

overseas, took 16 overseas trips, higher than any other Cabinet official except the Secretary of State. Let me tell you typical example of a trip she took, recent trip to South Africa. The agency Secretary took 51 staff members and 68 guests, 119 people. They chartered a luxury jet, which is often chartered by Madonna. It has a wet bar and all this. It cost the taxpayers \$560,000.

Next trip, to India, she took 63 staff members and 72 guests, mostly from environmental groups. It cost taxpayers \$720,000.

Next trip, to China, cost you and I \$845,000.

Trip to Pakistan was \$500,000.

Adding this together, 4 out of 16 trips cost taxpayers \$2.6 million. My God, is that not something?

But two trips alone, India and South Africa, they have 1,600 pages of expenses and a quarter million dollars missing. They could not find where they spent it.

Now, this is the kind of stuff going on. This is the typical example of Government waste and fraud before our eyes, and here we are talking balancing the budget.

The question is: Why is it? Why spend so much money, 130 days and 16 trips? why is that? Well, they said, "We are going to get some contracts." Today's paper says that is not true. They did not get any contracts whatsoever.

It is really embarrassing, and I think if she curtails the trips, we could balance the budget easily.

THE BUDGET DEFICIT AFFECTS REAL HUMAN BEINGS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I hope more than the citizens of Missouri stay tuned to the proceedings of this House tonight via the courtesy of C-SPAN, Mr. Speaker, to hear the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HANCOCK] give what will probably be one of the more enlightening 30-minute special orders on taxation destroying this country and what we are doing here.

First of all, Mr. Speaker, I just called my home, and my daughter-in-law is still waiting patiently for the baby that we thought was coming a few hours ago, not here yet. If she makes it past midnight, it will be on the birthday of her daughter, Haley. That is No. 10 for my Sally and me. I really believe with all my heart, Mr. Speaker, that that is what we are fighting for here, for my three beautiful Griffin grandchildren out in California, Kevin, Colin, and Erin. Their mom is Robin. They married a Griffin. I call them my in team here and in California; No. 3 will join Haley and Robert K. Dornan III. Then there is my youngest daughter, with beautiful Liam Christopher Dornan Penn, the only redhead in the gang of 10. Four of my five were redheads. He is something really special.

Then there is, what have I got, 1, 2, 3, 4, then there is the original 3, the Colbins live out here in Virginia, Ricky, my first grandson, Tara, my first granddaughter, both of them soccer stars, Anna, another soccer star coming up, all of them exceptional students. These are names and faces of human beings that, pardon me for using an overworked word, I have bonded with all of them. They know me almost as well as they know their parents. They think their grandmother, my Sally, is the most world-class person to ever love a grandchild. They are real human beings. They are real human beings, and I cannot put an insufferable \$5 trillion, soon to be \$6 trillion debt before we begin to reverse this, on their back.

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I said earlier that the whole debate here in its simplest terms is we won the day on the 7 years. It will be a 7-year balanced budget plan, no matter what Clinton and the gang at the White House does. But we should not be passing out medals on our side because this side wants to spend \$13 trillion. They cannot throw off that tax-and-spend mindset that was locked in during Franklin Delano Roosevelt's days. He is not a hero of mine, the way he is of our hard-charging Speaker. He began this lunge towards socialism, and on this side we do not want to spend \$13 trillion over the next 7 years. We want to spend \$12 trillion.

Do you see what we are fighting here about, all the citizens in America, Mr. Speaker, that follow the proceedings of this House? \$13 trillion, \$12 trillion. \$12 trillion is a bloody disgrace. It is too much government.

Although my heart goes out to any Government worker who is proud of their job, selected to be a civil servant, and feels they are contributing to a better life in this country, and wants to be on their job, and there was never a doubt for an instant they would not be paid. It was all this dislocation of steady money coming in, and mortgage payments. And I understand that, I am making mortgage payments and a car payment. I understand that the banks will not wait. We have taken care of that here today.

But remember this: All this angst about civil servants, and I turned on the network news tonight and here is this psychiatrist saying the civil servants are underdoing trauma, psychological disorder, they are going to need counseling, and some of them will have to be put under a suicide watch. Then they showed clothes testing at a burning manikin, and somebody came right out and said that the Republican part of this House, usually they like to focus in on the 73 freshmen, as though they are aliens that came to this place, they are going to cause children to die.

So for the next 2 minutes let me tell you what I saw in Germany and in Hungary over the last 4 days at the railheads: People on the Federal pay-

roll, and not all of them so young, men and women, who are going to Bosnia and an uncertain mission. They are freezing. And one of the greatest writers, and I will put his articles in about the land mines, Col. David Hackworth, the highest decorated living American, as good a writer as he is, he did not have it correct here.

