a pay increase for military families, the Republicans saw to it that he did. So this year the President is anticipating that and they are going to provide a pay increase for military personnel. But they are going to do that by taking out these very important modernization programs which could save the lives of those young people in battle. So they are serving them in one way, they are disserving them in another way.

But let me tell the gentleman that the cavalry is here. The Republican Contract With America, which was successfully passed out of the Committee on Armed Services with a good bipartisan vote, and I might compliment the Democrats on that committee who really have the interest of the country at heart, because we passed it with the vote of a lot of Democrats as well as Republicans, but that H.R. 7, the National Security Act, that legislation provides for something that is very critical to the United States.

It says that the United States shall deploy at earliest opportunity theater missile defense systems to stop those ballistic missiles from coming into our troop concentrations where they exist around the world. It also says that we shall deploy missile defense systems against ICBM's that may come in and strike portions of the United States.

□ 2150

Now we are doing this because we have listened to all of our intelligence agencies, we listened to CIA director James Woolsey, who talked about the growing ICBM threat and missile threat. We live in an age of missiles.

One thing that was not lost on all these Third World countries, including countries like Korea and China, was that with all of our superior military capability in Desert Storm, the one place where Saddam Hussein was able to get the attention of the world and make an impression was when he used ballistic missiles against American troop concentrations.

So you have the North Koreans building the taepo-dong missiles, some of which, at the end of this century, will

begin to acquire the capability to go several thousand miles and to hit American troop concentrations a long ways from Korea, and ultimately hit some of the United States positions in the Pacific, that will be able to threaten our allies.

We see North Korea doing that. We see engineers and scientists from the Soviet union being hired by Middle East countries to develop missile systems for them. We see China moving ahead with ballistic missile systems.

We have to develop the ability to stop those ballistic missiles. It makes sense—a lot of Democrats say "We will stop them in the theater, but we do not want to have a national ballistic missile system."

We passed out of the Committee on Armed Services, or now the Committee on National Security, H.R. 7, the Republican Contract with America, that said "We shall deploy a national defense system." That means if a missile is launched intentionally or by mistake at the United States, we want the ability to shoot it down before it hits New York or San Diego or Houston or Detroit or any other part of the United States of America.

And we are going to be building that missile defense system, even though this President this year has cut national missile defense funding by 80 percent in this budget.

I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I guess it is just true that as long as there are people like the gentleman, and some of the others you have mentioned tonight and in the past in your speeches, I think there will always be somebody inside and underneath the dome who is looking out for the American service personnel and the security of our Nation.

I appreciate the gentleman's leadership on this. I appreciate being with you tonight. I know you have some other comments, but I'm going to yield the floor and wish you the best and plan to support you in these endeavors, and work with you.

Mr. HUNTER. Mr. KINGSTON, I want to thank you as a good friend and a person who really has the interest of the United States at heart. Even though you are doing a lot of other important things and you are not a member of the Committee on Armed Services, we all thank you for your interest in national security, because that is one of the primary reasons for our existence, this House of Representatives, and you serve your people well by exhibiting that interest and supporting a strong national defense. Thank you for being with us.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. HUNTER. Let me talk for just another minute or two about the missile defense programs, because Secretary Perry went over that the other day and he has a word that he likes to use. It is called robust.

Robust is a pretty subjective term, and something that is robust to one person may not be robust to another, so I want to talk about the real funding levels that President Clinton put out on the table in today's budget, this year's new budget, with respect to missile defense. We all know missile defense is important, both theater missile defense, that is when you shoot down the slow-moving missiles before they come into your troop concentrations, like the Scud missiles coming into our barracks in the Middle East during the Desert Storm, and you also want national missile defense that will shoot down fast-moving missiles that are coming into your cities, whether by accident or by design.

Mr. Speaker, the President's request for missile defense in this year was \$2.9 billion. That sounds like a lot, and that has been described by Secretary Perry as robust, and I guess compared to the rest of the President's defense slashes that may be robust, but this is the lowest amount requested since fiscal year 1985, which was the very first year that we started the SDI program, that is, the missile defense program.

Mr. Speaker, regarding national missile defense, the President asked for around \$500 million. That is \$371 million for the ballistic missile defense office and \$120 million for the Brilliant Eyes program in the Air Force, about \$500 million.

That amounts to about an 80 percent cut over what President Bush recommended in spending on missile defense, because President Bush recommended spending about \$3 billion, so President Clinton has cut this program by four-fifths, even though his intelligence agencies tell him we live in an age of missiles.

You had better be able to shoot missiles down, not only coming into your theaters, but coming in by accidental or designed launch by Third World adversaries into your population centers. At some point these nations are going to have the capability of delivering ICBM's into the United States, and several adversaries besides the remnants of the former Soviet Union have some ICBM's right now. China, for example, has ICBM's right now. North Korea is working at a feverish pace to develop ICBM's.

Mr. Speaker, a lot of people say wait a minute, we don't have to have these theater defenses or these national defenses yet, because Korea doesn't yet have a missile that can reach the United States.

The point is, it takes us a while to build these defenses. You want to make sure that the missile system you are going to send up to shoot down the incoming ballistic missile is ready for deployment before the ballistic missile that is going to come into the United States is ready for deployment. The point is, it takes us about 10 years to build these systems, so it does not make sense to not get started.

President Bush wanted to get started on a national defense system, and he recommended spending this year \$3 billion. President Clinton has cut that by four-fifths, by 80 percent. Those are real facts.

Mr. Speaker, regarding theater missile defense, this President requests approximately \$2 billion. That represents a cut of \$800 million from the spending level that was recommended by President Bush.

