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House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, July 17, 1995, at 10:30 a.m.

Senate

FRIDAY, JULY 14, 1995

(Legislative day of Monday, July 10, 1995)

The Senate met at 9 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we thank You for this moment of quiet in which we can reaffirm who we are, whose we are and why we are here. Once again we commit ourselves to You as Sovereign Lord of our lives and our Nation. Our ultimate goal is to please and serve You. You have called us to be servant-leaders who glorify You in seeking to know and to do Your will in the unfolding of Your vision for America.

We spread out before You the specific decisions that must be made today. We claim Your presence all through the day. Guide our thinking and our speaking. May our convictions be based on undeniable truth which has been refined by You.

Bless the women and men of this Senate as they work together to find the best solutions to the problems before our Nation. Help them to draw on the supernatural resources of Your Spirit. Give them divine wisdom, penetrating discernment, and indomitable courage.

When the day draws to a close, may our deepest joy be that we received Your best for us and worked together for what is best for our Nation. In Your holy name. Amen.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for not to exceed 3 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, thank you.

OUR NATION'S DEFENSES

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I want to call to your attention an editorial which was in yesterday morning's Washington Post by Charles Krauthammer.

I think he best characterizes where we are today in terms of our Nation's defense—in this editorial—more than anything I have read recently. He talks about the problems that we have in our defense system.

I think several of us have been disturbed that this administration has stripped our defenses down to the bone. We are operating now on a budget that is about what it was in 1980 when we could not afford spare parts. There are several of us who believe that we could not fight two regional wars right now. We could not fight the Persian Gulf war as we did.

This Nation has to rebuild its defense system. Charles Krauthammer states three incontrovertible facts.

The first is, America is coming home. He points out that we are bringing from overseas our bases back to the

mainland of the United States. In 1960, we had 90 bases around the world. Today we have 17.

His second incontrovertible fact is that America cannot endure casualties. If you look at what is happening on CNN with the coverage on all of these humanitarian missions that are going on right now all over the world, we have more troops in more parts of the world right now on missions that have nothing to do with our Nation's security. We saw Captain O'Grady and how the entire Nation was watching him and hoping and praying for him. This is a concern that the entire Nation has; that we have a very low tolerance of casualties. Yet we look at Somalia. We had 18 Rangers that were killed there. And I have a great fear for what can happen in Bosnia.

The third fact is that America's next war will be a surprise. I think we all understand this. Certainly, Pearl Harbor was a surprise. The invasion of South Korea was a surprise. The Falklands war was a surprise. The next war will be a surprise, too.

To meet this criterion, what weapon, according to Charles Krauthammer, is the best one to do that? He says clearly it is to expand the B-2 bomber program—the B-2 bomber program—because, No. 1, it has the range; No. 2, it is invisible; and, No. 3, it is immediate. If you look at the Persian Gulf war, the F-117's, they had the invisible characteristics of a stealth fighter. Over 2 percent, I think, of the missions were flown by the F-117, and they got 40 percent of their targets.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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So, Mr. President, I will conclude by saying that seven of the currently living former Secretaries of Defense agree with Charles Krauthammer that we need to expand the B-2 program, and I believe it, too.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this editorial by Charles Krauthammer be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 13, 1995]

THE B-2 AND THE "CHEAP HAWKS"

(By Charles Krauthammer)

We hear endless blather about how new and complicated the post-Cold War world is. Hence the endless confusion about what weapons to build, forces to deploy, contingency to anticipate. But there are three simple, glaringly obvious facts about this new era:

(1) America is coming home. The day of the overseas base is over. In 1960, the United States had 90 major Air Force bases overseas. Today, we have 17. Decolonization is one reason. Newly emerging countries like the Philippines do not want the kind of Big Brother domination that comes with facilities like Clark Air Base and Subic Bay. The other reason has to do with us: With the Soviets gone, we do not want the huge expenses of maintaining a far-flung, global military establishment.

(2) America cannot endure casualties. It is inconceivable that the United States, or any other Western country, could ever fight a war of attrition like Korea or Vietnam. One reason is the CNN effect. TV brings home the reality of battle with a graphic immediacy unprecedented in human history. The other reason, as strategist Edward Luttwak has pointed out, is demographic: Advanced industrial countries have very small families, and small families are less willing than the large families of the past to risk their only children in combat.

(3) America's next war will be a surprise. Nothing new here. Our last one was too. Who expected Saddam to invade Kuwait? And even after he did, who really expected the United States to send a half-million man expeditionary force to roll him back? Then again who predicted Pearl Harbor, the invasion of South Korea, the Falklands War?

What kind of weapon, then, is needed by a country that is losing its foreign bases, is allergic to casualties and will have little time to mobilize for tomorrow's unexpected provocation?

Answer: A weapon that can be deployed at very long distances from secure American bases, is invulnerable to enemy counter-attack and is deployable instantly. You would want, in other words, the B-2 stealth bomber.