He talks about the land mines, and then he says they are going to ship their equipment down there, hunker down, ride down and meet up with their equipment.

They are not. These young men and women stay with their vehicles, their Bradleys, their Abrams tanks, their Humvee vehicles, and I never saw so many complicated armored systems as in this 1st Armored Division, whose beautiful pin I am wearing, Old Ironsides. They stay with their equipment, fingers cold, lashing it down, riding on the trains. The women rightfully complaining about no porta-potties, talking about how the men have a different way to go out in the field.

Mr. Speaker, let me put about six articles in the RECORD here that I was going to use in my special order. Think about these young men and women during the break.

[From the Army Times, Jan. 1, 1996]

GOING TO BOSNIA A GOOD WAY TO SEE
DANGER, GROW OLD FAST

(By David H. Hackworth)

TUZLA, BOSNIA.—This place ain't exactly happy valley. After months of catching Serb cannon fire and hard fighting in the nearby mountains, things are grim. The war has left this city of about 110,000—mainly Muslims—bent, broken and bleak.

Even though the guns are now silent, few people smile. Most act like they had too much local plum brandy the night before and are wearing a head-throbbing hangover. All are waiting for the Yanks to kick-start them out of their misery and into the good life provided by Marshall Plan-type underwriting.

But the "Amerikinci" are slow in coming. So far, only a few dozen aircraft have landed at the airbase that sits just south of the city. These planes are bringing in the vital technicians who will lay the logistic base to support our 20,000 U.S. troopers.

The warriors will not come by air. They'll ship their heavy stuff by rail from Germany to Hungary. After the peace accord is signed, they'll marry up with their gear and roll in over 120 miles of rugged road—locked, cocked and ready.

Once on the ground, America's Task Force Eagle will be the Tuzla high sheriff, with the mission of keeping the Serbs and Muslims from going back to blowing each other away.

It's too early to tell if this can be done without a few High Noons. I have a gut feeling that the main Bosnian combatants will cool it and wait out NATO's one-year say. One Muslim says that if his folks "are not armed," the war will start again just as soon as NATO leaves, and his side will lose.

The way it looks now, except for hit-and-run attacks by small bands of crazies, the big killers will be the mines, the bad roads and the many drunken Bosnian drivers.

No one knows how many mines are scattered across this savaged land. United Nations reports say there are over eight million mines and booby-traps in Bosnia alone.

I spent two days with Swedish mine-clearing team working 10 miles out of Tuzla clearing a field of widow-making anti-personnel mines, a dangerous and painstaking duty.

With the care of brain surgeons, eight men clear about 20 square yards on a good day. One man works about one square yard at a time.

First he sweeps with the mine detector.

Then he gets down on his knees and cuts all the vegetation with his clippers and gingerly probes every inch of dirt with a two-foot ice pick or bayonet, looking for the plastic mines the detector doesn't pick up.

When these brave men find a mine, they carefully dig around and under it to make sure it's not booby-trapped. Then they disarm it. Not work for the fainthearted. Each man is a hand-picked volunteer.

Their captain, Thomas Stenberg, says, "They must have the right attitude." Boy, do they ever, and they don't even get extra pay!

The roads here are narrow, muddy roller coaster. In many places, the mines have not been cleared on the sides of the road.

Two weeks ago, a civilian tractor hit a mine where Stenberg's team is working, killing four people. Their clothes are still hanging in the bushes where the blast blew them.

Bosnian drivers are always in a hurry. They haven't gotten the word about drinking and driving, either, so too many blaze along these death roads ripped out of their gourds.

I'm not sure troops will accomplish much during their one-year tour here, other than facing a lot of danger and growing old fast.

I'll bet this futile mission would be scratched if Clinton and the Capitol Hill gang sending them came in with the advance party and worked the trenches and roads for 30 days.

As a matter of fact, I think you could eliminate war entirely if the Doles and Clintons led the first wave.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, here is a particularly thoughtful statement by Col. David Hackworth:

The brass decided early on that the best way to prepare for the coming mission is relentless training. Task Force Eagle has spent months rehearsing the details of this plan—even down to the level of briefings to journalist. "I war-gamed what questions the press would ask, wrote them down, took them to the division public-affairs officer and we went over them," says Lieutenant Colonel Kooyman. Leave nothing to chance, and avoid a failure like Somalia.

