

what is necessary to sustain a family in Kansas or the rich farmlands of Nebraska or Missouri, it took several thousand acres, compared to the few acres it took in those very agricultural land-rich States. So the government felt it did not have the political support, obviously the public support, to go ahead and give land grants of several thousand acres to people who settled in the Rocky Mountains, and thereupon the concept of multiple use was created.

Multiple use is very important. If we take a map of the United States and we take a look at the government ownership, we will find that by far, no comparison, by far the majority of land ownership by the government in this country is in the western half of the United States, not in the eastern half.

So as a result, for the people in the western half of the United States to live, the concept of multiple use, which includes not just grazing, and by the way, multiple use means a lot of different things to a lot of different people. It means the ability to hike on Federal lands. It means the ability to have minimum stream flows in our streams to help us protect our environment.

It means that every power line in my district, and by the way, my district, the Third District of Colorado, the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, is geographically larger than the State of Florida. Every power line, every TV tower, every highway, every drop of water, the water either originates, runs across, or is stored, all of this comes across Federal land. All of it is very dependent on multiple use.

I grew up in the Rocky Mountains. My family came to the Rocky Mountains in 1871. My wife's family came to the Rocky Mountains in 1872. I have a very close friend of mine, Al Stroobants, his family came many, many years, very similarly, generations of families out there in those mountains.

What is very, very important is that the concept of the government was it would be a land of many uses. What we see happening is people who do not understand the concept of multiple use, people who do not understand the concept of private property and the importance of it as a foundation for the freedoms in our country. They try and take away the multiple use on Federal lands and take away that sign that says, "You are now entering the Rocky Mountain National Park, a land of many uses," or those types of signs, and replace them with a sign that says "No Trespassing."

There are fearmongers out there who would make us think that there are cattle grazing every inch of the Rocky Mountains, that there are condominiums going up everywhere, that the water is being wasted and abused. Do not take these people on their word. Look at the proof of the pudding.

The proof of the pudding is in the hearts and souls of the people who are

descendants of the generations of the people who were persuaded by this very government in Washington, D.C. to go west. These people deserve the courtesy of having their bill heard.

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

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

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to the rule and to the legislation that the rule would make in order, the so-called Forage Improvement Act. This rule is open in name only. Last night the Committee on Rules voted to limit the amendment process to 3 hours; not 3 hours of debate time but 3 hours in total. That includes voting time on any amendments and any other parliamentary motion or question which may arise during that time.

Three hours would be totally inadequate, given that the gentlewoman from Idaho [Mrs. CHENOWETH] alone has filed nine amendments, and other Members have filed an additional half-dozen. The ranking member of the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MOAKLEY] offered three amendments to the rule last night in an attempt to allow sufficient time for all amendments to the bill to be fully debated on the floor. However, the majority refused to accept the ranking member's amendments to the rule.

Even if this were a carefully crafted bill, and it is not, that had moved through the committee process, and it did not, with ample legislative hearings, and there were not, in time for Members to consider it, the brief time for floor consideration that the Committee on Rules made in order last night would still be problematic. But the fact of the matter is that the bill was just introduced a month ago, was rushed through the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Resources with no legislative hearings whatsoever, and it shows.

I am left with the impression that the majority did not want the members of those committees to look too closely at what they were passing for fear that they might see it for what it is, special interest legislation that is a bad deal for the American taxpayer and a very bad deal for our environment. Rather than seizing this opportunity to enact genuine and positive reform of our grazing laws, this legislation undermines the management of Federal land resources by continuing the subsidized use of public lands for wealthy corporate interests.

The Interior Department Inspector General reports that grazing benefits go to a vast array of large foreign-owned companies and domestic corporate conglomerates, including a brewery, a Japanese land and livestock company, an oil corporation, and a life insurance company. These are not struggling family businesses or mom and pop ranchers, but multinational

corporations reaping huge profits, most of whom are engaged primarily in businesses that are wholly unrelated to ranching. Why should they not pay the market rates for the grazing rights on our Federal lands?