Again, he recommends only \$30 million for what is known as the Navy Upper Tier Program. That is this very effective, high altitude program that can be used to defend Americans by using Navy ships with their standard missile tubes and with their existing radar. You turn that into an SDI system, and you shoot down incoming ballistic missiles. That is a very promising system.

When the President did his own bottom-up review, his experts, his reviewers, said "We should move toward this Navy Upper Tier Program. It is an important program for acquisition." They called it at one point a core program, an important program, and he has killed it, because the \$30 million that he has allowed for the Navy theater missile defense system is only about enough money to close up the shop. It is about enough money to close the doors, pay off the contractors who have existing contracts, and forget that system.

Why is the President abandoning the defense of our troop concentrations around the world? Because that is exactly what you are doing when you give up one of your most promising technologies.

Mr. Speaker, one other thing the President is doing that is very disturbing is this. Right now the ABM treaty does not limit the production of American theater missile defense systems. Yet, his negotiating team is now working with members of the former Soviet Union to limit the theater defense systems that we can set up around the world to protect our troops. That does not make a lot of sense.

I can simply say that, without naming names, that I have talked with a number of our military experts, people in the service and out of the service, who are very, very worried that this President, in his haste to make deals, is making a deal that we are going to regret because it is going to stop programs cold that could have defended Americans in time of war.

Therefore, the President should review this Navy Upper Tier Program which he himself, which his own analysts have said is a very, very important program.

Mr. Speaker, finally, when the President did this bottom-up review program, he went through all the requirements, or his experts went through all the requirements of things we would need for a strong defense establishment in the coming year.

One aspect of that review covered ammunition. Ammunition is kind of

important. You need ammunition in time of war, and you need lots of it, because you have to sustain your troops. A three-month or a six-month or a nine-month war is a lot different from a two-week war, and you expend ammunition sometimes very quickly.

According to the Army's own study, the amount of money that this President is going to spend on ammunition is about 50 percent of what we need. According to the Army's own study, we are seeing the collapse of about 80 percent of our industrial base that makes ammunition.

Now, doggone it, you have to have ammunition in time of war. The fact that you have got smart, sharp, well-trained troops doesn't mean anything if their guns are empty.

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And yet this budget that was presented today by Secretary Perry gives us about half the level of ammunition that the Army's open study says we will need in times of war. That is the President's open review, this so-called Bottom-Up Review board.

So in this very important area of sustainability, the President is deficient, and his Secretary of Defense, while he is an excellent manager and he has taken this little shrinking pot of money that the President has given him and he has tried to manage that reduced amount of money as effectively as he can, he is giving up American capability. You have to have capability to keep your troops, to have quality of life, to equip them well.

That means have modern equipment. We are not giving them modern equipment, because we are putting off modernization of Army and Air Force and naval systems. You have to be able to lift them. That means you have to be able to carry them into a theater in times of combat with either ships or aircraft and you have to be able to sustain them until they win the war for you, and that means they have to have lots of ammunition.

They have to have stand off missile systems like the ones that the President is canceling to keep your pilots from being at risk. You have to have fairly modern aircraft so that they do not break down on you when you need them the most; you do not have to retire them off the carriers leaving gaps in those carriers.

And this President, on the whole, is failing to provide that capability, and in doing so, he is doing a disservice to the American people who look to Congress to provide for the Army and the Navy and the Marine Corps to protect this Nation.

But he is also doing a disservice to the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States, because ultimately in a conflict, their ability to stay alive and come home, as the vast majority did in Desert Storm, is a function of our modernization, our sustainability, our readiness, our airlift, and our national will.

I would look to this Congress, and especially look to the Republican leadership in this Congress, to restore some of the cuts that this President has made in a prudent manner so that in 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, and into the next century we remain by far the superior force on the face of the Earth.

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOR THE 104TH CONGRESS

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to rule XI, clause 2(a) of the House rules, I am submitting a copy of our rules which were adopted by the Committee on International Relations on January 10, 1995, to be printed in the RECORD.

RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 104TH CONGRESS

(Adopted January 10, 1995)

1. GENERAL PROVISIONS

The Rules of the House of Representatives, and in particular, the committee rules enumerated in Clause 2 of Rule XI, are the rules of the Committee on International Relations, to the extent applicable. The Chairman of the Committee on International Relations (hereinafter referred to as the Chairman) shall consult the Ranking Minority Member to the extent possible with respect to the business of the Committee. Each subcommittee of the Committee on International Relations (hereinafter referred to as the "Committee") is a part of the Committee and is subject to the authority and direction of the Committee, and to its rules to the extent applicable.

2. DATE OF MEETING

The regular meeting date of the Committee shall be the first Tuesday of every month when the House of Representatives is in session pursuant to Clause 2(b) of Rule XI of the House of Representatives. Additional meetings may be called by the Chairman as he may deem necessary or at the request of a majority of the Members of the Committee in accordance with Clause 2(c) of Rule XI of the House of Representatives.

The determination of the business to be considered at each meeting shall be made by the Chairman subject to Clause 2(c) of Rule XI of the House of Representatives.

A regularly scheduled meeting need not be held if there is no business to be considered.

3. QUORUM

For purposes of taking testimony and receiving evidence, two Members shall constitute a quorum.

One-third of the Members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum for taking any action, with the following exceptions: (1) Reporting a measure or recommendation, (2) closing Committee meetings and hearings to the public, and (3) authorizing the issuance of subpoenas.

No measure or recommendation shall be reported to the House of Representatives unless a majority of the Committee is actually present.

A rollcall vote may be demanded by one-fifth of the Members present or, in the apparent absence of a quorum, by any one Member.