That's the idea, anyhow. The old army way of doing things—"stay loose and expect the unexpected"—won't hack it in Maj. Gen. William Nash's outfit. But I'm not sure what this kind of zero-defect mentality will do to soldiers in the First Armored. Murphy's law applied to combat says that nothing ever goes according to plan. My gut tells me these men may be trained in a way that could hurt them on a future hot battlefield where they'll have to think on their feet—where they can't pull out the plan and consult Annex A. A CO's worst nightmare is to watch his warriors lose their hard-gotten fighting skills in peace enforcement missions like Bosnia. But this may be the price of post-cold-war soldiering.

And how about this analysis of the vicious cold our men and women will face.

[From the USA Today, Jan. 2, 1996]

FOR TROOPS, BEAT THE COLD—ARMY TAKING EXTREME MEASURES

(By Jack Kelley)

POSAVINA CORRIDOR, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA.—They jump up and down, skip back and forth, shadow box with the wind.

They are U.S. soldiers trying to stay warm in this region of Bosnia about 30 miles north of Tuzla. Part of a 60,000-soldier NATO team

sent to enforce a negotiated peace in Bosnia, they are finding that weather is the greatest obstacle to a mission accomplished.

"Bosnia adds new meaning to the word 'cold,'" says Pvt. Michael Ready, 23, of Chicago. He apologizes for not enunciating his words, explaining that his mouth is too cold to speak.

"This feels like one of those bad Chicago cold spells," he manages to say. "The kind we get once in a hundred years. But here it's happening every day."

Winter storms closed down Tuzla air base for four days, delaying the arrival of thousands of troops. Snow is masking dangerous land mines. The cold is causing concern about hypothermia.

How cold is it? It is not the coldest winter in Bosnia's history. But it is the kind of raw, wet cold that makes ice form around the rim of the eye- and mouth-holes of wool caps.

In December, Bosnia got up to 12 inches of snow. The temperature barely topped 20 degrees during the day; winds made it seem like 5 degrees below zero. At night, temperatures dipped to minus 20.

And the worst may be yet to come: TV Tuzla, the main government-run television station, is forecasting a colder than normal winter. It says wind-chill temperatures will hit below zero at least one day almost very week.

"The weather has become our No. 1 enemy," says Pvt. Adam Seegraves, 25, of Riverside, Calif. "Our tents are frozen. We've been living in the Humvee (military vehicle) for two days.

"You start asking, 'What am I doing here?'"

The U.S. military has not encountered such cold since the Korean War, when many casualties were blamed on the bitter winters. The temperature often fell to 35 below, exacerbated by a wind unbroken by a stark landscape.

About 7,000 troops were out of action because of frostbite or stomach ailments.

U.S. Army officials, who insist that the weather has had only a minor effect on their four week-old mission, are quietly ordering new measures to avoid cold-weather injuries.

Among them:

Rotating soldiers at checkpoints every thirty minutes instead of every hour.

Installing kerosene heaters in nearly all tents and underground bunkers.

Serving two hot meals a day instead of one and boosting calorie counts from 2,000 to 3,000 a meal.

Issuing a second pair of cold-weather boots so soldiers can dry out the first pair while wearing the second.

Ordering soldiers to oil their weapons and other equipment to prevent them from rusting.

We're constantly checking the soldiers for cold," says Sgt. Robert Butcher, 30, of Clarksburg, W.Va. "It outweighs all other missions. The weather can wipe out a considerable amount of troops."

In the Army, cold-weather injuries are considered a command failure.

As a result, soldiers have been issued waterproof coats, pants, and boots and even body suits made with 1½ inches of insulation.

Still soldiers complain that their large rubber boots, jokingly called Mickey Mouse boots, do not live up to expectations. Manufacturers say the boots are made to withstand temperatures to minus 140 degrees.

Many soldiers have begun taking matters into their own hands. They've written home asking family members to send boots, extra socks, long underwear and hot chocolate.

While on guard duty or patrol, they're standing on sand bags or wooden planks to keep their toes from going numb. At the risk

of being punished for breaking regulations, they are filling their water canteens with hot coffee or soup. Some are even sneaking into officers' quarters at night to use heated restrooms instead of outside latrines.

At least one soldier is bringing her kerosene heater into the latrine with her.

"The main game here is survival," says Pvt. Cindy Cunningham, 20, of Oklahoma City, her breath causing a cloud of vapor. "This feels like the North Pole."

Despite the complaints, no one has been seriously injured by the cold. There have been a few close calls.

Last week, troops underestimated the cold when they began a three-day mission to rescue a U.S. helicopter. The chopper, which had mechanical problems, had made an emergency landing near the Serb-controlled city of Banja Luka. One soldier almost died after being outdoors for three days in below-freezing temperatures.