Every western State charges a grazing fee that is higher than the Federal Government. Several States charge six times as much. Yet, this bill continues that disparity with a new fee formula that does not even come close to reflecting the fair market value of the use of our public resources.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that little additional Federal land revenues will be generated from this bill, and in fact, when the legislation's new administrative requirements on land management agencies are taken into account, the grazing program will lose even more money than it currently does.

This bill makes other modifications to the Federal land grazing program above and beyond its changes to the grazing fee formula. For example, it would allow ranchers with grazing permits to sublease their lands to private interests at a significant profit over what they have paid the Federal Government for the use. Yet, incredibly, the Committee on Resources failed to hold a legislative hearing on this bill, denying Members any opportunity to hear testimony on the far-reaching implications of this legislation.

Members should be aware that Secretary Babbitt has given notice that he will recommend a veto should this bill reach the President's desk. But this ill-advised legislation does not deserve to make it that far. Indeed, it should not even reach this floor, given the cursory exposure and debate it received in committee. Because of the truncated amendment process made in order by the Committee on Rules last night, I strongly urge my colleagues to oppose this rule and this legislation.

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

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Further proceedings on the resolution will be postponed until tomorrow.

□ 2130

SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. BLUNT]. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

INSTABILITY IS THE ENEMY AND IT REQUIRES STRONG MILITARY FORCES

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

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, recently the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* sailed into the Persian Gulf ahead of its scheduled rotation. The purpose of the deployment was to warn Iran and Iraq against sending aircraft into the no-fly zone that the United Nations has mandated in southern Iraq since the end of the Persian Gulf War.

Two weeks earlier, Iran defied the ban and sent aircraft into Iraq to attack sites that anti-Iranian insurgent groups were using to stage raids. Iraq, in turn, was threatening to put up its own aircraft to defend its sovereignty against any further Iranian attacks. A strong word of U.S. caution, backed up by a show of military strength in the region, was necessary to keep Saddam Hussein in his box and to deter further Iranian adventurism.

Apparently, despite vocal protests from both sides, the mission has been accomplished since there have been no more egregious violations of the no-fly zone.

Mr. Speaker, such a use of U.S. military power to enforce stability in a tense part of the globe is not an isolated case. Just a year and a half ago the United States sent the *Nimitz* into the Taiwan Straits in response to China's threatening missile tests at the time of the Taiwanese election.

In recent months, the United States has carried on a large peacekeeping operation in Bosnia and a smaller mission in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; continued to guard against illegal arms shipments into the former Yugoslavia; sent forces to evacuate noncombatants from Zaire and Sierra Leone; supplied airlift for African peacekeeping troops in Liberia; sent forces to demine areas in Namibia; continued to provide humanitarian assistance to Kurdish evacuees from northern Iraq; and engaged in counternarcotics operations in South America.

Except for Bosnia, which appears destined to remain in the headlines for the foreseeable future, most of these operations get no more than an occasional article on the back page of the *Washington Post*. Many ongoing activities, perhaps equally important in bolstering international stability, do not even get that much attention unless something goes wrong, activities like support for mine clearing in Namibia, which was the mission of personnel who were tragically lost when their aircraft crashed on its return flight a few weeks ago.

Today, the U.S. military is carrying out scores of what have come to be called "engagement missions," joint exercises with foreign military forces, humanitarian operations of various kinds, port visits by U.S. ships, officer

exchanges, sharing of intelligence, and many, many other activities.

Collectively, all of these activities come at a high cost both in money and in the demands on the U.S. military personnel around the globe.

The benefits of these missions, however, are far greater than their costs. As my fellow Missourian Harry Truman once said, "We must be prepared to pay the price for peace or surely we will pay the price of war."

Today the price of peace is this: That the United States must continue to play the leading role in building and maintaining international stability. In order to fulfill that responsibility, the Nation must maintain substantial, well-trained, well-equipped military forces capable of engaging in military actions across the entire spectrum of missions from delivering humanitarian supplies, to showing the flag, to peace enforcement operations that may be as intense as a major theater war.