We have it. Yet, amazingly, Congress may be on the verge of killing it. After more than \$20 billion in development costs—costs irrecoverable whether we build another B-2 or not—the B-2 is facing a series of crucial votes in Congress that could dismantle its assembly lines once and for all.

The B-2 is not a partisan project. Its development was begun under Jimmy Carter. And, as an urgent letter to President Clinton makes clear, it is today supported by seven secretaries of defense representing every administration going back to 1969.

They support it because it is the perfect weapon for the post-Cold War world. It has a range of about 7,000 miles. It can be launched instantly—no need to beg foreign dictators for base rights; no need for weeks of advance

warning, mobilization and forward deployment of troops. And because it is invisible to enemy detection, its two pilots are virtually invulnerable.

This is especially important in view of the B-2's very high cost, perhaps three-quarters to a billion dollars a copy. The cost is, of course, what has turned swing Republican votes—the so-called "cheap hawks"—against the B-2.

But the dollar cost of a weapon is too narrow a calculation of its utility. The more important calculation is cost in American lives. The reasons are not sentimental but practical. Weapons cheap in dollars but costly in lives are, in the current and coming environment, literally useless: We will not use them. A country that so values the life of every Capt. O'Grady is a country that cannot keep blindly relying on non-stealthy aircraft over enemy territory.

Stealth planes are not just invulnerable themselves. Because they do not need escort, they spare the lives of the pilots of the fighters and radar suppression planes that ordinarily accompany bombers. Moreover, if the B-2 is killed, we are stuck with our fleet of B-52's of 1950s origin. According to the undersecretary of defense for acquisition, the Clinton administration assumes the United States will rely on B-52s until the year 2030—when they will be 65 years old!

In the Persian Gulf War, the stealthy F-117 fighter flew only 2 percent of the missions but hit 40 percent of the targets. It was, in effect, about 30 times as productive as non-stealthy planes. The F-117, however, has a short range and thus must be deployed from forward bases. The B-2 can take off from home. Moreover, the B-2 carries about eight times the payload of the F-117. Which means that one B-2 can strike, without escort and with impunity, as many targets as vast fleets of conventional aircraft. Factor in these costs, and the B-2 becomes cost-effective even in dollar terms.

The final truth of the post-Cold War world is that someday someone is going to attack some safe haven we feel compelled to defend, or invade a country whose security is important to us, or build an underground nuclear bomb factory that threatens to kill millions of Americans. We are going to want a way to attack instantly, massively and invisibly. We have the weapon to do it, a weapon that no one else has and that no one can stop. Except a "cheap hawk," shortsighted Republican Congress.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY REFORM ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEWINE). Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 343, the regulatory reform bill, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 343) to reform the regulatory process, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Dole amendment No. 1487, in the nature of a substitute.

Domenici amendment No. 1533 (to amendment No. 1487), to facilitate small business involvement in the regulatory development process.

Hutchison amendment No. 1539 (to amendment No. 1487), to protect against the unfair imposition of civil or criminal penalties for the alleged violation of rules.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN] is recognized to speak for up to 45 minutes.

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, we have heard a lot the last few days about horror stories of regulations, horror stories about Government's heavy hand and how civil servants that serve this country well most of the time sometimes get carried away with the program and throw their Federal regulatory weight around to the point where it really is intrusive in the lives of our citizens and do some things that just defy common sense.

I am not going to be the last one to stand here today and say that never happens. I think when we rise on the floor here and make repeated remarks and make repeated examples of things that are not of obvious truthfulness, that we do a disservice. So some of the things that have been said here on the floor in the last few days I want to spend some time this morning correcting.

Let me say I feel strongly about this for our people that work in civil service for this Nation. For the last 8 years until last fall I was chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee. One of our areas of oversight, our areas of jurisdiction, is the civil service of this country. We work very closely with them. We have representatives of civil service groups that come in and talk to us on a regular basis. We keep in touch with them on almost a daily basis with staff. We work to get them better pay and working conditions and so on.

So, we work with the people of OPM, the Office of Personnel Management, to make sure that the people in civil service are treated fairly. Many of them are very talented people who serve the Government and who could be doing better outside. They have every bit of the same dedication for their country as we have right here, and they feel strongly. It hurts them when they are unfairly castigated, unfairly pointed out as doing things that are wrong in administering the laws of this land.

So I wanted to correct some of the things that have been said. I know my distinguished colleague from Utah pointed out that he has his daily 10 transgressions in the area of misuse of rules and regulations. I sort of overlooked these things until they started being picked up and published in some of our papers in Ohio.

So I think I have it as a duty to correct some of these things. We have asked the administration downtown to look into some of these things. Some of the information I have puts a little different slant on some of these things. I want to run through a few of these this morning because I think it is important to protect the reputation, protect the feelings—if you want to put it on that basis also—of people who work