But Serb residents came to the troops' rescue, giving them coffee, soup, and wood to build fires. They even allowed the troops to sleep in their barns.

The weather also is affecting mine-clearing operations, says U.S. Maj. Gen. William Nash. Nearly all the estimated 6 million mines in Bosnia are buried beneath the snow, officials say.

"We just can't see what we're doing," Nash sighs.

The result is danger:

During the weekend, Spec. Martin John Begosh, 24, of Rockville, Md., became the first known casualty of the Bosnian peacekeeping mission when his Humvee hit a snowcovered mine. Begosh, who suffered leg injuries, is in stable condition.

Last week, soldiers at the Tuzla air base unknowingly set up their tent 8 feet away from a mine. Several walked within inches of the mine for two days before it was discovered and destroyed.

Military officials also are encountering another unexpected problem. Nearly a dozen soldiers who neglected to turn off their kerosene heaters at night before falling asleep have set their tents on fire.

Some, dismayed at the whining, insist that their colleagues need to toughen up.

They point out that temperatures soared to nearly 60 degrees last month and that many soldiers walked around in T-shirts and short pants.

"The kids from Georgia and Alabama aren't used to this snow, but most guys aren't complaining," says Air Force pilot Capt. Dennis Davoren, 30, of Chicago. "As long as you're busy, you don't think about the cold."

In preparation for the Bosnia mission, many soldiers trained for two weeks in the icy Austrian Alps. They seem eager to beat the cold.

"There's no reason for a soldier out here to be getting cold," says Sgt. Michael Campbell, 28, of Benson, N.C., on guard duty in a driving snow storm outside Tuzla air base. "We trained. We conditioned ourselves. If we hadn't, it would have broken us down."

"Most people can handle this."

But try telling that to Bosnian, Serb and Croat Soldiers who found it so cold here that they stopped fighting in the winter months during their four-year war.

"You Americans must respect the weather," says Serb commander Mladen Vujicic, his face red with cold at a nearby checkpoint. "The American soldier should fear it more than us. You cannot beat it."

TV Tuzla is already predicting that one of every two of Tuzla's 160,000 residents, and some NATO peacekeeping troops, will catch a flu or virus this winter.

Residents are even using a slang word to describe the weather: hafifno, which roughly

translates into an English four-letter word. U.S. troops are doing the same.

"It's going to be a long winter," says Sgt. Jason Borgeson, 23, of Windsor, Conn., on guard duty here.

"We'll be fighting an enemy we can't control."

Mr. DORNAN. And then, Mr. Speaker, the horror of millions of land mines. Please read this from the truth seeking Washington Times.

[From the Washington Times, Jan. 3, 1996]

THE HORROR OF THE LAND MINES

(By Tom Evans)

American troops in Bosnia will face land mines. The folks at home who are sending the troops ought to be sure they understand what that means. Unfortunately, we as a nation have had all too much experience.

Thirty years ago the Viet Cong frequently buried mines in populated areas where American troops walked. Troops were often funneled into columns by narrow rice paddy dikes and trails.

The most commonly used enemy mine in my battalion's area of operations was called the "Bouncing Betty." It bounced waist-high before exploding. To teen-age American Marines and soldiers it was the most demoralizing type of mine. And it was American-made. We had supplied them to our allies, the South Vietnamese army, but the Viet Cong captured them. American Marines were forever bitter toward their allies for that.

In the area we called the "Street Without Joy," a few miles northwest of the imperial capital city of Hue, mine detectors were rarely used on operations until somebody stepped on a mine. We assumed it was because the patrol just moved too slowly behind an engineer sweeping the long-handled dish along the ground. In fact, there as a joke in the Marine infantry. Question: What's the best mine detector the Marine Corps has? Answer: The Model PFC, one each.

The first American I saw killed stepped on a "Bouncing Betty" mine. He was Bernard Fall, a civilian author and one of the foremost Western authorities on Vietnam at that time. Almost 20 years later I found a photo in the National Archives of Fall taken moments after he died in February 1967. The picture, taken by a combat photographer, would never have been taken of a serviceman, but Fall was a civilian. The picture was so terribly graphic that it was marked "Not To Be Released For Publication." Since it was declassified by the time I saw it, I planned to order a copy and someday show my then-1-year-old son what war really looked like. But I never did.

Unfortunately, I witnessed other mine incidents also. Some of the victims lived, at least for a while. There were three sounds we came to dread: the "ca-rumph!" sound of the mien explosion; the call "Corpsman [or medic] up!"; and if the young, shocked Marine was still alive, sometimes "Mother!" or "Mama!"