Unfortunately, I do not think that the need for the United States to play this role and to maintain sufficient military strength to do it is fully understood either in this Congress or among the public as a whole. Moreover, I do not think that either the Clinton administration or the Bush administration has done a particularly good job of explaining the missions of U.S. military forces in the post-Cold War world.

Today, I want to address one of the principal reasons for maintaining U.S. military strength, that global instability will present dire threats to American interests unless the United States actively addresses it.

Since the end of the Cold War, many people have questioned the need for the United States to maintain strong military forces and to preserve its military abroad. Now that the Soviet Union is gone, they say, where is the enemy? And why do we need to spend so much money on defense when no single powerful foe or group of foes can easily be identified?

My answer is that there is indeed an enemy and it may be more insidious than ever precisely because it is so difficult to perceive clearly. The enemy is instability and requires as much vigilance as any more conventional foe has ever required.

Mr. Speaker, let me begin by drawing a simple lesson from the recent events in the Persian Gulf and from my last year's stare-down with China. In the Persian Gulf, the rules are clear. Both Iran and Iraq know that a no-fly zone remains in place south of the 33rd parallel and that any military aircraft flying into the area may be shot down without warning.

In Asia, the formula for addressing the status of Taiwan that has been accepted by the United States and others for many years is to say that both the government of Beijing and the government of Taipei regard Taiwan as part of China and that the status of Taiwan will not be resolved by force. The rules with regard to Taiwan, therefore, are

also clear. China has undertaken not to use force, and the United States has not supported Taiwan's independence.

Even though the rules are clear in the Persian Gulf and in Taiwan, however, recent events illustrate a simple point—that in international affairs, the rules are not self-enforcing. On the contrary, without constant, direct U.S. attention and leadership, the forces of disorder—always testing the limits—would eventually prevail. In the Persian Gulf, Iran and Iraq would soon drive the region into chaos and hope to benefit from the disruption of oil supplies to the rest of the world. In Asia, China would prefer to have a free hand to dominate the region, which is not a prescription for peace. Peace and stability are not the natural order of things. On the contrary, instability will always rise, like entropy in the realm of physics, unless energy is constantly applied to preserve order.

This lesson is an obvious one—and the use of the *Nimitz* to support U.S. security objectives is a clear and evident example of the importance of U.S. military power. But U.S. military power is also important in a host of other, less apparent ways.

Consider, for example, the implications of the recent U.S. agreement with Japan on defense cooperation. What is important about the agreement is not in the details—how Japan will provide support for U.S. military operations, whether Japan can opt out of supporting U.S. forces in certain cases, whether more should have been agreed on issues like missiles defense, and so on. What is most important is the fact of the agreement itself. The agreement reaffirms the fact that Japan sees its security relationship with the United States as the bulwark of a secure international order in Asia even after the Cold War has ended.

That the Clinton Administration was able to reach this agreement with Japan is, it seems to me, a triumph for American security of no small order. It came after several years of conflict with Japan over trade issues, during a time when China is beginning to flex muscles and is starting to build up its military capability, and in the face of grave doubts around the world that the United States would maintain its international leadership. Any or all of those factors could have led Japan to conclude that the security treaty with the United States was too weak a pillar on which to continue to rest its security policy. The agreement was the result of several years of effort on the part of senior officials in the Defense Department and in the Department of State, beginning with the so-called "Nye report" of 1995, named after former Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Nye, which forcefully reasserted the U.S. security interest in Asia and promised a continued, large and powerful U.S. military presence in the region.

I believe that the new U.S.-Japan security cooperation agreement is a cornerstone of stability in Asia precisely because it binds the United States and Japan together more closely. It means that Japan will not feel itself forced to develop an independent military capacity that would be threatening to others in the region. It means that North Korea will be discouraged from thinking that it can divide South Korea's allies. It means that China will have less reason to believe that it can use military strength to build a position of dominance of the in the Region. It means that for other nations in the region, the United States