Recently I attended my Vietnam battalion's reunion. Some of us discussed the terror of walking down a path that might be mined. Usually the earth is an infantryman's friend. He digs a fighting hole—the deeper he digs, the safer he is. But with mines, the earth is the enemy.

A machine gunner in our unit stepped up onto a rice paddy dike on a bounding-type mine and froze when he heard the click. An engineer disarmed the mine underneath his foot, and Reader's Digest wrote up his story. But his story of survival was one in a million.

Also, there is no enemy to fire back at when a mine explodes. The nearest villagers might suffer the infantrymen's wrath.

When we send troops into Bosnia and say they will be exposed to land mines, we should know what they are getting into.

CARE NEEDED IN EDITING SUBMITTED EDITORIALS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. HANCOCK] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, I apologize to the staff that is having to stay here this late hour. However, I feel that this subject I want to talk about is of the utmost importance. It is something that has been bothering me for quite some time. In fact, before I came into the Congress, I had been in the Congress now about 7 years, I said 7 years ago when I first was elected that I believed in the principles of limited terms, and I would only serve in the Congress for a maximum of four terms, and then I would go back home and live under the laws we passed. I am doing that. This is the first time in 7 years that I have ever asked for time to make a special order.

Mr. Speaker, I believe in the Bill of Rights. I think that our Founding Fathers got some divine guidance when they drafted the Constitution of the United States and when they put the Bill of Rights in.

The first amendment talks about the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. I fully support that. I do not think that anybody would question that one of the great things about this country is that we are able to speak, to exercise our judgment, to possibly be wrong in our opinions. But as long as we basically are telling the truth and as long as we truly believe in what we are saying, then we have those rights.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to guess that there are other Members of Congress that have had a little difficulty on what they feel possibly is misrepresentation, that they were quoted out of context, that there were statements made or repeated that can be misleading.

Where I have got the problem is a few weeks ago, in fact on December 28, I had requested the Springfield newspaper, Springfield, MO, the News Leader, part of USA Today's organization, if in fact they would agree to publish an editorial which I wrote entitled "The truth about the GOP plan to balance the budget," by U.S. representative MEL HANCOCK.

This is the truth as I know it. Before I came into Congress, I could say, well, it is the truth. Now that I am in the Congress, well, I have to say it is the truth as I know it.

They agreed to publish the editorial. The same editorial was submitted to practically all of the weekly papers in my district, and those papers reproduced the editorial word for word, no editing. The Springfield newspaper edited my editorial without contacting

me in any way whatsoever. They substantially changed what the editorial had to say. I appreciate the fact that they did agree to publish the editorial, but I feel that since they did edit it, that they should have at least put a disclaimer acknowledging the fact that they edited the editorial. I am sure that there are other Members of Congress that have had the same thing happen to them.

So what I want to do this evening is I am going to go over in detail what the editorial said and what they decided to change.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, I thank the distinguished gentleman from the seventh district of Missouri for yielding, and I commend him on the valuable service that he is performing here. I think the gentleman is being mild in his approach, and I think what you are talking about is something that is of concern to all of us. I have had it happen before where things were taken out of context, and the ultimate meaning was changed. We all believe in the first amendment, but that is just not fair when they do that to you.

But I want to say this about the gentleman from Missouri. I have served here throughout his entire tenure in the House of Representatives, and if there is one thing for which the gentleman from southwest Missouri is noted, it is his integrity and the fact that he endeavors to hit the nail on the head with every act that he commits. It is not always popular, but he does try to be accurate and correct and proper and appropriate. I do not believe there is anyone in this House who would challenge the integrity of the gentleman from Missouri.

I just want to thank the gentleman for what he is doing here and say I think in the political arena, we all from time to time get carried away with rhetoric, and sometimes actions are committed that maybe are later regretted, and perhaps that happens in the media business. They get caught up in the politics of certain situations, and being mortals, as people in the media are, sometimes probably get into that political syndrome and forget that they have under the Constitution, under the first amendment, a very, very high responsibility to fairness.

So I commend the gentleman for what he is doing.

Mr. HANCOCK. I thank you very much. I appreciate the kind words. I felt like when I was elected to the Congress I came up here with a good reputation. I plan on leaving the Congress at the end of this term with a good reputation. After all, that is really all you have to leave, is a good reputation.

Mr. EMERSON. If the gentleman would yield further, I would venture here to say I think the gentleman will leave the Congress with his reputation fully intact.

Mr. HANCOCK. I thank the gentleman very much. I appreciate the comment.